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Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches

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Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN AFRICA

MONOGRAPHS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
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Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches

Volume 2: Church Growth – Causative Factors and Recruitment Techniques
To

Beulah and my parents
with gratitude
This second volume of the most considerable study of African independent churches ever attempted, both satisfies the anticipations aroused by the first volume, and arouses further expectations concerning the important discussions reserved for the succeeding volumes. Volume I outlined the background — traditional, mission, and government — and gave the history of the varied group of Shona churches included in this study. Now we are given a detailed and extensively documented account of the appeal of these churches to those who join them, and of other factors accounting for their growth.

Dr. Daneel treats many of the now classic questions in this subject: the relations to Protestant and Roman Catholic sources and influences; the proportions of defectors from missions or older churches, and of converts from traditional Shona faiths; the balance of secular and religious causal factors; the value of the Ethiopian/Zionist typology; the relation of the old African and the new Christian ideas and forms; the place of dreams, and the view of evil associated with witchcraft beliefs. In many of these questions there are new insights, or deeper analyses, and sometimes surprising results.

Thus the Zionist or Spirit types are shown to have made a sharper break with Shona traditions than the Ethiopians - contrary to the general view of the South African situation whence many of these churches have come. 'Separatism' and 'schism' are seen to be inappropriate terms since so many members have never belonged to one of the older or mission churches, and those who have often joined an independent body only after lapsing for some time. The independents are new religious creations, churches in their own right and not merely reactions to missions; this queries the widespread reaction theory. Likewise there is critical examination of previous analyses of Shona independents which associated their different groups with various socio-economic classes.

The Shona churches exhibit some striking differences from their counterparts elsewhere in Africa, and are therefore important in any overall study. As against West Africa they are mainly rural. As compared with South Africa they stand in a privileged position in relation to land, and demonstrate
greater success at subsistence farming than those in the older churches, so that the deprivation theory of ‘Sects’ is irrelevant. Their great concern with the ancestors, and the rituals they have developed around death and rain-seeking, also mark them out from regions where these do not figure in independent church life. Dr. Daneel’s study is therefore important in bringing into focus the complexity and variety of African independent forms.

The wealth of case-studies and first hand reports also adds a valuable dimension which will remain useful for many disciplines and for purposes other than those of this study. In particular the accounts of dreams and of witch finding will be widely appreciated, as also the extensive tabular presentation of socio-economic and other data.

For the missiologist there is a sensitive and penetrating analysis of the interaction of the Christian faith and the traditional Shona religion and world view. This runs right through the study, and emerges in the final chapter in terms of the dialogue of Christians with the primal world view (and especially with its views on the ancestors, on evil, and on time). This is basic material for the World Council of Churches and other approaches to the possibility of dialogue with the primal religions. In these Shona Churches we see it already under way, and with some important results for general consideration.

This volume can also be commended with confidence to the Shona people themselves. The author shows them as they are, immersed in their own culture and at the same time responding to the new Christian faith in ways that are both authentically Shona and also identifiably Christian. They can trust this study to increase their own selfunderstanding and development. The rest of the world should feel grateful for what they and Dr. Daneel together have presented in a rich tapestry of ongoing Shona religious life.

H. W Turner
Although I have already acknowledged the financial assistance received from the various sponsors of this study in *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, Volume I: Background and Rise of the Major Movements*, I should like to express once more my indebtedness to representatives of the Free University, Amsterdam, for granting me paid leave to engage in fieldwork in Rhodesia and for supporting me financially while writing up the results in the Netherlands; the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) for covering the major costs of the field project, and the Afrika Studiecentrum, Leiden, under whose auspices I worked, for contributing substantially towards field expenses, statistical data-processing as well as the preparation and printing of my manuscripts. The extensiveness of this study would not have been possible without the generous grants of these institutions.

During the preparatory stages of the project I had fruitful, orientating discussions with Prof. J. F. Holleman, then director of the Afrika Studiecentrum, Prof. L. Onvlee, who acted as the representative of the Free University in the Advisory Board of the Afrika Studiecentrum, Bishop B. G. M. Sundkler of the University of Uppsala, and several others. From these persons I received many useful suggestions about possible research methods.

In the course of my investigations in Rhodesia I was ably assisted by numerous African and European friends, most of whose names appear in the first volume of this study. A special word of thanks is due to:

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- the ‘camp-superintendent’, Daveson Njarava, a former DRC evangelist, who was my trusted friend and counsellor throughout the entire project;
- the African teachers and students who formed the team which assisted me in conducting the random sample survey in the Chingombe chiefdom;
- the principal leaders of the Independent Churches (the Zionist bishops:
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To Prof. J. F. Holleman and Prof. J. M. Beattie of the University of Leiden, Prof. J. Blauw and Prof. D. C. Mulder of the Free University of Amsterdam, I wish to extend my sincere appreciation for their valuable comments on various draft chapters. Prof. Holleman, who had given me the scientific support I needed in the field and who generously rendered me advice as far as the presentation of material is concerned, contributed towards the improvement of the first chapter in this book. Prof. Beattie, who read through the entire manuscript, provided me with valuable suggestions from a socio-anthropological point of view. I greatly benefitted from the penetrative observations and comments of Prof. Blauw, who had spent several weeks with me during the research period in Rhodesia. He stimulated a probing interpretation of the more elusive aspects of religious life in the Independent Churches. Prof. Mulder, under whose guidance I worked in the Free University's theological faculty, assisted me with his patient and tactful supervision. His sustained, scholarly interest and consistent scrutiny of draft chapters encouraged me to work towards the completion of this part of the study.
I am also indebted to Drs. N. Smith of the Dutch Reformed Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch, Prof. Marshall Murphree of the University College of Rhodesia and Prof. H. W Turner of the University of Leicester, for the interest they have shown in my work. A special word of thanks is due to Prof. Turner for his expert advice and willingness to write the foreword of this book.

It is with deep gratitude that I mention the sympathetic support of my parents and my wife. Under all circumstances could I rely on their loyalty and understanding. My father’s wise counsel and my mother’s thorough revision of the manuscript with a view to my use of the vernacular came as a special privilege. The devotion and companionship of Beulah, my wife, has been a constant source of inspiration.

Morgenster Mission
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Table of contents

FOREWORD VII

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS IX

LIST OF PLATES AND MAPS XVII

INTRODUCTION 1

1. THE PROCESS OF CHURCH GROWTH 7
   1. *Theories on the causes of African Church Independency* 7
   2. *Analysis of the setting and process of Church growth* 13
      a) Chronology of growth 13
      b) Age and sex structure 15
      c) Fluidity of Church membership and the nature of religious change 16
      d) Locality of recruitment 22
      e) ‘Reaction to Missions’ 24
      f) Reaction to Independent Churches 32
   3. *Education and Church affiliation* 34
   4. *Economic factors* 46
      a) Land 47
      b) Labour migration 54
      c) Economic stratification 56
   5. *Conclusions* 67

TABLES 1–36 70

2. ADAPTATION TO TRADITIONAL RITUALS AND CUSTOMS 101
   1. *The Mwari Cult* 103
      a) Rainmaking 104
      b) Tribal politics 109
2. **Mukwerere rituals**  
3. **Kugadzira rituals**  
   a) The *runyaradzo* at Muchakata’s village  
   b) Accommodating Mamhungu’s spirit  
4. **Dreams**  
   a) Call-dreams  
   b) Group-consolidating dreams  
   c) The interpretation of symbols in dreams  
5. **Kinship**  
6. **Polygamy**  
7. **Conclusions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLES 37–39</th>
<th>181</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. **Faith-healing, a major attraction**  

1. *The role of healing during the initial phase of Church expansion*  
2. *The testimonies of Church members*  
3. *Healing centres*  
   a) The Zionist Church headquarters as a ‘hospital’  
   b) Apostolic healing centres  
4. *Prophetic activities and healing*  
   a) Diagnosis of illness and prescription of therapy during prophecies  
   b) Symbolic objects and healing  
   c) Exorcism of ‘demons’  
5. **Preaching and faith-healing**  
6. **Conclusions**

4. **Propheticism and wizardry**  

1. *Detection and removal of malignant medicine*  
2. *Wizard-finding during village baptisms*  
3. *Prophetic control within the Churches*  
   a) Initial check on neophytes  
   b) Regular exposure during Church services  
   c) The ‘gate-test’ during *Paseka* festivities  
4. **Conclusions**
5. ADAPTATION AND TRANSFORMATION 309

1. The encounter between men of different faiths 311
   a) Confrontative sermons 313
   b) Dialogue in the ritual context 316

2. The living and the dead 318
   a) Accommodating the deceased’s spirit 320
   b) The role of the deceased believer’s spirit 326
   c) Ancestors and dreams 332

3. Healing techniques 336
   a) Diagnosis and therapy 336
   b) Healers and the use of symbolic objects 338
   c) Exorcism 341

4. Wizardry 343

5. The work of the Holy Spirit 347

GLOSSARY OF SHONA TERMS AND PHRASES 354

ABBREVIATIONS 362

BIBLIOGRAPHY 363

INDEX OF AUTHORS 365

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS 365
LIST OF PLATES

1. Zion City 102
2. Bishop Mutendi blessing seed at Zion City 102
3. Mutendi sanctifying old news-papers 102–103
4. Sunday-service at Zion City 102–103
5. Dancing Zionist bishop 102–103
6. Apostolic evangelist in action 103
7. Laying on of hands by Zionist ministers 190
8. ‘Injection’ treatment at Zion City 190
9. Prophetic diagnosis of causes of barrenness 190–191
10. Ndaza Zionist faith-healing ceremony 190–191
11. Exorcism of shavi spirit 190–191
12. Prophecy and confession preceding Zionist baptism 191
13. Newly-baptized members led forth from ‘Jordan’ 191
14. Mabondo’s healing centre 206
15. Apostolic healers, Mabondo and Febi, at work 206
16. Sprinkling of holy water on children 206–207
17. Topia member dancing with kudu-horn 206–207
18. Topia dance 206–207
19. Topia healing centre 207
20. Zionist prophet detecting unconfessed sins 294
21. Apostles passing the prophets before service 294
22. Apostolic trial of suspect witch 294
23. Absolving prayer for self-confessed witch 294
24. Dziro preaches during Shinga Postora meeting 294–295
25. Prophet Mutingwende’s revelation concerning uroyi-medicine 294–295
27. Mutingwende with wizard’s horn 294–295
29. Shinga Postora baptismal ceremony 294–295
30. Kraalhead Makuwise baptized by *Shinga Postora* officials 295
31. Immersion during *Shinga Postora* baptismal ceremony 295

**LIST OF MAPS**

1. Areas from which ‘patients’ are attracted to Zion City for healing treatment 203
2. Sketch-map of Zion City 204
3. Chingombe chiefdom  Distribution of villages and denominations
At the heart of this whole movement, directly or indirectly, will be found the sin of the white man against the black. It is because of the failure of the white man to make the Church a home for the black man that the latter has been fain to have a Church of his own.' – S.C. Neill.

Bishop Neill gives expression to a theory held by some of the observers of the phenomenon of Independent Churches in Africa, when he qualifies the root cause of these movements as the failure of the Whites to make Africans feel at home in their Western-orientated religious institutions. The very title of Ogot's treatment of this subject — in a book called *A place to feel at home* — is indicative of a similar approach. In his breadth-study of this phenomenon on the continent of Africa, and in the effort to postulate a representative theory for the rise of religious independency, Barrett reduces the complexity of causative factors to the basic reaction of Africans to Missions. He regards as the common root cause of the entire movement the failure of Missions to demonstrate at all times the biblical concept of love in the African setting. African society, its religion and psychology were not understood, accepted or studied in any depth.

Much of the evidence already presented in the first volume of our study points at a reaction to European Missions as one of the important reasons for the formation of new, all-African Churches. The reactionary element features prominently, especially in the lives of the principal figures around whom the major Southern Shona movements developed. Zionist Bishop Mutendi's spells of so-called *shavi*-possession were negatively appraised in the Mission Church to which he at first belonged but positively evaluated as a clear manifestation of the presence of the indwelling Holy Spirit in the Sotho Zionist movement with which he came into contact in South Africa. Johane

Maranke, leader of the largest Apostolic movement in Rhodesia, accused the white missionaries of withholding the essential Gospel message of the Holy Spirit from the Africans, while President Sengwayo of the Chibarirwe movement reacted sharply to what he regarded as prejudice on the part of the missionaries in charge of the theological training centre where he was studying.

Yet the question arises whether the experiences of the leading figures, with whom we were primarily concerned in the first volume, and the strategy adopted by the major Missionary institutions – such as the strict disciplinary measures of the Dutch Reformed Church – provide us with sufficient grounds and clues for an explanatory theory on the causation of religious independency amongst the Southern Shona as stringent as the one presented, for instance, by Barrett. The tendency of African converts to react against European Missions needs a close scrutiny, lest one indulge in what might prove to be misleading generalizations. In the effort to provide a penetrating analysis of the causative factors involved in Independent Church formation and expansion, we must concern ourselves with the life-histories, not only of the principal leaders but also of their followers. Only when the type of circumstances under which representative numbers of adherents of the various Church groups were recruited, as well as their narratives of what they themselves regard as the main reasons for their newly acquired affiliation, are considered on a quantitative basis, can one start distinguishing the major causative factors involved.

Basically, the method adopted amounts to an effort to present as accurately as possible and in a categorized statistical framework the answers of individuals included in random and casual samples to some of the more important questions concerning their own recruitment. With the use of the statistical data as a point of departure and with ample reference to selected case studies representing predominant features, a comprehensive picture of the crucial factors determining the various patterns of recruitment may be developed.

In the first chapter the process of Independent Church growth amongst the Southern Shona is examined on the basis of some fundamental questions: Who joins the Independent Churches? When, where and at what age do people join these movements? What was the nature of change from one Church to another, if a change took place at all, and what kind of explicit criticisms were voiced by individuals who had in fact broken away from Mission Churches? In addition, the process of Independent Church growth

5. Ibid., p. 244f.
is related to the fields of Mission-directed education, land and economy, in the effort to evaluate the co-determining influence of these factors in the religious field.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 deal with the all-important question: Why do the Shona people join the Independent Churches? Some of the clues derived from the answers of individuals are treated in detail, and related to observations of ritual life in the field. Thus descriptions of IC practices adapted to traditional religious institutions, such as the Mwari cult, kugadzira and mukwerere rituals (Chapter 2), are included despite the fact that such adaptations cannot in all cases be strictly classified as 'recruitment techniques'. Instead of introducing adapted forms of ritual with the express aim of recruiting new members, African Church leaders have in the course of time worked out their own answers to the problems deriving from a direct confrontation of Christianity with the traditional world view and forms of worship. In doing so, new and indigenized patterns of Church life were developed, which — due to their direct relevancy to customary concepts — inevitably had a greater appeal to certain layers of the African population than the Mission institutions with their somewhat foreign modes of worship and organization. In this sense these adapted forms of worship do indirectly play a role in recruitment.

On the other hand, certain Church practices were deliberately adapted to the traditional African background to attract new recruits. The most outstanding examples concern the faith-healing practices of the Spirit-type Churches, dealt with in Chapter 3, and the preoccupation of certain prophets with the detection and opposition of wizardry, in Chapter 4. Interviewed members of the Zionist and Apostolic Churches almost invariably singled out the curative treatment of prophets or healers as the principal attraction which induced them to join these movements. Many of them testify to a miraculous cure, experienced by themselves or by close relatives, as the first sign which convinced them of the real and effective presence of the Holy Spirit in these prophetic movements. I have made an attempt to follow up these leads by paying special attention to the actual activities of Independent Church preachers, dealt with in Chapter 3, and the preoccupation of certain prophets with revelatory prophecies to the divinations of traditional diviners, utilize the general African need for determining the personal causation of all kinds of illness and misfortunes. I shall also indicate how the prophets meet the need of their 'patients' for effective countermeasures against mystical threats by supplanting the traditionally used magical objects with symbolic objects directly representing the curative powers of the Christian God.

The treatment of the above-mentioned questions occasionally involves a distinctly historic dimension because many of the case histories of individuals
included in the statistical tables concern their experiences of several decades ago. Especially in the first chapter we deal with information dating back to the inception of the Independent Church movements in Rhodesia. Here one is confronted with the problem of interpreting the acquired data in relation to a constantly changing socio-economic background, which might well in the past have had a determining impact on the decisions of individuals to become Independent Church members. One would, for instance, want to gauge with some accuracy the extent to which the implementation of land legislation in the 1930s and 1950s influenced the expansion of these mushrooming movements. Yet the information provided by informants on contentious political matters is, for understandable reasons, not always sufficiently reliable to be subjected to straightforward statistical correlations. As a result, some of my deductions of necessity are of a more tentative nature than others. Nevertheless, the historic dimension complements our analysis of presentday recruitment techniques and serves to deepen the perspective on the distinguishable patterns of development of the entire movement.

The analysis of causative factors, and ritual techniques devised to attract people to the Independent Churches, covers only the restricted range of the most outstanding aspects of Church life arising from the statistical data. A perusal of the ‘reasons for joining’ the Independent Churches as mentioned by the interviewed members themselves (see Chapter 2, table 37), reveals a wide variety of answers related to nearly all the characteristic doctrinal and ritual practices of these movements. The more obviously effective recruitment techniques (which are dealt with in Chapters 2 to 4) can only be properly evaluated in the context of the totality of attractive factors and not in isolation.

Frequently much more than the reason or reasons actually mentioned by individuals and regarded as important by them conditioned their choice for and subsequent attachment to the Independent Churches. A person might, for example, mention his experience of faith-healing or a call through dreams as the main grounds for adherence to a particular Church group, while in fact kinship factors, the attraction of closely-knit in-group activities, the opportunities of satisfying leadership ambitions, the acceptability of simplified African forms of Church organization, or other unmentioned factors may all have contributed towards a specific choice. For this reason matters discussed in the following volumes, such as the structure of Church groups, their organization, leadership and the participation of affiliated members in the general activities peculiar to their rural or urban environment also have a

direct if less conspicuous bearing on the recruitment of new members.

It should be emphasized from the outset that we are dealing with Churches in their own rights, and not with schismatic bodies of which the majority of affiliated members have defected at some time from one of the Mission Churches. As will be illustrated in Chapter 1, the majority of interviewed Independent Church members had never paid full allegiance to any of the Mission Churches prior to their IC affiliation. This distinction is of singular importance for the Southern Shona movements, since it excludes the popular approach so often found in established ecclesiastic circles, which views these groups solely in terms of a reaction to missionary activities or of 'sheep-stealing' as if the Independents derive their main religious impulses from the Mission Churches and acquire a following through proselytizing activities. One of the implications of the fact that the majority of Independent Church adherents come from an essentially non-Christian background is that in the majority of interviews the emphasis of necessity fell on the question 'Why did you join this Church?' rather than 'Why did you break away from the previous Church?' As a result the answers were generally much more concerned with the appealing features of the Church of which the informant was an adherent, and with the circumstances closely associated with his or her initial move to join it, than with the failures of the Church or Churches to which a person might previously have belonged.

One of the limitations of the questionnaire adopted was that some of the background factors which have been at work for a long time and which might well have contributed towards a 'fertile soil' for the growth of these movements, or even latent resentment of Mission institutions to which persons had never really belonged, remained undisclosed or tended to be only indirectly mentioned. Another problem in quantifying this case material concerned the selection from a complexity of factors recorded for some individuals of a main or overriding motive for joining a Church. Complete accuracy could not always be achieved in the face of multiple factors. Despite these limitations the quantified information concerning the why of Church affiliation provides us with a fairly reliable guideline in the search for the most outstanding factors which attracted members to a particular Church or types of Churches. From the tables presented in this study patterns of attraction and recruitment emerge which distinguish and characterize the different movements.

In the last chapter some evaluatory remarks are made from a missiological point of view to determine whether the various processes of adaptation to traditional religion in the Independent Churches, as described in the text, mainly concern a christianizing transformation of the old customs and reli-
gion by the new Message, or whether they result in syncretism. This exercise should not be regarded as a systematic treatment of the missiological issues involved but rather as an effort to provide some suggestions and guidelines along which those interested in a comprehensive theological evaluation of the IC movements could work.

The presentation of statistical data in this volume varies according to the subject concerned. In Volume I it was already pointed out that our survey of the Southern Shona Independent Churches included three samples: A random sample survey (Rss) representative of the community in the Chingombe chiefdom; a casual sample (csTr) which is only partly representative of the townsmen at Fort Victoria; and a casual sample (csR) based on material collected in the ‘reserves’, i.e. in the tribal areas, at Church headquarters and in outlying congregations. Whenever a variable is dealt with in the context of the entire rural or urban community concerned, use is made of the representative random sample or of the more limited sample related to town life. For overall assessments of the Churches, as groups distinct from each other, where the widest range of information is required, the data of all three samples are added together. Although in this lumping together of data (all of which was not accumulated according to the same process of selection) the distinctive characteristics of a particular rural or urban community is lost, there is the advantage of including material collected at all three levels: Church headquarters (17% of the total sample), urban congregations (8%) and outlying rural congregations in Chingombe and elsewhere (75%). In this way reliable generalizations about the Southern Shona Independent Churches, deriving from the survey as a whole, could be obtained. The predominance in the overall sample of information acquired from members of rural congregations can hardly be considered to distort the general perspective, since it coincides with the actual situation in which the bulk to Independent Church members reside in the tribal areas immediately surrounding the rural Church headquarters or even much further away. As yet, the Churches which we studied are primarily rural and not urban phenomena.

7. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
8. See table 1.
9. As in Volume 1, the major Independent Churches dealt with are those of the Spirit type, including the Zionist groups of Bishops Samuel Mutendi, David Masuka and Andreas Shoko, as well as the Apostolic groups of Johane Maranke and Elison Mutingwende; and those of the Ethiopian type, i.e. the African Congregational Church (Chi­barirwe) of Rev. Zvekare Sengwayo and the First Ethiopian Church of Bishop Nhaya Gavure.
The process of Church growth

The experiences of the principal African leaders who introduced new forms of Church life amongst the Southern Shona were recounted in the preceding volume. Thus an idea was obtained of the origin of movements which have expanded rapidly since their inception, of the campaigning methods initially adopted, and of the struggle of Church officials to gain some kind of recognition for their indigenized institutions. A more detailed description of this process of Church expansion, unleashed by the Shona forerunners, can only be achieved by giving additional consideration to the motivating forces at work amongst the masses of people who followed these leaders. The nature of religious change and of the newly acquired affiliations in the lives of individuals should also be examined more closely on a wider scale.

In this chapter I shall try to provide some relevant answers to the questions raised in the introduction. But it will be useful first briefly to recapitulate a few of the main theories on causation, expounded by some of the recognized authorities on Independent African Churches elsewhere in Africa, before an analysis of the empirical data on the Southern Shona is presented.

I. THEORIES ON THE CAUSES OF AFRICAN CHURCH INDEPENDENCY

Investigators have, on the whole, tried to reduce the complexity of causative factors of the Independent Churches to a few basic background influences. Sundkler, Balandier and Andersson, for instance, lay great stress on the socio-political situation within which these movements arise. The fundamental causes are sought in social injustice arising from a policy or segregation, alienation of tribal lands, and racial tensions generally. According to Sundkler 'Separatism in South Africa has been the result, to a very large extent, of the presence of the colour bar within the Christian Church.' The tightening squeeze on the Africans through land-legislation is seen as a direct

cause of the increase in the membership of Independent Churches. Because of the land-hunger arising from restrictive legislation, the prophetic Church leader features as a Moses-figure who leads his followers forth to the Promised Land, i.e. to his own estate, where a Church colony is founded.\(^2\) Andersson relates the Messianic movements in the Congo to the need for political expression,\(^3\) and Balandier reminds us that this phenomenon originated in a ‘colonial situation’, where the colonized are subjected and discriminated against by the colonizers.\(^4\) Lucy Mair even calls the Independent Churches ‘a simple correlation between the appearance of cults and the absence of political representation.’\(^5\) Hence the Churches are characterized primarily as movements of political protest against the background of colonial paternalism and the rise of African nationalism.

Kuper and Knoob suggest that *ethnic factors* play an important role in determining the process of Independent Church formation. According to the former, the continued secession of new Church bodies in Swaziland reflects a characteristic of the traditional tribal structure. The breaking away and attainment of independence of a kin-group after the death of a family patriarch is a traditionally sanctioned custom, directly grafted onto Church life.\(^6\) The latter claims that the main reason for separatism does not lie in the fulfillment of biological needs (as Katesa Schlosser contends), nor in the reaction to a rigid application of Church law, but in the lack of comradeship when people leave the sheltered society of the Mission Station. Knoob sees in African society a driving power towards ‘Geborgenheit’ in a small intimate group and argues that the phenomenon of Separatism should be viewed, not with the Western society, Missions, or the process of acculturation as a starting point, but from an *ethnohistorical* angle starting with the African community. If this is done, it will be noticed ‘dass die Bantu immer noch an der kleinen Gruppe als dem Ideal eines sozialen Gebildes festhalten. Das Idealbild der Grossfamilie wird auf die Kirchengemeinde übertragen, wie früher auf Klan und Stamm [my italics].’\(^7\) Sundkler, too, suggests, that a comparative study might reveal ‘a morphological correspondence between the “pattern” of a tribal culture and the type, or types, of Christianized prophetic movement which it tends to produce.’\(^8\)

3. Andersson, 1958, *passim*.
Harold Turner, an authority on West African Independent Churches, abandons the socio-political, economic and ethnic factors as the major originating causes, and emphasizes the basically religious nature of these movements. In the face of a disintegrating old order this phenomenon proves to be a creative religious response in that it provides security, fellowship and spiritual guidance within the context of newly formed in-groups. The 'Church of the Lord' which he describes in great detail represents a Christian Church, a 'living development' at the point where the African past is challenged by the new world of the Bible. Its origin and growth stand in direct relation to the actual work of the Holy Spirit.

Oosthuizen regards it as a mistake to see the Independent movements as nationalistic enterprises with political aspirations. He emphasizes the reactionary nature of Ethiopianism, a reaction against the inborn Western assumption of superiority. 'Although the deepest motive of many independent movements has been religious, one of their essential points is the transferring to the spiritual and ecclesiastical plane the opposition to white authority, which could be made effective only by reconstructing the African communities under African leadership [my italics].'

Barrett has attempted to analyze the causative factors of independency in a breadth-study over a vast number of societies in Africa. The method adopted in this essentially new approach to the problem is of interest, since it indicates how Barrett arrived at his ultimate theory on causation. Having studied independency among the Luo people in Kenya, he proceeded to review the most relevant literature on Africa in order to create a vast deposit of explanatory material and to construct a data matrix of the social history of religion in a representative sample of African tribes. Then some more 'field studies' were undertaken among a large number of tribes. A large-scale statistical comparison eventually enabled him to discern eighteen background factors linked with the phenomenon. These were examined at seven progressively deeper levels of analysis with the aid of specialists in various disciplines, and ultimately woven into a general theory. The first level of analysis, for instance, concerns itself with the 'national correlates of independency' It determines that secessions generally occur in nations with a high number of (Protestant) Mission bodies; with a relatively high ratio of white to black population; with a high standard of living (of the white elite); with a

high percentage of literate persons, etc. On the second and third levels of analysis the 'tribal correlates of independency' are dealt with. These movements appear in tribes where polygamy is practised, where the ancestral cult is prominent, where the missionaries have been for a long period and have provided the people with a translation of the Bible into the vernacular, etc. The higher the incidence of the 18 correlates in any particular tribe, the greater the chance of a mental climate (tribal Zeitgeist) of progressive disaffection and of a fertile soil for schism.

The last four levels of analysis are all included in the theme: 'Reaction to Mission' In his treatment of the eighteen variables Barrett now sets out to validate his hypothesis that 'independency is a societal reaction to mission arising out of a tribal Zeitgeist or climate of opinion in which Christian missions were believed to be illegitimately mounting an attack against African traditional society and in particular its basic unit, the family.'

The all-out assault of Missions on polygamy represents a background conditioning (to Separatism) largely below the level of the conscious. The attack on the ancestral cult implied an attack on the very foundations of tribal and family structure. Such interference in a society with a high premium on kinship obligations and tribal loyalty led to resentment and opposition since it was felt that something fundamental in African society was being threatened with extinction.

Barrett tries to place the factor of colonialism in its proper perspective. Colonial presence, he suggests, is only one of several factors conditioning the complex growth of the tribal Zeitgeist. It has indeed contributed towards independency. This phenomenon, however, cannot be qualified as a reaction to colonialism; it is primarily a 'reaction to Mission' Barrett also observes that the demand for spiritual independence in an African community increases as soon as the scriptures are published in the local language. At first the Missions had absolute control over the scriptures and their interpretation was final. But unrestricted access to the Bible provided the African with an independent standard of reference, and one (especially the Old Testament) which seemed closer to his own society than that of the white man. The discrepancy between Mission practices and Biblical norms was soon detected. A statistical analysis of 724 tribes leads Barrett to the conclusion that 'in tribes with portions [of scripture] only, the probability of separatism being present is 56 per cent; with New Testaments, it is 67 per cent; and with complete Bibles is 81 per cent.' Finally Barrett qualifies the root cause of

15. Ibid., p. 131.
the entire movement of independency in his basic theory as:

'a failure in sensitivity, the failure of missions at one small point to demonstrate consistently the fullness of the biblical concept of love as sensitive understanding towards others as equals, the failure to study or understand African society, religion and psychology in any depth, together with a dawning African perception from the vernacular scriptures of the catastrophic nature of this failure and of the urgent necessity to remedy it in order that Christianity might survive on African soil [Barrett's italics]."'

This threefold failure of Missions is then elaborated in the three themes of philadelphia, Africanism and Biblicalism. In the first place there was a lack of brotherly love (Biblical concept of philadelphia) and a distinctly paternalistic attitude towards converts; secondly, the lack of a sympathetic contact led to an incomplete understanding of the whole traditional complex (Africanism) – the good elements in traditional customs were not sufficiently differentiated from the bad; and thirdly, the missionaries generally failed to discern the many parallels between African society and Biblical faith as the exceptional few, like a Bruno Gutmann of Tanganyika, had done. Instead of christianizing traditional customs, these were deprecated or proscribed for converts.

Most of the above-mentioned theories touch on some important factor or other, involved in the preparation of a fertile soil for the growth of Independent Church movements. It is often a matter of emphasis, determined to a great extent by the particular interest and disposition of the investigator, without the postulated root cause necessarily excluding the complex of other factors involved. It is important to note, however, that several of the theories presented seem to be based on the assumption that the phenomenon of independency as such originates from within the Mission Churches in Africa. The very title of Barrett's book Schism and Renewal, and his great emphasis on the reaction to Missions create the impression that we are here dealing with groups of people of whom most have, at some stage or other, actually belonged to one of the numerous Mission Churches. Sundklér's use of the term 'Separatism' and his description of 'the dynamics of fission' in the Bantu Church movements leave one with a similar impression. He describes the continuous emergence of new Churches in South Africa in three stages: the first being the initial secession; the second, the integration of the new Church; and the third, the new crisis and new secession. The initial secession from

16. Ibid., p. 156.
17. Ibid., p. 157.
the Mission Church or some other Independent Church is mostly preceded by a period of expectation, followed by deliberate preparation of the schism from within, which in turn leads to a brief or prolonged secession crisis, during which the seceding leader and his or her followers leave the parental body. In the South African setting it may very well be that the majority of Independent Church adherents are drawn from the Mission Churches. Case studies in other parts of Africa even support this assumption. Turner, for instance, has pointed out that the Church of the Lord in West Africa drew approximately 75% of its members from the 'older Churches' and only 14% from paganism or Islam.

Among the Southern Shona, however, the situation is essentially different. From the chapters in Volume I dealing with the rise of these movements it is clear that the classic schism, as described by Sundkler, did not take place in the initial stages of development of any of the four major movements concerned. None of the first Ndaza Zionist leaders nor Mutendi actually prepared a schism from within a Mission Church and then broke away with a whole faction of Mission Church members during a conceivable secession crisis. Nor did Bishop Chidemho of the FEC, or Johane Maranke of the Apostolic movement. The latter leader was employed in Umtali for some time before he returned to the tribal area where he started to organize his Church among traditionalists as well as Mission Church members. Only in the case of Sengwayo some evidence was found of a build-up of tension within the ranks of the American Board Mission, which led to the breaking away of several prominent Church leaders during approximately the same period. But even here the individual case-histories of the Chibarirwe leaders, covering the period preceding Sengwayo's founding of the Rhodesian branch of the Congregational movement, are insufficiently related to each other to speak of an organized schism. Men like Rev. Dzukuso and Pahla had already been dismissed from Mission service for polygamy and other reasons before they decided to join the ACC.

In order to qualify the reaction to Missions, which indeed there was (and at present still is), it is important to stress that the Shona Independent Church movement did not occur as a spectacular exodus from the Mission Churches, or as a mass movement within a relatively short period. It is true that the Maranke Apostolic movement did expand quickly, but its growth followed the same pattern as that of most of the other Independent Churches in that the leading figures had to travel far and wide on protracted campaigns,

19. Gerdener, 1958, p. 188 f.
The process of Church growth

attracting individuals and families from a wide variety of Mission Churches and also – or in particular – from strictly paganistic circles, rather than drawing great numbers from any single denomination all of a sudden. The statistical evidence which we will present bears out quite clearly that in these Shona movements the *majority of members never paid full allegiance to any Mission Church at all.*

2. ANALYSIS OF THE SETTING AND PROCESS OF CHURCH GROWTH

a) Chronology of growth

The results of the random sample survey in Chingombe (table 2) provide us with an idea of the growth of the Mission and Independent Churches in that particular community. As the oldest Church in the district the DRC shows a steady growth from the 1920s up to present times. A substantial number of people regularly joined this Mission Church without causing an exceptional rise in numbers during any particular decade. The RCC and Methodist Churches started making converts in the chiefdom after 1940. Whereas the latter expanded gradually, adding only a few members to their ranks each year, the former developed rapidly after 1955 by trebling the number of their converts during the last years of that decade. It also appeared that 45% of the adult Roman Catholics in Chingombe attained membership of this Church after 1960, compared to the 18% of the DRC. As late-comers the two Pentecostal Mission Churches – Full Gospel and Church of Christ – only started making converts after 1950 and 1960, respectively. The Church of Christ gained 70% of its total membership (at the time of the survey) between the years 1960 and 1964.

The two Zionist movements whose leaders started operating in Chingombe during the 1930s, and the Apostolic movement which was introduced after 1940, developed gradually in the course of time. Mutendi’s Church gained momentum in the 1940s, then seemed to lapse in the following decade, only to leap ahead again after 1960. As many as 45% of its total membership at the time of the survey had become affiliated after 1960. The Ethiopian-type churches only started attracting large numbers after 1955. Seventy-nine per cent of the FEC and 72% of the Chibarirwe members joined these movements after 1960.

It should be noted that the composite picture of the growth of Christianity in Chingombe is somewhat distorted since the factor of deaths has not been incalculated in table 2, and it is obvious that the overall percentage of
persons joining Churches during the earlier decades should be slightly higher than is actually indicated. This table nevertheless retains its validity for comparative purposes. It reflects, for instance, how the DRC dominated the religious field during the early decades up to 1950. In this period not a single Church added as many members to its ranks as did this denomination with its monopoly in the educational field. In the next decade it was an even 'race' between the DRC and RCC, but after 1960 the former Church clearly lost ground. Not only the RCC but also the combined membership of the Pentecostal Missions, FG and C of C, the Zionist movement (Ndaza and ZCC), the FEC and the Chibairirwe surpassed the DRC as regards the number of new members added to their ranks. With a total of 68 new adult members in the 21 surveyer villages the Chibairirwe had gained ground more rapidly amongst the adult population than any other Church in Chingombe in the period between 1960 and 1967. Another aspect highlighted by this table is that the information obtained from the DRC and the Independent Spirit-type Churches concerns large numbers of people who had spent a life-time in their Churches, compared with the relatively short periods of adherence by the majority of RCC and Ethiopian-type Church members.

A graphic illustration, based on table 3, shows the overall growth of the Southern Shona Independent movement per decade since 1920. The Spirit-type Churches show a consistent rise in members after 1930, with a peak in the 1940s, a definite decrease of converted new members after 1950 and a new peak for the ZCC after 1960, with the Ndaza movement seemingly losing ground and the AACJM just about holding its own. On the other hand, the Ethiopian-type Churches made slow progress before 1950, but then proceeded to win new members at a much higher rate than did the Spirit-type Churches. These figures are, of course, geographically limited and the percentages indicating the increase of Church membership per group do not reflect the total influx in each group throughout its entire sphere of influence in the country. The comparatively high influx in the Ethiopian-type Churches after 1950, as shown in the graph, in fact represents a phenomenon geographically less widespread than the country-wide Zionist and Apostolic movements.

There seems to have been two peak periods during the development of the entire movement of independency; the one stretching from the 1960s to the 1940s, and the other (still in a state of development) in the 1960s. One can trace the recent success of the FEC and ACC to the energetic activities and outstanding leadership of Bishop Gavure and Rev. Ruwana. At the same
time, however, there seems to exist a causal link between these two peaks of Church expansion and political developments in the country, an aspect which will be discussed towards the end of this chapter.

b) Age and sex structure

In Chingombe 36% of the adult Church-going community became Church members before they were twenty years of age, and 62% of them did so before their thirtieth year (table 4). The Churches gaining a considerably more than average number of members below thirty years of age are the Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Full Gospel and the Ndaza Zionist Churches. One of the main reasons for the DRC's attraction of young people (85% of its total membership became adherents before they reached thirty) is obviously its dominance in the educational field, its constant influence on the young through its seven schools. Without a similar advantage in this chiefdom the RCC attracts greater numbers of a more advanced age.

Lively forms of worship in the Methodist Church and a special attention to singing and dancing in both the Full Gospel and the Ndaza Zionist groups - which is greatly appreciated by the Chingombe youth - probably account to a great extent for the success of these Churches among the young.

In respect of age structure, the Ethiopian-type Churches are decidedly different from all the others. The FEC attracted only a few people below the age of twenty, and the Chibarirwe none at all. About equal numbers joined the FEC under and after the age of thirty - but the Chibarirwe lives up to its popular designation by ruralists as the 'kereke yavakuru' (Church of the elders) with a solid 89% of its members having associated themselves with this group at an advanced age (the majority being well above thirty). This Church also holds the greatest attraction for old people above sixty who still think of turning to Christianity. Lively forms of worship in the FEC probably account to some extent for the recruitment of larger numbers of young people than is the case with the Chibarirwe.

Apparently the main explanation for the popularity of the Ethiopian movement with the older people is its great leniency towards traditional customs generally and the ancestral cult in particular. In traditional ritual life it is often the old women past child-bearing age who brew the beer for the ancestors, and it is mostly the older men who take the initiative to intermediate between the ancestral world and their living kin. Even a young man who has been officially acknowledged as the name-bearer of his deceased father at a kugadzira ritual will normally leave most of his ritual obligations
to one of his elder paternal uncles until he himself is more advanced in age. Strong pressure is often brought to bear by young family members on their ageing agnates to propitiate the family ancestors on their behalf. Consequently a real crisis or a slow drifting away from Church life through increased traditional ritual obligations often occurs in the lives of converted elderly Africans. A Church which allows elders to honour their duties and obligations to their deceased forefathers without frowning upon such actions as being sinful, and actually leaves enough scope for such people simultaneously to hold office in the Church itself, naturally appeals to these vakuru.

An interesting feature in the rural Church membership is the distribution of adult males and females. Due to the absence of significant numbers of female labour migrants, the balance between males and females is disturbed, and it was to be expected that more females than males would be affiliated to the rural congregations. In Chingombo there appeared to be a marked difference between Mission and Independent Churches, insofar as the former showed an average ratio of 33% males to 67% females compared to 43% males and 57% females in the latter (table 5). These figures reflect the special attraction of the IC movement for the males of rural communities, an attraction derived mainly from the compact leadership hierarchies which provide an outlet for frustrated ambition. This is particularly true of the Ndaza Zionists, in whose ranks we notice an evenly balanced sex distribution. Compared to the large zcc congregations with a limited core of office-bearers per group, the Ndaza congregations comprise smaller units with, as a result, a higher proportion of adult males holding office in the leadership hierarchies of this movement. The Ndaza movement with its less rigidly centralized leadership system than that of Mutendi, with more scope for the development of initiative by junior officials at the local level, and better prospects for speedy promotion to senior positions, holds a strong attraction for males with leadership ambition.

On the other hand, Mutendi's zcc, with 31% males and 69% females, is the only IC group with and adult sex distribution similar to the average Mission Church. The most feasible explanation for this exception lies in the prestige of the leader of this group as a healer and provider of fertility to women, a potent force which adds to the attraction of this Church for females.

c) Fluidity of Church membership and the nature of religious change

Instead of using the term 'schism' or 'secession' to indicate the never-ending
process of people breaking away from one denomination and joining the ranks of another, I would rather refer to this phenomenon as the fluidity of Church membership. This term leaves more scope for the entire process, which involves numerous cases of people who do not break away deliberately to attach themselves immediately to another religious group, but who gradually drift from one group to another, or become non-active in one Church before they actually try another. From the Western point of view the apparent ease with which Africans change their religious affiliation is often mistaken for religious instability or even insincerity. It should be considered, however, that African Christianity lacks the deep-rooted sanctions of the age-old Western Churches and that the confessional basis of the latter has a totally different meaning in the African context with its traditional background of religious tolerance. Scores of sincere Shona Christians, when questioned about the difference between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, distinguish only such superficial practices as: ‘In the one we pray with our eyes closed and in the other with open eyes’; or ‘in the one we pray through Mary and in the other we don’t’ Belonging to the one is ultimately just as good as belonging to the other. A change of denomination is therefore not inhibited by the same barriers of prejudice and doctrinal differences as it is in the West. Moreover, the prime concern in Africa, as Turner puts it, ‘is with spiritual satisfaction and power, and for many there is no rest till these are found.’

Table 6 deals with the fluidity of Church membership in the entire Christian community of the Chingombe chiefdom. The predominance of (adult) Christian females (62% of the total number) over Christian males (38%) is clearly reflected. More than 60% of both men and women in the various Churches have never paid former allegiance to any other denomination. Thus a substantial percentage of African Christians prove to have a stable Church membership. The ‘fluid’ element is composed of those who change from one Mission Church to another (10%), or from Mission Church to Independent Church (19%). A small number of people have belonged to several Mission and/or Independent Churches. These are mostly women in search of a cure for barrenness (chibereko, literally fruit, i.e. the power of bearing children). A comparatively small number of people have changed from Independent Church to Mission Church (3%) or from one Independent Church to another (3%), the majority of them again women. One of the reasons for this trend is that some females return to their former Mission or Independent Churches after the death of their husbands. Although religious change in Chingombe

primarily concerns a movement from Mission to Independent or another Mission Church (total: 30% of all Christians), the movement from Independent Churches (total: 7%) to another Independent or Mission Church should not be overlooked. If spiritual satisfaction is not found in an Independent Church, despite its adaptation to African ways of life, the search is continued. For some it eventually results in the return to the religion of their pagan fathers.

A closer examination (table 7) brings to light that, in the Chingombe area, DRC membership consists almost exclusively of persons not previously attached to any other Church, though all the other Mission Churches in the area have drawn considerable numbers from various Mission Churches. Thus 22% of the Catholics and as much as 61% of the Church of Christ members previously belonged to another Mission Church, which in the Chingombe ecclesiastic context can be none other than the DRC. Of the Independent Churches the majority of Mutendi Zionists (55%) and Ndaza Zionists (60%) were recruited directly from the non-Christian part of the population, compared with the 47% of the Ethiopian-type Church members. The Maranke Apostles stand out as the group deriving the highest percentage (59%) of its members from Mission Churches. With the exception of this Spirit-type Church and the FEC, the Independent Churches had all drawn less than 40% of their members directly from a Mission flock.

In order to take the analysis a step further we must now determine the nature of the former Church allegiance of those who had defected from Mission to Independent Churches. Table 8 provides an overall assessment of the four Southern Shona ‘Independent’ movements. With the inclusion of rural Church headquarters and urban case-studies the significant point emerges clearly: 55% of the total (interviewed) Independent Church members had had no prior Mission Church affiliation. If it is considered that 10% of the combined samples had been affiliated to the DRC only in the sense of having been educated at a DRC school or having received some preliminary catechetical training without actually having been confirmed, it is evident that well over 60% of all the Independent Church members never paid full allegiance to any Mission Church. Although the element of separatism undeniably remains, these figures provide us with sufficient ground to qualify the Independent Churches in the first place as missionary movements and not primarily as ‘separatist’ or ‘proselytizing’ groups. It furthermore cautions one to speak with some reserve about the so-called ‘reaction to Missions’.

Another significant feature of table 8 is the high rate of defection from Protestant Churches. Considering only those who had formerly belonged to a Mission Church, it appears that a mere 9% of them had come from a
Roman Catholic background, whereas 73% of the ‘defectors’ had in one or another way been affiliated to the DRC (50% were full communicant members and 23% only attended DRC schools, some of them having received some form of catechetical training). It is inevitable that in areas where the DRC had been the major missionary power during the first half of this century, the majority of ‘defectors’ would be from this particular strain of Protestantism. These figures should therefore not be interpreted as an indication that IC members are more likely to come from one Protestant denomination rather than from another. The comparatively high frequency of Apostle ‘defectors’ with a Methodist background may be ascribed to the dominance of the Methodist Church in the Maranke reserve. Thus the figures denoting persons who had belonged to one of the individual Protestant denominations are likely to show a distinct correlation with the size of that Church in the area concerned.

It is generally accepted, though, that the Roman Catholic Church has thus far been able to maintain the most stable membership. One of the reasons may well be the delayed distribution of scriptures in the vernacular.24

DRC origin proves to be the strongest in the Ethiopian-type movement, especially in the Chibarirwe and the ARC (Shonganiso) Churches. In contrast with the average of 23% of the total IC membership in the combined samples and 50% of all the defectors, who formerly paid full allegiance to the DRC as communicant members, the Chibarirwe figures in this respect are much higher: 35% of all Chibarirwe members, and 68% of the defectors in this Church, had formerly been full participants in DRC religious life. Despite the fact that the largest field of recruitment for this Church was outside the Christian realm, this high frequency of former DRC affiliation substantiates the suggestion made before that the Chibarirwe, more than any other Independent Church, serves as a ‘depository’ for the malcontents of the Mission Churches, in this case particularly the DRC.

But the Chibarirwe served a similar purpose for those who defected from Independent Churches. In the overall survey including the two main Mission Churches and the Independent Churches (973 adults: 335 DRC and RCC; 638 IC members) it appears that some 9% of the members had left an Independent Church, and that the Chibarirwe Church here, too, attracted more ‘defectors’ than any other single Church (see table 9). Few of these ‘defectors’ return to (or then for the first time join) the Mission Churches, which proves that Mission Church efforts thus far undertaken to win back defectors ‘lost’ to the Independent Churches, have been practically fruitless.

I suggest that the main reason for the Chibarirwe’s success as a detracting force is its leniency as regards beer drinking and traditional customs. As they grow older a number of people in the prophetic movements find it increasingly difficult to comply with the high standards of Church law set by their leaders, such as prohibition of strong beer and certain food-stuffs. The alternative for them is the Chibarirwe or the First Ethiopian Church.

In comparison, fewer members have broken away from the Ethiopian-type than from the Spirit-type Churches, which seems to prove that the prophetic movements are less stable than their Ethiopian-type counterparts (table 9). As the oldest Independent Church in Chingombe, Mutendi’s Zionist Church loses members to nearly all the other Churches in the chiefdom, and there is also movement from the Ndaza Zionist and Apostolic Churches. Personal factors, such as leadership ambition, contribute towards this fissiparous tendency. One of the most potent causes, however, is the prophet’s preoccupation with healing and exorcism of spirits and the attention to a wide variety of needs in everyday life. Individuals who are in need of a job, a cure, a protection against the spirits or wizardry, etc., often are baptized and remain in the prophet’s Church until the specific objective is achieved, or until another prophet’s success convinces such a person that he or she may fare better in the other group. Prophetic leaders complain that such people become temporary members just to suit their own ends. At the same time the competitive spirit among the different leaders provides sufficient urge for prophets to take the chance of baptizing people who they know will probably become only temporary members. The widespread reputation of the Zion Christian Church as an institution which provides solutions to numerous problems of ruralists through the mystical powers of its leader causes a larger number of opportunists to join this movement for short periods than some of the other prophetic groups with less gifted personalities as leaders. Consequently the zcc has a larger fringe of unstable and unpredictable membership attached to its nucleus of reliable adherents than any of the other Churches.

An idea of the nature of religious change was obtained by determining each Independent Church member’s interim period of non-affiliation, if any, in the process of detachment from one Church and linking up with another. The additional perspective achieved in this way shows that the change from Mission to Independent Churches is a less straightforward and direct process than one may have expected. In table 10 it appears that an average of only 23% of the total Independent Church membership (45% of all the ‘defectors’) have moved directly from Mission to Independent Church. A considerable number of those who have changed (73%) claim to have spent a
shorter or longer period 'in the world' (munyika) i.e. have become inactive in Church life before they became members of the new movement. Next to the Chibarirwe, the ZCC and FEC recruited many former Mission Church members who had been inactive for periods up to 5 years and longer. The Chibarirwe in particular is a case in point. As the Church with the highest number of former DRC members and with the most obvious 'reactionary' practices, one may have expected to find a high rate of direct DRC — ACC shift. Yet it is remarkable that this group comprises the lowest number of dissidents (17% of the total membership of the Church and 28% of its 'defectors') coming straight from a Mission Church. The majority of former Mission Church members in the Chibarirwe ranks were recruited after they had actually been non-participants for periods of one to five years (22% of the 'dissenters') or periods exceeding five years (29% of the 'dissenters').

The above-mentioned figures should not be interpreted as a reduction of the reactionary factor in the IC movement. Much of the reaction to Mission involves an indirect, partly submerged or even sub-conscious process, as will be argued below. Yet the low rate of direct change from Mission to Independent Churches substantiates our observation that Southern Shona Independence involves a retarded and subtle process of reaction, and no spectacular eruption of reactionary forces leading to massive schisms. I suggest that the very subtlety of the process has caused missionaries in the field to underestimate the importance of the whole movement and to assume that they were not really losing great number of their own flock to the so-called 'Separatists'. Indeed, the fact that a mere 150 Mission Church members, out of a fairly representative number of 638 IC members, defected directly from their Mother Churches to the vaZioni, va Pastori, vaTopia and Chibarirwe (as these movements are locally called) over a long period of several decades seems to prove this assumption. The scores of persons who thronged to the Chibarirwe and other groups long after they had severed close ties with their parental Church or after they had slipped to the neglected ranks of the 'backsiders' (kuheduka: to backslide), were no longer counted as real members. Consequently the rate of loss of membership consciously noticed by the Mission Churches did not generally correspond to the growth in numbers of the IC movement.

In connection with table 10 it should also be stated that, with the exception of a negligible few, all those members who changed from Independent to Independent Churches did so directly or after a short interval of non-affiliation. The 12% of the dissidents classified as having changed directly from one Independent Church to another are individuals who formed part of a secessionist group that broke away from the main IC leader or from
other advanced splinter-groups, several of which have been mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5 in Volume 1, or individuals whose change of affiliation resulted from strictly personal preference and not from a concerted action during a particular period of internal Church crisis. A minority (6% of the dissidents), mainly found in the prophetic camp, had changed rapidly from one Independent Church to another. These people, as a rule, had moved from prophet to prophet or in a variety of patterns between Western medical centres, nganga and a number of prophets in search of a cure or some other aid.

d) Locality of recruitment

In Volume I (Chapter 1, table 16) the high incidence of labour-migrancy in the Chingombe community was discussed. At least 70% of the interviewed adult men had at some stage or other left the chiefdom to enter the wage-labour market in, or within reach of, urban and industrial centres. The women were generally less mobile, but some of them, too, had spent some time, especially while still young, as urban wage-labourers. Theoretically at least a substantial number of Chingombe labour migrants could, under the new circumstances of urban life, therefore have chosen a denomination differing from the one to which they originally belonged, as the main Zionist office-bearers Mutendi and Andreas Shako had done in South Africa. Some of them indeed profess to have temporarily associated with a wider variety of Church members in town than in the tribal areas. Nevertheless, only 1% of the Mission and Independent Church members in Chingombe had obtained their Church membership while staying in a city or town (table 11). To practically all of them conversion, baptism – and in the case of major Mission Churches, confirmation – were therefore essentially rural experiences. A number of DRC (65%) and RCC members (36%) had been confirmed while attending school at one of the Mission stations or at an out-school, a reflection of the proportionate educational situation in Chingombe.

Even in the Mucheke township (table 12), more than 60% of the interviewed adult Church members claimed to have attained their membership in the tribal areas, whether at home or at school. The town-sample could not be extended sufficiently to enable me to assess with accuracy to what extent Churches in town were recruiting new members in the urban setting or were merely functioning as 'spiritual harbours' to their members coming in from the rural areas. The figures seem to indicate that in the case of some of the Mission Churches the urban recruits were at least as numerous as their already affiliated members coming in from outside. Although the number of
interviewed Catholics recruited in town was low, it might be expected that this Church with its highly-rated town school 'Don Bosco' was in a better position than the other Mission Churches to recruit among urban schoolgoing youth. The one Church that proved to be different from all the others in that it is predominantly an urban institution with its main thrust focused on the urban population was the AMEC. Nearly all its members in the township had been recruited there, and the activities of the principal leaders of the southern Church circuit in Rhodesia were directed at such towns as Fort Victoria, Shabani and Mashaba, rather than at the rural areas.

The remarkable feature of the religious situation in town is, in the first place, the total absence of the FEC and the Chibarirwe, in an organized form, and in the second place, the low rate of recruitment of new members by the Spirit-type Churches. With the exception of one or two minor congregations in other townships, the two Ethiopian-type Churches which I studied are entirely rural movements. Some of their members occasionally reside in town, as all other labour migrants do, but they have as yet been unable, in Fort Victoria at least, to create anything like an organized religious group-life. Minority groups of members in the urban zcc, Ndaza and Apostle congregations, amounting to about 15–30% of the urban Spirit-type congregations, have been recruited in town. If it is considered that several of the Mutendi and Ndaza Zionists, as indicated in table 12, have belonged to some IC movement in the rural areas before moving to town, and that the Komboni followers have in fact all been rural Ndaza Zionists (mainly of David Masuka's group) before taking up residence in town, it is possible that actually less than 20% of the urban 'Independents' have obtained their initial membership of this movement in town.

It would be a valid conclusion that the urban Zionist and Apostle Churches are in the first place extensions of the rural congregations and act as a spiritual harbour for those members who occasionally live in town. In the course of time these Churches may become rooted in urban soil and develop urban forms of organization more obviously divorced from rural Church life. In the greater industrial centres of Bulawayo and Salisbury, with larger numbers of settled African urbanites, the Independent Churches may have developed stable congregations, including second and third generation mem-

25. The figures on the Independent Churches in table 12 are more reliable as 'impressionistic' data than those on the larger Mission Churches because the IC congregations do not comprise such large numbers as, for example, the DRC, RCC, Methodist and Anglican groups. In some instances the interviewed IC adults comprise practically the entire group of adults regularly attending the particular Church's religious meetings. The composition and size of urban congregations will be dealt with in Volume 3.
bers who are beginning to conceive of the cities as home, and may be moulding their local branches into exclusively urban-orientated organizations to meet their specific needs.

In Fort Victoria, where the Spirit-type Churches still represent a primarily rural phenomenon, sermons deal with rural problems or with urban problems from a rural point of view. Recruitment techniques and campaigns are primarily adapted to the needs of the subsistence farmers or to the intrigues of tribal politics in the rural areas. Mutendi’s powers, for instance, greatly appeal to farmers, who are more vulnerable to threatening droughts than the wage-labourers in town, and to the possible heirs to headmen or chiefs who seek supernatural assistance to further their tribal political claims.

The prophets in town are busy enough with the detection of wizardry, exorcism of spirits and faith-healing, but in the urban setting with its limited living quarters the prophetic activities do not take place in a small colony of ‘patients’ with its own group-integrating activities, as is the case in the tribal areas. Consequently the urban prophets cannot exploit their charismatic activities as an effective recruitment technique, and their services rendered to ‘pagan’ (i.e. non-Zionist or non-Apostle) clientele seldom lead to a lasting association with their ‘patients’, even if the treatment is preceded by a baptismal ceremony. A special study was made of Mutendi’s present-day evangelistic campaigns which are based on the country-wide journeys of specially commissioned office-bearers, following the major restivals at Moriah. These evangelistic thrusts are evidently directed at the rural communities and seldom include large-scale meetings in town. During my stay in the ‘Holy City’ the reports on new converts, made back at Moriah after such campaigns, always concerned ruralists. Reports on town congregations usually dealt with organizational matters of the already existing congregations, and seldom included reference to new conversions.

e) ‘Reaction to Missions’

The questionnaire used in the field was designed to elicit, as far as possible, the informants’ reactions to Mission Churches. Questions concerning religious change were aimed at determining the nature of their reaction (if any) to the people or practices of the Churches to which they previously belonged and the extent to which such reaction had actually stimulated a change of religious affiliation. For various reasons the answers obtained in this way cannot be used as the only criteria for gauging the full extent of reaction to Missions.
In the first place, a number of people were reluctant to give full particulars about their religious life. Some of them, undoubtedly suspicious of the whole investigation, refrained from voicing such criticism as might prejudice their future positions. Others again were anxious to give answers which they thought might please the investigator, and it can reasonably be assumed that such accounts lack the cutting edge of conflicting feelings which may have preceded a breakaway from Mission Churches.

In the second place one should reckon with the deep-felt need for official recognition in the ranks of the Independent Churches. Some persons who may have reacted strongly in the past to what they regarded as an intrusion of Church authorities into their private lives, to the paternalism of missionaries, or the attack on their traditions, often adopt a much more compromising and even appreciative attitude towards Missions once they are fully identified with the new movement. In expressing their hopes of recognition they sometimes venture to suggest ways of ecumenical co-operation between Mission and Independent Churches, which would further their aspirations. The result is that the crucial event or particular circumstances leading to the severance of ties with the Mission Church in the past may not be mentioned at all, or glossed over in a brief narrative of religious experience. This makes it extremely difficult to reduce the facts to a major causative factor.

In the third place there are people who attained Independent Church membership without ever having belonged to a Mission Church and therefore make no mention of any Mission, while their expressed liking for the religious practices of the Independent movement merely suggests disapproval of the strong influence of Missions on African life in general. Much of the reactionary feeling may therefore be found at the subconscious level; it may not be vented in so many words, or merely be indirectly expressed. If one considers the substantial number of people who actually attend catechism classes without ever being confirmed in the Mission Church but who later join one of the local IC groups, it seems likely that some form of indirect reaction may be involved, since they were in a position to choose (for) the Mission Church, but preferred the Independent Church. To a certain extent members who profess to have been attracted to the Independent Churches by faith-healing and other practices particularly adapted to the traditional background may, by implication, have reacted against the Western-orientated approach to the specific set of valued traditions. Outspoken approval of both the strictly religious and the side-activities of the African Church leaders, as the explicitly voiced reasons for joining the Independent Churches (to be discussed in detail in the following chapters), often implies disapproval of Mission Church practices, whether acutely experienced, pointedly verbalized or only
vaguely realized. As a background factor conditioning the rise of the entire movement the 'reaction to Mission' cannot, therefore, be discounted. In fact, I have already suggested in Volume 1, Chapter 3, what kind of attitudes, doctrines and implementation of Church laws by missionaries are most likely to provoke reaction.

Yet this emphasis on direct and indirect reaction to Missions, important as it is, does not necessarily provide us with sufficient grounds for characterizing the Shona Independent Churches merely or solely as 'reactionary movements', or, as Barrett does, to reduce the root cause of this kind of phenomenon to the basic theory of 'the failure of Missions in love'. Barrett's threefold qualification of the failure of Missions obviously stretches wide enough to include practically all the major common mistakes made by missionaries; much of which does not, however, result from lack of understanding or love as he seems to imply, but in a number of cases from inspired conviction or from a complexity of other factors as well. The point is that to trace the major causative factors of independency back to the mistakes of missionaries, whether these derive from a lack of understanding, compassion, a different cultural background or a specific set of theological premises, is to pinpoint an essential aspect without doing full justice to the creativity within these movements. Their creative response to the Gospel has been conditioned by much more than a seemingly negative (outspoken or indirect) reaction to Missions. In our treatment of the subject this creative response to the new message from within a changing, yet traditional, African society will at times be contrasted with the approach of Missions in order to demonstrate the vital differences. But many of these adapted religious practices, it should be remembered, form part of an essentially African response to the Gospel, an independent force free from European supervision and also distinct from the compulsive urge generated by real reaction.

In spite of the fact that the interview material is too limited to give an accurate picture of the reaction to Missions, we nevertheless present our findings in table 13. Of the total sample (185 DRC, 150 RCC and 638 IC members) 64% never defected from a Mission Church; 15% defected without the reason for joining another Church being consciously related to any form of reaction to or criticism of a Mission Church. Thus the explicitly expressed reactionary factor is mentioned by only an approximate 20% of the total sample.

It has been noted that hardly any persons had defected to the DRC. Several of those who had left this Church for the RCC gave vent to resentment of the DRC strictures on beer drinking, the implementation of disciplinary measures, the collection of Church fees and the long duration of cate-
The process of Church growth 27

Chiasm classes. The background to the conflict of interests between the DRC and RCC has already been sketched in Volume 1, Chapter 3. As a relative late-comer in the Gutu area, the RCC with its accommodative approach, much like the Chibarirwe, succeeded in drawing into its fold a number of former dissidents and in some cases embittered members disciplined by the DRC. We mention but one example — the case of a certain B.M. who lives near Albeit Mission. His comment is typical of members who have been ‘cut off’ from communion services because of elopement:

‘I was a DRC member for many years. When my wife and I eloped she conceived before we were actually married in Church. Consequently we were disciplined [ta piwa shamhu]. I decided that it would be too difficult to remain a member of such a Church, so I joined the RCC. The difference between these Churches is that the DRC leaders are too strict on Church laws: for instance, if I tresspass against a Church law I am ousted for a long time, whereas the RCC authorities judge such a matter, get done with it and leave you alone. When it is finished, it is finished! [Kana zvapera zvapera!]
The vaRoma have great love for those under their [spiritual] care.’

Notably low in the ranks of the Spirit-type Churches is the incidence of outspoken criticism of the Mission Churches as a reason for fission. They have their quota of members who defected from Mission Churches because of disciplinary measures undertaken against them, but this type of reactionary is more frequently found in the Ethiopian-type Churches, especially the Chibarirwe. Those Apostles and Zionists who specifically qualified their reactions to the Mission Churches complained about the ‘lack of’ the Holy Spirit, the neglect of the ‘Jordan’ baptism and the long duration, or, in fact, the practice of catechism as such in the Mission Churches. The most vocal critics of the DRC’s and RCC’s ‘neglect of the Holy Spirit’ are the Apostles. Johane Maranke, their leader, accepted the task of spreading the message of the Holy Spirit — the message which he believed was deliberately suppressed by the Europeans (‘descendants of Shem and Japheth’); the message ultimately accepted by the Africans (‘descendants of Ham’).

According to Chakaza, one of Johane’s sons-in-law and a prominent evangelist-judge in Maranke: ‘The Mission Churches do not follow the Biblical instructions. Therefore the DRC and RCC do not have the Holy Spirit. Some of their members practise traditional religion; they secretly go to the nganga and participate in Holy Communion shortly afterwards. This, we Apostles do not allow. It is sinful. Only the Holy Spirit working through our prophets

26. In Volume 3 closer attention will be paid to the anti-European tendencies and exclusivistic attitudes within the Apostolic movement.
reveals hidden sins such as wizardry, visits to the *nganga*, use of medicine and adultery. The sinners must repent in public before they are allowed to participate in the Sacraments. *Only through the Spirit can people be helped to stop doing wrong.* Besides, this Spirit of the Apostolic Church is the real Holy Spirit referred to in the New Testament.

Much of the resentment resulting from the culture clash in the contact between Africans and European missionaries is channeled by the Apostles into this main accusation of the missionary's neglect of the Holy Spirit. The outright depreciation by some missionaries of emotional forms of religious expression, and their sometimes ready belief that spells of excitement resembling *shavi*-possession are of a demonic nature, inevitably generated animosity. Phillip Chikomboya, a junior Apostolic baptist, recounted his experiences in this respect as follows: 'I was a Methodist at first. I left that Church because I had regular dreams of a prophetic nature. One day, while we were worshipping in the Church, the Holy Spirit took hold of me with force. All the Methodists said: "It is a bad spirit, a demon!" But my heart refused and I was greatly troubled by their accusation, until such time as I decided to join this Church of which I had dreamt.'

The Apostolic claim of being specially guided by the Holy Spirit and responding in the proper way to His directives is an exclusive one. The benefits of the Spirit's ministrations are interpreted as experienced in this era by the descendants of Ham, the black sons of Africa. Nationalistic ideals are closely linked with this reservation of the Spirit's blessing for a particular people. Accusations against Missions and Europeans generally often derive from a deep-seated suspicion that certain aspects of the New Message have deliberately been withheld from the black man in order to retard his development. Against a magico-religious background, advanced technological development is easily regarded as a special gift, derived from incomprehensible and supernatural sources. Accusations levelled against missionaries for 'repressing the message of the Spirit' or 'withholding "Jordan" baptism from Africans' can therefore have a much wider bearing than the actual words seem to convey. Mutendi's son Ruben stated for instance: 'Many Zionists are under the impression that the European missionaries have deliberately withheld the Jordan baptism from us Africans to prevent our enjoying its benefits, while they themselves secretly practised it.' It was evident that the 'benefits' referred to by Ruben involved much more than purely spiritual advantages. Did not his father, who had 'introduced Jordan baptism in the country', prosper like a *murungu* (white man) not only in the spiritual but also in the materialistic sense of the word?

The explicit, individually voiced, reactionary factor was the strongest in
the *Chibarirwe* Church. About 40% of the interviewed members of this group motivated their preference for this movement by criticizing the American Board or the DRC (table 13). Together with the FEC, this Church contains the highest number of vocal critics of missionary attack on traditional customs, especially the prohibition of beer; and also the highest number of people (20% of its membership) previously disciplined (*kurowba neshamhu*: lit. 'having been beaten with a stick') by Mission Churches for polygamy, elopement marriages and the use of strong beer. In the historical account of the *Chibarirwe* movement the grievances of Sengwayo, the early N'dau leaders and specifically of Moses Ruwana (polygamy) were described, and need no further elucidation. With the majority of reactionary *Chibarirwe* members, too, it is a clear-cut matter of criticizing rigid Church laws, of questioning the Missions' Biblical grounds for barring polygamists from Holy Communion, and of complaining about the adverse effect of *shamhu* measures undertaken against them. J.C., living within view of Albeit Mission, was a staunch supporter of the DRC until he was directly affected by the measures undertaken by the Church officials against his son, a schoolteacher. 'My son worked for the DRC as a schoolteacher when he ran into trouble with the Mission authorities. His wife became pregnant before the Church ceremony was conducted. I was greatly grieved because Rev. S stopped him from teaching and from attending the Holy Communion [Chirairo]. Eventually he was appointed by the Roman Catholic fathers in one of their schools. I myself then decided to join the First Ethiopian Church.'

The father reacted to the temporary discontinuation of the financial aid he was receiving from his son. He could not accept the idea of the so-called moral misconduct of his son interfering with his own social status and economic resources. Samson Maruma, a former Methodist, preferred membership of a Church where elopement was not regarded as improper behaviour. 'I became a member of the *Topia*, he stated, 'because I was not properly married. My in-laws prevented me from marrying in Church or at the office until I had completed the *roora* payment. So I came to this Church, which does not disqualify me if I cohabit with my "wife" before the Church ceremony is conducted.'

As indicated above, the majority of disciplined Church members linked up with Independent Churches, especially the *Chibarirwe*, only some time after they had severed ties with the Mission Churches. The evidence in a number of cases also reveals an acute sense of grievance at having been 'cut off' from congregational life, at being isolated from ordinary religious activities, in fact,
a pervading sense of sadness and loneliness. The humiliation of being found unworthy, of being cast aside, no doubt led to resentment. Had there been a face-saving trial by a tribunal handling delicate moral issues in privacy and having done with it, had there been greater understanding for the problems of the restricted Church members and a consistent, sympathetic maintenance of contact with such members, loss of membership could have been curbed considerably by Protestant denominations.

Possibly the saddest and most thought-provoking testimony came from Rev. R.M. ‘I joined the Topia Church’, he narrated, ‘because the DRC people were not really concerned about my fate. Four of my children died. On one occasion I informed the Church leaders at the Mission what had happened, but they refused to come to the burial of my child. I told my maternal uncle Chapinga [the foremost Topia leader in Bikita next to Bishop Gavure], who arrived with some Topia members at my homestead to assist me. They conducted the burial ceremony, provided the cloth to wrap up the corpse, and they consoled me. On another occasion the DRC officials promised to come and to conduct the burial of one of my children. But they never arrived. Again the vaTopia assisted me. This time I was convinced, and I joined their ranks.’

Full particulars about this case are unknown. It may well be that a busy program had kept the European missionary (in charge of the nearest Mission station) from attending the funerals at R.M.’s homestead, or that, through some misunderstanding, the other Mission elders failed to appear at the appointed time. However understandable such an omission might have been from the missionary’s point of view, it could not but leave the father of the deceased children with the feeling that he was being neglected, that the Church did not really care. A brief subsequent visit by one of the Mission officials as a sign of sensitive understanding may have assuaged the deep hurt. Instead, R.M. was convinced that ‘They don’t care about us [havana hanya nesu].’ His change of denominational affiliation did not even seem to cause the Mission Church leaders undue concern. Therein lies the real tragedy.

Few people mentioned racialism, or the hypocrisy of loveless social relations in contrast with the Gospel message of love, as a reason for breaking away from a Mission Church. Those who did were all members of the Ethiopian-type Churches (table 13), and several of them pointedly remarked that the missionaries ‘distinguish the colour of one’s skin’ (kushara ganda). But the occasional remarks dropped by IC leaders in the course of casual conversations nevertheless clearly revealed that even minor socially discriminatory attitudes and behaviour in black-white relations are a potent source of
resentment. This feeling contributes towards the urge for independent action and worship, free from the overriding supervision of Europeans. We mention two poignant remarks made by a prominent ARC leader and a Ndaza Zionist bishop:

The former said: 'The American Board missionaries have failed to realize that we have come of age. They fail to demonstrate real love to the Africans. We are not allowed to enter the same places as they ...'

The latter said: 'The DRC does not honour an African as a human being ... the missionaries even close their doors on us when they have their meals. We Zionists differ in this respect because we recognize each other as true Africans, real people created by God. Therefore we have a wonderful Church ...

Even though this kind of accusation was infrequently heard (and according to Table 13 seems to be an insignificant factor) one cannot deny that, right at the heart of the reaction to Missions, lies the feeling of humiliation (sometimes well hidden), caused primarily by the failure of missionaries to come to a fuller identification with Africans as fellow human beings and to respect their dignity as a people conditioned by completely different cultural values. Due to a variety of factors, such as inter-denominational competition, the zeal for winning souls, the urge to organize efficiently (according to Western standards), and the ingrained feeling of superiority, however subtly expressed, there has been a deplorable lack of 'Einfühlung' into the thought-world of the African. Dialogue between white and black was too often a one-sided process, in which the former talked to or was intent on teaching the latter, forgetting to cultivate the art of listening with the heart. It is not surprising that under such circumstances many Mission Church members searched for an institution where they could feel truly at home – a Church apart!

It would be unfair, however, not to mention that, in spite of criticism and accusations, there is often also a sense of genuine gratitude towards the Mission Churches among the Independents. Especially in the Zion Christian Church the DRC is often referred to as 'our [spiritual] father and mother'. Several Zionists confessed that this Church had 'started showing us the way to God', or spoke of the missionaries who 'first told us about Christian love'. Former DRC members, now holding office in the Independent movements, invariably mention outstanding missionary leaders like the Rev. A. A. Louw and the Rev. H. W Murray with great reverence. During sermons they referred to these men as the faithful and persevering bearers of the New Message to the Africans. Prophet Potai of the ZCC maintained that the only significant difference between his Church and the DRC was the public con-
fession of sins under prophetic pressure before the Holy Communion. 'But we are on good terms with the DRC people', he said, 'and when they visit us we ask them to preach in our congregations because the DRC is our father and our mother.' Similar comments were also made by the foremost members of the Chibarirwe and ARC. Rev. Ruwana, formerly one of the most forceful African preachers in the DRC, who left this Church on account of polygamy, stated: 'We have not really left the DRC. It is still our Church. All our Church ceremonies are practically the same. The only difference is that we allow a man to have more than one wife. The DRC is both father and mother to us. We want to co-operate with them.'

Rev. Sibambo, principal leader of the ARC, openly criticized the shortcomings of missionaries, but went on to say: 'I am not opposed to the Mission Churches. Now that we have our own ARC we want to foster good relations with the DRC. If I should meet with organizational problems I would like to go to Morgenster Mission [DRC headquarters] and ask advice from the Church's officials. They must help us because they are father and mother to us. The Bible says: “Honour your father and mother!” The missionaries are our [spiritual] parents.

Reaction and resentment, as they exist in IC circles, are therefore often blended with a surprisingly strong sense of loyalty to, and an awareness of a common destiny with, the Mission Churches. It is these sentiments which may yet prove to form part of a constructive basis for a meaningful dialogue – and (possibly) active co-operation – between Mission Church and Independent Church in the future.

f) Reaction to Independent Churches

Approximately one third of the interviewed adults who had defected from an Independent Church and joined a Mission Church or another Independent Church seemed not to have been motivated by strong reactionary feelings (table 14). These are the people who drift from one Church (mostly of the prophetic type) to another without getting deeply involved in organizational and other Church matters, and without any outspoken leadership ambitions. They often expect to remain affiliated for only a short while, or for as long as it suits them, with the result that their eventual defection is hardly ever motivated by strong feelings of resentment. Only 18% of the 'defectors' had been involved in some kind of authority conflict: They either accused their former leader of incompetence or of misappropriating Church funds, or stated that they were debarred from promotion to a higher rank on account
of the jealousies and slandering of other office-bearers. The majority of persons who mentioned the leadership issue as a reason for defection formerly belonged to the zcc. It seems as if this Church with such a strongly centralized and partly autocratic leadership, based on the myth of the principal figure's mystical powers, suffers most from the reactions of junior officials unwilling fully to accept his absolute authority. The widely acknowledged powers of Mutendi enable him to enforce a more rigid regimentation and to make more strenuous financial demands upon his followers than any of the other ic leaders. The authority of the 'man of God' is unquestionable. Active opposition, if not tactfully pressed or camouflaged, is not tolerated because it threatens the personal charismatic basis on which the whole movement is founded. As a junior leader one either accepts Mutendi's overriding authority, or gets out. Being the most prosperous Zionist bishop in the country he is also likely to be envied more than other leaders, which in turn leads to vague and unfounded accusations of his mismanagement of Church funds.

Approximately 30% of the Independent Church dissidents mentioned a controversy regarding a doctrine or Church law as the reason for severing ties with their former Church group. A few had broken away from the larger Ndaza movements because of their conviction that the Sabbathday and not Sunday should be honoured as the Church's day of rest. Others turned against the toleration of polygamy in the Church. Most of such members join or rejoin a Mission Church. Sometimes, as in the case of Sibambo's ARC, a new movement was founded whose strict adherence to monogamy would be the main tenet distinguishing it from the parent group. The most frequently mentioned reason for dissent in the Spirit-type Churches is the prohibition of beer drinking. More than 20% of the 'defectors' from the Zionist and Apostolic movements complained that the laws on beer drinking were too strict. Some of them qualified their opposition by stating that it was embarrassing to them to be continually 'caught out' by the prophets for beer drinking in public; others argued that the only way in which they could supplement their meagre resources in order to meet the educational requirements (school fees) of their children was by regularly brewing and selling beer. Whenever this was the main reason for dissent the movement was from the Spirit-type Churches to the less restrictive Ethiopian-type Churches, especially to the Chibarirwe. It hardly ever happens that this trend is reversed. Only one Chibarirwe member left his Church because he found that the lenient Church laws gave rise to excessive beer drinking.

The last two categories of table 14 represent the reaction of former Zio-

28. E.g. the origin of Peter Mutema's Sabbath Zion Church, Daneel, 1971, p. 302.
nists and Apostles to strict Church laws, e.g. food taboos generally, and to prophetic activities in particular. Persons who stated that their former Church 'did not offer the correct way to Salvation' mostly reacted to the legalistic and exclusive application of numerous rules by the prophetic leaders. Those who, for some reason or other, found themselves unable to comply with the prophetic leader's rules, were sometimes placed in the embarrassing situation of being 'caught out' by the prophets and in some cases, of being publicly exposed as examples of weak Church membership. Prophetic leaders, who make use of numerous Church laws as a controlling mechanism, often refer to the inability of Church members to comply with their particular code as a serious obstruction to individual salvation. Hence the reaction of the so-called 'weak members' Several former Zionists and Apostles complained that the prophets had actually 'chased them away', having falsely accused them of using medicine, perpetrating witchcraft or of having committed adultery. In a few instances the bitter comment 'vaprofita vanoparadza mhuri' ('the prophets disrupt family [life]') could be heard. This kind of complaint is actually frequently voiced by outsiders, but then in a more generalized way. The evidence of the far-reaching impact of prophetic activities on family life proved that such accusations were not completely unfounded.

Table 14 reveals only the main features of the explicit reactionary factor involved in the dissention of IC members. The real reason for a person's defection is often obscured by references to some disputed doctrinal issue. In reality, however, a number of non-theological factors, such as leadership aspirations, personal dislike, lack of co-operation etc., may have been the more important causes for such a move. Apart from these there is the influence of traditional processes of fission and segmentation of groups and property, referred to earlier in this study,9 which provide the ideal setting for and the anticipation of secessions. These important background factors will be considered more fully when I discuss Church leadership in Volume 3.

3. EDUCATION AND CHURCH AFFILIATION

In Volume 1 mention was made of Zionist interference with the attendance of pupils at Mission schools30 during the initial stages of Church development. The initial aversion of the Rhodesian Zionists to Western schooling, largely the result of religious bias and a slanted interpretation of portions in the New

30. Ibid., pp. 413f, 418f.
Testament, can be regarded as a reflection of similar developments in the Zionist movement of South Africa. However, as in South Africa the general urge amongst Rhodesian Africans to attain higher standards of education has caused the Zionists and other Independent Churches to overcome many of their early objections, and even to encourage their young people to seek advanced schooling. Whereas the Ethiopian-type Church movement was involved in education at an early stage, the Zionists in recent years have also started opting for permission to build their own schools. The Maranke Apostles, however, with their emphasis on 'living as the Biblical Apostles did', show no inclination to open their own schools. To them this is not the task, let alone a primary task, of 'the true followers of Christ'.

In spite of changed attitudes it is still true that the Independent Churches primarily appeal to and draw their membership from the illiterate or barely educated masses. Considering the statistical data on Chingombe (table 15), it is obvious that the great majority of adult members in these Churches have had no or less than five years (Std. 3 level) of school training. The overall picture of the adult population in this chiefdom, with its six lower primary and two upper primary schools, reveals that some 20% are illiterate; 60% have had one to five years' schooling, i.e. up to Std. 3; 17% have had six to eight years training, i.e. Std. 4 to 6, while only 2% have risen above Std. 6. We are therefore dealing here with a broadly based educational 'pyramid', rapidly tapering off to the top, with only a small peak of relatively well-educated persons.

The traditionalists, Zion Christian Church and the Chibarirwe have the largest proportion of illiterates (30-35%). Mutendi's utilization of the magico-religious background by his adaptation of Church ritual to nganga practices and the focal attention on miracles as an important recruitment factor, probably explain the attraction of this movement for illiterates. Very few (5%) of the Zionists in this Church have progressed beyond the Std. 3 level. The Chibarirwe as a 'Church of old people' could be expected to draw large numbers of the elderly people who, in earlier years, had to forego a school education due to the scarcity of facilities. Compared with the other Mission Churches in Chingombe, the Roman Catholic adherence also includes a large number of illiterates. This is due to the absence of a strong Catholic educational establishment in this area, as well as the attraction of this Church for people in the chiefdom who feel themselves neglected by the denomination in control of the local educational system. The First Ethiopian

31. Sundkler (1961, p. 308) makes mention of the initial negative attitude of Zionists to education, 'as being worldly or coming from the Devil'

32. Infra., p. 105.
Church distinguishes itself among other Independent Churches by having the lowest number of adult illiterates and the largest number of adherents with Std. 1 to Std. 6 qualifications. With its well-organized leadership structure and fairly sober forms of worship – which can be described as a compromise between Methodist liturgy and the emotionalism of the Pentecostal groups – this Church has attracted the majority of its members from the 'privileged' sector of ruralists, mid-way between the illiterates and an emerging 'intelligensia'. At the peak of the local educational 'pyramid' there are mainly Mission Church members, most of them belonging to the DRC. Those who have advanced beyond Std. 6 – the highest level locally obtainable – are for the greater part teachers with some teacher's training in addition to Std. 6 or to Junior Certificate. It is of interest to note that several well-educated Africans in the chiefdom identify the existence of the Independent Churches with the generally low level of education in the rural areas. They regard the success of IC leaders as the result of their deliberate exploitation of the credulity of the illiterate or 'half-educated' masses. An African headmaster, for instance, commented with conviction that 'these Independent Churches will vanish as the general standard of education is improved.'

In table 16 the educational standards of Mission and Independent Church members of the three samples combined (i.e. in Chingombe, in town and at Church headquarters) are compared. The 24% illiteracy rate in the latter Churches contrasts sharply with the 12% in the former. In both camps a large number of adherents (40-50%) have had at least three to five years' schooling. But then the majority of the remaining members in Mission Churches (33%) are classed at the Std. 4-6 level and above, which contrasts sharply with a mere 11% of IC members who have advanced beyond Std. 3. Of the 'Independents' only two of the ARC (Shonganiso) leaders and an outstanding Ndaza Zionist bishop have progressed beyond Std. 6. The fact that 11% of the IC members have been to upper primary schools nevertheless signifies the important change of attitude of the prophetic movements to education. The Maranke Apostles' movement – in some respects the most outspokenly anti-European group – actually had the highest number of educationally advanced adherents (62% Std. 1-3, 14% Std. 4-6), if the relatively 'well-trained' office-bearers in the Maranke tribal area and Fort Victoria are taken into consideration. Due to the inclusion in the sample of substantial numbers of poorly educated 'Ethiopians', residing near Bishop Gavure's secluded Church headquarters, the average educational level in this Church and in the Ndaza Zionist movement was about the same. The zcc

33. According to local standards.
The process of Church growth

and Chibarirwe remained at the lowest end of the educational scale.\textsuperscript{34}

As regards the denomination of the schools at which the Independent Church members in the Southern Shona territories received their education (table 17), there is no doubt that the DRC was predominant. No less than 83\% of all the educated adult IC members interviewed, had attended DRC-directed schools.\textsuperscript{35} More than half of the interviewed Roman Catholic adults, too, had at some time attended DRC schools. With the exception of a good many Maranke Apostles in the Umtali region who were educated in Methodist schools, only a few 'Independents' in our sample had received their training at Government, Catholic, Methodist or other Protestant (e.g. Anglican) schools. This means that nearly all the IC adults (90\% or more of the Zionist and Chibarirwe members) who had been to school had at some stage or other been subject to rudimentary religious instruction of a Calvinistic nature. In most cases the elementary tenets of Christianity were therefore learnt at Mission schools. The daily DRC instruction — at morning prayers and during special class-periods — invariably includes emphasis on the sinful nature of man, redemption through the blood of Christ, the necessity of personal faith, and a definite conversion as a condition for personal salvation. Moreover, pupils are encouraged to study the Bible themselves. Thus the Western religious heritage which has conditioned and continues to condition the Independent Churches is a distinctly Protestant one.

The majority of adult IC members with whom we have thus far been dealing in this sub-section are first-generation 'Independents'. Our question, whether the authoritarian control of education by European-directed Churches stimulates dissent,\textsuperscript{36} should therefore in the first place be answered in relation to this group. They were the people who initially decided to join these movements, without their original reactions being influenced by parents who had belonged to these Churches for a long time, as is the case with the younger generation of members. In table 13 it was shown that only a few of the first generation secessionists broke away from the Mission Churches because of their dissatisfaction with the missionary's handling of Church

\textsuperscript{34} The educational standards in both Mission and Independent Churches were slightly higher in town than in the rural areas. Because of the limited representation of the town sample stringent conclusions can hardly be drawn from this factor. A higher level of education in the urban area has no direct bearing on the availability of urban school facilities since all persons in the town sample, barring a few exceptions, had received their education in rural areas.

\textsuperscript{35} In town approximately 60\% of the educated people (Mission and Independent Church members) interviewed, had been to DRC schools, and 12\% to RCC schools, with several former Church of Christ, Anglican and Seventh Day Adventist pupils.

\textsuperscript{36} Daneel, 1971, p. 229.
funds (which by implication involve school fees). Even though the control of school fees is seldom mentioned as a direct reason for secession, it did constitute a potent source of discontent, especially in earlier years before local African school committees were made responsible for the collection of such fees. As a background factor which helped prepare the soil for a growing movement away from the Mission Churches, the European control of schools cannot be discounted. Although somewhat obscured in the case-histories obtained, there seems to be a correlation between the dissatisfaction in the 1930s over the lack of financial aid for schools caused by the Depression, and the accelerated rise of the prophetic movements in the same period (see graphic illustration based on table 3). The present reaction to the monopoly of Missions in the educational field is reflected in the driving ambition of Ndaza Zionist bishops, such as Zacheo, to open Zionist-controlled schools; in the recurrent discussions at Chibarirwe conferences about the necessity of obtaining sufficient funds to 'apply successfully for our own schools', and in the desire of Africans generally to gain more control over the institutions which play such a vital role in the lives of their children.

The urge for control is partly stimulated by an appreciation by some IC leaders of the value of schools. They frequently mention two reasons for their ambition to run their own schools. In the first place they complain that the Mission authorities favour pupils of their own denomination and discriminate against IC members when they consider applications for higher primary education. In the second place the Independents feel that the chances of losing their members to the Mission Churches are increased once these progress beyond lower primary level. It may well be asked what actually happens to the Independent Church youth in Mission schools. Do they feel compelled to join the catechism classes? Do they attend Church services? And what happens to their religious life after they have left school?

These questions can best be answered by starting with a general appraisal of the educational status of the Chingombe youth. According to our random sample of the 1,150 young people below 18 years, 44% were below school-going age, 6% had never been to school and another 39% attended school in 1966 and were to proceed their training in the following year (table 18). The Chingombe youth can thus be broadly classified into two numerically equal groups: The uneducated or still to be educated, and those already educated or still at school. The total picture is that of 50% uneducated youngsters, 39% with qualifications varying from Sub A to Std. 3, and only 9% with higher qualifications, the last category including seventeen holders

37. Ibid., pp. 218-19.
of Junior Certificates. The number of males and females is approximately equal, but there is a distinct numerical overweight of males who have passed beyond Std. 3 level (table 19).

Considering the young people of school-going age (table 20), it appears that the great majority of those who had no schooling were not affiliated to any Church. Proportionately more Independent Church than Mission Church youngsters had either received no schooling or had already left school (mostly before reaching higher primary level) before 1966. Compared to the 86% DRC youth and 79% RCC youth of schoolgoing age, a much lower percentage of young Independent Church members (46-62%) actually attended school in 1966. One of the significant aspects emerging from these figures is that such a high percentage (45%) of the Chingombe youth of school-going age claim to be affiliated to the DRC. Since only 18% of all the chiefdom's adults actually belong to this Mission Church it stands to reason that considerable numbers of pupils belonging to other Mission or Independent Church households prefer to be called 'DRC's' while at school. Table 21 further clarifies the picture: Just about every professed IC youngster who had been to school or was still at school during the enquiry was of a standard below the higher primary level. The upper primary pupils nearly all claimed affiliation to one of the Mission Churches, usually the DRC. To the Chingombe inhabitants DRC membership and advanced training have therefore become virtually synonymous. As the local DRC school manager said: 'Zionist children up to Std. 3 remain in Zionism, but those proceeding to the higher standards become full DRC adherents and they may even look down on the Separatists as inferior groups.'

This, then, is what happens to the Independent Church children at Mission schools: While attending the lower primaries as day-scholars they are under the direct influence of their parents and participate in their religious activities. They regard themselves as Independent Church members and often refrain from attending the regular Sunday Church services held at the Mission schools, until the time comes – according to their judgment – when educational benefits are to be gained from participation in the Mission's religious life. This type of 'religious change' mostly takes place when the Independent Church pupil reaches Std. 3. Having previously only attended the compulsory classes for religious instruction during school hours, pupils with prospects for further training now start turning up at Sunday services and they may even notify the nearest DRC overseer (mutariri) of their intentions to attend catechism classes.38

38. I have pointed out (Vol. 1, p. 227) that in Chingombe none of the thousand and more lower primary pupils in the DRC schools in 1966, attended catechism classes, the
On the other hand, those who qualify for the upper primaries and are enrolled as boarders at Albeit Mission or at the Chingombe UPS, are confronted with a totally different set of circumstances. In the lower primaries where 'everybody belongs to the Church of his parents' there was hardly any stigma attached to Zionist or Apostolic Church membership. But in the upper primary school community, where Mission Church pupils are in the majority and where the Independent Churches are generally looked down upon as institutions of the less educated, considerable group-pressure is brought to bear on IC youngsters to conform to the norms of the new group. This implies regular attendance of DRC Sunday services and catechism classes 'as all the other upper primary pupils are doing'. In a school community where it is sometimes regarded as a 'good joke' to mock the prophets by mimicking their dances, the IC pupils are reluctant to speak about their Church practices back home. Some of them, coming from remote areas, even try to hide the religious identity of their parents.

A comparison of the divergent religious situations at a lower primary and a higher primary school in Chingombe clearly illustrated the difference in circumstances and its influence on the pupils concerned. At the Zimbizi lower primary in northern Chingombe the denominational distribution of the attending pupils in 1966 was as follows:

**Mission Church pupils** (according to Church affiliation of parents): DRC 82, RCC 35, Methodist 27; Full Gospel 30; and Church of Christ 10; total = 184.

**Independent Church pupils:**
Zionist 62, Apostle 25; Topia 10 and Chibarirwe 37; total = 134.

**Traditionalists** (no Church): 56.

With the exception of the First Ethiopian Church, which counts only a few members in Northern Chingombe, these figures are fairly consistent with the overall (adult) denominational distribution in Chingombe (Mission Churches 42%, Independent Churches 41% and traditionalists 17%). Zimbizi is surrounded by strong factions of Zionists with the result that Zionist children form the second largest group in the school, next to DRC children. The significant point is that the majority of these Independent Church pupils hardly ever turned up at the school site for Sunday services. They could always be found at the Independent congregational centres, near

reason being that they were still too young. Some of these pupils, however, were being coached by the local DRC overseers (vatariri) and schoolteachers as vakwashiri, which implies a preliminary form of religious training in preparation for catechetical instruction.
the school (see map 3), worshipping together with their parents. From time to time the children of *Chibarirwe* adults attended the school services, but even they seemed to prefer the dancing and singing entertainment provided by *Ndaza* Zionist meetings. The *DRC* overseer, Mutimba, who lives near the school, complained about the poor attendance of religious activities at the school during weekends: ‘All the people around this place send their children to school for education only. They are not interested in religious affiliation. They say the *DRC* has no true conversion and that the time spent in catechism classes is too long. This year [1966] I do not have a single catechumen. I am now instructing only three children of *DRC* parents who may later attend catechism. People like Bracho [the senior *ZCC* office-holder in Chingombe] say their children are not supposed to attend *DRC* catechism classes. Even the children of “true” *DRC* parents do not come for Sunday services.’

Mutimba’s comment was that of a frustrated man who was well aware of the dwindling religious influence of his Church in the neighbourhood, without his being able to counter it effectively. He was inclined to blame the African minister at Albeit for not checking the course of events by regularly visiting the surrounding villages. He also disapproved in no uncertain manner of the way in which numerous Zionist and Apostolic activities near the school distracted the children of *DRC* supporters from ‘proper Church-life’.

At Albeit Mission the situation at the Central Upper Primary School in 1966 was totally different. Here the religious distribution and activities of pupils were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents’ affiliation</th>
<th>Pupils’ religious position</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>DRC</em></td>
<td><em>DRC</em> full membership</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>DRC</em></td>
<td><em>DRC</em> catechumen</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>RCC</em></td>
<td><em>RCC</em> catechumen</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>RCC</em></td>
<td><em>RCC</em> full membership</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Mission Churches</td>
<td><em>DRC</em> catechumen</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Mission Churches</td>
<td>full membership of other Mission Churches</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionists or Apostles</td>
<td><em>DRC</em> catechumen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist</td>
<td>Zionist membership</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Topia</em> or <em>Chibarirwe</em></td>
<td><em>DRC</em> catechumen</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Topia</em></td>
<td><em>Topia</em> membership</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
<td><em>DRC</em> catechumen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>243</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The striking features of this distribution is the complete dominance of pupils from DRC households and other Mission Churches in relation to Independent Church pupils, the disproportionately low numbers of Zionist and Apostolic pupils in relation to the overall denominational distribution in the chiefdom, and the virtual absence of pupils from traditionalist households. It is possible that several pupils, in the classroom context where they were questioned, preferred to qualify the religious affiliation of their parents as ‘DRC’ while in fact their parents had been non-active (merely nominal members) for years and should have been classified as traditionalists. Few mistakes could, however, have been made as regards the IC pupils, as several teachers were acquainted with the religious background of their pupils. Important, too, is the fact that most of the pupils belonging to other Mission Churches and nearly all the IC pupils were attending catechism classes at the Mission station. Only one ‘Topia’ pupil and one Zionist claimed membership of their parental Church groups, while a single ‘traditionalist’ professed not to be interested in religion.

It will be argued below with reference to school-leavers, and it is indicated by the low rate of confirmation at Alheit each year, \(^\text{39}\) that for a number of pupils participation in catechism classes merely constitutes a ‘temporary affiliation’ to the Mission Church. But whatever the motivation for such participation and whether it eventually leads to confirmation or not, the important fact remains that pupils at the upper primary school are incorporated into a homogeneous religious system, which requires regular group-attendance of Church services and a willingness to receive intensified religious instruction throughout the entire duration of school terms. Unlike the widely diversified religious life of pupils at the lower primaries, religious control and the channelling of religious impulses along prescribed lines call for concerted religious activity at the upper primary level. Attendance of Zionist and Apostolic Church services in neighbouring villages does not, therefore, conform to the unwritten code of ‘proper conduct’ in this community.

Considering the predominance of pupils from DRC households at the Alheit Central Primary School the question arises whether the selection of applicants for upper primary schooling implies preference based on denominational affiliation. In view of the ‘bottle-neck’ between Std. 3 and Std. 4 and the consequent necessity of having to make a selection from an excess of applicants of approximately the same capabilities (judging from their work in Std. 3), it seems probable that denominational affiliation — if not of pupils then of their parents — is taken into account. When I inquired into the matter

at Alheit, the African headmaster pointedly stated: 'I never consider the applicants' [for higher primary education at the CPS] religious affiliation. They must be capable pupils of the right age. That is all! We are bound to consider only marks and age as qualifying factors because, once it is known that we favour the children of DRC parents, the Separatist parents will withhold their co-operation in the building of lower primary schools.'

From the attitudes of a number of Zionist office-bearers it was clear, however, that they were not convinced by such claims of an objective selection. The low number of Zionist pupils in the higher primaries had not escaped their notice, and they ascribed it to favouritism on the side of the Mission authorities. In this respect the Mutendi Zionists are more eloquent in their criticism than the Ndaza Zionists. Having already started their own school at Zion City, they sometimes declared optimistically that, once their school had been promoted to a higher primary level, they would obtain a higher standard of education for their own children, free from Mission control. Several of these Zionist critics were realistic enough to acknowledge that they would still be dependent to some extent on Mission-directed education for the foreseeable future. So it was not uncommon to hear them remark that they did not really mind that 'their spiritual father and mother' (the DRC) baptized their children, as long as they provided them with a sound education. The Ndaza Zionists are on the whole less progressive than Mutendi's group. One of the Ndaza bishops actually stated that he would rather prevent his children from progressing beyond Std. 3 level because he needed them on the fields at home, and also because he did not want to risk losing them to other Churches. Such deliberate retarding of educational progress should, however, be regarded as an outdated remnant of Zionist resistance to Western schooling in the past. This attitude is at present representative of only a minority among the Spirit-type Churches.

Rev. Samson Bracho, Mutendi's right-hand man in Chingombe and a vocal critic of what is felt to be discriminatory measures against Zionists, expressed his grievances as follows: 'All my children end up in Std. 3. They have all applied for further training at the DRC schools, but they have failed [to be enrolled]. If they want to proceed to Std. 4 they must attend Catholic catechism classes, then the Catholic fathers will allow their entry to Catholic schools. Taylor [one of his several sons] should have been a teacher by now. We gave him the money to attend Std. 4 at Alheit Mission, but the people there replaced him. Another child of DRC parents, with lower marks than his, was allowed to take his place. The children of influential DRC members get a place in higher classes before ours, because we are Zionists. Church affiliation goes before high marks! We do not mind if our children are
baptized in the DRC because we want them to be educated. Lydia refused to attend DRC catechism while at school, but Philemon, who is now in Std. 2 at Zimbizi, thinks of catechizing next year. 'My children will reach higher standards as soon as our school at Moriah has reached a higher level.'

I did not further inquire into the case of Bracho's son, Taylor, in order to establish whether there were indeed valid grounds for such an allegation. It is possible that inter-group friction and envy caused by the fact that the DRC people are regarded as a kind of 'cultural elite' give rise to unjustified accusations by the educationally less privileged groups. Whether justified in individual cases or not, the above-mentioned type of complaint exemplifies an ingrained and fairly general in-group attitude which serves to perpetuate a certain degree of latent, if not overt, resentment.

In order to determine the influence of school-leaving on the religious activities of pupils, a survey was conducted in Chingombe late in 1966. All the school-leavers of the previous year, numbering 215 pupils, were sought out and questioned in their villages. Part of the task was to find out if there was any basis for the assumption that lower primary school-leavers are apt to 'return' to their parents' Churches while upper primary pupils are inclined to join the Mission Churches. The general picture, presented in table 22, revealed, amongst other things, that most of the 32 children belonging to traditionalist households preferred to state that they had not (regularly) attended Church services at school and that they were still religiously non-active at the time of enquiry. From the traditionalist point of view there is actually no need for regular participation of the very young in religious life because the lineage elders intercede with the ancestors on their behalf. Only 25 out of 51 DRC school-leavers had continued participating in the religious life of their parents' Church, while several had become Roman Catholic catechumens, Pentecostal Church members, or had discontinued attending Church services altogether. The majority of Roman Catholic and Methodist school-leavers had either remained affiliated to their parents' Churches throughout the period of education, or had discontinued their temporary DRC affiliation in order to 'return' to the original fold. Most of the pupils with IC parents professed to have attended the religious activities of the Mission Church while at school, and to have joined, re-joined or to have become 'real members' of their parents' Churches after they had left school. Smaller numbers of IC pupils claimed to have remained loyal to their parents' Churches during the years spent at school, or to have become permanent members of the Mission Church (DRC) whose services they still attended regularly.
Table 23 correlates the analysis of the impact of school-leaving on the religious life of Independent Church pupils with the educational standard they achieved. It appears that those school-leavers who had lacked interest in religious activities in both the lower and higher classes, all had an Ethiopian-type Church background. Those who claimed to have attended the activities of their parents’ Churches throughout the period of schooling were nearly all Zionist or Apostolic children and, moreover, primarily school-leavers from the lower classes.

The majority of pupils who stated that they had actually attended Mission Church services at school, but had ‘returned’ to their parents’ Churches (table 23, category 4), were also of the lower classes (20 out of 37). Judging from the pattern of religious activities at Zimbizi school, the majority of these youngsters had occasionally attended Mission Church activities, without having really discontinued connections with the Church of their parents. Only in the case of the 11 pupils in this category who had left school from the higher standards can one perhaps speak of a re-direction of religious life, or of a return to the parental body after leaving school, since they had had a chance of identifying themselves with the Mission Church at a deeper level than the younger school-leavers. Significantly enough the majority of IC pupils who had actually become permanent members of the Mission Church were school-leavers from the higher classes. They were also from the Ethiopian-type Churches.

From these latter figures we conclude that the recruitment (or the ‘winning back’) of the Independent Church youth by the Mission Churches as a result of the school education they provided, concerns only an exceptional few. The Mission Church gained the religious affiliation of only 13 out of 86 ‘Independent Church’ school-leavers in one year. It is furthermore observed that loss of Independent Church potential to the Mission Churches does take place in the higher classes, i.e. in Std. 3 and especially in the upper primary classes. The assumption, however, that ‘the Zionists who progress to the higher standards become DRC members’ is partly disproved because there are at least as many upper primary pupils who ‘return’ to the original fold as those who become stable members of the Mission Churches. Attendance of catechism classes, and even confirmation in the Mission Churches, apparently constitute only a temporary affiliation for at least 50% of the IC pupils enrolled in upper primaries. Another interesting feature emerging from table 23 is the inability of the Ethiopian-type Churches to assert or re-assert religious control over the school-leaving children of their members. Compared to a loss of less than one-fifth of Zionist and Apostle school-leavers, approximately two-thirds of the Ethiopian-type school-leavers either joined other
Churches, or had lost interest in any kind of Christian Church activity. These conclusions are tentative. An appraisal of the religious activities of the same pupils several years hence might well show further changes. It is conceivable, for instance, that some Topia and Chibairwe youngsters may return to the paternal fold later in life, when their services as future Church officials or as successors to their fathers are required. It is also possible that their fuller integration into the rural community as mature persons, and the subsequent fading away of personal ideals for further education, might cause some of the upper primary DRC-associates to re-establish links with the parents’ Independent Church and gradually to sever their ties with the Mission Church.

It can be stated with certainty, however, that the ‘feed-back’ of so-called DRC pupils from Mission schools into the Independent Church movement is considerable. For this reason a distinction was made at the outset between the religious distribution of the comparatively more stable adult Church communities and the more fluid adherence of the chieftain’s youth. What at a given moment appears to be an overwhelming numerical advantage of DRC membership over the other local Churches eventually turns out to be mainly a temporary acquisition of numerical overweight. Yet one should not discount the fundamental importance of the constant influence of the Mission Churches on the expanding or declining Independent Churches. For one thing, the presence of numerous IC children in Mission schools eliminates secluded compartmentalization between the Church groups and enhances at least some form of continual interaction. As long as the missionaries control the religious instruction in the lower and upper primaries they continue to influence the basic notions of Christianity within the ‘separated’ Church groups, a factor which contributes towards a considerable degree of homogeneity as regards general theological conceptions in the various groups.

4. **ECONOMIC FACTORS**

In this section we will deal with the conditioning effect of economic factors on the growth of Independent Churches. The major questions to be dealt with are the following: To what extent does resentment over land apportionment function as an incentive for individuals to join the Independent Churches? Does the mobility of labour migrants influence their preference for or adherence to Independent Churches, and do these movements hold a special attraction for the economically poor classes?

40. See table 21.
a) Land

There are several reasons why the Southern Shona Independent Churches cannot be characterized as predominantly land-protest movements. In Volume 1 mention was made of the great difference between the South African and the Rhodesian situation and also between the Shona and Ndebele territories in the matter of land distribution. I suggested that, in spite of early forms of protest by Rhodesian Africans manifested during and after the Rebellions of 1896-7, the Southern Shona Independent Church movement in its initial phase of development was not inspired to the same extent as in the South African and Ndebele Churches by a leader's search for land on which to found a Church colony.41 In the southern areas, where the Shona were left in possession of the land occupied by them before the arrival of the Europeans, one did not at an early stage find land-buying syndicates composed of Ethiopian-type Church leaders as in South Africa, or men like Rev. Ncayaya who acted as spokesman for the Ndebele aristocracy in their quest for a 'national home'.42

If the resentment caused by the implementation of restrictive land legislation had been a dominant factor in the rise and growth of Shona Church independency one would reasonably expect that some of the individual case histories of affiliated members would have highlighted this aspect, that Independent Church adherence would generally be composed of the 'landless' or those most adversely influenced by such legislation, and that the larger colonies, such as Mutendi's Zion City, would consist of people who could not economically maintain themselves on the land available to them. But none of these conditions feature prominently in any of the Independent Churches surveyed.

In the first place, hardly any of the IC members interviewed explicitly mentioned land shortage or dissatisfaction arising from land legislation as a direct reason for joining the Church group to which they belonged. Some of them, when confronted with the question whether they considered restricted land rights as a stimulant to Independent Church growth, replied in the negative and made a point of stressing the purely religious or at least non-economical factors as the most important attractive factors of the IC movement. This does not mean that members of these groups do not publicly voice their criticism regarding the apportionment of land. In fact, when the subject was broached, bitter comments could be heard about the alleged land shortage. To mention but a few of the remarks:

42. Ibid., p. 54.
- I am poor because I have only a few acres of land to cultivate.
- My grandfather cultivated this same patch of land years ago; the soil has now lost its fertility through repeated use and we cannot sustain ourselves on it any longer, but we have nowhere else to go.
- Our ward is getting too crowded for us to shift our villages regularly [i.e. to practice shifting cultivation] so we have to plow the same land each year.
- Why do you want to know how much cattle I have? In the past a similar survey was conducted and a few weeks later the Europeans ordered us to have many of our animals killed because of overstocked grazing areas. Are the European farmers subjected to similar measures? How do we know the same thing will not happen to us again once you have left the chiefdom?
- The European farmers are much better off than we are because they own much more land. You need only to travel to town by bus and see the vast stretches of land owned by European farmers to see the difference.

But such comments were made by individual IC members during private interviews and discussions and not in their official capacity as representatives of their Church groups. Similar notes of criticism could also be heard among traditionalists and Mission Church members. The latter group actually contained the most vocal critics on the land issue. Especially some of the schoolteachers of the two main Mission Churches in the Gutu district sharply attacked what they regarded as unjust and discriminatory land apportionment. The point to be made is that the Independent Churches are not (overtly at least) identified with the African cause for more land to a greater extent or on a more organized basis than any of the other religious groupings. In other words, you need not necessarily join an Independent Church to be identified with a group of people disagreeing with the government's land policy. With the exception perhaps of the Vapostori, who do not have as many 'master farmers' as the Zionists have, there are as many agricultural 'co-operators' and 'master farmers' in the Independent Churches generally as in the other religious groupings, if not more. Resistance to government-sponsored land development schemes have not as yet been openly organized by these Churches. If anything, approval of rather than protest against such schemes is being voiced during public sermons. Chibarirwe leaders like Sengwayo, Pahla and Dzukoso — all of them owners of farms in the Native Purchase Areas — and Zionist 'master farmers' or farm owners like Mutendi, Kudzere-

43. According to Aquina (1969, p. 115) she had never met an Apostle who had qualified as a 'master farmer'. In the Southern Shona districts there are, however, several Apostolic 'master farmers' and farm owners (in the Native Purchase Areas), but they are less numerous than the progressive agriculturalists in the Zionist camp.
rna, Chenjerai and others, critical though they might be of land legislation generally, seem to encourage their followers to improve their agricultural methods and in the process to make use of government services as much as possible instead of opposing the officials concerned.

Secondly, Independent Church membership is not composed to any significant extent of the ‘landless’ or people with landholdings smaller than the standard allotment in their particular districts. In table 24 landholding is correlated with denominational affiliation in the Chingombe chiefdom. The figures illustrate that the largest percentage of adult males without any land are to be found in the ranks of the Mission Churches, especially the DRC. 17% of the Mission Church males compared to only 7% of both the traditionalist and Independent Church males, claimed to be landless. Where-as more than 30% of the traditionalist and Mission Church households had access to 5 acres or less of arable land, only 18% of the IC households fall in this category. Thus it stands to reason that comparatively fewer IC households than those of the other religious groupings belong to the 31% of households in the chiefdom with an acreage below or well below the minimum requirements as mentioned in Volume 1. With the exception of a few individuals in the Mission Churches with outsize landholdings, more adult men in the Independent Churches than in any other group have access to land approximating or slightly larger than the full-sized 12 to 13 acre holding of an average household. Compared to the 28% traditionalist and 27% Mission Church household heads, as many as 48% of the IC household heads hold 13 to 15 acres. As the strongest landholding group in Chingombe and in terms of the prevailing conditions in the reserves, the Independent Church households therefore belong to the ‘privileged’ rather than the ‘deprived’ rural classes.

It does not follow, of course, that the landholders with the largest plots are satisfied with the land at their disposal or with land legislation generally, but it does seem significant that the people bound to feel the pinch of restrictive land measures more directly and to react most sharply are not drawn in comparatively greater numbers into the folds of the Independent Churches. If these groups in Chingombe are compared with each other, it appears that the Ethiopian-type Churches have the strongest landholders with 50% of the Topia and no less than 62% of the Chibarirwe homesteads having access to plots of about 13 to 15 acres (table 24). One of the reasons for the Chibarirwe’s exclusive position is the close identification of this movement with the politically dominant Rufura clan in Chingombe. The

44. Daneel, 1971, p. 60.
adherence, for instance, of numerous kraalheads who frequently have slightly larger landholdings than the ordinary villagers partly explains this difference between the Chibarirwe and the other Churches. Of the Spirit-type Churches, Mutendi’s zcc has the largest percentage of households with less than the minimum acreage (as stipulated in the Land Husbandry Act); it is possible that in this case some individuals belonging to the poorer class of ruralists felt attracted to this Church not least because of its leader’s opposition to suppressive measures of the European Administration during its early phases of development. It should be noted, however, that in the zcc congregations in Chingombe the relatively ‘poor’ and the ‘wealthy’ landholders are more or less equally balanced and that the image of Mutendi as a wealthy Church administrator contributes towards the tendency among Africans to regard this group as ‘a Church of the prosperous’ and not as a ‘Church of the landless or poor’

Table 25 reveals a pattern of landholding by the different religious groupings of the Fort Victoria townsmen somewhat similar to that in Chingombe. Although the town sample is not sufficiently representative to allow far-reaching generalizations it is obvious that, at least among the interviewed men, a larger proportion of Mission Church than Independent Church members and traditionalists have no official land rights. Whereas the two latter groups count a substantial number of labour migrants among their members who claim to have sizeable holdings of more than 10 acres back in their home reserves, this cannot be said of the Mission Churches. Thus in town, too, the ‘landless’ are not particularly identified with the Independent Churches. Contrary to the situation in Chingombe, the traditionalists in town appear to be even stronger landholders than the ‘Independents’, and, among the Spirit-type movements, Mutendi’s followers generally hold more land than the others.

In the third place, none of the larger Church colonies founded by the Independent Church leaders aim to supplement the economical resources of those deprived of land rights. Many patients do, for shorter or longer periods, temporarily reside at Zion City or one of the Apostolic healing centres and become dependent on the main leader for food supplies. Therefore they participate in the agricultural activities in the fields if they are not too ill. Yet most of them visit and reside at Church headquarters during Church festivals or when they are in need of faith-healing treatment, and hardly ever because of an inability to sustain themselves on the land available to them in their home districts. At Zion City a number of widows and orphans belonging to former zcc households were economically supported during my period of research, but most of the patients who had become more or less ‘permanent’
residents due to persistent ailments, or those who assisted Mutendi with building projects, did not belong to the ‘jobless’ or ‘landless’ category. Most of them periodically returned to their home-villages to tend to their own lands and they also received regular food supplied by relatives who took care of their lands during their absence. Those in search of a job, and the luckless labour migrants who had officially lost their land rights when the allocations in terms of the Land Husbandry Act were made, occasionally visited the ‘man of God’ to request his spiritual aid, but such individuals usually moved on after a short stay instead of trying to solve their economic problems by settling in Mutendi’s colony.

A rejection of the qualification ‘land protest movements’ should not, however, lead to the minimizing of the land problem as an important contributory factor in the growth of the Independent Churches. As an indirect causative factor the implementation of restrictive land legislation did contribute considerably towards the disruption of the old social fabric to which Africans had been used, and in this way helped to create a psychological climate conducive to the growth of the Independent Churches. Political agitation about land was bound to find a response in religious circles. The search for social security which, in the eyes of many Africans, was threatened by the government’s land policy, increased the need for religious institutions which were more closely identified with African aspirations and with their way of life. Even though these movements did not officially voice the protest of dissatisfied landholders and in spite of the fact that most of the IC leaders avoided being too closely identified with the radical forms of African nationalism, these Churches did constitute groups where frustrations could be vented in the intimate inner circle without interference from outside. In the face of social disruption caused by the reduced land-distributing powers of ward headmen, the sometimes arbitrary delineation of new ward and chiefdom boundaries by the Administration and the long spells of absence of tribesmen who had gone to the towns – i.e. in face of the break-up of the dunhu, which to the Africans constituted home45 – the Independent Churches mushroomed partly as attempts to substitute the old and fading order with a new all-African solidarity.

It is no mere coincidence that the two ‘peaks’ of rapid expansion – of the Spirit-type Churches in the 1930s and 40s, and of the Ethiopian-type Churches in the 1950s and 60s – occurred during periods when African reaction to economic conditions generally and to the two unpopular land acts in parti-

45. Ibid., p. 36, note 31.
cular, became increasingly evident (see table 3 and the graphic illustration of Independent Church growth). As for the increase of numbers in the Spirit-type Churches during the early 1930s, I suggest that this coincided rather with the economic slump and with the dissatisfaction caused by the closing down of schools than with the repercussions caused by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, the implementation of which was delayed for several years. But towards the late 1930s and during the following decade, when the implications of restricted land rights made themselves felt, especially through the compulsory culling of cattle, the discontent of Africans undoubtedly stimulated the increase of Independent Church membership. From the bitter remarks of some inhabitants of Chingombe who had not forgotten these drastic measures (a number of whom did not at the time fully appreciate the necessity of destocking; see, for instance, the remark in this connection quoted above) it was clear that the culling of animals—which to them symbolized prosperity and the all-important link with the ancestors—caused feelings of intense frustration and of antagonism against the European Administration. Such sentiments undoubtedly affected the attitudes of some ruralists towards the missionary enterprises, which, through land leases, seemed to be closely identified with the Administration. Thus it is most likely that in a number of cases destocking measures contributed towards an estrangement between individuals and the Mission Churches to which they formerly belonged, a condition which preceded and to some extent precipitated their eventual association with Independent Church groups. This factor may have had an even greater influence on Independent Church growth than the accounts of IC members about their motivations for joining these movements seem to reveal.

Even in Chingombe, where the small Mission station of the DRC caused less complications than the much larger Mission-owned farm at Morgenster, people in 1967 openly complained about a small patch of grazing area within the confines of the station which was not being used. On occasion I witnessed one of the Rufura tribesmen provocatively helping himself to fruit in Rev. Shiri’s orchard. When objections were raised by Africans living at the station the intruder countered by stating that the Mission grounds actually belonged to the local chief, that it was no longer ‘European property’ and that, as a kinsman of the chief, he had a right to help himself freely. Such criticisms and minor incidents symptomize the deeply felt antagonism to-

46. The Land Apportionment and Land Husbandry Acts; see Volume 1, pp. 55-59.
48. Ibid., pp. 56-57.
49. Ibid., p. 206.
wards the European power, which is held responsible for the increasing population pressure on the land.

The second 'peak' of rapid expansion, in this case of the Ethiopian-type Churches, occurred during a period of unrest on a country-wide scale, caused among other things by the formation and the suppression of the African nationalist parties. The Land Husbandry Act of 1951 became one of the major targets of attack, and for a short period the African opponents of the government's new land policy could voice their protest through their newly devised organizations. Although the Ethiopian-type Churches in the south-eastern regions of Rhodesia did not openly identify themselves with the aspirations of the radical nationalist leaders, they sympathized with the African cause generally, and the upsurge of nationalism encouraged a rapid increase of Church membership. The urge for political independence undoubtedly fired the imagination of those who wished to be ecclesiastically free from European supervision. When the nationalist parties were banned and suppressed, the Ethiopian-type Churches continued expanding - which explains why these groups are at present in a position to provide a compensatory outlet in the religious field for frustrated political ambitions.

In Chingombe the Ethiopian-type leaders nevertheless prevented their Church meetings from being used as platforms for political propaganda in connection with the land issue.\(^{50}\) Aware of the dangers of being accused of seditious preaching, these leaders banned such individuals as were inclined to misuse their membership for ulterior political motives. It should also be remembered that Chingombe, a somewhat remote area, was not as directly influenced by political disturbances as the chiefdoms nearer to the large urban centres. Moreover, the implementation of the Land Husbandry Act in this area did not result in the return of such large numbers of labour migrants over a short period of time who found themselves deprived of land rights as was the case elsewhere,\(^{51}\) and the change of landholding from the traditional to the individualized system was only beginning to make itself felt during my research period.\(^{52}\) These factors probably enabled the IC officials operating in the chiefdom during the past two decades to steer a safer course in relation to the Administration than others who were placed under greater pressure by extremist African politicians during the periods of emergency.

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50. This aspect will be dealt with in Volume 3.
51. The 11% 'landless' male adults in Chingombe (table 24) compares favourably with the figures of other areas. Holleman (1968, p. 207) estimates that more than two-fifths of the adult males belonging to the Mangwende chiefdom had no legal farming rights in that area.
Finally, it should be mentioned that the denominational distribution of the ‘landless’ males in Chingombe as indicated in table 24 does not reveal the present-day trend in which an increasing number of such males attend the Church services of both the Spirit and the Ethiopian-type groups. It was my impression that several of the young men who in 1966 and in the beginning of 1967 had returned from the towns to the chiefdom were either not participating in Church life at all or attended the meetings of various IC groups. They represented an element of restlessness in the rural society and were outspoken critics of the government’s land policy. Because most of the individuals belonging to this minority group of seemingly displaced tribesmen had not yet attained full membership in the local Independent Churches, and as some still claimed to be at least nominally affiliated to one of the Mission Churches, the figures of the survey do not reflect this recent development. Should the search of the ‘landless’ for new forms of security lead to closer identification with the Independent Churches, these may in due course become involved in the political field more directly and they may yet acquire the characteristics of land and social protest movements.

b) Labour migration

The influence of labour migration on the origin and rise of the Southern Shona Independent Churches became apparent in the historical account of the early development of these movements. Most of the pioneering IC leaders initially came into contact with the South African Separatists through participation in that country’s wage labour market,\(^53\) or through kinsmen who had been to the south as labour migrants.\(^54\) On the other hand it has been indicated that, once the four major movements had been founded in Rhodesia, the actual recruitment of new members took place in the rural and not in the urban areas where the larger concentrations of labour migrants were to be found.

This does not imply that the less mobile ruralists were necessarily more receptive to the campaigning activities of the Independent Church missionaries. On the contrary, a closer analysis of the labour migration patterns in Chingombe – of which the general picture has been described\(^55\) – reveals that

\(^53\) E.g. Samuel Mutendi, David Masuka and Andreas Shoko, the Zionist forerunners; Daneel, 1971, p. 287f.

\(^54\) E.g. Sengwayo (influenced by Sibambo) and Zvobgo (influenced by Mandondo); Daneel, 1971, pp. 54-5, 366.

\(^55\) Daneel, 1971, pp. 65-68.
a certain correlation does exist between intensified labour migration and the increase of Independent Church membership. According to table 26 a slightly larger percentage of traditionalists and Mission Church than IC male members had never entered the wage labour market beyond the chiefdom’s borders. Compared to the 66% traditionalist and the 58% Mission Church males, as many as 75% IC males had at one time or another been employed outside the chiefdom. The greater mobility of the latter group is furthermore portrayed in the figures showing employment outside Rhodesia (mostly in South Africa): 7% traditionalists, 10% Mission Church and 24% IC members. In this respect the Chibarirwe, with as many as 40% of its male members having been employed outside Rhodesia, distinguishes itself from all the other Church groups. It seems therefore that the greater the labour migrant mobility and the more contact with outside influences (i.e. from beyond the chiefdom’s borders and especially from South Africa), the greater the receptivity to the all-African Churches. Not that the increased receptivity immediately culminated in the acquisition of Independent Church membership, for the general pattern at present seems to be that labour migrants join these movements after they have returned to their home reserves. It is possible that the need for a new identity, for stability and for ‘a place to feel at home’ is most forcibly felt once the labour migrant, after spells of absence, tries to settle down at home (in his dunhu) and finds that he has become somewhat estranged.

The possibility that a labour migrant’s contact with the main streams of political life in the major urban centres of Rhodesia may be an indirect inducement towards joining an Independent Church should also be considered. Table 27 shows that, at the time of the random sample survey, more IC labour migrants were or had been employed in the larger cities and towns of Rhodesia than members of the other religious groupings. Whereas 46% of the IC males were or had been employed in cities and large towns like Salisbury, Bulawayo, Umtali, Gwelo and Fort Victoria, some 37% traditionalist and 34% Mission Church males were likewise employed. It follows that a larger percentage of Mission Church (28%) and traditionalist (19%) male adherents than Independents (only 13%) were or had been employed solely in the rural areas. The Independents were therefore more exposed to urban influences than the others. Definite conclusions cannot be drawn from these figures, but to some labour migrants at least the period(s) of working in urban environments like Salisbury and Bulawayo, where the influence of African politicians and a growing body of highly critical African students is more directly felt, may have meant the development of attitudes favourable to a closer identification with African-directed ecclesiastical movements than
Church growth – causative factors and recruitment techniques

would otherwise have been the case. That more Chingombe tribesmen who had been to Salisbury and Bulawayo eventually returned to their chiefdom to become recruits of the Independent Churches instead of adhering to Mission Churches seems a fact worthy of our notice.

The Chingombe migrants were asked to express their opinions on the effect of labour migration on their religious lives. Their summarized answers are presented in table 28. It strikes one that only two men claimed to have joined new Churches while working outside the chiefdom. Remarkably more Mission Church males (36%) than IC males (24%) stated that labour migration had no influence on their religious affiliation, which possibly hints at the realization among IC members that there might be some connection between the spells spent away from the home district and the need to associate with a particular type of Church group. Of those who had no Church affiliation and who did not attend Church activities while being employed elsewhere, the majority remained unaffiliated to any Church (44% of the traditionalists). Only a few joined the Mission Churches and the rest (14% of the IC males) all joined the Independent Churches after their return to the chiefdom. In other words, if ‘pagans’ returning to the chiefdom (mainly) from towns do join any Churches at all they show a definite preference for the Independent Churches, especially for those of the Ethiopian type (see third category, table 28). A substantial number of males (14% of the total sample) also stated that during their absence from the chiefdom they attended Church less regularly or stopped attending (kuheda - to backslide) completely. In view of this adverse influence of labour migration on religious life and considering that several of the present Independent Church males were still affiliated to Mission Churches when their professed decrease of Church attendance or apostasy in the urban areas took place, it does seem as if the Independent Churches somehow had a solution for the religious vacuum which had come about for these men during their absence from the chiefdom. On the other hand, the greater number of Ethiopian-type than Spirit-type Church members who complained about the negative influence of town life on their spiritual activities reflects the fact that they have found as yet no or very few stable Church centres in the urban areas where they could be spiritually nurtured during periods of prolonged absence from home.

c) Economic stratification

On the basis of educational and economic criteria Sr. Mary Aquina has postulated the hypothesis that among the rural Karanga the Christians of the
Mission Churches form an upper stratum, the Ethiopian Churches a middle stratum and the Zionists, Apostles and pagans a lower stratum.\(^56\) Of the latter stratum the pagans are said to be the poorest element in the rural society while the Zionists are wealthier than the Apostles. Zionists, Aquina contends, improve their social status by qualifying as 'master farmers', thus improving their economic position, and the Apostles 'compensate themselves for the social disadvantage connected with membership of a minority group by intense political activity.'\(^57\) She infers that the Apostles in the Karanga area seldom if ever become 'master farmers' ('I have never met an Apostle who had qualified as a master farmer')\(^58\) and that the Zionists have a larger percentage of 'master farmers' than any of the other religious denominations.

It would seem that the implications of Aquina's classification, in terms of Church expansion is that the Spirit-type Churches mainly recruit members from the poorest layers of society, while the Ethiopian-type Churches hold a greater attraction for the economically and socially slightly more advanced Africans. This in turn could easily lead to the conclusion that the Independent Churches appeal more directly to the economically weak and socially insecure sector of African society than do the Mission Churches. Yet I doubt whether the above-mentioned classification can be fully upheld. My information substantiates it only as far as education is concerned. As stated above the better-educated ruralists are predominantly members of Mission Churches. The vaTopia of the Ethiopian-type group constitutes an educational 'middle class' and the majority of the Zionist and Apostle adherents have had very little education. As regards the economic positions of individuals within the different denominational groups, however, there is such a wide distribution between the two poles of relatively 'poor' and 'wealthy' that a rigid classification of each Church group into one of three distinct economic strata can hardly be maintained. To mention but one aspect: Aquina's strongest argument for an economic distinction between the Apostles and Zionists applies neither to the situation in Chingombe nor to a number of other southeastern Shona districts, e.g. Gutu, Bikita and Umtali. Here the Zionists have only a slight advantage over the Apostles in numbers of 'master farmers', for although the Zionist 'master farmers' are more numerous, quite a number of Apostles have also qualified in this capacity while others hold farms in the purchase areas. Moreover, the figures in table 24 indicate that the Apostles in Chingombe, for instance, are no worse off than the Zionists as far as land-holding is concerned. It is my impression that in a district like Umtali the

\(^{56}\) Aquina, 1969, pp. 114-16.
\(^{57}\) Ibid., p. 115.
\(^{58}\) Ibid., p. 115.
Apostles could be economically classed in the middle and upper stratum as the relatively well-to-do Independent Church group in that region.

In order to achieve as accurate an assessment as possible of the economic classes into which the various religious groupings might be divided, I have correlated denominational affiliation with the nature of individual employment, with several agricultural variables for the rural communities, and with wage earnings for the urban population. Such an exercise has its limitations. The Africans themselves, to mention but one aspect, do not necessarily distinguish between three economic strata (as those presented below). They do differentiate between the 'poor' (varombo) and the 'rich' (vafumi), but the criteria for such distinctions vary from circle to circle. To the traditionalists, for instance, the ownership of livestock is an important criterion for determining someone's wealth, while the more 'progressive' Africans judge economic stature more readily in terms of money income. And yet the economic stratification presented below is more than a purely theoretical exercise for comparative purposes. It reflects the actual situation in so far as the 'upper' and 'lower' class categories can be considered as fairly consistent with what many Africans themselves — in terms of the variables used and despite a certain divergency of criteria — would classify as the relatively 'rich' and the 'poor' people.

i) Nature of employment
In Chingombe the salaried teachers, Church ministers, those who hold clerical positions when they work in towns, and the salesmen with their business centres in one of the chiefdom's townships belong to the rural community's economic elite. With the exception of some of the salesmen these are the privileged and respected people who hold the 'white collar' jobs, the educationally most advanced and those — according to rural standards — with a regular and high income. Table 29 shows that this 'upper class' group is predominantly associated with the Mission Churches (27% Mission Church males, 3% of the traditionalists, and 6% IC males). Even if the schoolteachers are not always the 'richest' people in actual practice, they are generally regarded as such by the ruralists because they combine subsistence farming with a regular salary. It is the Mission Church schoolteachers and the prosperous salesmen who own cars and build themselves Western-styled houses. To many ruralists these things have become the symbols of prestige, next to the still relevant traditional standard of cattle-owning. The prestige value of the teaching profession and the ambition of the poorer class to acquire this status are frequently expressed in the parents' wish that their children become teachers, or the assertion of some that their child is in fact
a 'teacher' because such a high standard of education – mostly Std. 6 – has been reached. Educationally advanced children are sometimes even addressed by their parents and other relatives as 'teacher'.

To the 'middle class' belong the skilled and semi-skilled labourers, which group can again be divided into two categories. The 'upper middle class' consists of those employed in government services such as the police force, municipalities, roads and railway departments, as well as the craftsmen: tailors, builders, carpenters, etc. Some of these occupations imply training courses and others require highly skilled individuals. As a result the prestige value of these professions are considerable and their salary scales relatively high. Included in this category are a number of practising nganga whose supposedly lucrative profession is accorded a social status beyond that of the commoner traditionalist. In this 'upper middle class' the 1C males are most strongly represented; the traditionalists are proportionately more numerous than the Mission Church males (table 29: 'upper middle class' – 23% traditionalists, 17% MC and 27% 1C males). The craftsmen included in this category are mostly people who practise their profession in the rural areas without having to spend lengthy periods away from the chiefdom. They form part of the relatively stable communities to be found in the rural townships or near the stores. As a result they are fairly well known by the people of the neighbourhood who buy their clothes, farming implements and food supplies at these business centres. Closely associated though they may be with the store owners and other salesmen, they are nevertheless regarded by the community as being less rich.

In the 'lower middle class' one finds the semi-skilled manual labourers such as ordinary mine workers, farm hands, machine operators and also domestic servants. This group of labourers earns less than those belonging to the 'upper middle class' and is more dependent on shorter or longer periods of absence from the chiefdom than the teachers, salesmen and craftsmen of the higher classes. The greater mobility of this group coincides, as we have suggested above, with a higher incidence of 1C membership. Compared to only 13% of the Mission Church, as many as 26% Independent Church adult males and 33% traditionalists belong to this category. What distinguishes it from the lowest class of labourers is that most of those included have acquired at least some training or skill, and they are therefore not on the lowest wage level. As can be expected, the traditionalists and 1C members are more strongly represented in the entire middle class stratum than the Mission Churches (56% of the traditionalists; 53% 1C and 31% MC male membership).

The 'lower class' comprises the general labourers like garage and transport
assistants, errand boys and virtually untrained factory workers, as well as those who have not yet been employed as wage earners. Within the ranks of the unskilled labourers one finds the strongest element of restlessness caused by a kind of ‘drifting’ from one job to another in the effort to find an economically more favourable position. Insecurity caused by such ‘drifting’ and the low wages paid for this type of labour cause more frustration and irritation than can normally be observed among the ‘middle class’ labourers who take pride in their ‘professions’. Significantly, all the religious groupings are more or less evenly represented in this class of casual labourers, some of whom openly refer to themselves as ‘the poor’ or ‘the jobless’. With the inclusion of the self-employed subsistence farmers this ‘lower class’ comprises approximately 40% of each of the religious groupings traditionalist, MC and IC.

From the remarks made above it appears that there is a certain correlation between economic position and social status. Yet there are other values which should also be taken into consideration before a more accurate and comprehensive division of social classes can be made. Some of the persons who, in table 29, for example, are classified in the lower stratum, might well enjoy a high social status in the rural areas on account of other than economic factors, such as tribal affiliation or roles played in tribal politics. As a more reliable – though admittedly limited – indicator of economic than social position, one can at least deduct from the classification based on table 29, that the ‘upper class’ consists mainly of Mission Church members, that the traditionalists and Independent Churches are mostly represented in the ‘middle class’ and that all the religious groups have a similar percentage of adherence among the ‘lower class’ ruralists. Apparently one cannot classify the Mission Church communities as an ‘upper class’ group, for their membership is about equally divided amongst the economically (and to some extent socially) privileged and less privileged. In the same way the Independent Churches are not predominantly identified with the lowest class, nor can one distinguish the Ethiopian-type and Spirit-type Churches as ‘middle’ and ‘lower’ class respectively, as Aquina does for the rural Karanga. To mention but one example: the First Ethiopian Church, which on the grounds of education qualifies as ‘middle class’, appears to have more unskilled labourers classified as ‘lower class’ (table 29) than any of the other Independent Churches. Thus on the basis of employment alone the FEC – which paradoxically has more ‘white collar’ workers than any of the other Independent Churches – is more solidly represented in the ranks of the ‘lower class’ (labour migrant) ruralists than are the Zionists and the Apostles.

A similar employment classification applied to the sample of the Fort
Victoria townsmen (table 30) reveals at least one marked difference from the rural situation. Here the ‘lower class’ unskilled labour category has a stronger component of Mission Church than Independent Church members (20% of the traditionalists, 34% of the MC and 14% of the IC members). Through a number of distinguished salesmen, mostly Ndaza Zionists, the Independent Churches in town are more numerous presented in the ‘upper class’ than in the rural area. Yet the ‘real elite’ among the townsmen still consists mainly of Mission Church ministers, teachers and clerks. That the ‘upper middle class’ in town consists mainly of traditionalists and IC members can be ascribed to the fact that quite a number of adherents of these religious groupings are employed in the police force or have responsible positions in the municipal service. Especially the Zionists seem to show a certain predilection for the police force. Of the then interviewed Mutendi followers who were included in the sample, no less than five were employed as policemen. It is possible that the well-organized ZCC with its khaki uniforms holds a special attraction for African policemen because the principal leader himself has formerly been one; it is also possible that some persons, once they have become Zionists, improve their economic and social positions not only through participation in the government’s land development schemes as Aquina suggests, but also by enlisting in the police force. Although African policemen are not always popular with certain factions in the rural and urban communities, they frequently associate with the economically advanced townsmen. Of the Spirit-type Churches in town the AACJM proves to be the exception, with most of its members belonging to the ‘lower middle’ and ‘lower class’ of labourers. Perhaps because the Mission Churches draw at least as many as or more of its members from the ‘lower class’ labourers than the Independent Churches do, the Zionists and Apostles in town do not consider themselves socially and economically inferior to members of the other Churches. On the contrary, some of the Zionist business men and unskilled Apostolic labourers pride themselves on what they regard as the social progressiveness of their Churches.

ii) Agriculture and wage income
The correlation between denominational affiliation and subsistence farming was restricted to those variables about which the most reliable information could be obtained, i.e. the livestock owned, total crop yields and major sales of agricultural produce by each rural household. In each table I have introduced a three-fold stratification for comparative purposes. Although the

distinctions between the three economic strata are arbitrary in that they are based on my personal observation and judgment, they were calculated to correspond as far as possible – at least in the upper and lower strata – with popular rural notions about 'rich' and 'poor'.

In the first place ownership of cattle and other livestock should be considered. The Shona subsistence farmers are still inclined to judge wealth in terms of the size of one's herd of cattle, sometimes regardless of the condition of the animals, and Chingombe is no exception in this respect. The Independent Churches are, comparatively speaking, the chiefdom’s larger cattle holders. According to the classification adopted in table 31, the IC households are on par with the Mission Churches in the ‘upper class’ (12 and more head of cattle), considerably more numerous than any other religious grouping in the ‘middle class’ (6-11 head of cattle), and least numerous in the ‘lower class’ (nil to 5 head of cattle). Compared to the 28% traditionalist and 30% Mission Church households, only 11% IC households have no cattle. Of the Mission Churches the DRC has the most prosperous cattle owners, three of whom have herds exceeding 20 head. The Chibarirwe, more than 70% of whose households count herds upwards of 6 head of cattle (i.e. ‘upper’ and ‘middle’ class), clearly outstrips all the Church communities in the chiefdom. Most of the Chibarirwe office-bearers are relatively wealthy cattle owners. By way of contrast the other Ethiopian-type Church in Chingombe, the Topia group, counts a much higher percentage of poor cattle owners than the Chibarirwe. Between these two, one finds the Spirit-type groups each with a sufficient number of ‘middle’ and ‘upper class’ cattle owners not to be associated one-sidedly with the poorest rural element.

If the number of animal units (including cattle, sheep and goats)\(^60\) per household is taken into account the picture is changed to the effect that the Mission Church households now have a higher percentage of ‘lower class’ pastoralists (those possessing up to 5 animals units – see table 32). The reason for this difference is that a number of young household heads classified as ‘others’ in table 31 because of their partial dependence on their parental units (not yet possessing a separate herd of cattle), are classified in the ‘lower’ or ‘middle class’ in table 32 since they own small stock, sheep and goats. In the ‘middle class’ (6 to 10 animal units) the different religious groupings are fairly equally represented while in the ‘upper class’ (11 to 30 animal units) one finds 15% of the traditionalist, 25% of the Mission Church and 38% of the Independent Church households. Thus, on the whole, the

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60. One animal unit = 1 head of cattle or 4 head of small stock (goats and/or sheep).
Independent Churches have the 'wealthiest' pastoralists in the chiefdom, in contrast to a much higher percentage of relatively 'poor' Mission Church and traditionalist stock owners.

A similar pattern emerges in the sector of food and cash crops (table 33). Of the household heads in the chiefdom who reported to have harvested less than 20 bags of grain (maize, finger and bulrush millet) and groundnuts in 1966, the majority belonged to Mission Church and traditionalist households. The substantial number of traditionalists in the 'middle class' category (households with a harvest total of 21 to 40 bags) goes to prove that one cannot characterize this religious group as belonging to or forming the lower stratum of cultivators. With a higher percentage of followers in both the 'middle' and 'upper class' categories the Independent Churches, in 1966 at least, proved to have more successful cultivators than the Mission Churches. The IC households furthermore show less differentiation as cultivators than as stock owners. Consequently each Ethiopian and Spirit-type Church group approximated the same percentage (roughly 40%) of households with a harvest of more than 30 bags of grain (including groundnuts) in 1966.

As regards crop sales (table 34) slightly more than 50% of the traditionalist and nearly as many Mission Church cultivators did not sell any harvested products in 1966, compared to only 30% IC cultivators belonging to this category. If the lower crop-selling class is defined as household heads selling no or less than 5 bags of produce during 1966, 87% of the traditionalists, 70% of the MC and 59% of the IC households belong to this class. In both the middle and upper crop-selling classes – i.e. household heads respectively selling 6 to 15 or more than 15 bags of grain – the Independent Churches prove to be numerically stronger than the other religious groupings.

For a final classification of the Chingombe ruralists on a more comprehensive basis, I have added together for each household the approximate value of all livestock (cattle, goats and sheep – at £10 per animal unit) owned in 1966, and the estimated income derived from crop sales (grain and groundnuts at an average of £2 per bag) in the same year. Households totalling less than £60 are classified in the economically lower stratum, households 'worth' £60 – £140 in the middle and those 'worth' £140 – £300 in the upper stratum. The outcome of this classification is as follows (see table 35):

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traditionalist households</th>
<th>Mission Church households</th>
<th>Independent Church households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures confirm the impression that the Independent Churches represent, in terms of subsistence farming, the economically strongest contingent in the chiefdom. The Mission Churches are about equally strong in the 'highest class' but at the same time have a much higher percentage of members belonging to the 'poorest class' of rural farmers than the Independent Churches. In turn, the traditionalists have the highest percentage of 'lower class' farmers with as substantial a representation in the 'middle class' as the Mission Churches.

The agricultural data therefore tend to reverse the classification one would have been inclined to make on the grounds of an educational and employment differentiation. Instead of the Mission Churches being classified as 'upper class' and the Independent Churches as 'middle' and 'lower class', the former now becomes predominantly 'lower class' with a strong element in the 'upper class', while the latter becomes a predominantly 'middle class' group with as strong an element in the 'upper class'. The general standard of Independent Church subsistence farmers can even be said to supersede that of members of the Mission Churches. There are, of course, numerous variations between the different Independent Churches. If the two Ethiopian-type Churches in Chingombe are compared, the Topia members appear educationally more advanced and seem to be more closely associated with the 'upper class' elite through a number of 'white collar' workers, than the Chibarirwe. The young Topia farmers also seem to adopt more progressive farming methods than their traditionally inclined and generally much older counterparts in the Chibarirwe. A larger percentage of Topia than Chibarirwe farmers, for instance, belongs to the really successful group who, in 1966, sold more than 40 bags of grain and groundnut (table 33). But on the other hand the Chibarirwe farmers represent on the average the strongest landholders in the chiefdom and appear to be the most successful cattle owners (table 31), which accounts for an equal rating of both these Churches in the more comprehensively defined agricultural 'upper class' (table 35). Other variations appear when the Spirit-type Churches are compared with each other or with the Ethiopian-type Churches, but, significantly enough, the differences are not of a nature which justifies a classificatory economic subordination of any of these groups in relation to the others, as mentioned above in connection with the rural Karanga groups.

Probably the most important conclusion which one can draw from the wide distribution of the Independent Churches in the three agricultural defined

61. Supra, p. 57, note 56.
strata is that these Churches do not necessarily hold an attraction for the economically less privileged ruralists. In other words, the facts presented exclude any simplistic theory which seeks to establish a direct link between the rapid growth of these movements and the plight of the poorest element in rural society. There is no direct correlation between an economically low standard of living (in rural African terms) and Independent Church membership, at least not to the same extent as there is a correlation between relatively low educational qualifications and such membership.

But all this does not mean that the wider economic setting, with its all too obvious economic discrepancy between the wealthy European population and the less wealthy rural African population (the vital difference, as Balandier pointed out, between the colonizers and the colonized\(^\text{62}\)) is of no influence upon the growth of these movements. Such a setting aggravates the need for greater equality in national economy and politics, and it undoubtedly has its impact in the religious field, as the urge for ecclesiastical freedom proves. But the point is that there are religious and psychological factors at work in the lives of individual Africans which at a given moment supersede the purely economic considerations. When, for example, an afflicted person under stress of circumstance turns to the Spirit-type faith-healer, or the disciplined DRC member in a state of disgrace turns towards the Chibarirwe, he or she usually does so regardless of his or her position in the economic upper, middle or lower stratum. Once affiliated to the new religious group, the recruit may as a matter of course identify more closely with those members in the new congregation belonging to the same economic class.

Should a recruit from the ranks of the ‘poor’ find himself initiated into a congregation with a high percentage of ‘wealthy’ middle and upper class members, participation in group life might well serve as a stimulant towards improving his own economic position. There are sufficient indications, especially among the followers of Mutendi and Ndaza leaders like Bishop Chenjerai and Kudzerema, that the example set by the main leader leads towards the improvement of agricultural techniques and towards greater effort at socio-economic advancement, much of which takes place in the name of the Church. In order to contribute adequately towards the progress of Zion City and to be a worthy member of the group, one is expected to raise one’s economic standards and to participate in working parties or such joint enterprises as would enhance the economic stability of the group. A group spirit thus generated no doubt has a progressive influence on the agricultural activities of many adherents, and it stands to reason that some ruralists have

\(^{62}\) Supra, p. 8.
indeed progressed from the ‘lower’ to the ‘upper class’ of agriculturalists because of their affiliation to one of the Independent Churches.

The question may be raised whether the ‘white collar’ workers of the Mission Churches do not emerge as the wealthiest group in rural society if their total income deriving from a combination of monthly salaries and agricultural activities is taken into consideration. It seems likely that the salaried schoolteachers with an additional income from small-scale farming will prove to be wealthier than a number of IC household heads whom we have also classified in the upper stratum on account of their stock ownership and crop sales, but who only periodically supplement their income by migrant wage earning. Add to this the fact that a teaching post in the rural community implies an elevated social status, and it can reasonably be assumed that Africans in leadership positions in the Mission Churches are on the whole socio-economically more advanced then those in the Independent Churches. Such a statement should, however, be made with some reserve because it is based on Western standards of status not yet generally accepted in rural society. If, for instance, in a chiefdom like Chingombe, traditional standards – which still play an important role in determining the opinions and priorities of people – are taken into account, the elevated status of the Mission Church elite is of only relative significance. Then the Chibarirwe, whose members distinguish themselves as the most ‘prosperous’ cattle owners and who – through numerous affiliated kraalheads and the allegiance of the most prominent Rufura and Hera kinsmen – have the greatest influence in local tribal political affairs, represents the socio-economically most advanced Church group of the chiefdom.

In the urban environment there is even less economic differentiation between the various Church groups than in the rural areas. The reason for this is that the monthly wages of the skilled labourers, whom we have classified in table 30 as ‘upper middle class’, do not deviate much from the salaries of the ‘upper class’ professional workers. With the exception perhaps of the government-paid schoolteachers, the Mission Church ministers, clerks and other ‘white collar’ workers have approximately the same income as Independent Church members employed in the government service as policemen, municipal workers or as craftsmen in private enterprises. According to table 36, which deals with the cash incomes of the Fort Victoria townsmen, 25 to 28% of the interviewed persons belonging to the three major religious groupings fall in the ‘lower class’ with an average cash income of less than £10 per month. In the ‘middle class’, comprising townsmen earning £10 to £20 per month, the Independent Churches (55% of the IC members) are slightly more numerous than the traditionalists and Mission Church members,
while each religious group has only a few representatives in the 'upper class' (9-15%) earning upwards of £ 20 per month. Considering the housing conditions in the Mucheke township, it is clear that some of the Mission Church ministers who live in comfortably furnished parsonages distinguish themselves from the Independent Church officials living in more modest quarters. But generally, as far as the ordinary members of urban congregations are concerned, there is little difference in the living standards of Mission and Independent Church members. If anything, the Zionists and Apostles in the Mucheke township distinguish themselves as neatly clad citizens with a reputation for well-kept quarters. As distinct religious groups they are not associated to a greater or lesser degree with the economically less privileged class of townsmen than any of the Mission Churches, a fact which corresponds with the rural situation described above.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the limitations of statistical analysis in a study of this nature, we have been able to qualify with some accuracy certain aspects of the growth of the Southern Shona Independent Churches. I briefly recapitulate some of the major conclusions in an effort to clarify the overall picture.

It appeared that, since the inception of the IC movement there have been two peak periods of rapid expansion: Of the Spirit-type Churches between 1930 and 1940, and of the Ethiopian-type Churches after 1950. I contended that – insofar as economic factors condition Church growth – the first peak coincided rather with the bad conditions of the economic slump generally than with land apportionment. The second peak of rapid Church expansion, however, links up more closely with the resentment caused by land legislation.

Both the Mission and Spirit-type Churches (in Chingombe) recruit many people while still young, the former through their educational institutions and the latter probably through their attractive forms of worship. The Chibarirwe on the other hand recruits predominantly middle-aged and old people. That the Independent Churches hold a special attraction for adult males is reflected in the male-female ratio in these groups, which is less disproportionate than in the Mission Churches. I have suggested that the attraction of well-differentiated leadership structures enhances this trend. Mutendi’s Church here proves to be the exception with a much larger percentage of female members than in the other IC groups – a result of popularized faith-healing practices and Mutendi’s success as a ‘giver of fertility’

The locality in which Independent Churches flourish is the rural area.
Urban congregations, as yet, result from the extension of rural religious activities into town and not from large-scale recruitment in the urban setting.

As the Churches of a particular area grow, there is a shift of membership, in which the movement from Mission Churches to Independent Churches — judged by the situation in Chingombe — predominates. Yet the percentage of adherents in each IC group who have formerly been full participant members of a Mission Church is relatively low, so that one cannot characterize these Churches as parasitic or 'Separatist' movements. They did not come into existence as a result of classic schisms, and many of those who had formerly belonged to a Mission Church became non-active in Church life long before joining an Independent Church. Of the Independent Churches the prophetic movements have the largest fringe of fluid or unstable membership, which is due to temporary or even ‘experimental’ allegiances by people in need of prophetic treatment.

The clear evidence in the Independent Churches of resentment over the policies of Mission Churches and the behaviour of missionaries does not provide one with sufficient ground to depict the entire movement as a ‘reaction to Missions’ This would do no justice to the creativity and uninhibited development of the Independent Churches. Moreover, only a minority group of IC members have formerly really ‘belonged’ to Mission Churches, and few individuals consider their initial adherence to an Independent Church as the result of a reaction to Mission Churches.

The Independent Churches mainly recruit people with no education or with a relatively low educational standard. This does not mean that they are exclusively identified with illiterates and the poorly educated because an increasing number of their members progress beyond the lower primary level. In a chiefdom like Chingombe where the DRC controls the educational system and where many Africans consider affiliation to this Church a safeguard of progress to the higher standards, one’s first impression is that the young flock to this Mission Church. Yet this is a deceptive impression, for a closer analysis of the situation brings to light that many youngsters pay allegiance to this Church only on a temporary basis. Practically all the lower primary school-leavers belonging to IC households ‘return’ to their parents’ Churches when they leave school, or at least stop attending DRC services if they did so at all while at school. IC pupils who become stable members of the DRC are mostly those who have enjoyed an advanced form of training and who have become more deeply integrated into the pattern of religious activities of the Mission Church. Their numbers, however, are small.

One can speak of a certain interdependence between the Mission and Independent Churches. As long as the Mission Church provides educational
facilities and opportunity, the Independents co-operate by helping with the erection of school buildings or even by allowing their children to 'become members' of the Mission Church. This 'borrowing' of Church membership (many of the IC parents reasoning that their children sooner or later will return to 'their own' religious folds) has little bearing on the actual increase of the MC membership. Yet it enables the Mission Church — through its regular program of religious instruction — to help mould the basic Christian notions within the Independent Churches.

As regards economic factors I have argued that the land problem is an indirect rather than a direct stimulant of the growth of Independent Churches. Outspoken critics of land apportionment are found in the Mission Churches rather than in the Independent Churches. Few Independents consciously link land conditions with their attainment of Church membership; their groups are not composed of 'landless' individuals to a greater extent than any of the other religious groupings; and it seldom happens that people are attracted to the large Church colonies such as Zion City because of their inability to sustain themselves on the land available to them. Labour migration does seem to affect the growth of Independent Churches because there is a correlation between increased mobility of labour migrants and greater receptivity for these movements. Most labour migrants who join Independent Churches, however, do so after they have returned to their home districts and not while working in urban areas. Finally it was noted that the Independent Churches recruit members from all the economic strata, and that their membership was not composed of the 'poor' classes in African society to a greater extent than that of the Mission Churches. On the basis of Western norms and occupational differentiation the Mission Churches are indeed more numerously represented in the 'upper class', but in terms of subsistence farming and the still relevant traditional norms of prosperity and prestige, some of the Independent Churches are more decidedly 'upper class' than both the MC and the traditionalist communities.
Tables 1–36

Table 1. *Overall assessment (random and casual samples) – Residence of interviewed Independent Church members*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>ZCC n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ndaza n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>AACJM n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>FEC n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>ACC n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>ARC n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total n</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temporary residence at Church headquarters</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Resident in Chingombe (i.e. member of local congregation away from Church headquarters)</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>89</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>96</td>
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<td>74</td>
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<td>Gutu resident (outside Chingombe)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Outside Gutu district (Spirit-type = in town)</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>99</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Methodist</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>C of C</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Full Gospel</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>ZCC</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ndaza</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>AACJM</td>
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<td>FEC (Topia)</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACC (Chibarirwe)</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total (S%)*</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Sample percentage

Percentage of Church members who attained adherence after 1960:

**Mission Churches**
- DRC 18%
- RCC 45%
- Meth. 41%
- CofC 96%
- FG 48%

**Independent Churches**
- ZCC 45%
- Ndaza 31%
- AACJM 48%
- Topia 79%
- Chibarirwe 72%
### TABLE 3. Overall assessment (random and casual samples) – Dates of entry into Independent Churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates of entry</th>
<th>ZCC n</th>
<th>ZCC %</th>
<th>Ndaza n</th>
<th>Ndaza %</th>
<th>AACJM n</th>
<th>AACJM %</th>
<th>FEC n</th>
<th>FEC %</th>
<th>ACC (Chib) n</th>
<th>ACC (Chib) %</th>
<th>ARC n</th>
<th>Total n</th>
<th>Total %</th>
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<tr>
<td>1920 to 1929</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>1930 to 1939</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>1940 to 1949</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>98</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>117</td>
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<td>1950 to 1954</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>1965 to 1967</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>118</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>108</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>166</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>638</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample percentage</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Graphic illustration of Independent Church growth

- Increase of Church membership per decade (according to percentage of membership in each group).
### Table 4. RSS (adult Church members in Chingombe) — Age at entry into Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>under 10</th>
<th>10-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-25</th>
<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>S %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>19 16</td>
<td>31 26</td>
<td>26 21</td>
<td>20 16</td>
<td>7 6</td>
<td>9 7</td>
<td>7 6</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>12 100</td>
<td>22 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>14 16</td>
<td>24 28</td>
<td>10 12</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>13 15</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>6 7</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>86 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>12 39</td>
<td>4 13</td>
<td>5 16</td>
<td>3 10</td>
<td>3 10</td>
<td>2 6</td>
<td>3 10</td>
<td>31 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>5 12</td>
<td>3 7</td>
<td>10 24</td>
<td>4 9</td>
<td>5 12</td>
<td>9 21</td>
<td>2 5</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>3 7</td>
<td>42 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza</td>
<td>4 9</td>
<td>7 16</td>
<td>5 11</td>
<td>7 16</td>
<td>12 27</td>
<td>5 11</td>
<td>2 4</td>
<td>4 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>45 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>7 26</td>
<td>5 18</td>
<td>4 15</td>
<td>4 15</td>
<td>3 11</td>
<td>2 7</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>2 7</td>
<td>27 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Topia)</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>5 9</td>
<td>13 23</td>
<td>11 19</td>
<td>16 28</td>
<td>5 9</td>
<td>3 5</td>
<td>3 5</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>57 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chib.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (S%)</td>
<td>197=36%</td>
<td>142=26%</td>
<td>79=14%</td>
<td>29=18%</td>
<td>33=6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>548 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5. RSS — Adult males and females in the Chingombe Churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission Churches</th>
<th>Male n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Independent Churches</th>
<th>Male n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>39 32</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>121 100</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>13 31</td>
<td>29 69</td>
<td>42 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>29 34</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>86 100</td>
<td>Ndaza</td>
<td>22 49</td>
<td>23 51</td>
<td>45 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>6 27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>22 100</td>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>11 41</td>
<td>16 59</td>
<td>27 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td>10 43</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>23 99</td>
<td>Topia</td>
<td>26 46</td>
<td>31 54</td>
<td>57 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>10 32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>31 100</td>
<td>Chibarirwe</td>
<td>42 45</td>
<td>52 55</td>
<td>94 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (S%)</td>
<td>94 33</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>283 100</td>
<td></td>
<td>114 43</td>
<td>151 57</td>
<td>265 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. RSS (adult Church members in Chingombe) – Fluidity of Church membership/male and female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affiliation prior to present affiliation</th>
<th>Male Church member</th>
<th>Female Church member</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No prior affiliation</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed from Mission to Mission Church</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Mission to Independent Church</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Mission to two or more previous Independent Churches</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From two or more previous Mission Churches to Independent Church</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Independent to Mission Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Independent to Independent Church</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sample percentage)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church affiliation</td>
<td>No prior (full or partial) membership</td>
<td>From Mission to Mission Church</td>
<td>From Mission to Independent Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topia</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chibarirwe</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S% 62% - stable Church membership 20% - changed from Mission to Independent Church
36% - 'fluid' Church membership 7% - changed from Independent to Mission or other Independent Church
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Mission Church affiliation prior to present affiliation</th>
<th>ZCC n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
<th>Ndaza n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
<th>AACJM n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
<th>FEC (Topia) n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
<th>ACC (Chib.) n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
<th>ARC (Shonganiso) n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
<th>Total n</th>
<th>s% d%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No prior MC affiliation</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former DRC (educational and catechetical training)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former DRC (full member)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former RCC (educational and catechetical training)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former RCC (full member)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Gospel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant denominations, e.g. Church of Christ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of 'defectors'</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

s% = Sample percentage  
d% = Percentage of those who have defected
### Table 9. Overall assessment ('defectors' from Independent Churches) – Independent Church affiliation prior to present affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Church from which person has defected</th>
<th>DRC</th>
<th>RCC</th>
<th>ZCC</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>AACJM</th>
<th>FEC</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>ARC</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Shoko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Masuka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtisi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza group of</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chibarirwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Apostle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>90*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample percentage</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The 90 persons concerned constitutes 9% of the overall sample of case-studies (335 DRC and RCC; and 638 IC members; = 973).
### Table 10. Overall assessment (random and casual samples — Nature of change of affiliation of Independent Church members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of change</th>
<th>ZCC</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>AACJM</th>
<th>Topia</th>
<th>Chibarirwe</th>
<th>ARC (Shonganiso)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No prior Church membership/no change</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directly from Mission to Independent Church</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directly from Independent to Independent Church</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short period of non-affiliation in between (less than 1 yr.)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longer period of non-affiliation in between (1 - 5 yrs.)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long period of non-affiliation in between (5 yrs.+)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapid change in search of cure or other aid</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total: s% d%</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

s% = Sample percentage

| d%          | 43 | 10 | 48 | 99 | 59 | 99 | 80 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 335 | 100 |

Percentage of those who have defected
Table 11. RSS (adult Church members in Chingombe) – Place of joining the present Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Locality of recruitment</th>
<th>Unqualified</th>
<th>In tribal area</th>
<th>In tribal area</th>
<th>In tribal area</th>
<th>In town</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndana</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC (Chib.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC (Topla)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC (Chib.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. CST – Place of joining the present Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation of townsmen</th>
<th>Locality of recruitment</th>
<th>In tribal area (at home)</th>
<th>In tribal area (at Mission station or out-school)</th>
<th>In town</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMEC</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndana</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komboni Zionists</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (S%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 13.** Overall assessment (random and casual samples) – Explicit reaction to (criticism of) European Mission by those who have defected from Mission Churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of reaction</th>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have not defected from Mission Church:</td>
<td>DRC n</td>
<td>RCC n</td>
<td>ZCC n</td>
<td>Ndara n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No outspoken criticism</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have defected but voiced no criticism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resent strict rules of Mission Church generally, e.g. no beer, no Jordan baptism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resent Shamhu (Church discipline) personally experienced</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticize the absence of the Holy Spirit in Mission Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resent hypocrisy of social relations which militate against message of love</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vanoshara ganda: ‘They distinguish the [white] skin’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resent European handling of Church funds</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticize long duration of catechism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have migrated; was then too far removed from previous Church</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consider liturgy of Mission Church too complicated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14. Overall assessment ('defectors' of random and casual samples) – Explicit reaction to Independent Church as reason for defecting and joining another (Independent or Mission) Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of reaction</th>
<th>Independent Church from which reactionary has defected</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>Masuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No explicit reaction as reason for change</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regards main leader as incompetent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader misuses Church funds</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was debarred from promotion as office-bearer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement on doctrinal grounds (e.g. Sabbath)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctrinal issue (reacted to prohibition of beer drinking)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctrinal issue (for or against polygamy)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Church does not teach correct way to salvation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reacted against 'false prophecies' (was chased away by prophet)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample percentage</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 'Defectors' from Spirit-type Churches: 88 = 86%
    'Defectors' from Ethiopian-type Churches: 10 = 10%
### Table 15. RSS – Education in Chingombe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Educational standard achieved by Chingombe adults</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Sub Std.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A or B</td>
<td>n %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Gospel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza Zionist</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC (Topia)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC (Chibarirwe)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 16. Overall assessment (random and casual samples) – Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Educational standard achieved by adult Mission and Total Church members</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Sub Std.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A or B</td>
<td>n %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. Church Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza Zionist</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC (Topia)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC (Chibarirwe)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Church</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 17  Overall assessment (random and casual samples) – Denomination of schools at which educated Mission Church and Independent Church members received their training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>DRC</th>
<th>RCC</th>
<th>Methodist</th>
<th>Other Protestant</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Church</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza Zionist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC (Topia)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC (Chibairwe)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARC (Shonganiso)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Church</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 18. RSS – Education of the Chingombe youth – male and female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Males under 18 yrs.</th>
<th>Females under 18 yrs.</th>
<th>Total: Males and females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 7 years of age; therefore no schooling yet</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education (above 7 years)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left school before 1966</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending school in 1966</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/S%</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 19. RSS (Chingombe youth) – Educational standard completed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational standard completed in (or before) 1966</th>
<th>Males under 18 yrs.</th>
<th>Females under 18 yrs.</th>
<th>Total: Males and females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub A</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub B</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 2</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 3</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/S%</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 20. RSS (Chingombe youth) – Educational position of boys and girls of school-going age (7-18 years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation of child (male and female)</th>
<th>Had no schooling</th>
<th>Schooling completed before or during 1966</th>
<th>Attended school in 1966 and was to proceed in following year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalist (no Church)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Christ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Gospel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaza Zionist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC (Topia)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC (Chibarirwe)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/S%</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>635*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample percentage</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*635 = 55% of all children
### Table 21. RSS (Chingombe youth) – Educational standard and Church affiliation of children who have been or still are at school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Sub A n</th>
<th>Sub B %</th>
<th>Std. 1 n</th>
<th>Std. 1 %</th>
<th>Std. 2 n</th>
<th>Std. 2 %</th>
<th>Std. 3 n</th>
<th>Std. 3 %</th>
<th>Std. 4 n</th>
<th>Std. 4 %</th>
<th>Std. 5 n</th>
<th>Std. 5 %</th>
<th>Std. 6 n</th>
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- 97 Mission Church
- 86 Independent Church
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Table 25. CST – Landholdings of Fort Victoria townsmen
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<td>Was employed outside Rhodesia only (mostly S.A.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was employed outside and inside Rhodesia</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Was employed away from Chingombe in Rhodesia only</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<td>Is employed in Rhodesia at present (in or near Chingombe)</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Studying elsewhere (teaching profession or ministry)</td>
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<td>10</td>
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### TABLE 27  RSS – Patterns of labour migration concerning the adult males in Chingombe

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<th>RCC</th>
<th>Methodists</th>
<th>C of C</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>Mission Church</th>
<th>ZCC</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>AACJM</th>
<th>Topia Chib.</th>
<th>IC</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sample Total</th>
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<td>n %</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Salisbury</td>
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<td>4 14</td>
<td>2 20</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>18 19</td>
<td>2 15</td>
<td>7 32</td>
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<td>7 17</td>
<td>19 17</td>
<td>17 54</td>
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<td>Bulawayo</td>
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<td>6 21</td>
<td>1 17</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>11 12</td>
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<td>3 14</td>
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<td>2 18</td>
<td>4 15</td>
<td>4 9</td>
<td>12 10</td>
<td>21 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Victoria</td>
<td>6 9</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 23</td>
<td>2 9</td>
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<td>8 7</td>
<td>16 6</td>
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<td>2 33</td>
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<td>1 8</td>
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<td>2 18</td>
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<td>22 8</td>
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#### Urban and peri-urban areas

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<th>RCC</th>
<th>Methodists</th>
<th>C of C</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>Mission Church</th>
<th>ZCC</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>AACJM</th>
<th>Topia Chib.</th>
<th>IC</th>
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<th>Sample Total</th>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small Other urban towns areas</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Within Chingombe &amp; 100 mile radius</td>
<td>10 15 14 36</td>
<td>5 17</td>
<td>1 7</td>
<td>3 30</td>
<td>3 30</td>
<td>26 28</td>
<td>1 8 4 18</td>
<td>4 15</td>
<td>2 5</td>
<td>11 10</td>
<td>47 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>In rural areas outside 100 mile radius of Chingombe</td>
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<td>2 9</td>
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<td>3 3 6 2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in Rhodesia (or unknown)</td>
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<td>2 7</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>7 7</td>
<td>1 8</td>
<td>1 9</td>
<td>2 8 7 17 11 10</td>
<td>10 21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68 100 39 99</td>
<td>29 100</td>
<td>6 100</td>
<td>10 100 10 100</td>
<td>94 100</td>
<td>13 100</td>
<td>22 99 11 99 26 99</td>
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<td>276 101</td>
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Table 28. RSS – Opinions of labour migrants (in Chingombe) about the influence of labour migration on their religious lives

| Answers to the question: *How did your stay(s) in an urban or rural area during employment outside the chiefdom affect your Church-going?* | Tradi- | DRC | RCC | Method- | C of C | FG | Mission | ZCC | Ndaza | AACJM | Topia | Chib. | IC | Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Denominational affiliation | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % |
| No labour migrant | 17 | 25 | 11 | 28 | 4 | 14 | 2 | 20 | 1 | 10 | 18 | 19 | 2 | 15 | 7 | 32 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 17 | 19 | 17 | 54 | 20 |
| It made no difference | 7 | 10 | 16 | 41 | 10 | 34 | 3 | 50 | 2 | 20 | 3 | 30 | 34 | 36 | 2 | 15 | 9 | 41 | 2 | 18 | 8 | 31 | 6 | 14 | 27 | 24 | 68 | 25 |
| It backslid completely | 4 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 5 |
| Total | 68 | 99 | 39 | 100 | 29 | 100 | 6 | 101 | 10 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 94 | 100 | 13 | 99 | 22 | 99 | 11 | 99 | 26 | 100 | 42 | 99 | 114 | 100 | 276 | 101
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<th>RCC</th>
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<th>C of C</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>Mission Church</th>
<th>ZCC</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>AACJM</th>
<th>Topia</th>
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<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
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**Class distinctions:**

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<th>Mission Church</th>
<th>Independent Church</th>
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<td>Upper class ('white collar' and salesmen)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle class (skilled workers government service, craftsmen and nganga)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle class (semi-skilled workers/manual and domestic)</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class (unskilled workers general labourers and those without employment)</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>40%</td>
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### Table 30. CST – Nature of employment of Mucheke townsmen (Fort Victoria)

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<th>Clerical workers</th>
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<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Roads Dept.</th>
<th>Railways</th>
<th>Craftsmen</th>
<th>Salesmen</th>
<th>Manual labourers</th>
<th>Domestic servants</th>
<th>General labourers</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>DRC RCC Meth.</td>
<td>CofC Mission</td>
<td>AMEC ZCC Ndaza</td>
<td>Komboni AACJM</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Overall</td>
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<td>Church</td>
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<td>Professional workers</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
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<td>Police</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Railways</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Manual labourers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic servants</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General labourers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>43 101 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class distinctions:**
- **Upper class (white collar and salesmen)**: 10% 28% 19%
- **Upper middle class (government service/craftsmen)**: 40% 15% 42%
- **Lower middle class (manual and domestic)**: 20% 9% 25%
- **Lower class (general)**: 20% 34% 14%

Professional workers: Mainly teachers and salaried ministers
Craftsmen: Carpenters, builders and basket-weavers
Salesmen: Shop-keepers, shop owners, butchers and hawkers
Manual: Machine operators, drivers, mine and farm hands
General: Garage and lorry assistants, factory workers and errand boys, etc.
### Table 31. RSS - Number of livestock (head of cattle) per household in Chingombe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of cattle</th>
<th>Denominational affiliation of heads of households</th>
<th>Sample Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Mostly young adult males whose households are still to some extent economically integrated into those of their fathers or elder brothers. Some of them own small stock (goats and sheep) but no cattle.

**Class distinctions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traditionalists</th>
<th>Mission Church</th>
<th>Independent Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12 and more head of cattle)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class (6-11)</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class (nil-5)</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 32. RSS – Ratio of livestock units per household in Chingombe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of animal units (1 unit = 1 head of cattle or 4 head of small stock/sheep and goats)</th>
<th>Denominational affiliation of heads of households</th>
<th>Sample Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class distinctions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class distinctions:</th>
<th>Traditionalists</th>
<th>Mission Church</th>
<th>Independent Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class (11 and more units)</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class (6-10 units)</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class (nil -5 units)</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 33. RSS – Bags of grain (maize, finger and bulrush millet) and groundnuts harvested per household in Chingombe in 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of bags harvested</th>
<th>Denominational affiliation of heads of households</th>
<th>Sample Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9 13</td>
<td>12 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>8 12</td>
<td>1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>24 35</td>
<td>7 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>10 15</td>
<td>4 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>11 16</td>
<td>2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>1 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68 99</td>
<td>39 101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class distinctions:**

- Upper class (40+ bags): 1%
- Middle class (21-40 bags): 31%
- Lower class (nil -20 bags): 67%

**Traditionalists**

- Mission Church: 19%
- Independent Church: 21%

**Protestants**

- Mission Church: 29%
- Independent Church: 48%
### Table 34. RSS – Bags of grain (maize, finger and bulrush millet) and groundnuts sold per household in Chingombe in 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of bags sold</th>
<th>Traditionalist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denominational affiliation of heads of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>36 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>23 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20+</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68 99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class distinctions:**

- **Upper class (16 bags and more):** 2%
- **Middle class (6-15 bags):** 10%
- **Lower class (nil -5 bags):** 87%

**Mission Church:**

- Traditionalist: 8%
- Church: 13%
- Independent: 29%
### TABLE 35. RSS – Economic strength of Chingombe households in 1966; based on a combination of stock ownership and cash crops, expressed in money value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated value of livestock owned and income from grain sold in 1966 (1 animal unit = £10)</th>
<th>Denominational affiliation of heads of households</th>
<th>Sample Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>Mission Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>RCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>n %</td>
<td>n %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 1-20</td>
<td>10 15</td>
<td>11 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 21-40</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>3 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 41-60</td>
<td>12 18</td>
<td>4 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 61-80</td>
<td>6 9</td>
<td>2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 81-100</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 101-120</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 121-140</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>3 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>£ 141-160</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 161-180</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 181-200</td>
<td>2 5</td>
<td>2 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 201-300</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>5 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68 99</td>
<td>39 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class distinctions:**

- **Upper class (£140-300):** 12%
- **Middle class (£60-140):** 21%
- **Lower class (nil – £60):** 66%
### Table 36. CST – Cash income of townsmen (Fort Victoria)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average cash income per month (mostly wages)</th>
<th>Traditionalists</th>
<th>European-directed Mission Churches</th>
<th>Spirit-type Independent Churches</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£ 1-4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>AMEC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 5-9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Ndaza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£10-14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>Komboni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£15-19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Anglicans</td>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£20-24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>£25-29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chow</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>£30+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>总</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
<td>Mission Church</td>
<td>Independent Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class (£20/and more)</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class (£10-19)</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class (£1-9)</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Several individuals in this sample were reluctant to disclose information in connection with their financial positions but few of them were not salaried at the time of the survey.
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

One of the most important questions asked from all the interviewed Church members was simply: 'Why did you become a member of this Church?' The answers ranged from brief accounts, highlighting one major episode or circumstance, to lengthy and detailed descriptions, including a whole series of events and motivating factors. A male Zionist, for instance, would emphasize the healing treatment he had received at the hands of a prophet as the major factor which had caused him to join this movement. In addition he might be a polygamist with, or without, a distinct background history of conflict with Mission leaders over this issue. In such cases, where a complexity of factors was involved, I tried to glean the most important motivating force for purposes of quantification. It was often a matter of reducing a whole case history to the first, and often most important, reaction to the central question mentioned above. The limitations of such a reduction are obvious. It means that some of the direct causes for affiliation may be overweighted in relation to the subtler background factors which may have been equally important in the process of decision-making. Consequently it so happens that the important question of polygamy recedes to the background in the Spirit-type Churches because of the emphasis their members usually place on prophetic activities as the major mobilizing force. On the other hand, the emphasis of Chibarirwe members on this Church's tolerance of such traditional customs as beer drinking and polygamy tends to obscure other important motivations in this group, such as the purely soteriological factor (the need for salvation) and the need to belong to a community which specially nurtures and consoles the old.

Despite its limitations as regards the full range of possible incentives for religious affiliation in the lives of individuals, table 37 nevertheless provides us with a useful comparative picture of the incidence of priority-preferences as expressed by the members of the different Church groups. This table covers too wide a range of causative factors for full treatment in this chapter. The attraction of indigenized forms of worship (category 5, a and d) or of the socializing function of the Church group (category 7), for instance, is of
direct relevance to the contents of the following volumes. Many of the reasons for Church affiliation listed in table 37, therefore, will only be discussed in relation to such aspects as the composition of congregations (Volume 3), baptismal, marriage and burial rites (Volume 4), or the major annual festivities of the Independent Churches. Here, and in the next two chapters, we are mainly concerned with the most frequently mentioned motivations, classified in table 37 under categories 4 (prophetic activities), 5 (Church laws), and 6 (kinship factors); motivations which derive from characteristic patterns of adaptation to the traditional religious background, or which result from the particular way in which the New Message is made relevant in a still largely traditional setting.

Before proceeding to the main theme a few additional remarks concerning table 37 should be made. A considerable number of DRC and RCC people, proportionately far more numerous than the Independent Church members, explained the motivation of their Church affiliation with straightforward statements such as: 'I wanted to be sure of eternal life'; 'I merely wanted to follow God', or 'I was afraid of God's judgment'. These answers reflect a deeply religious need for salvation (category 1), which undoubtedly plays a central role as a motivating force, whether verbalized or only partly realized, in the decisions of most people who join a Church. It was only listed, however, if there was uncertainty about a person's preference for a particular denominational group, and it should not be interpreted as an indication that it weighs more heavily in one group than in another.

It is also significant that more DRC members (17%) than adherents of any other Church professed to have been attracted to this Church by the forceful preaching of its leaders. This may be the result of the emphasis on sermons in DRC services as well as the subjection of the African youth to the constant influence of Sunday services while at school. This factor stands in direct relation with missionary control of educational facilities and may well be the reason why 39% of the DRC and 26% of the RCC members (categories 2 and 3 of table 37) gave answers pointing to the recruitment value of schools. Some Mission Church members even stated that they attained membership to safeguard their chances of advanced schooling. Others intimated that they became adherents of a Mission Church because they started attending catechism classes as a matter of course, while at school, just as the majority of their schoolfriends in the same age group were doing.

The reason why the answers of more DRC than RCC members are listed in the first three categories of table 37 derives from the fact that the former were nearly all referring to their initial motivation for accepting Christianity, while quite a number of the latter, who formerly belonged to the DRC, quali-
1. Part of Zion City Mutendi’s living quarters and Church-building.

2. Zionist Bishop Mutendi blessing the seed with his holy staff during a mbeu ungano at Zion City.
3. The sanctification of old newspapers by Mutendi, through prayer and the touch of hand.
4. A Sunday service in front of the office at Zion City.

5. Ndaza Zionist bishop leads his followers in dancing.
6. Apostolic evangelist (AACJM) preaching forcefully during open-air service.
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

ified their preference for Roman Catholicism by referring to what they regarded as more lenient Church practices, e.g. permissive attitudes to beer drinking, shorter catechism, and less strenuous financial demands (i.e. lower school fees, lower building costs for new schools and a lower rate of annual thankoffering contributions [nhendo]). Many RCC responses are therefore classified under categories 5 and 8.

There is a certain degree of overlapping with other tables, insofar as the reactionary factor (category 8, a and b) and revelatory dreams (9, a – also dealt with in table 38) also appear in the present context. This was unavoidable since such aspects were the only or the overriding factors mentioned by the individuals concerned. Thus the answers listed in category 5 a, for instance, concern those who simply replied to the central question, ‘I joined this Church because I was disciplined [given shamhu] in the previous one.’

Finally, it should be noted that several Mission and Independent Church members mentioned Biblical verses, either discovered by themselves or brought to their attention through sermons, which led to their conversion. The former usually mentioned texts dealing with conversion, while the latter referred to prophecy dealing with Mt. Zion, texts referring to the Apostles of Christ, the Holy Spirit, and portions pertaining to the Kushites or Ethiopians. Since the preoccupation with a Biblical charter for their Churches and the emergency of their own written or unwritten ‘theology’ was reflected in the Biblical references of the IC members, this factor was excluded from table 37, in anticipation of a fuller treatment of theological developments in the Independent Churches, in Volume 4.

We can now proceed to deal with the patterns of adaptation to traditional religion and customs.

1. THE MWARI CULT

In Volume 1, I mentioned Mutendi’s success with the Shona chiefs as a ‘rainmaker’ 1 The data obtained from five affiliated chiefs whom I interviewed personally were not used for quantification purposes and therefore do not appear in table 37 It was evident, however, that many chiefs were drawn into Mutendi’s fold because he succeeded in introducing substitutes for the Mwari cult and, by implication, also for the local rain (mukwerere) rituals. Even some of the commoners belonging to the zcc (table 37, 4, d) professed

to have been convinced of the authenticity of the Zionist bishop's mission after they had witnessed him performing the miracle of 'calling down' rain in drought-stricken areas.

The Mwari cult is mainly concerned with crop fertility (rain), curative powers especially related to the fertility of females, and with tribal politics. Mutendi succeeded in supplanting each of these three crucial functions by an effective adaptation of his Church practices and liturgical patterns to the particular needs of the Shona, which had so long been catered for by the ancient High-God cult with its headquarters at Matonjeni. In the next chapter we will touch on the bishop's reputed success as a healer who grants procreative powers to barren women, while in this section we will deal with the other two important functions of Matonjeni.

a) Rainmaking

Part of Mutendi's strategy consisted of a frontal attack on the God of Matonjeni. He likened the traditional God to Satan and claimed in sermons that this deity was no longer capable of providing rain. Aware of the fact that the traditional system of mediation, i.e. the addressing of pleas through the senior lineage and tribal ancestors to Mwari himself, threatened the mediating function on which his own leadership was founded, Mutendi also encouraged his subordinate leaders to preach against the ancestors and the Matonjeni God. Their reaction is reflected in a sermon of Evangelist Judah, Mutendi's son-in-law, held at Zion City in 1965: 'If we do not really believe that Mutendi was sent by God, it is because of the evil spirits of our forebears. Our refusal to subject ourselves completely to his authority is caused by the spirits of our forefathers working in us.'

Mutendi himself is inclined to confine his sharpest attacks to sermons preached to thousands of followers all over the country during 'Passover' festivities. In 1965, for instance, during the final sermon before the administration of the sacraments, he launched the following attack on Matonjeni and the ancestors: 'A family under Satan's guidance [referring to Mwari waMatonjeni] has no peace. You must therefore cast away all that was practised by your forebears. They believed in and worshipped their midzimu. This kind of worship is the same as believing in demons, and such shavi spirits as the Madanda, Majukwa and Zvipuna. Cast away all these things and believe in Him who is in heaven.'

Participation in the *mukwerere* rituals is forbidden and contributions to the 'gifts for Matonjeni' (*zvipo zva Matonjeni*), collected by the local *vanyai* (cult messengers), are discouraged by Zionist leaders. Yet, in practice, many Zionists still comply with the demands of their kraalheads when collections are made for Matonjeni since they are afraid of prejudicing their landrights by refusing to co-operate.

Instead of relying on the traditional *munyai*, each Zionist congregation sends a delegation to Zion City during the October conference (called the *mbEu ungano*, literally 'seed conference') with a special request for rain. Some of the Zionist chiefs attend the *mbEu ungano* in person and present their pleas for a good rainy season directly to the 'man of God.' This conference gives ZCC members the chance of having the seed, soon to be sown in their fields, blessed by their leader. The flails which they hope to use when the crops have been reaped and the pegs which they drive in at the corners of their fields to counter-act the magic of their enemies are also taken along to Moriah. Towards the end of the conference special ceremonies take place during which Mutendi blesses all these objects through the laying on of hands. Mutendi thus replaces one of the *nganga*'s most important ritual functions. Instead of the fertilizing power originating from Mwari waMatonjeni being transferred through the manipulations of the traditional diviner to the seed and other objects, Mutendi conveys these blessings (also conceived of as fertility-power) directly from the 'One in Heaven' (plate 1).

But more important still is Mutendi's modelling of the ceremonial request for rain at Moriah on the familiar procedures adopted in the past. Traditionally the *vanyai* present Mwari waMatonjeni with *zvipo* on behalf of the districts which they represent when they ask for rain; and a similar presentation by the delegates takes place at Zion City. In the same month that Mwari priests, *mbonga* and *vahosana* dance at the Matonjeni shrines, Zionists from all over the country dance at the ZCC headquarters. During the dances the representative of God, Mutendi himself, sits at a table, surrounded by hundreds or sometimes thousands of his followers. In a competitive spirit the delegates of each district dance in front of Mutendi and place their *zvipo* – a pound-note at a time – on the table. When the delegates of one district stop dancing, there are some £15 to £20 to be counted, registered in a book and stored away; thereupon the next delegation starts to dance. Thus presenting the 'man of God' with their concrete requests, delegates trust their God will favour them with sufficient rain for the coming season.

Mutendi's efforts at rainmaking have proved to be a successful way of

winning members for the ZCC in the chiefdoms where the Mwari cult still exerts a strong influence. All the senior chiefs (vadzishe venyembe huru: Chiefs of the big emblem) who pay allegiance to this Zionist Church live in areas where the messengers of the Matonjeni God are still operative, i.e. in Gutu, Victoria, Chibi, Nuanetsi, Bikita, Ndanga and Nyashanu (Buhera). In the case of Chief Mazuru in the Gutu district, it was evident that his own belief in Mutendi’s rainmaking powers had direct religious consequences for himself as well as for several of his kinsmen. Acting on the advice of a ZCC prophet in his chiefdom, he requested the Zionist bishop in March 1965 to conduct a meeting at his homestead. According to the chief: ‘The man of God told us that his footprints would be obliterated [kudzimwa] by rain after his departure. It happened as he had predicted. I believed in this man’s miracles and became a member of this Church. Several of the people in my chiefdom were convinced too, so Evangelist Titos and I baptized twenty-eight new members last Sunday.’

The Zionists, in turn, fully exploit such testimonies by the chiefs to impress on others the unique qualities of their leader. Several months after the incident in Mazuru, Evangelist Judah was still preaching about this event. At Chief Ziki’s homestead in Bikita district he addressed some 500 people on the 6th of June as follows: ‘Some time ago we travelled to Mazuru. Many people had gathered there by invitation of Mutendi’s God. Chief Mazuru himself stood up and declared Mutendi to be above all people. He gave Mutendi the title “Chibge chitedza”, the Formidable One. On Monday as we left, heavy rains fell. All the people were convinced that our God is the real one.’

Of all the Zionist leaders in Rhodesia, Mutendi has been the most successful with the use of rainmaking activities as a recruitment technique to the advantage of his Church. Nevertheless, Ndaza leaders too, have attacked and supplanted the traditional High-God cult by introducing Church ceremonies especially concerned with requests for rain and with the transfer of divine power to grain seeds through holy staves. Excerpts from two sermons delivered by Bishop Andreas Shako and one of his subordinate officials during a large ZAFM meeting on the 9th of May 1965 in the Chibi district, illustrate the imaginative approach of Ndaza Zionists to the age-old cult: Bishop Andreas Shako said: ‘In Proverbs 4:3 we read that everybody should obey and follow the teaching of his father. This means that a Christian should follow God, the Father. But if one prefers not to give oneself to God, it

5. Chibge chitedza literally means ‘a slippery rock’.
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

107

means that one has chosen Satan. That is why you still worship Mwari waMatonjeni. I am sad because of this. Some of you seem to prosper but are sick inside. In Mark 7:10, Jesus says “whoever denies his or her parents deserves death.” Those who do not want to listen to this word should therefore go to Matonjeni where they will worship the ancestors and tamba mashavi. We [Zionists] have no finger millet for you people who brew beer for the ancestors. Go and join the others [traditionalists] who worship the ancestors. Jesus said: “Come and receive salvation from Me, without cost”, but you people prefer to brew beer in order to buy salvation from the God of Matonjeni. We should not deny the real Creator His dues. We should give our gifts to the Lord and not to Matonjeni. Some of you are suspicious of these gifts and wonder if they will not be wrongly spent. But I tell you today that you will never see God Himself in order to give Him your gifts. I am now going to demonstrate to you that God does not receive gifts directly, but humans do so in His stead.’

Andreas at this juncture tossed a coin into the air, picked it up and handed it to me. ‘You see’, he continued, ‘God did not take it Himself, but our guest received it. Anybody to whom you give a gift with all your heart is in the position of God, and receives it as such.’

Bishop Mtisi, elaborating on the main theme of Andreas, said: ‘What are you going to do if you come before God, without having given Him any gifts? Surely, you are going to be cast away! The drought of this year is a divine punishment because you have failed to give gifts. What happened to your crops each year? Does not your bishop pray for it? Do you think the bishop [Andreas Shako] would have to walk if you all gave sufficient gifts? This money will enable him to travel from place to place, preaching. How do you expect him to visit you if you do not enable him to do so?’

Andreas Shako was addressing particularly the traditionalists attending the meeting and such Zionists as were inclined to resort to the Matonjeni cult in critical periods of drought. His preoccupation with the Mwari cult partly results from the knowledge that the vanyai still exert a considerable influence in the Chibi district – an area conveniently situated within easy reach of the cult shrines – and that in periods of drought these emissaries of Mwari step up their activities throughout the district. Yet the significant point is that Andreas, much like St. Paul on the Areopagus (Acts 17), was making use of ‘points of contact’ in traditional religion to convey an essentially Christian (or Zionist) message to his audience. He denounced the giving of gifts to the Matonjeni God as a ‘buying of salvation’ and then used this attack on the traditional concept of advancing a request with a gift in order to suggest that God’s real dues should be given to the Church (in spite of suspicion con-
cerning the use of such zvipo). Bishop Mtisi's complementary sermon indicates how closely the Zionist concept of giving is, in fact, still conditioned by the traditional religious background. He sees a causal relationship between the drought and the failure of the Zionists to provide their leader, Andreas – who acts as the representative of God when he prays for rain – with (God's) gifts. As of old, the failure to comply with God's demands results in divine retaliation through droughts. In much the same way as Mutendi, though less spectacularly, Andreas replaces the priests of Matonjeni. On behalf of the Church and of God, he receives the gifts of 'God's children', and in turn he intercedes for rain.

Reference has been made to the attitudes of missionaries to the High-God cult, the lack of a clear differentiation in the DRC 'Katekisma' between the attributes of the traditional and Christian concepts of God, and the introduction by the Roman Catholics of a special rain ritual in their liturgy. There are some similarities between the Roman Catholic and Zionist adaptation to the traditional background as far as the symbolic blessing of the seed (mbeu) and the fields of subsistence farmers is concerned. It is natural that the Catholic rain ritual should meet with considerable appreciation in rural communities. As a rule, however, missionaries are less aware of the subtle influence of the Mwari cult than the Independent Church leaders are. The relatively isolated life at a Mission station often prevents direct contact with those who actively support the cult in rural areas. Moreover, the accommodating attitudes of local varyai, who nowadays carry less antagonistic anti-Mission and anti-education messages from Matonjeni to their outlying districts than they did in the past and whose children attend Mission schools, may easily lead missionaries to believe that the cult has broken down completely and has virtually lost its effective force. Vondo and Chiiya, respectively the Gutu and Bikita cult messengers, both of whom live within a few miles from Dutch Reformed Mission stations, show no overt signs of antagonism towards Missions. Missionaries are hardly aware of the wide scope of their religious responsibilities and influence in these two areas. Consequently, the above-mentioned type of confrontation during sermons with the Matonjeni cultists and with the submerged influence of this cult in Christian communities seldom occurs during Mission Church services. Under such circumstances there is no real substitute for the Matonjeni cult in the lives of numerous Mission Church Christians, and they continue to rely to some extent on the rain-giving deity at Matonjeni. The sharp reaction of traditional cultists to Zionist rainmaking practices – to which reference will be made

Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

below – in contrast to their ‘toleration’ of Mission Church prayer meetings, is in itself an indication of the effective replacement of the old with ‘something new’ in the Zionist camp. Substitutions of the prophetic type form a serious challenge to the Matonjeni cult and threaten to undermine its influence.

Characteristic of the Ethiopian-type Churches, especially the Chibarirwe movement, is their lack of attacks on the Matonjeni cult. In this respect they resemble the Mission Churches rather than the Zionists and Apostles. Bishop Gavure of the FEC tactfully avoids this topic during sermons, although he personally disagrees with any active participation of his followers in traditional rituals. As head of a Church which champions the ‘customs of our fathers’, Rev. Sengwayo of the Chibarirwe acknowledges the validity of the traditional system of mediation through the ancestors. This attitude he seeks to justify with reference to the Biblical command: ‘Honour your father and mother!’ – a command which he interprets as extending beyond the grave to the realm of the deceased. Such a lenient approach leaves sufficient scope for the numerous Chibarirwe kraalheads to continue their traditional duties of annually collecting zvipo for Matonjeni, and to call in the aid of the nganga if there is sufficient motivation for protective magical treatment of the seed to be sown. Whereas the prophetic adaptation facilitates the introduction into the Church of a Christianized version of the old, the Chibarirwe accommodation consists rather of an acquiescent approach enabling the elderly people (vakuru) to participate in traditional rituals without being anathemized.

b) Tribal politics

The prophetic type of Church leadership has to some extent also usurped the role played by the Matonjeni messengers in the field of tribal politics. Instead of consulting Mwari waMatonjeni, chiefs began to rely on the council of Church leaders or the revelatory predictions of prophets, specially appointed to aid them. Some of these chiefs even witnessed in public that praying prophets had ‘kept them in office’ when they had found their positions in jeopardy.

In Gutu, where the chiefs have maintained a close association with the Matonjeni priesthood since the time of the famous rainmaker, Marumbi and Mabwazhe (Chinamakutu),7 the ascendance of Zionism was experienced by traditionalists as an improper intrusion. Chief Gutu (Munyonga), who success-

fully filled the role of acting chief during an interregnum between 1963 and 1967, turned to Mutendi's movement at a stage when it became increasingly difficult to cope with the internal struggle for tribal political power. A uniformed Zionist prophet settled at his homestead to act in an advisory capacity during formal and informal court (dare) sessions. Related Zionist members constituted a direct link between the chief and Mutendi's Church headquarters. Advice on complicated matters could therefore be directly obtained from the 'man of God' if the occasion demanded it. Chief Munyonga did not discredit the traditional element. Yet his refusal to attend the main mukwerere ritual in his ward in 1966 (he sent a non-Christian relative as his representative) – and his reluctance to act on the advice of two Matonjeni priests, who visited the chiefdom towards the end of that year to try and settle the Marumbi dispute, revealed how he had come to rely on the Zionist movement. He was not unduly perturbed by Matonjeni's threat of drought, since the mystical powers of the Zionist 'man of God', transferred to his subjects through holy water and blessed papers, could be relied on to counter Dzivaguru's wrath. It was widely accepted in the district that Munyonga's successful term in office was due to his adherence to the zcc.9

In the Bikita district Mutendi himself became one of the key figures in the boundary dispute between the Rozvi and Duma tribes. When the Rozvi chief, Jiri, went to high court in 1965 in protest against the Administration's latest adjustment of the inter-tribal Rozvi-Duma boundary, support and initiative came from Zion City and not from the distant 'owner of the land' (mwene wenyika) at Matonjeni. The Rozvi chief's reliance on the 'man of God' in a period of crisis shows that the Shona had started turning to locally accessible institutions, attuned to modern circumstances, instead of voicing their protest through the somewhat remote oracular deity, as was the case during the rebellions of 1896-7.11

Loss of influence provoked the vanyai into bitter attacks on Zionism. The Zionist chiefs did not altogether cease sending zvipo to Matonjeni, but their

8. The dispute concerned the magical possessions of Marumbi, the reputed rainmaker (see Daneel, 1971, p. 21). Her Chagonda descendants claimed these objects from their Munyaradze cousins because they believed it would help them in their struggle to achieve recognition for their own independent ward in the Nyamande chiefdom (Daneel, 1971, map 2). Eliezer Munyaradze refused to hand over these hereditary possessions, which he intended using in his bid for the local headmanship. See Daneel, 1970 (1), p. 73.

9. In Volume 3 we will pay closer attention to Mutendi's influence over and assistance to Shona chiefs.

10. More particulars about this case will be given in Volume 3; see also: Daneel, 1970 (1), p. 68.

loyalty was being divided and they increasingly tended to look to Mutend 
for rain and advice. So the vanyai could no longer fully rely on the support 
of their Zionist chiefs when it came to collecting the annual gifts in their 
chiefdoms. Chiiya, the munyai in Bikita, complained that Mutendi ‘breaks 
up the country’ (unoputsa nyika). He believes that this Zionist leader is 
wrongly attacking ancestor worship, that he is an impostor interfering with 
Rozvi tribal disputes, that he robs Matonjeni of its rightful gifts and that –
most unforgivably – he identifies the Matonjeni God with Satan. Small 
wonder that he, himself a Rozvi, repudiates Mutendi’s royal Rozvi descent.

Mwari waMatonjeni was not slow in reacting. On his visits to the shrines 
in the Matopo hills, Chiiya was repeatedly warned of the Zionist danger by 
Mwari’s Voice. In February 1965, when he reached the cult centre, he was 
told by Mwari: ‘You people in Bikita believe in Mutendi’s power to make 
/ 
I 
will not like this and I shall send but little rain for the next six months. 
If you want rain, go and ask Mutendi! Let us see if he succeeds. I will punish 
the people because the Zionists call me Satan!’ When the munyai from the 
Jena chiefdom in Victoria South arrived soon after Chiiya, he was asked 
why Chief Jena did not stop his people from becoming Zionists. Speaking for 
Jena, the munyai replied: ‘They simply join and I cannot stop them.’ He was 
then chased from the caves for ‘Mwari indeed showed great anger.’

2. MUWERERE RITUALS

Among the prophetic activities mentioned by Zionists and Apostles as the 
major attraction of these movements is the practice of ‘fasting on the moun-
tains’ Repudiation of the traditional mukwerere rituals was followed up by 
the introduction of a substitutory ceremony which enables members of the 
Spirit-type Churches still to ‘climb on the mountains’ (kukwira makomo) and 
to ‘ask for rain’ (kukumbira mvura). Thus, when the traditionalists start 
‘climbing on the mountains’ in October and November to seek the aid of 
their tribal spirits, the Apostles and Ndaza Zionists begin to organize their 
own fasting (kuzira) ceremonies to please the Holy Spirit and enhance their 
chances of a good rainy season.

Sufficient Biblical references to holy mountains were found by the Spirit-
type Church leaders to justify their accommodation to the essentially tradition-
al notion of closely associating the rain-giving powers (tribal spirits and 
High-God) with mountains. It is probably felt that a closer and more direct

approach to the Supreme Being is achieved from ‘places on high’. Just as the traditionalists regard their neglect of the ancestors as a reason why the senior spirits may prevent their request for rain from reaching Mwari, or as the reason why Mwari delays the rain in spite of having received the ‘message’, so the Apostles and Zionists realize that their sins against God can obstruct their requests. It is therefore of the greatest importance to spend some time, varying from one to three days, fasting and ‘clearing the house’, lest God retaliate with a bad rainy season or with illness.

Spells of fasting are sometimes undertaken by individual Church members, but late in the year at least one or two large-scale fastings are organized by the leaders of several local congregations. In Gutu it was observed that Maranke Apostles from Chingombe, Nyamande and some other neighbouring chiefdoms meet in November for joint fastings on Mt.Rasa. The Ndaza followers of various leaders (Bishop Masuka, Kudzerema and Willi Sharara) in Chingombe have their joint meetings on Mt.Chanaurgwi or other small hills in the neighbourhood.

When such a group of people gather at the foot of a mountain they are first of all subjected to the close scrutiny of prophets who ‘see’ all their sins through the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The prophets line up in pairs to form the ‘gate’ to the mountain. Each participant passes this ‘gate’ only after all his or her hidden sins have been publicly confessed to the prophets. There is no doubt about the prophets setting great store by these confessions, as can be deduced from the announcement of a Ndaza prophet when he ‘opened the gates’ of such a kuzira (fasting) ceremony in Chingombe (November 1965):

‘Now we have come again to fulfil our duty while others are just drinking beer at their houses. We long for rain as if it comes from far-off countries. God will grant us our request, but we must first of all confess all our sins! If we do not reveal all that is wrong within us, there is no use in our spending the whole day on the mountain, fasting. We want only people who are cleansed of their sins to climb this holy mountain.’

Confession of sins is of vital importance since it enables God’s people to appear in a cleansed state on His holy mountain. Often a long time is spent in getting Church members prepared for the ascent. Those who are unwilling to confess all their hidden sins are turned back by the prophets, who are believed to have the ability of detecting all such sins, when possessed by the Holy Spirit. Even on top of the mountain, prophecies are mainly concerned with domestic affairs: the conflicts between relatives, evil spirits that are trying to enter homesteads, threats of wizardry (mostly witchcraft), prophetic dreams which reveal future hazards for family members, etc. Those who are afflicted by shavi spirits have them exorcised by the prophets. It is literally a
spiritual 'clearing of the house' for each participant, since nobody is spared by the penetrating survey of the Holy Spirit if there is anything wrong at home. The interrogation conducted by the prophets is sanctioned by the Holy Spirit. It varies from outright accusations to subtle suggestions in the name of the Spirit, to which the person concerned must answer and on which he must elaborate, if necessary. The endless accounts of family troubles usually end with prophetic exhortations to persevere in the 'way of God', with the laying on of hands and prescriptions for future curative or protective treatment which invariably calls for the use of holy water. Thus the day or days of fasting aim at fighting social and spiritual evils, eliminating such forces as might obstruct true communion with the Lord, rather than at pleading for rain.

During the above-mentioned kuzira-ceremony in Chingombe only a few prayers actually contained pleas for rain, and only one of the numerous prophecies concerned a revelation of coming rains. It ran as follows: 'I have had a vision that we will soon be granted sufficient rain. Two large rain-drops appeared in front of me. This is a sign that it will rain twice in our area. But in certain places of our chiefdom there will only be scorching sun. God says, 'Because thou art lukewarm and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth' (Rev. 3:16).'

This prophecy once more hints at the close connection between the sins of people, i.e. their lack of true worship, and God's retaliation through droughts. It explains why the ceremony on the mountain is an all-embracing cathartic drive to get rid of the impediments to true worship. God might 'spew those who worship Him half-heartedly from His mouth' and send them a scorching sun instead of rain.

These improvised mukwerere rituals have their recruitment value. On this particular occasion several non-Zionist women, at the request of their husbands or out of their own free will, attended the mountain ceremony. Most of them were suspect of witchcraft practices, or of being tempted by matrilinial ancestral spirits and other witches to participate in their nocturnal activities. Others had had complicated child-births, difficulty in suckling their children or had seen one of their children die under circumstances which aroused suspicion of bewitchment. Thus the motivation of these non-Zionist women varied considerably: some wanted to know who had bewitched their children, others wanted to 'pass the test' of the prophets to prove to their suspicious husbands that they were innocent, while a few admitted that they were under pressure of evil forces against their own will and had come in search of the counteracting aid of the prophets. The 'confessions' of this latter category of women consisted of relating to the prophets how they had dreamed of riding
hyenas (*kutasva mapere*), of seeing other naked women who beckoned them
to come to the graves, or of the visitations of a matrilineal grandmother
(*mbuya*) spirit who wanted her evil practices of *uroyi* to be perpetuated by
her grandaughter. The prophets took care to suggest to those who sought
the protection of the Holy Spirit that Church membership and regular exor-
cistic treatment would provide them with the best chances of achieving their
aims. As a result several non-Zionist women, under the impression of what
the Spirit had revealed to them, were led from the mountain to the nearest
dam at Zimbizi, to be baptized in ‘Jordan’, thereby signifying their entrance
into Zion (*kupinda Zioni*).

The permissive attitude of the Chibarirwe leaders to the *mukwerere* rituals
explains their success in winning the majority of Church-going (or former
Church-going) Dutch Reformed kraalheads in Chingombe in little more than
a decade. It will be noticed in table 37 (category 5, e and f), that 46% of the
Chibarirwe members, which includes the bulk of affiliated kraalheads, ex-
plained their preference for this Church by referring to its lenient laws or by
plainly stating that this is ‘the Church of the black people’ or ‘of the vakuru’,
which allows ‘the customs of our fathers’. The ‘customs of the fathers’ were
not always qualified in detail. One particularly outspoken old man, however,
made the following remarks: ‘I became an African Church member because
the word Chibarirwe means; ‘our old laws’. Therefore this Church allows us
to worship the ancestors. That is why the old people leave the Mission
Churches; to worship both God and the *midzimu*. It is even seen among
the Europeans. On Rhodes’ and Founders’ Day the government orders flow-
ers and tells the soldiers to march in honour of their forebears. This means
that the white people worship their *midzimu*. In the Chibarirwe Church
we learn much of the good things our forefathers did. As of old we go to the
*mukwerere* rituals. Last year I brewed *mukwerere* beer myself and was given
plentiful rain. Our minister does not complain about this. We honour the
ancestral sabbath-day [chisi] which has become part of our church. We like
it. It is the same with the Europeans. On Sundays they chase their golf-
balls and tennis-balls, realizing that one should rest from one’s work and
knowing that one need not necessarily attend each Sunday service to be
accepted by God.

To the kraalheads the Chibarirwe’s full recognition of *chisi* was of singular
importance. Their duties amongst other things included the enforcement of
*chisi* laws and the propitiation of the tribal spirits, as part of their responsi-
bility to guard over the lands where their villages were situated. Whenever a
village member wants to work on *chisi* (Wednesday in Chingombe), he has
to ‘buy the ancestral sabbath-day’ (*kutenga chisi*) with a pot of beer from the
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

The kraalhead, who on such an occasion represents the guardian tribal spirits. If the spirits are not honoured in this way, they are believed to retaliate with lightning, thus causing damage to a person's crops, or to send a bateleur eagle (*chapungu*) to strike the culprit with blindness. Adherence to a Church which places no ban on beer drinking meant that the kraalheads could accept *chisi* beer without embarrassment. Evangelist Makomo, himself a kraalhead, unlike most of his followers no longer believes in the power of the tribal *midzimu* to punish the trespassers of *chisi*, but he regards the continuation of this custom as commendable and necessary as a sign of respect for the forefathers. Consequently he will not refuse *chisi* beer when presented to him by one of his village members.

Both senior *Chibarirwe* evangelists in Chingombe, Makomo (Hera) and Mujeyi (Rufura) will not conduct *mukwerere* rituals any longer. They even make a point of taking an official stand against ancestor worship. Makomo stated: 'In our Church beer drinking and polygamy are not regarded as disqualifying factors for participation in the Holy Communion. *But we do not pira midzimu!*

It is obvious, however, that for most of his and Mujeyi's followers the recognition of the fathers' customs implies both the secular and traditional religious aspects of these customs. In fact the two evangelists' tolerance of those kraalheads in their congregations who still conduct *mukwerere* and other rituals, enables these tribal authorities to honour their duties and obligations both to their traditional religion and to the *Chibarirwe* Church.

Kraalhead Mafudza, who is a *mutongi* (judge or councillor) in one of Makomo's congregations, traces his descent through Mafudza and Maruma to Mheresi, the clan ancestor at the apex of the Hera spiritual hierarchy in Chingombe. As senior representative of Mafudza's house this kraalhead has considerable influence in the Hera ward. Apart from his ritual authority extending to related inhabitants of several surrounding Hera villages, Mafudza also acts as ritual officiant on behalf of those neighbouring Rufura kraalheads who have settled on land under guardianship of Hera spirits. For the proper conduct of rain rituals the inhabitants of more than just the Mafudza *mukwerere* unit, consisting of four villages, are dependent on this *Chibarirwe* 'judge'. When the rains failed towards the end of 1965, Mafudza collected finger millet from the heads of all families belonging to his 'mukwerere unit', regardless of their denominational affiliation. He was assisted by traditionists, fellow *Chibarirwe* members and a few Roman Catholics.

was brewed, and Mafudza, as ritual officiant, led a delegation of elders to the graves of deceased Mheresi descendants to go and 'set the heavens right' (kugadzira matenga). He presented the ancestors with beer and snuff, addressing them as follows: 'You Mafudza, speak to Maruma, and Maruma speak to Mheresi over there! Mheresi, present Nyashanu with our prayer for rain!'

As the founder-ancestor of the Hera tribe, Nyashanu is believed to be in close contact with Mwari waMatonjeni. Acting on behalf of his descendants as a rain-intermediary (nyusa) he passes the message on to Mwari.

When asked about the relation between Jesus Christ and these spirits, Mafudza replied: 'Jesus Christ has no connection [ukama] with all this, but we could not leave the spirits unattended to, because the "children" [villagers] were crying for rain. I also addressed the Hera spirits at Rwodzi's [a Rufura kraalhead's] mukwerere. Makomo, our leader, will not judge [tonga] me because the people told him to leave me in peace so that I can "set the fathers right" [gadza madzibaba] so as to bring on the rains for them.'

In Mafudza’s mind, the tribal spirits undoubtedly have the power to prevent rain from falling. Traditional belief is here interwoven with a set of Christian beliefs in such a manner that there is a total lack of inner conflict concerning the diverging claims of the deities concerned. Mafudza was at a loss how to relate Jesus Christ to the traditional system of mediation. He nevertheless concluded that from Matonjeni the plea for rain is ultimately passed to Mwari wokudenga, i.e. the God of Heaven, or the God of the Bible, as taught in the Chibarirwe Church. Starting with the local lineage ancestors, the basically unaltered hierarchy of mediation therefore extends through the senior tribal spirits to Matonjeni and from there to the 'real Mwari up there'.

When Evangelist Mujeyi was questioned about the participation of his deceased father’s elder brother (babamukuru), Kraalhead Mutikane, in mukwerere rituals, he shrugged his shoulders and said, 'It would be meaningless to discipline these old members of our Church. They want to belong to a Church and do not understand the difference between Church practice and traditional rituals. So we allow them to remain in the Church as full communicant members.' In this answer one finds the crux of Chibarirwe accommodation as well as a glimmer of typical Shona philosophy, which in a conflicting situation always finds a solution in the form of a compromise rather than radical alternatives.

3. KUGADZIRA RITUALS

None of the persons interviewed specifically mentioned the adaptation of
Church ceremonies to the kugadzira - one of the most important of all traditional rituals - as a major factor of attraction which influenced their choice for the particular Church they had joined. One of the main reasons for this omission should be sought in the efforts of members of the prophetic movements and to some extent also the Ethiopian-type group (especially the Topia Church) to establish the idea that they no longer 'worship the ancestors' (pira midzimu). It is to be expected that they would refrain from mentioning the type of ritual which, in the traditional world, is the key to all pira-ceremonies in honour of the family spirits, when explaining their motivation for joining groups officially opposed to such rituals. And yet there is no doubt about the importance of the comforting or consolation ceremony (runyaradzo) as an improvised substitute of the kugadzira in all four Independent Churches under survey. As an integral and even outstanding part of the adapted Church laws or forms of worship actually mentioned by some Church members (table 37, 5, d and e) as reason for Church membership, its recruitment value within the wide range of factors of attraction should not be overlooked.

In Volume 1, Chapter 3, mention was made of Roman Catholic accommodation to the kugadzira ritual and the DRC 'experiments' (followed up by eventual prohibition) with the runyaradzo ceremony. It can generally be stated that the Catholic adaptation, conditioned as it is by a particular set of theological premises, is based on sympathetic observation in the field. The DRC efforts to introduce adapted rituals also reflect the realization of missionaries that Christianity should be presented in an indigenized form. Yet their efforts to supplant the 'pagan' religion with Christianity and to stamp out the 'evil practices of old' caused most of them to be more preoccupied with the message they were trying to put across than with efforts to establish the strength and possible validity of traditional beliefs that continued to influence the communities in which they were working. In this respect the Independent Church leaders had a great advantage over both the Catholic and Reformed Churches. Due to their existential involvement in tribal life they were much more aware of, for instance, the persistent belief in the power of the ancestors to 'protect the family' (kurinda mhuri) or to 'open the door' (kuzarura mukowa) for the witches to enter, than the missionaries were. Thus they could cater for these beliefs, whether acceptable to Westernized theology or not, in a more direct and relevant way than the missionaries were doing.

The substitution of the kugadzira ritual with its Christian parallel, the

16. Ibid., pp. 95-96.
runyaradzo ceremony, provides us with a unique example of how the RC leaders try to eliminate an old practice without neglecting the traditionally conceived need which it had served. When a member of one of these Churches dies he is regarded as a spirit that visits people on earth with dreams containing important messages, as is customary in the traditional setting. Instead of ‘dwelling in the bush’, such a spirit is believed to be ‘on its way to heaven or to God’. Some even say that the deceased is ‘with God’. But the important point is that the deceased’s spirit cannot really achieve its full status in heaven without being accommodated by the living believers. In the place, therefore, of the traditional ritual which brings the spirit back home, as a prerequisite for future worship, the spirit is now more or less accommodated into heaven, through prayers. The homebringing ceremony elevates the spirit into the ancestral hierarchy as a recognized mudzimu; it enables the spirit to start functioning as the protector of his or her living relatives, and it is a sign of remembrance. Likewise the runyaradzo helps the believer’s spirit to complete its passage into heaven, to be truly ‘with God’ as a spirit now introduced into the heavenly hierarchy of angels (angerosi); it furthermore enables the spirit to start officially with its mediating function, i.e. paving the way for its living relatives (who are believers) into heaven; and as a sign of remembrance the ritual pacifies the spirit if it had intended to return to its family (mhuri) to inflict punishment for unrighted wrongs.

Basically the spirit of the deceased believer retains, though in a somewhat modified way, its mystical powers. It still acts as a guardian of the family, although not now conceived of as ‘standing at the door’ at night or hovering near the homestead but effecting the family’s well-being as an intermediary spirit close to God. On the other hand, it can bring about disaster in family life by asking God to punish the disobedient. To the Zionists and Apostles the deceased believer who has reached heaven is not called a mudzimu but the dead person only becomes mudzimu, which is equivalent to becoming an ‘evil spirit’, if he or she has failed to receive a place in heaven (kushayiswa dzimbo kudenga). This latter rationalization usually takes place once misfortune befalls the relatives of the deceased. They then believe the spirit to have gone to the ‘pit of fire’ (gomba romwoto) from where it is occasionally allowed to visit living relatives in an attempt to find rest. These evil spirits (mweya wakaipta) are dangerous, and if not appeased they are capable of resorting to the old practice of ‘opening the door’ of a house for witches to enter and harm the particular relative they have in mind. The unsettled spirit, ‘chased from heaven’, therefore poses a serious threat to its relatives. Since propitiation of the mudzimu in the traditional sense of the word is not allowed by Zionist and Apostolic doctrine, in contrast to Chibarirwe tolerance,
many countermeasures have been developed, such as spells of exorcism, burning strips of blessed paper or sprinkling blessed water, so as to drive the evil spirits away. To these measures we will return in the following chapter dealing with faith-healing.

The *runyaradzo* furthermore differs from the *kugadzira* in some essential respects. Whereas the traditional ritual took place a year or even several years after the deceased had been buried, depending on the interpretation of the events in family life as manifestations of the roving spirit’s wish to come home, the *runyaradzo* nearly always takes place within a few weeks or, at the latest, a few months after a believer’s death. One of the advantages of this accelerated procedure is that the distribution of inheritable possessions (*kugova nhaka*) is not unduly delayed. Due to the organized and routine character of congregational life the Church ceremony is conducted soon after death as a matter of course, without timing the procedure according to the particular manifestations of the deceased’s spirit. Because the *runyaradzo* takes place during the (usually long) period of mourning, it acquires the character of consoling the bereaved. The *kugadzira*, on the other hand, is a ritual of rejoicing because the ‘long lost’ deceased on this occasion returns to his or her homestead and is actively present through the newly instated name-bearer or in some cases through a *svikiro*. Another significant difference is that the *runyaradzo* is conducted on behalf of each and every believer in the group, both young and old, in contrast to the *kugadzira* which distinguishes between mature (mostly married) persons and the youthful deceased, the latter taking inferior positions in the spirit world. Thus the baptized believer is vouchsafed a safe passage into heaven (unless of course the overruling decision of God determines otherwise) without ‘discrimination’ on the grounds of degree of maturity. Considering the importance of the mediating function of assisting the spirit on its way to heaven which is ascribed to the Church, it is not surprising that some IC members stated that they joined the Church to have someone to mourn for and remember them after death.

There are numerous variations of *runyaradzo* ceremonies between the two extreme poles of *Chibarirwe* accommodation which at times implies little more than the attachment of a Church service to a *kugadzira* proper on the one hand, and the Zionist ceremony, stripped of its essential traditional religious connotations, on the other. Much depends on the particular family context of the case involved. If, for instance, the largest or dominating number of relatives of the deceased Church member are non-Christian, the Church group conducting the *runyaradzo* may make concessions such as allowing a sacrificial beast and beer for the benefit of the non-Church participants – concessions which would otherwise be condemned. The attitude of
Church officials is furthermore conditioned by other demands related to the specific social context. When at or near Zion City, Mutendi’s headquarters, a Church official may prove resolute in attacking ancestor worship and in rejecting any concessions to non-Zionist participants during a runyaradzo so as to convince other Church members of his conformity to Church doctrine. His approach when dealing with a more variegated religious setting in an outlying tribal area may prove to be much more accommodative, in order not to give offence.

Characteristic of most runyaradzo ceremonies in the Spirit-type as well as the Ethiopian-type Churches is a Church service during which the relatives of the deceased are consoled and encouraged to follow the example of the deceased believer, if he or she was a staunch Church member. On this occasion prayers are offered asking God to admit the deceased’s spirit into heaven. But this is about as far as the similarity between the two main Independent movements go. On the day following the service, when the name-giving ceremony and distribution of property takes place, the Ethiopian-type officials usually (in an effort to preserve the customs of the fathers) allow the ceremonial to be conducted as of old, i.e. with the new name-bearer receiving his or her name on the reed mat and addressed in customary fashion. A beer libation and sacrificial meat are often included, which goes to show that a deliberate effort to purge the proceedings of their former religious connotations is not necessarily made. Under such circumstances Church members seldom consider the accommodation of the spirit into heaven and the subsequent ‘bringing back home’ of the same spirit on the following day, which is what the ritual procedures adopted seem to convey, as being contradictory. Of primary importance is the satisfaction of the diverging needs of the Church and non-Church parties involved, which naturally plays a dominant role in the Chibarirwe because of its close linkage with traditionalists or ‘Church members’ who virtually still belong to the traditionalist ranks. The Spirit-type Church officials try to evade name-giving ceremonies which follow the customary pattern too closely. As was the case with Abero, Makebo and Judah Maranke, when they succeeded to positions of leadership after Johane’s death, some of the formal aspects of the kugadzira such as sitting on the mat were indeed retained, but there was no beer or sacrificial meat involved in the ceremony. Besides, the acceptance of their father’s holy staves as inherited property (nhaka) symbolized their inauguration into a different type of priesthood than would have been the case if a proper kugadzira were conducted.

The Zionists, and especially the leading office-bearers of the zcc, make a point of refuting any semblance between the runyaradzo and kugadzira rituals. This attitude is well illustrated in the remarks made in this connection by Rev. Champion, Mutendi's second-in-charge: 'No heathen kugadzira is allowed by our Church. If a Zionist dies, his younger brother is allowed to inherit the dead man's wives. But there is no name-giving or slaughtering of a sacrificial beast on this occasion. Six days after the funeral there is a meeting which is opened with the washing of hands with holy water since the contamination of those who dealt with the corpse must finally be washed away. The aim of this opening ceremony is to "open the books of the dead" [kuzarura mabuku orufu]. We pray to God as follows: "Lord, open the way for Nhingi [so-and-so] into heaven and forgive him his sins!" We then mourn for a week, during which period the belongings of the deceased are sprinkled with holy water to purify them. When the belongings are distributed by the deceased's younger brother or another relative, the oldest child, who would have received the name according to the old ways, is told by the Church to take good care of his family. But he is not given the name as of old because that would be a sure sign of kupira midziimu! If real beer is brewed by Zionists on this occasion, they are judged by the Church court [dare rekereke].'

The official rigid Zionist code proves to be surprisingly flexible in practice. In order to illustrate the adaptive deviations from the unwritten Church laws during rituals, I have selected two of the ceremonies witnessed in Chingombe for a brief descriptive account. The first concerns a zcc runyaradzo on behalf of a deceased Church member, and the second a traditional kugadzira which involved a Ndaza Zionist evangelist as ritually instated name-bearer in the place of his deceased traditionalist father.

a) The Runyaradzo at Muchakata's village

i) The setting
Kraalhead Muchakata, a prominent Rufura kinsman of one of the chiefly houses in Chingombe and a member of the Zion Christian Church, died in June 1965. He had belonged to the southern Chingombe congregation under the leadership of Evangelist (also Rufura kraalhead) Fari Muzondo, since his village was situated not far from the Chingombe township (see map 3). The date for the runyaradzo ceremony was set for the first of August. Large quantities of strong beer (doro) were brewed by the wives of Muchakata's oldest son and future name-bearer, himself a traditionalist, and several of the
deceased’s non-Christian relatives. Muchakata’s second son, a practising DRC member, assisted the superiors of his father’s Zionist congregation, Evangelist Fari Muzondo and Deacon Zacharia, in brewing sufficient sweet beer (mangisi) for the Church-affiliated guests. The Zionist sweet beer was stored in the house of Deacon Zacharia, about half a mile from Muchakata’s homestead, where the ceremony was to take place. This is a significant aspect because it reflects the determination of the Zionists, confronted with a majority of non-Christian relatives of the deceased, to maintain their identity as a ‘non-drinking’ Church group, before and throughout the ceremony. Even amongst themselves the Zionists were divided about the use of mangisi on such an occasion. Radicals like the Rev. Champion, who had come from Zion City to attend the proceedings, were of the opinion that Fari and Zacharia had gone too far in brewing such large quantities of sweet beer. Champion actually referred to the sweet beer as real doro. Yet it was quite obvious that Fari and Zacharia were not to be penalized by the Zionist Church court as might have been expected in view of the rigid official code mentioned above.

Muchakata’s sister’s son (muzukuru), Machongowoyo, an outspoken traditionalist, was to act as master of ceremonies and was charged with responsibility of directing affairs during the distribution of the nhaka (inheritance property). Mandishe, the deceased’s senior mukuwasha – having married Muchakata’s oldest daughter – provided the goats to be slaughtered. As traditionalist he was prepared to provide an ox for sacrificial purposes but he acknowledged the Zionist request that no sacrificial meat be used on this occasion. The numerous other traditionalist participants, several of them Rufura kinsmen and tribal dignitaries such as kraalheads and ward heads from Chingombe and the surrounding wards, were in agreement that the runyaradzo was to be primarily a Zionist and not a traditional pira-ceremony.

More than 200 guests were congregated at Muchakata’s homestead on the afternoon of the appointed day. The beer drinking had already started by the time the Zionists began to arrive. For this reason they first came together at Zacharia’s homestead, the Zionist office-bearer living closest to Muchakata’s. Next to Evangelist Fari and Deacon Zacharia, the two local office-bearers of standing, the other important Zionist officials were the ministers Champion, directly representing Moriah, and Samson Bracho the regional superior of the zcc in Gutu as well as Evangelist Ruben, Mutendi’s son, who resides at the only Zionist Church building in Chingombe, near to the Soti river.

ii) Ceremonial procedure
Clad in their uniforms and wearing their badges, the Zionist officials and ordinary Church members approached the large group of guests seated in the
deceased’s home-yard and under surrounding trees. Beer pots were removed and everybody moved to an open clearing nearby for the runyaradzo service which was to last at least two hours. In the centre of the clearing stood a table with chairs at each end. The senior tribal dignitaries, such as ward heads and councillors of the chief’s court, seated themselves on one side of the table while the Zionist officials, in the order of their ranks, seated themselves on the opposite side. The uniformly dressed Zionist male and female participants sat down in front of the table with members of Mission Churches and other Independent Churches – also divided into groups according to their denominations – to their left. To their right sat the largest group of people, mainly traditionalists, those without Church affiliation, and significantly enough, quite a number of Chibarirwe members. Some of the people seated in this group were already drunk and made no secret of their haste to get done with the Church formalities and proceed with the drinking. Due to the interruptions coming from this side, the atmosphere was tense at first and the Zionists sang their introductory song without the usual clapping of hands. The upstarts were soon brought to order by other traditionalists who evidently respected the Zionists and were eager to listen to their message.

Evangelist Fari Muzondo (as leader of the local Zionist congregation) opened the proceedings: ‘I want to thank the God of Moyo\(^\text{18}\) [Mutendi] that He has gathered us here today. From the time that this man Muchakata was taken away up to this day, He has remained the same. . All of you must heed the word of God. If you allow it to pass by, you will have no place in heaven. There is not a man here who does not know the word of God. Be quiet and listen to it because it is “food for the spirit” Muchakata has died. We have come to comfort his family

Now that Muchakata has gone his relatives must pray to God that they may see him in heaven. Muchakata died as a member of the Zion Christian Church. He was in the hands of Moyo. But it pleased God to take him just as He had taken David’s son Absolom, in spite of David’s wish that he be spared. You people of Muchakata must therefore be consoled and worship God. Amen.’

Having delivered his short sermon, Fari introduced the Zionist officials to the people and then announced that two Mission Church members would also be allowed to preach. Kraalhead Shumba, senior Hera councillor at the Chingombe chief’s court, successor to the Hera ward headmanship and a staunch DRC member, then stood up. He first of all introduced himself as the

\(^\text{18}\) Mutendi is often referred to as Moyo, which is the Rozvi mutupo (clan name), meaning ‘heart’.
sekuru (‘maternal uncle’, his father having been the brother of Muchakata’s mother) of the Muchakata agnates, and then preached as follows: ‘You people of Muchakata [addressing the traditionalist relatives] must remember that you will never again see such a large number of people at this place. You must therefore believe in the words of Jesus, when He cured the lame man who was lowered down through the roof. He said: “The faith of your friends have saved you!” The son who today receives Muchakata’s name must be careful, because the words of people may lead him astray and prevent him from doing his duties. If you do not believe in the words of the Lord you will be like dried leaves in the wind. Take heed of the words of these [Zionist] ministers and follow their instructions. Muchakata was a righteous man. It is proved by the presence of so many people. If you relatives fail to follow his example, your dwelling-place will become ruins. You are now mature. Do not scold people and send them away for it is wrong.

Mawuwo, a Roman Catholic and nephew (elder brother’s son) of Muchakata was the next to preach: ‘If this had been a heathen death, there would have been much crying today. Instead, we are happy as the people of God. I agree with our Zionist leader that even if we die we must not cry. What troubles us here on earth is death. It is incurable and unavoidable. There is not a man who can protect his father from dying. That is why we have comforters [vanyaradzif] here today. They do not want us to cry. Nicodemus was told to be filled with the Holy Spirit so that he could go to heaven. The same applies to this man Muchakata. He was a saint; he was given a new name and therefore his name was also written in the Book of Life. This means that he is now living in heaven where he is happier than we are.

Zionist Evangelist Mupamawonde: ‘When he died, Muchakata went on his way to heaven, but his enemies remained here on earth. There are two types of burials. The one is: “Our hero has simply passed away and we will never see him again.” The other is the Christian burial, with the hope of seeing each other again in heaven. You must choose which way you prefer to be buried – the first or the second. Even the people of the ancestors [vanhu vemidzimu] dream of their decased fathers who return from where they have seen Christ. So you must seek God now, because it is no use to expect death without the belief that you will be saved. Amen.’

Zionist Evangelist Ruben: ‘We were sorry to see Muchakata leave us. He was a good preacher. And yet we are not unduly burdened because Muchakata left for his Father. You, his children, will have to sit down and reflect on his good ways. He mended his ways while alive, because he wanted his spirit to be ‘safely kept’ [kuchenganetwa] at Zion. At this time he is
claimed from our hands. To go to heaven is a matter of correct works [tsika, literally ways], and the correct works have their origin in us, the ministers. The tsika we taught Muchakata will lead him to heaven because we are responsible for him. We will see him again in heaven. You Zionists, if I sing “We will go and be united” [“Tichandosonganiswa”], I think the deceased will await us in heaven. What remains to be done for the rest of you is to perform good works in order to meet your father Muchakata pleased me and my father. He was working for God when he was in Zion, so you must not be astounded at the number of people present. A Christian must be buried by many people.’

Minister Samson: ‘Muchakata was a muchinda, son of Chingombe. He was our “deliverer” who protected us Zionists from other people who opposed our Church. Just as our Church is troubled by its opponents you, children of Muchakata, will also be troubled. I can assure you that your “enemies” [vavengi] will advise you to follow a different course [from that of the Church]. Please leave such bad customs if you want your deceased father to proceed into heaven without trouble!

All of us have to die one day. There is nothing we can do about it. It is simply the will of God. Even good men or those recently married may suddenly have to depart. The difference is whether we die in Christ or not. If you want to die as heathens, then do so! But you heathens cannot guide the spirit of a dead man properly. It has its guides, namely the Church leaders. I now leave the word to Champion who was sent by Moyo to do the work here. Amen.’

Minister Champion. ‘I thank the God of Enginasi and Samuel [Lekhanyane and Mutendi], the God of Zion, who has created heaven and earth, for what He has done for us. Jehovah has sent us to come and comfort Muchakata’s family. Since we heard of this ceremony we Zionists have fasted. Even now we must forget about eating. [Champion tries to capture the attention of those who are in a hurry to proceed with the feasting.] We must not get divided because of the words [at the beginning of the meeting] here at Muchakata. I agree with Mr. Shumba’s words. He advised the deceased’s relatives as a paternal aunt [vatete] would advise her “children” If I were in the place of Muchakata’s children I would stick to Shumba’s suggestion that one should not chase a trespasser away. Just do as your father did. In one home there are both good and bad people, but you sazita [name-bearer], keep them all as your people, because they are placed under your care by God. Let us comfort the orphans. He who abides by what we have said will also have such a gathering after his death – but the one who does not listen will forfeit it. We [Zionists] accompany [perekedza] our deceased Church
member on his way to heaven. He [Muchakata] was still there at the grave the past few days. He who causes trouble at other people's runyaradzo ceremonies will have the same thing done to him too. If you mislead other people's children the same will be done to your children (1 Cor. 15:12). Why do you quarrel and say there is no resurrection after death? Why do you say that in your hearts without saying so? If there was no resurrection, Christ would not have arisen. Be happy and believe that Muchakata will arise. Otherwise our preaching would have been in vain. Amen.'

Musiba, an old man and Muchakata's younger brother, got up to thank the Zionists, immediately after Champion was seated: 'I have benefitted from the sermons of those who came to help my brother. I came to watch the proceedings. Muchakata was a Zionist but I am "muDutchi" [DRC member; he has stopped attending Church many years ago]. You Zionists have testified well about my brother. I greatly appreciate the message of Mufundisi Bracho and of Mutendi's son. They have told me interesting things about my brother. Amen.'

Mandishe, the senior son-in-law of the deceased, and a traditionalist, got in a few self-assertive words before the meeting was closed: 'I do not belong to any Church, but I only want to bring one matter to your attention. There is not a single younger "brother" [in-law of Muchakata] who surpasses me! I hope the word of God has entered your hearts so that we may all part in peace. That is my request to you all.'

After the runyaradzo service all the participants moved closer to Muchakata's homestead where they once more seated themselves in several groups (mapoka). This time the division between the groups was not only a denominational one, but also one of locality and kinship. African business-men from the Chingombe township, together with their families, the Hera kinsmen of Shumba and the Rufura elders of the chiefly Chingombe "houses", for instance, sat apart in their own groups. The beer was distributed by Muchakata's oldest son (dangwe), also called sazita - ("owner of the name" on this occasion) and his younger brother. As a traditionalist the former dished out the strong beer to the "people of the beer" (vanhu vedoro), while the latter as a DRC member took care of the Church members. This man called out "Township! VaZioni! Shumba!" etc. In each case a representative would come forward to collect a pot of beer or sweet beer, according to the wishes of his group. Eventually each group could be seen seated around a pot, discussing and drinking at leisure. Denominational distinctions continued to play a role at this stage of informal association. Even the Ndaza and Mutendi Zionists did not seem to mix freely. There was togetherness, but something of the classification into Church groups remained.
Towards sunset, however, when the beer had taken effect on a number of people and after the main Zionist office-bearers had retreated to Deacon Zacharia’s homestead in the distance, the traditionalist and Church groups started mixing freely. People thronged together in a compact group to watch Zionist and other youngsters dancing to the rhythm of handclapping and singing. Temporarily at least the group distinctions seemed to fade. The Zionists danced with more abandon than usual. From what could be seen in the clouds of rising dust, Zionist and traditionalist youngsters had switched from the ordinary Church dances to emotion-packed variations resembling some of the traditional shavi dances. Back at Zacharia’s homestead, Champion and Bracho, who had obviously dissociated themselves from the events at Muchakata’s after the service, seemed unperturbed at what was happening. It was as if they had tacitly decided to turn a blind eye to the rest of the proceedings in order to allow the ‘young ones’ (vaduku) to enjoy themselves. Their own wives were freely helping themselves to mangisi and everybody appeared to be in high spirits.

As far as the Zionists were concerned the runyaradzo service as such constituted the name-giving ceremony. Had the name-bearer’s sekuru, Shumba, not addressed him as the one who was now responsible for Muchakata’s family? All that remained to be done was divide the inheritance property (gova nhaka); according to the Zionists a mere formality which could be taken care of by the newly instated Muchakata and his muzukuru, Machongowoyo, the master of ceremonies. But there was more to it than a purely formal procedure. On the morning following the runyaradzo, when the Zionists and most of the other Church members had gone, the gova nhaka procedure was opened with a name-giving ceremony which closely resembled the kugadzira pattern. Muchakata Jr. was placed on a mat and received his father’s name from the appropriate traditional ritual functionary, the paternal aunt (vatete). Groups of relatives then presented him with their gifts (kukanda zvipo: literally to throw the gifts) as tokens of recognition of his newly acquired authority. Unfortunately I could not attend this part of the ceremony and had to rely on the reports of eye-witnesses. Due to a certain amount of secrecy it was difficult to determine to what extent traditional pira (worship)-elements entered into this name-giving ceremony and if the deceased’s spirit was indeed addressed. One of the traditionalists who attended the nhaka proceedings contended that it was not a proper pira ritual in the true sense of the word. Yet it is quite possible that the adoption of part of the customary kugadzira procedure, to some of the traditionalists at least, signified the ‘return of Muchakata’s spirit as a fully fledged mudzimu’ after he had (temporarily) ‘visited heaven’ the previous day, and that it was expec-
ted of this *mudzimu* to fulfil his task as family guardian in the traditional sense of the word. It is also conceivable that the newly installed Muchakata, as a traditionalist, considered his acquired duties to include a ritualistic function and that he would be inclined to propitiate the ‘Christian’ spirit of his father with beer libations and sacrificial meat according to the demands of his non-Christian relatives.

iii) *Analysis:*

If we compare the above proceedings with the traditional *kugadzira* ritual there are remarkable parallels and deviations. In the first place it should be stated that the customary delegations were sent out to determine the cause of death soon after Muchakata was buried. Both traditional diviners and Zionist prophets were consulted in this case. The outcome of the divinations and prophecies was not discussed officially in the Church context but in the family circle. Accusations of witchcraft had probably led to some suspicion being cast on one or more members of the village community. Informants were vague on this point, which is understandable if the village elders were indeed considering the expulsion of the suspect person or persons from the village community. No mention was made during the *runyaradzo* of a *muroyi* (witch or sorcerer) who had actually been caught out, but in both Shumba’s and Champion’s sermons there were the clear warnings that villagers ‘should not be chased away by Muchakata’s relatives’ Shumba even went so far as to suggest that the village would be turned into ruins if the Muchakata people started scolding and sending others away.

Champion also pleaded that ‘trespassers’ be treated with forbearance since a family is always made up of good and bad people. This approach closely resembles that of Mutendi, who is believed to have three female witches in his household, whom he refrains from sending away. If Champion was indeed referring to the possible ostracism of a village member, which seems likely under the circumstances, it shows that the consolation ritual, as substitute for the *kugadzira*, on the one hand leaves scope for a divinatory determination of the cause of death (the Church is even instrumental through its prophets in providing the supernatural information) while, on the other, it tries to prevent such drastic measures against suspects as would fit the traditional notion of justice but would be a denial of Christian principles. In this respect an essentially new element is introduced.

A most striking feature of the *runyaradzo* is the assignment of duties according to kinship ties. Basically the functionaries are the same key figures as would have played the leading roles during a traditional *kugadzira* ritual.19

The deceased’s daughters-in-law (varoora) had to brew the finger-millet beer, his senior sister’s son (muzukuru) was the master of ceremonies and the senior son-in-law (mukuwasha) was the provider of the meat. Machongoyoyo, the muzukuru on this particular occasion, was very much in charge of the proceedings. It was he who gave orders whenever people had to move from one place to another, and it was his duty to see to it that his fellow traditionalists behave properly during the Zionist service. Mandishe, the deceased’s mukuwasha, not only provided the required beasts, but he was also in charge of the slaughtering as a mukuwasha is expected to do.

The invitation extended by Evangelist Fari Muzondo to the two non-Zionists to speak during the service was a clear sign of Zionist accommodation to the traditional pattern. For, although Shumba and Mawuwo happened to be representatives of the two largest local Mission Churches and although Fari introduced them as such, they were granted this opportunity in the first place because they were respectively uncle (sekuru) and ‘child’ (mwana), i.e. nephew, to the deceased – persons who would have been directly involved in a kugadzira ritual! From his ‘sermon’ it was evident that Shumba addressed his vazukuru in terms befitting his relationship to them. He made use of his relative authority to extend a warning to his muzukuru, the owner of the name (sazita), lest he be distracted from his newly acquired family duties. By referring to Muchakata Jr. as the one who ‘today receives the name’ he was actually fulfilling the same role as would in the traditional context be taken by the paternal aunt (vatete) when she addresses the senior son, sitting on the mat, by the name of his deceased father. Here, then, we have the Christianized version of the name-giving ceremony, introduced as it was by a staunch Mission Church member during a Zionist ceremony. Mawuwo’s address in turn reflects his subordinate position to the name-bearer and other senior agnates. He did not address his imputed ‘uncle’ (babamunini), the new Muchakata, in an admonishing way, as Shumba was entitled to do, but as one who identified himself with the agnatic group and who therefore was at the receiving end on this occasion. Unlike the other spokesmen, who were comforting the bereaved, Mawuwo spoke of ‘the vanyaradzi who had come to comfort us’ He was one of those needing to be consoled.

Although the last two spokesmen, Musiwa and Mandishe, were not really supposed to speak during the service, their insistence on doing so and the Zionist acquiescence to this likewise demonstrate the perpetuation of traditional roles in the new ritual context. As a younger blood-brother of the deceased Muchakata, Musiwa was a potential inheritor of the deceased’s

wives with obvious claims to a share of the inheritable possessions. According to the collateral principle, he was also the new name-bearer's senior as intermediary between the ancestral spirits and the living descendants of Muchakata. Thus he was the person most suited to thank the Zionists on behalf of the Muchakata people for their words of consolation. Mandishe's brief address was more an attempt to assert himself than anything else. He probably felt that full due had not been given in the new ritual context to the important role of the son-in-law (mukuwasha). The fact that he had not been silenced signified recognition of this function, even though the Zionists had not called on him to speak.

The flexibility of Zionist doctrine in practice is illustrated in the permissive attitude of the office-bearers to beer brewing. Champion disapproved of Fari's and Zacharia's participation in the brewing of sweet beer, but he did so privately, obviously having decided that that was not the place to assert publicly the emphatic Zionist opposition to beer drinking. It was also noticeable during the service that the Zionist preachers did not openly condemn the drinking. Afterwards the fact that Zionist members did not take fermented beer clearly indicated their basic attitude. Whereas their doctrine suggests complete dissociation from 'heathen drinkers', the Zionists on this occasion identified themselves to a considerable degree with the relatives of a deceased Church member, irrespective of their religious affiliation. As the ceremonial activities progressed, the division into beer-drinking and non-drinking groups faded. Instead of confining the Church ceremony to a group of related believers, and thereby manifesting their group solidarity as a 'third race', as a community apart, the Zionists proved that they were not isolated from the rest of the tribal community.

The above excerpts from the Zionist sermons reflect a tendency on the part of the senior Church officials to exploit the runyaradzo for the propagation of Zionism. Ruben Mutendi, in particular, emphasized the relation between eternal life and good works, the latter having their origin in the Zionist Church. In a situation where several preachers drew attention to the necessity of getting prepared for one's own funeral, Ruben hinted that Muchakata's popularity and the presence of such a large number of people derived from his having been a Zionist. The mediating function of the Zionist Church, as regards the accommodation of the deceased's spirit on its way to heaven, was repeatedly referred to, not only to comfort the bereaved, but also to convince the hearers of the crucial benefits to be gained from membership of this Church.

None of the senior Zionist officials failed to mention the fact that they were there to fulfil their duty of facilitating the passage of the deceased's
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

spirit to heaven. Yet they did not enter into a detailed account of exactly how this was to be achieved. Ruben briefly stated that at that stage Muchakata’s spirit was ‘claimed by God from their [Zionist] hands’ Bracho suggested that ‘the proper guides for the dead man’s spirit’ were the Zionist Church leaders, and Champion stated outright that ‘we accompany our Church member on his way to heaven’. Here the new ceremony corresponds to its old counterpart in two respects. In the first place, something must be done by the living to elevate the deceased’s spirit to its proper status. Champion’s assertion that the spirit was still dwelling somewhere near the grave in the period preceding the runyaradzo reflects the traditional conception that the spirit is ‘dwelling in the bush’ before it is brought back home. In the second place there is a distinct similarity between the brief addresses to the spirit in the traditional ritual and the brief references to the spirit during the runyaradzo service. The spirit was not directly addressed in the latter case, as during a kugadzira ritual. But it is a conspicuous fact that in both rituals there is much more talk about what the living descendants should do than an actual addressing of, or reference to, the deceased’s spirit.

And yet the ultimate objectives of the old and the new ritual differ completely. As already stated, the former inducts the spirit into the ancestral hierarchy by bringing it home, while the latter affects a passage into heaven. Thus the Zionist runyaradzo is not merely a superficial adaptation to the old system. Well aware of the dangers of misunderstanding, Minister Bracho made a point of opposing the traditional notion of accompaniment of the spirits. By stating that a ‘heathen cannot guide the deceased’s spirit properly’ he attacked an essential aspect of the kugadzira ritual. No doubt he anticipated the private and improvised performance of the old rites by Muchakata’s relatives after the runyaradzo.

It was likely that the name-bearer, himself a traditionalist, would succumb to the pressures of such a strong faction of non-Zionist kinsmen who still accepted the validity of the kugadzira ritual. Hence Bracho’s warning that Muchakata’s descendants should refrain from the ‘bad customs’ (i.e. the kugadzira procedure) which could block the spirit’s way into heaven. This was not merely an idle threat. Even to the Zionists the implications of this traditional ritual are real enough for them to regard it as a factor which could distract the deceased’s spirit from entering heaven. For the same reason Minister Champion hinted in his sermon that those who interfered with another’s runyaradzo, or who misled other peoples’ children (i.e. mislead the children of Muchakato by inducing them to perform the traditional rites)

would be punished. Without once mentioning the word *kugadzira*, both these senior Zionist officials were trying to prevent the performance of the traditional ritual on behalf of a Church member. Nevertheless, their departure soon after the main service, as well as the conspicuous absence of Zionists in an official capacity during the name-giving and *gova nhaka* ceremony on the following day, indicate that no further steps were taken by the Zionists to direct the further course of events. Instead of placing themselves in an embarrassing position in which they would have been obliged to protest against the private settlement of Muchakata's family affairs, they discreetly absented themselves. Thus the Zionist *runyaradzo* was subtly adapted to the needs of Muchakata's many non-Christian relatives.

Two more aspects are worth mentioning. Firstly, the contents of the sermons clearly indicated the difference of opinion between the Mission and Zionist Churches concerning the state of the deceased shortly after death. Mawuwo, the Roman Catholic, for instance, referred to Muchakata who 'is living in heaven now', in other words, who had proceeded to heaven directly after death since his name was written in the Book of Life, while nearly all the Zionists qualified the status of the deceased as one who had lingered near the grave for some time and was still on his way to heaven. This latter approach is of course essential to the important Zionist function of accommodating the spirit. In the Catholic Church one might have expected a closer affinity between the traditional and the Christian notions of facilitating the passage of the deceased's spirit. Yet in this particular instance the Zionist ideas seemed to correspond more closely to the traditionalist background than those of the Catholics did.

The other significant point is that the whole ceremony bore a distinctly ecumenical character. Independent and Mission Church representatives closely co-operated without any external signs of conflict. Although the group-divisions were maintained up to a point, the inter-group contact was free and easy. The group-divisions resulted rather from the proud manifestation of in-group solidarity than from antagonistic sentiments. Kraalhead Shumba, one of the staunchest DRC supporters in the chiefdom, expressed appreciation of the work of the Zionists and encouraged the Muchakata people to follow up Zionist directives. Minister Champion in return frankly acknowledged the sound advice given by the DRC member. Thus the exclusionist claim of a Spirit-type Church has little inhibitive effect on the actions of its protagonists, especially in circumstances where little is to be gained by an isolationist attitude. In a community where interdenominational cleavages are more easily forgotten than in European countries with their heavy burden of tradition, the accommodating Zionist attitude and the willingness occasionally
to overlook doctrinal differences, appear both appropriate and appealing.

b) Accommodating Mamhungu’s spirit

Muchakata’s runyaradzo entailed a Christian ceremony with traditionalist additions. The name of a deceased Zionist father was conferred on a traditionalist son. In Mamhungu’s case the roles are reversed. Here we are dealing with a traditionalist ritual, the kugadzira, in which the name of a deceased traditionalist father is conferred on a Zionist son. Whereas the former ceremony had the essential function of safeguarding the deceased’s passage into heaven, the latter concerned the bringing back home of a spirit which had failed to obtain entry into heaven.

Mamhungu, the muzukuru of Kraalhead Magagade, whose village is situated near (to the south of) the Zimbizi school in Chingombe, died in 1963. As a traditionalist he had never officially belonged to a Church for any length of time. He was on the point of becoming a full-fledged nganga when he passed away. His wife, a Roman Catholic, persuaded him to receive extreme unction from a Catholic priest on his death-bed and to consent to a Catholic burial.

In 1965, two years after Mamhungu’s death, some family troubles were ascribed to the dissatisfaction of the deceased’s spirit. His younger brother, Nyorovai, himself a traditionalist and in charge of his estate, since Sundire, the oldest son, was working at Triangle in the southern parts of the country, had killed an ox which belonged to Mamhungu’s mother. According to divinatory diagnosis Mamhungu’s spirit afflicted Esther, one of his daughters. She had become seriously ill and showed signs of mental disturbance. Whenever she became possessed of her father’s spirit, she would claim the beast which had wrongfully been slaughtered by her babamunini, Nyorovai. She did so on behalf of her father’s and grandmother’s spirits. Meanwhile the deceased’s sister, who lived some 20 miles away in another Gutu chiefdom, complained that she was afflicted by her mother’s spirit, who claimed two cows from her deceased son. Mamhungu, while alive, had wrongfully disposed of cattle belonging to his mother. This was revealed to Mamhungu’s sister when she visited a traditional diviner. We will refer to this woman as the vatete – as she was the paternal aunt of Mamhungu’s descendants. Both Esther and her vatete belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. Yet they started pressing Nyorovai to make arrangements for a kugadzira ritual. Only if Mamhungu’s name-bearer was ritually instated could they bring effective pressure to bear on Mamhungu Jr. and on Nyorovai to return the animals in
question and so be freed from the afflictions caused by the dissatisfied spirits. It was generally accepted that Mamhungu’s spirit had failed to obtain a place in heaven (vashayiwa nzvimbo mudenga), and that he wished to be ‘brought back home’. The vatete even suggested that her brother’s spirit wished to return from purgatory.

Evangelist Sundire Mamhungu, the deceased’s oldest son (dangwe), a man about 35 years of age with very little schooling (Sub. B, DRC) and adhering to the Ndaza Zionist Group of Kudzerema, was summoned from Triangle to come and attend the ritual proceedings. He found himself in the difficult situation of either having to backslide (heduka) as a Church official and accept his role as future ritual officiant in the traditional sense of the word, or maintain an unblemished position in the Church at the risk of being branded the scapegoat by his relatives if he shirked the ritual, thus endangering his younger sister, Esther. But this was also the occasion when the jural authority of his father was to be officially conferred on him – a position which would enable him to resolve the internal family conflicts.

Sundire succumbed to the pressure of his relatives. Soon after he arrived from Triangle the ritual took place. On the 7th of August 1965 an ox was ritually slaughtered and a delegation consisting of Sundire himself, his vatete, babamunini Nyorovai, and several of his younger relatives went to a nganga nearby to find out if the spirit was favourably disposed towards their efforts to appease it. At Sundire’s request a Ndaza Zionist prophet was consulted too. In both cases the outcome was positive and the ceremony could be proceeded with.

The name-giving was scheduled to take place on the following day. In an attempt to give this part of the ritual a Christian character Evangelist Sundire invited Minister Mandonga, the local leader of Kudzerema’s followers, together with several other fellow Ndaza Zionists to attend the proceedings and to ‘nyaradza’ the ritual participants. These Zionists arrived at Mamhungu’s homestead in full attire. Sundire’s uncle, Nyorovai, had no objection to this move, but his sekuru, Kralhead Magagade, who regarded it as a Zionist intrusion of a proper traditionalist ceremony, objected. As kraalhead and ritual participant he had sufficient authority to prevent the Ndaza Zionists from performing a runyaradzo service. He claimed that such a ceremony could not be valid since the deceased had been dead a long time and since he had been given a Catholic burial. After a heated debate Mufundisi Mandonga and his Zionist followers left the scene. Sundire did not appear unduly perturbed at this turn of events. His kraalhead’s wrath seemed to originate from

a personal grudge against some of the Zionists and not from his concern for the correctness of ritual procedure, as he had stated.

Up to the name-giving ceremony, ritual procedures had closely followed the traditional pattern. Sundire’s Catholic vatete was responsible for the distribution of beer and the main pira-address of the deceased at the grave. She also conferred the deceased’s name on Sundire, who was seated on a mat, by addressing him in customary fashion: ‘Mamhungu, mauya uriwe! Mamhungu, you have come being you!’

Yet the name-giving was preceded by an interesting improvisation by sekuru Makomo, the deceased’s mother’s brother. Kraalhead Makomo, the top-ranking Chibarirwe evangelist in Chingombe, temporarily took over the role of master of ceremonies during the name-giving ceremony. Nobody opposed this move. In his ritual capacity, Makomo represented the deceased’s mother, and he was therefore addressed by the other participants as ‘mai’ As ‘imputed mother’ of the new name-bearer, Makomo quietened the participants after Sundire had taken place on the mat, and then offered a short prayer to the Christian God. He asked Mwari to help his muzukuru, the new name-bearer, to perform his new duty of keeping the family (kuchengeta mhuri) properly. By addressing the Christian God, Makomo introduced a purely Christian element into a ritual which primarily concerned ancestor worship. He was in fact calling down the blessings of God on the future activities of a man who at that stage of the proceedings was accepting the responsibility for future propitiation of the ancestral spirits on behalf of his family. Thus the induction of a Zionist into an essentially traditional religious office was preceded by a Chibarirwe prayer, facilitated by a Catholic member and officially accepted by both traditionalists and Christians of a variety of denominations. As the various groups of relatives approached Sundire with their contributions, they briefly voiced their complaints or merely acknowledged their ‘returned father’ Nyorovai promised Mamhungu to return the ox he had ‘eaten’ within a few days; Esther asked ‘her father’ to take good care of her mother’s and grandmother’s cattle, and the vatete obtained a promise from ‘her brother’ that he would replace his dead mother’s cows. In this way the family troubles had been resolved, and everybody seemed satisfied that a period of communal well-being could be expected.

Due to the absence of Mamhungu’s in-laws the ‘crossing the bow’ (kudarika uta) ceremony was postponed to a later date. Part of the possessions of the deceased had already been distributed. Further arrangements took the form of informal discussions. The ritual proceedings were brought to an end with another visit of the same delegation to a nganga in order to find out how the spirit had reacted. This measure was taken in view of the fact that Esther
had not at that stage been officially instated as the deceased’s spirit medium (*svikiro*) and also because the spirit had not revealed his further wishes through her during the ritual itself. The divination revealed that the spirit was indeed satisfied, especially since Nyorovai had promised to return the outstanding ox. But the Mamhungu *mudzimu* reminded his relatives that they should not unduly delay the next ritual, which concerned the sacrificial slaughtering of the grandfather’s great bull (*tateguru*’s *gono guru*), lest one of the Mamhungu descendants again fall seriously ill. It was agreed that Sundire would notify the Mamhungu relatives a few months later, when the next ritual was due.

What were the attitudes of the key figures in this ritual? The *vatete* did not regard the role she had played as inconsistent with her position in the Catholic Church. There was no question of a temporary abstention from Holy Mass. Nyorovai, as traditionalist, did not seem to regard the participation of Church members in such a ritual as something uncommon, or as unbecoming to Christians. He fully acknowledged the new ritual status of his nephew as future representative of his deceased elder brother. Sundire, to him, was in the first place an officially instated ritual functionary and relative. How Sundire combined his multiple religious functions was not a matter of his concern. The *Chibarirwe* evangelist, Makomo, who officially opposed ancestor worship, had no qualms about fulfilling his duty to his *vazukuru*. He did so as a matter of course. He had sufficient authority in the ritual field to introduce a distinctly Christian element without evoking any opposition, and he was satisfied that he had done his best under the circumstances. The name-giving ceremony to him represented a transfer of secular responsibilities to the legal heir. He preferred to avoid speculation on the degree to which the entire ritual had been divested of its traditional religious significance. After all, it was up to Sundire to decide to what extent he was going to involve himself in the future religious activities of his non-Christian relatives.

During an interview immediately after the *kugadzira*, Evangelist Sundire stated that his participation in the ritual was contrary to Zionist rules, and that he himself had decided to *mira* (literally ‘stand’ or ‘stop’) as a Church member, which meant the abstention from fulfilling his evangelistic duties for a short while. He had made up his mind to go and tell his Church leader, Bishop Kudzerema, in the Dewure Purchase Area, some 30 miles away. Once the matter was reported (*kubuda*: ‘come out’ in the sense of being revealed)

23. During an interview Nyorovai admitted that he had at first refused to replace his elder brother’s ox. It was only when Esther’s condition had become critical that he promised to produce the required ox. He frankly admitted that he was afraid that in the case of Esther’s death her spirit would retaliate by harassing members of his family.
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

...to his leader, all would be well. In reply to my question whether he would be 'judged' by the local Church court, Sundire said, 'My Zionist friends here in Chingombe understand my position because they know the Karanga customs and realize that no other person could take my position as bearer of my father's name.' The contradictory demands of a ritual office in both the traditional religious and the Zionist realms did not unduly bother Sundire. He was not concise in qualifying his task as life-long representative of his deceased father but mentioned that his responsibilities as family head entailed that he at least make the arrangements for pira-ceremonies of 'his children' whenever a relative became the victim of the mudzimu's wrath. He thought it wise as a Zionist to leave the addressing of the ancestral spirits, i.e. pira proper, on such occasions to his babamunini, Nyorovai, and his Catholic vatete.

Mufundisi Mandonga, who lives about three miles from Mamhungu's, showed surprise when I questioned him about the possibility of treating Evangelist Sundire's case at the Church dare. At first he tried to convince me that there was nothing wrong with Sundire's action. 'Did not Sundire notify me, his local superior, and ask me to come and conduct a runyaradzo ceremony? Was it not really Kraalhead Magagade's fault that a proper Church service did not take place? Is it not Sundier's right to receive his father's name; and was it not only the vatete who really worshipped the ancestors?', he asked. It was only after I had pointedly asked Mandonga whether it was not true that Sundire had participated in a ritual — contrary to Zionist rules — which aimed at bringing home the ancestral spirit for the purposes of future propitiation, that a notable change of attitude took place. Mandonga eventually came up with the reluctant conclusion: 'Well, Sundire will have to be judged by the dare.' It was quite clear that the concise Church rule which prohibits Zionist participation in any traditionalist rituals lacked clear-out distinctions when applied in practice. It even seemed likely at the time that the whole episode at Mamhungu's would have been ignored and conveniently forgotten by the Church officials concerned, 'had I not openly investigated the matter and had word not gotten round that Bishop Kuchekenya of the David Masuka Zionist group intended to visit Mandonga on the following Sunday to see if Sundire had indeed been 'judged' or not. These additional factors rendered an accurate assessment of what Mandonga would have done under normal circumstances impossible. The fact that on enquiry Ndaza Zionist bishops of other groupings considered Mamhungu's action as contradictory to Zionist rule and thought that he deserved at least three months' Church discipline for participating in a pira mudzimu ritual is no proof that they would have really adopted such measures if the issue had concerned one of their own evangelists.
Sundire was ultimately sentenced to three weeks of Church discipline. His spiritual status was temporarily qualified as that of one who had backslid. He himself had to abstain from preaching and his wife was allowed to attend Church services only as a ‘polluted person’ who sat outside the inner ring of participant Church members during this particular period. After they had served their short term Sundire and his wife resumed their normal activities in the Zionist Church. What is more, the Zionist evangelist, without publicizing it but as a matter of course, continued to fulfill his duties as legal heir to his father’s estate and as the recognized ritual officer of a family unit which included several traditionalists.

This type of accommodation is not restricted to a few exceptional cases. The acquired material provides sufficient ground to assume that similar adaptations with considerable variations as to the distribution of ritual roles and degree of participation form a regular feature rather than the exception in the Spirit-type Churches. As a rule these Churches conduct runyaradzo services on behalf of deceased Church members and leave sufficient scope for their first-generation members to participate in traditional kugadzira ceremonies whenever the traditional accommodation of spirits of non-Christian parents are concerned. Much depends of course on the local interpretation of Church rules and the convictions of the Church member concerned. In the Maranke tribal area I met several prominent Apostle office-bearers who admitted that at some stage or other they had temporarily discontinued Church activities (kumira) – mostly from three months up to one year – when pressure was brought to bear on them by non-Christian relatives to ‘accommodate the parental spirits’ (kugadza madzibaba). Accounts about such periods and the degree of participation were understandably vague, but it stands to reason that several Church officers, having been instated as ritual representatives of deceased parents both male and female, continue to comply with the dual demands of traditionalist relatives and a Christian Church. In most cases the persons concerned voluntarily refrained from Church life for as long as they deemed necessary, without the Church dare actually passing judgment on them. They usually return after some time with the confession to their superiors that they have been involved in kugadzira ceremonies of their relatives, after which they may be sprinkled with holy water as a sign of ritual purification and re-acceptance into the fold.

This, then, is the crux of Zionist and Apostle adaptation to the traditional background. Sundire Marnhungu himself had aptly summarized the general tendency within the Spirit-type Churches when he referred to the understanding he expected from his fellow-Zionists due to their knowledge of the Karanga customs. It meant that the doctrinal opposition to ancestor worship
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

and the frequently open attacks on the traditional system during sermons are softened by an approach sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of both Christian and non-Christian parties during one of the most vital family rituals. Zionists and Apostles do not generally go as far as the Chibarirwe Church members who often claim that a kugadzira and a runyaradzo are really one and the same thing, or who will satisfy themselves with Christian additions to a kugadzira ritual, such as the above-mentioned prayer of Evangelist Makomo. On the ideational level they maintain a rigid point of view, essentially different from that of the Chibarirwe Church (the FEC taking a mid-way position between these Churches). But in the application of Church rules, as we have seen, the leniency within the prophetic movement is of such a nature that its basic position is not as far removed from that of the Ethiopian-type movements as would seem to be the case. The main difference between the traditionally instated Zionist (or Apostolic) and the Chibarirwe name-bearer is that the former tries to relegate the permanently acquired ritual function to a close non-Christian relative or performs it secretly if possible, whereas the latter accepts this duty as a matter of course, refutes the argument that such a task implies ancestor worship, or seeks to justify an active role in the propitiation of the ancestors by invoking the Fifth Commandment. The additional qualification of the Zionist’s or Apostle’s spiritual state, i.e. that he/she has temporarily ‘backslid’, or ‘stopped’ (kumira), has little stigmatizing effect and is soon forgotten by fellow Church members after a return to the Church’s fold. In the FEC such terms are also applied, but with an even less negative connotation. Chibarirwe members, apart from hardly ever using these terms, rarely consider participation in kugadzira rituals as sufficient grounds for the application of disciplinary measures.

These variations of adaptation to the kugadzira are not necessarily intended as recruitment techniques by the various Independent Churches. Yet they contribute considerably towards the attraction of these movements because the beliefs and rituals right at the heart of traditional religion are effectively being dealt with.

4. DREAMS

Sundkler points out that there is a characteristic difference between the role ascribed to dreams by Mission Churches and by Independent Churches. The Zulu Zionists generally resent the belittling of dream-life by the Mission Churches. In contrast to these Churches they attach great value to dreams. ‘Here is definitely one reason’, says Sundkler, ‘why some people have left
certain Mission Churches and joined organizations of the Zionist type.\textsuperscript{24} The same can also be said of the Spirit-type Churches amongst the Southern Shona. Here it is not so much a matter of total neglect of dreams by the missionaries, for a number of them are known to have paid sympathetic attention to accounts of conversion dreams given by Church members. It is rather a matter of missionaries who, through their comparatively sober approach to religious life, set less store by dreams and visions as channels of divine revelation. Consequently Africans were made to feel, whether deliberately or unintentionally, that their dreams did not have as much significance as in the traditional religious context. The missionaries did not regard it as a prerequisite for conversion; neither did they give it a central place and thereby exploit it as a group-integrating factor within the Church. Instead, therefore, of continually narrating their dreams to the European office-bearers with whom they came into contact, African Church members kept their dream-experiences to themselves or shared it with their closest relatives.

In reply to the question: ‘Why did you join this Church?’, only a few of the Church members interviewed (1\% if all the adult Church members; see table 37, cat. 9, a) replied that they had been persuaded to do so by revelatory dreams. The reason for this low percentage is that very few persons regarded this as the sole factor leading to their conversion or joining a new Church. Dreams were more often mentioned as a secondary factor or as one amongst several others, such as healing treatment, kinship and polygamy. In such cases dreams were usually seen as divine confirmation of decisions already made, or significance was ascribed to them in retrospect, i.e. after a person had joined a new Church he would ‘remember’ that he had actually dreamt about it. In order to achieve a more accurate picture of dream-life a separate set of questions was inserted in the questionnaire used during casual sampling. These were directed at determining whether persons had experienced any call-dreams at some stage or other, dreams which they regarded as the spiritual motive for their Church adherence, or whether they had experienced other dreams, such as healing dreams, after having achieved Church membership. The result of this probe appears in table 38 (casual sample in tribal areas). It is apparent from these figures that few Mission Church and Ethiopian-type Church members (not exceeding 14\%) claimed to have had call-dreams before they joined their Churches. Of the Spirit-type Church members, on the other hand, approximately 30\% stated that they had been persuaded through dreams to join a Church. An additional 14 to 25\% of the members in each of these Churches also admitted to having had one or more

\textsuperscript{24} Sundkler, 1961, p. 273.
dreams connected with healing, with directives from the main Church leader, or such dreams as can be interpreted to have a direct bearing on group consolidation. A comparison of the Zionist and Apostolic groups shows that there is little difference between the Maranke Apostles and Ndaza Zionists insofar as approximately 50% of each group claimed to have experienced revelatory dreams. In Mutendi’s Church there is a markedly higher premium on revelatory dreams, judging from the 66% of the casual sample group who mentioned such dreams, and also – in the majority of cases – to have acted according to the directives received. These figures are consistent with the importance attached to dreams in these groups. The close contact between leader and followers and the considerable extent of centralization achieved by Mutendi has indeed enabled him to exploit the dream-life of his followers for the sake of conformity and group-solidarity, to a degree unsurpassed in any of the other prophetic movements.

The figures in table 38 should not be interpreted to imply that dreams play a totally insignificant role in the Mission and Ethiopian-type Churches. Few of the members of these Churches could relate call-dreams, primarily because they were not expected to have them. Dreams are simply not officially standardized in these groups as divine sanction or as justification for joining the group. Since the loyalty and right-mindedness of members are not gauged from their ability to ‘dream the correct dreams’, as in fact is the case in the Spirit-type Churches, members tend to forget dreams or not to mention them when asked, even if such dreams may have had some revelatory meaning to them in the past. If we look, for instance, at table 39, it becomes apparent that, potentially at least, as many and more of the Mission and Ethiopian-type Church members regarded dreams as a channel through which God communicates His messages to mankind. It appears that 48% of the Mission, 54% of the Ethiopian-type and 50% of the Spirit-type Church members attributed such communicative value to dreams when asked: ‘In what way does God send us messages?’ It should be mentioned, however, that in this table the comparatively low percentage of Spirit-type Church members who referred to dreams as channels of communication derives from the emphasis these Churches place on prophecies inspired by the Holy Spirit (29% of them regarded the inspiration of prophets as the main channel of communication, compared to the 1% Mission Church and 2% Ethiopian-type Church members who were of a similar opinion). If it is considered that a clear distinction is seldom made between a vision (kuona: to ‘see’) and a dream (kurota) and that the Spirit is believed to manifests Himself to prophets through both, it is apparent that the link between dreams and prophecies is a close and direct one. Thus we can deduce from the figures in table 39 that
approximately 78% of the Spirit-type Church members directly or indirectly set great store by dreams as a medium of divine communication.

Table 39 also reflects to some extent the importance of dreams in the traditional thought structure. The Shona, like the other Bantu tribes in Southern Africa, strongly believed in dreams as revelations of future events, which enabled them to avert future hazards or at least meet them prepared. They distinguished, and still distinguish, between the stereotype dreams and the free or spontaneous dreams. The former are true revelations from ancestral and shavi spirits, or call and directive dreams from living and dead wizards (varoyi). Consequently they have a direct social impact on the life of the recipient. The interesting point is that the traditional High-God was not directly associated with dreams. He revealed Himself occasionally through the phenomena of nature, e.g. lightning, or sent messages from the oracular shrines to the outlying districts through His vanyai, but He did not as a rule personally appear in the dreams of individuals. Insofar as such a role is attributed to the Christian Mwari, and insofar as He is directly responsible for sending His messengers (angels) to His people, a major shift of emphasis has taken place.

Although the traditionalists may have regarded Mwari as the ultimate source of dreams, the link was originally more remote than it is today. Through the Christian Message Mwari, as a Personal Being, has indeed been brought much closer to His people, and He is now believed to be more directly involved in the everyday life of individuals. This does not mean that the traditional notions have died out completely. As we will indicate below, the importance ascribed to dreams as divine revelations does not necessarily exclude the mediating function of the ancestors even for Church members. Especially in the Ethiopian-type Churches the dreams ‘from God’ are invariably facilitated by the ancestors and actually involve demands of the ancestors. The fact that a few members of this latter type of Church still mentioned the traditional vanyai as the bearers of Mwari’s message (table 39), reveals the partly obscured but still virile remnants of the traditional past.

We must now turn to the case-study material, from which I quote a fairly extensive number of dreams. These are classified in the broadly conceived categories of call-dreams and group-consolidating dreams.

25. Malinowski makes this distinction with regard to the dream-life of the Trobriand natives, and Sundkler (1961, p. 266) applies it to the Zulu dream life.

26. For dreams as a means of communication between the living and the dead, as a call to traditional divinatory and medicinal, or wizardry practices, see Daneel, 1971, pp. 97, 99, 120, 148, 161, 180.
a) **Call-dreams**

*Mutendi Zionists: Mufundisi Josaya Chikwama*, who for years had been Mutendi’s leading office-bearer in Buhera, related the following call-dreams to me shortly before his death at Zion City in 1965: ‘I first started having revelatory dreams in 1923. I dreamt that I was carrying a Zulu Bible. In front of me was a shining star which guided me. Many people listened to my preaching. They kept saying: “Zuva, zuva, ndiye she; bvute, bvute, ndiye muranda” [Sun, sun is king; shadow, shadow is servant].’ A white bottle was in front of me and the people were praising the bottle. They danced around it. I awoke and asked a Zionist boy what such a dream could mean. He told me that I should go to Buhera to go and preach the Word of God. I laughed at him and went instead to Gwelo. There I had similar dreams but I did not heed them. Once I saw a lot of Europeans flying around in a circle like angels. Three of them were walking around with crowns on their heads. The whole procession went around Gwelo three times. Then the three main angels came into my room and addressed me in the European language [Chirungu]. I could not understand them. I was afraid and trembled. I woke up and spent the rest of the night praying. The next morning my European employer discharged me without telling me why. I tried to find a new job without success. Twice the police detained me, but each time they released me again. Then I knew that I must heed the dreams and go home [at Nyika store in Bikita district, a few miles from Zion City]. Soon after my arrival I was baptized and appointed as an evangelist in Mutendi’s Church. I was converted because of the dreams. They sent me to Buhera to take charge of the Church work in that area. I was satisfied that my dreams had come true. The many people I saw in my dreams are those I have converted in Buhera, where I went around preaching and curing the sick through the laying on of hands.’

*Deacon Ammon Norumedzo:* ‘At the beginning when I was about to join this Church, I once listened to a sermon of Mutendi and then went home. That night I dreamt of Mutendi coming to me and commanding me to obey the message contained in his sermon. I regarded this as a dream from heaven and I obeyed.’

*Chief Ndanga:* ‘What attracted me [chinhu chakandikweva, literally the thing that pulled me] to this Church are the dreams I had. I dreamt that this priest, Mutendi, was preaching to me. When I first had such a dream I had not yet met Mutendi, but only heard of him. When I had such dreams I could only cry out: Jesus! Jesus! At night when I saw my enemies approaching my house [i.e. dream of witches or evil spirits approaching] I would start calling Jesus. He then chased them away. I believe that these dreams came from
heaven. Mwari sends them to us. He had showed me in the dreams that I should follow this man, Mutendi.

Ndaza Zionists: Evangelist Mupedze Tarwiwa (follower of David Masuka): ‘I was drawn to this Church because I had dreams after I came into contact with the Ndaza Zionists. On one occasion I dreamt that I flew to heaven. On another I dreamt that an angel with large wings took hold of me and flew up and up with me into heaven. So I decided that I had better join this Church because they could provide me with the things I need.’

Bishop Mushwayi Ndiwayo (‘master farmer’ and follower of David Masuka): ‘I have several members in my family who follow the ways of the midzimu. But I heard a voice in a dream which ordered me to be baptized in the Church of David. I was always ill and the elders of our family often propitiated the ancestors on my behalf. I could not ignore the voice of the angel which kept coming to me. After I was baptized in “Jordan” I was healed, and since then I have never been seriously ill.’

Bishop Hazael Mudyanadzo (a member of Nehemia Gotore’s ‘Zion Sabbath’): ‘Dreams are from God. I dreamt very often that I was beating a drum while standing on top of a mountain. I interpreted this as a sign that I should enter the Zionist Church. My dreams were therefore true messages.’

Simon Machakawaya (ordinary member of Zacheo’s ‘Zionist Reformed Church’): ‘Before I joined this Church I dreamt that I was singing Zionist songs and healing people through the laying on of hands. I was convinced and became a Zionist.’

Evangelist Thomas Mapowere (follower of Willi Sharara): ‘I joined this Church after I had a dream. I dreamt that I saw a person clad in white garments and a white scarf. He called me: “Tomasi, Tomasi!” When I replied, he ordered me: “Follow this road!” I did so until I reached a small tree with a small white cloth draped over it. When I looked “inside” I saw numerous children. I also noticed the name “Zioni” written there. This made me join the Church because it was a lesson from heaven.’

Maranke Apostles: Senior Evangelist-judge Amos Chakaza (Johane’s son-in-law): ‘At first I belonged to the Methodist Church. I knew I would never be considered as a mufundisi because I had a wife but not a marriage certificate. In our Church it was a condition for a mufundisi that he should be properly married. Nevertheless I had dreams concerning my leadership (ukuru) whenever I lay down to sleep. I saw myself going out into the wilderness and preaching to many people. On such occasions I was clad in white garments and carried the Book with me. In 1947, when I returned from Bulawayo, I got to know this Church of Johane Maranke. At first I did not think it was the one I had dreamt of. Then in 1951 when Conorio, Jo-
hane's brother, fell ill I started thinking of being baptized in Jordan. When I joined the Church and was promoted to the position of *mufundisi* [in the general sense of the word, i.e. 'teacher'] I realized that my dreams had become true. I told Anrod [Johane's other brother and a prominent Church official at the time] about it and they agreed that the dreams were true "prophecies" of what would happen.

*Baptist Eriah Nyakasaka* ('master farmer' in the Maranke tribal area): 'I joined Johane's Church because I dreamt of a blackboard with things written on it in black and white signs. A voice told me: "Leave the black colour and choose the white: Black stands for the Zionist Church; follow the person who will visit you at your homestead!" Later when I saw Johane approaching my house I knew what the dream meant. Johane further convinced me because his spirit knew all the things I had done. So I was baptized by him.'

*Healer Torera* (one of Johane's earliest converts and a widely known healer in Maranke): 'When I was at Nyahana, visiting a *nganga* for healing treatment, I had a dream about something like a big building coming down from heaven. The big doors were closed, and the others were so small that one could not enter. Nearby there were gates [probably similar to the type of enclosure used by the Apostles during *Paseka* ceremonies] with a lot of people. Two men at the one gate told me to go and herd the sheep on a mountain nearby. When I awoke I left the *nganga*. Later when I joined the *vaPostori* I remembered that I had been shown the way in the dream at Nyahana. It was God who had spoken to me to bring about my conversion because at first I was a healer of people [*nganga*].'

*Evangelist Isayah Chikata* (builder and tailor in the Maranke tribal area): 'In 1935, while at home, I dreamt that I was inside a house with a very white interior. I stood up and saw two men with long staves, beards and white garments. They asked me whether I could see them. I said "Yes" They told me to leave that place before the next Thursday, otherwise I would die. I told them I had heard them. So they left. The next night the same men arrived while I was asleep. They asked me whether I remembered their message. I said "Yes" They once more urged me not to sleep at my house the following night. They also said: "We will tell you which Church you must joint. Do not drink beer and do not eat any unclean meat [pork]." When they left it became dark as before.

'The next day I went to a wedding at Sharara's. My father asked me to stay, lest the cattle stray to the railway line. I refused and went away, remembering the warning dreams. At Sharara's I slept outside on a rock and became very ill. My whole body trembled and I lost consciousness so that I did not know where I was. When I reached home I went into my house and
fell asleep like someone who had come from a beer party. The same people of my dreams again came to me. They said: “You have ‘died’, yet you are alive. You would have died completely, if you had stayed here at your homestead on Thursday night.” They told me that they had warned me not to drink beer. They showed me their white garments and told me that I should become an Apostle. Then they left.

‘Meanwhile I was at a loss as to which Church they wanted me to join. After some time I came across members of the Apostolic Faith Mission and wondered whether this would be the Church. But I dreamt again and a voice said: “This is not the Church!” I then saw the Church of Johane Masowe. Once again a voice told me in a dream that this was not the proper Church either. Afterwards we migrated and came to Bocha country. Here at Wendorumba I saw the Apostles of Johane Maranke for the first time. This was in 1938. When I dreamt again the people told me that this was the Church they had spoken of from the start. Yet I refused and told them I did not want to wear such garments. They repeatedly visited me in my dreams, but I kept refusing. In 1941 I went to Umtali and started working at the Sable Company. I was serving as a kitchen-boy when the Holy Spirit caught hold of me one night. The Spirit took me out on a hill where I spent the whole night. The next morning I returned to my work. My European employer asked me what the matter was. I told him that the Holy Spirit had caught hold of me. He asked me why. I told him that the Spirit did this because I had eaten the forbidden pork. So he told me: “It is all right; you need no longer eat unclean meat while working here.” The Holy Spirit spoke to me and said: “I told you before to join the Church but you refused. I am still with you today.”

‘I left Umtali and went to Salisbury for seven years, until I returned and started working as a tailor here at Chakaza’s store [see Chakaza above] in the Maranke reserve. Chakaza and the other Apostles taught me much about their Church, but still I refused to become a member. One day while I was working, some five Apostles came and tried to convince me with references to the Bible. I still refused. That afternoon on the way home the Holy Spirit again took hold of me. Having reached my house I started praying. I asked God if one should be baptized again, since I had already been baptized in a Mission Church. When I got up from my knees, the whole house was illuminated as in the past. A voice told me to read from Acts 19:1-7 I did so. When it became dark I got up, lit the lantern and started reading all over again. I then realized that I had been baptized with the baptism of “throwing away sins” but not with the baptism of the Holy Spirit with which St. Paul had baptized the people.’

‘Later, as I fell asleep, I dreamt of a small light at the window. A voice
ordered me to get up and move to the window. I looked out and saw two men with bicycles. The voice asked me if I recognized these men. I said, "Yes!" It was Evangelist Haire [one of the most zealous preachers in Maranke] and Ukama. They were both in their official attire. The voice said: "If you refuse again, you will certainly be in trouble!" Then the light faded and I was left alone with my thoughts. Early next morning Haire and Ukama, clad in their garments, turned up at my homestead. We sat down together to discuss matters. I took my Bible and gave it to Haire showing him the passage which I had been told to read the previous night. He told me he would baptize me if I had made up my mind. I thought it the safest thing to do. I wanted to avoid the trouble, especially for the sake of my children, of which I had been warned. Together with the wives of my elder brother I was led to "Jordan" where I was baptized. While in the water I once more saw the people who had visited me in my dreams. They seemed to be standing behind a sheet of glass. I was satisfied that I had done the correct thing. The prophet said I would become an evangelist."

First Ethiopian Church: Evangelist Jonas Mukumirwa (resident in Chingombe): ‘I suffered from ear-ache since my youth. Nobody could heal it. I went to nganga and hospitals, even to European doctors in South Africa. Yet my ear never healed properly. Back from South Africa, I had a dream. A man clad in white garments entered my house with a torch. He asked me what my greatest wish was. I told him: "To be healed" He spat on the floor, mixed the spittle with some sand and inserted it into my ear. It was then that the worm which had troubled me came out of my ear. I took it and crushed it. The next morning when I washed my face the pus came out through my nose, and I could hear once more with this ear which had been deaf for some time. I told my wife what had happened. She said: "It must be God who has healed you" My friends advised me to start worshipping God because it was He who had healed me. I then considered joining the DRC or Methodist Church, but I was not young enough to spend such a long time in catechism classes. The Zionists and Apostles did not appeal to me because they do not allow one to visit hospitals or African doctors. So I became a member of the Topia Church.’

Mufundisi Jongwe: ‘Mwari sends us dreams when He wants to instruct us I once dreamt of a large valley with a house in its centre. It had a green floor with many people seated there. They were clad in white garments. This was a sign for me to join a Church. The dream did not specify which one. By that time I had already come under the influence of Mufundisi Elias Kabundira’s preaching and I was baptized by him in the Topia Church.’ I have selected these dreams from the bulk of dream-material since they
reflect certain characteristic features emerging from the general pattern of
dream-life in the Independent Churches. In the first place the above-mentioned
dreams can be classified into direct and indirect call-dreams. The former
category, to which the majority of call-dreams belong, consists of dream
experiences which are directly interpreted by the dreamer as directives to
join a Church. The *Ndaza* Zionist Tarwiwa, for instance, saw a direct relationship between the *Ndaza* Zionist movement and his ‘flight to heaven’ To
secure future entry into heaven he had to attain Zionist Church membership.
Zionist Bishop Ndiwayo again held that he had dreamt of receiving a direct
order to join David Masuka’s group. Members who claim to have had this
type of dream convey the impression that they have deliberately acted on it
as a clear and divine directive to join a particular Church. Sometimes a whole
series of call-dreams are experienced, as was the case with Apostle Isayah
Chikata. In this particular case there seems to have been a progressive
development in the unfolding revelatory picture, but the point is that this
man had already accepted beforehand that his dreams implied a summons
which had to be obeyed.

The second category of call-dreams concerns dreams which are not acted
upon as clear directives. It is accepted by the dreamer that such a dream may
point to a particular Church, but he does not necessarily feel compelled to
act accordingly. In such cases a set of other factors are usually dominant in
bringing about the final decision which leads to Church adherence. Only
*after* the person has joined the new Church does he ‘remember’ the dream or
dreams of the past. Such dreams are call-dreams in retrospect, and their
function is to supply divine confirmation of the important step that has al­
ready been taken, rather than prescribing religious affiliation in advance.
With some individuals it is certainly a matter of thinking up the ‘correct
dreams’ of the past once they have identified themselves with a group in
which revelatory call-dreams form the basis of exemplary Church member­
ship (and leadership). A man like the influential Apostle Amos Chakaza, for
instance, strikes one as a capable business-man and Church administrator, a
level-headed person not normally preoccupied with the world of dreams. In
his case Church adherence was conditioned primarily by kinship ties – Johane
being his father-in-law – and business relations. His call-dreams indeed
reflect leadership ambition, but they were of a secondary nature. As he him­
self suggests, it was only *after* becoming a Church member and office-bearer
that he realized his dreams had ‘come out’ correctly. Apostolic healer To­
rera’s words reflect a similar trend when he says: ‘Later, when I had joined
the Apostolic movement, *I remembered that I had been shown the way* in the
dreams at Nyahana [my italics].’
A distinct difference between the call-dreams of Mutendi Zionists and the members of all the other Spirit-type Churches is the prominent role of the main leader in such dreams in the case of the former group. Johane also appears to his Apostolic followers, but then mostly in control-dreams. Mutendi’s authoritative personality, his courageous role in relation to the European administration and his camouflage appeal to the Rozvi past has made its special imprint on the minds of many Africans. It is therefore not uncommon to hear of call-dreams, as the one narrated by Ammon Norumedzo, in which Mutendi features as a figure who actually ‘commands’ the dreamer to follow the Zionist ways of God. Chief Ndanga claims to have dreamt of Mutendi even before they met. His dreams suggest a close relationship between Jesus and Mutendi. They also hint at future security because in the dreams he only had to call on Jesus whenever he needed protection against the – presumably magical – menace caused by his enemies. Judging from the Zionist services rendered to Shona chiefs, the security was closely associated with allegiance to Mutendi’s ‘magico-religious’ institute. *Ndaza* Zionist call-dreams sharply contrast with those of the zcc. Only in exceptional cases are the main leaders like David Masuka, Willi Sharara or Andreas Shoko recalled to have appeared in such dreams.

In the majority of cases it is apparent from the dream narratives that persons have already had contact with the Church group concerned before experiencing call-dreams. Call-dreams are therefore ‘moulded’ to some extent according to the standardized type of each group, and they occur during a period of anticipated Church membership. Josaya Chikwama of the zcc lived at a village not far from Mutendi’s headquarters, and he must have been familiar with Zionist dream-life long before he actually became an active member of the movement. It was the obvious thing for him to ask a Zionist friend to interpret a dream which was suggestive of a future leading role within the Church. Others, such as the Apostle Isaya Chikata, made a point of stating that they first met members of the particular Church group some time after they had their first call-dream. Chikata actually had to ‘search’ for the proper Church of his dreams. It is possible that he had heard of the Maranke Apostles before moving to the Maranke tribal area, and that through a process of auto-suggestion he remembered the messengers of his initial dreams as people wearing attire similar to that of as Johane’s followers. This emphasis on the experience of call-dreams before knowing the actual Church probably derives from the inclination of some members to attach special authenticity to their dreams.

27. To be discussed in Volume 3; see also: Daneel, 1971, pp. 436-7.
The *reward-element* is unmistakable in most of the dreams. Church membership secures entry into heaven (see Tarwiwa), it provides security against future onslaughts of evil powers (Chief Ndanga and Apostle Chikata), it provides one with continual healing treatment (Ndiwayo) and it provides an outlet for leadership ambition (Josaya Chikwama and Amos Chakaza). In this respect call-dreams often reflect the deepest needs of individuals, needs which do not always feature prominently in their life histories. Since prophetic dreams are believed to come from outside, the dreamer can project his innermost wishes into the field of dream-experiences. As a result the promised reward or fulfillment of ambition as it manifests itself in dreams is often directly related to the specific need of the dreamer. In the case of Ndiwayo the call-dreams were preceded by a history of continuous illness and efforts to pacify the ancestors in order to avert disaster. Instead of the traditional dream pattern pertaining to such situations, i.e. a visitation by a neglected ancestral spirit to reveal to the afflicted person in which way it had been wronged and in which way amends could be made, Ndiwayo was visited by an angel who urged him to join the Church. Ndiwayo's dreams as such included no direct promise of healing, but one can take for granted that this is what the angel is supposed to have implied. Ndiwayo in any case testified to a cure after baptism. In Chakaza's dreams one finds a very clear projection of leadership ambition. As a Methodist who had not been properly married in Church he was disqualified for the distinguished position of mufundisi. Yet his dreams held the promise of future leadership and of exerting influence over a large number of people. We find the same tendency in Josaya Chikwama's dreams. Long before he joined the Zionist movement he saw himself preaching to many people in the Buhera district. Both of these men became distinguished office-bearers in their respective Churches.

Leadership ambition also manifests itself in other than call-dreams. Evangelist Ruben, Mutendi's son and eager propagator of Zionism, had a revelatory dream concerning his promotion to the position of representative of his father in the Gutu district, well in advance of his actual installation in this Zionist stronghold. 'I once dreamt while out in Bikita', he told me, 'that my father built his house here in Gutu on Mt. Rasa. [From Mutendi's Church site in Chingombe one has a splendid view of Mt. Rasa a few miles away.] I also built my house on this mountain. Now that I am in charge of the Zionist congregations out here in Gutu, I realize that the dream was a pointer [chiratidzo] of what would come.'

Call-dreams sometimes provide a compensatory solution in a frustrating situation of cross-cultural contact. The manifest content of Josaya Chikwama's dream in Gwelo does not place the European employer in a dis-
advantageous position in relation to his employee, as one might have expected. But it is significant that Josaya dreamt about Europeans the night before he was summarily discharged — an aspect which points at a possible conflict and build-up of tension between employer and employee; and it is equally significant that he really started paying attention to the call-dreams when his dismissal and further unemployment had made his position in town untenable. Thus the call-dreams provided an avenue of retreat, a possibility of a future career after the attempt to make a success of town life had failed. Here at least was a chance to prove himself in a field where progress and promotion were not controlled by Europeans but rested basically on divine calling and further depended on one’s ability to achieve meaningful rapport in an all-African society. Chakaza’s case differs from Chikwama’s insofar as the frustration of ambition was more directly concerned with Church life. The application of westernized Church laws by European missionaries thwarted Chakaya’s ideals of becoming a Church leader right at the outset. His dreams compensated for this drawback, in that the practical situation was reversed. Instead of being the disqualified Church member, he found himself back in his dreams as the successful preacher who ventured into the wilderness with a growing sphere of influence. The white garments which he wore on such occasions signified his evangelistic campaigns as independent action free from European initiative and their cramping supervision.

In most cases the manifest content of dreams leaves little doubt as to the Church which a person is supposed to join. The Mutendi Zionists are summoned directly by the main leader himself, or else they dream of objects, such as a white bottle (e.g. Josaya Chikwama), which symbolize a particularly attractive practice within the Church concerned. In Chikwama’s case the white bottle clearly signified the use of holy water, which had received such a central place in Mutendi’s Church. There could also be no doubt about the call-dreams to the Ndaza Zionist movement. Bishop Mudyanadzo dreamt of himself beating a drum on a mountain; Mapowere found the name ‘Zioni’ written beneath the tree with the white cloth and Machakawayo sang Zionist songs — and songs of no other Church! — in his dreams. Call-dreams narrated by Apostles invariably include references to messengers (vatumwa) clad in white garments. Chikata’s dreams included descriptions characterizing the dream-messengers as Maranke Apostles and none other. In no other Shona movement has Church membership become synonymous with white garments, long staves and beards. The Masowe Apostles also wear white garments, but the Hosana song distinguishes them from Johane’s followers. Nyakasaka’s choice between black and white colours implied a choice between Zionism and the Apostolic movement. A presentation of Churches in contrasting
colours is in itself an indication of the spiritual value attributed to them (see symbolism below).

Healer Torera’s call-dreams proves to be consistent with the Apostle’s creed of not conducting services in Church buildings. The building which descended from heaven had either closed doors or doors too small to enter, a clear sign for Torera not to become a member of any denomination with Church buildings. In contrast to the desolate building there were ‘gates’, undoubtedly representing the entrance to the Apostolic type of Paseka enclosures, with a number of people congregated there. It was self-evident that the place where the people were was the most meaningful place to be.

There are of course numerous variations of interpretations of dreams, in the first place among members of the same Church, and secondly from Church to Church. The Spirit-type Church members as a rule attach great value to the symbolic content of dreams and they expect to be shown which Church to join. In the Ethiopian-type Churches, where dreams play a less prominent role as a group-manipulating force, the patterns of standardization appear less clearly, if at all. Choice of Church is less dominated by the specific content of dreams for persons who consider joining this type of movement. They are not expected to narrate call-dreams that ‘fit’ the characteristics of these Churches. In the two call-dreams of Topia members quoted above, one or more persons appeared in white garments – the colour opposite to that of the official attire worn in both the FEC and Chibarirwe movements – but this was not regarded as a pointer to any particular Church. Both Jongwe and Mutumirwa were convinced that their dreams came ‘frome above’, and as such constituted calls to worship the Christian God. Yet they felt no compulsion to join any other than the group of their own deliberately rationalized choice. In the final analysis the frequency and intensity of contact with a particular Church group and the subsequent conditioning of the individual’s subjective preference probably plays a similar role in predetermining the ultimate choice of a novice, be it for a prophetic or an Ethiopian-type Church group. In the former type of group the subjective projection of the individual is ‘rediscovered’ in dream-life as an objective and divine imperative, camouflage the subjective choice with divine compulsion.

Members of the Chibarirwe Church seldom refer to call-dreams as having any influence on Church membership. The value attached to dreams as channels of communication between God and man (see table 39) lies more in the line of traditional dream life, in the sense of ancestors acting as emissaries of God and conveying messages to their descendants. But then messages of this nature are directly concerned with family affairs, as of old, and not with official Church life. Members seldom refer to such dreams
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

during Church meetings. Sengwayo, the Chibarirwe president, personally
sets great store by dreams and visions coming from his family ancestors,
whom he still regards as performing an additional and strictly personal
mediating function in addition to the universal mediation of Christ. At the
other end of the scale in the Chibarirwe Church one encounters a much more
critical and hesitant attitude as far as dreams are concerned. This tendency is
obvious especially among some of the ministers and evangelists who have
been greatly influenced by the Mission Churches through advanced religious
training. I briefly quote a few comments of these critics:

Rev. Pahla (who served as a minister in the American Board before joining
the Chibarirwe ranks): ‘Dreams are of no use because people dream what
they think of!’

Evangelist Makomo (of Chingombe): ‘Mwari seldom sends us messages
through dreams. It is mostly a matter of dreaming and then connecting an
incident with the dream afterwards, without the dream having instructive
value. When I dream that I am digging a grave and my relative dies soon
after, I remember the dream!’

Joseph Chauruka (ordinary Church member in Chingombe): ‘Dreams are
of no real value. It is a mere coincidence if you dream something and it
really happens afterwards.’

It should be said of call-dreams generally that they are seldom narrated
during public Church meetings. Sometimes a newly baptized member may
witness about his or her call-dream(s) while preaching to the congregation
during a service. The stereotype procedure in the Spirit-type Churches, how­
ever, is to narrate call-dreams to such officials as are in close contact with
the new member during the first phase of initiation. Thus we find that
Chakaza confided in Anrod, Johane’s brother, with whom he was in close
touch, while Chikata told Evangelist Haire – one of the men who initially
tried to persuade him and who eventually baptized him – of his dreams and
visions. Apparently one chooses as official interpreter of one’s call-dreams,
an associate with whom one is bound to co-operate closely in the local
congregation, in other words, a person most likely to confirm the private
interpretation already attached to such dreams. The prophetic dream-inter­
preter, in turn, makes full use of the deep-seated belief in dreams as channels
of supernatural communication to persuade the dreamer – on account of his
or her own dream-life – to join the Church. Some persuasive personalities in
the prophetic movements, no doubt, exploit the ‘art’ of dream-interpretation
as an effective tool for the recruitment of new members.
b) Group-consolidating dreams

i) The control-dream

In the prophetic Churches with a semi-Messianic type of leadership such as Mutendi's and Johane's movements, the control-dream plays an important role. These dreams are mostly recounted by high-ranking Church officials who are or were in close touch with the main leader and who, as a result, take orders directly from the top. Directives, advice or recriminations can be communicated by the main leader over a great distance to his subordinate officials, through such control-dreams. As such these dreams are believed to be the leader's assertion of mystical powers, whether he is dead (Johane) or alive (Mutendi). They are interpreted as divine assurances of the leader's legitimate position, of his being sent by God. Giving heed to such dreams and publicizing the fact in local congregations is part of the senior official's demonstration of loyalty to both leader and local group.

We briefly mention a few control-dreams, firstly in Mutendi's and secondly in Johane's Church:

**zcc:** In 1949, Jakobo Matevure, one of Mutendi's ministers from the Zaka area, left Zion City before the conference meeting he attended was officially closed. Mutendi had not yet given his permission for the participants to leave; he had not yet 'released' (kusunungura) them. Matevure was travelling on foot and was passing Mukanganwi's chiefdom when his stomach started swelling. Soon he could proceed no further and lay down. He fell asleep and dreamt of Mutendi approaching him with his holy staff. In reply to the 'man of God's' reproach he admitted his guilt, whereupon Mutendi touched his stomach with his staff and caused the swelling to subside. When he awoke Matevure immediately returned to Zion City for further healing treatment. In the presence of a large Church gathering he recounted his experiences and confessed to the 'man of God' that he had done wrong. He was convinced that Mutendi's spirit had followed him to call him back. This dream was regarded as important enough to be canonized in the Zion Christian Church Rungano, as a warning to others. In Chapter 40:11 Matevure's experience is described as a miracle, as a 'disciplinary measure' (shamhu) effected by Mwari himself for Matevure's act of 'running away from the conference'. As he has done with all the canonized healing wonders, Mutendi is careful to attribute such events to the power of God; a distinction not always made by his followers.

Minister Jostos Makore, Mutendi's senior representative in the Chikwanda tribal area in Gutu, failed in 1966 to turn up at Moriah where he was sup-
posed to bring out a rwendo report\textsuperscript{28} on his campaigning activities. He went
to his home first and postponed the trip to Zion City, contrary to normal
procedure. He then had a warning dream, which he related as follows: 'I
dreamt that I saw Mutendi. We were facing each other but he seemed to
ignore and not to recognize me. I knew that something was wrong and that
Mutendi was dissatisfied. The very next day Minister Mupinga who is in
charge of the Zionist congregations in Bikita south came and summoned me
to Moriah. I told him of the dream because I knew it was a warning signal.
I had failed to bring my rwendo report in time.'

Minister Ananiah, the zcc officer-in-charge in the Chibi district, recalls a
dream he had in jail: 'Once I was caught at Triangle for selling goat's meat
without a licence. Before my case was tried in court I dreamt that Mutendi
and Champion [Mutendi's senior 'minister'] came to me. They stood at the
jail door beckoning me to come out and go with them. Mutendi told me that
I should obey the laws of the Church and not repeat such mistakes. Next
morning I was acquitted, and I knew that this dream came from Mwari who
had sent the spirits of Mutendi and Champion to me.'

Zionist control dreams experienced in outlying districts are sometimes
narrated during sermons at Moriah during the annual festivals; they are also
recounted during Church Council sessions and the 'man of God' is then asked
for forgiveness. In this way the belief in Mutendi's ability to detect mistakes
over a distance and to prevent a repetition of such errors through control (or
warn and caution) dreams is strengthened. The 'man of God' seldom com-
ments on the accounts of such dreams by his subordinate officials during
dare sessions. He is always willing to pardon the culprit if he thinks the
gesture is sincere. A fatherly admonition is sometimes directed at the one
who has been at fault, but the validity of control dreams are never discussed.
The 'man of God' obviously prefers his followers to accept the validity of
these dreams without question, since they form one of the important pivots of
his authority and influence.

AACJM: Apostolic dreams in which Johane appears to his followers are of
interest since they provide us with an example of the influence a charismatic
leader is still believed to exert over his Church after his death. Abero Maran-
ke, successor to his father's position as 'senior priest' of the movement, has

\textsuperscript{28} After the October conference at Moriah, Zionist delegates are sent out on rwendo
(lit. journey; i.e. a Zionist campaign) to various parts of the country. Before they return
to their homesteads they are supposed to visit Zion City to report to the central Church
community how many new members they have baptized and what the spiritual state of
members in outlying congregations is. A full account of a Zionist rwendo will appear
in Volume 3.
no doubt about the frequent occurrence and spiritual value of such dreams. ‘Many people’, he stated in 1966, ‘have already told me of the dreams they had of my deceased father. It is indeed a way in which he sends them messages and gives them guidance as to what they should do.’

Evangelist Onias Muchimwe, Abero’s regular chauffeur on the long annual Paseka trips, was quite convinced that Johane had visited him several times in dreams after the latter’s death. In his own words: ‘Johane has caused me to dream’ [Johane vakandirotsa]. He came to me while I slept and said: “Onias, you must be strong and persevere in the faith. Don’t backslide because here where I am now I have found a good dwelling-place. Be fair in your judgment of other peoples’ problems! Follow the proper way [the Apostolic way] because here in heaven are many mansions to liven in.” These were Johane’s words to me. God probably allows him to come to us so that we may be encouraged to persevere in faith.’

Secretary Jana Mufararikwa, son of the ward headman in whose territory the Apostolic headquarters are situated, remembered a dream experience shortly after Johane’s death. The deceased leader appeared in the dream and said to him: ‘Sekuru, you must remain steadfast in your office, as you have been in the past. Do not give the visitors from elsewhere reason to complain at the Paseka. Give them sufficient food to eat!’

Baptist Willias Chipanya had the following to say about his deceased Church leader: ‘Johane is not really dead. He simply rests, and he knows what goes on in his Church because he visits us in dreams and gives us directives. He came to me in a dream and encouraged me to preach his message and convert the people. When I make mistakes he causes me to be ill. This once happened to me when I thought of leaving the Church. I fell seriously ill and Johane appeared in a dream with the warning that I should not leave his Church. We mostly dream of Johane when we are in trouble. We sometimes see him living in a very nice house, with entrances like gates. He is now as white as an angel.’

In both types of dreams, caused by the living Mutendi and the deceased Johane, a direct link with God is assumed. Ananiah thought God had sent him the spirit of Mutendi, and Onias regarded it as a possibility that God allows Johane to visit his followers on earth. The difference in dream-manifestation is that the living leader’s spirit is supposed to appear in dreams while he is physically far away at Moriah and that the deceased leader appears as a complete being. If asked, the Apostles would also qualify Johane’s being in his posthumous state as spirit. Yet it is his whole being, and they prefer simply to refer to him as ‘Johane who had visited me’ or ‘Johane
who had caused me to dream' As Mutendi, Johane is also concerned with the spiritual state of his followers, their perseverance in faith, their subservience to Church rules and the maintenance of group unity generally. It is difficult to determine whether Johane had a grip on his followers through mystical powers similar to that of Mutendi, while alive. My impression is that he attained this status after death, and that we find here a clear reflection of traditional beliefs. As the ancestral spirit is endowed with mystical powers, so Johane is too. Due to his charismatic talents, his special relationship with God and his wide sphere of influence, his powers are more inspiring and much more far-reaching than that of the average mudzimu. In the same way as the ancestral spirit imposes his will on his descendants through affliction, and warning in dreams, Johane causes illness and 'follows it up with dreams' to reaffirm his authority and prevent his flock from straying.

Control-dreams of the above-mentioned type do not have a central place in the smaller Ndaza Zionist Churches. Neither do the members of the Topia and Chibarirwe Churches pay much attention to such dreams. Occasional remarks by officials of the latter movement nevertheless suggest that they do not completely discard the possibility of communication between main leader and followers through dreams. The Chibarirwe secretary, Tadios Gumindoga, stated that he had often dreamt of his Church superiors during conferences, without their giving him specific instructions. 'It is possible', he contended, 'that Sengwayo or Ruwana will return after death, by way of dreams, to give us orders in connection with the Church.'

ii) Loyalty, healing, and other dreams
A great number of dreams referred to during sermons or in private discussions concern visitations by the main Church leader, without his giving any particular instructions. The main theme of such dreams is that the leader was 'seen', that there was some sign of his divine calling which further convinced the dreamer of his superior's mission, or that through 'seeing' the leader during a period of illness, the dreamer was assured of complete recovery. These dreams are the common experience of most members of the semi-Messianic groups, but the persons who are inclined to witness about them frequently are the ambitious young office-bearers whose promotion depends on a show of right-mindedness, or the senior officials who have themselves acquired positions of wide influence and therefore constitute the 'break-away' potential in the Church. Since these men so easily become suspect of wanting to cause a rift in the Church through secession, they often resort to public accounts of what I call 'loyalty-dreams' In addition to narratives in which the leader plays the main role with the clear implication of subjection of the
dreamer to his authority, office-bearers also recount dreams which testify to
the progress in their own spiritual lives. Thus they do not only demonstrate
their loyalty to their leader and group but find justification for the offices
they themselves hold.

A few excerpts from dreams of Mutendi’s followers bring out clearly the
manifest content of the stereotype loyalty and healing dreams in this group.

Minister Champion, who was dedicated by his father to Mutendi in 1939
while still a young man and who today holds the highest office next to ‘the
man of God’, recalls many dreams, especially during the first few years of his
stay at Moriah: ‘I dreamt continually in those years. One night I dreamt of
white manna falling from heaven. I ran, picked it up and ate it. I ate much of
it. Someone said it was the manna of Israel. It was indeed very white, kuti
to-to-to! On another occasion I dreamt of a star falling. It fell in my hands
and I ate it. I saw Mutendi standing in a large plain, stretching from here
to Fort Victoria. A chariot descended from heaven and stopped in the plain.
Mutendi was placed in it by angels. The chariot then started rolling over and
over, with Mutendi one moment on top and the next moment underneath.
After having covered a great distance the chariot turned back, rose up into
heaven and suddenly returned to earth with a smash, kuti dzi! Once more it
started turning pitiko-pitiko-pitiko, until it came to a stand-still. Mutendi was
now standing triumphantly upright in it. The meaning of the turning of the
chariot is that Mutendi was sent from heaven, but that he was destined to be
hampered continually by the troubles of this world, e.g. people hating him
and trying to delay his work.’

‘One night I dreamt that Mutendi was like Jesus. He was clad only in a
loincloth, knotted at his side. His whole attitude was such that you had to
subject yourself to him. This means that Mutendi’s spirit resembles
[kufanana] that of Jesus. Due to these and other dreams, which strength­
ened me as a follower of Mutendi, I kept encouraging the believers through
prayer and preaching while Mutendi was in prison.’

Ezekiah Mudzova, who was promoted to the position of mujundisi during
my stay at Zion City, dreamt in accordance with his status in the Church.
Before he was promoted to the highest rank in the Church his dreams con­
sisted of observing angels singing Zionist songs. He also saw Mutendi on a
rock. ‘His whole being’, says Ezekiah, ‘was so radiantly white that I could
hardly look at him. But he only looked at me without speaking.’ Shortly after
his promotion Ezekiah again dreamt of Mutendi. This time he stood, together
with another related minister, next to Mutendi on the same rock. ‘We dis­
cussed Church matters with Mutendi and prayed together. This dream was
a sign of Mutendi’s power and his being the leader [mutungamiriri] of God’s
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

Chief Ndanga, whom we have quoted above, proved to be more than a naive believer in dreams. He had quite a profound insight into the function of dreams in the Church group to which he belonged, and he was fully aware of their group-consolidating value. Amongst other things he contended that ‘dreams are of great value in unifying the Church. It causes us to remain steadfast. If I should have received only healing dreams, seeing Mutendi, I would have left the Church long ago, but now we have all sorts of dreams which serve to strengthen our faith.’

All the senior ZCC officials were unanimous in their opinion that the healing dreams in which an afflicted person ‘sees’ Mutendi and then becomes healed are the most frequent ones. There is little variation in the manifest content of these dreams. Mutendi appears in the dream without actually doing anything. His whole being or his features are usually described as radiantly white. Occasionally he is said to touch a person with his holy staff. Minister Samson Bracho of the Gutu district, however, has developed his own standard clues for interpreting his healing dreams. ‘My ancestors visit me in my dreams’, he tells us, ‘but I refuse to give heed to their requests. I know if I dream of them I may fall ill, but when Mutendi appears in the dream, and if he stands in the middle, I know that illness is averted. If he does not stand in the middle, I will certainly fall ill. If I dream of my midzimu without seeing Mutendi, I have been warned that physical affliction is coming my way.’

Of the Maranke Apostolic dream life I mention one example of a loyalty dream and one of a healing dream.

Baptist Mudakunze started dreaming of Johane soon after he had been healed and baptized by an Apostolic healer living near to his homestead. ‘I saw Johane clearly in a dream, without having met him before. God told me that I must carefully observe him and see for myself. He was looking in an easterly direction. At first I thought it was Jesus. Then I saw a high tower of which one could not see the roof because it reached beyond the clouds. The voice told me that this was the Apostolic Church and that I should always remain in it. I also saw a great number of people with long beards. This is when I was finally convinced that this was the real Church!’

Evangelist-judge Amos Chakaza, who claims to have regular dream-discussions with his deceased father-in-law, narrated the following healing dream: ‘Once my daughter was critically ill, and we feared that she would die. I was on my way to Buhera when I dreamt of Johane. He came and asked me what was the matter with my daughter. When I told him, he said: "The latter dream, no doubt, was also a confirmation of Ezekiah’s newly acquired status."
“She will not die!” I immediately rose from where I was sleeping and returned home. There I found my daughter in a greatly improved condition. Many of us dream of Johane in this way.7

Group-consolidating dreams often enough imply a repudiation of competing groups. The anti-Zionist theme is therefore a regular feature in the dreams of Maranke Apostles. In this group with its exclusionistic claims to salvation, the expansion of Zionism is hardly appreciated. It is not surprising that divine condemnation of Zionism through dreams manifests itself clearly in the dreams of individual Apostles who have at one stage belonged to the Zionist movement or who have been attracted by its practices. Group-pressure is brought to bear on such individuals until they either renounce Zionism completely or leave the Apostolic movement. This intolerant attitude presumably derives from the realization in Apostolic circles that Zionist success is based on a campaigning strategy similar to their own (see for instance the recruitment value of healing practices in the next chapter). Nyakasaka’s above-mentioned call-dream sharply contrasted the black Zionist and the white Apostolic Church. But this dream came at a stage when an initial choice between the two groups had to be made. As an example of an anti-Zionist dream by an already affiliated Apostle, who at one stage was tempted to rejoin the Zionists, we quote Baptist Karison Mudakunze’s experience: ‘I was a Zionist before I became an Apostle. Long ago this was the true Church because it started in this country before Johane’s vaPostori. When I became ill I thought of going back to Zion, but then I had a dream which prevented me from going. While dreaming I observed God judging the world. I saw Him leaving the Zionist Church in the “pit of fire” [gomba romoto] where all its members were burnt. The Zionist Church came from the east and made straight for the “pit of fire” I was frightened and cried out. I was sad to learn that one could not get eternal life as a Zionist. Later a voice came to me in another dream asking me if I have known Christ to buy land. From that day I knew that his [AACJM] was the proper Church, and I started recovering from my illness [my italics].’

Mudakunze’s first dream came at a stage when he was confronted with a difficult choice. The straightforward elimination of the one possibility by God Himself facilitated his choice. No motivation for such a condemnation was given in the dream, but divine authority is not questioned, especially not if it provides a solution to a conflict situation. The second dream, however, has a totally different tenor. Mudakunze had by this time identified himself with the Apostolic group to an extent where his dream-life portrays one of the typical Apostolic group-attitudes, namely the tendency to criticize the Zionists as the ‘rich landowners’, who are distracted from true religion because of
their worldly pursuits. As a rule more 'master farmers' and owners of farms in the Purchase areas are found in the Zionist than in the Apostolic movement. The resultant closer co-operation between Zionist groups and European administration has become a target of camouflaged Apostolic attack: Mudakunze's tacit reference to this particular bone of contention is a sign, not only of his acceptance of the revelation concerning the condemnation of his former Church group but also of his progressive identification with the deepest sentiments of the vaPostori.

Domestic and in-group conflicts are often expressed and dealt with in terms of dreams. In Chingombe some of the Zionist and Apostolic preachers make a point of encouraging Church members not only to confess their sins during the opening phase of a Church service but also to recount their recent dreams which they regard as important. There is no strict rule in this connection with the result that accounts and interpretations of dreams sometimes occur spontaneously in between sermons or at whatever moment persons feel inspired to do so. If a husband suspects his wife of extra-marital relations he may give expression to his fears by narrating dreams of having 'seen' his wife leaving the house at night. Such a dream-account proves to be an indirect opening gambit from where one of the prophets takes up the lead and starts diagnosing the case through the aid of the Holy Spirit. The woman concerned may be forced into a confession or the prophet may reveal that the husband's dreams have no real prophetic implications. The diagnostic treatment of such cases arising from dreams can be a complicated and time-consuming affair. It is therefore not an uncommon sight, especially amongst the Ndaza Zionists, to see a prophet in conversation with complainants and 'accused' a little distance from the congregation, for the full duration of an afternoon service.

In addition to revealing domestic squabbles such accounts of dreams also reflect tensions caused by leadership rivalries and suspicions concerning stolen property. Hereditary witches confess their witch-practices by telling how the uroyi spirits (be it maternal grandmother or shavi spirits) visit them in their dreams and thereby induce them to perpetrate evil. Eliciting an account of this latter type of dream from confessed or suspect witches is one of the most important functions of the prophet during services. Witchcraft is thus believed to be curbed to a certain extent and the affiliated witches kept in line by the Church. In the eyes of the prophets one of the great advantages of eliciting 'witch-dreams' from women is that they can assist potential witches in overcoming the temptations caused by matrilinial and other uroyi spirits. As soon as a woman starts narrating dreams interpreted by the prophets

29. Supra, p. 48.
as call-dreams to witchcraft, she is subjected to regular exorcistic treatment to prevent her from becoming a confirmed witch.30

A distinction should be made between the control, loyalty, and healing dreams as standardized revelations within the Spirit-type Churches, and the dreams—dealing with subjective domestic or in-group tensions. The former category of dreams reveals a correct attitude towards the Church; these are the dreams remembered by Church members since they are ‘testimonials of loyalty’, and the dreams exploited by Church leaders to ‘mould their followers into a standard type’ 31 The latter category of dreams is more directly concerned with the constantly changing conditions and conflicts within the family or local congregational context. They are not standardized and are narrated in numerous variations. Nevertheless they serve the important purpose of bringing submerged frustrations to the surface, which in turn constitutes a psychologically valuable release of group-tensions. As such this latter type of dream is no less valuable as a group-integrating factor than those of the former category. Yet such dreams are conveniently forgotten as soon as they have served their purpose.

c) *The interpretation of symbols in dreams*

Churches are symbolized in dreams as buildings, mountains, groups of people or coloured objects. In call-dreams these symbols are often duplicated, and the dreamer is supposed to make a choice between them, or he is in fact told by the heavenly messenger (the angel) or simply by ‘the voice’ which symbol to choose. When Mutendi was placed in the difficult situation of choosing between Eduard’s and Lekhanyane’s leadership, he dreamt of two houses, both whitewashed, representing the two branches of Zionism.32 The distinction here did not lie in the colour but in the fact that one house, i.e. Church, belonged to Eduard and the other to Lekhanyane. Neither was a choice made during the dream, but Lekhanyane’s interpretation of its content afterwards enabled Mutendi to arrive at a decision, for which he could claim divine guidance. The choice between Spirit-type Churches, represented as mountains or groups of people, mostly involve the dreamer’s ascent of the ‘Zionist’ or of the ‘Apostolic’ mountain, involvement in religious practices of a clearly defined nature on a particular mountain, passing a river to the correct group

30. *Infra*, p. 298.
31. See also Sundkler, 1961, p. 273.
32. Daneel, 1971, p. 298.
of people or of flying to heaven where a group of people (angels) are singing Zionist or Apostolic songs. If Churches are contrasted by way of colours, the preferable one is nearly always radiantly white.

This brings us to colour symbolism. Fluorescent, resplendent or radiant white is the dominant colour of important symbols or persons in the majority of prophetic dreams. It symbolizes purity, sanctity or just goodness in the general sense of the word. A leader with a divine commission appears in dreams with glowing white features; the nearness of God Himself or an angel causes one's house to be illuminated by a white light and a group of true believers are clad in white garments (e.g. Chikata's dream). The Apostles are inclined to interpret white garments as a divine sanction of their official attire. They blame non-Apostles who, according to them, 'misinterpret' their own dreams by not recognizing messengers clad in white as extending a call to the Apostolic movement. Yet it is true of the Mutendzi Zionists and the robed Zionists - the former using khaki uniforms and the latter a multiplicity of coloured garments - as well as members of the Ethiopian-type Churches that they, too, dream of Church people clad in white, in which case the whiteness connotes the angelic fashion, the closeness to God or simply an ethically correct disposition and not the type of official dress to be worn.

White and shining stars falling from heaven symbolize God's bestowal of a special charisma or task on the dreamer. Johane Maranke saw visions of stars falling at his feet when he received his holy commission, Simon Mushati saw a star-like object descending on him when he was called to become the senior prophet of Johane's movement, and Champion, who ran after the white manna from heaven, also saw a star falling in his hand. The willingness of the dreamer to accept the special task or gift of sanctity is demonstrated in the close contact between the dream symbol and the dreamer. In Mushati's case the white object 'streamed down his face like water' while Champion actually ate both star and manna. This notion of literally absorbing the symbol or heavenly commission parallels Biblical themes, such as the prophet Isayah's 'eating' of the bookrolls when he was ordered to convey God's message to Israel.

White contrasted to black, as in Apostle Nyakasaka's dream, does not necessarily imply a radical repudiation of the group represented by the black colour. In the traditional thought world both black and white are the re-

34. Ibid., p. 322.
35. Supra, p. 158.
representative colours of the ancestors,\textsuperscript{36} and a great number of spirit mediums wear \textit{mudzimu}-cloths divided equally into black and white parts. In the Church context white is indeed the superior and spiritually more constructive colour — therefore Nyakasaka prefers the ‘white’ Apostolic Church to the ‘black’ Zionist Church — but the mere colour-symbolism does not in this case imply as serious a condemnation of the Zionists as we have seen in Mudakunze’s dream. It is quite likely that the ambivalent attitudes of Apostles and Zionists — of antagonism when they compete with each other, and of affinity as people of the Spirit when they are confronted by a multiformality of non-Spirit Churches — are here projected into their dream life. After all the black and white colours in Nyakasaka’s dream appeared on the same board. Like the \textit{svikiro}’s black/white shawl the ‘black’ and ‘white’ Churches are possibly envisaged by some as two components of an all-African Pentecostal movement within the total complex of religious movements.

The \textit{Ndaza} Zionists and Apostles are sometimes told in their dreams what the colour of their garments should be. Even the colour of the sacred cords worn by Zionists are prescribed in this manner. Next to white the colours most frequently prescribed are green, blue, yellow and occasionally red. I have been unable to determine any standardized symbolic value attached to these colours, and I have the impression that the prescription of colours in dreams serve as manifestations of willingness to heed the commands of the Holy Spirit, rather than a specific value being attached to the particular colour. The majority of robed Zionists gave vague answers when questioned on this topic. I suggest, however, that there might be some connection between green garments and the green pastures sometimes regarded to be in heaven, and also between blue and the much needed rain-water. If so, these colours represent a state of anticipated well-being in heaven, a state best conceived in a subsistence farming community in terms of plentiful grazing grass and copious rain. Red is associated with blood and therefore features regularly in the call-dreams of witches who find themselves drinking the blood of others. In the Churches this colour seems to symbolize the judgment of God and the fires of hell. Apostolic prophetesses are fond of wearing red garments. A few of them ventured the explanation that this bright red is a \textit{sign of danger} to other Apostles, especially when they have to pass the prophets at the gates\textsuperscript{37} in preparation for Holy Communion. In addition to the danger of eternal judgment, these red-garmented prophetesses also represent the ‘dan-

\textsuperscript{36} For a description of the black and white shadows of living human beings, and the symbolic representation of these shadows after death by the black and white colours of \textit{‘mudzimu}-animals’ (e.g. the battaleur eagle), see Daneel, 1971, pp. 97-98.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Infra}, p. 300f.
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

165

ger' to the secret sinner of being publicly exposed by the relentless and revealing probes of the Holy Spirit.

God's judgment is primarily symbolized by consuming fire or objects such as ovens or huge chimneys, directly associated with fire. The most striking example of a judgment dream was obtained from Zionist minister Jostos Makore: 'While still in the DRC, I dreamt of a big fire consuming rocks, bush, water, everything that came in its way. A lot of people fleeing before the flames came past me. Some of them were swallowed up by a huge iron pipe while the others passed on. I heard a voice saying that those who are swallowed are the good people [who were thus protected from the flames] and the others the bad ones. I was greatly disturbed by this dream and went to Rev. M. I asked him to have the dream published by the Morgenster printing press but there was no response.'

Ndaza Zionist Mlambo described in detail how he and members of his family climbed a huge chimney. Having reached the top, they were caused to fall down the chimney into the flames below. He was surprised to find himself and his relatives walking in the fire without being burnt. This dream was interpreted as a warning of the coming judgment, with also the reassuring promise of eventual deliverance.

Evil powers, fatal tragedies, sin and temptations appear in dreams in the form of animals, especially dogs or baboons. Mention has been made in Volume 1, Chapter 4, of Bishop Andreas Shako's dream of the troop of baboons which he encountered on a mountain. These baboons symbolized the numerous evil spirits which he was predicted to exorcise from afflicted persons. Another high-ranking Ndaza official recounted how he overcame through a dream the evil powers which prevented him from joining the Church: 'I dreamt of a baboon which tried to beat me. But I managed to strike it down, and on the following day I was baptized.' In the tribal areas where baboons are a continual menace to ripening crops and where they are the most elusive quarries to track down in the hills, it is not surprising that they signify the ever-present and tenacious powers of evil. The hyena, is the real bogey, but since it is so closely associated with witchcraft, another animal of the same species yet totally different – i.e. the dog – is taken to symbolize sin or disas-

38. Apart from the specific contents of the dream, Makore's experience with Rev. M illustrates the tragic misunderstanding sometimes arising from a totally different approach of dreams by the European missionary and an African Church member. Makore found greater understanding and appreciation for his warning dream in the Zionist movement, which he joined soon afterwards.

39. The narratives of some dreams are surprisingly vivid and detailed.

ter. Minister Jostos Makore of the zcc stated in this connection: ‘I often dream of a dog trying to bite me. If it succeeds I know there is great danger ahead, and somebody I know will die. If I fly away like an angel the danger is averted. If I jump into water before the dog reaches me, the matter will “cool off” [tonhora] and I will overcome the trouble.’ Isaka Jakuwosi remembers how, in his dreams, three dogs tried to bite him when he was about to pass the prophets at the gates for a Holy Communion service. One of the prophets then deduced from the dogs’ presence that Isaka had been overcome by the temptation of drinking beer. Only after an appropriate confession of sin was made did the dogs vanish.

Up to this point reference has been made mainly to stereotype symbols of the standardized dream patterns within the Spirit-type Churches. Prophetic interpretations of dreams involving this type of symbols can more or less be predicted by the dreamers. In spite of the seemingly monotonous recurrence of stereotype symbols in dreams, Church members always attach great value to them as if each new dream experienced is a novelty. Some imaginative individuals in the course of time develop their own clues and interpret numerous other dream symbols according to their own codes. I mention a few examples of such individual interpretations, drawn from the dream-material of all four Independent Churches:

- When I dream of much fish I know many people will be baptized.
- When I dream of many locusts I know it will rain.
- If I catch an eel I know nobody will be baptized.
- If you dreamt that you are puddling mud it means that someone is going to die.
- If you dream of entering water the possibility of dying in the near future is overcome, or else it may mean that there is rain coming.

Often enough there appears to be a logical connection between the dream symbol and the meaning attached to it. The association, for instance, between fish and riverwater, between ordinary rivers and the River Jordan, between Jordan and baptism, does not seem far-fetched. Thus, much good fish in the water is equal to many new converts entering Jordan. On the other hand it is logical that an eel, because of its resemblance to a snake, should convey a negative message; ergo no baptisms on the forthcoming campaign! Furthermore a number of traditional dream symbols are retained. Mud symbolizes death because it is associated with the sealing up of the ‘stone-coffin’ during burials. Water remains the symbol of fertility and of the successful evasion of the heated, destructive anger or resentment of an adversary. Water implies

Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

...deliverance from drought; it also implies deliverance from evil, which is literally 'cooled off'. Crossing a river, apart from joining a Church, also means victory over a burdening temptation.

The manifest content of dreams usually enables a person to distinguish between prophetic and spontaneous dreams. Individuals develop their own techniques for distinguishing the borderline cases which do not necessarily fit the regular dream patterns of their Churches. A Ndaza Zionist stated: 'If you dream and rise in the morning without coughing you can be sure the dreams are prophecies.' Ndaza Bishop Nehemia Chengerai prefers the wait-and-see attitude. 'If you dream of a thing and see it tomorrow', he commented, 'you know the dream came from God. But if you continue dreaming until the end of the month without finding the meaning of such dreams, you will know that they are just dreams from the bush, without meaning.'

Bishop Zacheo of the 'Zion Protestant Church' prefers to interpret his own dreams and those of his followers personally. He professes to make it a matter of prayer and ask God for a 'good explanation of important dreams'. Revelatory dreams according to him are either from God or from the devil. His resolute classification of his followers' dreams stand in direct relation to his rigid regimentation of his group along the lines of his own visionary insight.

5. KINSHIP

In Volume 1, I referred to the importance of kinship ties in the expansion of Shona Independent Churches. Mention was made of Church leaders recruiting close relatives as their first followers, i.e. members of their chizvarwa (segment of patrilineage), imba ('house') and mhuri (family) units. On the grounds of this pattern of Church expansion, which was particularly evident during the early phases of development in Samuel Mutendi's and Johane Maranke's movements, I postulated that there is some justification for speaking of 'family Churches'.

Table 37 (category 6) reveals that this factor also plays a considerable role in the Mission Churches because proportionately as many DRC and RCC as IC members, if not more, mentioned the influence of close relatives as the main reason for obtaining membership. Thus we are dealing here with a common feature of Church expansion among the Shona and not only with a characteristic of the Independent Churches. In each denomination remarks such as,
'I am a member because I was born in this Church', 'I was influenced by my father', 'My husband persuaded me to join this Church', etc., could be heard. The fact that more DRC adults than members of any other Church (table 37, cat. 6, a) stated either that they were 'born in the Church', or that they were influenced by their parents, probably reflects the higher percentage of second-generation Christians in our DRC sample than in any of the other groups, due to the early development of this Mission Church in the areas surveyed. It is conceivable that in some cases parental persuasion stands in direct relation to the growing interest of Africans in education. In an area where the DRC has been the main educational power for many years, affiliated adults can be expected to persuade their children to join the Mission Church, not least because of the educational privileges they seek to safeguard in this way.

The motivation for persuading relatives to join a particular religious group varies in the Mission and Independent Churches. Yet the significant point is that the type of loyalty created within the system of traditional kinship obligations, with its all-important principle of super- and subordination, is strong enough to have a marked influence on Church growth. Virtually all the people who explicitly mentioned the persuasion of relatives as the most important reason for attaining Church membership were in positions of sub-ordination in relation to the activating or recruiting relatives mentioned. It is usually a family-head who causes his wife and children to follow him into the ranks of a Church, an elder brother who influences his younger brothers together with their sons, or a father- or brother-in-law (tezvara) persuading his mukuwasha to join the same religious grouping. The following examples bear out this tendency: 

Ndaza Zionist Soromoni Makweza stated: 'I became a Zionist because it was my father’s wish. He said, “I don’t want my children to join any other Church. All of them must become Zionists” So I decided to obey my father’s rules [mirairo].'

Topia Warden, Sauro Musimi, said: ‘I became a Christian because Bodias showed me the way. He converted me and my family and won us for his Church because he is my senior “lineage brother” [mukoma parudzi]. Our father belongs to the same Duma house. My wife, my children and I acquired Topia membership on the same day. All my children belong to this Church, but they first have to complete their attendance of [Mission Church] services at school.’

Raymond Madyaruto, son of an influential Topia warden in Chingombe, narrated: ‘My father “forced” [kumanikidza] me to become a member of the Topia Church. He is a muongamiri [Church warden], and he told me that if I die this Church will bury me properly. Thus I obeyed my father.’
In each of these quotations one notices the emphasis on the decisive role played by a superordinated relative. The phrases 'I decided to obey my father's rules', 'he converted me and my family' because he is my mukoma', and 'my father forced me to become a member' reflect each informant's recognition of and subjection to traditionally sanctioned authority. Madyaruto's use of the term kumanikidza (to enforce), should not be taken too literally because he was in the first place giving expression to the respect he felt for his father who was not only family head but also a distinguished Church official. On the other hand an element of strife often marks the son-father relationship, and it is possible that Madyaruto's use of this term gives expression to an inner resistance to his father's persuasion. He may have felt that the pressure brought to bear on him by a father who combined kinship and ecclesiastic authority bordered on coercion.

Sauro Musimi's remark that his children actually belong to the Topia Church, but that they first have to 'complete' their Church attendance at the Mission school, corresponds with our observations in the previous chapter about the 'temporary Mission Church membership' of children from IC households, while they are at school. I have indicated that the majority of young people belonging to Apostolic and Zionist households become full participant members of their parents' Churches once they leave the Mission school. Although this trend is less evident in the Ethiopian-type Churches, it nevertheless indicates the very definite influence of kinship ties on the recruitment of IC members. These ties, which invariably involve filial subjection to paternal control in the religious sphere, are strong enough to cause large numbers of young people to 'return' to the Independent Churches where they were baptized together with their parents prior to a period of active participation in Mission Church activities while at school.

Another aspect which clearly features in table 37 (category 6, b) is the steering influence of husbands on their wives. A large percentage of women ascribed their Church membership to the explicit wishes of their husbands. The remark 'I was forced into the Church by my husband' was not uncommon. Unlike the above-mentioned case where the use of the term kumanikidza involved paternal control, the use of the same term by a number of women indeed refer to stress situations in which they were more or less forced against their wills to meet the demands of their husbands. This type of conflict usually arises during family crises when a husband suspects his wife of witchcraft and forces her to become a member of a prophetic movement as a

43. Ibid., p. 47.
44. Supra, p. 42.
‘test’ of her professed innocence; or, in the case of a child’s illness, the father may require of his (sometimes unwilling) wife and all his children to be baptized by a prophetic healer as a protective measure against the onslaught of mystical forces. Perhaps one of the main reasons why more females of the Ethiopian-type than of the Spirit-type Churches mentioned the ‘coercion’ or persuasion of their husbands as the major reason for attaining IC membership should be sought in the fact that many of them (in Chingombe) were still active participants of one or other Mission Church when their husbands—most of whom had long before stopped attending MC services—started demanding a change of denomination. Chibarirwe males, for example, generally joined this movement at an advanced age, which means that some of their wives had, in the course of many years, been in a position to establish ties of loyalty with a Mission Church. In such circumstances the demands of a husband may be met by his wife, who nevertheless resents what she considers to be an enforced breach of loyalty with her former Church.

There is no doubt that the dominant pattern of kinship influence in Church membership is that of persons naturally placed in positions of seniority and authority, through blood relationships or marital ties, exerting their influence over those subordinated to them. A less obvious but significant trend is the reversal of customary roles. In this kind of situation a subordinated individual with strong religious convictions or leadership capacities becomes the decision-making power who has a determining influence on the religious affiliation of his or her natural seniors. A good example of this was given in the account of the birth of the Apostolic movement, when Johane Maranke succeeded in drawing his father, paternal uncle and senior brothers into the new fold. Moreover, a few adult males conceded during interviews that it was mainly due to the influence of their wives that they decided to join a particular Church (table 37, cat. 6, c). It is important to take note of this reversal of roles in the religious field because it indicates that the Independent Churches were not merely introduced into Shona society as institutions adapted to the older order but also as communities with designs and codes essentially different from it. A study of IC leadership hierarchies, for instance, brings to light that the kinship principle of seniority is not necessarily taken as a guideline for the distribution of ecclesiastic authority in these movements. When dealing with the composition of IC congregations I will furthermore indicate that in spite of the frequent occurrence of family baptisms in these groups, the loyalties generated among adherents sometimes cut right...
Adaptation to traditional rituals and customs

across their family, other kinship and tribal ties. Due to the behavioural patterns in some IC groups, which militate directly against customary obligations, it even happens that members of a mhuri, imba or chizvarwa, through IC affiliation, become permanently estranged from their disapproving relatives belonging to the same kin group. Thus the chequered composition of IC congregations should caution one not to use the terms ‘family’ or ‘tribal’ too readily. 47

Although the kinship factor plays a role in the recruitment of both Mission and Independent Churches, it should be remarked that the latters’ structure and ritual practices generally leave more scope for the exploitation of this factor than the former. Leadership patterns which make it possible for several adult members of a single family unit to attain prominent positions in the new religious community, for instance, frequently prove more attractive to the family members as such than a system which distinguishes only the exceptional few who were privileged to enjoy advanced training. In addition, the IC conditions for membership, which usually excludes long periods of catechetical or other forms of religious training, leave more scope for the initiation of many members of kin groups during a single baptismal ceremony than the Mission Churches where determinants such as age rates, religious instruction, etc., render such manifestations of kin-group solidarity during baptisms impossible. As I have already pointed out ‘family baptisms’ as practised by Independent Churches do not necessarily imply the exclusion or misinterpretation of individual conversion. 48 Yet they demonstrate more vividly than the baptismal ceremonies of most Mission Churches that whole groups of people, naturally related to each other, are welcomed as full members into the Church’s fold, irrespective of the degree of spiritual maturity of each and every person belonging to such a group.

Considering the importance still attached by Africans to kinship obligations, the frequency of family baptisms in the Spirit-type movements as a prerequisite for prophetic treatment of afflicted family members, and the close connection between kinship and other factors mentioned as reasons for Church membership – such as the positive comments on the social function of the Church community (table 37, category 7) – one comes to the conclusion that the statistical evidence (presented in cat. 6) does not fully bear out the important correlation between kinship and the acquirement of IC

47. Oosthuizen (1968, pp. 212, 223) to my mind does not use these terms with sufficient reserve when he qualifies the expectation that whole families and tribes should enter the Church, as characteristic of African independent movements.
membership. Since the influence of relatives usually represents a background conditioning, sometimes below the conscious level, it is understandable that this aspect, despite its importance, frequently remained unmentioned during interviews.

6. POLYGAMY

With the exception of Rev. Sibambo's African Reformed Church and Bishop Komboni Vambire's African Zion Church of Jesus, the Shona Independent Churches are much more lenient in their approach of polygamy than the Mission Churches, who reject this practice as fundamentally inconsistent with the teaching of Christianity. In some of the smaller Zionist bodies it is a recognized practice to accept polygamists and their wives as full Church members on the condition that further polygamous marriages are forbidden, and to reserve certain offices for monogamists. Yet, in the large Spirit-type movements there seems to be little control on the numbers of wives of Church members. The principal leaders themselves – Johane with sixteen, Samuel Mutendi with fifteen and David Masuka also with several wives – set examples of virtually unlimited households. As long as members follow the customary procedure during marriage negotiations and notify their Church superiors (which may or may not involve some form of ecclesiastic consecration), they are free to continue expanding their households according to their own insights.

Biblical justification for polygamy is sought by all these movements in the Old Testament. The most commonly heard argument is that God did not reject the ancient Israelite polygamists like Abraham, Jacob and King David. King Solomon turned away from the true God not because he had many wives but because he allowed heathen women to draw him to idolatry. Thus the real issue at stake is not the number of a man's wives but the state of their religious lives. In Mutendi's ZCC Constitution reference is made to King Ahab and his Zidonian wife as an example of a man who was misled into worshipping Baal in spite of his being married only to one wife. Here the Zionist argument runs as follows: 'You can marry one wife who practises heathenism and expect to turn away from God at any time. But you can marry a hundred Christian wives and remain in Christianity for the rest of your life.' In this passage African reaction to the assault of Missions on an age-old institution,
and to the underlying principle which qualifies all forms of polygamy as sinful, becomes evident.

Nevertheless, polygamy is seldom the immediate cause of secession and it is not frequently mentioned explicitly as a major reason for joining one Independent Church or another (table 37, category 5, b). The historical background of the majority of Shona movements, as far as I could trace it, seems to indicate that the main leaders were concerned with other factors during the first phase of Church expansion, and with the acceptance of polygamy as a matter of course or as an institution deliberately introduced at a later stage, in an effort to indigenize and popularize their Churches. When Andreas Shoko and Mutendi first joined Eduard's Zionist movement in South Africa the issue of polygamy was not at stake. It was only introduced at a later stage when Lekhanyane, assisted by Mutendi, founded the Zion Christian Church. Neither was it Johane's main aim to cater for the needs of polygamists when he first set about his evangelistic task, nor the consideration of a second wife which motivated Sengwayo's secession from the American Board. It was also mentioned in Vol. I that the incidence of polygamy in the surveyed areas is not very high and that few polygamists are actually disciplined nowadays by the DRC, compared to the more numerous cases of adultery.\(^{51}\) It seems therefore as if few people defect directly from Mission to Independent Churches as a reaction to disciplinary measures meted out on account of polygamy.

One should not, however, underestimate the importance of a practice so deeply woven into African society. It stands in direct relation to Shona thought which regards children as the consummation of marriage. Marriages where childbirth does not give conclusive evidence that the union is satisfactory are regarded as insecure. It has direct negative implications, in terms of the traditional outlook, on the status of the married partners after death. Without descendants, proper induction rituals of the deceased cannot take place, which means that full ancestorhood in the spirit world cannot be achieved and that one's name is soon forgotten by the living.\(^{52}\) One way of solving this dilemma is by adding more wives to one's household, which explains to some extent why customary law regards any marriage as potentially polygamous.\(^{53}\) According to traditional norms it is therefore legitimate and proper to make substitutary arrangements in the event of a first wife's barrenness or her failure to provide her husband with a name-bearer.

The Christian message which holds that eternal life is secured only through faith in Christ has already made a deep imprint on the minds of Africans in

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p. 250; table 32.

\(^{52}\) Ibid., p. 102.

\(^{53}\) Ibid., p. 250.
the Mission and Independent Churches. Yet the sentiments attached to the traditional beliefs and practices mentioned above are still strong. For many Africans substitution of the old beliefs about the after-life does not necessarily provide a solution to their marriage problems. A childless marriage still calls for substitute measures. In the rural environment social status is still related to a successful marriage with numerous children, and some Africans still consider a polygamous marriage to be economically advantageous.54

The leniency of Independent Churches towards polygamy, therefore, has its appeal, even if it is only an indirect one, because prospective polygamists and other males who join these movements know that they will not be stigmatized if they marry a second or third wife. Important, even to those married males who accept monogamy as the Christian ideal, is the knowledge that if circumstantial factors in the future should cause them to become polygamists they will still be accepted as 'good Christians' without their progress in the leadership hierarchy being hampered. Even those IC leaders who oppose polygamy on Biblical grounds tend to be more lenient to polygamists than the European missionaries because of their understanding of the circumstances, motivations and beliefs involved.

The Chibarirwe proves to be the exception among the Shona Independent Churches in that the recruitment of polygamists soon became a major feature of Church expansion. Whereas the prophetic Church leaders attracted scores of people primarily through their faith-healing activities, Sengwayo from the outset concentrated specifically on those reactionaries who had been 'disqualified' in the American Board or in one of the other Mission Churches on the grounds of polygamy. In this case, therefore, the missionaries' rejection of this institution was a major issue contributing directly to the protest-character of the emerging movement instead of functioning as a background factor incidentally or indirectly stimulating IC growth. Thus the first twelve supporters whose names appeared on the list submitted by Sengwayo to the Chief Native Commissioner in 1938 were all polygamists. Likewise, the most prominent officials, Rev. Dzukusso and Pahl of the American Board, as well as Evangelist Ruwana and Chirashanye of the DRC, were all prospective or practising polygamists when they first joined the Chibarirwe ranks. The particulars presented in Vol. I about the former DRC evangelist, Ruwana, reveal the inner conflict of a man who had leadership ambitions and a deep sense of loyalty to his Mission Church, on the one hand, and the urge to solve his domestic problems (his first marriage not having provided him with a son) along customary lines, on the other. It was only after Sengwayo had con-

54. Ibid., p. 357.
vinced him that a second wife for an African is a matter of custom and not necessarily a return to heathenism that he finally seceded from the DRC.\textsuperscript{55}

In addition to the life histories of the most prominent *Chibarirwe* officials, the statistical evidence also points at the importance of polygamy as a popular *Chibarirwe* attraction. More *Chibarirwe* members (19\%) than adherents of any other Independent Church mentioned their group’s acceptance of this practice as the overriding reason for attaining membership (table 37, cat. 5, b). If it is considered that many *Chibarirwe* people out of the 27\% who stated that they joined the movement ‘because it allows old customs’ or ‘because it is a Church of the black people’ (table 37, cat. 5, f) were actually referring to polygamy without explicitly mentioning it, one may assume that at least 30\% of the *Chibarirwe* adults considered this an important factor when they first decided to join the movement. The accounts of those who openly mentioned polygamy usually amounted to as much as saying: ‘I wanted to belong to a Church which recognizes me as a full member [with the right to participate in Holy Communion] in spite of my having more than one wife.’

In conclusion I record the accounts of a few *Chibarirwe* polygamists of the Chingombe chiefdom:

Evangelist Makomo: ‘I inherited my first wife when I was still young. She formerly belonged to my deceased mukoma. At first I hesitated, but Rev. Orlandini of Alheit Mission encouraged me to marry her, so we were married in the Church. We had only four children when my first wife became too old. I wanted more children, for which reason I eloped with my second wife. At the time I was a catechist in the DRC. Rev. Van der Merwe visited me to tell me that I am under Church discipline. For some years I still attended Mission Church services. I even considered joining the Apostles or Zionists but could not agree with their prophetic practices. Later I became a member of the *Chibarirwe* because it allows polygamy and worships properly.’

Preacher Gijima Mutikani: ‘I left the DRC because I found it too difficult to live without children. I would have remained in this Church if my wife had borne me only one child. After three years of married life I was convinced that my wife would always remain barren. My in-laws had no other daughter who could act as a substitute. Therefore my wife [on my behalf] “proposed” to another woman whom she was meeting at beer parties. I then eloped with this woman. She bore me eight children. Later Jeri Mapondera told me of the *Chibarirwe* which allows many wives and beer drinking. I became a member together with Makomo [the above-mentioned evangelist] and some other friends.’

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p. 358f.
Ordinary Church member, Zoushe Chivige: ‘I became a member of this Church because the DRC only wants young children [pwere]; not us old people with many wives. Chibarirwe is the Church of the very old ones.’

Whereas Chivige’s words openly convey his reaction to a Mission policy which, in his understanding, discriminates against and neglects the elderly people who still adhere to the old customs, Makomo veils his criticism somewhat by suggesting that a missionary, Rev. Orlandini, was more or less co-responsible for his dilemma of too few children caused by his first marriage.

Significant in both Makomo’s and Mutikani’s accounts is their emphasis on the need for children (or more children) as the purpose of taking second wives. As in the case of Moses Ruwana, their motivation for polygamy was conditioned by the traditionally orientated desire to establish a secure household with at least a male name-bearer and several other children to safeguard the family’s future existence. This desire was so strong that these men were prepared to forfeit the much coveted privilege of participating in the Mission Church’s Holy Communion. Their accounts convey the impression, however, that they did not sever ties with the Mission Church in a drastic and reactionary manner. Moses Ruwana at one stage considered dissolving his second marriage because he could not bear ‘exclusion from the Holy Communion’, 56 Makomo continued his attendance of DRC services for several years after he was first disciplined, and Mutikani stated that he would have remained in the DRC if he had not been confronted with a childless marriage. In the reflections of these men the mood of sadness, based on a certain loyalty which they felt and still feel for the Mission Church, rather than an attitude of hostility, prevails.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Adaptation to the traditional religious background in the sense of either replacing the old rituals with similar practices within the Church, or through an acquiescent approach which enables Church members to participate in traditional rituals outside the Church without being disqualified, has served to augment the attraction of the Independent Churches, especially in the rural areas where the old religion is most resilient. Generally speaking the former type of adaptation is characteristic of the Spirit-type Churches and the latter of the Ethiopian-type Churches. Yet there are numerous variations which complicate evaluation. In the concluding chapter of this book I will attempt

56. Ibid., p. 358.
to evaluate some of the outstanding patterns of adaptation to indicate the extent to which transformation of old notions has taken place within the context of the new movements, in other words to qualify the process of Christianization and the tendencies of syncretism which mark indigenization within the Independent Churches. Here we are primarily concerned with the various types of adaptation and their recruitment value.

As for the High-God cult, Mutendi has effectively supplanted its rain-making function by demonstrating to the Shona chiefs and their subordinates that rain could be obtained through direct prayer to God and by introducing ceremonial requests for rain at Zion City which correspond in some respects with the October festivities at Matonjeni. By rendering spiritual assistance to some chiefs in exercising their political powers and by taking the initiative in significant intertribal issues in his own district, Mutendi has to some extent also supplanted the tribal political function of the High-God cult. There is no doubt about the attraction of these Church practices and personal activities of the ‘man of God’ for ruralists, especially tribal dignitaries. The Ndaza Zionists have also introduced ceremonies concerned with requests for rain, and like Mutendi they, too, have adopted the traditional concept of offering (advancing a request to a higher power with a gift) to present an important religious act in terms comprehensive to a subsistence farming community. By way of contrast the Ethiopian-type Churches have no direct substitutes for the High-God cult apart perhaps from prayer meetings for rain. Their officials seldom attack the Matonjeni cult during sermons, and they do not oppose the collection of contributions (zvipo) for the messengers (vanyai) of the Mwari cult to the same extent as the leaders of the Spirit-type Churches.

Mukwerere rituals were supplanted by the Zionists and Apostles with ceremonies which as of old implied supplications for rain ‘from on high’. Instead of members of the mukwerere unit appearing on a mountain or hill to commune with the senior ancestors, the Spirit-type congregation gathers there; instead of pleasing the tribal spirits by clearing their graves and presenting them with beer libations, the motivation is now to demonstrate right-mindedness and purity directly before God through fasting and confessions accompanied by prophecies. Apart from the attraction which this form of adaptation holds for farmers who are dependent on good rains, the prophetic activities during kuzira (fasting) ceremonies also attract outsiders who seek solutions to their domestic troubles. As mentioned above, the prophets’ concern with sound interfamily relations on these occasions sometimes leads directly to the baptism of new recruits. The Chibarirwe officials on the other hand tolerate the participation of affiliated kraalheads in the traditional mukwerere rituals. I have suggested that this permissiveness largely explains
their success with the recruitment of numerous kraalheads in Chingombo, where the old rituals are still conducted with great regularity.

The most important substitute in the Independent Churches for the key ritual, the kugadzira, is the runyaradzo (consolation ceremony). It recognizes the need for ritual expression of the close link between the living and the dead; it facilitates the passage of the deceased believer's spirit into heaven instead of inducting the wandering spirit into the ancestral realm, as happens in the kugadzira; it seeks to secure the protective function of the deceased's spirit, not so much in the old function of standing at the door (kumira pamukova) but in a new form of intermediation which paves the way for the deceased's relatives into heaven. Despite the transformation of essential elements of the kugadzira in the consolation ceremony, some remarkable parallels are noticeable. I have mentioned, for example, the assignment of duties according to kinship ties. In the case of the Zionist runyaradzo at Muchakata's, the deceased's senior sister's son (muzukuru), his senior son-in-law (mukuwasha) and the representative of his descendent's paternal aunt (vatete) played roles during and after the Church service befitting the responsibilities they would have had if this had been a kugadzira proper. Thus the entire ceremony, without forfeiting its specific Zionist character, was presented with imaginative consideration for the traditional sentiments of those present, both Christian and non-Christian. Apart from this type of official adaptation within the Independent Church – which has its appeal to outsiders – there is also the participation of members of both the Ethiopian and Spirit-type Churches in real kugadzira rituals, as was seen in the case of Sundire Mamhungu. In this way essentially Christian notions are introduced in a traditionally conceived setting, and a certain existential identification of IC members with the needs of their non-Christian relatives is demonstrated, whether such participation militates against the official IC code or not. This contributes towards mutual understanding and appreciation for the Independent Churches from non-adherents.

In a society which generally still sets great store by dreams as a channel of communication with the spirit world, the sympathetic approach to, appreciation for and use of dream-life in the Independent Churches, as contrasted to the Mission Churches, have been one of the more subtle but exceptionally important sources of attraction to the religiously interested Shona. The majority of IC members who profess that call-dreams influenced their decisions to join a particular group are to be found in the Spirit-type Churches. A distinction was made between direct call-dreams which are interpreted by the dreamer as directives to join a Church, and indirect call-dreams, in which case the dreamer interprets his dream experience as divine confirmation of an
affiliation already acquired. In addition dreams are accorded a group-consolidating function in the Zionist and Apostolic movements. Principal leaders exert control over their subordinates and followers demonstrate loyalty to their superiors through 'standardized' dream patterns, while the public or private narration of a wide variety of 'ordinary' dreams serves to resolve domestic and in-group conflicts. In the Ethiopian-type Churches dreams play a less prominent role as a group-manipulating force, and one can hardly speak of 'standardized' dream patterns. Nevertheless the tolerant attitude of some Church leaders towards the traditional interpretation of dreams adds to the attraction of this movement to those steeped in the 'ways of the fathers'.

Kinship plays an important role in the growth of both Mission and Independent Churches, in the latter perhaps more so than in the former because the organizational and leadership structures in these Churches are more attuned to the stratification and the distribution of authority in the customary 'house' and family units. Moreover, the use of mass baptisms by some prophets as a 'safeguarding measure' for those baptized, and the fairly lenient conditions of entry into Independent Churches, enhance family baptisms. Thus the initiation of whole groups of people, naturally related to each other, is more manifest in the Independent than in the Mission Churches. The predominant pattern is that of superordinated kinsmen influencing their juniors to become Church members, of husbands persuading their wives; yet there is also a noticeable reversal of roles in the IC context which indicates that the new institutions are not merely adapted to, but that they also militate against, the old order.

The acceptance of polygamy as a legitimate practice within most of the Independent Churches greatly enhances the popularity of this movement. Relatively few IC members, however, referred to polygamy when they tried to define their main motives for joining a particular group. It is therefore rather a background factor than a triggering cause of IC formation. Its appeal to prospective polygamists and other males lies in the reassuring knowledge that one can become a polygamist within the IC fold without being stigmatized and without a loss of status in the leadership hierarchy. Unlike the other Independent Churches, the Chibarirwe has more deliberately concentrated on the recruitment of polygamists as an important expansion strategy.

In the final analysis much of the recruitment force of the Independent Churches derives from the recognition of, concentration on and the provision of relevant solutions for the characteristic needs of rural African communities: The need for safeguards in a subsistence economy (e.g. rain), the need for stability in tribal politics, the need for divine guidance in manifest form,
the need for a meaningful and stabilized link between the living and the dead, and the need for a spiritual community in which one can feel at home.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers of Church members to the question:</th>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>ARC</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why did you join this Church?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chib)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Need for salvation:
   e.g. I became a member of this Church because I wanted to follow God; I wanted eternal life; I was afraid of God's judgment
   - DRC: 25, 13, 17
   - RCC: 11
   - ZCC: 1
   - Ndaza: 5
   - AACJM: 7
   - Topia: 4
   - ACC: 2
   - ARC: 6
   - Total: 59, 6

2. Convinced through forceful preaching of Church leaders:
   Ndokuda kwetchikoro, i.e. membership of this Church provides me with the best chances of advanced schooling
   - DRC: 31
   - RCC: 17
   - ZCC: 10
   - Ndaza: 1
   - AACJM: 7
   - Topia: 3
   - ACC: 4
   - ARC: 3
   - Total: 68, 7

3. Educational facilities:
   - DRC: 40
   - RCC: 22
   - ZCC: 28
   - Ndaza: 19
   - AACJM: 68
   - Topia: 7
   - ACC: 5
   - ARC: 4
   - Total: 139, 14

4. Prophetic activities:
   a) I was chosen by the Holy Spirit; the Spirit revealed to me that I should join this Church
   - DRC: 1
   - RCC: 1
   - ZCC: 14
   - Ndaza: 13
   - ACC: 15
   - ARC: 1
   - Total: 15, 1

   b) I was convinced through healing treatment (personal experience/or of close relative)
   - DRC: 8
   - RCC: 4
   - ZCC: 1
   - Ndaza: 46
   - AACJM: 48
   - Topia: 33
   - ACC: 28
   - ARC: 31
   - Total: 12, 139

   c) Attracted by prophetic activities while expecting or under threat of wizardry
   - DRC: 4
   - RCC: 3
   - ZCC: 8
   - Ndaza: 7
   - AACJM: 4
   - Topia: 3
   - ACC: 2
   - ARC: 8
   - Total: 12, 1

   d) Attracted by prophetic activities: Witnessed a miracle performed; had future accurately predicted; adultery detected; while looking for a husband (or wife); while in search of a job
   - DRC: 8
   - RCC: 8
   - ZCC: 5
   - Ndaza: 4
   - AACJM: 16
   - Topia: 15
   - ACC: 29
   - ARC: 3
   - Total: 29, 3

5. Attracted by forms of worship, Church doctrine or application of Church laws:
   a) I regarded baptism in 'Jordan' as the correct way to salvation
   - DRC: 1
   - RCC: 1
   - ZCC: 8
   - Ndaza: 7
   - AACJM: 1
   - Topia: 9
   - ACC: 1
   - ARC: 1
   - Total: 9, 1

   b) Polygamy: I wanted to be recognized as a full Church member in spite of having more than one wife
   - DRC: 2
   - RCC: 2
   - ZCC: 4
   - Ndaza: 3
   - AACJM: 2
   - Topia: 2
   - ACC: 6
   - ARC: 4
   - Total: 45, 5

   c) I preferred an African Church which allows only monogamy
   - DRC: 2
   - RCC: 25
   - ZCC: 2
   - Ndaza: 0
   - AACJM: 2
   - Topia: 5
   - ACC: 2
   - ARC: 0
   - Total: 25, 0
Answers of Church members to the question: "Why did you join this Church?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th>DRC</th>
<th>RCC</th>
<th>ZCC</th>
<th>Ndaza</th>
<th>AACJM</th>
<th>Topia</th>
<th>ACC (Chib)</th>
<th>ARC</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) I was attracted by the (lively) forms of worship especially drums and dancing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) I preferred the laws of this Church, e.g. allowance of beer drinking; use of medicine; short catechism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) This Church allows old customs; it is kereke yawatema ('Church of the black people')</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kinship factors:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) I was born in this Church; I was influenced by my parents or close relatives</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) It was my husband's wish that I should join this Church (several females said: My husband forced me to join)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) I was influenced by my wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Social function of Church:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) I wanted to belong to a group of people with whom I could closely associate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) I need someone: to console me in times of misfortune; to mourn for me after my death; to visit me when I am ill; this Church has good interrelations (ukama yakanaka); they love others (vanerudo navamwe)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reactionary element (as the only factor mentioned):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Because of shamhu in previous Church (mostly for elopement, polygamy and beer drinking)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Because the previous Church made unreasonable demands, e.g. too much Church funds required; catechismal instruction lasts too long</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Answers of Church members to the question: ‘Why did you join this Church?’

### 9. Other motives:

- **a)** I was convinced through revelatory dreams  
  - DRC: 5, RCC: 3, ZCC: 1, Ndaza: 1, AACJM: 4, Topia: 2, Total: 13
- **b)** Because this was the first Church in this district to bring us the word of God  
  - DRC: 9, RCC: 5, Ndaza: 1, AACJM: 1, ACC: 4, ARC: 3, Total: 35
- **c)** Because this was the nearest and most attractive Church in the neighbourhood of our new homestead (migrants from other areas)  
  - DRC: 1, RCC: 1, ZCC: 1, Ndaza: 1, AACJM: 4, Topia: 1, Total: 8

### Unknown:

- Total: 35
- Sample percentage: 19, 15, 10, 12, 11, 15, 17, 1, 100
TABLE 38. CSR – Appeal to dreams as the spiritual basis for Church adherence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dreams</th>
<th>Church affiliation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>Ndaza</td>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>Topia</td>
<td>ACC (Chib)</td>
<td>ARC</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was persuaded through dreams to join this Church</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I experienced control (and/or) healing dreams after joining this Church</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
<td>n%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In what way does God send us messages?</th>
<th>Mission Churches</th>
<th>Independent Churches</th>
<th>Ethiopian-type Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know (or unanswered)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through His word (Bible) and preachers</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through prophets inspired by the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through thoughts directly inspired by Him</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through dreams*</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He does not send us messages</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through prophets and the word of God combined</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through healing, signs, wonders, or answers to prayers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through messengers (vanyai) from Matomjeni or spirit mediums</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Several Spirit-type Church members also referred to prophecies as a medium of communication after they have mentioned dreams; a few Ethiopian-type Church members stated that the dreams from heaven (i.e. from God) come through the ancestors.
Faith-healing — a major attraction

No single factor has been mentioned more often by members of the Spirit-type Churches as the direct reason for their joining these movements than the healing treatment performed by African prophets. In table 37 (category 4, b), it appears that 48% of all the zcc adult members interviewed, 28% of the Ndaza Zionists and 31% of the Maranke Apostles attached primary importance to faith-healing, experienced by themselves or witnessed in the case of some close relative, as the factor that had convinced them of the authenticity of these Churches and that had drawn them into their fold. Considering the fact that all the other categories in table 37, category 4, (e.g. the protective or curative measures undertaken by prophets against bewitchment, the miracles performed, the jobs procured, etc.) have the same basis — i.e. the diagnostic and therapeutical work of the Holy Spirit through His emissaries — one can safely say that 50 to 60% of the zcc and AAJCM members, at the time of attaining Church membership, were attracted by prophetic activities, which in turn had a direct or indirect bearing on faith-healing.

In the Ndaza Churches such practices have had slightly less significant recruitment value, even though prophetic healing is closely linked with worship and ‘treatment’ takes place with the same regularity as in the other two movements. One of the reasons for this difference is that none of the individual leaders of the many splinter-groups in Ndaza Zionism have distinguished themselves by rising to the same prominence as Johane or Mutendi as reputed healers. The charisma of healing had somewhat less appeal in Churches where the activities of junior prophets were not as directly related to the potent, mystical powers of principal leaders, believed to be specially endowed with such qualities by the Spirit of God, as was Johane and Mutendi. This does not detract from the fact that healing activities remain the most important single recruitment factor, even in the Ndaza Churches, and that the basic principles of such activities are essentially the same in the Zionist and Apostolic movements.

Less important for their recruitment value, the healing practices adopted in the Topia Church nevertheless contributed towards the initial attrac-
tion of a number of its present-day members (table 37, category 4, b). In spite of the absence of the prophetic office in this Church, the officials have introduced certain symbolic actions when praying for the sick which correspond to those of the Spirit-type Churches, and which have proved to have its own special appeal for Church members. By way of comparison reference will therefore also be made to Topia healing when dealing with the various aspects of the most important recruitment technique of the Spirit-type Churches.

In the effort to determine why and in what way faith-healing has such a specific power of attraction for the indigenous Shona population we will have to analyze the testimonies obtained from some of the individuals involved and the nature of the methods adopted by the prophetic healers. In short, we will outline the major characteristics of the Spirit-type Churches as 'healing institutions'.

1. THE ROLE OF HEALING DURING THE INITIAL PHASE OF CHURCH EXPANSION

From the inception of a movement it is important for any prophetic leader of the Zionist or Apostolic type to gain renown as a faith-healer. After his baptism in 'Jordan', the Holy Spirit takes hold of him, sometimes directly, sometimes after years of waiting. 'Speaking with tongues' and prophecies indicate the presence of the Spirit. The favoured one is always granted the power to exorcise evil spirits or to heal through the laying-on of hands. As has been mentioned1 Mutendi, one of the most important Shona Zionist leaders, who as migrant labourer came into contact with Sotho Zionism in South Africa, received the charisma of the Spirit immediately after joining the Church. Shortly afterwards he began with the recruitment of members in Rhodesia, while Andreas Shoko had to wait eight years before the gift of the Holy Spirit became his portion. It is significant that only after this did he gain prominence as a Church leader. He regarded himself as unqualified to embark on extensive campaigns before he was 'in possession' of the predicate of being a Zionist Church leader. During these years of expectation his dreams strengthened him in his belief that the Spirit would one day enter into him and enable him to perform feats of faith-healing.2

As the most influential of the forerunning Zionist leaders among the

2. Ibid., p. 293.
Shona, Mutendi had his healing wonders recorded and directly related to the initial phase of Church development, in the *Zion Christian Church Rungano*. Mutendi’s first success as a faith-healer is recorded in Chapter 16, under the sub-title ‘Miracle at Magara’: V 3. ‘After these things he [Mutendi] started to spread the Gospel from village to village. At Magara he came upon a sick man who was dying, but ‘Wedenga’ [lit. He who is from heaven, i.e. God] helped the sick one and healed him through the hand of Samuel Mutendi. V 4. The people were very much amazed that this Church possessed the power of healing the sick and the power of preaching. Even to this very day, we see that the sick are healed. V 5. We also read in the book of James, Chapt. 5:14-20: “Is any one sick among you? Let him summon the elders of the congregation and let them pray over him.

Chapter 18 of the *Rungano* deals exclusively with Mutendi’s miracles. At Mupamawonde, a village not far from his headquarters in Bikita, he came upon a certain woman Kami, who for ten years had been unable to bear children. Laying-on of hands and prayer resulted in a speedy pregnancy. Impressed by the Zionist leader’s powers of faith-healing and granting of fertility, 25 inhabitants of Mupamawonde allowed themselves to be initiated through ‘the baptism of St. John’ into the Zionist Church. Mutendi was even accredited with powers of resurrection. At Rukuni’s village he is supposed to have brought the headman’s daughter back to life through a mighty work of Mwari.

From all the passages dealing with faith-healing in the *Rungano*, it is apparent that Mutendi always attributes the performance of healing miracles to the *power of God*, as if to say that the honour for such deeds belongs to Mwari in the first place. He himself is part of the miracle only insofar as he, as ‘man of God’ (*munhu waMwari*), is being used. *Yet to the Shona, these faith-healing wonders right from the start constituted the most important factor in bringing them to the acceptance of this man’s mission.*

The ZCC members themselves stress the central importance of their faith-healing practices by referring to the work of Jesus Christ. Often one hears them saying, ‘Jesus would never have had such a following if He had not given so much attention to the sick.’ To what extent Mutendi really succeeded in healing the sick is of little importance in this context; more significant is the fact that, right from the inception, his followers were convinced of his ability to intercede with God on their behalf. This faith worked infectiously and resulted in sick people flocking from all over Rhodesia to ‘Zion City’ in this respect the development of the ZCC, and to a lesser extent of the *Ndaza*

3. Ibid., pp. 296-7.
Zionist movement, bears a close resemblance to the growth of Ngunzism in the Congo of which Andersson writes: 'His [Kimbangu's] faith-cures gradually became the most important feature of the movement the main objective of the masses who thronged to his meetings was presumably the healing of the sick rather than the Gospel expounded by Kimbangu.'

As in Kimbangu’s case, Mutendi too did not confine himself to faith-healing. He no doubt realized and exploited the importance of faith-healing in the recruitment of new members. Yet in the first place he wanted to preach the Gospel and call upon his fellow Africans to be converted. In Chapter 15 of the *Rungano*, it is explicitly stated that Mutendi began his task in Rhodesia by spreading the gospel. He brought a new message (shoko itsva) as had never been heard in Rhodesia (15:1). The new message, as he saw it, contained two central truths, viz. the baptism of John in Jordan (John 3) as a pre-condition to beatification, and the subsequent process of possession by the Holy Spirit (Luke 3). In his own sermons faith-healing featured less prominently. It was relevant only insofar as it was the manifestation of Spirit-possession. Even today Mutendi’s sermons seldom refer to faith-healing. He still regularly exercises the laying-on of hands and the blessing of water. Yet he himself does not testify about those cases of healing through miracles. Instead, he allows his subordinate leaders and women members to witness about the healing miracles during sermons. After all, these people do not only wish to express their recognition of, but also their respect for ‘the man of God’, who represents all curative powers.

Whatever Mutendi’s personal aims were, the main motive for the ever-increasing visits of the Shona to his headquarters was the curing of the sick. This soon affected the pattern of Church expansion. In the beginning Mutendi was constantly out on campaigns (rwendo) or making long-distance trips to visit the sick. But the throng of sick people, barren women, and later even chiefs, restricted his mobility and forced him to concentrate on the extension of his settlement, ‘Zion City’ (plate 2). Now the sick came to him. As the various tasks of subordinate officials came to be more clearly demarcated, he could increasingly depend on a number of reliable resident prophets to pay attention to the less serious patients, while he personally treated the more critical cases. In the course of time Mutendi’s prophetic function, when it concerned the diagnosis of illnesses by the Holy Spirit, was transferred to junior delegates. More and more he concentrated on Church organization, the consolidation of an ever-expanding sphere of influence, interviews with Church leaders of remote communities and sporadic visits to chiefs affiliated to his Church. In

this way Mutendi’s leadership came to resemble that of the Ethiopian-type Churches, which in its Church organization bears closer resemblance to the Protestant Mission Churches than the Zionist Churches. According to Mutendi himself, the prophetic task is the domain of the youthful members (basa ravaduku).

The change in leadership does not mean that faith-healing recedes as a factor of importance in recruitment. The testimonies of his patients and the yearly campaigns launched by his ministers (vafundisi) and evangelists all over the country, directly after the three big ‘Passover’ (Paseka) feasts at Moriah, further kept alive Mutendi’s reputation as a faith-healer. In the sermons of these leaders the man of God, with all his charismatic qualities, is of central importance.

Since Johane Maranke’s ‘New Revelation’ (Umboo utsva) is primarily concerned with the personal visionary experience of this leader, it contains little detailed record of Johane’s faith-healing activities. Some scattered references deal with his driving out of shavi spirits, healing of people through the laying-on of hands and walking on fire. From the accounts of Anrod, Johane’s brother, and their cousin Simon, it is nevertheless evident that Johane – much like Mutendi – exploited the charisma of faith-healing from the outset as a means of recruiting followers. It became part of the Church’s expansion strategy to promote patients who had been healed to leadership positions and to send them forth as propagators of the new faith. Thus it soon happened that patients came from as far afield as Salisbury to be healed by Johane or one of his senior healers (varapi). The first two patients from Salisbury, Phillip and Munyonga, who were cured from bewitchment, were so successful in recruiting new members after they returned to their home reserves that they sent for Johane and Simon to come and organize the local congregations.

Whereas Mutendi started developing his headquarters as the major healing centre of his Church, with specially appointed healers and prophets to tend to the temporary resident patients, Johane worked along slightly different lines. Instead of encouraging the development of a patient colony at his homestead – which he knew would tie him down to some extent – he appointed his brother Conorio as senior healer (Rabaumah Murapi) in the Maranke district and made him responsible for the patients who flocked to the Church headquarters. Conorio in turn was assisted by several other healers in the surrounding villages, with the result that a complex of small-scale healing

5. In Volume 3, some examples will be given of the preoccupation of ZCC leaders with Mutendi’s healing powers during campaigning sermons.
7. The laying on of hands by three of Mutendi's ministers during a faith-healing ceremony. The linen strips round the neck of patient symbolize the protective power of God.

8. 'Injection' treatment at Zion City. Nose cavities of patient are punctured with needle to draw 'bad blood'
9. *Ndaza* prophetess and interpreter pray and speak in tongues as introduction to prophetic diagnosis of the causes of barrenness of female patient in the background.

10. *Ndaza* bishop treating patient with 'holy staff' during faith-healing ceremony after Church service.

11. Exorcism of *shavi* spirit during Zionist (ZCC) baptism in 'Jordan'
12. Zionist prophet prays and elicits confessions from novices on the banks of ‘Jordan’ before they are baptized.

13. Concluding act of Zionist baptismal ceremony. One of Mutendi’s wives leads novices away from ‘Jordan’ with a white cloth which symbolizes sanctity.
centres within a radius of several miles came into existence. Each healer could accommodate a number of patients through the erection of a few additional huts. These healing centres all formed part of the Church's central organization. Of these the 'maternity' at Mabondo and the facilities at Healer Torera's homestead became the most popular, especially after Conorio, the main healer, had died. Much like the nganga, individual healers became known for their successful treatment of specific ailments. Patients arriving in Maranke could therefore be directed to the sub-centre where they were most likely to be successfully treated.

In addition, Jhane encouraged such healers as could be trusted in the outlying Pendi-circuits to cater to the needs of local patients by developing local healing-centres. An example of such a local healing-centre in Chingombe is the one at Jaka's homestead. These outlying centres have a greater autonomy than the zcc outposts, whose prophetic healers feel obliged to send local patients to Zion City where they can be treated by the 'man of God' himself or at least by healers who stand directly under his control. Comparatively speaking, both the Apostolic and zcc leaders remained active as healers, and theirs were regarded as the ideal and most potent healing charisma by their subordinate healers. But Jhane's system was soon operating on a more decentralized basis than that of Mutendi. The former remained the restless campaigner who depended on his 'Board of Control' back home to tend to patients during his absence, while the latter settled down and erected a 'hospital' (the 200 huts at Zion City) which kept him in close touch with patients coming from all parts of the country.

As for the N'daza bishops, they too attracted patients to their Church headquarters but never on a scale comparable to the zcc and AACJM leaders. Consequently there was less need and incentive for the enlargement of Church headquarters. Bishop Andreas Shako at an early stage relegated the main prophetic and healing responsibilities to subordinate officials, while he himself gained renown as a talented preacher. Bishop Masuka on the other hand was indeed a faith-healer of repute. Had his Church not been harassed by several large-scale schisms, he may well have succeeded in building his own 'city of Zion' with the necessary facilities for visiting patients.

8. Ibid., p. 324.
9. The organization of Church circuits will be dealt with in Volume 3.
10. Infra, p. 209f.
2. THE TESTIMONIES OF CHURCH MEMBERS

A perusal of the life histories of Zionists and Apostles who joined their Churches through faith-healing shows that nearly all of them implicitly believed in complete healing effected through the aiding powers of prophets. Most of them became Church members during treatment by a prophet in a local Church community, in serious cases during treatment at the headquarters of a chief leader, or shortly after recuperation. These facts correspond with the findings of research workers elsewhere in Africa. Sundkler refers to a Zulu prophet who, during a gathering, spontaneously called out: 'This is not a Church but a hospital.' He personally finds 'the healing issue the strongest influence in drawing people from the Ethiopian and Mission Churches into the Zionist fold.' 11 In West Africa, too, Mitchell invariably received the following stereotyped answer when he wanted to know why a member of the Aladura (Zionist) Churches had come into its fold: 'I was sick and was healed by this Church or prophet.' 12 While prophetic diagnosis and therapy may differ from area to area, especially if one takes into account the diverse traditional backgrounds, it is safe to assume that the primary importance of faith-healing is an integral part of the Spirit-type movements in Africa, south of the Sahara.

A few fragments from the life histories of Church members interviewed reflect their experiences of faith-healing and the circumstances under which this factor proved to have such a strong appeal for them:

Mutendi Zionists

Minister (mufundisi) Ananiah, a Mutendi Zionist from the Chibi area with five years' primary education, had earlier undergone an operation on his legs at Morgenster, the main Mission station of the Dutch Reformed Church. On his return to the reserve, the leg would not heal completely. The Zionists then gave him an "injection" 13 to draw the water from his leg. He recovered. In 1951 he joined the zcc and shortly afterwards was appointed local leader of Chibi congregation by Mutendi. Of his recovery he said, 'Before the curative treatment I was a caretaker [mutariri] of the Dutch Reformed Church. I recall that at that time, I, accompanied by other DRC members, went to a group of Zionists to forbid them from luring our members away. That very

13. Pricks with a needle to extract 'bad blood' or 'water'
same night, in a dream, the Zionist Spirit entered into me. Yet I purposely ignored the call until I underwent treatment at the hands of the Zionist prophets. Through their healing of my leg they convinced me and subsequently I joined their Church. I became a true Christian only after baptism in “Jordan.” After joining them I received great power [simba guru] to heal others through the laying-on of hands and prayer. We received this power from Mutendi, whom we honour and fear.

Prophet Nison Mutuwira, a Mutendi Zionist, 40 years old and with 3 years’ primary schooling, was a regular inhabitant of Zion City for over 5 years. He related: ‘I was working in Fort Victoria when I fell ill in 1950. The symptoms were regular spells of dizziness. I was admitted to hospital, but they could not cure me. So I was brought here to Moriah. After a few weeks I was cured. Before I departed, I was baptized because I feared that the illness would return if I did not join the Church. I got married in 1959 and shortly afterwards became stricken with paralysis. My family transported me from hospital to hospital in Fort Victoria, Ndanga and Salisbury. I consulted several nganga and must admit that at that time I was no proper Zionist. I was carried here in 1961 in a critical state.

‘Through the treatment of the Zionists, I gradually improved. Since then, I have remained here and paid only short periodic visits home. My wife works on the fields of Mutendi to provide in our needs. Three of my offspring also dwell here. The paralysis is slowly disappearing, and I hope to walk again some day. The prophets have diagnosed my sickness as being caused by my elder brother [mukoma], who has ensorcelled [kuroya] me. Our father is deceased. When I asked my mukoma for my share of the cattle for my bride-price, he became irate and decided to roya me. I became lame soon after reaching home.

‘At present I harbour no grudge against my brother but pray that he, too, will find entry into this Church through Jordan. My brothers still worship the ancestors. A short while ago my departed father appeared to me in a dream. His anger was roused as a result of the enmity among his sons. I recounted my dream to Mutendi because I could not escape the feeling that the spirits were harassing me. After he had prayed for me, I had no more visitations from the spirits. In this way the man of God keeps the evil spirits at bay. I wear a strip of sanctified cloth round my neck to shield me against the evil spirits. Mutendi obtains his power directly from God because he was sent by God and not by mortals.’
Ndaza Zionists

Bishop N.C., a schismatic Ndaza Zionist leader in the Gutu area, 55 years of age with three years of primary school education, related: 'I became a Zionist because my children were constantly sick. Two of them had to visit the hospital regularly, and I became tired of undertaking the long journey ever so often. So I took them to David Masuka, where the Zionists prayed for them, and they were healed. David advised me to visit one of his prophets living nearer my home should the children have a relapse. After having joined, I, for the first time, had the feeling that I was truly a Christian. Previously I, too, had been sick and had dreamt that a man with a long robe had laid his hands on me. When I joined David Masuka's Church, I realized that the dream was a portent of things to come. The Dutch Reformed Church does not accord the African recognition as a human being. The missionaries even close their doors when they eat. The Zionists differ from them in this respect because we serve each other as truly God-created Africans. Therefore we have a wonderful Church. We do not employ medicines. Yet many Dutch Reformed Church members worship the ancestors and consult the nganga, or run to the hospitals in cases of emergency. If you ask my mother, she will tell you that she is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. But we know that she is at the same time a practising nganga with a shavi spirit.'

Deacon S.M., a Ndaza Zionist of the Masuka group, 45 years of age and with three years' primary schooling, was afflicted by his ancestral spirits (midzimu). He said: 'I was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church with two years of catechism, but as yet unbaptized. I found no sign in the Bible that one should go to a hospital when indisposed; only that one should pray. When my children fell ill, I decided to take them to the Zionists for the laying-on of hands and prayer. Before that time, the midzimu had never given my family a moment's peace. I am convinced that if I had remained with the DRC, or had joined the Roman Catholic Church, these midzimu would never have left us. But now that the Zionist prophets have prayed for me and my children, the spirits have subsided. Our problems are solved.'

Maranke Apostles

Senior Healer Torera, a man of about 60 years of age, with no educatio-

14. Torera is one of the leading healers of the AACJM; his healing centre belongs to the network of communities in the Maranke tribal area, which together form the Apostolic headquarters.
Faith-healing, a major attraction

Healing qualifications, had the following to say about his attainment of Church membership:

'I became a Christian through my son who was critically ill. We were very worried about his illness and tried all means of getting him cured, until my wife said in desperation: “Let us try the Apostles!” By that time I had already belonged to the Anglican Church, the American Board and Johane Masowe’s [Apostolic] Church. I had been baptized and confirmed in the Anglican Church and remained a member for twelve years. Afterwards I joined the American Board to see if this was a true Church and then became a Masowe member for one year. I backslid while in the latter Church because I started drinking beer and went to nganga for treatment when I became ill. In those years I was greatly afflicted and “died” about three times. Each time when I “awoke” [gained consciousness] I found people holding their hands to my chest to see if my heart was still beating. I was then healed by the nganga at Nyahana. He used the method of making incisions on the sore spot and then rubbing medicine into my body. The nganga divined the cause of illness through his shavi spirits. He told me that I had been bewitched and that I should go and worship my ancestors because my father’s spirit was asking me to brew beer. I was also told to kill the big bull [gono guru]. In this way I could regain the protection of my ancestors. Those nganga practices were the “Church of Satan” After I had dreamt about the vaPostori I left the nganga.15 By that time we had paid the nganga a lot of money. At one of the nganga where I had taken my sick son for treatment things went wrong, and the illness only became worse. Back home the condition of my son deteriorated rapidly until my wife told me to go and call the Apostles. At first I thought that it would be useless to do so because I did not think that they would be able to help us. I thought that the prophets only deceived the people. When my wife asked me whether I wanted the child to die, I got up and left. When the Apostles came they prayed for the child. They rose from their knees and addressed me as follows: “We must baptize you in order to obtain the power of praying for your child.” I told them that I had no objection if they started by baptizing my wives, so that I could first stand and watch the procedure and make up my mind. Thereupon they asked me: “Don’t you want your child?” I told them, “I want my child!” We quarrelled until they said that they would stop praying for the child. At this stage I consented. So I took my whole family [musha wose] with me to the Jordan. We were all baptized and then returned to the homestead. There the praying for my son was resumed until he was healed.'

15. See Torera’s dream; Supra, p. 145.
Evangelist Haire, a man with only two years’ schooling in a Seventh Day Adventist school, 44 years of age and today one of the most zealous Apostolic preachers in the Maranke area, like so many of his fellow Church members tried both traditional and European medicines before he turned to the Apostles in search of cure. ‘I used to suffer a great deal from bad health and visited several nganga’, he narrated. ‘They told me that I was afflicted by one of the ancestral spirits back home. But even when I followed up their instructions the illness remained. What the nganga were doing were the things of the flesh, and I realised that it could help one only up to a point because in all things the mukuru ndiMwari [the leading figure is God]. Then I decided to become a Church member and joined the Seventh Day Adventists. I was married in that Church. Later I went to the Apostles, accompanied by my wife and children. I was made to join through illness [Ndakapinzwa nokurwara]. My stomach gave me much trouble and I went to the hospital three times to have the trouble removed, but all to no avail. So I went to the vaPostori who prayed for me and gave me water to drink until I was completely healed. At that time I dreamt of an angel who came to me and told me to go and join the Apostles of Johane and be healed. So I went and was healed. I also saw Johane coming to me in a dream, urging me to join his Church. I went the very next morning to be baptized and two weeks later the illness was finished. So I am a member of this Church because it has helped me, it has given me “life”; it also taught me what to do and what to leave. In this Church my children experience security, for which I am thankful. They are told to obey the proper rules, such as: don’t steal, don’t hate, don’t commit adultery!’

Isaka Kambaramu, a junior evangelist with two years of primary education, said: ‘I became a Christian through the illness of my stomach. Both the hospitals and the nganga failed to cure me, so I went to Johane Maranke to be prayed for. I was cured, and I have been well ever since. In addition to my being healed I saw many signs performed by Johane, such as healings and prophecies. These convinced me. At first I was a member of Willi Sharara’s Zionist Church, but I had joined this Church while still a boy, without knowing what I was doing. At that stage I was not really converted. The Mission Churches are Churches of business and they are similar to the synagogues. I could not find the place [in the Bible] where they were written. According to the Book, Zion is not a Church but merely a mountain. The only Church that is written in the Bible is that of the Apostles. This is the Church which receives answers to its prayers – and for that reason I joined it.’
Faith-healing, a major attraction

First Ethiopian Church:

Muongamiri (warden) Madyaruto, leader of one of the local Topia congregations in Chingombe, is a man of about 50 years of age who had spent 3 years as a pupil in one of the DRC out-schools. He had the following to say about his adherence to the FEC: 'I joined the Topia Church after I was healed from a severe illness. I had been to several hospitals but never with real success because the illness kept returning. Then the Topia members came to pray for me. At that time I was still a member of the DRC. Having taken a second wife I was given “shamhu” for several months. After I had rejected her and kept my first wife only, the Church allowed me to participate in the Holy Communion once more. But when I became ill the DRC leaders did not come to visit and pray for me. My younger brother Kraposi, who was then already a member of the Topia Church, called the Topia members to come and pray for me. When they came they took care of me and God heard their prayers, so that I was healed. It was then that I became a muTopia [my italics].'

In some respects the examples quoted above are representative of the majority of people who came to join the Spirit-type Churches through faith-healing. Minister Ananiah is the best educated among them with five years of primary schooling. As mentioned before, the educational level among the ranks of the Zionists and Apostles is generally low. The most advanced members can lay claim to only six to eight years of schooling. This results in a deficient knowledge of the anatomy of the human body and a correspondingly greater receptivity to the traditional interpretation of the causes of illness of which the Zionist and Apostolic prophets make liberal use.

In these circles a diagnosis which is based on the widely accepted African belief in the personal causation of all ailments and misfortunes – such personal forces being the neglected family spirits, malignant alien spirits, witches or sorcerers – is both understandable and acceptable. Moreover these semi-literate people have a scant knowledge of European medicines, which in any case they identify with African medicines, only to reject both on doctrinal grounds in the end. The Shona concept of mushonga, in fact, covers all medicaments from the most tested serum of the Western medical man to the most harmful toxin of a sorcerer. A literal interpretation by the Zionists and Apostles of the New Testament, e.g. Matth. 10, against their traditional African background, which forges a link between mushonga and ancestral worship as seen in the therapy of the medicine man, cannot but lead to a rejec-

16. See tables 15 and 16.
tion of both. The use of medicine and idolatry — for the Zionist, ancestral worship is synonymous with what is known as idolatry in the Bible — are so closely bound up with each other, that it is impossible to think of them as being unrelated. The statement of the West African Aladura leader, Akinyele, is equally applicable to the Shona Zionists: ‘Africans can’t use good medicines only without getting mixed up with bad ones and idolatry. Whites can use medicine without this.’ 17

In five of the cases mention is made of earlier visits to hospitals. In Bishop N.C.’s case distance played an additional role, but in the case of Nison, Ananiah (zcc), Haire and Kambaramu (AACJM), they were convinced that Western medicine had failed and that the curative powers negotiated by the ‘man of God’ or by the Apostolic healers had tipped the scales. How did the hospitals fail these persons? Perhaps the root of the matter must be sought, not so much in the somewhat deficient medical service, which is sometimes the case with insufficiently staffed and remote clinics, but rather in the shortcomings of the Western medical approach which, despite a successful medical treatment, does not probe deeply enough into the spiritual causes of illness. In this respect not only the secularised medical service of the government hospital, but also the Mission hospitals are found wanting. Admittedly an attempt is made to meet both the spiritual and physical needs of the patient in Mission hospitals, and very often with a certain amount of success. Frequently, however, the Christian message is relayed to the sick in a manner which omits or makes insufficient allowance for a direct confrontation with the very real belief in evil powers. But it so happens that in the world visualized by the patient, these powers are the root cause of his situation. In other words, Western therapy is not sufficiently concerned with or cognizant of evil forces as a very potent reality in the patient’s life. There is a general lack on the part of missionaries in Africa to probe the reality of wizardry in the African’s life and to accommodate medical treatment accordingly. It is for this very reason that so many members of the Mission joined the Independent Churches when they became sick. Patient Nison is a case in point. Deacon S.M.’s reference to the midzimu, which cannot be expelled by the Dutch Reformed Church or the Roman Catholic Church (and for him the Church includes the hospital), is a further indication of the widespread belief that European medicine is inadequate for treating the ‘midzimu’ or ‘illnesses due to witchcraft’

Very often a combination of factors comes into play during the joining-up process. In the cases of Ndaza Bishop N.C., zcc Deacon S.M. and Apostolic

Healer Torera, it was the cure of others, e.g. their children, that swayed them. Torera’s narrative provides us with a good example of how prophetic healers exploit coercive circumstances, such as a family crisis, to persuade people to join their Church. Torera, who at first made no secret of his scepticism of the possibly deceptive prophetic practices, was confronted with the choice of either being baptized ‘to lend strength to the prayers of the prophets’ or to forfeit the services of the men he had called to aid his ailing son. Church membership, as often happens in such circumstances, became the condition for full faith-healing services. The rationale behind such coercive measures is that greater power of prayer can be generated once the persons concerned have been cleansed by the waters of Jordan. Significantly, and true to the stereotyped pattern of recruitment under such circumstances, not only Torera but all the family members at his homestead were baptized, once he had given his consent. Had he not been under the psychological stress of a threatening family tragedy, Torera would probably have followed the same line of action as other adult men in need of prophetic services are fond of taking, which is to have their wives and children baptized as an (experimental) gesture of goodwill towards the prophets, and to delay their own initiation into the movement until the faith-healing services have proved to be successful.

One should furthermore distinguish between other obscure or less emphasized causative factors which more or less prepare the soil for recruitment, and the actual experience of faith-healing which triggers the individual’s decision to become a Church member. In some cases the less articulated background factors are of greater significance than the individual who claims to have been convinced through healing activities realizes himself. The decisions of some of the persons quoted above have been conditioned by their experience in Mission Churches. Bishop N.C. clearly reacted against the non-recognition of the dignity and self-respect of the African as experienced by him in the Reformed circles. Besides the promise of temporal health, the Ndaza movement offered him a community in which he could enjoy recognition as a human being, ‘a place to feel at home’. Of such a place to feel at home Welbourn writes: ‘It is possible that precisely such a need for personal identity, for a label by which men can recognize themselves in terms of those whom they know “face to face”, is the fundamental (if largely unconscious) motive in the formation of independent churches.’

It is this personal identity in the Apostolic movement which caused Evangelist Haire to state that the Church had helped him, had given him ‘life’ and his children security.

The reaction against Mission Churches is verbalized, too, by Kambaramu’s characterization of them as synagogues and business centres. His remark on Mission Churches, of which one cannot find the names in the Bible, and his identification of Zion with a mountain, reflect the typical exclusionist attitude of the Apostles. It is possible that a latent antagonism against Mission and other Independent Churches only became more overt after he had joined the vaPostori, as a result of a gradual process of identification with the values and persons of the in-group. On the other hand, Topia official Madyaruto’s case gives clear evidence of a conflict situation in the Mission Church which co-determined this man’s decision to change affiliation from one denomination to the other. Having already experienced the humiliation of being disciplined for polygamy, Madyaruto felt neglected when the DRC office-bearers failed to put in an appearance during his illness. By stating that the vaTopia took care of him, Madyaruto meant that these people showed concern by not only praying for him but also performing some of the most urgent domestic and agricultural duties. Thus it was much more than the mere fact of being healed through the prayers of sympathizing Topia members that persuaded Madyaruto to join the Ethiopian-type movement. Kinship (Madyaruto’s brother was responsible for calling in the aid of the vaTopia), polygamy, disciplinary and healing factors all contributed towards Madyaruto’s decision.

Another factor which may have influenced the decision of the above-mentioned men to join the Independent Churches is that of Church leadership. The appreciation for their Churches – as was evident, for instance, in Bishop N.C.’s reference to his Church as a ‘marvel’ – derives from more than a positive evaluation of the faith-healing services of these institutions. In the new community there was room enough for Bishop N.C. to exercise his leadership capacities. Ananiah would never have become a ‘minister’, nor would N.C. have become a ‘bishop’, Torera an influential healer and Madyaruto a senior warden if they had not joined the Churches to which they now belong. With their education, these men would have had but a limited share in the leadership of any Mission Church which does not specially emphasize and develop the responsibilities of its laity. Whereas healing actuates the moment of decision to enter into the Independent (especially Spirit-type) Church, there are therefore in addition many background factors – some of them already mentioned in Chapter 1 – serving as a breeding ground for these rapidly expanding movements.

Entry into an Independent Church through faith-healing does not neces-
sarily imply a kind of religious terminus. This would certainly be so for individuals who fully identify themselves with the new Church community and in the course of time acquire the compensating status and authority which they have missed elsewhere. But for many the Spirit-type Church is only a ‘healing institute’ to which one can turn in time of need and not a stable religious home. Apart from implying stable membership, to be a Zionist or Apostle could also mean an interim period for Mission Church members. This is especially true of barren women, who willingly undergo the baptismal ceremony to procure prophetic treatment and afterwards return to their former fold. To others it could be a thoroughfare to another Church or back to the traditional religious practices. Ultimately it may be an ‘experiment’ for someone who, at his wits’ end, runs from nganga to hospital to prophet in search of a cure for a possibly incurable disease.

3. HEALING CENTRES

a) The Zionist Church headquarters as a ‘hospital’

Mutendi’s Zion City (plate 2) is the best example of Zionist Church headquarters functioning both as administrative and healing centre. Invitingly and challengingly the following Zionist hymn reverberates through Zion City Sunday after Sunday:

Come and see what Jesus does,
Come and see what Moyo [Mutendi] here performs,
Come and look from the East
You from the West, come and observe what Zion does.
You who are sick, to Zion City for treatment come,
Come and see!
You with epilepsy [zvipusha], come and be healed,
Come and see what Jesus does.
The other day we were with him [Mutendi],
Last night we were in his sight,
Last year we were with him
Even today he’s with us.
Come and see what Zion does!

In the past thirty years Africans from various parts of Rhodesia and sometimes even from beyond its borders have availed themselves of these Zionist invitations. As Mutendi’s reputation as a miracle-maker grew and the num-

20. Supra, p. 17f.
bers of visiting patients increased, more and more huts were built in a single compound on Mt. Zion. In 1965, 200 huts had been built, apart from the houses of the regular villagers situated at the foot of the 'holy mountin.' These huts provide accommodation to some of the hundreds of Zionists who annually come to the Church's headquarters for 'Passover' celebrations. Being the living quarters of the sick, it is referred to as the 'hospitara.' Patients who are fit to work from time to time busy themselves with the restoration of their 'hospital.' While the men support dilapidated walls with new poles or re-thatch the roofs, the women patch up the floors with cow-dung and plaster the pole walls with clay.

When a patient arrives at Moriah, he is welcomed at the house of the 'doctor in charge,' which represents the official entrance into the Zionist colony. Here he is first of all sprinkled with holy water to remove all impurity or expel any possible evil spirits. Then the full-time clerk, Mabarani Mushonga, a cousin of Mutendi, notes down the patient's particulars in the sick-register kept specially for such purposes, e.g. addresses and complaints. The patient is handed a piece of paper containing the name of the prophet who will diagnose his illness at a later stage. Meanwhile the 'boarding master' has to see to it that one of the hospital huts is brought in readiness for the newcomer, who is invariably accompanied by some relatives. Since the sick-register only contains the names of seriously ill patients, it is impossible to determine the exact number of patients who annually 'undergo treatment' at Moriah. During my stay at the headquarters in 1965 there were, besides those people who came and went daily, about 80 regular patients of whom 35 were children. The sick-register of 1964 shows a total of 460 adults of whom 60% were women, and the majority from the neighbouring tribal areas of Bikita, Gutu, Zaka, Victoria and Belingwe. Various patients, however, came from remote parts such as Wedza, Kariba, Wankie, Zambia and Malawi.

The specific nature of the illness according to Western insights is mostly known. As in the case of the majority of nganga, the prophets have little or no knowledge of anatomy or physiology. Consequently complaints of the patients (according to the 1964 register) are classified as follows: Zvichemo (derived from kuchema, literally, 'to cry' i.e. complaints): 130 cases; this is the most widespread category, spanning light ailments, e.g. cough or pain in the chest, as well as pleas to help the patient secure a job or settle a family dispute. Stomach-ache: 63 cases; a large percentage of it is ascribed to wizardry. Chibereko (literally, womb or 'fruit', i.e. the power to bear child-

21. See sketch-map of 'Zion City' (symbol M).
22. Sketch-map of 'Zion City' (symbol D).
AREAS FROM WHICH PATIENTS' ARE ATTRACTED TO 'ZION CITY' FOR HEALING TREATMENT

- *Cities*
- • *Towns*
  * Zion Christian Church congregations.
  1.Zion City Z.C.C. Headquarters
  2.Z.A.C. Headquarters of bishop D. Masuka.
  3.Z.A.F.M. Headquarters of bishop A. Shoko.
- Gutu District
- Chingcombe chiefdom: area where depth study was conducted
- Some of the main roads of Rhodesia.
- 85% of the patients visiting Zion City come from areas within the dotted circle.
A. 'Hospital'  200 huts; B. Zionist school; C. Teachers' living quarters; D. House of Sotho 'doctor' at entrance of Zion City; E. Church office; F. Shop; G. Garage; H. Stone-wall enclosure with Bishop Mutendi's western-styled living quarters and several huts for his wives; J. 'Dare' – stone-wall and cemented platform where Church Council and village court sessions take place; K. Church building; L. Residence of office-bearers, eg. clerk, boarding-master and prophets; 'boarding houses' for school children; M. Homesteads of Mutendi's oldest married sons, sons-in-laws and their families, at the foot of Mt. Zion (or Mt. Moriah); N. Arable fields; approximately 200 acres; O. Granaries and houses of orphans and widows; P 'Tabero' – a clearing with cemented floor where daily prayer meetings are conducted.
Faith-healing, a major attraction

ren): 51 cases; all of whom are barren women asking for children, or people asking that the sex of their unborn children be pre-determined. In reality this total is much higher, but because this is the most general reason why so many women visit Moriah, not all cases are noted down. Mweya wakaipa (evil spirit): 45 cases; the presence of evil spirits, coupled with disease symptoms, is chiefly related to the perpetration of witchcraft or the retaliation of neglected family ancestors. Chiposwa and chitsinga: 43 cases; the two most general forms of wizardry, i.e. poisoning or infection of the limbs. Kuchema kuwana (literally, crying to marry): 21 cases; specific pleas for assistance in finding a suitable husband or wife, a process complicated by a physical deformation in some people. Kutema musoro (headache): 20 cases; in reality, stomach-aches, head-aches or pain in the limbs are the most widespread of these symptoms. Psychical disturbances are usually ascribed to evil spirits. Very often these evil spirits are also held responsible for what is in fact malaria or a general deterioration of bodily strength through bilharzia, a not uncommon phenomenon amongst large numbers of people in Africa. Stomach ailments often derive from gastro-enteritis, while pneumonia, venereal diseases, trachoma, rheumatism, water in the limbs etc. are to be found in almost each of the above-mentioned Zionist categories.

One can generally assume that most of the diseases successfully treated by the Zionists are of a psychosomatic nature. Taylor draws attention to the fact that ‘swelling of the joints’, ‘aching all over’ and wasting are the most common psychosomatic symptoms in Africa – symptoms also regularly to be found at Moriah.

The psychological side of prophetic treatment does indeed have a salutary influence on many of the patients who suffer from these types of diseases. Sometimes compromise solutions are sought in serious cases, involving for instance a goitre, a malignant growth, blindness or a fractured bone. A temporary visit to a Western hospital does not necessarily imply total apostasy.

At the end of my stay in Rhodesia, Prophet Nison Mutuwira, to whom we have already referred, was admitted to the Dutch Reformed hospital at Morgenster Mission for an operation to the goitre. It is tragic, however, that some convinced patients are so tied down by their group beliefs that they would rather lose their lives than undergo timely medical treatment.

Every non-Zionist patient arriving at Moriah is regarded by the community as a potential Zionist. On arrival, a ‘group-apparatus’ comes into operation with the express aim of securing the patient’s membership of the Zionist


Church. Mostly the prophets suggest that the patient should tarry a few days in order to have direct contact with the ‘man of God’ for at least one session of discussion. The prophecies make it quite clear that the best chances of being cured only exist after purification in ‘Jordan’, i.e. after initiation into the group. Only then, it is suggested, does the Holy Spirit begin to function effectively in the patient. The latter is thus subjected to subtle psychological pressures without his always being fully aware of it. He is totally taken up in a community with an absorbing daily program and communal aims.

By ‘communal aim’ is meant the building up of a ‘Jerusalem’, where Africans take the initiative. It is indeed a settlement to be proud of because it has its own identity and constitutes a symbol of independence where the yoke of European supervision is non-existent. In a society harbouring many an uprooted individual in search of such an identity, joining the ZCC affords a solution. These people are sympathetically received in a system of mutual aid and help, of give and take. In return for the accommodation and the ‘medical treatment’, the patient, on recuperation, is expected to work in Mutendi’s fields, to help make bricks for new buildings, to beautify the grounds of the settlement and to help maintain the road leading to Moriah. The more serious patients receive free food supplies, which are subsidized yearly according to agreement by outlying congregations all over the country. In this way the patient feels himself involved in a nation-wide movement, which goes beyond the more circumscribed tribal loyalty. On the 28th of March 1965, during a sermon at Moriah, Evangelist Mordechai pertinently gave vent to that prevailing group- feeling of pride in the curative power of their leader:

‘The reason why I say that Mutendi is sent by God is that in the whole of Rhodesia there is not one village of this magnitude, under the care of an African. In the Bible we read that people stayed in Jerusalem for 35 years awaiting their cure. All these people had made Jerusalem their home. We, too, cannot receive help at any place other than this one [our Jerusalem]. We have never come across Africans, as is the case here, who stay under the care of an African leader for years. Even members of other Churches come here when all form of medical treatment fail. This place is like Bethsaida. Just as the power in olden days came through great personages such as Abraham and Jacob, it now derives from the God of Mutendi and Enginasi Lekhanyane.26

26. Lekhanyane is the founder of the ZCC in South Africa (Daneel, 1971, pp. 297-8). Although Mutendi – who broke away from the ZAFM with Lekhanyane in the 1920s – became self-reliant in the course of time, and by own initiative adapted his Church to the Rhodesian circumstances, his name and that of Lekhanyane are often mentioned in one breath. ZCC prayers invariably include references to ‘the God of Mutendi and Lekhanyane’
14. Apostolic Healer Mabondo's homestead, popularly referred to as 'the maternity'

15. Mabondo and his blind wife, Febi, treating patients during the daily prayer-meeting at 'the maternity'
16. Apostolic Healer, Febi, sprinkling holy water on children to ward off evil powers.
17 Topia Church member dancing with kudu-horn during service.

18. Clad in their official attire, Topia members dance to the rhythm of hand-clapping and horn-blowing.
19. *Topia* members make use of their green sashes while praying for the sick.
Mutendi's power [simba] is stored away like the grain of a farmers' co-operation. He can cure you of all ailments. Assuredly he is the man of God!

A patient in need of spiritual sustenance and protection against tormenting spirits would have no difficulty in identifying himself completely with a group holding such a conviction and constantly giving expression to it.

Even if Mutendi does not find the time to attend personally to all the patients in the City of Zion, he still makes his presence felt in a very real way. On the ideational level he represents a living reality to his followers, who believe him to act continually as an intercessor; in the eyes of some he acts as a kind of mediator (mumiriri) between them and God. In sermons he invariably features as the central figure, the great healer who represents the curative powers of God. After morning-prayers at the tabero\textsuperscript{20} the 'man of God' personally blesses the water brought by patients in bottles and other containers for healing treatment during the day, or else patients with special requests are summoned to the court (dare) site\textsuperscript{28} for an interview. On such occasions a 'minister' acts as interpreter between Mutendi and the patient because the Zionist bishop may not be addressed directly by ordinary Church members. This Shona concept of courtesy applies to a person of lesser rank when he finds himself in the presence of a high dignitary. Mutendi is however, not 'beyond reach', but listens attentively to the patient's complaints and poses questions about possible family disputes. The conversation very often assumes the character of a pastoral interview in which Mutendi assures the patient of his intercession, and impresses on him the necessity of a personal belief in the healing power of God. The interview ends with the eagerly sought after laying-on of hands or with a brief touch of Mutendi's holy staff.

Mutendi's success as a faith-healer undoubtedly ties up with the pastoral nature of his approach. He is an acknowledged representative of the mysterious power of God; he recognizes the reality of evil spirits in the Shona hierarchy; he successfully resisted the repressive measures of the European administration in the 1930s; thus he is better equipped than many European doctors to apply effective 'psycho-therapy' among the poorly schooled layers of the Shona. His solution is of a spiritual nature and strives after a forceful elimination of the spiritual causes of the illness, which the patient himself believes to be the source of his malady. After all, the whole Zionist hospital program is pastorally orientated. Two daily prayer-meetings end in the laying-on of hands and prayers for the sick by Zionist ministers. Contact with the ministers invariably brings back the patient to a personal relationship with

\begin{flushright}
27. Sketch-map of 'Zion City' (symbol P).
28. Sketch-map of 'Zion City' (symbol J).
\end{flushright}
God and the world of spirits because conversations between patients and leaders frequently resort to the spiritual plane.

Mutendí employs an effective system of 'compulsory visits', as a result of which high-ranking office-holders of all outlying circuits are expected to spend at least two weeks at Moriah, at regular intervals. This ensures contact with remote communities and the constant presence of office-bearers at Church headquarters where they can minister to the pastoral needs of patients. Since these officials as a rule have sufficient time to spend with patients, the latter are constantly succoured spiritually in a more realistic manner than is often the case in Mission hospitals, where lack of staff and an acute program invalidate this type of mutual contact.

Just as in the case of a Western hospital with several outlying clinics, where the most elementary form of nursing takes place, so also Mutendí has a whole network of smaller 'healing centres' in the various reserves. To every local congregation there are two or more permanent prophets. Depending on his popularity and success as faith-healer, the houses of such a prophet could be extended to accommodate patients. In order to avoid competition and possibly friction with the headquarters, this type of settlement very rarely reaches outsize proportions. In a few cases more than ten patients will be found at such a prophet's household. Very often those visitors whose homesteads are at walking distance from the prophet do not live in these households. These 'clinics' are in constant touch with the headquarters because serious patients often proceed to Moriah on the recommendation of, or accompanied by, the prophetic healers.

The small healing settlements of the Mutendí and the Ndaza Zionists do not differ much. Healing practices are based on similar principles with slight variations in the mode of treatment and the use of symbols representing God's curative powers. Since Andreas Shoko and David Masuka have not succeeded in building up settlements of the size and stature of that of Mutendí, the arrival of patients at Ndaza headquarters for healing treatment closely resembles the activities at any 'clinic' of their subordinate prophetic healers. One of the most significant differences between the zcc and Ndaza healing systems is that the absence of centralized 'hospitals', in the case of the latter group, enables local healers of outlying circuits to operate more independently and with greater finality than the average zcc healer. Instead of sending serious cases to the main centre of the principal leader, Ndaza healers treat all patients as best they can. Reputed Ndaza healers can even expect patients to be sent to their settlements from Church headquarters if their archbishops consider prolonged treatment necessary.

An important point is the availability of prophetic healers, not only to the
members of the congregations to which they belong, but also to the entire community – irrespective of the religious affiliation of individuals – where they reside. The Chingombe chiefdom with its 110 villages and 8,000 to 9,000 inhabitants, with its substantial numbers of Spirit-type Church members, has at least 30 Zionist and Apostolic prophets, with a corresponding number of practising traditional doctors (nganga), and one government medical clinic. A village of average size, i.e. with ten to twelve homesteads, can thus have both a prophetic and a traditional healing centre (not that all healers have accommodation for patients) at a short distance from each other. In some cases traditional and prophetic healers are even members of the same household. In actual practice, the members of all Churches (Mission and Independent) and the traditionalists often exploit all the possible facilities in their immediate vicinity in times of illness. I have witnessed the prophetic treatment of several Mission Church members, some of whom joined the Spirit-type movements while others did not, and was told by one of the most prominent DRC vatariri in Chingombe how he had called in the aid of a muPostori prophet after he had been ensorced (kuteyiwa nechitsinga: to be snared by a foot-trap). Typical of this pragmatic approach is the remark of Mai Mupini, wife of the leader of one of the Topia congregations in Chingombe: ‘When I am sick I go everywhere; to the nganga when I am bewitched through a foot-trap [chitsinga], to a prophet if I want to find out who has poisoned me and to the Mission hospital for normal symptoms of disease.’

b) Apostolic healing centres

A study was made of the two outstanding ‘colonies’ at Prophet-healer Mabondo’s and Healer Torera’s homesteads, both of which belong to the network of healing centres close to the Apostolic Church headquarters in Maranke, and of Baptist-prophet Jaka Mukurumbira’s faith-healing ‘colony’ in Chingombe. Of the three centres the one at Mabondo (plate 14) is the largest. In a number of neatly built huts accommodation is provided for approximately 50 patients at a time. At Torera’s homestead an unusually large hut was erected which could house from 10 to 20 patients at a time. Since the number of resident patients fluctuates from day to day, healers are always prepared to provide makeshift accommodation whenever the regular patients’ quarters become overcrowded. At Jaka’s homestead several ‘reed-houses’ are constructed from time to time as the need arises. During the rainy season these temporary dwellings are broken down.

As already mentioned, prophetic healers sometimes build up a reputation
for the treatment of specific ailments, much like the nganga, of whom the different shavi spirits are known to specialize in specific types of medicines. While Torera proved to be a 'general practitioner' with a reputation for treating practically any kind of disease successfully, Mabondo's centre has become known as the 'maternity', due to the expertise of the blind healer Febi (Mabondo's wife) as far as barren women, pre-natal care, childbirth and the treatment of young children are concerned. Jaka, on the other hand, has gained a reputation for healing the bewitched through the removal of malignant medicines. We will pay closer attention to his practices in the following chapter. ²⁹

Despite the differences in scope of activities, methods of treatment and organization, the principles at work in the Apostolic healing centres are similar to those at Mutendi's 'city'. Here, too, the patient is subjected to diagnostic prophecies soon after arrival, and in the case of non-Apostles full treatment is withheld until such persons have consented to being baptized in Jordan. Integration of patients into group life is even more evident in these small-scale colonies where the leader or leaders of the colony are in more direct, living contact with the patients than at Moriah. In contrast to Mutendi's settlement, where the 'man of God' confines some of his activities to the strict privacy of his barricaded living quarters, the Apostolic healer's homestead and patients' quarters form part of a single complex of closely clustered buildings. Thus healer(s) and patients live side by side in an intimate face-to-face community, where the esoteric element between group leader and followers is less accentuated than at Zion City. Whereas Mutendi sees some of the patients during prayer meetings at the tabero or at the dare site, Apostolic healers are with their patients practically all the time. They go into the huts of their patients, have long discussions with them and treat them in private, in addition to the regular spells of public treatment during the prayer meetings each day.

Much of the time at an Apostolic healing centre is spent in ritual activity. The absence of ambitious building projects or a time-consuming organization allows the healer to conduct lengthy prayer meetings in the morning and late afternoon. Healing activities form an integral part of these ceremonies. A sermon by the healer, in which he exhorts his patients to confess their sins, is followed by public accounts of wrongful deeds and of such dreams as are regarded as having some special significance. After each dream account the healer will give his explication. Meanwhile a healer-assistant continues exhorting patients to confess all their sins [kureverura zvivi zvose], lest the water and prayer loses its 'power' and the treatment be rendered useless.

²⁹. Infra, p. 264f.
Thus the subjective co-operation of the patients involved is emphasized as a prerequisite for successful treatment. In this way the patients are integrated as active participants in ritual life, which prevents them from becoming mere objects of treatment.

After the confessions and dream accounts the patients remain seated while the healer treats each one of them separately. At Mabondo’s centre, husband and blind wife, clad in their long, white robes, work in unison. They kneel on the ground with the patient seated between them (plate 15). Prophet-healer Mabondo, who is believed to be especially endowed with revelatory powers, is responsible for the prophetic task. With his hands on the patient’s head he will diagnose the causes of illness ‘through the Holy Spirit’ These diagnostic spells may last several minutes, during which the patient responds to the proddings of the prophet. If the patient wishes to make an important confession at this stage, the prophet-healer and his wife lean forward to offer them the necessary privacy during their whispered confession. Febi, the healer (murapi), takes charge after her husband has completed the prophecy. She sprinkles the patient with holy water, frequently offers him or her a cup of water to drink, drives out evil spirits and ‘turns around’ the child in a pregnant woman’s womb through rubbing of the stomach, if the child’s position is judged to be wrong. As the patients pass Mabondo and Febi, Apostolic songs are continually sung. Towards the end of the ceremony everybody kneels, facing in an easterly direction, while the closing prayer is slowly chanted.

Although Mabondo takes an active part in these healing ceremonies, Febi, his wife, is clearly the ‘great murapi’ and the central person around whom the community revolves. She claims to have been especially appointed by Johane as ‘midwife’ of the vaPostori women in Maranke, which fact explains the use of the term ‘maternity’ in connection with this centre.

‘In earlier years [1950s],’ she said, ‘I was called to the Pendi to be ordained as a “healer of the women” in front of thousands of people. Johane gave me a linen cord [tambo] and this short [knobbed] staff to work with. This ordination was most wonderful because it enabled me to deliver a child without the medicine of a nganga or the knife needed for an operation. From the time I was ordained up to 1963, when I became blind, I delivered 30 children. This blindness is ascribed to the bewitchment of Febi by another Apostolic woman who lives in a neighbouring village. According to Mabondo the witch herself was treated by Febi, but the latter’s success and prestige roused the envy of the witch, who subsequently prepared some evil medicine to blind the murapi. Mabondo thinks that his wife’s blindness has only caused her to become more dedicated to her task and has increased her popularity, ‘because God’s power works through her hands’
[kuponesa: to save or deliver] 11,530 infants. Since then [1963 to 1966] I have continued delivering 2,432 more infants, which means that I have delivered a total of more than 13,000 children. From January to March of this year [1966] I have already taken care of 32 childbirths, all of which were recorded in my books.3

Because of her handicap there is little else Murapi Febi can do, besides tending to her patients. In the course of the day she can be seen stirring water in buckets with her short, black staff, giving directions to women who are responsible for household tasks and talking to pregnant women sitting in the court-yard. She undoubtedly wields considerable authority. Once she publicly advised the pregnant wife of the movement's second priest, Makebo, to leave the healing community if she was not prepared to undergo the vaginal treatment which is supposed to enhance the chances of successful childbirth. The blind healer displayed self-confidence to the point of reprimanding Makebo's wife in the presence of the second priest himself.

Towards midday the newly-born babies and young children are brought to the centre of the court-yard for special treatment. Stripped bare of their clothes the young ones kneel down while Murapi Febi sprinkles them with holy water (plate 16). Babies are held out by their mothers so that the holy water, which is believed to safeguard them against attacks of evil spirits, can be poured all over them. During this purification rite no prophecies are made. Whether sick or healthy, all the children below six years of age are subjected to such treatment. In a rural society where infant mortality is generally high, this ritual is the Apostolic answer to wizardry and other anti-social powers believed to be behind the frequent deaths of the young. In this way the most vulnerable members of the Apostolic community are ritually protected. The ceremony is closed with a brief prayer during which healer, mothers and children – the brown bodies of the latter still glistening with holy water in the sun – all face the East.

The Zionist system of mutual aid between healer and patients is also operative in some of the Apostolic healing centres. At the 'maternity', where pregnant women are actually forbidden to work in the fields as a sign of 'proper treatment' in contrast to the so-called 'heathen practice' of burdening expectant mothers at a late stage of pregnancy, this system is hardly evident. But at Jaka's healing centre, where able-bodied men and women are to be found among the less seriously ill patients, agricultural tasks are fulfilled in the Baptist-Prophet's fields. In return the patient community is supplied with maize meal (upfu) and other foodstuffs. The presence of a fluctuating but fairly regular 'patient labour force' enables Jaka to spend much of his time interviewing patients, getting to know the intimate facts of some of
their life histories, praying with them on a hill next to his house and instructing novices in the ways of the vaPostori. Rather than charging members of his own Church for his services, Jaka relies on the sense of obligation which urges Apostolic patients or their relatives to work in his fields. Traditionalists and members of their Churches who require this healer's services without showing any interest in Church membership may be required to pay a substantial fee.

In spite of the greater freedom of action of the Apostolic healers, they cannot develop their colonies at random. As in the case of the zcc healing outposts, certain group pressures are brought to bear on Apostolic healers to prevent their following from achieving outsize proportions. Unlimited expansion, it is realized, may tempt a popular healer to break away from the movement and form his or her own Church. The healer who is anxious to avoid friction with the senior officials in the leadership hierarchy of his local Pendi circuit will avoid building too many huts as patients' quarters lest he provoke the jealousy of his fellow officials. Jaka is a case in point. His position in the local Apostolic community seemed indeed to be prejudiced by his success as a healer. While it was never directly suggested by other Apostles that he curb his healing activities, the local prophets invariably accused him during the Paseka 'gate-test' in 1965 and 1966 of petting the women during treatment and of using methods corresponding to magical nganga practices. On each occasion Jaka was pardoned by the Church court (dare) with a warning. These efforts to cut the healer down to size speak a clear language. Under the threat of ultimately forfeiting the right to participate in the all-important Holy Communion service, Jaka's activities are kept under control. On the other hand this man is fully aware of his value to the movement as a popular recruiter of new Church members. As a result, he compromises by limiting the number of buildings at his homestead without, however, bothering about changing his healing techniques.

The Topia Church has no special healing centres. Church members with ailments may from time to time spend a few days at the homestead of their local officials who say prayers for them. Yet, as a rule, healing prayers are restricted to Sunday services or to the occasions when Ruwandzano women are specially sent out to the homestead of a Church member to tend to a sick person. In this Church which, in contradistinction to the Spirit-type Churches, officially allows the use of medicine, the healing prayer, laying-on of hands and exorcism are regarded as important religious activities complementing the traditional or Western medical treatment already received (plate 19). No small-scale Topia communities are therefore formed on the basis of regularized prophetic and faith-healing activities. This does not detract from the fact
that the vaTopia, much more than the Chibarirwe members, are increasingly concerned with the ministry of healing, that they have adopted methods similar to those of the prophets and that healing attributes are ascribed to the holy staff of Bishop Gavure similar to those of the staff used by Bishop Mutendi of the zcc.

Several Topia members actually stated that they joined this Church on account of its healing activities (table 37, cat. 4, c).

4. PROPHETIC ACTIVITIES AND HEALING

a) Diagnosis of illness and prescription of therapy during prophecies

In the 'City of Zion' or the remote clinics of the prophets, many a prophecy is made on behalf of the sick. The permanent prophets who reside in Moriah are sometimes agriculturists helping in the cultivation of the land, advisors to the Church gatherings, or, in the case of Johane Manami, trained craftsmen. Manami, who is regarded as one of the most reliable prophets - a distinction is made between the various gradations of enlightenment by the Holy Spirit - is at the same time a builder of no mean repute who had a lion's share in the construction of the Zionist school. After morning prayers it is the duty of the prophets to give their attention to the patients before they engage in other activities (plate 7). The patients split up into groups among the huts of the 'hospital'. One by one they see the prophet assigned to them. Each prophet is assisted by a junior Church official or an ordinary Church member, who acts as interpreter during the diagnostic spell of prophecy. The prophet is not supposed to know what the Spirit reveals to him,31 so that the presence of the interpreter is very important for his interpretation of the 'speaking with tongues'. When the patient, prophet and interpreter are huddled together, an expectant hush settles down. After a short prayer, the Holy Spirit manifests itself through the bodily tremors of the prophet, his snorts and speaking in tongues.

In contrast to the zcc prophecies, the Ndaza healing activities primarily unfold themselves before, during and after Church services, of which they form an integral part. Assisted by junior officials who act as 'interpreters', Ndaza prophets busy themselves with diagnostic prophecies next to or at a short distance from the clearing where the service is being conducted (plate 9). Diagnostic prophecies concerning a single patient can sometimes last a long time.

31. The influence of traditional divination through spirit-possession is evident in Zionist prophecies. The traditional spirit medium (svikiro) of standing is always assisted by a specially appointed 'interpreter' (acolyte) who, during the phase of the svikiro's possession by the visiting spirit, interprets the spirit's message to the audience.
while the prophet probes for the background factors in the life of the individual concerned. If there are not many patients, the prophet will take his time and frequently interrupt his prophecies to listen to part of a sermon before he continues his task. In the different Ndaza groups there are a variety of patterns of prophetic spells, according to the principal leader’s ruling. In Masuka’s and Kudzerema’s groups there is a tendency to concentrate on prophecies throughout services and to conclude the preaching with a ceremony of joint prayer for the sick. While the rest of the congregation sing and dance, Zionist (sometimes ‘outsider’) patients gather in the inner circle before the principal leader or senior official to undergo the laying-on of hands or to have bottles of water blessed. These patients may be required briefly to narrate the findings of prophets as to the causation of their illness. Andreas Shoko, again, prefers to limit prophetic activities to a special period after Sunday services, lest the prophets distract members of the congregation from paying proper attention to the sermons. Immediately after services, patients form small groups to await their turn as prophets and interpreters deal with and listen to the complaints of each individual. Here, too, the diagnostic prophecy is frequently preceded by an introductory prayer and speaking in tongues as a sign of the Spirit’s presence.

Like the Ndaza Zionists, the vaPostori are inclined to integrate prophetic healing activities with daily prayer or Sabbath (service) meetings. Mention has been made of the way in which Prophet-healer Mabondo and Healer Febi co-operate in diagnosing illness and treating patients during morning and late-afternoon prayer meetings. Although the Apostles tend to separate the task of the prophet who diagnoses illness through prophecy and the healer who prays for the sick and exorcizes evil spirits a number of Apostles combine both tasks, in which case they are accredited with a double office: prophet-healer. In other instances an Apostle may combine the office of baptizer with that of healer, as is the case with Jaka. This man in reality performs the triple duties of baptizer, prophet and healer. But these are the exceptions rather than the rule. Personality and circumstantial factors contribute towards such deviations from the ordinary pattern, in which individual office-bearers hold a single office.

In Chingombe the regular Sabbath services of the Apostles start with dream-narratives and diagnostic prophecies (after the introductory dare-ses-
when they prophesy. Interpretations of dreams are thus closely linked with prophecies. One prophet may stand up and tell each dream-narrator success­ively what the Holy Spirit reveals to him about the causes of his trouble. Normally these ‘prophecies’ are somewhat superficial but they may be followed up by deeper probes after the service. On the other hand a newly instated prophet, in the effort to convince his superiors of his charisma and of a wide knowledge of the private affairs of members belonging to his local group, will prophesy for quite a while, revealing not only the sources of patients’ troubles but also the spiritual attacks to be expected in future by other members attending the service. These diagnostic prophecies are mainly directed at group members about whom prophets usually have considerable inside information. They should be distinguished from the initial diagnostic prophecies concerning patients who come to the prophets for the first time. The latter type of prophecy preferably takes place during private consultations or when the prophet has had more time to determine the important background factors at work in a patient’s life. It depends more heavily, as it progresses, on the nature of reactions evoked from the patient than the repetitive prophecies concerning group life. If, at the beginning of a service, a prophet has ‘seen’ the presence of an evil spirit or spirits in some of the participants, the ser­mons will be concluded with an exorcistic ceremony.

Comparing the diagnostic prophecies and therapeutic treatment in various Spirit-type Churches, one can say that the Mutendi Zionists are inclined to divorce such practices from Church services and public gatherings, while the Ndaza Zionists and Apostles do not separate these activities. Of the latter two groups the Apostles have more or less integrated the introductory prophecies and concluding exorcisms as part of the regular liturgy of services, with the result that such activities are more evident to the observer than in the Ndaza groups, where detailed prophecies are occasionally skipped during services, and where exorcism only takes place when a participant really becomes possessed by an unwanted spirit. Yet these differences cannot be regarded as a basis for contradistinctive generalizations such as those made by Sr. Mary Aquina when she states that ‘although the Rhodesian Zionists still belong to the Zionist movement they already differ from the [Maranke] Apostles and South African Zionists on important points, for the practices of confession, prophesying and exorcism of demons do not take place [my italics].’ In fact, all three practices mentioned take place regularly in both the Mutendi Zionist and Ndaza Zionist movements. To deny it would mean a denial of the fact that Mutendi’s exorcistic activities have thus far proved more effective as a

33. Aquina, 1969, p. 120.
recruitment factor than those of the Apostles, that Ndaza Zionist prophecies during services sometimes last much longer than those of the Apostles, and that the Zionist (both ZCC and Ndaza) diagnostic prophecies as a rule penetrate deeper into the background histories of individuals and are frequently more articulate in relation to possible solutions than those of the Apostles.

The following examples of Zionist diagnostic prophecies underscore the importance attached by these groups to penetrative probes, and they give one an indication of the kind of suggestions made to patients. Moreover, the similarities and differences between prophetic and traditional divinatory practices are clearly reflected in these excerpts.

**ZCC prophecies**

Moriah: 4th June 1965: Johane Manami prophesies for Mai Chipiwa, a woman hailing from Chibi and whose emaciated features and sunken eyes are indicative of a prolonged illness.

**Prayer:** ‘God of all blessings, we thank Thee for this opportunity

**Speaking in tongues:** ‘Makafa Just allright frende by jectu I canrita but to free again for whit teka right menta Moriah for too Jehovah tek for mother’

**Diagnosis and therapy:** ‘God says that, if you wish to reach home safely, you must first stay in Jerusalem for a few days to receive the prayers of his servant [Mutendi]. When you are better they must again prophesy on your behalf, so that you will know what to do when you reach home. God says: “There is no peace in your house because there are two female enemies [vavengi] who conspire to kill you”. One of these women lives close by. You are both married to the same man. You must pray with vigour [nyengetera nesimba] else you will die. You must drink the water which Mutendi has blessed with his prayers. He will press his staff against your stomach and give you a newspaper which you must use at home. God says that he has witnessed how you and your husband have quarrelled about your possessions. He says: “Go and tell everything to My servant, Mutendi, because he will grant you succour”. You must stay here for at least seven days, because your enemies anxiously await your return. Your husband and the other woman are hatching plans against you he has lost interest in you. You also have to contend with an inimical spirit. This is all for the present.’

The prophecy was often interrupted by the ‘speaking with tongues’ All this while the woman nodded in the affirmative. Some time later, Johane prophesied for Finias, a Zionist evangelist, and his wife who is psychologically unbalanced (kupenga, literally, mad):
‘Finias, God says you must pray with fervour and talk to His servant. God says he has witnessed the malevolent spirit in your wife and the spirit comes from her deceased relatives. He says, “I see the members of her family at home, kneeling before the spirits and then calling her name. Your wife must tarry here a while so that My servant can pray for her and baya her [literally, poke or touch] with his staff. Thereafter, you will receive sanctified water for use at home’ God says, “You have too many thoughts Finias; you must stay at home, filled with only one thought and pray fervently” Your in-laws are at loggerheads with you because of the bride-price. For this reason your wife is possessed by a malevolent spirit. You have thought that the spirit was sent by your enemies, but now you know it comes from your in-laws. Take your wife to her house at a later stage and leave her there a while. If you take her home directly from here, the spirit will have even greater power over your wife than is the case today. *Her parents must also do something so that the spirit can leave her* Therefore she must stay at home until she is back to normal. “I [God], shall accompany you to the house of your in-laws. My servant too will guide you and your wife” ’

Moriah; 16th June 1965: Prophet Nison prophecies for Chirikure’s wife, who complains that she gives birth to daughters only and feels sick.

Prayer: ‘God of Enginasi and Moyo, who hast created heaven and earth, I pray Thee for power. Do as Thou wilt ’

Speaking in tongues: ‘Justa centre to be white to win sent a society Moriah brindi papa orindi min tea grrrr.’

Explication: ‘God says you must not be disturbed for I shall reveal My power to you through My servant. In order to have sons, you will be given a sanctified linen cloth which you must wrap around your abdomen. God says he has seen the evil spirit of a woman in you. This deceased woman has received a cloth from your parents and they pray to this cloth. Her spirit wanted you to bear daughters only, but God says, “I shall expel the spirit through the hand of my servant” You will receive the sanctified water which you must use in the morning, afternoon and evening. You must also inhale the smoke of the sanctified burning paper. God says you must have faith and not doubt the things I tell you. You must also appear before the man of God to tell him everything. He will drive out the evil spirits which plague you now. Your husband is not satisfied with your visit to Moriah.’

The woman answers: ‘Yes, for we belong to the Church of Christ.’

Prophet: ‘You and your husband have quarrelled and he was about to send you back to your parents.’

Woman: ‘Yes that is so, Amen.’
Prophet: ‘Your husband is implacable when you talk about the children.’
Woman: ‘Yes.’
Prophet: ‘God says, “Do not be alarmed. Everything will be alright through My power which works through My servant. I shall answer your prayer. You must pray fervently when you return home!”’ Amen.’

Chingombe chiefdom; 7th September 1965: Esther, a former Reformed Church member, went to zcc propheth Potai with the complaint that she had suffered four miscarriages and had been to various nganga, but all to no avail. After Potai had pointed out, with the help of the Holy Spirit, that the family spirits of both Esther and her husband were responsible for the miscarriages. Esther herself explained that her husband was possessed by a Dzviti shavi which came from his grandfather. Because this spirit, which was a ‘hunter’s spirit’, did not get sufficient attention, he ‘hunted’ in the womb of the woman and was co-responsible for the death of the children. On Esther’s side there was a spirit of the deceased grandmother (mbuya) which asked for a mbudzi yeimbazukuru (goat from her grandchildren). Her husband had already given 15/- to Esther’s parents to buy a goat for sacrificial purposes, but because the money was not enough, the sacrificial ceremony for the grandmother had not yet taken place.

After Esther had embroidered on the initial diagnosis of Potai, he suggested that she return to settle family matters and then come for Zionist treatment. He even suggested that Esther’s relatives proceed with the sacrificial ceremony to pacify the spirit, i.e. that Esther’s husband provide the necessary money for the sacrificial beast, on condition, however, that Esther herself may not be present at the ceremony, since ancestral worship never brings lasting peace.

Chingombe chiefdom; 25th July 1965: After Sunday service zcc prophet Jacobo subjects Mai Z, who is a DRC member and has come in search of a cure, to a diagnostic prophecy. He is assisted by Evangelist Ruben, Mutendi’s son, who acts as interpreter.

Speaking in tongues: ‘Question mark right rindi witura pa Moriah renda quarter grrrr!’

Explication: ‘I “see” a bad spirit in her clan [pakati parudzi rwavo]. I see a woman who has died in this woman’s lineage. She is often troubled when she sleeps. The spirit startles her. I see that the afflicting spirit is the maternal

34. This is a Ndebele spirit. The term Dzviti originates from the time when the Ndebele warriors of Moselekatse suppressed the Shona tribes.
grandmother [mai rama] which comes and causes much disturbance In the past when you, Mai Z, went to the nganga they also told you that this spirit causes trouble. You have not been poisoned or bewitched. Then there is another spirit of a recently deceased person who wants to enter you. In connection with all these things you should sit down [gara pasi, in the sense of taking one's time] and sort the matter out properly There is an older relative of Mai Z who knows how to gadzira the evil spirit. This other woman must be asked to give the necessary advice about the performance of the ceremony according to customary practices [paChikaranga].

Mai Z has a spirit which brings on madness. At first she became playful and used to laugh a great deal, then she became worse and madness set in. At times she spoke like a person greatly angered. This woman should be given water to vomit so that the shadow [bvute] can be removed from inside her. The next step is to take this woman to the servant of God [muranda waMwari, i.e. Mutendi]. On her return she will once more be caught by the spirit, but this will only be a sign of her well-being and that a complete cure has set in. If Mai Z follows up these instructions she herself will tell the people what happened. Don't think she has been bewitched. Give her water to drink only. If this is not done she will get worse, until next year when she will be beyond help. Within two years she will be completely mad [penga] if these instructions are not followed up.'

During the discussion that followed between Mai Z, her brother, who had accompanied her, the Zionist prophet and the interpreter, it was impressed on the patient that she stood a good chance of being cured if she went to Zion City. Mai Z commented that she did not know how to propitiate the spirits along traditional lines, these being practices of bygone days.

Ndaza prophecies

Chibi district; May 1965: Prophet Simeon – one of Andreas Shoko's ZAFM followers – prophesies to Mai Monica and some of her relatives who accompany her to listen to the prophetic diagnosis of her pre-natal problems:

Speaking in tongues: 'How the mattress all lie simba lamasimba, laMwari, Changamire Jehovah Jrrrr but other lie Master Judah shall either wool lie Jesus Mambo come for lie never come and took lie for mumba windsha Jesus not private!'

Coherent sentences in between spells of speaking in tongues form the actual diagnosis of the illness. When the bits and pieces of information had been reconstructed by the 'interpreter', the following explication emerged:
'In the womb of this woman I “see” a three-month-old baby. The woman has high blood pressure \( \text{ropa ravo rinopisa: “her blood boils”} \) because the liquid from the spleen \( \text{nduru} \) is mixed with blood. Because of this trouble the child is affected and has started jumping up and down in her womb. God tells me that this is caused by an enemy who is a close relative. Some time ago you quarrelled with the person in question. God tells me there might soon be death at your home if you do not take care of yourselves.'

Addressing the husband of Mai Monica, Prophet Simeon said: 'This illness is caused by one of the three wives of your brother. You, Mai Monica, have thought that it was someone else who has bewitched you.'

Mai Monica: 'Yes, it is true.'

Prophet Simeon: 'I have also “seen” that part of your womb is very dark in colour due to bad blood. You sleep only on one side because of this. You must take blessed water, milk and lumps of salt together, to purify your blood. Drink this mixture three times a day and after quite a while you will find yourself recovering. That is what was revealed to me about you. Your son is also suffering from heart pain and he is becoming weaker and weaker. But God reveals to me that he will recover. You must give him water and milk three times a day. The cord \( \text{ndaza} \) which you will place in the mixture each time before using it must be prayed for first. You should not keep the \text{ndaza} inside your house. That is what God has told me.'

Chibi district; May 1965: After one of the \textit{Paseka} services near to Bishop Andreas Shoko's Church headquarters, \textit{ZAFM} prophetess, Asalina Shuvai, briefly diagnosed the cause of illness in quite a number of Zionist and non-Zionist 'clients' (plate 9). We mention a few of her prophecies:

Speaking in tongues: 'No mission Jerusalem right fine! Jen maja-fai Jehovah win makafai with ever God. How are you Mambo Jehovah? [as if speaking to someone on a telephone]. Wind mark you win election jin white jin forrorition Master mistake sure Statement Mambo! Witness Ishe! Witness Mambo you let whichever mistake with jin makafai right, right Mambo witness sure!'

Addressing a young woman, Mai A, who complained of general weakness, the prophetess said: 'God reveals to me that you will die, young as you are, if you do not pray strongly. You should bring your husband so that we can tell him all that must be known about your suffering. We cannot tell you when you are alone.'

35. The preparation of sacred water, or prescribed fluid mixtures, with a \textit{ndaza} usually takes place on a hill near the patient's homestead.
To Mai B: ‘I “see” that you suffer from stomach-aches most of the time. Sometimes you have terrible headaches which make you fall down with a dizzy head. The husband of your elder sister wants to marry you.’

Mai B: ‘Yes, it is so!’

Prophetess: ‘God says you must tell me the truth about this case because I am only a woman myself and I do not want to lie. You, Mai B, must take care because the Spirit reveals to me that you have already cohabited with the husband of your elder sister and that you have become pregnant as a result. That is what God has shown me.’

To Mai C: ‘I “hear” your child crying at night with a voice filled with fear. Some time ago you dreamt that you were mourning the death of a close relative.’

Mai C: ‘Amen! Ndizvozvo! So it is!’

Prophetess: ‘Your uncle who died a few days ago was killed by another man with poison. I also see other problems. You are quarrelling with relatives about the school fees of your son. I also see discontent arising from outstanding roora payments. That is what I am told by the God of Andreas, David [Masuka], Moyo [Mutendi] and the prophets. He is the wonderful Mudzimu, the shining star, the steel of other steel and the man of other men.’

To Mai D: ‘I “see” that you have three “husbands” That is why you are suffering from pain in the stomach. Sometimes you miss your menstrual period; is it not so?’

Mai D: ‘Indeed.’

Prophetess: ‘You must stop misbehaving and settle down. Your womb will not receive a child unless you correct your way of life. I see that you have visited many nganga of whom none could help you. If you come for regular, “strong” prayers you will be rewarded first of all with a baby girl and then a boy. That is what I see.’

Gutu Native Purchase Area; 12th December 1965: Prophet Rameck addresses Mai X with her sick child during an afternoon service at Bishop Kudzerema’s homestead:

‘You, Mai X, should not be afraid of the enemy that tries to snatch away your child while you carry her on your back.36 When you reach home, look in the seam [mupendero] of the cloth which you use to wrap the child in.37 Take this cloth and soak it in the milk of a cow which has calved only once.

36. Rameck was hinting at the possibility of Mai X being bewitched by a jealous co-wife.
37. This is meant to imply that Mai X might find the malignant medicine in the seam where it had been placed to hurt the child.
Then give it to your child to wear, and it will protect her against future onslaughts. Your stomach is giving trouble because of the substance a witch has added to your food. You must take water from a clear pool and drink it after you have fasted. In this way your womb will be prepared for future child-birth.

'Be thankful, for the Bible says that the Church without prophets is dead. Listen very carefully when the Word is read from the Bible, for Moses told the Israelites to listen carefully to the Lord’s Commandments. Amen.'

An analysis of the incoherent 'speaking in tongues', which always accompanies prophecies, reveals discernable patterns in the different groups. The zcc prophets, for instance, use the word 'Moriah' much more frequently than the Ndaza prophets. This word is closely associated with their headquarters which to them represent the most important healing centre in the country. It is understandable that the term which indicates the sacral place where God is believed to manifest miraculous healing powers, should be mentioned frequently during diagnostic probes, which invariably end with suggestions of treatment at this very centre. The Ndaza prophets, on the other hand, are fond of referring to God as King (Mambo) or Jehovah. Prophetess Asalina Shuvai in particular makes use of oft-recurring addresses to Mambo, Jehovah, as if she is in direct conversation with him. Through comprehensible phrases she tries to convince her audience of the nearness of God Himself. It is from God that a true 'statement', a true 'witness' is expected. What is not always evident in the manifest contents of all speaking in tongues comes out clearly in prophetess Shuvai's prattle: God's presence and His authority are established at the outset.

Speaking in tongues very often betrays the hidden desire of the poorly schooled prophets to master the English language. On this occasion they exploit the few words at their disposal. Prophet Simeon seemed to have a sufficient grip of the language to make it clear, in between incoherent jabbering, that Jesus is not a God of secrecy and privacy but of open revelation. He is the One who 'went for' (i.e. revealed) the 'lie' of Judas even before this disciple had carried out his plans. It is also possible that Asalina’s words: 'No mission. Jerusalem right fine!' is a projection of her normally submerged antagonism against Mission Churches and her approval of 'Jerusalem' as the Zionist substitute for the European-directed Mission station.

The examples cited are only fragments of prophecies. Sometimes one prophecy suffices, but often it is repeated over a period of days and weeks. As the prophet’s knowledge of the patient’s background increases, so also his analysis becomes more thorough and detailed. As in the case of the nganga,
the patient is expected in such a situation to exercise restraint and to observe how the diagnosis gradually unfolds itself upon reception of the divination. This repetitive type of divination takes place especially at healing centres where the patient is under constant surveillance. Regular conversations with a resident patient and gossip in a small, closely knit community contribute in no mean way to the information desired by the nganga or prophet. It may even happen that a prophet or nganga alters suggestions concerning a malevolent spirit or other source of illness, if from the patient’s attitude it appears that the causation suggested is not really considered the actual source of trouble. The penetration of prophecies into the patient’s background is furthermore determined by circumstantial factors. If one compares the above-mentioned zcc prophecies with those of Ndaza prophetess Shuvai and Rameck, the latter two appear somewhat more vague on the causative factors of illness than the former. The reason for this difference lies in the fact that most of the zcc prophecies cited concerned advanced divinations of patients at Moriah or probed into the lives of persons (e.g. Esther and Mai Z) who lived in the neighbourhood of the prophets concerned, while the Ndaza examples include initial prophecies to strangers. Both Asalina Shuvai and Rameck were prophesying to people living far from their homesteads, with whom they had had little or no former contact. Consequently the therapeutic treatment suggested by them was concise and in line with the standardized Zionist faith-healing treatment, while the diagnoses of causative factors remained tentative and non-committal. A general reference to uroyi (Rameck to Mai X), the mention of several possible conflict situations (Shuvai to Mai C) or reference to the patient’s own misconduct (Shuvai to Mai B and D) as the causes of trouble are the safest revelational diagnoses where strangers whose domestic and private affairs remain somewhat obscure to the prophets are concerned.

One can safely assume that the diagnoses of the prophet, if compared with traditional divination, usually run parallel with that of the nganga. It is for this reason that the diagnostic prophecies have such an appeal for the afflicted Shona. His ailment is viewed against the background of the traditional world view, and the divinatory explication makes sense in terms of his own understanding of the root causes of illness or misfortune. The difference between the old and the new type of divination is to be found in the medium

38. Prophetess Shuvai on this occasion was operating in a ‘foreign environment’ Her homestead was situated in the northern part of Chibi district far away from Bishop Andreas Shoko’s headquarters. Rameck, who at the time lived on the north-eastern border of Chingombe, did not seem to be acquainted with the woman who sought his charismatic aid at Bishop Kudzerema’s headquarters in the Devuli Purchase Area.
through which the extra-ordinary knowledge is obtained. The nganga relies on divinatory slabs (hakata), bones or shavi spirits for his extra-perception, whereas the prophet invokes and speaks on behalf of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, the prophet tends to label all plaguing spirits as malignant (mweya yakaipa) or as 'demons' (mademoni), while the nganga makes a more careful distinction between ancestral, shavi and ngozi spirits.39

The important point, however, is that in principle they both concentrate on the personal causation of illness. This personal causation is frequently seen in terms of one of the following social conflict situations:

1. a living enemy (muveengi) wrongfully, with or without the help of a spirit, causes illness or death (e.g. Mai Chipiwa, Mai Monica and Mai X);
2. the spirit of a deceased person acts independently of the wishes of a living representative (e.g. wife of Chirikure and Mai Z), or
3. a spirit with a legitimate claim to restitution, according to tribal laws, functions in conjunction with living representatives (e.g. the wife of Finias, Esther and possibly Mai C).

In the first type of conflict situation, which invariably concerns domestic disputes, one can expect malevolent witchcraft. This is the manner in which women or co-wives oppose each other when vying for a mutual love. The prophet is aware of the heavy penalty — a maximum of seven years’ imprisonment under the Witchcraft Suppression Act — which may follow a direct imputation of sorcery or witchcraft. He therefore avoids the term uroyi (wizardry) — e.g. Johane Manami’s prophecy to Mai Chipiwa — or uses the term without indicating the culprit — e.g. Rameck to Mai X. Yet, because the prophet suspects malevolent nocturnal activities to be the source of trouble, he wants to strengthen the patient for the future struggle with God’s power. In both Mai Chipiwa’s and Mai X’s case the therapy will concentrate on allowing the power of God, as represented in the proposed ‘medicinal’ objects, to come to the fore in a protective capacity.

If, as in conflict situation 2, there is a direct bearing on the spirit of a deceased person, the emphasis is on the spirit-expellent power of God. In the case of Chirikure and his wife, the strained relation between them can only be expected to take an amicable turn after the spirit has been rendered harmless and the much-wanted son has been born. Mai Z’s recovery from periodic spells of mental derangement depended primarily on the successful exorcism of the afflicting mbuya spirit. In neither of these cases were there clear indications in the prophecies that the inhabiting spirits wished to use their

39. For a description of the persistence of the beliefs in these various categories of spirits, see Daneel, 1971, Chapter 2; in particular the references to table 21-25.
beleaguered hosts as witch mediums. Nevertheless, both possessing spirits were of the matrilineage and both of them were causing the type of disturbance — prevention of the desired childbirth, and mental disorder — used by a deceased witch in retaliation if a living descendant fails to respond to the ‘call’ to continue the deceased’s malevolent practices. Thus the promised expulsion of matrilineal spirits in all probability concerned prophetic efforts to safeguard Chirikure’s wife and Mai’Z against further temptations to resolve their problems through practising witchcraft, and to relieve them from the deep-rooted fear of future retaliation by the angered spirits.

The third type of case is much more complex because it involves the legitimate claims of both the deceased and his/her living representatives. Zionist prophets realize that, in such a case, they have to be careful with prescriptions of therapeutic treatment. Indigenous law enables Esther’s parents, or the in-laws of Finias, to exert pressure on the sick in order to obtain the animals still outstanding in the bride-price. From the claimant’s point of view, illness of a member of the family is a sign of displeasure on the part of the spirit which claims compensation. This becomes the most potent weapon to wield against one’s antagonists. The party which has a right to draw on the mystical power of the spirits has the strongest case. If the struggle involves a believer who is sick and a non-Christian claimant, then the situation becomes doubly complicated because usually the dispute involves an animal which must be sacrificed or at least dedicated to the spirits. Zionist doctrine absolutely forbids any form of ancestral worship (pira midzimu), let alone propagating it. At the same time, however, the conflict must be settled before the desired atmosphere of peace within the family, so conducive to a cure, is possible. The prophet fully recognizes this pre-condition. In the cases of Finias’s wife and Esther the prophet comes to a compromise solution. On the one hand, he advocates Zionist treatment, viz. expulsion of the spirit; on the other, settlement of the dispute within the confines of the family, which by way of implication points at ancestral worship. After the Zionist treatment, Finias must take his wife to her parents, where ‘they who kneel down before the evil spirits’ must also perform ‘something meaningful’ on the prophet’s suggestion to appease the spirit. Esther’s husband must provide the means whereby her parents can satisfy the spirit. In practical circumstances, the Zionist approach to ancestral worship therefore shows a greater flexibility than the apparent radical rejection on idealistic grounds would seem to suggest.

In the case of Mai’Z — whom we have classified under conflict situation 2 — the ambivalent approach of the Zionist prophet is even more evident. Instead of veiling his advice concerning traditional propitiation of the afflict-
Faith-healing, a major attraction

ing spirits in indirect terms as with Finias's wife or hinting at the fulfilment of the traditional requirements of the spirits by non-affiliated relatives (Esther), the prophet in this case quite openly advises a 'pagan' ceremony in which the patient will be a participant. Mai Z's protest against such measures, which according to her were something of the past, was brushed aside by the prophet's argument that there was an elderly relative who could instruct Mai Z about the correct procedure. The reason why this prophet was quite straightforward in advising a solution seemingly contradicting his own doctrine should be sought in the fact that Mai Z was still a complete outsider at the time of the prophecy. Whereas Finia's wife was a Zionist already and Esther clearly showed an inclination to become a member, Mai Z revealed no such intentions (she had been to the Zionist prophets before but still preferred to call herself a DRC member), and the prophet consequently seemed less concerned about obscuring an advice which militated directly against his Church's doctrine. His distinction of the sequence in which the phases of treatment had to take place indicates the importance generally attached by prophets to the traditional appeasement of the plaguing spirits, and the settlement of family disputes involved in such situations, as a precondition for successful exorcistic treatment at Moriah or any of the other healing centres.

In diagnosing such cases as would fall under category 3, there are a number of traditional, almost standardized patterns of conflict serving as precepts for the nganga or the prophet. Almost without exception the prophets ascribe barrenness, miscarriages or complicated births to the interference of the maternal grandmother (mbuya) or paternal aunt (vatete) spirits. These spirits are visualized in the form of apparitions which literally 'grab hold of the uterus' to prevent birth or complicate it. As the recognized 'owner' (vamwene) of her brother's wife, the vatete has the right to perpetuate her name through the children of her brother's daughter, if she dies without offspring. If, after her death, the brother neglects the transfer of her name onto one of his daughters, the vatete spirit smites them with infertility. But the vatete also has a right to ngombe yovutete (cow or ox of the aunt), which she usually collects from her deceased brother's senior son during or after the kugadzira ceremony conducted on behalf of her brother's spirit. If she is already deceased at the time when her brother is inducted in the ancestral realm, or if the animal has not yet been forthcoming at the time of her death, her children can lawfully claim it. Should the demand not be acceded to, a conflict arises between the children of the brother and the

41. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
42. Ibid., p. 48.
sister. Now the *vatete* comes in the guise of a reprimanding *mudzimu* to spread barrenness among the daughters of her brother’s eldest son. The restless spirit can only be appeased when the children of the *vatete* demand the *ngombe yovutete* for sacrificial purposes. In reality, the prophet diagnoses the causes of barrenness in terms of an evil spirit (*mweya wakaipa*) and a living enemy (*muve nti*), while the woman involved interprets it as the *vatete* spirit, who through her children as her living representatives is demanding an animal.

Besides the *ngombe yovutete* there is also the motherhood cow (*ngombe youmai*) and the goat of the grandchildren (*mbudzi yeimbwazukuru*) which a son-in-law ‘pays’ to his mother-in-law in recognition of her mother’s and grandmother’s procreative powers. Neglect of the matrilineal spirits through undue delay of payment of the required animals provokes them into taking punitive action, with permanent or temporary barrenness of some of their female descendants as a result. If, for instance, the mother-in-law dies before she has received her full dues, her spirit returns to claim the outstanding *ngombe youmai* through her living name-bearer, while she exerts pressure on her son-in-law through affliction of his wife or daughter. As we have observed in Esther’s case, that maternal *mbuya* spirit was roused to her destructive task when the father of her grandchild neglected his duty towards her.

A diagnosis which is based on these traditional patterns of conflict and takes into account that barrenness is a threat to the woman’s social position in an African community is more comprehensible and acceptable to her than the sober, primarily gynaecological explanation of the Western medical man. Very often, the latter lacks an understanding of the subtle interplay between impatient members of the family, cows and malevolent spirits, which, in the thought processes of the woman, are closely linked with her condition.

After diagnosis of the illness, the remarkable similarity between the activities of the *nganga* and the prophet cease. Both of them find the origin of the disease in the disturbed communal society. Both recognize the bedevilling effect of the powers unleashed in the inter-human relationships and the threatening support of the spirits. But they stave off these powers differently. While the *nganga* seeks a solution which accedes to the conditions of the spirits, *the prophetic therapy is based on a belief in the power of the Christian God, which surpasses all other powers.*

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43. Ibid., p. 48.

44. The objects used during treatment as symbolic representations of the power of the Christian God will be discussed in the following subsection.
in the case of *midzimu* with legitimate claims, and the expulsion of evil wizardry powers or *ngozi* spirits through rites of a magical nature. In addition, he administers medicine with the aim of eradicating the patient's bodily injury. To the Zionist and Apostle the *midzimu*’s claim to worship is inadmissible on Biblical grounds. A compromise is only reached when non-Christian or non-Zionist relations must be met in the conflict situation.

The importance attached to inter-family relations during prophecies becomes manifest in the presence of spouses, children or other relatives of the patient during prophetic divinations and in the content itself of the revelations. In most of the cases cited the patient was accompanied by one or several family members. When *Mai* Monica, for instance, sought the advice of *Ndaza* Prophet Simeon, she was accompanied by her husband, several in-laws and some of her children. In both Simeon and Rameck's prophecies it was apparent that a threat to the well-being of the female patient also involved attacks on her children. Thus the prescription of healing treatment in these cases involved both mother and children. Finias's wife, again, could only expect a cure if she subjected herself to Zionist treatment, if her husband settled *roora* arrangements and if her parents met the requirements of the avenging spirit. This involvement of a whole family unit in the illness of one of its members obviously has great significance for the prophet's recruitment of new followers. If the prophet succeeds in convincing patient and relatives of a very real threat of wizardry, the chances are good that not only the patient but also a number of relatives, and especially children, who are believed to be in danger will become temporary or permanent Church members and subject themselves to protective treatment. As in the case of Prophets Shuva's refusal to reveal the source of *Mai* A's problems during the absence of her husband, prophets often require the presence of relatives before they attempt analysis in depth of the ailment involved. Apart from the recruitment value of prophesying to more than one person at a time, the prophets sometimes rely on the relatives present to obtain bits and pieces of the often elusive information necessary for a proper diagnosis. In this way the subjective element in the reactions of the patient, especially if the patient's own misconduct is regarded as a major causative factor of illness, can be countered effectively by the possibly more objective accounts of relatives about domestic circumstances. Moreover, the prophets safeguard their own positions against the oft-heard accusations that they 'break up families' [*kuputsa mhuri*] if they insist on the presence of husbands or male relatives when dealing with female patients.

In most of the prophecies cited, the prophets ‘exploitation’ of the predicament of patients in an effort to bolster their already attained affiliation, or
to persuade them to join the Church if they are outsiders, becomes manifest. This trend is more obvious in the prophecies of zcc than of Ndaza prophets. Patients arriving at Moriah, whether affiliated to the Church (Finias's wife) or not (Mai Chipiwa), are required to stay at this healing centre for a set period so that the 'man of God' can attend to them. This enhances the chances of outsiders becoming stable members as the identification with the new community deepens in the course of time, reducing the baptism of 'opportunists', who merely seek temporary assistance, to a minimum. People who have already associated themselves to some extent with zcc members in the outlying circuits are not normally required to travel to Zion City, but the more independent individuals and cases of serious ailment are invariably referred directly to the Zionist Bishop's headquarters. Prophet Jacobo, in his prophetic diagnoses of Mai Z's malady, brought additional pressure to bear on this woman by predicting progressive deterioration of her condition to a point beyond help if she did not subject herself to the prescribed treatment. It was hinted that proper expulsion of such a dangerous spirit could only take place at the hands of the 'man of God' himself. In the event of Mai Z proceeding to Zion City her entry into the Zionist fold as a condition to full treatment was almost a foregone conclusion.

Although the Ndaza diagnostic prophecies seem to be less overtly directed at the recruitment of members, they are basically as persuasive. The Ndaza prophets exploit the same fears arising from the still persistent traditional beliefs in the powers of spiritual forces, as do their zcc counterparts. Prophet Simeon's prediction that someone at Mai Monica's homestead would die soon if appropriate measures were not taken was tantamount to confronting the patient as well as her relatives with the choice of either subjecting themselves to the Zionist treatment which he was about to prescribe or face the (fatal) consequences. In this particular instance the patient was not required to come and stay at the prophet's homestead, but the suggestion of witchcraft and the type of curative treatment prescribed were intended to make her feel dependent on the prophet's aid. Prophetess Shuvai in turn sensed the deeply felt need of Mai D to bear children and thereby secure her social position. She therefore hinted at the successful birth of both a boy and a girl as the 'rich reward' for Mai D's regular subjection to the 'strong prayers of the Zionists and, by implication, for adherence to the Zionist movement. Prophet Rameck tried to alleviate the fears of Mai X by offering her protection against the future onslaughts of her enemies. At the same time he suggested that she regularly listen to the Word of God. It was clear that he meant the Word of God as preached in the context of the 'true' prophetic movement to which he belonged.
The diagnostic prophecies of the vaPostori correspond with those of the Zionists insofar as most prophets ascribe illness or general misfortune to the interference of the traditionally accepted personal powers and advocate standardized counter-measures such as persevering prayer, laying-on of hands, treatment with holy water, a staff or some accepted form of exorcism. Since Prophet-healer Mabondo and his wife Febi tend to create an atmosphere of privacy by lowering their voices when diagnosing the problems of clients and patients through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, it was difficult to assess to what extent they were preoccupied with the types of customary patterns of conflict mentioned above. Yet the daily prophecies made by Baptist-healer Jaka in Chingombe during prayer-healing ceremonies indicate trends of diagnosis corresponding closely to those of the Zionists. In this connection Jaka conceded during an interview that ‘cases of barrenness [treated at his centre] are often revealed to be caused by an angry mbuya or vatete spirit who prevents childbirth.’ In addition he explained that the mbuya spirit is usually provoked to destructive measures by the negligence of her grandchildren who fail to forward the mbudzi yeimbwazukuru, and the vatete spirit is angered if she has died barren and wants her name to ‘come out’ ‘When people with such problems come to me’, Jaka continued, ‘I tell the heathen father that we only pray for his daughter and that we will not interfere with his pira [ancestral worship] arrangements. But if the patient [murweri] has already been told by a nganga to give a black blanket to the troublesome spirit, we do not encourage her to do so I simply chase the vatete or mbuya away [i.e. exorcise the avenging spirit].’

Jaka’s remarks, apart from highlighting Apostolic parallels to Zionist diagnoses, seem to point at a difference of approach to the patient’s traditionalist relatives. It was my impression that Apostolic prophets and healers generally are less inclined than the Zionists to seek compromise solutions in cases involving non-Christians. Without necessarily antagonizing traditionalist relatives, they usually adopt a more rigid attitude and seldom urge the patient – not in public at any rate – to meet the requirements of relatives who want to appease the afflicting powers through the traditional channels. The staunch prophetic healers in the AACJM movement even make a point of refuting any possible resemblance between their revelations and the traditionally accepted sources of misfortune. Healer Torera, for instance, declared:

‘When a person becomes an Apostle all the demons [traditional spirits and

45. Several examples of Apostolic prophecies concerning wizardry are given in the following chapter. See, for instance, the prophecy of Prophet Elison Mutingwende of the Shinga Postora movement (p. 267.), and of the AACJM prophet, Amos (p. 269.).
46. Infra, p. 264f.
other Biblically conceived evil powers] come into play. But Mwari does not reveal to me when I am prophesying that this or that woman is prevented from having children by a mbuya spirit who want the imbwalzukuru. This is so because the things of the imbwalzukuru belong to the ancestors and Mwari refuses to co-operate [jambidzana] with them. At times one or other demon will possess a person, but Mwari only tells the prophet that the afflicted one should pray perseveringly and should be prayed for [by the prophet or healer] with power [nesimba].’

Torera’s point of view, consistent as it is with Apostolic doctrine in the rejection of ancestral practices, represents the exception rather than the rule; in practice the majority of Apostolic prophets adopt divinatory and healing measures similar to those described by Jaka.

Other differences between Apostolic and Zionist healing prophecies concern form rather than content. Thus the stereotyped patterns of speaking in tongues differ. The Apostolic prophets make use of a different set of noises and make more frequent use of the terms ‘Hallelujah!’ and ‘Hosanna!’, and they refer to the Holy Spirit as the source of their inspiration more frequently during prophecies than their Zionist counterparts. As both groups ultimately emphasize their dependence on the Holy Spirit as the real revelatory agent operating through the prophets, these are but superficial differences. The Apostolic prophets are furthermore less inclined to make use of interpreters, especially during the introductory diagnostic prophecies at services, and some of them prefer to face east to demonstrate their receptivity to the Spirit while at work.

b) Symbolic objects and healing

Although they officially reject medicines, the Mutendi Zionists adapt prophetic treatment to the traditional healing pattern. The burning of paper, the smoke of which must be inhaled, the manipulation of the sanctified staff, the purification with water and the wearing of linen cloths, which the prophets almost always prescribe, show direct parallels with the medicinal practices of the nganga. The use of these ‘instruments’ forms the substance of the charge by Mission Church members that Mutendi is nothing but a ‘great nganga’ Nganga also use smoke repellants, water for cleansing rituals, staves charged with magic and amulets worn next to the body for protection. No doubt these similarities induce some Church members to equate Mutendi with the nganga. To them faith-healing is but a camouflage for magical practices which go hand in hand with and obscure the actual Christian message. In the world
visualized by ZCC officials, however, the similarity is one of form and not of content. For them, the objects used during exorcism is primarily the visual symbolic concretization of the Divine Power, which in itself has no medica­
tive effect. The interpretation of these symbols ties up closely with traditional thought processes. The Zionist approach draws its strength precisely from the fact that these symbols meet traditionally conceived needs and are com­prehensible for the Shona. The prophet does not only prescribe symbolic exorcistic treatment but also suggests that there must be confidence in the man of God who will provide succour. Furthermore, he emphasizes the need for earnest and forceful prayer. During interviews Mutendi himself stressed the importance of the individual’s faith. To an outsider it might appear as if there is no personal participation of the patient. Yet this is certainly not so.

In Volume I we have already pointed out that the Shona in their religious life sometimes identify symbolic objects with that which they are supposed to represent. Thus the beer pot, symbolizing the presence of the deceased ancestor during ritual activities, is at times addressed as if it were the ancestor in person. The pot becomes the ancestor! This is also true of Zionist healing practices. The healing hand of the ‘man of God’, the sanctified staff and other objects prescribed by the prophets are not only representative symbols, as might be inferred from discussions; at a given point they become the very power of God. Thus it happens that, during the baptismal ceremony, the power of the Holy Spirit in the water is conceived of as so real that afflicted men and women scoop up water from the ‘Jordan’ for drinking in the hope of transferring some of the holy power to themselves. In such a situation the belief in a personal God, its symbolic representation, and the manipulation of objects loaded with magic become inextricably bound up with each other. There is a great possibility that for some of Mutendi’s followers the accent of the healing practices may unwittingly shift further away from the scriptural norms. Through these symbols their leader attains a certain claim to the Divine Power which enables him to manipulate it according to his judgment in the interest of his followers. It is for this very reason that Evangelist Mordechai, during his sermon, could portray the power of Mutendi as a quantity stored up for the benefit of the Zionists, like grain in a co-operative granary. The mediating function of the leader and his right of determining the symbolic medicines give him a central, almost mystic, position of power. Thus he can unwittingly prevent the intensification of the patient’s relation­ship with the historical Christ, in whose name he is performing healing miracles.

47. Holleman, 1953, p.
48. Supra, p. 206f.
If we take the image of Evangelist Mordechai a bit further, we could view Moriah as a co-operative where God himself is the ‘supplier of the curative power’, Mutendi is in charge of the ‘provisions’ and the prophets try to sell the ‘consumable commodities’ As has already been noticed in the prophecies cited, a period of residence in Moriah and the use of symbolic medicines are obligatory if there is to be any effective treatment. All these medicines pass through the hands of Mutendi, as the ‘director of supplies’, for his blessing. Once more his central position is accentuated. The most frequently used objects are: Mutendi’s *staff* as the most potent expeller of spirits; *sanctified water* which must be drunk, or which, used to spray people, doorposts and living rooms, drives out spirits or protects against wizardry; *sanctified needles* (plate 8), worn by healers on the lapels and used at the appropriate time as ‘injection’ instruments, e.g. by the constant pricking of any part of the body or nasal cavity for the removal of ‘evil blood or water’; *sanctified newspaper* (plate 3), torn to shreds and burnt under specific circumstances, e.g. for inhaling of smoke in cases of pectoral complaints or to drive out *shavi* spirits threatening to possess a child; *sanctified strips of linen cloth*, worn by women around their abdomen to stimulate fertility. The prophetically prescribed number of knots in it is supposed to determine the sex of the unborn child. Worn by children immediately after birth, or by grown-ups around their necks, arms and legs, these strips serve to protect the body against visiting spirits; *sanctified soap* is used for cleansing the body.

Only the Church officials possess injection needles and green papers with the Zionist seal on it with which they can bless water during Mutendi’s absence. Participants in the annual Easter festivities at Moriah regularly take along a supply of newspaper, soap and bottles. Shortly before they leave for home, a long drawn-out process of consecration takes place. At the *dare* or in front of the Church office, Mutendi, in an attitude of prayer, allows the various articles to pass through his hands amidst the reverential silence of the audience.

In the *Ndaza* Zionist and Apostolic groups holy water plays an equally important role as in Mutendi’s Church. The methods of blessing the water by ‘transferring’ divine and cleansing powers to it differ in the various groups. Apostolic healers like Febi and Jaka prefer to leave containers with water out in the open on a hill throughout a whole night, before use. ‘When women come to me with a request for *chiberekoko’*, Jaka said, ‘I put water on that little mountain over there for the night and tell them to drink it next morning. It must stay on the mountain so that it can receive power from God. There it is near to God because He [Jesus] used to go up the mountain to pray.’

Additional measures of praying over the water, and in Febi’s case of
stirring the water with her healing staff, are taken to ensure that it contains the divine qualities required. Ndaza prophets, in addition to ‘making the water sleep outside’, prescribe the use of a blessed ndaza, which must be soaked in the water to ‘strengthen’ it, or they advise the use of a mixture of cow’s milk and water (e.g. Prophet Rameck to Mai X). Presumably the cow’s milk symbolizes purity and the fertility which an African woman is afraid of losing through the attacks of a vengeful witch. As in the zcc, the Ndaza prophets also prescribe the use of salt in water (e.g. Prophet Simeon to Mai Monica), especially if they consider it necessary for patients to vomit out the malignant potions with which they have been bewitched (kudyiswa). Such measures are not regarded as contradictory to the prohibition of the use of medicines.

Although there is a tendency to ascribe a certain inherent efficacy to the symbolic objects used, as if they were loaded with magical qualities, some Apostolic healers continually emphasize the subjective faith of the patient who receives treatment and the important role to be played by him personally. During one of the regular healing ceremonies at Mabondo’s centre, this healer reminded the group of patients that ‘most of you here are great sinners who neither believe nor confess all your sins. As a result all our [Mabondo’s and Febi’s] praying and our sprinkling with holy water will be rendered useless. You are like a lot of heathens. We can only help you if you bring all your medicines and things of the world [zvinhu zvenyika] to be publicly burnt. Yet you refrain from doing so because you are afraid of not finding such things again if you want to return to your worldly ways.’

The use of symbolic objects, and the great value attached to them, are clearly portrayed in Apostolic healer Febi’s description of her treatment of barren and pregnant women: ‘While the nganga in the neighbourhood ‘clothe’ the barren women with medicine and the European doctors clean their wombs to prepare them for conception, I only need my red [linen] rope and the water that has been prayed for. I give this water to barren women to drink, after which it keeps their wombs in the correct positions to receive the male sperm. I use the red rope to cast out the interfering, evil spirits. Having tied up the woman I wash her again and again with holy water in order to “wash away” all the demons that try to keep her captive. Then I ask God to grant the woman a child. If she confesses all her sins and really believes, she will have a child.’

‘In cases of pregnancy we find the nganga applying a certain medicine to the vagina to expand the muscles and ensure successful childbirth. The European doctors “open up” a woman if they consider it necessary. But I simply use my bare hands when a pregnant woman requires my aid. I
try to enlarge the vaginal cavity [suvo] by inserting my hand, which I have washed with holy water. Once the suvo is large enough, I tell the woman to keep herself free from sin and to keep on confessing any chigumburo⁴⁹ or other hidden sins. After these preparations there will be no trouble with the child’s delivery. If the infant “lies across” [kuchingama], I will lay my hands on the woman in the name of Johane’s God, I will touch her with my staff [tsvimbo], sprinkle her with blessed water and give her some to drink. Then I insert my hand while praying, to turn the child to the correct position, and eventually “lead” the child out. That is what I do in this “place of glory” [nzvimbo yembiri].’

Sacred staves play an important role in all the Spirit-type Churches (plate 10). Like Mutendi, every Ndaza archbishop has a staff which is regarded by his followers as having or representing a special potency, superior to the curative powers in the staves of his subordinates. This does not mean that the principal leader is necessarily more preoccupied with healing activities than his subordinate prophetic healers. On the contrary, he may relegate this task to others as his administrative responsibilities accumulate. But as the main figure-head of his movement, the Zionist bishop is regarded as ‘closest to God’ and for this reason endowed with special powers. This idea bears close relation to the traditional concept of mediation, where the topmost tribal spirits are regarded as nearer to God than the ordinary midzimu and, as a result, are ‘influential’ and ‘powerful’. Although it is the family midzimu who are directly responsible for intervening action in the lives of their descendants, they take this position only by virtue of the authoritative powers of those above them. Likewise the subordinate prophetic healers may develop healing practices which are more directly concerned with the lives of Church members living in their neighbourhood, but they do so only by virtue of the healing charism represented by their main leader. In this respect the tsvimbo is of special significance. Even if a prophetic healer claims to receive his healing powers directly from God, the tsvimbo he uses only becomes really ‘powerful’ after the main leader has consecrated it through the laying-on of hands or by touching it with the main staff.

Important Ndaza Zionist healers nearly all claim to have had their staves blessed by their principal leaders. Mutendi, on the other hand, prefers his staff to be the only real healing staff in his Church and for this reason his

⁴⁹. Chigumburo means a stumbling block. In this context it refers specifically to adultery as a ‘stumbling block’ which may possibly obstruct a smooth delivery of the child. Here we find a reflection of the traditional pattern of making a labouring women confess her secret sins, especially adultery, to stave off the retributory disaster which would otherwise befall her and/or the infant in her womb.
Faith-healing, a major attraction

subordinates seldom use staves. But the hierarchic principle remains the same for the use of any ‘powerladen’ objects by zcc prophets. The Apostolic healers or prophet-healers) normally have their staves blessed by the seniors (ra-
baumah leaders) of their local circuits. Yet the widely reputed healers nearly all have a staff in their possession which is specially treasured because it was personally blessed by Johane. Thus the staff with which Febi exorcises spirits and blesses water, the one used by Jaka to draw malignant particles from the bodies of bewitched people and the one regularly carried by Torera, were all blessed by Johane.

In the final analysis the blessing of staves by the principal Spirit-type leader has a double function. In the first place, it signifies the subjection of the subordinate healer to the authority of his leader because the staff has retained its traditional value as a symbol of status in the context of the Independent Churches. Secondly, it implies the ‘transfer’ of great power (simba guru) to the subordinate healer’s staff, and simultaneously constitutes the principal leader’s official acknowledgment of the divine calling of one of his juniors.

It is only in recent years that Topia officials, influenced by the success of the Spirit-type Churches in the field of recruitment and motivated by the urge to relate their religion more directly to a wider range of human needs than before, adopted some faith-healing techniques which clearly resemble the Zionist heritage. Like Mutendi, Bishop Gavure decided to have one healing staff, which only he himself as the main leader could use. In this connection he stated: ‘A man designed a staff for me in 1963. I needed a special staff because a bishop of any Church needs one [as a status symbol]. But I also started using it to heal women. When they come with complaints of chest trouble I apply the tsvimbo. I do so because our Church does not allow a man to touch the wife of another man with his hands. When I first got the tsvimbo I took it to the dare and placed it in front of the councillors. Then I blessed it with my hands. None of the other officials use staves, except me. In the past few years I have found this staff to be of a great help. Those whom I treat with it have their health restored. We say the tsvimbo has power because there used to be staves [tsvimbo] long ago. It also has simba because it becomes the symbol [chiratidzo] of the power of the One in heaven whenever a person is healed after treatment. It actually has the power of the One in heaven [ine simba roWedenga] If I die, this staff will be given to

50. Infra, p. 265.
51. Gavure referred to the customary staff of a family head which passes down from generation to generation, and which is considered to represent or contain increased magical powers the longer it is in use and the more important the senior family ancestors, who formerly owned it, have become in their hierarchic order.
my first-born son. Should the council [dare] be satisfied with him, they will install him as leader and he will continue using the tsvimbo. Otherwise they will give him a high position [chigaro chakakwirira: an ‘elevated’ stool] as a sign of recognition for the work his father did.’

Here, again, we see the double function of the Church staff as insignia of status and as the potent ‘symbol’ of God’s curative power. As the Zionists attach great value to the healing, fertility-bestowing or exorcistic touch of the principal leader’s staff, the Topia members on special occasions give preference to treatment with the staff of their bishop. It is possible that Bishop Gavure in the course of time will continue making concessions in the effort to meet the demands of his followers and of potential Church members and that he will gain renown as a healer. There are already signs of such a development. In recent years, for instance, the use of holy water during Paseka-ceremonies was accepted in the FEC. Although not generally used for such a wide range of purposes as in the case of the Spirit-type healers, blessed water, sprinkled over members of the Topia congregation before their celebration of the Lord’s supper, is also conceived of as having cleansing and beneficial implications for the recipients. It should be remembered, however, that the use of such symbolic objects by the vaTopia differs basically from the Spirit-type healing practices because it constitutes religious action complementary to the accepted practices of traditional diviner and Western medic, whereas the treatment provided by Apostles and Zionists – doctrinally at least – centres only in faith.

Indicative of the ‘comprehensive approach’ of the Topia bishop is the fact that he allows symbolic healing activities by his subordinate officials. For although he has thus far monopolized the use of a tsvimbo, the senior officials in each outlying circuit are allowed to ‘treat’ patients after Church services with the green sashes they wear. Due to the prohibition of laying hands on any other part of the body than a person’s head, the long green sash of a warden (muongamiri) or minister (mutundisi) is wrapped around the abdomen or chest of an afflicted person and is held in such a way as to prevent close physical contact. After services, Topia officials can be seen in stooped or kneeling positions with the ends of their sashes in one hand and the other held on the heads of seated patients, as they pray for them. Women with young children, or in need of chibereko, most frequently make use of these healing services of their superiors. Normally consultations of varying duration precede the healing prayers. In this way pastoral work is done and office-bearers keep track of the intimate, domestic problems of affiliated members. Persons with problems are thus made to feel that other members of the in-group are sharing their troubles and assisting them in overcoming
these. Spiritual sustenance and ‘protection’ during the crises of life, expressed in symbolic action, are of great psychological value. They contribute mutuality and close identification in the in-group, which in turn appeals to the lonely outsider who is in search of friends who care. In the healing prayers of the vaTopia, and their loyal visitations to the disabled, lies one of the reasons for this Church’s reputation as ‘the group with good [inter-] relations’ (ukama hwakanaka).

The use of green sashes as the symbol of God’s healing power is the Topian equivalent of the holy cords of the Ndaza Zionists (plate 19). Having been blessed [kuropafadzwa] by Bishop Gavure during Council meetings, these sashes – with a few small white crosses ambroidered on them – are equally efficacious in bringing about a wide assortment of desired ends: from procuring a state of well-being, generally, to exorcising evil spirits.

c) Exorcism of ‘demons’

The most frequently and generalized terms used by the Zionists and Apostles for the exorcism of spirits is ‘to chase away the demons’ (kudzinga mademoni). Any plaguing spirit, whether it is a shavi which seeks a host to whom it can convey curative powers, a hunting shavi, a shavi or mudzimu concerned with witchcraft52 or the vengeful ngozi, is regarded as a ‘demon’, or simply as a ‘bad spirit’ which one could get rid of and keep at a distance through safeguarding measures. The first impression one gets when observing exorcistic action is that clear distinctions between the various types of spirits are not made by the prophets. Yet, as soon as patient and diagnosing prophet are questioned in detail, it appears that the harassing spirit has been identified as belonging to one of the traditional categories. Case studies furthermore indicate that most patients, through their knowledge of family conflicts or through the nature of affliction suffered by them, decide for themselves what kind of spirit is involved, even before they seek the aid of a nganga or prophet. The divinatory spell nevertheless retains its importance, even if the prophet only substantiates what the patient has already anticipated, or else because additional and unobserved factors are revealed, which may widen the scope of precautionary measures to be taken.

In the following description of exorcism we will first of all deal with shavi and then with ngozi spirits:

Shavi spirits, less dangerous than the avenging ngozi, are more common, and they are usually expelled by the Mutendzi Zionists during baptismal ceremonies in ‘Jordan’. Since novices are mostly subjected to prophecies by zcc officials before they are baptized (plate 12), the officiating minister or evangelist knows whether he can expect a shavi spirit to ‘come out’ when he immerses the new member in ‘Jordan’. It is believed that the force of the Holy Spirit in the water makes it impossible for the shavi to remain in the person undergoing baptism. During immersion the person gesticulates wildly when the spirit leaves him. Sometimes more than one baptist is necessary to immerse the possessed person the required three times (plate 11). The manner in which the spirit leaves the baptized person is a pointer to the type of spirit he harbours. A Dzviti (i.e. Ndebele) shavi evokes a fit of rage and results in an attack of the novitiate on the baptist. The Njuzu water-spirit tries to drag the baptized person beneath the water surface, thus causing him to drown. To the Western-orientated observer such a struggle in the ‘Jordan’ gives the impression of a person fighting for his life during the violent immersion because he fears water.

Some shavi spirits return repeatedly after the first exorcism. These are usually spirits who have transferred medical knowledge among the forebears to the nganga. Now they are searching for a suitable person among the nganga’s descendants to carry on the divination practices. In order to protect the patient against a returning spirit, the prophet recommends the wearing of a sanctified strip of linen around the neck. Should possession of the spirit still take place, thus causing abnormal physical contortions, the possessed person is ‘lashed’ with holy water (kurova nemvura: literally, to ‘hit with water’). Although protective measures at an afflicted person’s homestead are usually restricted to cases of ngozi possession, a persistent shavi may also be kept out by pegging off the courtyard and living quarters with sanctified pegs and sprinkling door-posts with holy water. These measures are taken by one of the local officials, living near to the patient, or by someone specially commissioned from Moriah. In addition the patient is supplied with strips of holy (news)paper which he or she can use as a smoke-repellant whenever a new approach of the spirit is anticipated.

The Ndaza Zionists employ a special technique to entice the shavi spirits and expel them. During the services on Sunday afternoons, the spirits in a plagued person are lured into putting in an appearance by means of song and dance. A gradual increase in the tempo of the drumbeat and a whipping-up of the rhythm lead to a frenzied state of ecstasy which results in spirit pos-
Faith-healing, a major attraction 241

session. When the possessed person falls to the ground in a convulsive state and begins to fight, some prophets grab hold of him and tie him up with holy cords (ndaza). Subsequently an interview is held with the spirit in order to find out its specific motivation. If it is a bewitching spirit, it expresses a desire, through the rather incomprehensible language of the possessed, to eat the flesh of a child. If it is a tormented shavi, he tells of the barren areas from which he hails and asks for water. When the request has been granted, the possessed quaffs an amazing quantity of water. Ultimately the spirit is berated in the name of God. Afterwards, the prophets surround the possessed and lay their hands on him. They utter a loud and incomprehensible gibberish, pray to God in short staccato sentences, and damn the spirit once more, while the rest of the congregation dance round them in a restful and rhythmic manner. Simulating unconsciousness, the patient remains prostrate until the cords are removed. Sometimes patients undergo this treatment for several successive Sundays until the departure of the spirit is firmly established.

The vaPostori, in addition to exorcistic treatment by prophetic healers at their centres, have developed their own stereotype technique of driving away shavi spirits during Sabbath meetings. At the regular Sabbath-day services exorcism of spirits forms the concluding part of ritual activity, whereas special late-night ceremonies may be arranged next to camp-fires on occasions of joint Sabbath meetings, when the members of several congregations meet for a weekend of combined worship. The latter type of ceremony, rather than the former, highlights the Apostolic preoccupation with the spirit world. Inspired by the presence of numerous fellow Church members, healers and other office-bearers are inclined to demonstrate the indwelling powers of the Holy Spirit with greater flair than in the restricted context of their own congregations. While groups of singers (hakirosi) and other (predominantly young and middle-aged) Apostles, who have spontaneously gathered around camp-fires, sing special songs, such persons as are troubled by indwelling shavi spirits seat themselves before the younger prophetic healers, or even baptizers and evangelists endowed with the appropriate charismatic powers. These ‘patients’ are then subjected to kudzungudza (‘to shake the head’) treatment. In accompaniment to the rhythm of the hypnotic background singing, the patient’s head is rubbed during several minutes with short side-way jerks, until the spirit eventually reveals its presence through the bodily contortions and ranting, characteristic of spirit possession. Aided by other officials, the exorciser drives away the ‘demon’ through the laying-on of hands and prayer.

Apostolic Healer Febi makes use of all the symbolic objects at her disposal to expel evil spirits – whether they are shavi or ngozi spirits – from the pa-
tients who come to her ‘maternity’ for treatment. Pregnant women believed to be threatened by malignant spirits are regularly subjected to spells of exorcism during the regularized daily healing ceremonies. Amidst singing by the rest of the congregation, Healer Febi ties up the afflicted woman with her red linen cord. This is purely a symbolic act because, apart from manifesting God’s liberating power, the cord is not intended to control the convulsive movements of the possessed person, as is the case with the Ndaza Zionists. Having loosely tied up the woman, Febi proceeds to rub her head, press the healing black staff against her abdomen, chest and head, and sprinkle holy water in her face to cause the spirit to depart. Usually the afflicting shavi or ancestral spirit in this situation ‘comes out’ without putting up a fight. Instead of wild movements followed up by a relaxed calmness, the departure of a malignant spirit at the ‘maternity’ is signified by much sighing and signs of fatigue in the pregnant woman.

With Apostolic exorcism it seems as if the holy staves are only brought into play by outstanding healers like Febi and Jaka, who, in the course of time, have improvised their own spirit-expulsory methods and who are in possession of staves which were specially blessed by Johane himself. The major act of the blind female healer’s treatment is the stabbing movements with the staff (kubaya netsvimbo), which are believed to induce the possessing spirit to leave. Jaka, who mainly uses his staff to remove bewitching medicines from patients, also utilizes this important symbol of God’s expelling powers to drive off afflicting spirits, after these have been enticed through preliminary kudzungudza procedures. On the other hand, the idea of the main leader’s staff as the ultimate and most formidable expeller of the more dangerous evil spirits has been less strongly developed in the Apostolic than in the Zion Christian Church movement. This difference may derive from the fact that the powers formerly held by Johane became somewhat decentralized after his death, while Mutendi – through his continued presence amongst his followers and through his reservation of difficult exorcisms for special treatment with his staff – has gained renown as the great ‘exorciser’ (mudzingi vemweya yakaipa, the one who chases bad spirits away).

Exorcism features less prominently in the Topia than in the Spirit-type Churches, but it is also practised by senior officials whenever a shavi spirit puts in an appearance during ritual procedure. Due to a less intensive preoccupation of vaTopia with the treatment of people suffering from onslaughts by spirits, no special ceremonies are conducted to provoke spirit possession. Special precautions are taken only during baptismal ceremonies, since the

53. *Infra*, p. 265.
blessed water used in this Church also causes inhabiting shavi spirits to protest through the violent bodily movements of their hosts. Each novice has his/her own ‘guard’ standing directly behind him/her when baptism takes place. At the first sign of spirit possession the novice is seized from behind and pinned down. The green sashes of the Church wardens (vaongamiri) and ministers (vafundisi) are wrapped around the possessed person’s head and limbs. A few prayers may be said, and the spirit is ordered to leave. Once the bodily tremors and contortions of the possessed person have subsided, he or she will be unfastened and allowed to rest in the shade of a tree nearby. Unexpected spells of possession, which sometimes occur during prolonged sessions of Topia dancing and singing, are treated in essentially the same manner. Persistent or dangerous spirits pestering the lives of Topia members are usually exorcised by the traditionalist or prophetic specialists. Exorcism as a single factor of attraction to outsiders has therefore had a much smaller recruitment value in the Topia than in the Spirit-type movements. Nevertheless, the recognition by the Topia leaders of the need for visualized symbolic acts of driving off tormenting spirits reflects a flexible, adaptive approach, unlike the policies of most of the European-orientated Mission Churches.

ii) Ngozi spirits

In exorcising a ngozi, all Zionist measures are brought into play, for this spirit knows no mercy and is a threat to the whole family. Hardly driven out of one member of the family, he is likely to invade another. The entire family of a believer must undergo this treatment. Individually, they must subject themselves to repeated cleansing rituals with hallowed water, and a water-smoke treatment of the house and the yard. In this way, according to Zionist notions, the power of God reveals itself at the place of residence and the spirit is forced to flee. When the first symptoms of the ngozi spirit appear in the form of psychic imbalance, the prophet immediately dispatches the person to Moriah, while at the same time he arranges protective countermeasures for those members of the family who stay behind. The ceremony accompanying the expulsion of a ngozi is in itself less exciting than that of a shavi, though not less impressive. By way of exception, Mutendi sometimes summons patients troubled by ngozi spirits to appear at the tabero after the morning prayer. Without any extraordinary show, the holy staff is pressed against the stomach of the patient, while the ‘man of God’ utters an inaudible prayer. The effect on the patient varies. But very often, at the first touch of the point
of the staff, the person falls to the ground and remains prostrate and motionless. In order to retain the exceptional quality of the manifestation of power, Mutendi limits this highest of all forms of exorcisms to special occasions.

Ndaza prophets also claim to have the charismatic ability to drive away ngozi spirits. They admit that they are sometimes less successful with these powerful spirits than with the exorcism of shavi spirits. Some of them consider ngozi exorcism impossible if the traditional requirements in the form of mutumbu payment and appeasing rituals have not been met by the relatives of both the vengeful spirit and the afflicted persons. Apart from settling ngozi trouble in the customary way, it is also regarded as essential that the prophet who endeavours to exorcise such a spirit should be a man of courage and of 'strong' prayer, since it is not impossible that the spirit will vent its disapproval by attacking the prophet in person, or members of his family. Only the steadfast and spiritually advanced prophet can withstand the vicious onslaughts of the angered ngozi. I have not witnessed ngozi exorcism in the Ndaza camp, but according to the prophets protective measures similar to those described above are taken at the afflicted family’s homesteads, and the act of chasing the spirit away includes the use of all the important symbolic objects, i.e. holy staff, water and ndaza. If fatal consequences are expected from ngozi attacks in spite of exorcistic treatment by prophets belonging to the in-group, Ndaza members seek the temporary aid of widely reputed exorcisers. Under such circumstances they will even turn to Mutendi.

In the struggle against the ngozi spirit the protective function of the Zionist movement is clearly demonstrated. This was most evident at Zion City, where several of the interviewed inmates testified to their own personal experience of such protection. Minister Jacobo Matevure, for instance, saw it as follows: ‘In our family there is a ngozi spirit which has killed many of our kinsmen. My father’s younger brother [babamunini] has already paid ten oxen to the children of the evil spirit in order to appease it and prevent it from taking further revenge. If I had not joined this Church I should also have had to pay mutumbu. The ngozi is constantly on the prowl in the background. At the least sign of a blunder in my Church life, or a relapse [kuheduka, to backslide] on my part, it could unleash its wrath on me. The spirit is that of an old woman whom our grandfather chased away years ago and who died alone in a bush. Only in this Church do I find protection against the ngozi.’

Elias Bope, a young man of 28 years, is subject to periodic fits of epilepsy. He first spent five months in the Mission hospital at Gutu, where he was treated with injections. After that, he found harbourage with nganga for

Faith-healing, a major attraction

periods of five months and, later on, three months. At last, at his wits' end, he came to Moriah for treatment. The prophets ascribed the illness to a ngozi spirit. Of this spirit, Elias said: 'My father was guilty of adultery with a woman who later committed suicide. She was ashamed to admit her immoral conduct to her brother. Her spirit now pays regular visits to our village and then takes possession of my cousin [muzukuru: daughter of paternal aunt], who in turn begins to indulge in witchcraft. In this way my muzukuru has already caused the death of three of the children of my elder brother through beer poisoning. My muzukuru and the ngozi conspire to cause my downfall. I was carried here in a totally depleted state. That very same day, Rev. Champion baptized me as a protection against the ngozi. The water was blessed with prayer beforehand, in order to make it more potent for the ngozi's expulsion. At present I undergo the laying-on of hands daily. I drink the hallowed water regularly. Sometimes, during fits of possession [presumably after an attack of epilepsy], Mutendi treats me with his holy staff, which contains great power [simba guru]. This power is from on high. Here at Moriah I am being protected against the spirit, and for the time being, I remain here, because I am shielded from the attempts of my muzukuru.'

The following case-study illustrates the involvement of several members of a family group in ngozi-disturbances, the interpretation of their misfortunes in terms of an interfering spirit and the type of circumstances leading to the desperate search for deliverance by one of the afflicted individuals. We will indicate how the person concerned consulted both prophets and nganga before he ultimately decided to seek refuge in Mutendi's Church as a participating zcc member:

Miche Munyani, a Rozvi of royal descent, approximately 45 years of age (in 1965) and resident in Nyikadzino's village in the Nyamande chiefdom — not far from the 'Rabinoni' Church of Mutendi in Chingombe — believes that his career has been ruined by the spirit of his own paternal grandfather (tateguru), a certain Rwafa. As a descendant of Mutinhima (see diagram), Rwafa belonged to one of the extended Rozvi lineages which at present constitutes one of the ruling houses of the Jiri chieftaincy in Bikita. In the past Rwafa had been attacked and axed to death at a beer party. His enemies, who were held responsible for the crime, were popularly referred to as the 'people of Dzarawani' When several of the Dzarawani people died in quick succession some years later, it became known through divination that Rwafa's spirit had turned into a ngozi and that he had set out to destroy the descendants of his killers. The spirit, who was mudzimu proper to his own descendants and ngozi proper to his Dzarawani enemies, in the course of time was
Mutinhima – grandson of the Rozvi Mambo, Dyembewu, and tateguru of the Jiri kinsmen in the Bikita district

Mahwi – who was aided by a jukwa spirit during his life

Rwafa – killed by the ‘people of Dzarawani’; his spirit became ngozi to the relatives of his killers, from whom he sought retribution

Munyani

Marufu (RCC)  Miche Munyani (Methodist)  Mai X (traditionalist)

Philemon (RCC)  King – name-bearer of Rwafa (traditionalist)

▲ – Rozvi ancestors
△ O – Living descendants of Munyani

Lineage of the main figures directly involved in the Rwafa-ngozi conflict.
Faith-healing, a major attraction

simply referred to as the 'terrible ngozi' by both groups.

At first the Dzarawani people supplied Munyani, Rwafa's first-born son, with ngozi cattle and asked him to appease his father's spirit. When Munyani died the proper rituals had not yet been conducted and several more head of cattle were forwarded to Marufu, his oldest son, by relatives of the stricken Dzarawani people. Instead of appeasing the spirit of his vengeful tateguru by using the acquired cattle for ritual purposes, Marufu, who is a Roman Catholic, sold some of the ngozi cattle and distributed the rest amongst his sons. Philemon (also a Roman Catholic), the eldest son, and King (a traditionalist), the fifth-born child, received most of the ngozi cattle. Miche, Marufu's younger brother and a staunch Methodist, was doing a course in agriculture after he had attained the Std. 6 certificate. He was away at the time and unaware of the fact that some of the cattle which Marufu owed him, and had meanwhile sent to his homestead, were ngozi cattle. During his absence the 'big bull' (gono guru), which was dedicated to the deceased Munyani, was also driven into his kraal. As babamunini of King, Miche carried the responsibility for some of his nephew's cattle while the latter was still young.

Then suddenly a series of misfortunes befell the Munyani family. Marufu started suffering from mental disorders until his condition deteriorated to a point where he had to be removed to an asylum. Philemon, his eldest son, for some mysterious reason fell ill from time to time. Miche, who had been doing well in his studies for two years, fell in disrepute and left the Mzingwane agricultural training centre without completing his course. His sister, Mai X, soon afterwards contracted a disease which gradually paralyzed her legs.

Miche's misfortunes had only just begun. He tried to continue his studies at the Makohole training centre near Fort Victoria, but some 'hidden power' once again seemed to block his way to success. By this time members of the family had consulted traditional diviners, who ascribed the series of misfortunes to the frustrated spirit of Rwafa. Miche himself became convinced that it was his tateguru's restless spirit who interfered with his career. He seemed unable to settle down and concentrate on a particular job for any length of time. From Jichidza Mission, where he worked as an agriculture 'teacher', he was transferred to Pamushana Mission, then became an agriculture instructor in the Selukwe district, only to be sent back to Bikita a few months later to do land surveying with a land-development officer. He went to Bechuanaland for a few years, where he was employed by several European instructors for short periods before he was fired. Back in Rhodesia he became a land conservation assistant of the Federal Department, but when he was refused promotion on the grounds of his uncompleted studies at Mzing-
wane and Makohole, he returned to his village in the Nyamande chiefdom in the early 1960s.

At Nyikadzino’s village, Miche, by this time a thoroughly frustrated man, started developing symptoms similar to those previously shown by Marufu, his demented elder brother. In 1954 he had already been told by Mukanga, a well-known nganga in the Bikita district, that the spirit of Rwafa was the cause of his troubles and that he should arrange a propitiatory ceremony. Mukanga had charged him £2-10/- for protective medicine with which to safeguard his homestead against future attacks. Since the propitiatory ceremony, which he subsequently conducted, did not fully meet the requirements of the neglected spirit, the period of well-being was shortlived. Harassed by the alarming new symptoms, Miche now started undertaking regular strips in search of a cure.

In 1964, accompanied by his ‘son’ (nephew) King, Miche visited a female diviner. She told them that Philemon had slaughtered some of the ngozi cattle without notifying the spirit-owner, Rwafa. Philemon was also said to have slaughtered some of Miche’s cattle during the latter’s absence. In order to pacify Rwafa’s spirit and to obtain the maximum security for Munyani’s descendants, the brooding family dispute over cattle had to be settled first of all. Philemon had to replace the cattle of his babamunini, Miche, and Miche had to send the Munyani gono guru and the ngozi cattle still in his kraal to King’s homestead. It was the presence of midzimu cattle in his kraal which caused the spirits of Rwafa and Munyani to ‘track’ Miche and to bring pressure to bear on him through affliction. Since any ngozi spirit is believed to be near its own cattle, Miche could not expect to solve his problems as long as Rwafa’s cattle remained in his herd. King, who had meanwhile been pointed out as Rwafa’s name-bearer, had to make arrangements for a double propitiatory ritual. He had to slaughter the gono guru in honour of Munyani to regain the protective and guarding powers of this mudzimu for the entire family, especially for the afflicted members. In addition he had to kill one of the ngozi cattle to pacify Rwafa’s spirit. On this occasion he himself would officially be installed as Rwafa’s name-bearer and as future ritual officer of ceremonies concerning the ngozi-spirit. Once this double ritual was performed, King, had to go to the Dzarawani people to claim the final payment of mutumbu, in the form of a young woman. As Rwafa’s representative, he himself had to decide which of the family members would care for this woman, the ngozi’s ‘wife’.

After this consultation the family struggle continued. Miche refused to send the gono guru and the ngozi cattle to King before he had received his dues. Thus the propitiatory rites were postponed and the tension between
uncle and nephews mounted as the condition of Marufu and Mai X deteriorated. Miche privately visited another nganga near Mr. Rasa to cross-check the previous divination. He was told: 'If you do not settle this matter properly the mudzimu [Rwafa's spirit] will cause you to die with blood oozing from your nostrils and mouth.' Yet Miche’s position was a difficult one because, as soon as he yielded the sacrificial beasts, he would lose the most effective means by which to claim compensation from his elder brother, Marufu, who was at that stage represented by Philemon. On the other hand he was exposing himself and his own family to the wrath of the ancestors as long as their cattle remained in his kraal.

Towards the end of 1964 and at the beginning of 1965, Miche consulted several Ndasa Zionist and AACJM prophets. According to Miche, ‘the prophets told me the same things as the nganga. They advised me to send the gono guru and two head of ngozi cattle to King’s homestead so that he could appease the spirits. They urged me to join their Churches, after which they would come to my homestead to sprinkle it with water and “fence it off” from danger with their pegs. These measures were to assist me to pray with simba; I refused to meet their conditions because I wanted to remain a Methodist.’

Driven to desperation through persistent brief spells of mental disorder, Miche travelled to Zion Zity on the 18th of June, 1965. Having stayed there for two days, he was told to consult the lame Zionist prophet, Nison, who was living in one of the ‘hospital’ huts.\footnote{55 Sketch-map of ‘Zion City’ (symbol A).} Assisted by Evangelist Simeon, who acted as interpreter, Nison prophesied as follows:

Prayer: ‘God of Enginasi and Moyo, I thank you this morning. Help me, as I am a person of the flesh, I ask power from you. Let your Spirit come on me!’

Speaking in tongues: ‘If we justa to see a text ret to wit. I see Hosanna! Moriah, Moriah for we just to see mistake rindi ta ’

Explication: ‘God says, you are being troubled by an evil spirit of your own family. This spirit is very strong and said something about cattle. There is also another spirit which works together with this one. The big one is from your dead father. You sometimes dream of him speaking to you.’

Miche: ‘Yes.’

Nison: ‘This spirit talks about cattle because the one who should worship the midzimu is not doing so at all. The man bearing this responsibility is mentally disturbed because this evil spirit [note: mudzimu in this context is referred to as evil spirit] has entered him [Marufu].’

Miche: ‘Yes, it is true.’
Nison: ‘Because of his abnormality his sons are now trying to worship the midzimu on his behalf. They have magic which they set to many purposes. God says that sometimes one of these spirits comes as three beings, therefore if you are not careful, Miche, you or one of your sons will die. The sons of your sick relative are always talking about cattle. Go and return the three head of cattle they are asking for! Then, go and refer this matter to My Servant [Mutendi], says God. You yourself have already visited many nganga.’

Miche: ‘Yes.’

Nison: ‘God says, you once went to a nganga who lives near this place [i.e. Makanga]. At present the sons of your sick relative are talking to a [magical] basket because they want all the evil spirits to turn their attacks on you. Because of this you always have had dreams and become very weak. Just now they are planning to go to a nganga to try yet again to obtain a cure for their father. But they will not be successful. The evil spirit [ngozzi] at present wants nothing else than the two head of cattle. Your sister [Mai X] is being afflicted by this spirit too, and she may still become a spirit medium [svikiro]. If no svikiro is appointed for this spirit, one of you [Miche or Mai X] is going to turn mad, says the Lord. You have driven pegs into the ground around your house but they did not help. “Go and tell this story to My Servant [Mutendi] and I will drive the spirit away through his hands”, says Mwari. The spirit of your father is accompanied by another spirit of the same lineage. In the past the evil spirit blocked the way to success in your career. After seeing a nganga you brewed beer and killed a beast, but all this could not improve your position.’

Miche: ‘Yes.’

Nison: ‘When you have told My servant the whole story he will give you water and papers that have been prayed for. When you have the water you must go to your home and call the evangelist living nearby [i.e. Ruben, Mutendi’s son]. He will sprinkle water in your house. If you humble yourself in this before My servant, says God, he will settle everything and remove all the obstacles that are obstructing your future career. After this, you and your family will live in peace, but remember, every member of your family should be sprinkled with water. Your wife must drink some of the blessed water for her stomach troubles, and so must the others. If you do not give heed to what I say, your whole future will be ruined, says the Lord. You will be without a job and walk around like a mad person. Go and return the cattle to your relatives. Tell them you no longer want to pira midzimu. Remain under the hand of My servant. Everything will then turn out well and you will suffer no more affliction. That is what Mwari has revealed to me.’
Simeon, the interpreter, then led Miche aside to explain \(\text{kurondedzera}\) and to urge Miche to accept the prophet's advice. When he eventually asked Miche whether he was willing to get rid of the cattle, the latter evaded the question by recounting how Marufu and Philemon had misused the \(\text{ngozi}\) cattle in the past and how even Philemon was suffering from regular beatings at beer parties. He intimated that Philemon sought his destruction so that he (Philemon) might take charge of Miche's estate.

Simeon: 'Well, Miche, what do you make of the prophecy?'

Miche: 'Every word was true I once dreamt of two oxen addressing me like people. These oxen were given to me by my elder brother because he had sold mine. I did not know that they were \(\text{ngozi}\) cattle because he did not inform me about it. To whom must I give these oxen?'

Simeon: 'To the one who bears the name of the troublesome \(\text{tateguru}\) [i.e. King]. When you return the \(\text{ngozi}\) cattle all the sons of your elder brother must be present as witnesses. \text{The best way to safeguard yourself after the cattle have been removed is to join this Church} [my italics].'

Miche: 'I think I will join the Church once the whole matter is settled, not now. That does not mean that I am not grateful for what your people have done for me.'

The compliance with customary demands, and the settlement of a family feud as a prerequisite to successful exorcistic and protective treatment, come out clearly in Nison's prophecy. Miche was not to \(\text{pira midzimu}\) himself, but he had to yield the sacrificial beasts to his nephews to appease the troublesome \(\text{midzimu}\). It is also clear from the diagnostic prophecy that Nison was well informed about Miche's background. During his two-day stay at Moriah, Miche had probably discussed his problems with some of the Church officials. Moreover, it is likely that the prophecy had been delayed for a while in order to enable the appointed prophet to acquire the necessary information. This does not detract from the fact that the prophet's divinatory account was regarded by all persons present as a genuine revelation from God. Another aspect which emerges clearly from the prophecy is the exploitation of the afflicted person's dilemma as a means of persuading him to join the Church. Miche was once more warned of imminent danger and possible death if he failed to meet Gods' advice, which implied initiation into the Zionist movement. The promise of future well-being as a Church member was certainly calculated to draw Miche (and his family) into the new fold. Yet, in all fairness, it should be stated that a man like Prophet Nison, who had experienced the benefits of belonging to Mutendi's Church himself after a spell of fear for \(\text{midzimu}\) affliction,\(^{56}\) was not merely motivated by the urge to win a new

\(^{56}\) \text{Infra, p. 334f.}
member for his Church. His prophetic advice was also based on the sincere conviction that the ‘man of God’ could really drive away the evil spirits and that it really was the Holy Spirit who prompted Miche to join the zcc, through him.

Soon after the prophecy, Miche, still in two states of mind about the transfer of the cattle without proper retribution from Philemon, left Moriah. He had decided to postpone a personal meeting with the ‘man of God’ for a few days all went well, until Miche one night dreamt of a voice summoning him to visit two nganga on the far side of the Devure river. On the following day he started behaving strangely, having identified himself with the spirit of Mahwi, father of the deceased Rwafa. The jukwa spirit which had once aided Mahwi was now trying to possess Miche. Neither of the two nganga beyond the Devure river, whom Miche subsequently consulted, managed to drive away the prowling jukwa spirit. In spite of the use of charms, Miche’s condition became worse until all the midzimu involved appeared to him on the night of the 27th of July. According to Miche the spirits of Mahwi, Rwafa and Munyani all spoke to him. They told him that their accomplice, the jukwa spirit, would keep troubling him until he had returned their cattle to King. While the midzimu spoke to him, the gono guru of Munyani bellowed fearfully in the kraal behind Miche’s house. This climax was the last straw to a man who was struggling to remain sane. He fled from his homestead and made straight for Mutendis Rabinoni Church in Chingombe, where Evangelist Ruben resides.

On his arrival, Miche was directly made to swallow two jugs of blessed water. He produced the charms he had been using, to have them burnt by Ruben. While living in one of the evangelist’s huts, Miche was subjected to regular prophecies and ‘injection treatment’. He was also ordered to swallow great quantities of salt water in order to vomit all evil substances from his body. He still dreamt of the midzimu trying to reach him, but as his delirious state subsided, his confidence grew in the power of the Zionists and their God to keep the angered spirits at a safe distance. When the prophets once more tried to persuade him to send the midzimu cattle to his nephew, he consented. One of the Zionists, was sent to perform this task. Evangelist Ruben thereupon travelled to Miche’s homestead to subject the buildings and inhabitants to the Zionist water treatment. Miche’s wife, children and lame sister were sprinkled with holy water and care was taken to cleanse the doorposts of all the various huts with this safeguarding substance.

Feeling much better, Miche returned to his homestead about a week later. He had not yet been baptized by the Zionists, since he wanted to await the outcome of the propitiatory rites. Yet he started attending Zionist Church
services and made regular trips to Evangelist Ruben’s homestead to acquire blessed water for continual use. For reasons unknown to me, Miche’s nephews further postponed the all-important rituals, once they had received the mudzimu (and ngozi) cattle. Perhaps they intended to exploit their babamunini’s predicament once more if the Zionist treatment in the future proved to be insufficient, or else King was reluctant to dispose of the newly acquired wealth, and to accept full responsibility in the ritual process for meeting the future needs of Rwafa’s unpredictable spirit. Whatever the motivation of Miche’s relatives, he himself and his family were becoming increasingly dependent on the Zionists. Towards the end of my stay in Chimogombe it was evident that Miche had, for all practical purposes, become a Zionist after his first ‘flight’ to the Rabinoni Church.

In Apostolic circles it is frequently acknowledged that it is more or less impossible to effect a successful ngozi exorcism as long as traditionalist relatives of afflicted persons are still in possession of ngozi cloths or cattle. Apostolic prophets tend to emphasize the necessity of the co-operation of traditionalist relatives in the destruction of all ngozi objects or animals, in contrast to the acquiescence on the part of the Zionists, which makes it possible for the traditionalists to appease the avenging spirit in the customary manner. Some of them admit that their attempts to get rid of a ngozi spirit have failed. I mention one such example. Lazaro Maponde, an Apostolic prophet and cousin of Johane, who resides in the Maranke tribal area, had the following to say in this connection:

‘My wife is mad [unopenga] because there is a ngozi at her father’s house. My father-in-law Mumbango has killed another person. Now that man’s spirit claims retribution. My tezvara has already “paid” two mitumbu, which included cattle, as well as a son and a daughter. Yet the ngozi still pursues my tezvara’s “blood” [relatives]. That is the reason why my wife is in such a poor state I have already taken her to Mabondo for exorcistic treatment. It was of no avail. I cannot personally diagnose my wife’s case through prophecy [kuprofitira mukadzi wangu] because my in-laws will accuse me of lies. The prophets who prophesied that it is the ngozi spirit troubling my wife came from Shabani and Gwelo [i.e. from far off] I have discussed the matter with my in-laws. They said: “We try to appease the ngozi in every possible way but he refuses to go away” My in-laws are “people of the world” [traditionalists], and they have urged me to accompany them to a nganga. As an Apostle I refused. The other prophets have told me to pray and not to pira if I want the ngozi to leave. They said that all the nhumbi [belongings] of the ngozi should be burnt and that we should have
nothing to do with cattle dedicated to this evil spirit

'At present the *ngozi* dwells near my homestead because it has already killed four people at my wife’s home. Those killed are my father-in-law, his younger brother, my wife’s sister and another relative. My brothers-in-law have travelled as far as Lusaka [Zambia] to try and get rid of this spirit. Now it is only my wife and her sister who are plagued by the *ngozi*. If the latter joins the *vaPostori* the chances are great that the power of the spirit will be broken.

'It seldom happens that a *ngozi* is exorcised simply through prayer because from olden times a *ngozi* was removed through the payment of *mutumbu*: a young unmarried woman [*mhandara*] or twelve head of cattle.'

Here then we have the admission of an Apostle that, in spite of the ideal of dealing with an avenging spirit only through the application of Christian measures (as they conceive of it), it is virtually impossible to do so in practice, without the payment of the traditionally conceived retribution. This does not mean that God’s power and individual faith is regarded as inadequate or ineffective in relation to the relentlessness of the avenging spirit. It is rather the perpetuation of the traditional notion – irreconcilable as it may seem with Christian conceptions of retribution and judgment – that the *ngozi* has a certain right to take revenge on the person or persons responsible for his or her untimely death. The ambiguity lies in the fact that the Apostles forbid Church members to have anything to do with *ngozi* cattle, since it would mean a certain involvement in traditional propitiatory rites, while on the other hand the claim of the so-called ‘evil spirit’ is not completely refused because it is in keeping with the ancient, yet still meaningful, mystical administration of justice.

5. PREACHING AND FAITH-HEALING

As preachers of the occasion the Independent Church officials and especially the Mutendzi Zionists have no peers. Sermons are never worked out on paper in advance. At most, a few Biblical texts are written down to serve as a kind of guide-line during a sermon. The contents of these texts are freely and improvisingly adapted in any possible way to the practical situation confronting the preacher. Thoughts which live in the minds of the people as a result of the latest occurrences always find reflection in the sermons. The afternoon services are long enough for the IC officials to incorporate the most recent individual and group experiences in their sermons and even debate about them. In Volume 3 we will illustrate, for instance, how Bishop Mutendzi’s
Faith-healing, a major attraction

Involvement in a border conflict provided the inmates of Moriah with a fresh topic for discussion and preaching for weeks on end. In the sermons of that time Mutendi’s subordinates were chiefly concerned with reiterating their loyalty to the ‘man of God’, calling people to prayer and uttering words of encouragement for Mutendi.

In addition to the occasion-directed sermons, there are other oft-recurring Zionist themes, such as the public testimonies of faith-healing by people who believe that they have been cured, or the propagation of Mutendi’s curative powers by his Church officials. These latter topics form part of the stereotyped contents of sermons. Despite the element of repetition such accounts never lose their appeal to the participating Church members. As I have stated earlier, Mutendi seldom refers to healing wonders in his sermons. It is sufficient for him that his followers preach about it. As their leader, he preaches about the growth of his Church in a language modelled on that of the Old Testament. His followers are the Israelites of Rhodesia. His repeated apprehension by the police during those initial years is presented as akin to the struggle of the leaders of Israel, and the relation of his Church with other groups bears close resemblance to that of Israel with her surrounding neighbours. Right through all this there is an almost monotonously recurring representation of Mwari as the God of Power. He grants the power to withstand the affliction of imprisonment, to ward off the temptations of this life (beer, ancestral worship, immorality), and the power to hold one’s ground against evil forces, in short, to ‘live in strength’ in a continually threatened existence.

Mutendi’s secret is precisely in this gospel of strength. Through his mediation the divine power which secures a meaningful existence is transferred to his followers in their daily lives. Initially the power to heal formed but an integrated part of an all-embracing Zionist program. But under pressure of an ever-increasing demand, it expanded to become the most important manifestation of power.

A sermon by Rev. Champion during a visit to Chief Ziki in the Bikita district reveals to what extent Mutendi as a faith-healer fascinated the minds of his followers. He rounded off his eulogy by addressing Mutendi and the congregation as follows:

‘Great One, you love us with the love with which Christ prayed to his Father when he said: “I pray not for the world, but for them whom Thou hast given me” Through you, Reverend One, we behold God. You must pray for us, notwithstanding the thoughts of the people of the world. Their thoughts are not stronger than the ngozi spirits that you expel. Ngozi is a difficult spirit to drive out of a person. Yet this man does it. Leprosy is a
dangerous disease which does not heal easily. Yet this man heals many lepers. Nobody thought that Thomas would ever be cured of leprosy. Yet today he is the most active and healthiest man in Chilimanzi. All illnesses are cured. Therefore we say that he is a treasured gift to us, Africans. Your lordship, we are still powerless and do not understand all your teachings. We are naked in your presence.’

Such a testimony from a man who as ‘first minister’ is at the top of Mutendi’s leadership hierarchy is indicative of the kind of respect shown to the ‘man of God’ by the majority of his Zionist followers. It is even more impressive when a similar sermon is preached by an influential chief in the presence of Mutendi and some one to 2,000 of his followers. During the Easter celebration at Moriah, in July 1966, Chief Samu of Gonakudzingwa (an area in the southernmost parts of Rhodesia) witnessed to the curative miracles of Mutendi, which had drawn him into the Zionist fold at a stage when he was sick and laden with problems. Through Mutendi, he himself was enabled to cure others. ‘When I bless water with the green paper of this man [Mutendi],’ he said, ‘patients are cured who could not even be helped in the biggest hospitals of this country. I stand in wonder and awe at this.’ The chief furthermore requested Mutendi’s assistance in overcoming the temptation of falling back on the nganga whenever the threat of witchcraft arises.

As is the case in most CEC testimonies, Mutendi assumes a central position. He is praised and showered with thanks for his part in the healing process. Yet Chief Samu’s plea that the ‘man of God’ should help him to stay away from the nganga is significant because it portrays the fear common to Zionist ‘patients’ that at one stage or another they would succumb to the compulsion of circumstances in seeking recourse to the nganga or hospitals. It is for this reason that the patients request the intercession of Mutendi or the community in general. In doing so they try to safeguard their spiritual lives against relapse. This request shows that faith-healing is a binding factor in the Zionist community. Even in such radical cases as broken limbs, or accidents which necessitate treatment in hospital, there is a stigma attached to the person on his return to the group. Despite the acceptance of visits to hospitals, it is still regarded as a relapse in the spiritual life (kuheduka), a form of infidelity. Zionists with non-Christian relatives know that senior kinsmen will exert pressure on them to go to nganga or the hospital in cases of serious accidents. It is therefore not strange to hear a Zionist, during a sermon, express the desire to be led in prayer. ‘Pray to God to strengthen me when they take me [forcibly] to hospital’ or ‘pray to God that I do not become unconscious so that they take me to hospital without my knowledge’ are the most commonly expressed sentiments. To a Zionist Church leader or office-bearer in parti-
cular, a compromise with the Western medical world implies loss of prestige. After his release from the hospital such a Church official’s sermons are characterized for some time by an apologetic attitude towards the main leader and the Church group. Even in cases of dire physical need the leaders prefer to do without medical aid rather than lose some of their prestige.

The favourable climate created among the members of the Ruwadzano (Women’s Association) during the weekly gatherings, contributes considerably to the magnetic pull which the Zionist Church holds for women. Every Wednesday afternoon the leading women meet at Moriah or in the outlying congregations to discuss domestic affairs, to plan new communal projects and to hold services. The service itself consists mainly of the testimonies of women who believe that they have been cured through faith-healing, that Mutendi has granted children to them, or that they have been helped ‘to change over’ from bearing daughters to sons, or vice versa. Of great significance is the psychological effect on women who constantly live under the threat that they would forfeit their social positions if they remain childless. Not only are they incorporated in a community where they have the daily attention of prophets and other Church officials, but they are also party to purification rituals involving sanctified water and an inspiring ‘cloud of testimonies’ of women who have received help in this way. The testimony of the leading women in their own circles serve to consolidate the group. Its encouraging nature largely contributes to effect the psychologically important release of tension in the patient, which is very often a necessary pre-condition for pregnancy.

Of the 23 prominent married women of the central ZCC congregation57 in the Chingombe chiefdom, nine report pregnancy after years of barrenness. Six believe that Mutendi has helped to determine the sex of their child in advance. Here by way of illustration are some excerpts from the preachings of these Ruwadzano women in 1966:

Mai Lydia, first wife of the most senior Church official in Chingombe, ended her sermon thus: ‘I came to Moyo [Mutendi] without any possession, yet he cared for me [wakandivaka, literally, he has shaped me], so that I now lack nothing. Peace unto you!’

Participants: ‘Amen! Halleluja!’

Mai Lydia: ‘I believe in the God of Moyo, for if we do not recognize the signs [zviratidzo] in our midst or do not believe, we shall be judged. We have been baptized by Moyo and if we do not obey the laws he laid down, we shall

57. This congregation is called ‘boka raNyaganwa’ (the congregation of Nyaganwa). Its central meeting place is at the ZCC building in Chingombe (see Volume 1, map 4).
not see heaven. Women, we fail in our faith, even if we are blessed. There are members of other Churches who do not know that one can be cured. There is no love among them. They do not visit each other in time of illness. They do not have the signs of healing and bearing children in their midst. Do we lack anything? Moyo grants us everything. Peace unto you! If there is no rain, ask it of Moyo, and it will rain; if we have no children in our houses, the God of Moyo will assuredly grant us fertility. Peace in Zion.’

Mai Ezekiah. ‘The God of Moyo has granted me four children after years of barrenness. We thank Thee, God of Moyo, because Thou hast visited us here in Gutu. When we were young, we journeyed to Zion. The Reformed women scoffed at us and our parents beat us. But we persisted. Now we have love and security. Godzo Zioni!’

Mai Sunungurai: ‘First I had no child, but now there are children. When Maria walked to the grave, she sang: “Jesu wangu [My Jesus].” In like manner, we must honour Moyo, for many women found help in that Church. Many of them had no children. Nor did they have goats with which to pay the nganga. Today, however, we have our very own nganga, that is Moyo. Let us all run to Moyo, for with him there is deliverance!’

Mai Senita Zenzara, leader of the Ruwadzano: ‘In this Church many a wonder has come to pass. I myself have experienced three. When I joined the Church I was a young girl. I had a sore throat which my father, a nganga, could not cure. Sometimes my swollen throat made it impossible for me to eat warm food for months on end. My sister advised me to join Zion, and I found healing in their midst. After I had joined, I gave birth to two daughters. The others laughed at my failure to produce sons to perpetuate their father’s name. During a conference at Moriah in Bikita, there was an announcement, “Those who long to have children, please stand aside” I stood aside together with some other women and explained to Mutendi that I wanted to shandura jeko [literally, ‘change my menstrual pains’] and bring forth sons. Thereafter Mutendi stood up with his staff and said: “In the Name of Jesus ” When I returned – puwu! – behold my first son. This was the second wonder for me in Mutendi’s Church. And then – puwu! – the third marvel; I had three sons. I am very happy because of this and it is for this reason that I stand in front of you today.’

Prophetess Maria: ‘I received my Tella through the prayers of Moyo. When Mutendi laid his hands on us, we were still unbelievers and asked: “Can water help a person to bring forth children?” But when we returned home a son was born unto us and the people looked at him with admiration and wonder. They beheld Moyo’s handiwork through the presence of my son.’
A phrase from Mai Senita’s testimony ‘They laughed at me. ’, gives but an inkling of the desperate position in which a woman finds herself in an African society if and when she cannot satisfy one of the most basic requirements of her marriage, i.e. bearing children. The full development and growth of an African marriage relationship stands or falls by the ability of the woman to procreate. Taylor points out that, whereas an important reason of breakdown in Western marriages is absistence of the sex act, in an African milieu it would be barrenness. When the husband negotiates with his father-in-law about compensation for the bride-price he has paid and starts looking for a replacement or an additional wife; when, in a polygamous household, the woman who has sons and daughters scoffs at her opposite number for having daughters only, a period of intense suffering sets in for the unfortunate woman, during which she hankers after understanding and security. In the testimonies of the Zionist women we find the promise of everything the socially-wronged female yearns for: love, security and fertility. The God of Moyo, so it seems, is capable of everything. Hence the call: ‘Let us hasten to Moyo, where deliverance awaits us!’

The cases of unsuccessful Zionist treatment are not mentioned. After all, the testimonies are concerned with success and not failure. Yet there is no lack in Zionist circles of examples where a Christian attitude and love are sufficient to keep a childless marriage intact. When some women do not benefit from the Zionist treatment, they, in their disappointment, explore other avenues. Others retain their Church membership, despite their being childless. The fact that they are fully accepted at Moriah or in the local congregations, in spite of their inability to contribute towards the ‘testimonies of success’, is an indication of the understanding that the will of the God of Moyo does not always correspond with the wishes of His people.

6. CONCLUSIONS

A consideration of both the historical development of prophetic movements among the Southern Shona and the personal testimonies of affiliated members has convinced us of the importance of faith-healing as an outstanding recruitment technique. From the inception of these movements, faith-healing and exorcistic wonders have served to convince people of the divine com-

58. ‘Western Europe’ Taylor (1963, p. 111) suggests, ‘rightly or wrongly, has isolated the act of intercourse as the consummation of marriage which, if withheld, provides the ground for nullity. The primal view, regarding the child as the consummation of marriage, considered it more natural that sterility should annul it.’
mission of the prophetic healers. A practice which at first was only part of a comprehensive religious program, was soon moulded by the prophetic healers into an effective tool with which to attract people.

The success of the faith-healers derives largely from their diagnostic sessions which reckon fully with the spiritual causes of illness and misfortune and with the socio-psychological stress situations with which patients are often confronted. At an existential level they take the evil forces believed to be at work seriously and combat them in a way which appeals to the African mind. Symbolic objects which represent the power of God and serve as substitutes for the magical medicinal objects of the traditional doctor are used to expel malignant forces and to safeguard future well-being. During the period of treatment at a healing centre a sense of security and belonging is fostered through the patient’s participation in group-integrating activities, and also through sustained pastoral care at a personal level. This process of integration into the new Church group does not necessarily isolate the patient from his or her relatives and friends. The prophet not only welcomes the presence of several relatives during prophetic diagnostic sessions but also pays attention to the legal claims of non-Christian relatives, especially if these concern still outstanding sacrificial beasts. Through the consideration of claims which actually militate against important Zionist and Apostolic doctrines on traditional religion, the prophet seeks to resolve conflict situations within the patient’s kin-group, which in turn enhances the chance of a cure.

During Church services and public meetings the cured patients and other Church officials regularly witness about the curative powers of God operative through the group’s main faith-healer or healers. Healing centres, like Zion City, are propagated as sanctuaries which offer protection against the onslaughts of evil forces. Such testimonies not only have a group-integrating function; they also arouse the interest of outsiders and therefore contribute towards the recruitment of new members.
Prophetism and wizardry

Several Spirit-type Church members, especially of the Apostolic type (table 37, category 4, c), were attracted to this movement by prophetic activities directed at the detection of wizardry,¹ the removal of malignant medicines, the protection of potential witches against such spirits as tried to induce them to become real witches, and at the eradication of such evil practices within the ranks of the Church. The figures in table 37 (category 4, c) reveal that the Apostolic prophets are exploiting the general belief in uryoi as a means of convincing people of the authenticity of their claims, to a greater extent than the Zionist prophets. It does not, however, indicate how significant this factor really is, since only those who made a point of mentioning their having been bewitched or of having come to the prophets under threat of wizardry were listed in this particular category. Judging from the numerous prophecies during Church services and the prophets' diagnostic probes into the lives of their patients, the preoccupation with wizardry as a causative factor in illness and death, to be counteracted by the Holy Spirit, is of greater significance in the prophetic movements than the figures portray. It can reasonably be assumed that a great number of Church members who mentioned healing treatment as a prelude to Church affiliation (table 37, category 4, b) were actually being 'cured' from what they believed to be bewitchment or protected against future onslaughts of such evil powers at the time of their entry into the Apostolic or Zionist fold. The quantitative data do not include sufficient detail on each healing case to determine whether or not involvement with wizardry was actually diagnosed by a prophet.

In the following discussion we will distinguish between two major tech-

¹. As can be deduced from the text below, the activities of prophets related to uryoi mainly concern witchcraft. Church members accused by IC prophets of practising uryoi are nearly always females. I nevertheless use the more general term, wizardry (see also: Daneel, 1971, p. 156f) because sorcery — as practised by males — is not necessarily excluded from the group-controlling activities of the Zionist or Apostolic prophets. In the text the necessary distinctions are made where, in particular instances, either witchcraft or sorcery is concerned.
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1. DETECTION AND REMOVAL OF MALIGNANT MEDICINE

In much the same way as a *nganga* may build up a reputation for the successful treatment of a certain ailment, which secures him a regular practice in that particular field, some prophets also gain renown as specialists in the prophetic treatment of one specific kind of disability. Jaka Mukurumbera, a completely uneducated MuMbire in his mid-forties and senior baptist-prophet of the AACJM in Chingombe, proves to be such a prophet, with a special reputation for the treatment of the potential witch or the bewitched. Something should be said about the background of this remarkable figure before we turn to the methods he adopts. It will throw some light on his preoccupation with wizardry. In his own words: ‘I was thirteen years old when I was poisoned [*kudyiswa*] at a beer party. The poison stuck in my throat and I “died” [became unconscious]. So I was taken to Zimbabwe [Morgenster Mission hospital] where I was “skinned” [operated on]. While still in a state of “death” a voice came to me saying that I had received salvation. I saw people with long white garments singing: Hosanna! Hosanna! They surrounded me, told me that I was in heaven, but that I had to return to earth since my time had not yet come. When I came out of hospital I did not immediately join the Apostles but kept the commandment I had received about not using medicine. My voice never really returned. As you can hear, I have remained hoarse up to this day.

‘In 1943 my son, Samuel, became seriously ill. He was treated by Makuti’s prophets [secessionist group from Mutendi’s zcc], who told my wife and me that we should join the Church which healed our son. So we were baptized in Jordan. Later the Holy Spirit took hold of me [*ndabatwa noMweya*] and told me to pray and fast in the mountains. I spent a whole Sunday speaking [in tongues] and when I returned the Spirit showed me to enter a hut. I found a baby asleep with a snake on top of it [a sure sign of wizardry]. I told the parents that we should pray perseveringly to save the child. I also laid hands on them. At the time I was employed as a bricklayer, but I was then convinced that the Spirit had other work for me. I started going about with Sauro Garanuwako, an Apostle. At one of their large meetings in Nyamande, I
prophesied very strongly. The Spirit really possessed me then [ndarobwa nomweya: literally, 'the Spirit beat me', i.e. took possession of me with great force]. I was the first of some 50 new members to be baptized. In the water [of Jordan] I had a vision of a pig, vomiting white medicine. I was told by a voice that this was the big satan which vomits sickness onto people. I was also told to pray strongly [nesimba] so that I might become a big prophet who heals people. I was to become a Peter to others.

'After I had taken a second wife I left for Ndola once more to work there as a bricklayer. I worked near a pool inhabited by a njuzu spirit. This spirit caused the bricks we moulded to turn to water. I spent a day at the pool, praying, after I had placed my [Apostolic] staff in the water. The following day I was washing at the pool when a strong wind carried me right into the water. I found myself walking, submerged in the water, next to the njuzu spirit. This spirit showed me many people and lots of medicine. Two old women [diviners] came forward and tried to catch me with their necklaces [i.e. prompted me to become a nganga]. The European employers came and tried to fish me out of the water but they failed and said that I would not be seen again because I was dead. Yet, the power of the njuzu spirit was broken by the Holy Spirit and I ran off. The Holy Spirit revealed to me that all this had happened because I had disobeyed His command to heal people at home. I was asked whether I still knew the work of Peter, that of healing people. So I returned home [in Chingombe] and after eight days of fasting and praying in the mountains I knew that I had to forget about looking for another job. I stayed at home to pray for God’s people.'

Jaka's account of his experiences includes the more or less 'standardized' prerequisites for prophetic leadership: 'Death' as a special calling, succeeded by visions, seclusion from others through fasting in the mountains, in which period the Spirit manifests itself with increasing intensity, followed by the return to village-life in a new role. Jaka's relapse, which evoked divine punishment in the form of a njuzu spirit temporarily taking charge of him, clearly portrays a sound knowledge of the functions of the njuzu spirits as providers of medicine to the traditional diviners. It also illustrates how closely the traditional thought patterns are still linked with the new methods of healing through the Holy Spirit, in spite of the opposition between the two systems. Jaka's calling to his prophetic task differs from those of others in that he seems to have interpreted it as having a special bearing on those 'people of God' afflicted through wizardry. His own experience of being

2. The inference here is that Jaka was tempted to become a great nganga through the enlightening aid of the njuzu spirit. For a discussion of the functions of the popular njuzu spirit, see Daneel, 1971, p. 129.
ensorcelled as a 13-year-old boy, and the permanent damage it caused to his voice, probably have much to do with it. Significant is the fact that the first person he was to treat after his first spell of fasting in the mountains was a bewitched child, and that the vision he had when baptized as an Apostolic prophet concerned a pig vomiting malignant medicine. It was as if he recognized his main adversary Satan, in the destructive wizard. The only divergence from the traditional pattern is that wizardry was not in this instance symbolized in the hyena, as the real bogey, but in the pig which to the Apostles represents the sum total of forbidden food, a kind of polluting species which evokes an apprehensive reaction in Apostolic circles similar to that called up by the hyena.

How then did Jaka set about his task of fighting the evil powers? In the first place he settled permanently in Chingombe after his experience at Ndola. He was therefore constantly available to those who needed his aid. Patients came to stay at his homestead, and he soon had a small colony of people staying for longer or shorter periods according to their need of treatment. The community of patients resembles that of Zion City, except that it is much smaller and centres around the prophetic activities of one man. In principle the pattern of integrating the patients into a new group is essentially the same. Patients must supply their own food unless they earn it through light labour in the prophet's fields. The first diagnostic prophecy concerning a new patient usually reveals part of the causation of illness. A condition for full treatment, as prescribed by the prophet, is baptism in 'Jordan', in other words, Church membership. Thus the psychological pressure on people who find their existence threatened by wizardry is sometimes stepped up by the suggestive diagnosis of the prophet and is then exploited as an effective means of persuading them to join the Church. Under such circumstances patients seldom refuse the 'Jordan' baptism.

Jaka is regarded as an expert in detecting the evil medicine which has been transferred to the victim through poisoning (kudysia), the foot-trap (chitsinga) and through mystical propulsion (chiposo: to be 'thrown' at). The procedure adopted by Jaka resembles that of the traditional nganga. Poison in the stomach is removed through vomiting holy water, which was blessed by the prophet. Holy water symbolizing the power of the Holy Spirit is used as a substitute for the njuzu or other medicine used by the nganga. Chitsinga or chiposo medicine is removed from the body after the Holy Spirit has directed the point of the prophet's staff to the place where it is located. This then is the 'christianized' version of cupping or 'biting out' [kuruma] bad medicine.

Instead of using his mouth, horns or halves of tennisballs as the nganga does, Jaka applies his holy staff to the spot indicated by the Holy Spirit. In the case of bewitched women it is frequently between their shoulder-blades where the evil spirit is 'seated', or the lower part of the stomach if the womb is threatened. While he holds the staff in place Jaka prays, speaks in tongues, and occasionally shakes violently as if spasms pass through him, thus manifesting the presence of the Holy Spirit. Meanwhile the rest of the patient-community and other family members as may be present accompany the performance by singing Apostolic songs in a low voice and a slow tempo, while seated. Prophet Jaka at times presses down on the staff against the patient's body so as to inflict pain. The evil medicine is believed to pass through the staff to the prophet's right hand, held well away from the patient's body, to the staff's top. When it reaches his hand the prophet shows signs of fatigue (due to the power of the evil medicine). He briefly shows a piece of brown substance, resembling clotted blood, to the patient and then throws it into a fire for final destruction.

This kind of treatment usually takes place after sunset during the last prayer-meeting of the day, and it may be repeated several times in the course of weeks if the patient is thought to have evil medicine spread all over his or her body. The prophet knows that the actual removal of the uroyi-medicine is experienced by the patient as the climax of the treatment. He therefore avoids repeating it each day lest it loses its appeal. At times he deliberately keeps a patient in suspense through a gradual process of diagnostic prophecies each morning and evening, revealing a little more of the patient's background and the cause or multiple causes of illness at each session and confining his preliminary treatment to the use of holy water and the laying-on of hands. When he has prepared the patient for the climax of the treatment and has also given him or her a chance of getting acquainted with the religious code of the new movement, in the case of a novice, the malignant substance is removed.

Jaka is also regarded as one of the few prophets who can remove uroyi from the blood of a person who was incised (kutemerwa) by a witch. Sonika, a young woman who had been in Jaka's colony for two weeks when she was interviewed, was awaiting the final removal of medicine which was intended to draw her into a circle of witches. Of her stay at Jaka's she said: 'I suffered from stomach trouble for a long time and visited both hospitals and nganga. They failed to heal me, so I came here for treatment, having left the Roman Catholic Church. Through the Spirit, Prophet Jaka saw the cuts that had been made [kutemera] on my body at night while I was asleep. At the hospitals

4. Ibid., pp. 160-1.
they never detected it. I have been incised by my relatives because they hate me and want me not to have good manners but to practise witchcraft.'

Jaka himself regarded Sonika as a potential witch who had not yet fully succumbed to the persuasions of other witches. 'If she had not come to this Church she would have been a muroyi by now; our prayers have prevented her from becoming one,' he said.

At times Jaka will extend his activities to the homestead of a patient. He prophesies that he 'sees' evil medicine in the victim's house, mostly hidden somewhere in the thatched roof. It is then suggested that the medicine should be removed to achieve a proper and lasting cure.

Once he has reached the homestead concerned, sometimes after a long journey, the prophet goes through all the motions of becoming possessed by the Holy Spirit, removes his shoes, enters the house staff in hand and allows the Spirit to direct the staff's tip to the place in the roof where the medicine is hidden. Having been removed and shown around to interested spectators, the medicine is burnt. There is no doubt that Jaka makes expert use of a sleight-of-hand technique. On all the occasions of removing mushonga from person's bodies or from their houses which I have witnessed personally, Jaka produced the same kind of brownish substance, resembling the gum of a certain species of wild tree.

Outsiders are often enough critical of Jaka's techniques, and the odd patient may turn against him, but it was clear that he was having considerable success with his special methods. The rebukes he receives from other local Apostolic leaders who criticize him for following nganga practices too closely, stem from enmity rather than from a concern with the possible perversion of Apostolic practices. Although Jaka lays no special claim to the leadership of those he has converted into the Apostolic movement, he tends to be individualistic and at times acts independently of his congregation. The fact that his prestige rests on the treatment of wizardry cases 'which the hospitals and nganga have failed to diagnose or cure properly' indeed tempts him to adopt methods not completely aligned to the ordinary Apostolic manifestations of the Holy Spirit. He has nevertheless been careful enough to abstain from straightforward imputations of wizardry, something which the prophetic specialists in uroyi are often tempted to do at the risk of being prosecuted under the Witchcraft Suppression Act.

Another figure in Chingombe who has had considerable success with the detection and removal of malignant medicines is Prophet Elison Mutingwende, the main personality around whom the Shinga Postora movement grew. The difference between Jaka's and Elison's activities is that the for-

5. Ibid., pp. 341, 344.
mer’s recruitment of new members is a local process which forms an integral part of a much wider Church organization, while the latter’s activities are the main pivot upon which the formation of a new movement rests. Whereas the one is subjected to the control of senior office-bearers higher up in the leadership hierarchy of the local *Paseka* unit, the other could develop his own techniques in greater freedom, since Gandanzara’s (Johane Masowe’s) continual absence contributed towards the generation of local initiative and independent action.

Elison, a 40-year-old member of the Gwai tribe, who, as a boy, had reached Std. 3 in a DRC school, had settled as a ‘foreigner’ (*mutorwa*) in the village of Kono, near the Zimbizi school in Chingombe. Regular contact with Zionist and AACJM prophets in the years preceding his final decision to start a new movement had revealed to him how these people exploited their prophecies to attract new Church members. In Chingombe North he himself became known as a healer. Yet his healing activities, at first, were not directly attached to ‘Jordan’ baptisms, and he did not rely on them as a condition for his services. His expertise consisted mainly in the removal of magical horns (*makona*) or snakes from the homesteads and fields of those who were bewitched or ensorcelled. Concerning his prophetic activities in the years leading up to the initiation of the new movement, Elison gives the following account: ‘An enemy [*muvengi*] had hidden a horn [*gona*] at Kuchekenya’s house in Makomo’s village. This horn caused much trouble in the family, and I was called to remove it. I also detected [through the guidance of the Holy Spirit] a horn hidden in Amos’s granary. The reason why the enemies succeeded in placing their medicines at Kuchekenya’s homestead was the wrath of Kuchekenya’s [maternal] grandmother-spirit. She had not been properly inducted [*kugadzirwa*] after her death because Kuchekenya refused to give her name to one of his daughters, fearing that this daughter would be taught to *roya*. [This *mbuya* was reputed to be a witch.] Now the offended *mbuya* spirit attracts enemies and ‘opens the door’ of Kuchekenya’s houses for them to assault the family. She is also angry because she died alone, without sufficient clothing.

‘I was called to Ranga’s house in Magagade’s village. He needed the aid of his deceased father, since his father’s younger brother [*babamunini*] had moved off to the farms [NPA] with all the cattle of the deceased man. So I

6. The distribution of the various AACJM *Paseka* units in the Gutu district will be dealt with in Volume 3.

7. One of the most common containers of destrictive medicine. The *muroyi* is believed either to plant it in, or direct it through magical manipulation at, the house of the victim.
told him to *gadzira* his father’s spirit, after which he would become a rich man. I warned him that if this *kugadzira* was not conducted, all his daughters would become whores [*mahure*]. This was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit. I removed a horn from his house and killed a large snake which we dug up in the yard. Kraalhead Magagade’s fields stopped yielding good crops. The Spirit revealed to me where his enemies had buried the medicated horns and hoofs of an ox, so I uncovered them. These bad things were wrapped in a piece of red cloth and had been placed there by one of Magagade’s rivals for kraal-headmanship. After the removal of the medicine he was able to reap good crops.

‘I also “worked” in the villages of Makuwise [Nyamande chiefdom], Muchemwa, Gwamure, Zeka, Muza and Chaminuka [mostly villages near Elison’s homestead]. In Zeka’s village I predicted the death of two children through witchcraft at Purazen’s homestead. At Muchemwa I removed *makona*. At Potai’s house in Muzas’ village I removed *makona*. Inspired by the Holy Spirit I entered his house and removed a snake which had bitten fowls and one of Potai’s children. I tore the snake apart and burnt it outside. It had been sent by a person who was jealous of Potai’s good crops.

‘I used to charge only those people who did not belong to a Church. The fees varied between 1/6 and 10/-.

Elison’s story was checked with inhabitants of surrounding villages. He was indeed believed to have performed the feats to which he laid claim. Thus, by the time he had persuaded Samuel Dziro⁹ and a few of his close friends to assist him in campaigning for their own Church, he had gained a considerable reputation in traditionalist and Church circles as a formidable opponent of all forms of wizardry. The following description of the first official service of the *Kushinga Pastora* (Courageous Apostles) movement at kraalhead Rutsate’s homestead on the 26th of February 1966 illustrates the main features of Elison’s campaigning technique (plates 24-31).

Kraalhead Murambasvina Rutsate called in the aid of the Apostolic prophet resident in his younger brother Kono’s village, after two children of his son, Pome, had died in quick succession. Elison asked his assistants to accompany him to Rutsate’s village. The main figures in charge of the service were Elison himself, as initiator of the movement, Samuel Dziro, the original

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8. Apostles endowed with the charisma of the Holy Spirit are not supposed to kill a snake with the aid of a stick. They should do so with their bare hands as a sign of divine power working through them.

mufundisi of the Masowe Apostles in Chingombe, Jerry, the son of kraalhead Kono who was appointed evangelist after Elison had ‘given his barren wife a child’, Prophet Zingwangwa, also a former Masowe Apostle, and Prophet Aron, a Maranke Apostle who considered joining the new movement. A group of about fifty people, most of them women, gathered at Rutsate’s on the appointed afternoon. Important, too, from the Shinga Pastora point of view, was the presence of such influential men as Kraalhead Rutsate, the main leader of a faction of eight Rufura houses in a bid for ward headmanship, and Kraalhead Makuwise, the senior representative of one of the leading houses for ward headmanship in the Nyamande chiefdom. These were the men who had to be convinced of the new Church’s right of existence.

When everybody was seated under some trees not far from the stricken Pome’s house, the Hosanna song, from which the nickname of the Masowe-followers derives, was sung. Facing in an easterly direction Elison led the congregation in the chant of an opening prayer: ‘Hallelujah! in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit Bu, bu, bu [speaking in tongues by Elison]. You are the God of this place of Mishek, Abednego and Daniel. You are the God of heaven. You, Jesus, we trust in your power Bu-bu- Hosanna We believe in you, Lord of Truth. Gather your people, Lord, the men and the women! Even the chiefs [madzishe] have come awaiting you, Jehovah. They are awaiting You, Mwari, Lord of the [tribal] leaders. You are the God of the lame and the weak-bodied people – bless them with your power, Jesus. Amen.’ As the congregation continued chanting the Lord’s Prayer Elison reached a high pitch of prophetic excitement with loud shouts of Haiya! Hai-i-ya!

Half an hour was spent in the public confession of sins and the narration of dreams by some of the attendant commoners, which were then interpreted by the prophets; thereafter Evangelist Jerry Kono started with the first sermon. His introduction concerned a justification of the new movement, with reference to the Mission command in Mark 15:15. ‘Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation.’

Jerry: ‘You people who have forgotten God, beware, He exists. Be converted! [Tendeukai!] We were sent by God to revive [mutsa] the people of Rutsate Mark 16:16 – “He that believeth, and is baptized will be saved ” Some of those who are baptized continue the works of evil, for example, the “eat so-and-so” [kudya nhingi; i.e. practise witchcraft], steal food and commit adultery. You, who must still be baptized, confess all your sins first because it is no good to be “soaked in the pool” while you still have
human flesh [nyama yavanhu] in your house. All those who do not worship God are going to be destroyed completely [vangapera nokufa]. You should pray continually, because God sees what you are doing. Even if you have many "horns", [i.e. malignant medicine], you must pray continually."

At this stage there was much speaking in tongues by Elison and the other prophets. Words such as 'Eriah, Hallelujah, Hosanna, Mambo, Section,' etc. were continually heard in between spurts of incomprehensible gibberish.

Jerry: 'Mark. 16:18 says: 'They shall take up serpents.' One day Elison and I caught a snake at Makuwise's village and also removed a horn from one of the houses. It was a terribly dangerous horn which caused the people who came to see it to run away. But it could not harm us.'

Elison was the next to preach: 'You people hear what the teacher [mudzidzisi] has said. We have been given the power of the Holy Spirit and need not be afraid. Each of you must be converted because then you will be given the same gifts by the Holy Spirit, e.g. touching snakes without being bitten.'

At this stage Elison interrupted the sermons and after a spell of speaking in tongues started explaining what the Holy Spirit had revealed to him: 'I was shown medicine [mushonga] in the house of Pome, where two children have died recently. There are two types of medicine: that of the enemy, and that of Pome himself. The latter does not matter because it was used for a protective purpose. Yet it may complicate [kukanganisa] the removal of the bad medicine. You, Pome, must therefore go and remove your own medicine! I can 'see' the evil medicine in the roof of the house. It is a small horn [Elison holds out his hands to indicate an object about three inches long] with something wrapped around it [plate 25]. No, it is not a string, but a snake's skin. What we want is that the house of Rutsate should not be hard-hearted and unrepentant in not turning to God. We all have much trouble here in the reserves but God will not punish His people unnecessarily. Just look at the fields and see how nicely your maize has grown. It is a sign that God has blessed His people, as well as the house of Rutsate.

'You, Rutsate [in a loud voice] if it is possible, call your people to hear the word of God. It is of no use to remain in the world. Who will bury you if you come to die? Instead of coming to us, who charge you no money, you go

10. Note the preoccupation with witchcraft. Jerry was actually addressing the witches who are believed to hide human flesh in some secret spot, as a potent and dangerous medicine.

11. Jerry was here preparing the congregation for the 'horn-finding' session yet to come, through witnessing about Elison's former successes with the elimination of evil powers.

12. Note that the appeal for confession is directly linked with medicine-finding.
to the nganga. But remember, it is not the power of a nganga, but it is God Himself who really heals you. We Apostles only touch the heads of people for them to be healed. If it is possible we must go to Jordan and baptize those who accept God.

'You, Pome, go now and remove your medicine from the hut! Do so quickly, otherwise the medicine of the enemy will "run away"'

While Pome and his wife moved off, Prophet Amos of the AACJM addressed the congregation: 'You of this village must choose today between good and bad. I believe that those villagers who are absent are responsible for planting the medicine in that man's hut. Many people like those absentees carry on their normal lives and refuse to repent. They just keep drinking and when they are about to die they realize that they should have repented in order to receive a good room in heaven. If you people of Rutsate refuse to give heed to God's commands it will be the result of too great a preoccupation with your struggle for the chieftainship.

'Our Apostolic Church is wonderful! We have our own visions – for instance, right now I "see" the medicine which Makuwise gave that girl. It resembles a crab. Being an Apostle does not mean that we are freed from all temptations, for the varoyi are still troubling us. For example, my mother's younger sister [tainini] is ill because she has been poisoned [kudysiswa]. But do not fear, because Christians are bound to be tempted or attacked. If a person remains ill and the plants of his field do not germinate, he will migrate because he has been bewitched. The seeds of the bad people will also not germinate because they are punished, and they too will migrate. Even the Apostles may have to migrate from their places. Nobody is excluded from trials. Such Apostles may blame their Church for their problems but the real cause of their troubles is to be found with their relatives who are still not converted. Rutsate, you remain free in your choice and you may join the nganga. Nevertheless you should remember: "Where the corpses are, there the vultures are" [pane mitumbu pana magora]. If we take water and pray for it, we just sprinkle it in our houses as a poison to the varoyi and it blocks their entry. [Note here the comparison of the "vulture-like" nganga – who by implication are closely associated with uroyi – and the witchcraft-eradicating

13. This frontal attack on the nganga and by implication also on traditional religion is directed at Rutsate's annual propitiation of the ancestral spirits and his appeasement of the ngozi spirit which was believed to harass the family from time to time. The spirit-medium of the original ancestor, Rutsate Chingombe, is regularly consulted in connection with the local political struggle, and Rutsate's own daughter is a practising nganga. Prophet Aron likened nganga to vultures to illustrate the close connection between their practices and death. The eating of flesh connotes the idea of witchcraft, which makes the nganga doubly suspect from the Apostolic point of view.
practices of the Apostles!]. Last night I met two varoyi at my house. When I sprinkled holy water on them they fell down on the floor, powerless. The power of God is like the electricity [magets] used by changamire [reference to author]. You must put your hand at the correct place and the power immediately becomes operative.

'Perhaps this new Church has no witches. In ours [of Maranke] there are many! We forgive them even if we suspect them of presenting us with poisoned food. We fear to be obstacles in their way to faith and deliverance. You, too, should identify with varoyi because his or her bad deeds will "come out" by themselves. Nothing stays hidden in this Church.'

Towards the end of his 'sermon' Amos started telling several of the attendants what the Spirit had revealed to him. For instance, a pregnant woman, affiliated with no Church, was told that she would have a complicated childbirth. Aron claimed to have 'seen' a hyena approaching her door-step, which was tantamount to saying that she could expect foul play in the form of bewitchment. Against the background of what had been said that afternoon, the hint that she should join the Apostolic movement for protective treatment was clear enough. This is exactly what she did a few days later.

Mufundisi Samere Dziro, as the most senior office-bearer in the new movement, delivered the concluding sermon (plate 24). It was his task to give an exposition of the Shinga Postora laws. The prophets were the recruiters, and he the teacher, the dogmatician. He explained the necessity for confession of sins, with reference to Luke 12:2: 'But there is nothing covered up that shall not be known.' 'Since nothing is hidden', he said, 'you must confess your sins, otherwise you will surely die completely [i.e. forfeit eternal life]. The confession of sin is also the command of John. Don't just keep moving like a centipede which cannot see where it is going! A person who confesses his sins is the one who has the Holy Spirit because at the time of John the Baptist those who were varoyi brought their owls [i.e. witch familiars] in baskets as a sign of true confession. They brought their snakes, zvidoma, and all evil things to confess their former use of them, and to demonstrate that they were destroying them.'

Several Apostolic practices such as the necessity of baptism in 'Jordan', of abstaining from pork, etc., were briefly expounded with direct illustrations from the Bible. The transforming of water into wine by Jesus at a wedding feast (John 2) was treated in great detail as the Biblical justification for the Shinga Postora's main divergence from the original Apostolic group, i.e. allowing the use of beer:

Dziro: 'Now what is this stuff they call wine? It is beer [doro]! Jesus was at a kind of beer party... In the same way as Jesus sent His disciples to go
and call the master of the feast after he had filled the pots with beer, we too
call on Rutsate here, today to partake of what Christ has prepared for him.

‘Deuter. 14:26: “And thou shalt bestow the money for whatever thy soul
desireth, for oxen or for sheep, or for wine or for strong drink” You
people of God, you must go out and buy beer and then bring it here so that
we can all feast together before the Lord Jesus. We must be careful about
judging others for their deeds because the Book [Bible] does not always agree
with us when we do so. It is an insult to tell someone who buys beer that he
is the devil.” If I drink and abuse someone, yes, then I am at fault. But there
are also people who fight and commit adultery without drinking beer.

Late in the afternoon the service was closed with prayer, singing and a
tumult of speaking with tongues. Having announced the presence of bewitch-
ing medicine in Pome’s hut and having fully instructed the congregation on
the laws of the new Church, Elison continued his program with the removal
of the medicine, followed up by baptism in Jordan. Before entering the doct-
tored hut, Elison subjected Pome’s wife to a spell of diagnostic prophecy
before the entire congregation: ‘The work of this medicine that I have “seen”
is musotosoto [to cause the loss of property]. It causes you to have miscarria-
ges instead of bearing children normally. You, Mai N, must also confess
about the medicine you have been taking at your home village in the form of
porridge! Did a nganga give you such medicine for the power of bearing
children [chibereko]?’

Mai N: ‘Yes, Amen!’

Elison: ‘Have you heard others referring to your mother as a witch who
goes out at night?’

Mai N: ‘Yes!’

Elison: ‘There are two causes of your troubles: the trouble with your
family spirits back home and your enemies at this kraal. The more important
issue concerns those who attack you here! Hallelujah Hosanna! We
know that it will take time, but do not worry; we will solve your problems.’

Addressing Pome, Elison continued: ‘I know that curative medicine can
help, but in this case it has failed completely. This third child of yours, which
is still in your wife’s womb, will be born but it will also die because of the
enemies. There is a powerful mudzimu at the house of your wife, whom they
used to venerate.’

Mai N: ‘Yes, my father and brother used to quarrel a lot about the “ancest-
tral beast” [ngombe yomudzimu; probably one of the cows belonging to the
paternal or maternal mbuya-spirit].’

14. This remark reflects some reaction to the strict laws of the Masowe Apostles.
Elison: ‘It is that same mudzimu which is following you here and which allows your enemies to enter your house. It will lead to the destruction of your unborn child. Even if you go to the nganga it will be of no avail. Only the Church [Shinga Postora] can give real aid in this case. Just pray hard that you will be given that child! Without prayer there will be no child! Yes, you must indeed pray hard [ne simba] because I “see” that when you dreamt the other night you saw the muroyi coming into your house. You woke up and followed her. [In other words: If you do not pray faithfully you will be overcome by the temptation to become a witch.] This demon of uroyi comes from your home.

‘I am given a “picture” [by the Holy Spirit] of a cow with a calf. When the cow licks the calf it takes the flesh off its body with the tongue [i.e. you will be “eating” your child as a witch does]. Pray hard because at your house there is an ancestral spirit inspiring witchcraft [dzindza inomusa].’

Mai N. ‘Tell me, is it my maternal or paternal grandmother?’

Elison: ‘It is the mbuya on your father’s side, which comes at night and settles between your shoulders. She wants you to work at night. In your dreams someone at the door beckons you to wake up and follow her outside. From now on you and your husband must stick together. Then you will overcome your troubles!’

At this stage the congregation assembled in front of the haunted house and started singing the Hosanna song. Elison entered that hut with Evangelist Jerry and Prophet Zingwangwa (plate 26). He moved about the hut with outstretched arms as if to show that he held nothing in his hands, and with eyes transfixed as if in a hypnotic trance. Suddenly he plucked a bundle of grass from the roof, opened it carefully and produced a small horn, partly wrapped up in snake’s skin as he had prophesied. There were sufficient signs of decay on the grass and horn to convey the impression that it had been planted there long ago and that it could at least have contributed to the deaths of Pome’s two children. As Elison triumphantly stepped out of the hut, horn in hand (plate 27), there was much rejoicing by all the spectators and clear signs of relief on the face of the afflicted and half suspected woman. There was no doubt about the psychological value of this seemingly miraculous feat of the prophet. People pressed close to the prophet to see the evil object and then moved away as he kindled a fire to burn it (plate 28).

The baptismal ceremony was postponed until the following week as Elison still had to remove some medicine from homesteads of afflicted persons in Kraalhead Makuwise’s village. When the members of the new Church eventually congregated on the banks of a small rivulet near the Chingombe – Nya-
mande border, not far from Makuwise’s village, there were eight adults and four children to be baptized. Among them were Pome, his wife, and Kralhead Makuwise himself (plate 30). Kralhead Rutsate stated that he preferred the Zion Christian Church, whose leader was more capable than Elison of assisting him to achieve his political aims. Several interested observers also appeared on the banks of Jordan to watch the prophets at work.

As in the case of most Apostolic baptisms there was a sermon (plate 29) which dealt with the work of John the Baptist, followed up by prophecies and confessions of sin before the novices entered the water for immersion. Elison guarded the ‘entrance’ to Jordan and dealt with the confessions of each individual before Mufundisi Dziru and Evangelist Jerry Kono immersed the converts and Prophet Zingwangwa ‘received’ the new members on the opposite bank (plate 31). During the Jordan procedure songs such as: ‘You have come today • cast away the spirit of Satan which follows you’, and ‘The people are in Jordan, Hosanna, Hosanna’, were sung.

The great preoccupation of the prophets and novices with wizardry and medicines once more became evident in the prophecies and confessions preceding the entrance into Jordan. Confession in the case of Pome’s wife amounted to an admission of being tempted by her mbuya’s spirit to become a witch. Mai Chiedzo, also from the Rutsate village, confessed that she had been visited by a demon of witchcraft which knocked at her door at night and tried to persuade her to ‘eat’ her child. A certain man, J, admitted that he had planted divisi medicine in his fields to ripen his crops and that he had at one stage seriously contemplated getting rid of his wife through sorcery. These confessions undoubtedly impressed the non-affiliated women who stood nearby. They insisted that Elison at least give them a preliminary hearing right there, since they were greatly troubled. A few prophecies followed, in which the prophet with persistent regularity ‘saw’ evil medicines back at the women’s homesteads and hinted at bewitching activities between co-wives. He made appointments to visit the different villages at a later stage in order to remove the evil medicines. Thus the next recruitment-cycle, which could likewise be expected to lead to ‘Jordan’, was started where the previous one had reached its completion. With a snow-balling effect the new movement was gradually gaining momentum.

Within a year’s time (from Febr. 1966 - to Febr. 1967) Elison and his fellow-workers had established eight small Church groups: three in the northern regions of Chingombo, one in each of the neighbouring chiefdoms of Nyamande and Chitsa, one in Buhera and one in Gokwe, more than 200

15. Baptismal procedure in the Spirit-type Churches will be described in Volume 4.
miles from Elison’s homestead. Taken together, these groups comprised well over a hundred adults and probably as many children; no mass movement, but indeed a considerable achievement if it is considered that the main attraction was provided by the medicine-finding efforts of a single persuasive character, which included a campaign as far away as Gokwe. Kraalhead Makuwise’s comment on the question why he had joined the Shinga Postora movement represents the stereotype theme which reappears in numerous variations in nearly all the testimonies of affiliated members: ‘I entered the Shinga Postora’, he said, ‘because Elison helped me when I was ill. He removed a horn and a crab-like object with human hair attached to it, from my house. He revealed to me that this medicine [chiposo] had been “sent” by my relatives in Salisbury who wish me harm, because they owe me money. My eye-trouble was said to be the result of adultery committed by my wife. Another source of trouble was my angered maternal grandmother. Her spirit afflicted me because she wanted the grandmother’s goat [imbwazikuru] my father owed her.

‘Long ago, before Christianity came, we were enlightened by our nganga concerning family matters. So that is the most important thing in this Church: “Zvinhu zvose ndinoprofitirwa kufanana kushoperwa”· Everything is revealed to me through prophecy in the same way as [through] traditional divination.’

The similarity between the prophet’s revelations and the nganga’s divinations is unmistakable. To the ruralist steeped in traditional belief and philosophy the prophet’s methods of fighting evil forces at work in his society are understandable and relevant. The power of the Spirit is meaningful in that it enables the prophet first of all to diagnose evil in its African guise and then to fight it effectively. At first sight it seems as if the protection offered to Church members is of a magical quality, brought about by the charismatic abilities of the prophet, yet is is significant that the prophets with great persistence encourage their followers to pray perseveringly for deliverance. It is therefore not merely a matter of Church members passively enjoying a security manipulated by their leaders, but also of fighting their own spiritual battles under the guidance of the Spirit.

In conclusion a few important deviations from the traditional system of imputation of wizardry (kupumha uroyi) should be pointed out. Elison had actually been detained twice for direct prophetic imputations of wizardry a few years before he initiated the new Church. To avoid further trouble he had therefore changed his methods by concentrating on the detection and destruc-

16. Several Shinga Postora members living in or near Chingombe were interviewed, but their particulars were not incorporated in the statistically quantified material.
tion of the tools and devices used by wizards and avoiding as far as possible direct imputation, which was customary with any nganga of repute. Pome's wife, for instance, under the circumstances described, would probably have been condemned by a nganga as a witch who had 'eaten' two children, and the village community might well have felt justified after such an accusation in making life unbearable for her. The prophets, however, made no direct accusation of witchcraft, but suggested that Mai N was actually only being tempted by her mbuya spirit. Thus the main blame was shifted onto the ancestral spirit and on the enemies whom this spirit had allowed to enter Mai N's homestead. The actual enemies were not mentioned by name. By treating Mai N as a potential witch and by propagating Church membership as the only effective way of fighting off the onslaught of the mbuya's spirit, a certain amount of pressure could still be brought to bear on the unfortunate woman. There can be no doubt about the prophet's full exploitation of the fears arising from the precarious social position in which a woman like Mai N found herself. Another miscarriage or death of a child could result in complete rejection by her in-laws; a pretty desperate situation for any African woman to be in.

Probably the most important deviation from the traditional system is the treatment of the witch or the would-be witch. Instead of threats and possible expulsion, a message of hope and of acceptance within the new group is proclaimed to the unfortunate victim. Pome's wife, for instance, was told not to worry since a solution to her problems was forthcoming. As members of a movement which functions as a refuge against the onslaught of evil powers, Pome and his wife were encouraged to remain united as husband and wife. In this way favourable conditions for successful childbirth were being created. Elison's removal of the malignant medicine brought about the initial release of tension in the afflicted woman. In addition the elimination of the threat of rejection by her husband and in-laws enabled Mai N to set about her domestic duties in a normal way. Had she been accused of witchcraft in the traditional manner, she would probably have been forced into a secluded existence which in turn could have driven her to the type of anti-social behaviour characteristic of the classic Shona witch.

The prophet does not always succeed, of course, in safeguarding the social position of a woman suspect of witchcraft. She may still be rejected by her husband or by her fellow-villagers should they decide that the prophet's efforts to exorcise the demon of witchcraft had been fruitless. Unlike Pome, the husband of such a woman may prove to be unwilling to co-operate with the prophet from the start. In the event of expulsion the victim's incentive for associating with the prophet's group is often intensified.
2. WIZARD-FINDING DURING VILLAGE BAPTISMS

Only a handful of prophets in the Southern Shona regions have become widely known as real wizard-hunters. These are the ‘roving prophets’ who are regularly summoned from their homesteads to distant villages to conduct large-scale wizard-hunts. They are the individualists like Apostolic prophet Joshua, who has broken away from the main Apostolic body of Maranke to act as a free-lance, men who are continually faced with the risk of being prosecuted for their activities, some of them having already served one or two sentences of imprisonment in the past. Obsessed with the urge to live up to their calling of fighting wizardry in the name of the Holy Spirit and motivated also by additional considerations such as financial gain and the expansion of their spheres of influence, these prophets lead restless lives. They are continually on the move and are generally insufficiently concerned with the integration of possible converts into well-organized and stable Church units to profit from their activities in the same way as, for instance, Prophet Elison does from his. Even if they did make disciples, the short spells of a few days at a time spent in a troubled village community give them little chance of consolidating their leadership. The roving prophet relies mostly on a small core of faithful followers residing in the same ward or chiefdom, some of whom occasionally accompany him on his travels.

The general pattern of procedure during such a wizard-hunt is as follows: A kraalhead of a village community troubled by the possible threat of wizardry, especially after a series of mishaps or unexpected deaths, sends an emissary to the prophetic wizard-hunter. In some cases the prophet’s visit is preceded or followed up by the sending of a delegation to a traditional diviner to cross-check the information to be obtained or already obtained. The prophet spends a few days in the village. He is entitled to a so-called ‘travelling allowance’, paid by the villagers. Its amount depends on the gravity of the situation rather than the distance travelled. He also collects a small fee from the adults for his revelatory services. Going from one homestead to another, the prophet spends hours interviewing the inhabitants of the village. Depending on the situation, he prophesies, cajoles, threatens, accuses or makes suggestions in the name of the Holy Spirit to get the necessary information from the villagers. I have even observed such a prophet making lengthy notes on his findings and giving each ‘interviewed’ adult a slip of paper containing key-words which he or she has to produce during the final act of the ‘hunt’ i.e. during the baptism in ‘Jordan’. One or two village court (dare) sessions may also be held to discuss

the issue at stake. By the time the prophet requests the whole village community to gather at the nearest dam or river, he is familiar with the current views and suspicions of most of its members. He also knows a great deal at this stage about minor household conflicts or about rivalries between the members of different homesteads, which enables him to interpret the information obtained.

The baptismal ceremony that follows usually lasts the best part of a day. Each villager must pass the ‘wizard-finder’, now dressed in a long white robe and standing knee-deep in the water at the spot where the people enter ‘Jordan’. Public confession of sins is followed by spells of prophecies during which the prophet prompts each individual to admit the hidden sins not yet mentioned. It is his task to detect thieves, adulterers and especially witches or sorcerers and to stop them from being baptized if they refuse to admit their guilt. Standing behind the prophet, his assistants conduct the actual baptism amid the singing of Apostolic songs. Prophet Joshua is often accompanied by two or three of his wives who stand on the opposite bank during the whole ceremony to ‘receive’ (kugamuchira) those who have successfully passed the test and to lead the singing. The village elders and kraalhead listen intently to the confessions because villagers, in their anxiety to avoid being branded as wizards, often reveal numerous ‘secrets’ concerning their private lives. Villagers are seldom physically forced to participate in such proceedings, although in the case of one particular village baptism near Pamushana Mission in the Bikita district several informants reported that a few reluctant Mission Church members were forced with axes to enter ‘Jordan’. Generally people agree to undergo the test regardless of their denominational affiliation lest they arouse the suspicion of other villagers and prejudice their future position in the community. Towards the end of the baptismal ceremony a number of villagers, mostly females, who have failed to pass the test are seated in a group on the ‘wrong’ side of ‘Jordan’. If the prophet is still not sure whom to point out he may conclude with a general verdict, by pointing at the group and saying: ‘Look, there are your witches!’ He may also distinguish between those who are considered to possess relatively harmless medicines and the dangerous varoi who are capable of malicious deeds. A public verdict is sometimes omitted completely, the village elders having been provided with sufficient indications in the course of the ritual to draw their own conclusions. This is the safest approach for the prophet who wishes to avoid the risk of being prosecuted. Strictly speaking, the prophet’s task terminates at this juncture, and he leaves the village dare to decide what should be done with the guilty party.

The activities of two of the ‘roving prophets’ well known in the Gutu dis-
Church growth – causative factors and recruitment techniques

District are worth describing in order to assess the impact of such wizard-hunts on village communities. Prophet Mufeyi lives in Buhera and Prophet Mupumhi in the south-eastern part of Gutu.\(^\text{18}\) Both of them travel far and wide. Yet their main field of action lies in the Buhera, Gutu, Bikita, Zaka and Victoria districts.

Our first case-study concerns the predominantly Hera village of Kraalhead Zeka in the northern tip of Chingombe. In November 1965, two children of Prazen, a Maranke Apostle and son-in-law of Kraalhead Zeka, died on two successive days. These children belonged respectively to Prazen’s first and second wives, and the nature of their deaths aroused suspicion. The women accused each other of witchcraft, one of them alleging that she had found the hand of her deceased child after it had been used as a potent medicine by the other. Prazen obtained Zeka’s permission to call in the aid of an Apostolic prophet. On the 24th of December he arrived at the village with Prophet Mufeyi from Buhera. As he himself said: ‘It has to be a prophet from afar, who does not know the people of our village.’ On the 26th, Zeka summoned all the villagers to ‘Jordan’ since his own daughter had become a suspect he insisted that every single villager participate in the ordeal to ‘avoid mistakes’. He himself, as a backslid DRC member and part-time nganga, was the first to be baptized after he had produced a sable-antelope horn filled with medicine to be burnt by the prophet. Zeka’s children passed through ‘Jordan’ without trouble, but his wife, according to Mufeyi, had failed to confess all her sins and was prevented from passing through the river. Prazen’s suspicion that his wife – the daughter of Zeka – was a hereditary witch, which also involved his mother-in-law, was therefore more or less confirmed. But both his wives, surprisingly enough, passed the test. Neither did the other Apostolic and Zionist families experience much difficulty in being baptized. Baptist Marire, himself a village member, actually assisted Mufeyi in baptizing the villagers.

In addition to Zeka’s wife the following villagers were not baptized: The wife of Manjojo, who had refused to produce all her medicines; the second wife of Simon Nyamadzau, who confessed that she was a witch and that she had bewitched \((kudyisa)\) Patricia, the daughter of Simon’s first wife in the effort to make her a muroyi;\(^\text{19}\) (she failed to pass through ‘Jordan’ because

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18. Both names are fictitious. Mufeyi means ‘detective’ (derived from \(kufeya\): to investigate) and Mupumhi means ‘accuser’. The latter name is derived from the term most frequently used in Shona to indicate the imputation of wizardry \((kupumha uroyi: to accuse of wizardry)\).

19. Patricia said that she was offered three \(zvidoma\) (witch familiars of psychic nature) and a snake when her \(mainini\) (‘small mother’ i.e. second wife of her father) caused her to dream.
she refused to produce her malignant medicines and familiars [zvidoma] to be burnt in public); female nganga vaGhoni, one of the most widely reputed diviner-healers in Chingombe, who was not incriminated in connection with Prazen's children but who had ‘refused to reveal her strong medicines to the prophet'; nganga Hapagargwi, who was accused of having set a foot-trap (chitsinga) for Baptist Marire, in other words, of practising sorcery; Sunurai's two wives, one a Wesleyan and the other a Chibarirwe member, who were both accused of using bad medicines; and Dzingirai's wife, who had made no effort, as most of the others had done, to produce at least some of her medicines but had flatly refused to co-operate. This latter woman was regarded as 'really bad' (wakashata chose).

During the entire procedure Prophet Mufeyi refrained from directly accusing anybody of the deaths of Prazen's children. He had collected 6d. from each villager and promised them that he would be back within a few days to continue his ‘investigation’ He never returned. The village court congregated and discussed the whole matter, without achieving much more than extending warnings to some of the villagers who were regarded as a threat to the community because they possessed bad medicines. Prazen, although his wives had passed the ordeal, made them return to their parents on the pretext that he considered them capable of poisoning him as they had poisoned his children. Within a few months he had started negotiating for a third wife.

The village-baptism, which Apostle Marire afterwards called a failure, nevertheless had direct or indirect repercussions for some of the village members: Four days after the ordeal, Simon Nyamadzau and his whole family went to Minister Bracho, the senior zcc leader in Chingombe, to check the truth of Mufeyi's revelations. The Zionist prophets assisting Bracho confirmed the Apostle's findings by suggesting that Simon's second wife operated at night as a witch. Patricia, who admitted that she had been given medicine by this woman in order to become a muroyi, had to drink salt water prepared by the Zionists so as to vomit the uroyi from her stomach.

Kraalhead Zeka, who was known to envy vaGhoni for her success as a nganga, exploited the suspicion cast on her by Mufeyi, so as to make her existence in the village less secure and less pleasant than before. A few months later the old woman moved to another nganga in a neighbouring chiefdom, where she was treated regularly (the symptoms were those of rheumatism) to safeguard herself against medicinal attacks from her home village. When I left the chiefdom she was still not sure whether it was advisable to return to her solitary existence at her homestead. After the village baptism some of her neighbours actually started regarding her as a dangerous woman with powerful malignant medicine, and she could no longer count on their
support if Zeka decided to have her expelled officially.

The wife of Dzingirai was probably the most hard-hit by the ordeal. By categorizing her as ‘really bad’ the prophet had confirmed the suspicion held by several villagers for some time. They had found a scapegoat whom they could now ‘legitimately’ blame for many of their misfortunes. Accusations which were formerly of a secret nature or were based on mere suspicions could now be vented in public since they were more or less sanctioned by the prophetic revelations. In this respect the village baptism obviously served the purpose of bringing brooding tensions to a head. Dzingirai’s wife was not cast out of the community but her social status grew progressively worse after the ordeal, until she became the victim of a serious assault eight months later. On the 25th of August 1966 one of the male villagers – a backslid Ndaza Zionist – openly accused Dzingirai’s wife at a beer party of having bewitched him, as a result of which his leg would not heal. He then beat her up savagely in the presence of several other villagers and left her next to one of the huts in an unconscious state with serious head injuries. The fact that nobody tried to stop the assault seems to indicate how far this ‘witch’ had sunk in the esteem of her fellow villagers. When she returned from hospital she resumed her isolated existence in Zeka’s village.

The second case involving Mufeyi concerns the village of N in the Munyikwa chiefdom: Kraalhead N died in December 1965 after several weeks of stomach trouble. His younger brothers and the village elders decided to call in Mufeyi’s aid because they suspected that the kraalhead, a former Maranke Apostle, had been poisoned (kudyiswa). Apparently it was decided beforehand by the village dare that the culprit pointed out by the prophet would be driven from the village. Mufeyi spent three days in the village listening to preliminary confessions and destroying such medicines as he could lay hands on. It was a kind of perpetual purification rite, in preparation of the final ordeal in ‘Jordan’. The wives of DRC teachers produced all the beaded doilies they possessed, to be burnt by the prophet, since beads, associated with medicines and shavi spirits, are signs of wrong conduct (not necessarily, however, of witchcraft). To avoid the risk of being suspected of witchcraft, these women even produced simple ointments and pills, such as Vaseline and quinine. The wife of a Roman Catholic teacher had her rosary and pictures of Mary destroyed. Only a picture of Jesus on the cross was left untouched by the

20. When the assault took place I was interviewing Baptist Marire a few hundred yards from where the beer party was being held. Kraalhead Zeka requested my assistance, and I transported the injured woman to the Gutu Mission hospital where she regained consciousness three days later.
prophet. The wife of the deceased, in turn, was placed in a precarious position by the prophet’s outright refusal to have her cook his food.

On the morning of the baptism at the Devuli river, which lasted from 10 a.m. till sundown, Mufeyi opened the proceedings by telling his experiences of the previous night. He alleged that two women had visited the hut in which he was sleeping to bewitch him and prevent him from revealing the truth about them the following day. Through the Holy Spirit he could fight them off. He did not mention their names, but the villagers already knew that at least two women were to be branded by the prophet as witches.

The younger brother of the deceased, N, who had succeeded to the position of kraalhead, was accused of hiding some bad medicines, and he forfeited the face-saving baptism. The deceased’s wife also failed to pass the test, but it was not alleged that she had caused her husband’s death. Her ‘sin’ was the preparation of a love potion (muphuwira) for her husband while still alive – a serious abuse according to Apostolic laws against the sanctified love between husband and wife. Several women were turned back by the prophet to go and fetch medicines and ornaments which they had kept hidden. A DRC teacher, who had been away from the village for several months, refused to be baptized on the grounds of his absence during N’s illness. When the new kraalhead tried to force him to enter ‘Jordan’ the majority of villagers sided with him, and he was exempted from participation.

That evening Prophet Mufeyi classified the villagers into four groups:

1. the real varoyi (five women and one man – all of them non-Apostles);
2. a group of women who regularly prepared love potions for their husbands;
3. the respectable people, who occasionally made use of ‘weak’ medicines, not endangering others, and
4. the good people, who passed ‘Jordan’ without trouble.

Having ordered the villagers to be seated in their groups, Mufeyi turned to the first group and pointed out a man – the deceased’s sister’s son (muzukuru), who was known to have been at loggerheads with the deceased over land, and a female – the wife of a ‘foreigner’ (mutorwa) – as the persons responsible for N’s death. Mufeyi sensed that the new kraalhead and village elders intended to take drastic action, which could ultimately cost him some time in jail if the matter were reported to the authorities. He therefore warned the kraalhead not to chase the culprits away until he himself had returned two weeks later to reveal in what way the two varoyi had caused the deceased’s death. Through these delaying tactics he obviously tried to dissuade the villagers from taking action at a stage when they were prone to irresponsible excesses. Early next morning Prophet Mufeyi returned to Buhera.
The village court waited for a full month. Several messengers were sent to the opportunistic prophet, but to no avail. It was rumoured at the time that Mufeyi had planned to return but that on the way to the village he had been warned about the anger of the 'group of varoyi', and had turned back. A delegation was therefore sent to a nganga, who duly confirmed most of the prophet's findings. The court decided to give the two 'varoyi' responsible for N's death a chance of reaping their crops, after which they had to leave the village. Consequently two families migrated: the sorcerer, N's muzukuru, with his wife and children, to another village in the same chiefdom, and the witch with her husband (who was permitted to stay if he chose to do so) to the Munyaradzi chiefdom. Thus the revelations of Prophet Mufeyi had a very considerable effect on the lives of several villagers. In his comment on the 'Jordan' ordeal, in which he had refused to participate, the DRC teacher stated: 'The prophet was favouring the five Apostolic families in our village. He referred to the non-Apostles as heathens [vahedeni]. His aim was to “buy” people for the Apostolic faith, but he was unsuccessful because none of the non-Apostles who were baptized actually intended to become members of that Church. He does not have the Holy-Spirit [Mweya Mutsvene]! What he says sounds Biblical, but in reality it is similar to shavi practices — it is not of God [my italics].'

This comment reflects the general attitude of Mission Church members, whether they feel obliged to participate in wizard-finding ordeals or not. They react to the simplified classification of villagers into two main categories, of Apostles and Zionists as 'Christians' and the members of all the other Independent and Mission Churches, together with the traditionalists, as 'heathens' — a classification conveniently adopted by the prophets as a premise for their claims that they have 'Christianized' the greater part of such a village community. It is evident, however, that the recruitment-value of this ordeal-baptism is negligible. The majority of non-Apostolic villagers who subject themselves to this type of baptism are not interested so much in Church membership as in the revelations of the prophet. Few of them regularly attend Apostolic services after being 'recruited' under those circumstances. Some of the younger people may be sufficiently impressed with the charismatic qualities of the prophet to be swayed in favour of the 'real' faith he represents. Especially in villages with a strong faction of Apostles, the chances are that a number of people who have considered affiliation to this Church for some time are finally convinced during such a spell of communal build-up of tension, followed by the often impressive and cleverly staged pressure-release of the prophet. In neither of the two above-mentioned ordeals did any of the non-Apostolic adult villagers regard their baptisms as an
initiatory rite of permanent significance. Still, a few of them stated that they
had decided to attend Apostolic services once in a while. It seemed as if the
local Apostles, with the exception of a few sceptic members, were the only
people really impressed by what they considered a ‘rapid growth in members’
of their Church.

Members of Mission Churches, whose leaders take a serious view of such
baptisms, are usually more directly influenced in their religious lives than
others. In the above-mentioned villages it so happened that the Ethiopian-
type Church members regarded their ‘baptisms’ as part of an unavoidable
situation. Their superiors took it as a matter of course and did not even con-
template restrictive action. The Roman Catholics involved, it was reported,
had to confess their sins to their superiors, and the unfortunate DRC members
were disciplined for periods of three to six months after the merits of each
case had been discussed at the Alheit Church Council. In the case of DRC
members being baptized, much depends on the personal views of the overseer
(mutariri) and the status of the members concerned. Should a female Church
member be forced against her will to comply with the kraalhead’s demands
the mutariri may well decide to turn a blind eye to the issue, whereas the
baptism of a Church elder or evangelist is mostly reported in due course to
the Church Council as an unpardonable offence.

In the Pamushana Presbytery (Bikita and Zaka districts) DRC officials have in
recent years been alarmed at the way in which Church members succumb to
the pressures to which they are subjected during wizard-finding village bap-
tisms. Mupumhi, the ‘roving prophet’ from Gutu, has become a popular
wizard-finder in these regions and reports on his activities have repeatedly
been made to the local Church Council. In 1965 two of his wizard-hunts, at
the villages of Murwira and Jarawaza in Bikita, and one at Mutzambga at
Zaka, involved a number of prominent DRC members.

At Murwira, a predominantly Rozvi village, six adult DRC members and
their children were baptized. A few gallons of cattle-dip had been stolen,
after which one of the village elders died. The possible connection between
these two occurrences induced the villagers to call in the aid of Prophet Mu-
pumhi. Ward headman Murwira and Chief Jiri were both informed and gave
their consent to this. On the day of the ordeal, Murwira announced that he
would expel any villager who refused to participate. In addition to three
other DRC members, Evangelist Daveson\footnote{Evangelist Daveson was employed as my ‘camp superintendent’ and personal
advisor during the entire research period in Rhodesia (see: Daneel, 1971, p. VIII).} was the only male villager who
refused to enter 'Jordan' after he had successfully passed the public confessional. He deemed it wise, however, to have his wife baptized together with the other villagers, lest she be 'tagged' as a witch. A report on the baptized DRC members was sent from Pamushana to Morgenster Mission for discussion in the Presbyterial Committee. The extenuating circumstances were taken into consideration, but disciplinary measures, lasting three or six months per person, were maintained all the same.

During a wizard-hunt at the Mutsambga village in Zaka, two DRC elders were baptized, and at Jarawaza one elder was immersed in 'Jordan' after he had publicly confessed to having committed adultery with the kraalhead's wife. In the first two cases a full year's Church discipline (*shamhu*) was applied and in the latter a year and six months. An old female member of the DRC, who had refused to be baptized a second time, had her hut burnt down the following night. She reported the matter to the kraalhead, who could not be relied upon under the circumstances to take any action since he himself supported the villagers who were trying to oust the old woman from their community. This case was not reported to the police. Rev. Brand, who was at Pamushana at the time, suggests that the woman refrained from doing so lest she should prejudice her position in the village further and evoke even more drastic reactions from her neighbours.

The three baptized elders appeared before the local Church Council at Pamushana and the whole issue was discussed at length. It appeared that the African minister was the least inclined of the Council members to accept the excuse that pressure had been brought to bear on the Church elders, and he proposed that the full measure of Church discipline should be applied. He regarded participation in such baptism-ordeals as an offence similar to paying the traditional *nganga* a visit with the aim of eliciting information through divination (*kushopera*). There is little doubt, however, that the elders had been driven into extremely difficult positions. They knew full well that they were bound to lose their influence and cherished positions of leadership in the Mission Church if they subjected themselves to the prophetic ordeal. Yet the possibility of being branded as scapegoat and of eventual expulsion from their village communities if they did not comply with the demands of the

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According to his account the prophet on this occasion succeeded in pointing out the two men responsible for the theft. They were turned over to the police. In connection with Prophet Mupumhi's efforts to baptize him, he said: 'During a prayer meeting the prophet pointed at me and said: "That man's mother died and now her spirit urges him to continue her task as a witch [kumutsa murimo]." I told him he was lying and that I would not be baptized a second time. I quoted Acts 4:12 which says that there is no other name than that of Jesus through which we must be saved.'
occasion seemed to them real enough and the greater evil at the time. Rev. Brand observed, for instance, that throughout the discussion of his case in the Church Council one of the elders seemed to suffer from tension brought on by acute fear, the origin of which lay in the complicated circumstances in his home village.

Several coercive forces become operative during such an ordeal. In addition to the dominating fear of losing a position of security in the village society, there is also the wide-spread belief in the magical quality of the water of ‘Jordan’, especially prepared by the prophet, which induces people to confess private matters which they would otherwise have kept to themselves. It is feared that some future divine punishment may be incurred if one enters the ‘holy water’ without confessing all one’s sins. This may well be one of the motivating forces which helped to elicit a confession of adultery from one of the DRC elders while in ‘Jordan’.

Not everybody baptized during such a large-scale ordeal is prompted by the fears mentioned above. Outsiders from neighbouring villages often seek aid from the visiting prophet and are only too willing to meet his requirements if they think the revelatory prophecies might help them to achieve their aims. During the preparatory stages of a village baptism in Chingombe in December 1965, Prophet Mupumhi, for instance, agreed to help several people from neighbouring villages. Among them were a Church of Christ school teacher (qualifications: Std. 6 and three ‘years’ training at the Nhowe Bible College), a prominent Chibarirwe office-bearer and the eldest daughter of his polygamous household. The school teacher (A) hoped to recover his property stolen from a bus in the tribal area a year previously, the Chibarirwe official (B) wanted the prophet to help him search for the money his father had hidden in a mountain before he died, and his daughter (C) was seeking a cure from constant illness. On the day of the baptism A, B and C were subjected to the same treatment as all the others. Mupumhi told them that they first had to become ‘real Christians’ before he could help them. Teacher A and his wife had considerable difficulty in passing the ‘test’ A dispute between A and his kraalhead was reviewed in great detail during the confessional on the banks of ‘Jordan’, and his wife was sent back home to fetch all her beaded doilies for the prophet to destroy before she was baptized. In return for ‘becoming a real Christian’, teacher A was told by Mupumhi that part of his property had been sold between the Devuli river and Basera township; the remaining clothes had been taken by the thief to the Mazuru chiefdom. The prophet even mentioned the supposed thief’s name. B had to hear from the prophet that his old mother was a witch, that his second wife was her accomplice, and that the two of them were responsible for C’s illness.
The prophet visited his homestead towards the end of his stay in Chingombe, but failed to help B find the ‘treasure’. Yet he provided C with some peace of mind in ‘return’ for the trouble she had taken by safeguarding her hut against future attacks by the witches. The interior was sprinkled with holy water to prevent the paternal mbuya from sending her familiars at night to bewitch C and cause her to become a witch as well.\(^{22}\)

Prophets usually get away with direct and indirect imputations of wizardry. Well aware of the frequent occurrence of baptismal ordeals the administrative authorities leave the prophets some latitude for their practices. But once it has been established that there is a causal relation between the imputation of wizardry and subsequent punitive action undertaken against the so-called wizard, severe sentences of punishment are imposed on the prophet. Several of the above-mentioned ordeals have harmed persons accused of wizardry. Yet the fact that none of the accusations made by Mufeyi and Mupumhi actually led to any form or prosecution seems to indicate that the authorities may be unaware of the connection between some misdeeds and wizardry accusations, that some of the less sensational ordeals in remote areas escape their notice because they are not reported, or that the punitive action undertaken in a number of cases was simply not severe enough for restrictive action to be taken.

The following two court cases arising from baptismal ordeals and treated as contraventions of section 3 of the Witchcraft Suppression Act\(^{23}\) illustrate the circumstances which led to prosecution:

**Case I**

Prophet Philip Tasaranarwo of the AACJM, a resident of Kraalhead Gwamure’s village in Chingombe, was sentenced to nine months’ hard labour by the Regional Court at Fort Victoria (on the 24th of August 1965) for accusing Chiramwiwa of having used non-natural means to cause the death of

\(^{22}\) Prophet Mupumhi diagnosed C’s irregular menstrual periods as the direct result of her blood being stolen by the familiars of her bewitching grandmother. At the time this explanation satisfied C. Later she proved to be pregnant. In the course of her illness she had visited several nganga who also diagnosed the practices of the paternal mbuya as the source of her troubles. She herself admitted that she had had call-dreams to become a witch. At Gutu Mission she was treated for bilharzia, after which she stayed with relatives away from her home until the prophet had ‘reinforced’ her living quarters with divine powers as a precaution against future attacks. Only then did she dare to return to her original homestead.

\(^{23}\) Daneel, 1971, p. 467.
Shuvai's children. The baptismal ordeal in this case did not concern a full village baptism, but the subjection of a delegation visiting the prophet to the 'Jordan' ceremony. Chiramwiwa's account in court summarizes the sequence of events during the ordeal:

'On the 11th of November 1964 at 8 a.m. Kraalhead Musengiwa came to see me at my hut. I then went with him, Chaipa [husband of Shuvai], Marita [another suspect] and Shuvai [mother of the deceased children] to the accused. He lives at Gwamure's kraal. Musengiwa and Chaipa spoke to accused and asked him to prophesy. They started singing and praying. Accused led me away from the group – about 75 yards. Accused then said to me: "It is true, you are the witch!" Then he went back to the group. At this place there was a pool of water [Mupindimbi dam near the north-eastern border of Chingombe], and there were some people in the water. I was ordered by the people in the pool to get into the water. I went in and when I had entered waist-deep, accused said I was not fit to go any further and told me to get out. I came out and sat down near the pool. Accused told the group of people around the pool that I was a witch. I denied this allegation. Accused then ordered me to stretch my legs, which I did. Accused came to me and lifted my dress and put in a stick [Apostolic staff] which he had in his hand. He put the stick under my dress and pulled it out again. Accused then started rubbing the stick with his hands. He showed me something I cannot describe [during his witness the kraalhead referred to this object as a piece of meat] and said: "This is the medicine I have taken off you!" He told the others: "This is the medicine that killed Shuvai's children. If you, Chiramwiwa, eat this medicine you will die." To show the group that I was innocent I chewed it up and swallowed it. Accused said to the group: "Next week on Tuesday she will die. If she does not die, her belly will swell up."

'As we walked away in a group, Shuvai clouted me with her flat hand. She slapped me on the cheek and we struggled together. She bit off my left ring finger. She shouted and called her husband. Chaipa came and struck me with his fists on the right side of my mouth. He struck me four blows. The accused stopped Chaipa from further assaulting me. Then we went home together with Kraalhead Musengiwa and Marita. These blows of Chaipa were hard; each time I fell and got up again.'

Kraalhead Musengiwa testified that the victim's finger had been bitten off. He also stated that she never fell ill or had a swollen belly, in spite of the prophet's prediction. The reason he gave for the delegation's visit to the accused prophet was that Chaipa's wife, Shuvai, had never given birth to a

24. See: Fort Victoria regional court reports; case 84/65.
live child and that they wanted to know the cause of this. It is interesting to note that the delegation first went to Prophet Jaka, the medicine-finder mentioned above, and that he had sent them to Prophet Tasaranarwo after refusing to get involved in an issue, which seemed to demand a direct accusation of witchcraft. An ambitious young prophet was more likely to chance the risks involved, in order to widen his own sphere of influence and that of his Church.

**Case 2**

This case concerns a village baptism in the Munyikwa chiefdom east of Chimanimwe in the Gutu district in June 1966. Prophet Joshua, the Maranke secessionist and reputed wizard-finder, brought the tension that had arisen after the death of a certain Manjonjo to a head at the Nyasanga river. The wary prophet had managed to confine his diagnosis to hints and suggestions. It was therefore not he himself who was prosecuted but Femberwi, the wife of the deceased Manjonjo. She had vented her feelings at 'Jordan' by accusing Agnes, another female resident of the same village, of bewitching (kuyisa) her husband with poisoned beer. She was sentenced to six months' hard labour with a suspension of three months for three years.

Witness Chivorvoro, one of the villagers, gave the most detailed account of the sequence of events after the death of Manjonjo:

'In February 1966 I received a report from the accused [Femberwi] and went to the hut of deceased. He was sick and complained of his stomach. He died the following Sunday. A week later they [the villagers] decided to consult a witch-doctor [nganga] about the death, to find out its cause. When the cause is ascertained, the personal possessions of the deceased can be set out in front of the relatives [for distribution]. Five of the inhabitants, including the accused, went to the witch-doctor who lives in the Chipinga area [which is a considerable distance from Gutu]. On their arrival the witch-doctor produced bones which he held in his hands. We were told to pick up the bones and throw them down. Addressing the accused, who was holding the bones, the witch-doctor said: 'You, I can see a tin of beer in your hand. What did you do with the tin of beer?' The accused said: 'Yes. I know about a tin of beer which was given to me whilst I was working in my lands. I took it and gave it to my husband. It was given to me by the mother of Rosie [Agnes].' The witch-doctor is a stranger and had no information relating to our kraal. We went back and reported to the kraalhead. He called a meeting to hear the results from the witch-doctor. He later called Joshua to find out who had
caused the death of the deceased. *All members of the kraal went to the baptismal scene near the kraal* [my italics]. Everyone had to confess their sins before entering the water. Agnes went before the accused. She said she had given beer to her son’s child, while her daughter-in-law was away. Accused said: ‘I was given a cup of beer in the land and I gave it to my husband. The beer did not taste good and he tipped it out.’ Accused said that Agnes gave her the beer. She said Agnes was a witch.

According to Agnes, the imputed witch, the accused called out to Joshua while he was listening to Agnes’s confession: ‘You are about to baptize the one who gave me the beer which caused his death.’ She denied this and refused to be baptized. Under cross-examination she stated: ‘In confessing my sins I did say that I had given a ‘heart’ [meat] to my son’s child, and that this child had died I said this to the prophet, Joshua, because he asked me to tell him everything. I was worried because I thought that my doing so might have caused the death of the child.’

Headman Ziwengwa explained to the court the way in which Africans would interpret the above-mentioned events: ‘If a witchdoctor said: “I see a cup!” this has no significance, unless the context indicates otherwise. If a person said she had given ‘heart’ [meat] to her son’s child and this child died, people would think she was a witch because of her confession [and] because it is unnatural to be feeding another person’s child. If a person, hearing this, said that she had been given a cup of beer which she gave her husband, who subsequently died, it would indicate that the giver of the cup of beer was a witch.’

From the African point of view the roles played by Tasaranarwo and Joshua during these two ordeals were essentially the same. Due to different circumstances the one prophet failed to elicit a confession, whereupon he made a direct accusation in accordance with the suspicion of the visiting delegation, while the other was clever enough (and probably fortunate enough) to elicit a confession which spoke for itself. In both cases the prophets were instrumental in the imputation of witchcraft and in both cases they effected a cathartic release of brooding tensions. Had Tasaranarwo foreseen the dramatic development of events which was to follow the ordeal, he would probably have expressed his prophetic verdict in less direct terms. And yet, if we consider the numerous accusations actually made during prophetic ordeals, a number of which have serious consequences for the imputed witches or

25. Note that the witness carefully evaded stating whether the *nganga* or the prophet had made a direct imputation of witchcraft or not.

sorcerers while the prophets do not actually get into trouble, it is reasonable to assume that Tasaranarwo, during the ordeal, considered himself to be ‘doing his duty’ as he had done before, with only an off-chance that the witch might ultimately be driven in desperation to her last resort: the district office. In the second case, no mention is made of an assault. The threat of punitive action against her may have caused Agnes to report her predicament at the district office soon after the village-baptism.

The outcome of a baptismal ordeal is hardly ever predictable. In the effort to recruit more followers and with the conviction that he is fighting evil through the exposure of wizardry, the prophetic wizard-finder nevertheless ventures to walk the tight-rope in the name of the Holy Spirit, whenever the occasion, and possibly the burden of a growing prestige, demand it.

3. PROPHETIC CONTROL WITHIN THE CHURCHES

Several members of the Spirit-type Churches (listed in table 37, cat. 4) who emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit through the prophets, whether they had personally experienced it through a special calling, healing treatment, or in the form of protection against vengeful (ngozi) spirits and wizardry, expressed great appreciation for the prophetic control of wizardry activities. Such appreciation is closely related to the ideals of sanctity and purity, as inspired by the Biblical message, and also to the traditional preoccupation with divinations in the effort to determine the causes of illness and death and to do something about it. Thus it is frequently stated in both the Apostolic and Zionist circles that the Church community can only present itself as a ritually sanctified (or holy) body before God through the work of the Holy Spirit, which reveals (kubudisa: brings out) such grave misdeeds as wizardry, adultery and theft. Through such revelations the prophets can elicit public confessions from the evildoers, which are regarded as an absolute condition for joining the holy people of God in ordinary worship or Holy Communion.

27. Mr. Mino, the Provincial Magistrate at Fort Victoria, stated that one of the main reasons why prophets and traditional diviners are not frequently convicted on charges of wizardry imputations is the lack of witnesses willing to testify against the original imputors. Witnesses as a rule are afraid of retaliation through supernatural means. It is more often the kraalhead himself or a relative of the so-called wizard who brings out the report back at the village who bears the brunt of such imputations. Mr. Mino regarded prophetic ordeals as a fairly recent phenomenon. The first case of a ‘village baptism’ was brought before him in 1955. He considers the baptismal ordeal to be a pseudo-religious phenomenon which is on the upsurge and should be repressed by deterrent sentences (interview: March, 1967).
Others again explicitly state that a major attraction of these movements is the prophecies which closely resemble the divinations of the traditional diviner. To them the prophetic movement in some respects resemble a 'protective institution'. For although it is recognized that the majority of wizards, even within these Churches, are never completely cured, there is some consolation in the knowledge that the prophets know who the wizards are and that they reduce the inclinations and powers of Church members who perpetrate such evils to a minimum through repeated exposures in public. ‘By catching the witches at “the gates” [of the sacred Church enclosure], commented a Zionist bishop, ‘we prevent them from practising unyoi “strongly” [i.e. regularly].’

In actual practice, there are essentially three stages of prophetic control: a) the initial check on all newcomers before they are baptized; b) the regular exposure of wizards during Church services; and c) the all-important ‘gate test’ preceding the use of the sacraments during the annual Paseka festivities.

a) Initial check on neophytes

Each neophyte is subjected to one or several diagnostic prophecies before he or she enters ‘Jordan’ to be baptized. Some females are known to be self-confessed witches. In such cases the prophecies serve to determine if they really intend to stop their practices and if they are not withholding some of their malignant medicines or familiars for future use as Church members. Generally the pre-baptismal prophecies are directed at determining all the hidden sins of converts, with the detection of secret wizardry practices as one of the major objectives. The self-confessed witch who arrives at Zion City or any of the other regional Church centres with the wish to become a member is then sent back to her homestead in the company of a prophet, who must burn all her devices before she qualifies for baptism. If she is judged to be well-intentioned she may be baptized first and then be sent back to her home district where the local Church officials destroy such articles as she has been using.

A demonstration of right-mindedness and a willingness to subject oneself to the revelatory scrutiny of the prophets is of primary importance during this first phase of initiation into the new group. Even if some of the medicines are left for future destruction, the neophyte must at least be willing to admit their existence. Those who are unwilling to commit themselves to a full prophetic

28. See Makuwise’s comment on p. 276.
spell, or who refuse to confess the use of black magic, as revealed by the prophet, are in fact rejecting the absolute authority which the prophet tries to establish, and they can expect to be turned back at 'Jordan'. The amount of pressure exerted by the prophet during the pre-baptismal confessional depends to a great extent on the status of the neophyte concerned. If the prophet knows, for instance, that a female has turned to his Church in an act of desperation after being branded a witch in her village, he may subject her to a severe prophetic test. Having turned to the Church as a last resort, and being in need of the acceptance and understanding she expects from the new group, such a woman is liable to reveal much of her private life. Thus the prophet exploits the fact that she is not in a bargaining position. On the other hand, the prophet will refrain from pressing the confessional too far when he deals with independent characters who are less in need of the Church as a social anchorage and who may easily turn to another Church if not treated with greater diplomacy.

To the women of rural villages, who are not members of the resident patrilineages and who are prone to become the victims of witchcraft accusations during critical periods, the prophetic movements can be a refuge. Vulnerable as they are to social injustice once they have become suspect of practising witchcraft, they turn to the prophet or, as often happens, are made to join a prophetic group by their husbands. Once in a while such a woman’s innocence will be established, or else she will confess to be a witch and subject herself to regular prophecies, thereby safeguarding herself against expulsion from her village. The prospect of a cure, or the reduction of her nocturnal activities to a minimum by the prophet’s regular control, often induces the husband to continue to accept her or at least tolerate her in his home.

This point, as well as the kind of confessions elicited by prophets during the pre-baptismal check, is best illustrated by the initiation of four so-called ‘witches’ in the Ndaza Zionist movement in August 1966. A series of unfortunate events in the village of Mukungu (Mazura chiefdom) had led to allegations of witchcraft by members of the dominant patrilineage against four women of other lineages. As a result, their social positions become unbearable, and they sought the aid of the Ndaza Zionists (David Masuka’s Zion Apostolic Church) during a large meeting near Bishop Kuchekonya’s homestead in Chingombe. Through rumours and gossip the Ndaza Zionists were fully aware of the fate of the four suspect-witches from Mukungu. Consequently the topic of witchcraft featured prominently in the sermons preached each day during the six-day conference. Both indirect and direct promptings to get rid of their bad medicines, to repent, and confess all their sins were

20. Zionist prophet catches out a Church member who has not confessed all his sins during the 'gate-test' which precedes the Paseka celebration at Zion City.

21. Apostles pass the prophets before they commence with an afternoon service.

22. Final trial of suspect witch who had spent a night in the 'witch camp' during the Apostolic kupinza magede procedure.

23. Absolving prayer by Apostolic official on behalf of a confessed witch, before she is allowed to enter the holy enclosure for participation in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

25. Prophet Elison Mutingwende indicates to the Rutsate villagers the size of the medicinal horn in Pome’s hut, as was revealed to him by the Holy Spirit.

26. Prophet Elison Mutingwende entering Pome’s hut to remove the *uroyi*-medicine which the Spirit had shown him.

27. Mutingwende emerges from Pome’s hut with the wizard’s horn he had removed from the roof.

28. Rev. Dziro burning the *uroyi*-medicine which Elison Mutingwende had found in Pome’s hut.
29. The *Shinga Postora* baptismal ceremony which followed the medicine-detecting service at Rutsate's village. Standing on the bank of 'Jordan' Prophet Elison Mutingwende addresses the villagers who had come to be baptized.

31. *Shinga Postora* baptismal ceremony. Dziro and Kono immerse novice while Prophet Zingwangwa (with back to camera) stands on the opposite bank of 'Jordan' to 'receive' the new members as they emerge from the water.
repeatedly directed at the ‘witches’, in order to prepare them for ‘Jordan’.
One preacher, for example, was referring to the witches when he said: ‘A
leopard and a goat do not live together. If you people don’t follow the laws
of the Church, you had better leave.’ Another was more straightforward
during his sermon:

‘Have your meat supplies run out, that you want to kill your children and
eat their flesh? Do you want us to subject you to a poison ordeal, to see if
you are witches or not? He who wants to be taught should know! It is only a
fool who goes about naked [i.e. it is foolishness to practise witchcraft]. A
good person is the one who obeys the laws [of this Church]. You women
from Mukungu, you take your witch medicines with you to sow disunity in
the Church. When the sun went down last night we saw an owl which glowed
like fire [a witch familiar], and we killed it. So, in what way did you profit
from it? Have we not destroyed many of your devices?

‘You prophets, what are you afraid of? [indirect reference to the Witch-
craft Suppression Act]. Where were you when our father David Masuka
captured the varoyi? If we are detained for doing so, we will make use of the
opportunity to witness on his [David’s] behalf! Peace to Zion!’

Through these sermons an atmosphere of expectancy was created and
numerous spectators, both Zionists and non-Zionists turned up at ‘Jordan’
(Zimbizi dam) on the last day of the proceedings to witness the reactions of
the neophytes, especially the ‘witches’, to the final persuasive prophecies.
Representatives from the Mukungu village were also present to watch the
proceedings, and obviously to take note of the confessions made by the po-
tential outcasts from their community.

Under pressure of the circumstanc es and also through inner conviction the following confessions were made by the
four witches.

*Mai Ester*: ‘I have witchcraft medicines [*mushonga youroyi*] which were
given me by my grandmother’s spirit, as well as an hyena, an owl and two
*zvidoma.*’ I refused to operate through a snake. They [the other witches, or
her familiars] asked me why I wanted to join Zion. I replied: “I don’t want
to practise witchcraft any longer but want to be a believer.” I want to stop it
altogether.’

*Mai Simon*: ‘I was given *uroyi* medicines by my father’s wife and by my
vatete [paternal aunt]. My aunt said: “Give me your child to eat because you
now have many children.” But I refused. They gave me all the means with
which one can bewitch others: a hyena, an owl, three *zvidoma* and a snake.’

*Mai Piwai*: ‘My mother [i.e. her spirit] called me one night and said: “Mai

30. Psychic witch familiars conceived of as small animals.
Piwai, don’t you hear me?" As this demon of witchcraft took hold of me, I ran out of the house. In front of me I saw the grave of my mother’s brother, so I took his head with me; I have a hyena, an owl and a snake. I have no use for these things any longer. I now want Mwari only because the things of this world have caused me too much trouble.

Mai Ronika: 'I ate the child of my mother’s brother. We have lately been planning to eat the child of my sister, but have not yet been able to find the proper entrance to her house. I have four zvidoma and one hyena. The snake which I hoped would stay in my house was killed. Now I want to leave the things of this world and enter Zion. I will hand over all these things to you prophets. You must burn them all! I really don’t want it any longer. I was originally given uroyi without knowing what it was. That is one of the reasons why I fear to return to my home, because they [the witches] will go on instructing me in bad ways.'

After this demonstration of willingness to subject themselves to the prophets’ control, and having produced some of their medicines to be burnt, all four women were baptized. Unfortunately I have not been able to establish what happened to these women after their baptisms, back at their husbands’ villages. Judging from other case-studies, it is likely that they were not driven from Mukungu’s village community and that Church membership actually improved their social status. Not only the fact that they readily confessed but also their claims to being hereditary witches (varoyi vokumutsa murimo) and therefore of having been drawn into the circle of evildoers by related spiritual agents beyond their own control pleaded in their favour. Had they been voluntary witches (varoyi vokutemerwa), with ‘uroyi in their bloodstream’, the Zionists might have proved more reluctant to accept them because they would then have belonged to the category of ‘incurable’ and less controllable witches. Although the hereditary witch is generally regarded as the more formidable person, the compelling spiritual agency can at least be driven off through prophetic intervention from time to time, if not permanently. Moreover, the first ‘exorcism’ can actually be effected right at the outset during immersion in ‘Jordan’ — even if the ceremony is not accompanied by the emotional outbursts normally characterizing exorcistic spells — since the power of God, closely associated with the pool of water and superior to any uroyi power, chases these demons away.


32. The ancestral spirit and its shavi, which inspires uroyi, are generally regarded as demons by the Apostles and Zionists. Hence Mai Piwai’s reference to her mother’s spirit as the ‘demon of witchcraft’
No visible witch familiars of the type mentioned in the confessions were destroyed in public directly before the baptism of the four witches. It was claimed by the preachers, as in the sermons mentioned above, that some of these familiars had been destroyed during the preceding days. One of the reasons why people ‘who do not see through the Spirit’ cannot witness the destruction of these familiars is that they only observe the medicinal objects representing the predominantly phychic (but also regarded by some prophets as real and natural) creatures. To the prophet possessed by the Holy Spirit, these beings take on real shape, and they often give vivid accounts of how they have burnt such ‘animals’. In this connection Bishop Mattheo Forridge, leader of a secessionist Zionist group,30 said: ‘When the varoyi give us their hyenas and owls to burn, it can act as gun-powder and cause a loud explosion; therefore you must always [for safety’s sake] stand on the wind-side of the fire when you burn a muroyi’s medicine.’

b) Regular exposure during Church services

The first confession of the neophyte at ‘Jordan’ is only the beginning of a pattern of regular public confessions. Every Saturday or Sunday members who participate in Church services must pass the ‘gates’ to the sacred enclosure – usually an open space beneath some trees ringed by a low stone wall or a few bricks widely spaced in a circle – where such meetings are held. These ‘gates’ symbolize the gates of heaven. They are formed by one or more pairs of prophets facing each other, prophesying, intermittently speaking in tongues and encouraging each passing individual to confess briefly his or her sins (plate 21). Confessionals of this nature are brief and to the point. Yet they are effective as a demonstration of control by the Holy Spirit and as a means of subjecting unruly Church members or even office-bearers to a supernatural authority represented by the prophets. In the Zion Christian Church, where group control centres in the overriding authority of one man, there seems to be less need for this regular ‘passing of the gates’. The absence of a similar rigid regimentation from above in most Ndaza Zionist and Apostolic groups possibly stimulates this kind of group control at a lower level in the leadership hierarchy.

There is of course good reason for keeping this regular check on Church members because the ‘demonic spirits’ of the hereditary witches may have returned to their hosts in the meantime, or members who have never indulged

in the perpetration of evil before may have succumbed to the temptation of resorting to bad medicines from a sorcerer in order to fight their enemies. During the first few weeks the newly baptized ‘witches’ or ‘sorcerers’ are subjected to longer and more penetrative prophecies than normally takes place, to make them yield all their medicines or to determine if a spell of exorcism is needed. Sometimes prophets will block the way of those members (mostly women) who are reluctant to confess, and they continue their prophecies and proddings for the full duration of an afternoon’s service (from approximately 2 o’clock to sun-down). Especially if a female Church member has had a complicated childbirth or experiences trouble in suckling her child, whether she was regarded as a witch in the past or not, the prophets are likely to subject her to pressure to elicit a confession of witchcraft. Women who confess to having bad medicine at home are sent back to fetch it if they live near the meeting-place, or else they remain seated at ‘the gates’ and listen to the sermons, after which a prophet accompanies them to their homesteads to destroy their medicines.

The hereditary witch who confesses to being bothered by recurrent visitations of the spirit or spirits concerned is allowed to enter the sacred enclosure during the service. Sometimes she gets possessed without warning during the service or else special songs will be sung towards the end of the meeting to bring on a spell of spirit possession, whereupon the prophets drive the spirit off with the laying-on of hands and the sprinkling of blessed water. Exorcistic treatment of this nature is regularly applied to young women as soon as they start confessing the call-dreams believed to be caused by the spirits of their maternal grandmothers, who practised witchcraft while alive. These potential witches, who have not yet responded to the call of their mbuya spirits and are therefore still uncorrupted, stand the best chance of being effectively safeguarded against the temptations caused by the demons. Bishop Kuchekenya’s younger daughter, for instance, after her puberty experienced regular call-dreams from her maternal grandmother, who used to be a notorious witch in Chingombe.34 During each Sunday service the local prophets subjected her to a spell of exorcistic treatment, until the mbuya spirit stopped bothering the unfortunate girl. Instead of becoming a witch she eventually turned out a prophetess of standing in her father’s congregation.

The necessity for regular in-group control is also explained by the existence of modified wizardry beliefs within the context of the prophetic Church, in addition to and based on the traditional set of beliefs. The Zionist prophet,

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34. Kuchekenya is the leader of one of David Masuka’s congregations in northern Chingombe. In Volume 3 we will discuss the influence of the above-mentioned spirit on this bishop’s household.
Potai (zcc), a specialist on wizardry beliefs, regarded regular prophetic control as indispensable because ‘Zionists bewitch Zionists’ ‘We are less vulnerable as Zionists to non-Zionist varoyi’, he suggested, ‘because they do not know the method of using holy water and cannot enter our homesteads. But the Zionist witch uses the water originally blessed by Mutendi to get at other Zionists. The muroyi sprinkles this water as she goes to the house of the victim; it enables her to enter the house. In the same way as the guardian spirits open the door [of their descendants, for the witch to enter], the “spirit of Mutendi” is requested to open the door.’ The rationale behind this statement is basically the same as in the traditional thought structure. Wizardry is to be expected within the in-group where people know each other well and where close interrelations generate tension and friction: the in-group in this case being the Church. Furthermore, the idea of an aggrieved guardian spirit permitting the muroyi to enter the house is transferred to the main leader of the Church. Instead of the motto being ‘secure the homestead against witch attacks by meeting the requirements of the ancestors’, it now becomes ‘obey Mutendi and he will prevent witches from entering your house’ Obeying Mutendi implies amongst other things that one should ‘pray strongly’ to God. In the place therefore of the nganga’s counteracting magic and propitiatory rites in honour of the ancestors, comes a greater dependence on a personal God, the use of power-laden objects provided by His servant (Mutendi) and the revelations of the latter’s prophets as safeguards against witchcraft.

In addition to the new notion that wizards from within the inner circle pose a threat through the misuse of the otherwise beneficient holy water, another idea has developed within the Church context which necessitates prophetic control. It is generally believed by Zionists that a human being has two angels (angerosi). The good angel is one’s guardian spirit and stands in relation to God, while the bad angel is from the devil; the former is the modern equivalent of one’s ‘small’ shadow and the latter of one’s ‘big, black’ shadow. If a person does not pray strongly, the bad angel overcomes the good one and enables the devil to play havoc with one’s life. It is this devil’s angel of which the Zionist muroyi will make use if he or she wants to cause harm to a fellow Church member. Thus the Zionist equivalent of the traditional saying ‘you must know a person’s clan-name [mutupo] before you can bewitch him’ (i.e. you must know how to approach his ancestors in order to get their permission) is ‘you must have access to a person’s angerosi if you want to cause him harm.’ Here, then, we find another reason why the Zionist regards himself as less vulnerable to non-natural attacks from outside. His non-Zionist adver-

sary does not know how to use the ‘holy water’ nor is he (or she) likely to attain access to his angel. On the other hand the threat from within is to be countered through intensified prayer by the individual believer and regular revelations by the Holy Spirit during meetings, which keep those members in check who are inclined to misuse their intimate knowledge of the in-group.

c) The ‘gate-test’ during Paseka festivities

The most spectacular form of wizard control in the Spirit-type Churches can be witnessed during the preparatory confessional preceding the much-coveted use of the sacraments. At Zion City the Holy Communion is celebrated on the last Sunday night of the Paseka festival. The confessional takes place from sundown until midnight. A group of six prophets, selected by the Church Council, line up in front of the Church building after having confessed their sins to each other and sprinkled themselves with holy water to cleanse themselves from sin and prejudiced thoughts which might obstruct the work of the Holy Spirit. Long queues of men and women await their turn to pass the three pairs of prophets. All of them have confessed their sins to one of the appointed evangelists or ministers before they pass the prophets on the way to the Church entrance, where they undergo the foot-washing ceremony. The prophets detect the hidden sins especially of the varoyi, adulterers and thieves. These persons cause the Spirit to protest with loud shouts and vigorous body-shaking of the prophets, one of whom grabs hold of the ‘sinner’ and casts him or her out of the queue (plate 20). Such ‘outcasts’ are then redirected to a group of ministers sitting some thirty yards away at the foot of a ridge, where they listen to the confessions of those who failed the prophetic test. Some Church members are turned back by the prophets several times before they eventually pass the test or turn back to the compound of their own free will.

This ‘gate-test’ has its entertainment value, since the prophets sometimes literally hurl people aside to demonstrate the disapproval of the Holy Spirit. Especially the witches who refuse to confess are treated roughly, usually to the amusement of the Church members who stand and watch the procedures. An element of ridicule also manifests itself at these occasions. A significant distinction between the Apostolic gate-test to be discussed below and that of the Zionists is that the Zionist prophets at Moriah make no direct accusations of wizardry at this juncture. They profess to ‘see’ the witches and sorcerers clearly, but they do not reveal it to the public during the test. By turning the wizards back they induce them to con-
Prophetism and wizardry

fess their evil practices themselves. For the witch it is absolutely essential to make a clean breast of her activities if she is to participate in the Holy Communion, lest she brings down God’s judgment on herself. In this respect the prophets regard their task as beneficial to the witches, even if some of them are ultimately withheld from using the sacraments.

Prophets Potai and Pianos, two senior prophets of the Gutu district often selected at Moriah to serve at ‘the gates’, estimate that about fifty to seventy varoyi, mostly women, are normally sought out from the group of 2,000 to 3,000 participants. Potai admitted that a number of witches are known to the prophets through rumours and gossip but maintained that there are also direct revelations of the Spirit to prophets which enable them to detect uroyi in people whom they do not know at all. To see if the Holy Spirit really works through a young prophet, the old hands often allow a so-called witch to pass them and then watch the reactions of the young ones.

People caught out regularly by the prophets will sometimes leave the prophetic movement and join one of the Ethiopian-type Churches. As a rule, however, the uncured wizards stay on in their Churches, even if it implies an irregular participation in the Holy Communion. Especially the sorcerers and the voluntary witches who are reluctant to confess their use of uroyi medicines are apt to be excluded regularly from participating in the Lord’s Supper. Yet they retain their membership! As the prophets say: ‘We don’t chase the varoyi away; it is contrary to the new law of love.’ The zcc prophets in Chimogombe, for instance, could name at least ten wizards amongst the established ranks of their three local congregations. One of them is the third wife of the most senior Church official in the area. She is regularly caught out at ‘the gates’ because her deceased mbuya’s spirit, operating through a shavi youroyi, keeps urging her to practise witchcraft. She confessed to the prophets that she has ‘eaten’ her two children. She is not allowed to cook food for her husband, but he refuses to divorce her because, as he himself says ‘I must set an example to the other Church members.’

Even Mutendi is considered to have three witches in his own household. They are his older wives who are past the child-bearing stage and are known to be envious of the younger wives. One of them lost all her children while young. She is also held responsible for the death of one of the Church leader’s former wives. The other two have confessed attempts to roya their husband’s favourite wives. These three women are not allowed to enter Mutendi’s living-quarters, a fact which is of interest since it is an acknowledgment by the ‘man of God’ that he himself, in spite of all his mystical powers, can be bewitched. Due to the bishop’s persistent efforts to mould his household into a harmonious whole and demonstrate to his followers how a Christian family
unit should be kept together, the private squabbles between his wives are not publicized. A private 'gate-test' was therefore introduced in the vestry of the Church, which means that Mutendi's wives and children, before Holy Communion, are subjected to a face-saving prophetic scrutiny by two reliable acquaintances, out of sight of all the other Church members. Considering the fact that even respected tribal authorities such as senior chiefs have to pass 'the gates' in front of the Church, this special privilege allotted to Mutendi's household highlights the sacrosanct character of the 'man of God's' inner court and all that goes with it.

Basically there is little difference between the Mutendi Zionist and Ndaza preparations for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In both cases the 'gate-test' and foot-washing precede the use of the sacraments. Unlike the three pairs of prophets at Zion City, the smaller groups of Ndaza Zionists usually make use of only two prophets at the gates. Sometimes an open-air shelter representing the Church building is provided, with real 'gates' made of branches and leaves. The Ndaza confessional deviates from that of Zion City insofar as confessions are made directly to the prophets at the gates. Yet the same hesitancy to level direct accusations of wizardry at suspect members also marks the activities of these prophets at the gates. It is rather a matter of hinting that the suspect person has not yet produced all his/her medicines to be burnt, or that she is plagued by a demon, than stating outright: 'You are a muroyi!' Even the confessions may be veiled in vague terms, but those who understand the meaning of such terms, know who the wizards are.

More impressive than the Zionist 'gate-test' is the prophetic control of the Maranke Apostles towards the climax of their two-week Pendi (Pentecost) festival in July. On the last Sabbath, towards sunset and after the major service has taken place, a large confession fire is lit. Hundreds of people start running around this fire, loudly shouting out their sins to others who press in on them in a tightly packed circle. This is the opening act of kupinza magede (to pass the gates, literally, to 'insert the gates'), a vigil of more than twelve hours lasting right through the night in preparation for the main communion services. The sins that are confessed during this performance are those that have been committed after the first of July, the date on which the Apostles commence with certain strict rules, such as fasting, men and women staying apart, long hours of prayer, etc. Persons who confess their sins freely are likely to pass the 'gates' without much trouble. The whole ceremony around the fire is highly entertaining. Girls and young women run around shouting into the ears of some Church officials that they have done this or that (often minor sexual transgressions such as gwiti, i.e. sexual play between boys and
girls), while the men shout words such as 'anger' (sungu), 'adultery' (upombwe), and 'jealousy' (godo), to mention but a few. Everyone seems to enjoy this occasion immensely. Due to the general and random release of emotions a high pitch of communal excitement is achieved. Some of the evangelists and baptists standing around the fire quicken the pace of events by encouraging the running confessors to spell it all out.

Hundreds of prophets meanwhile pass the ‘twelve gates’ of the Pendi-enclosure (a pole and reed wall enclosing several hundreds of square yards, large enough to accommodate up to 20,000 people) where they confess their sins to the most senior prophets. Those prophets who are revealed to have committed serious sins, e.g. adultery, in the not-too-distant past are not allowed to enter the enclosure at this stage, since their ‘weakness’ might cause them not to ‘see’ the sins of others. Inside the enclosure the leading prophets, such as Judah, Johane’s third son, and a few close associates, brief the prophets on their important task at the ‘gates’ Great emphasis is placed on the responsibility of the prophet to prevent his fellow Apostles from ‘passing the gates’ without being ritually purified. Then the prophets are divided in teams of twelve per gate. The teams have to work in relays right through the night. By the time they take up their positions at ‘the gates’ – six pairs of prophets in each narrow passage, flanked by reed walls representing a ‘gate’ – long queues of people, coming from the confession fires, have lined up in front of the enclosure.

Amidst the noise of prophets speaking in tongues, people shouting at the confession fires and relay teams of Apostolic choir members (Hakirasi) singing their rhythmic chants in the background, a slow ‘trickle’ of Church members start passing the gates. A sinner who has hidden a major evil (wizardry, adultery, theft, straightforward murder or the use of curative medicines generally) may cause all twelve prophets at the gate he approaches to react simultaneously with shouts, snorts and bodily contortions, or else he may pass several pairs of prophets successfully, suddenly to be stopped near the end of the ‘gate’ for some undetected sin. In some cases the ‘sinner’ is subjected to persuasive (sometimes bordering on coercive) prophecies for the better part of an hour before the prophets have elicited an appropriate confession. Those who refuse to confess such misdeeds as they are accused of are led away to one of several ‘Church courts’ conducted by ‘judges’ (vatangi) and evangelists seated around dare fires. These court sessions, dealing mainly with domestic and Church-leadership disputes, will be discussed in Volume 3.

36. These gates are in fact narrow passages (a sketch will be presented in Volume 3) symbolizing the ‘gates of heaven’
Those who get caught out for not confessing wizardry or adultery are ‘driven’ into the ‘camp of the wizards’ (*musasa wavaroyi*), where they are watched by several guards. Witches who confess their evil ways in accordance with the prophecies are allowed to pass the gates, but those who still have familiars or possess medicines must turn back. The accusations of witchcraft are much more direct than is the case with the Zionists. Planting their staves in front of a suspect witch, the prophets will dance up and down, making pointed remarks, e.g. ‘I see a hyena leaving your door’ or ‘I see *mushonga wouroyi* in your hands’ in between spells of speaking in tongues. Participant villagers from outlying districts often close in on the gates to listen to the prophetic revelations concerning such persons as they themselves suspect to be *varoyi*. To be taken to the wizard-camp in front of fellow villagers is a shameful matter. It is therefore to be expected that some of the accused will confess ‘sins’ they have never committed in an effort to avoid being stigmatized. In this way the headstrong, the anti-social or the very rich Apostles are cut down to size by their fellow members. The prophets are fully aware of the external pressures brought to bear on women accused of witchcraft. Prophet Maisiri from Buhera, for instance, made the following comment: ‘The reason why the women confess [*uroyi*] is that the people at her home village will hear that she has been “caught at the gates”; they will hate her and set her hut on fire if she shows no [appropriate] signs of remorse and a determination to stop her evil deeds. She knows that she will ultimately be killed. So she is compelled to yield her bad medicine to be burnt. As long as they [the witches] remain Apostles, the others will leave them in peace.’

Here, then, we have the dilemma confronting Apostolic women accused of witchcraft. They are accused in the name of a supernatural agency which is not supposed to ‘make mistakes’, and there is little else they can do but confess.\(^{37}\) Once they are stigmatized, they are more or less forced to subject themselves to the strictures of the Apostolic in-group, since they are safer in their villages if the rest of the community believe them to be under constant prophetic control.

Well aware of the fact that the prejudices of some prophets, or the eagerness of others to prove their charismatic qualities, can lead to the wrong people landing up in the ‘wizard-camp’, the Church leaders give the ‘culprits’ a last opportunity for confessing their sins. On Sunday morning all the *varoyi* and adulterers are taken from their ‘camp’ to an open clearing, where they sit

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\(^{37}\) A prophet accused of prophesying falsely is sometimes disciplined by the Church court. This seldom happens, however, and opposition to prophetic revelations – made in the name of the Holy Spirit – stands only a slim chance of success.
down amidst a horde of spectators. Several prophets and other Church officials are chosen to deal with these cases. It was my impression that the elderly men, more likely to achieve compromise solutions, are chosen for this task.

Each person who has spent the night in the musasa wavaroyi has his or her case (at least 80% of them are females!) tried in the presence of a secretary (munyori), a prophet and a Church official coming from the same area (plate 22). The munyori records the prophetic verdict that was given at the gates. He reads out an abbreviated background sketch of the case to the other two leaders. Many of these cases are of course well-known to the local leaders of outlying congregations, and they may add some more information. Leaning on his staff, the prophet confronts the ‘sinner’ with yet another spell of revelatory prophecy. There are stereotyped lines of approach which the prophet follows. He elaborates on what he knows about the accused. His opening gambit at this last-minute ‘trial’ seldom includes a straightforward accusation but rather indirect suggestions, e.g. that he ‘sees people back at the home village who suspect accused of having bad medicines’. If the accused admits this, the prophet knows that he is dealing with someone probably plagued by a guilt-ridden conscience due to wizardry which the person believes himself to have perpetrated, or because of strained relations resulting from a brooding hatred or other unfortunate circumstances. From this vantage point the tentative prophecy narrows down gradually. Suggestions and insinuations culminate in a final accusation, camouflaged as it may be in a flurry of phrases. The authority of the Spirit is seldom disputed, and the two leaders assisting the prophet during this last ‘trial’ often urge the accused to make a full confession.

The more tactful prophets often seem to find some sort of compromise between the radical revelations initially made at the gates and the evading answers of the accused, so that eventually a confession can be elicited which is vague enough to save some of the prestige of the one accused, without, however, contradicting the initial prophecy.

One of the cases, for instance, dealt with by Prophet Maisiri (quoted above) in July 1966 concerned a certain woman, Mai J, caught at the gates for witchcraft and the use of a love potion (muphuwira) to retain the love of her husband. In reply to the prophet’s promptings Mai J made certain vague references to a spirit visiting her. She did not admit that it was her mbuya’s spirit nor that she was a muroyi. So the prophet gradually shifted his focus to the muphuwira issue, where he had more success in eliciting a full confession. On the grounds of this latter confession Mai J was ‘acquitted’ and allowed to

38. In 1966, more than 200 people from a total of 14,000 to 15,000 who passed the ‘gates’ were detained in the ‘wizard-camp’
participate in the Holy Communion. In Mai J’s case the compromise, which saved the face of both the original accuser and the accused, consisted in upholding the term uroyi, but narrowing its content down to cover a minor offence which she could admit. These last-minute ‘trials’ are ostensibly aimed at assisting the major culprits to gain entrance to the sacred enclosure (plate 23). In reality they serve a double purpose: to prevent the Spirit’s authority from being ridiculed and to save the Church from losing those members who react sharply to the relentless harassment of its prophets.

4. CONCLUSIONS

We have distinguished two recruitment techniques dealing with and based on wizardry beliefs and practices. Of these the first technique, concerned with the prophetic detection and removal of uroyi medicines, proves to be the most successful as a means of acquiring a stable following. In the case of the Shinga Postora it was moulded into an effective device with which to attract new members during the movement’s first phase of expansion. Here, a definite cycle of events emerged: a summons of the reputed prophet to a village whose members believed themselves to be threatened by wizards, a religious service at the village attended by members of the new movement and most of the villagers, the detection, removal and destruction of malignant medicines as part of the ritual proceedings, and baptism of villagers convinced by the prophet’s message and liberating activities. This, in turn, leads to new invitations by other villagers and a repetition of the entire procedure. Judging from the service at Kraalhead Murambasvina’s village, as described above, the sermons on these occasions mainly contain propaganda for and justification of the new movement, an exposition of Church laws, summons to conversion, and solutions for the threat of wizardry generally, or with reference to the particular case in point. Subsequent baptismal ceremonies usually include detailed instructions about the ‘ways of the new Church’

The second recruitment technique, though less directly effective than the first as a Church-expanding device, is usually as spectacularly arranged. Baptism in ‘Jordan’ in this instance serves as a kind of wizard-detecting ceremony. Roving prophets who make use of this technique supplement or replace one of the cardinal functions of the traditional nganga — the detection

39. Prophet Maisiri afterwards, during an interview, claimed that Mai J had actually confessed her uroyi. This goes to prove how conveniently the term uroyi can be stretched in Apostolic circles to cover a wide range of practices considered to be sinful but which are not generally considered as wizardry practices by Shona traditionalists.
of wizardry. Recruitment of new followers during village baptisms does not always lead to lasting Church membership. In certain instances Church expansion is only a secondary or incidental aim of the prophet, who may be more concerned with his task of combatting evil powers in society and sometimes with the bolstering of his personal reputation than with the organization of stable congregations. Prophetic wizard-hunts are controversial events which frequently evoke reaction from Mission Church members who are unwilling to subject themselves to the demands of the prophet. Some regard such occasions as a cheap way of winning new members and the cause of increased disunity in society. Yet the prophet's service to the village community, insofar as it brings brooding tensions to a head, has a cathartic and salutary effect. Many Africans therefore evaluate this practice positively. Moreover, the wizard-hunt, through preaching, baptismal instructions, prophecies and singing, has distinctly Apostolic or Zionist features, with the result that it does in fact function as a propaganda device which forcibly demonstrates Spirit-type practices to an entire village community, whatever the direct outcome in terms of accelerated Church growth.

Finally, I have described the prophetic practices dealing with the control of wizards, the prevention and eradication of wizardry practices within the ranks of the Spirit-type Churches. These practices demonstrate the continual concern of prophets with wizardry, the fact that they take the deep-seated wizardry beliefs in African society seriously and confront the evil forces with the power of the Holy Spirit. Thus the image of the prophetic movement as an institution which provides protection against varoyi and which can even cure witches or at least check their nocturnal activities is enhanced. To the suspect witch who is in danger of losing her social status in a particular community, to the wizard who has already become an outcast from society, or to persons who believe to be seriously threatened by evildoers, the acquirement of membership in a Spirit-type Church sometimes seems to be the only solution. Prophetic accusations of wizardry within the in-group can be severe, humiliating and is not always free from discrimination against the less popular members. But the reconciliatory aim of such activities should not be overlooked, for the wizard is seldom totally rejected or maltreated in the Church group. On the contrary, the muroyi is urged to improve his or her conduct, while the rest of the congregation may be urged not to indulge in hypocritical judgment but rather forgive and support the culprit in a Christian spirit. Whereas the traditional imputation of wizardry led to the killing or expulsion of the scapegoat, the prophetic accusation and 'punishment' (prohibition of participation in the Lord's Supper) are less drastic and serve the purpose of group-solidarity — the affiliated wizards included! This important deviation from the
traditional system points at a realistic confrontation of the old order with a new message. Through these indigenous practices, incorporated and transformed in Church life, the Christian witness acquires a meaningful dimension, which appeals especially to the afflicted members of African society.
Adaptation and transformation

One of the major arguments implicitly or explicitly forwarded in the descriptive account of the Church practices in this book was that adaptation to the typical African religio-cultural background largely contributes to the attraction of the Independent Churches for rural Africans. Indigenization, it seems, is a major pivot around which much of the successful recruitment of Independent Church members revolves. This is a dynamic process with numerous variations, even within the same Church. Yet basically it implies that Christianity appears in a typically African guise, that traditionally conceived needs are met with traditionally orientated answers and solutions — whatever their theological validity — and that herein lies the secret of the unique appeal of the Independent Churches to Africans.

On the basis of the quantified answers given by numerous Independent Church members and an analysis of their own accounts of their reasons for joining these Churches, and also on account of observations in the field, I conclude that this process of adaptation, in all its richness and variation, largely explains the rise and continual growth of the Shona Independent Churches. With this postulation I do not seek to minimize the complexity of the causal factors because adaptation certainly took place within a specific colonial situation and within a religious climate influenced by the numerous ecclesiastical bodies at work in the country; in other words reactive tendencies with regard to existing economic, political and Western ecclesiastical conditions did actually condition the process of IC growth. One should not, however, isolate or over-emphasize one of these background conditioning factors, e.g., interpret the entire movement predominantly in terms of political protest. This would divert one from the central truth that the Independent Churches are in the first place religious institutions and that they thrive to a large extent on the creative religious impulses born from within and stimulated by the Gospel, that they do not exist merely by virtue of external socio-political pressures.

When the recruitment value of various patterns of adaptation has been indicated, the question still remains how one should evaluate them from a missiological point of view. Some interpretive and evaluatory considerations
already appear in the descriptive account, but we should concern ourselves more directly with the question whether the process of adaptation and indigenization in the Independent Churches stands sufficiently in the sign of obedience to Jesus Christ, or whether these Churches are syncretic to the point of forfeiting the essence of Christianity. Is there sufficient critical confrontation in which the Gospel brings the traditional world view, beliefs and practices under judgment or to fulfilment? Does the new message transform elements of the old religious order in a manner which positively expresses the Christian faith in the African context? Or is the ‘Afrikanische Umklammerung’ of the Gospel so strong in the Independent Churches that one should speak of syncretism, of nativistic, or even of post-Christian movements?

Bavinck stated that, missiologically, the terms ‘accommodation’ and ‘adaptation’ do not sufficiently express what really should take place in the encounter of the Gospel with non-Christian religions. He preferred the term possessio because ‘the Gospel does not [merely] adapt itself to heathen practices, but takes them in possession, and in doing so, transforms them.’ Taking this theological presupposition as a point of departure, our answers to the above-mentioned questions will mainly amount to an assessment of the process of possessio that has or has not taken place in the Independent Churches. Or, to use the terms heading this chapter, has it been a ‘smooth’ adaptation in the sense of merely fitting Church practices into old institutions, or has it been an adaptation which simultaneously implied transformation?

The effort to evaluate the findings of this study should not be interpreted as a comprehensive theological confrontation with all the aspects dealt with but rather as an attempt to make some critical comments of a missiological nature about a few or the outstanding features of the processes and practices described. A more detailed theological analysis and confrontation can only be attempted after some more factual data about the ritual life and the contents of sermons has been presented. Other limitations induce one not to venture much further than tentative comments. The fact, for example, that

1. Freytag (1938, passim), the well-known German missiologist, used the term ‘Umklammerung’ in his outstanding description of the development of the Indonesian Churches to indicate the indigenous guise in which Christianity appears in this part of the world and to emphasize the strong conditioning effect which the eastern culture has on the perception of Indonesian Christians of the Gospel message.
2. Syncretism in the sense of such a far-reaching merging of the traditional religious system with Christianity that the latter loses some of its essential characteristics.
3. Oosthuizen (1968, passim), for instance, characterizes the African Independent movements as post-Christian.
5. This will be attempted in Volume 4 of this study.
the adapted practices described form only a part of a rich and variegated complexity of IC activities complicates generalizations and also in some instances impairs the validity of critical comments. Moreover, it is very difficult for a Western observer to assess accurately the degree of transformation which has taken place in certain indigenized ceremonies and practically impossible to determine the degree to which such ceremonies are still associated with heathenism. These limitations do not suspend the Western missiologist from his critical theological task; they should, however, cause him to evaluate with the necessary reserve and to be open to the theological insights developed by African theologians at the existential level.

1. THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN MEN OF DIFFERENT FAITHS

Before we proceed to some of the rituals and techniques described, something should be said about dialogue in the Independent Church context. Theologians who are used to thinking in terms of large institutions, a mass of literature and well-versed religious experts as representatives of one of the world religions with which Christianity should engage in dialogue are sometimes at a loss to define the Christian’s counterpart when it comes to dialogue with the traditional religious man in Africa. It is relatively easy in the Western world to find Buddhist or Muslim specialists whom one can invite to the conference table for discussions with Christians at a sophisticated level. It is a totally different proposition when it comes to inviting the representative and still regularly practising traditional-religionist specialist in Africa, such as the diviner, the High-God Cult priest, the kraalhead or the family ‘priest’, to engage in an encounter at the same level. The Western-orientated Christian specialist might find himself handicapped by language barriers, while the traditionalist African specialist, whose religion does not appear in written creeds or formulae, might find it difficult to formulate in words that which finds real expression only when enacted.

In the rural village, however, dialogue between African Christians and traditionalists continually takes place, and at this level of contact the Independent Churches have a very definite contribution to make. Unhampered by the type of dogmatic and structural restrictions which often inhibit the official contact of Mission Church representatives with traditionalists, the Indepen-

6. This observation does not apply to the dialogue at an advanced level with African intellectuals who regard themselves as ‘traditionalists’ but to those Africans who have been less influenced by Western culture and subsequently are more deeply immersed in the customary patterns of existence as it is still found in the rural areas.
dent Churches in many respects seem to be more realistically and pervasively present in the lives of traditionalists, more deliberately engaged in presenting the Christian message at the deeper levels of traditionalist thought and experience. Whereas the clergy of the Mission Churches live on Mission stations which isolate them from traditionalists, the IC leaders generally live in more direct touch with their traditionalist neighbours in rural villages. Doctrinal repudiation of traditional religion somehow seems to encourage negation of pagan practices and dissociation from traditionalists in the Mission Churches, while it stimulates confrontative dialogue in the Independent Churches. The regular Mission Church services held in buildings on a Mission station usually attract fewer pagans than the open-air IC services conducted in the rural villages. These somewhat generalized comparisons do no justice to the realistic dialogue which does in fact take place between the Mission Church laity and its pagan environment; they serve, however, to emphasize the important fact that the Independent Churches deserve our fullest attention when it comes to the Christian-traditional religious encounter in the African setting.

The Independent Churches create the type of situation in which direct confrontation or dialogue with traditionalists can take place. Mutendi’s substitution of the ceremonial rain requests at Matonjeni with the seed conference (ungano hwembeu) attracts traditionalists to Zion City where they watch the colourful proceedings. When Bishop Andreas Shako preached about the gifts of the traditional High-God, he was not only addressing the members of his own Church but also a number of attendant traditionalists. During fasting (kuzira) ceremonies, which are the Spirit-type substitutes for the traditional mukwerere rituals, prophets make use of the chance to engage in conversation with non-adherents, including traditionalists, and when the consolation ceremony (runyaradzo) is conducted, as was the case at Muchakata’s village, some of the attendant relatives and friends of the deceased are bound to be traditionalists. Likewise during wizard-hunts or ceremonies concerned with the removal of uroyi medicines the prophet usually deals with Christians and non-Christians. The important point here is that, through the introduction of Church rites which in some respects still resemble traditional rituals and which are adapted to the particular and often deeply felt needs of Africans, there is a continual confrontation with the traditional world-view as it exists not only in the life of the practising traditionalist but also in that of he practising Church member. The degree of adaptation varies from situation to

7. Supra, p. 105.
9. Supra, p. 112f.
10. Supra, p. 262f.
situation, and the improvisation of individual IC officials sometimes leads to deviation from the characteristic patterns of each group. But the 'accommodation' of IC leaders seldom leads to an obscuration of the identity of the Church group in the ritual context. Thus the 'climbing of mountains' to request rain in the case of Zionists and Apostles resembles the traditional procedure, while the actual petitions are directed at the Christian God and not at the tribal spirits. During the runyaradzo at Muchakata’s it appeared that allowance was made for the participation of traditionalists, which did not prevent the Zionists, however, from applying their own code concerning beer drinking and from conducting the service in a Christian manner.

In the IC ritual context the encounter with traditional religion, apart from the parallels in ceremonial procedure, becomes manifest through: a) Confrontative sermons which exploit ‘points of contact’ with the old system, and through b) dialogue in which both IC representative and traditionalist actively participate.

### a) Confrontative sermons

Church services or fasting ceremonies of the Spirit-type Churches, concerned with requests for rain, clearly demonstrate how preachers or prophets make use of traditional religious notions in the effort to put their message across. Addressing an audience which was familiar with the giving of gifts to the High-God at Matonjeni, Bishop Andreas Shoko first of all directed a frontal attack on the old cult and then proceeded by placing the old concept of sacrificial giving in a Christian context. Likewise the fasting ceremonies (kuzira) imply a repudiation of the old mukwerere rituals, while the great emphasis of the prophets on the state of spiritual purity of the participants, to be obtained through public confessions, corresponds with and seeks to replace meaningfully the traditional notion that one should demonstrate a spirit of right-mindedness, respect and subservience to the tribal spirits in order to improve the chances of a favourable reception in the spirit world of the request for rain.

There is no doubt, in both instances, that the sermons aim at a very definite transformation of traditional petitions for rain, and as such they should be positively evaluated. Andreas Shoko to some extent used the old notion of sacrificial giving to support his summons for regular contributions to the

12. Supra, p. 112.
Church. Instead of 'buying salvation' (and rain) at Matonjeni, one should accept the free salvation of Jesus Christ and demonstrate one's recognition of the Creator through the practice of Christian stewardship. Instead of winning the goodwill of the tribal spirits through beer libations, by dancing on and clearing the graves, a spiritual renewal is required during fasting ceremonies, with far-reaching moral implications especially in domestic affairs. It is important to notice that the power of the Christian God is presented as replacing the rain-giving function of the tribal spirits and traditional deity.

This does not mean, however, that the process of transformation related to rainmaking in the Spirit-type Churches has reached a state of completion or that it is sufficiently safeguarded against misinterpretation. Considering the magical tendencies in traditional religion, the chances are that Church members would be inclined to seek a causal connection between giving to and receiving from the Christian God in a traditionally conceived reciprocity which does not sufficiently highlight the true nature of the personal relationship between the Christian God and the individual, or clarify the grace of God which is related to but not dependent on the activities of man. Indications of such a causality are to be found in the sermon of Bishop Mtisi who preached after Andreas Shoko and in the announcement of the Ndaza prophet during the kuzira ceremony held in Chingombe in 1965. The former ascribed the drought of that year to the failure of the Zionists to provide their bishop (and through him, God) with the necessary gifts, while the latter contended that without proper confessions (and by implication an appropriate spiritual state) God would not grant them their request. One should be careful not to deduce too much from these statements which, in all probability, were intended to be one-sided, in order to emphasize the responsibility of participant Church members. Yet they probably reflect strains of a certain legalism which is not uncommon in the younger (Mission) Churches in Africa. The fulfilment of prescribed rules obtains the required results; in other words, the act of the believer is accorded an inherent efficacy, a manipulative quality which brings about the required end as a matter of course.

In contrast to the sermons of the Spirit-type Churches, those of the Ethiopian-type Churches, especially the Chibarirwe, are characterized by a lack of confrontation with traditional religion. This lack of confrontation at the official level does not exclude the involvement of individual Church members in traditional rituals. I have suggested that the acquiescence of the Chibarirwe officials enables adherents to fulfil their duties both in the Church and tra-

ditional religious contexts. As a result Church members are not always sure of the relationship between Jesus Christ and the ancestral spirits. They continue to appeal to both, depending upon the circumstances and the nature of their needs. Some individuals claim that the two religious systems are mutually exclusive, such as Kraalhead Mafudza who stated that Christ has no connection with the rainmaking powers of the tribal spirits, while in practice they actually integrate two systems without this process ostensibly causing much of an inner conflict. It seems therefore as if the lack of a regular proclamation of the kinship of Christ over all the traditional powers contributes towards syncretic tendencies, not so much in the Ethiopian-type Church as an organized institution but in the lives of those members whose religious experience is based on an uncritical fusion of old and new. Due to the efforts of some Ethiopian-type leaders to justify the African’s preoccupation with the ancestors – sometimes by way of reaction to the rejection of ancestor ‘worship’ by missionaries – the uniqueness of Christ is not always sufficiently emphasized, with the result that in the thought-world of some members He is fitted into the old spiritual hierarchy as a kind of tribal spirit and not regarded as Lord of the whole creation.

Other cases of preachers exploiting ‘points of contact’ during sermons in the Spirit-type Churches were observed during Zionist consolation (runyaradzo) ceremonies and in Apostolic services preceding the removal of uroyi medicine from the houses of afflicted people. We have seen how, in the case of the Zionist ceremony at Muchakata’s village, the preachers harped on the traditional notion of accommodating the deceased’s spirit and how they countered it with the assertion that the Church now has the task of ‘inducting’ the deceased’s spirit – not into the ancestral realm but into heaven. Prophet Elison Mutingwende, and his Apostolic assistants again, occupied themselves at Murambasvina’s village with the beliefs in wizardry which were foremost in the minds of villagers after the successive deaths of Pome’s children. They were offering what they considered to be Christian countermeasures against the dreaded powers of evil: general warnings against the perpetration of wizardry, the removal of the medicines that had caused the deaths of Pome’s children, a summons to the villagers to become converted and subsequent baptism in ‘Jordan’

In the sub-sections below, we will deal more extensively with the implications of the Zionist practice of accommodating the dead and the prophetic treatment of wizardry.

17. Supra, p. 268f.
b) Dialogue in the ritual context

Confrontative sermons tend to be one-sided in that the IC preacher's proclamation is not always complemented with a direct response from the recipient Church members or traditionalists attending the service. The effort of the preacher to relate the Christian message to the religious needs and concepts of his listeners indeed may have a profound impact on them, without necessarily being followed up with the kind of discussions which characterize true dialogue. Nevertheless, the activities of Zionist and Apostolic prophets bring about the kind of ritual context in which penetrative discussions with traditionalists or with Church members who are still active in traditional religion take place. This is especially true of faith-healing activities and village baptisms connected with wizard-finding.

The examples of diagnostic prophecies preceding faith-healing cited in Chapter 3 possibly create the impression that the prophet dominates the procedure. This is true only up to a point. I have not included the lengthy discussions between prophet, interpreter and patient which often follow the probes of prophets. In practice, however, much time is spent at centres like Zion City discussing the causes of illness - the objectives of the living 'enemies', the claims of the ancestral and alien spirits, and the pressures brought to bear on the patient to appease the spirits in the traditional manner. In these discussions the prophet or interpreter takes the initiative, but the patient is also an active participant in the dialogue. Miche Munyani, for instance, spent much time at Zion City with Prophet Nison and Simon, the interpreter, discussing the urgent problem of a plaguing spirit. 18 Thus the advice eventually given to Miche was based on a thorough understanding of the religious factors involved, which included the wrath of an ancestral spirit because of the neglect of his living descendants and the misuse of sacrificial meat. Although the ultimate aim of the two Zionists was to persuade Miche to join their Church, this did not prevent them from entering into a detailed enquiry and debate, with the proselytizing intentions at times receding sufficiently to the background to widen the meaningfulness of the conversation. Fully aware of the prophet's aims at that stage, and despite his own intentions not to join the zcc, Miche did not seem reluctant to enter into discussion about traditional religious matters of a personal nature.

As I have mentioned, village baptisms are preceded by intensive discussions between the prophet and adult villagers. Whether these private and village-court discussions take on the character of enforced interrogation or a

18. Supra, p. 249f.
sympathetic enquiry depends largely on the disposition of the visiting prophet, the gravity of the issue at stake and the mood of the villagers. On the day when the people have to file through 'Jordan', the prophet frequently engages in interesting conversation with those individuals who are not suspected of practising wizardry. Then the ordeal character of the ritual is temporarily suspended and there may even be spells of jesting and plain banter. The prophet's concern with a purified community freed from evil forces nevertheless causes him to concentrate on and attack wizardry, the use of magical charms and medicines, as well as objects or animals dedicated to the ancestors. As a result, various aspects of traditional religion are continually being dealt with. One can indeed ask whether a sound dialogue is possible during a ceremony in which the prophet's counterpart may be under a certain degree of pressure, in which public confessions are elicited from each villager, and in which the theatrical element plays an important role. Is there sufficient openness on the side of the prophet to engage in an exchange of thoughts which is not unduly hampered by his drive to recruit new members or maintain his prestige as wizard-finder? There can be no doubt that the prophet exploits dialogue as a tool for proselytism. But the fact remains that the prophetic proddings give rise to confessions and these in turn lead to discussions about significant aspects of traditional religion in which the villager participates actively and with sufficient freedom to express his own views.

Dialogue in the IC ritual context does not correspond to some of the conditions currently considered in ecumenical ecclesiastic circles as essential for meaningful inter-religious communication, for the openness between participant parties is sometimes lacking, the demands of the ritual context may exclude the willingness and the readiness to share spiritual insights, and the discussions taking place can hardly be described as 'intellectual activity which may emerge into mutual witness'. Yet, despite these limitations, the discussions between prophets and patients or between prophets and groups of villagers, generally represent a drive to arrive at some spiritual truth. In the process both IC representative and traditionalist or traditionally minded Christian are active in a way which brings the deeper tenets of different religious convictions (or systems) in direct confrontation with each other. Even though it is true that this type of dialogue sometimes appears to be lacking in depth to the Western observer, owing in some instances to the IC prophet's limited knowledge and experience of Christianity, it is equally true that such confrontations make more sense to many ruralist Africans and bring Christianity closer to them than the activities of those representatives of

19. Study Centre Directors' Consultation, Tao Fong Shan, Hong Kong, 1971, p. 4.
Christianity who may have a more comprehensive understanding of the Christian message but who fail to relate it seriously to the traditional beliefs and practices which they condemn and negate.

For this reason theological reflection concerned with the Christian-traditionalist encounter in the African environment should give serious consideration to its nature in the Independent Churches. Christian Study Centres in Africa interested in promoting inter-religious dialogue and in an effective relation of the life and faith of the Church to indigenous customs and patterns of thought will benefit immensely from paying increased attention to the shortcomings as well as the constructive creativity of the Independent Churches.

2. THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

Amongst the Shona, both pagan and Christian, the belief in the powers of ancestors to protect and afflict is still strong.20 Traditional ritual activity has broken down in some respects, especially in the urban areas, but the need for an unbroken communion with the dead has remained. The Independent Churches have been sensitive to this need. They have grappled with it continually, and they have come up with some of the most remarkable and imaginative ritual substitutes for the ancestral cult. In relating the Christian message to a world-view dominated by the shades, they have contributed to the Christianizing process, which Taylor describes as the casting out of fear through love. "The loving affection was always there, but now it is able to predominate and illuminate the relationship. There still is a "reckoning with the dead" to be feared. But the areas of unmitigated terror have vanished."21

The fear of the afflicted for the plaguing ancestral and alien spirits has often been exploited by prophets who hold Church membership as a condition for faith-healing treatment. The same prophets, however, also assist the fearful by presenting God as the 'Protector' of His flock and the 'Expeller' of evil forces. In doing so concessions are sometimes made to the demands of the ancestral spirits - mostly if non-Christians are involved - with the result that the solutions to particular problems involve both Christian and traditional rituals. Yet such syncretic tendencies in the Spirit-type Churches are sometimes peripheral or the inevitable signs of gradual spiritual growth and should not therefore withhold one from a positive evaluation of the very real efforts in these movements to Christianize the traditional type of relationship

Adaptation and transformation

between the living and the dead. To my mind there has been too much emphasis generally on the reversion of these so-called ‘nativistic movements’ to ‘the basic doctrines of the indigenous religion.’ According to Oosthuizen the reaction in many African nativistic movements to the Church’s failure to satisfy the needs of indigenous peoples causes men to ‘seek their salvation again in the “glorious” past and the religion of their ancestors’ So important a part does ancestor-worship play in the ritual of these [nativistic] movements that they develop into cultic communities following the traditional lines of African religions.

The Shona Spirit-type Churches which, in many respects, correspond to movements classified by Oosthuizen as nativistic, have a much more differentiated approach to the ancestors than suggested above, and one wonders whether this does not also apply to many other IC groups elsewhere in Africa which are considered to be nativistic. In the Shona Zionist and Apostolic movements at any rate the preoccupation of members with the ancestors in

23. Ibid., p. 132.
24. Ibid., p. 208.
25. Ibid., p. 72f. Oosthuizen distinguishes between Churches, Christian sects and nativistic movements. The difference, according to him, between Christian sects and nativistic movements is that the former accept Scripture as basic while the other regard traditional religion in this light. The one has a positive approach to the proclamation of the Christian message while the other wants to restore aspects of traditional religion. Nativistic movements can furthermore be classified into prophetical groups, in which Christ receives a place as a kind of wonderworker, and messianic groups, where the black Messiah takes the place of Jesus Christ. As examples of ‘Churches’ Oosthuizen mentions the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Bantu Methodist Church of Africa and the Presbyterian Church of Africa; as Christian sects of the Pentecostal type the Church of the Lord (Aladura) in West Africa and the Africa Assembly of God in East London; of the Adventist type the Seventh Day Adventists in South Africa; and Shembe’s movement as a prime example of a nativistic group. One gets the impression that the bulk of Zionist and other prophetical movements in South Africa are classified as nativistic. The problem, however, is that as soon as one starts analyzing one particular movement it becomes difficult to restrict it to a single classificatory category. Most of the Shona Spirit-type Churches – Apostolic and Zionist – with which I am acquainted would be ‘nativistic’ on account of prophetical activities, magically orientated practices and a certain preoccupation with the ancestors. But simultaneously practically all of them can be said to adopt a positive attitude to the proclamation of the Christian message and none of them accept traditional religion in contrast to Scripture as basic, which fact places them in the ‘Christian sect’ class. Moreover, the majority of them recognize the centrality of God’s Word, administer the sacraments and apply Church discipline. One could therefore also argue that they should be regarded as Churches despite certain limitations and weaknesses. I hope to deal with this particular problem in greater detail in the concluding volume of this study.
the first place represents a drive towards a transformation of the ancestral cult, towards the elimination of *kupira midzimu* in its traditional form, so that one cannot possibly assert that ancestor worship takes a central place in the official rituals of these groups. The confrontation with the ancestors is a dynamic and diversified process. As yet the process is admittedly incomplete, and subjection to the still powerful ancestors is not always overcome (which fact equally applies to all the Mission Churches among the Shona). Nevertheless this is a symptom of universal human imperfection and frailty rather than a sign of large-scale reversion to the doctrines of traditional religion.

To illustrate some of the main differences between the traditional approach and that of the Spirit-type Independent Churches to the ancestors, we will briefly concentrate on some major features of the *runyaradzo* ceremony and the role of dreams.

a) *Accommodating the deceased’s spirit*

As a substitute for the *kugadzira* ritual, the *runyaradzo* of the Zionist type, as described in Chapter 2, has retained an essential function of the traditional ceremony. This function concerns the belief that the living relatives of a deceased person have the responsibility to assist the spirit in acquiring its full ancestral status. The retention in the Spirit-type Churches of this mediating function of the living on behalf of the dead reflects the adaptive quality of the *runyaradzo*.

More important, however, is the transformatory character of this new ritual, for it was not intended merely to integrate an outstanding aspect of traditional religion in the new system in an effort to meet a traditionally conceived need, or because this particular aspect was considered good or pure enough to be ‘transplanted’ from paganism; it was intended to renovate an old notion and to give it meaning in a Christian setting. In the first place the ritual unit responsible for accommodating the spirit has changed. The kin-group is replaced by a congregation which considers itself to represent the Christian Church. Instead therefore of a relatively small group of relatives performing a ritual within the limited scope of one or a few lineages, a larger unit, representing a much wider ‘family’, acts on behalf of the dead. As in the case of the *runyaradzo* at Muchakata’s, a number of relatives still perform their duties according to traditional requirements, such as beer brewing and arranging ceremonial procedure. But the key ritual officiants ‘taking care of’ the spirit are the senior representatives of the Church – some of whom may incidentally be related to the deceased – and not the paternal aunt (*vatete*) or
some other relative who addresses the spirit in the traditional kugadzira.

In the second place the objective of the ritual unit’s mediating function has changed. Instead of the dwelling spirit being brought back from the bush and inducted into the ancestral realm, the believer’s spirit is more or less accompanied to and his passage facilitated into heaven. How this affects and changes the future function of the accommodated spirit will be dealt with below.

Other significant changes concern the elimination of the discriminatory element of the kugadzira and the duties of the deceased’s name-bearer as envisaged by the Church group. Whereas the traditional induction rite was performed on behalf of adults, mostly with offspring, the runyaradzo is performed on behalf of all believers, irrespective of age or degree of maturity. The name-giving ceremony is stripped bare of its traditional religious connotations – or the Church group at least tries to do so by excluding sacrificial meat and beer, and by excluding addresses of the name-bearer as if the deceased’s spirit had entered him/her. Instead, the name-bearer is encouraged to follow the example of Christian living set by the deceased believer. Moreover, the name-bearer’s inheritance of ritual obligations is reinterpreted in terms of the office which the deceased held in the Church group. This does not exclude the name-bearer’s priestly responsibilities on behalf of his entire family or extended family unit, both Christian and non-Christian, in the event of a deceased family head. But it does imply the exertion of the judicial powers inherited, in a Christian manner, as prescribed by the Church concerned.

Some critical questions should be raised in connection with the accommodative function of the new ritual unit. Does this function not militate against the sovereignty of God and His judgment over the deceased? Does it not create misunderstanding about the instrumentality of the Church, so that people who join the Church are under the impression that membership vouchsaves as a matter of course a sure passage into heaven? Is this function inspired by a loving concern for the deceased, or is the main motivation that of appeasing the spirit, averting the dangers of mystical retaliation by the dead, and thereby safeguarding the well-being of the still living relatives in the traditional sense of the word? In other words, is fear for the ancestors sufficiently cast out by love, or is the runyaradzo just another indication of a certain subjection to the powers of the ancestors?

Categoric answers to these questions cannot be given on the basis of the available information. Leaders of the Independent Churches who are willing to subject their indigenized Church practices to a continual, critical reappraisal may benefit from such questions. I can only venture to present some considerations based on my observations in the field. It was my im-
pression that the accommodative function of the Church during consolation ceremonies was never presented by the officiating leaders in an absolutistic way as if the spirit could more or less be 'manipulated' into heaven simply because the ceremony was performed. In this respect the runyaradzo diverges from the old induction rite. Some Church members may be inclined to see a causal connection between the rite performed and the new status the spirit is considered to acquire. From this they may also derive a certain sense of spiritual security which hinges on affiliation to the Church group rather than a converted personal relation to God. But the common assumption in Zionist and Apostolic circles seems to be that the Church's accommodative duty is always subject to God's ultimate judgment. He decides what happens to the deceased's spirit and whether it will be cast into 'the pit of fire' or not. It is therefore understandable that the Spirit-type officials tend to be somewhat vague when it comes to a description of exactly how the deceased believer's passage is facilitated into heaven. Nevertheless, God's sovereignty is not regarded as excluding the validity and meaning of the Church's accommodative function. For, in the final analysis, this function is the extension, beyond the grave, of the Church group's responsibility for its individual members. Here we find a reflection of the conviction in many of the Independent Churches that the ecclesia, in serving the Lord, serves and takes care of people. As long as the sovereignty and grace of God and the conversion of the individual believer is taken seriously, the Church's mediation on behalf of the deceased believer becomes symbolic of the spiritual service rendered to believers in this existence and as such should be positively evaluated. Besides, this seems to be a typical African way of recognizing Christ's Lordship over the realm of both the living and the dead.

Although some Church members or even officials misinterpret the mediating function of the Church, and although to some it may still have the meaning of consolidating the relationship between the living and the dead in an attempt to avoid mystical affliction, the important point is that the official policies of the Spirit-type Churches do not of necessity lead to such syncretistic tendencies. The emphasis generally found among the Zionists and Apostles on individual conversion and on spiritual progress in the lives of Church members, counterbalances the idea of a 'guaranteed' passage into heaven. Moreover, the Christian belief that the deceased's spirit is 'with God' in heaven is an entirely different one to the traditional concept that the spirit as ancestor is 'nearer to Mwari' than the living. As an angel (angerosi) the ancestor is less dependent on his living relatives and less inclined to intervene drastically in the lives of his living descendants. It seldom happens that the illnesses or misfortunes of Church members are interpreted as the result of a
Christian’s spirit, chased from heaven, afflicting its living kin. Thus one can say that love has begun to cast out fear. Many still credit the deceased with mystical powers, but with the emphasis increasingly on the beneficial function of the Christian dead there is less need for ancestor ‘worship’ in the traditional sense of the word.

From a consideration of the contents of the zcc sermons preached at the Muchakata runyaradzo, a few significant features emerge. In the first place, the preoccupation with the deceased’s ascent to heaven created an awareness of the eschatological ‘now’, a perception of the urgency contained in Acts 17:30: ‘God has allowed the ages of ignorance to pass; but now He charges all people everywhere to repent.’ Thus Evangelist Fari Muzondo beckoned those present to heed the Word of God directly lest they forfeit a place in heaven, and Evangelist Mupamawonde encouraged them to ‘seek God now!’

Secondly, the Zionist sermons reflect an awareness that Jesus Christ has created a new condition for the dead through His descent into ‘Hades’ and His resurrection. The bondage and dominion of death was thereby abolished. Evangelist Mupamawonde inferred that even the pagan ancestors who had seen Christ were aware that He was the basis of hope for salvation. Minister Samson suggested that entry into heaven is determined by the fact of a person’s dying ‘in Christ’ or not, and Minister Champion explicitly referred to the resurrection of Christ as the reason for the happy belief that Muchakata himself will arise, in other words, that the latter belongs to the living dead.

Thirdly, a recurring theme was the vital role of the Zionist Church in preparing its members for, and eventually guiding them to, heaven. While Evangelist Muzondo claimed that Muchakata, while alive, was ‘in the hands of Mutendi’, Evangelist Ruben (Mutendi’s son) asserted that the deceased’s spirit was claimed from the hands of the Church leaders. Minister Samson Bracho in turn emphasized that the zcc officials were the only proper ‘guides’ of Muchakata’s spirit. Ruben’s sermon, in particular, laid stress on the role of the Church. He not only suggested that one’s spirit could be ‘safely kept’ at Zion (City), but also that going to heaven was a matter of ‘good works’—such as was taught by the zcc, and as was pleasing to himself and his father,

27. Supra, p. 123.
30. Supra, p. 125.
31. Supra, p. 125.
Mutendi. Here we find a legalistic strain which distorts salvation and pushes the grace of God into the background. Eternal life is presented as the result of fulfilling the laws of the Church and pleasing its leaders. Nevertheless, this misrepresentation of salvation is not necessarily the result of an erroneous doctrine of the zcc, for its representatives generally have a much deeper understanding of God’s grace and salvation. One should bear in mind that the one-sidedness of Ruben’s sermon bore a close connection to the occasion in which propagation of the uniqueness of the Zionist Church played an important role. Ruben was probably carried away by his enthusiasm to move his non-Christian audience, and his intention was not to give a complete and balanced exposition of the Zionist understanding of salvation. The question nevertheless remains whether such a ‘Church-centric’ presentation of salvation does not tend to obscure the liberating work of Christ.

In the fourth place, there were both direct and indirect attacks on certain aspects of traditional practices. Minister Samson wanted to make it quite clear that there was a great difference between the traditional and the Church’s accommodation of the deceased’s spirit. Hence his statement that the heathens cannot guide a dead man’s spirit properly. He left no doubt about his conviction that the mediating function of the Church had meaningfully substituted that of the traditional ritual unit and that there was no need for additional ritual activities to assist the deceased’s spirit. Minister Champion, again, tended to veil some of his criticisms, probably because he was a visiting representative from Moriah at Muchakata’s. His plea for forebearance in the name-bearer’s treatment of ‘trespassers’ presumably implied a rejection of the traditional practice of ostracizing a wizard accused of causing the deceased’s death.

On the whole these four features of the Zionist consolation ceremony indicate the distinctly Christian character of an indigenized ritual. Despite some weaknesses in the presentation of Christian truth, the aim of the Zionist preachers was clearly to reinterpret and give new content to an all-important aspect of traditional religion – that of ‘setting the deceased’s spirit right’ – and not to conform to what they considered to be ‘heathen’ customs. The interpretation of some of the participants may have been syncretic, but the ceremony as conducted by the Zionists did not constitute a syncretism as defined above. If it is also considered that throughout the official proceedings the Zionist congregation, in the midst of a multi-religious audience, maintained its religious identity, that it nevertheless demonstrated a close and

32. Supra, p. 125.
33. Supra, p. 310.
understanding identification with the plight of the bereaved – both Christian and non-Christian – and that it provided a breakthrough of the exclusivistic loyalties of the traditional ritual unit with its narrowed focus on the lineage during kugadzira procedure by ‘placing’ the deceased’s spirit in the much wider context of the heavenly community, one cannot but positively evaluate the Christian nature of this imaginative and surprisingly flexible ritual.

As regards Christ’s relation to the deceased, it is significant that no explicit mention was made in any of the runyaradzo sermons of the decensio Christi. Both Taylor and Sundkler have pointed out the importance of this aspect of redemption in Africa. To the African Christ appears as ‘the Deliverer and Life-giver in the realm of the shades’, says Taylor. Sundkler quoted a Zulu Lutheran student who wrote that the good news for mankind contains ‘forgiveness by Christ alone, who died for all and went to the dead to show them who He was and came up from the dead to show Himself to the living ones.’

It seems therefore as if Christ’s descent into ‘Hades’ has to Africans mainly triumphal and soteriological implications. To the Zionists, however, this does not necessarily alter the position of the pagan ancestors. To them the midzimu of old are still the predominantly ‘evil spirits’ whose demands are not harmoniously aligned to those of Christ. Their official rejection of kupira midzimu (ancestor worship) highlights the fact that they still associate the pagan ancestors with the temptation to indulge in essentially non-Christian activities. Instead therefore of emphasizing the decensio Christi as a point of departure to make speculative assertions about the pagan dead, they tend to concentrate on Christ’s resurrection as the basis for a new eschatological dimension of directedness toward the future in which the individual’s acceptance of Christ plays a decisive role. Hence the appeal for repentance during a runyaradzo service, for to die in Christ is a very real, if not the only, condition for life with Him after death. Probably the Zionists assume that acceptance of Christ’s kingship over all the dead, and particular attention for the living dead in heaven, should be sufficient consolation to those concerned about their pagan ancestors.

35. Sundkler, 1961, p. 290. Sundkler (p. 292) says: ‘It is mainly from the point of view of death and decensio Christi that the African pastor verbalizes the sense of the Holy.
b) The role of the deceased believer's spirit

The ritual unit has retained its mediating function on behalf of the deceased, though in modified form, and so has the deceased’s spirit, on behalf of its living relatives. In the thought-world of the Spirit-type Church members the mediation of the Christian dead is essentially different from that of the midzimu. For the deceased’s spirit, having lingered some days near the new grave and having been ‘guided’ to heaven, becomes an angel close to God and is not a mudzimu who can ‘reach’ the High-God only through passing a request through an hierarchical network of ancestors. Instead of being actively present near the homesteads of his living relatives where he protects them at night ‘standing at the door’, the deceased believer acquires the function of intercessor who paves the way of his believing relatives into heaven. Instead also of this mediating function being restricted only to the deceased’s blood relatives, it acquires a wider connotation and has a bearing on all his ‘relatives’ in Christ, the members of his own congregation in particular.

These attitudes, mainly derived from interview material, did not clearly emerge in the runyaradzo ceremony at Muchakata’s. No mention was in fact made during the Zionist sermons of the mediating role of the deceased. The focus was on the mediating role of the Church and on the deceased insofar as he had set a proper example of righteous living as a believer while alive. It is possible that the Zionist officials deliberately avoid preaching about the mediation of the deceased during consolation ceremonies in order to avoid creating the impression in the presence of a multi-religious audience that they are largely concerned with the response and activities of the deceased’s spirit, as is the case in a traditional kugadzira ritual. It is also possible that the general assumption of a mediating role to be played by the accommodated Christian spirit provides sufficient assurance to those directly concerned, and that elaboration on this point is therefore not considered necessary. Or, and this is more likely, the mediating role of the Christian ancestor has received insufficient official definition in the Spirit-type Churches for the subject to be preached about publicly.

Insofar as a general consensus on this subject has emerged in the Zionist and Apostolic circles, I consider it to be predominantly Christian and not interwoven with traditional notions to the extent of being completely syncretistic. With the great emphasis in the prophetic communities on the protection against evil forces offered by God Himself and by His prophetic representatives, there is less compulsive need for the protection of the ancestors. The need for an active, ritualistic communion between the living and the dead is admittedly still strong. In meeting this need, however, Spirit-type officials try
to give it an essentially Christian meaning. They will always maintain, for instance, that the activity of the Christian dead is subjected to Christ and to the Holy Spirit, so that the mediating function of Christ is not superseded. Moreover, they reject the demands of Christian ancestors if these are considered to be aligned too closely with those made by the pagan midzimu.

In practice, however, the process of transformation is slow and diversified. It is likely that in view of the inclination of Africans ‘to live with their dead’ many Zionists and Apostles, like Africans in other denominations, will continue to expect more from their living dead than is doctrinally allowed. But then the tendency still to ascribe illness and misfortune to the ancestors, with or without the rationalization that the afflicting spirit has been chased away from heaven and has become an ‘evil spirit’, reflects the perpetuation of basic traditional traits which one should expect in African Christianity whatever the doctrinal approach of the Church group concerned.

Two of the most important aspects of the runyaradzo ceremony directly related to the newly-acquired status of the deceased’s spirit concern communication and commemoration:

i) **Communication**

If the spirit of the deceased is going to act as intercessor on behalf of his relatives and fellow-believers, one would expect some form of regularized and continuing communication between the living and the dead. Dreams form only one channel of communication in which the active agent is the deceased’s spirit. But what about the living? How are they supposed to establish contact with the Christian dead and convey their wishes to them? The runyaradzo significantly provides no direct answer to this question. Neither at Muchakata’s village nor during similar ceremonies of the Spirit-type observed elsewhere was there any direct address of the deceased’s spirit.

This contrasts sharply with the burial rite and the ‘Magadziro echiKriste’ (Christian ceremonies for accommodating the spirit of the deceased) of the Roman Catholic Church as described in Volume 1. In these rituals both the officiating priest and the participating congregation address the deceased several times, be it the recently dead person or even groups of ancestors, with specific comments or requests. Here the mediating function of the ancestors is implicit in the address directed at them. During the burial ceremony, for instance, the paternal and maternal ancestors of the deceased — without a distinction between the Christian and the pagan dead — are requested to lead their relative to God. Thus we find that a liturgical form in the RCC not only

regularizes active communication with the dead but also clearly qualifies the kind of mediation expected from the dead. By way of contrast the Zionists and Apostles in the ritual context do not offer a single ‘prayer’ to the deceased, not even to the Christian dead, nor do they qualify the spirit’s mediating function more closely at this juncture. During the runyaradzo, prayers are at most directed at God for the deceased. More direct addresses of the Christian dead probably take place in privacy. But even this the leaders of the prophetic movements are reluctant to condone because of the association of such addresses with ancestor ‘worship’

In his outstanding account of the ‘Primal Vision’, Taylor has argued that the communicative link between the living and the dead is essentially prayer, mutual prayer, even to the extent of asking for the prayers of the dead. ‘Surely the “tender bridge” that joins the living and the dead in Christ is prayer. To ask for the prayers of the others in this life, and to know that they rely on mine, does not show any lack of faith in the all-sufficiency of God. Then, in the same faith, let me ask for their prayers still, and offer mine for them, even when death has divided us. If death is what Christians believe it to be, direct address to the deceased should be natural and confident. Its essential difference from the traditional address to the shades is that now, since God Himself is the Father and Provider concerned in every detail of life, there is no need to ask them for particular benefits which are properly sought from God alone. True to African use it should be wholly distinct from prayer, being rather in the nature of salutation.

The evidence from the Spirit-type Churches provides some support for Taylor’s views. There is indeed prayer to God for the deceased and the expectation that they should intercede on behalf of the living. Yet, the prophetic officials will be less convinced than Taylor that direct address to the dead is something ‘natural and confident’ from the Christian point of view, although they accept the close relation between the living and the dead which is still intensely felt. They may not be so sure of the fact either that the traditional address of the dead is really so distinct from prayer as Taylor would have it, for their reluctance to include direct addresses of the deceased in their ceremonies reflects their evaluation of such addresses in traditional rituals as kupira proper. And to them kupira contains elements of ‘worship’ which militate against the Lord’s command against idolatry.

38. Even during interviews individual Apostles and Zionists are reluctant to elaborate on the mediation of the Christian ancestors. They frequently simply state ‘they prepare a place for us in heaven’ (vanotigadzirira dzvimbo kudenga).
The Protestant background of the Shona Independent Churches probably contributes towards the exclusion of direct addresses of the deceased from the liturgies of public ceremonies. On the other hand, this exclusion indicates that African Church leaders, acting independently of Western ecclesiastic institutions, are selective and critical in their efforts to adapt Church life to indigenous customs. They are not merely reverting to traditional religion, because they exclude such elements as they themselves intuitively feel may prevent them from achieving a sound and truly Christian transformation of the old ways. Elsewhere in Africa, Church rituals adapted to the ancestral cult also exclude direct communication with the dead. Of the Xhosa Pauw says, 'Christian services of thanksgiving and commemoration of the dead are held, usually accompanied by a feast, mainly for kinsmen and the local Church members, for whom something is slaughtered. This is then done without calling on the ancestors.'

ii) Commemoration
Whereas the runyaradzo sermons at Muchakata's contained no direct addresses to the deceased nor clear indications of his future role in heaven, they contained several references to the dead man's past life and thereby underlined the commemorative function of the ritual. The dead man's role throughout the ritual was therefore mainly that of representing and upholding, in retrospect, an example of Christian living as a challenge to his living relatives and fellow believers. The deceased Muchakata was referred to as 'a righteous man' and as 'a saint' by his relatives, Shumba and Mawuwo, while the Zionist preachers spoke of him as 'a good preacher', a 'man of good works' and as a 'protector of Zionist affairs' (presumably in tribal politics). Through these qualifications a positive image emerged, implying both righteous living and loyalty to the Church group.

Decidedly new in this type of preoccupation with the dead is the introduction of a futuristic element which is foreign to the traditional time-conception, for the focus on the past is directly related to the heaven which already exists in the present — into which the deceased's spirit is to be guided now — and which is yet to come in the distant future. Instead of inducting the spirit of the deceased in a hierarchy of the past, it is related to a 'community' which in the first place holds promise for the future. For this reason there was no mention during the runyaradzo of Muchakata's forebears who had existed in the distant past nor of the nature of his relationship with them. On the con-
trary, Minister Samson’s warning against the practice of old customs which he thought would obstruct the deceased’s passage into heaven resulted from an effort to focus the ‘rückwärts Blickrichtung’ of those present on the past life of the believer only, and so to divert it from the vast background of lineage ancestors.

In an original account of the traditional African time-scale, Mbiti has convincingly argued that traditional thought only recognized two dimensions of time, a long past and a present, respectively called Zamani and Sasa in Swahili, with virtually no future. Present and past constitute actual time. ‘It moves “backward” rather than “forward”; and people set their minds not on future things, but chiefly on what had taken place.’ Events in the distant future fall outside the horizon of the Sasa period. ‘Therefore in African thought, the Sasa “swallows” up what in the Western or linear concept of time would be considered as the future. Events (which compose time) in the Sasa dimension must be either about to occur, or in the process of realization, or recently experienced.’ Zamani, again, is described as ‘the graveyard of time, the period of termination, the dimension in which everything finds its halting point. It is the final storehouse for all phenomena and events, the ocean of time in which everything becomes absorbed into a reality that is neither after nor before.’ Sasa and Zamani exclude notions of a messianic hope or a final destruction of the world. ‘So African peoples have no “belief in progress”, the idea that the development of human activities and achievements move from a low to a higher degree. The people neither plan for the distant future nor “build castles in the air”’. The recently deceased (up to five generations) in this time-scale still belong to the Sasa period. Their process of dying is not yet complete. As the living-dead they share a common Sasa with the living, which for them, however, is ‘fast disappearing into the Zamani’. Once people stop having personal memories about them they are no longer ‘people’ but have become ‘things’, ‘spirits’ or ‘its’.

Considering the commemorative aspect of the Zionist runyaradzo in terms of Mbiti’s observations, there are indications of a breakthrough in the traditional thought pattern. For, by implication, the expectation of a more distant future and the idea of progress are introduced by the new focus on the living dead. Reference to the behavioural patterns of the deceased indeed concerns

42. Supra, p. 125.
43. Mbiti, 1969, p. 17.
44. Ibid., p. 22.
45. Ibid., p. 23.
46. Ibid., p. 23.
47. Ibid., p. 83.
the Sasa period, though not now in the sense of channelling the activities of the living relatives in a movement ‘backwards’ but with a view to stimulating the activities and spiritual progress of individual believers with fairly clear implications for the near and distant future. As the vivid personal memories of the deceased fade, his existence as it was known by the living will slip into Zamani, but he is not expected gradually to become ‘depersonalized’ because his new status in heaven implies a continuous function as an angel, a personal being, the importance of which is not expected to diminish. His relatives and fellow members expect his continuing existence ‘with God’ to have a direct bearing on their lives, not only now, but also in the days to come, and some time in the future they hope to see him again in heaven.

It is conceivable that in spite of the introduction of a somewhat more linear concept of time, which includes the hope of a second coming of Christ in the future, the traditional time-concept will continue to condition African Christianity and the tendency of the Zamani and the Sasa period ‘to swallow up the future’ will remain. For instance, there is sufficient evidence that, especially in the Zionist camp and in terms of eschatology, the emphasis on the ‘realized eschaton’ disturbs the tension between the ‘already’ and the ‘not yet’ of God’s Kingdom in this existence. The command to contribute towards the expansion of God’s Kingdom now is more readily understood (and it finds its reflection in the building of an African ‘Jerusalem’ or ‘Holy City’), than the expectation of a new heaven and earth in the more distant future.

Nevertheless, the one does not necessarily exclude the other, for, despite the concern with ‘Jerusalem’ now, the very construction of a settlement as the one which constitutes Mutendi’s zcc headquarters goes hand in hand with new ideas of Western origin, notions of future expansion, long-term planning and the hope of a better future. As a member of the zcc the deceased Muchakata had participated in the building of Mutendi’s Zion City, he had helped build a school in which his descendants in the future could ‘progress’ to a higher standard of education, and he was influenced by leaders who favour and practise the modernization of customary agricultural methods. The latter aspect involves the overruling of conservative sanctions upheld by the old ancestors and the acceptance of economic goals with future implications. Thus the commemoration of someone whose ‘good works’ implied participation in long-term building projects and whose ‘good preaching’ implied involvement in evangelistic campaigns and Church programs planned several years ahead carries an inspirational message for the future which is quite different from the remembrance of the deceased in the traditional sense. The ‘rückwärts Blickrichtung’ is re-directed and is making place to a large extent for constructive future planning, economically as well as spiritually. Simul-
taneously, however, the importance still attached to the *Sasa* and *Zamani* periods serves as a counterbalance which prevents both the impulse towards future-directed action from unleashing a Western-type of activism and the expectation of a future place in heaven from deteriorating into utopian inactivity.

In an interesting and thought-provoking article on the necessity of missiology to develop the ‘maieutic method of development’, Camps, a Dutch missiologist, has pointed out that the cyclical concept of time and the importance of the ancestors in African society obstruct the idea of progress as Westerners conceive of it. ‘What Africans need’, he contends, ‘is a new theology of time and of the ancestors so that they can wholeheartedly and from within accept progress.’

In this respect the Spirit-type Independent Churches have a significant contribution to make. By meeting the African need to ‘live with the ancestors’ with a ritual which recognizes a direct link with the dead and which simultaneously present the living dead in a new light – as setting a standard of living different from that upheld by the pagan dead – new concepts of time and progress are introduced right at the heartbeat of religious experience. It will obviously take time for the old image and claims of the ancestors to become fully transformed in the Church context. Yet the process is underway, *possessio* in the name of Christ is taking place, and entirely new perspectives are emerging among Apostles and Zionists which can hardly be qualified as anything else but Christian.

c) *Ancestors and dreams*

It is necessary to determine briefly the extent to which the preoccupation with dreams in the Independent Churches causes the traditional past to enter Church life. Are the ancestors in fact still allowed to press home their claims through dreams? Sundkler has postulated that ‘the dream and the taboo are the two back doors through which the African past enters the church’.

According to him the degree of syncretic adaptation resulting from this re-entry of the African past is much higher in the Zionist than in the Ethiopian Churches of South Africa. ‘The Ethiopians have gallantly attempted – and, so far, fairly well succeeded – in keeping the door of dreams under control.’

But in the Zionist Churches, where no clear distinction is made between the

49. Ibid., p. 17.
51. Ibid., p. 216.
Spirit (uMoya) and the Angel (ingelosi), the latter appears in dreams and in fact performs the same function as the ancestral spirit. The Angel’s main reproach in Churches of Zionist type is that the ancestral spirits have been neglected. The Angel cannot only bring a message from the ancestral spirit; the Angel is the spirit, the ancestral spirit.\[52\]

At first sight the Southern Shona Ethiopian-type Churches indeed seem to have kept the ‘door of dreams’ under control, mainly because dream-life does not officially play such an important role as in the Spirit-type Churches. This is, however, a deceptive impression. We have already argued with reference to table 39 that dreams still play a very important, if somewhat submerged, role as a recognized channel of communication between God and man in the Ethiopian-type Churches. Office-bearers and ordinary members of the FEC show some reserve as far as ancestral dreams are concerned, but in the Chibarirwe Church there is no doubt that the so-called dreams ‘from above’ are still in the first place ancestral dreams. Accounts of dreams by Chibarirwe members hardly ever include references to angels. It is the spirits of the forefathers which visit their living descendants. The major tribal spirits, according to Evangelist Makomo of Chingombe, stand in a relationship of friendship and co-operation with the Holy Spirit. Makomo’s deacon, Gwamure, officially opposes ancestor worship, but he maintains, too, that ‘God told me not to “throw away” [rasha] my forebears; He told me to honour and love them so that I can see the proper way of following God.’ This approach seems to be Biblically in order, if based on the fifth commandment and if it is related to parents who have set an example in Christian living. But the kind of guidance in dreams to be expected from a father and mother, who in Gwamure’s case had been accommodated in traditional fashion (kugadzirwa) and therefore have attained full ancestorhood in the traditional sense of the word, will undoubtedly involve complications. Tadios Gumindoga, the senior Chibarirwe secretary, was quite frank about ancestral dreams: ‘If my deceased father’s spirit visits me in a dream, I cannot refuse his request.’ Here the process of transformation is decidedly incomplete.

In the Shona Spirit-type Churches the revelations of the Holy Spirit [Mweya Mutsvene] reflect some affinity with traditional divinations conditioned by shavi spirits. There is a close connection between the diagnosis of the Spirit-inspired prophet and of the traditional nganga. It is still the ancestral or other spirits that cause affliction and it is these spirits that should be dealt with if a person is to be healed. Yet the important point is that, unlike the Zionists described by Sundkler, the Apostles and Zionists distin-\[52. Ibid., p. 250.\]
guish clearly between the Holy Spirit (Mweya Mutsvene), the angels (angerosi) and the ancestral spirits (midzimu). The Holy Spirit speaking through the prophet ascribes illness to the action of spirits, but He never reproaches people for neglecting the ancestors! Neither do the angerosi, when they visit people in dreams. For the Spirit-type Church members always refer to the Spirit and the angels visiting them in their dreams as the ‘good spirits’, the ones who call them to the Church, who encourage them to remain steadfast in the faith and who have actually come to replace the ancestors. If reproaches are made of neglect, it is made by the ancestral spirits themselves, but they are now generally classed by the majority of Zionists and Apostles as the ‘bad spirits’ (mweya yakaipa) or demons (mademoni) whose requests must be evaded if possible. In this respect the Spirit-type Churches have come to grips with the traditional spirit world in a more realistic way than the Ethiopian-type Churches. They have also achieved a more penetrative transformation and Christianization of the traditional system of communication between the spiritual realm and the living.

I mention two typical reactions – one of an Apostle and one of a Zionist – to dream-visitations by the midzimu to illustrate how serious these people are, as a rule, in attempting to avoid being drawn back by the ancestors into the traditional field of worship. Maranke Apostle Sauro Garanuwako of Chingombe, stated: ‘Sometimes I dream about my tateguru. When I wake up I cry and pray fervently to God because we are frightened by these kinds of dreams. Once I dreamt that my mother’s spirit came and gave me thick porridge [sadza] to eat. I was greatly disturbed and asked the prophets what this meant. They told me not to worry because it was just an ordinary visit with no implications. I thought it might be the beginning of ancestral trouble in my family in order to make us worship the ancestors [pira midzimu]. My mother was not inducted into the spirit world after her death, but should she start troubling us she might succeed in overcoming us and thereby cause us to accommodate [kugadzira in the traditional sense of the word] her spirit.’

Prophet Nison Mutuwira of the Zion Christian Church was taken as a patient to Zion City. He believed that his traditionalist brothers had ensorcelled him because of a dispute over roora cattle. They had called in the aid of the family ancestors to fight their brother who had ‘strayed’ to the Zionist Church. Of his experiences at Moriah, Nison said: ‘My deceased father’s spirit visited me in a dream. He was angry because of the conflict between me and my brothers. The next morning I told Mutendi of the dream because I felt that I was being threatened by the ancestral spirits. After the “man of God” had prayed for me there were no more visitations by these ancestral spirits. In this way Mutendi keeps the evil spirits [the midzimu] away. I am
wearing a strip of sanctified linen around my neck to protect me against the evil spirits.'

It is evident from these and numerous other testimonies that the *angerosi* are not identified with the *midzimu*. Their messages are totally different. Members of the Spirit-type Churches who are ‘overcome’ by the ancestral spirits — who are still generally believed to be powerful and to be capable of influencing the lives of their descendants and who temporarily or permanently revert to traditional propitiatory practices — admit that they *mira* (‘stand still’ as far as the Church is concerned) or that they have backslid in faith. Under such circumstances they will never say that they have followed up the dream-instructions of an angel.

There are indeed syncretic tendencies in the dream-life of the Spirit-type Churches, but then in a sense differing from that indicated by Sundkler for the South African Independent Churches. The angel replaces and is expected to replace the ancestor. He does not necessarily have a blood relationship with the dreamer, and his features differ from those of the ancestor. The contents of his message differs from the ancestral message insofar as he is concerned with loyalty to the Church group and not in the first place to the family group. Should he encourage the dreamer to fulfill his obligations to the family group, such instructions are consistent with Church laws and not with ancestral laws. The syncretic aspects, deriving from the merging of old and new, should be sought in the perpetuation of the importance attached to dreams, the recognition of this medium as a form of communication, the remnants of traditional symbolism in dreams and especially the pressure which the spirit world brings to bear on the world of the living through dreams. In some cases this latter aspect comes out more clearly than in others. Apostle Chikata’s call-dream,\(^{53}\) for instance, clearly reflects a similarity between the coercive methods adopted by the Christian dream-messengers and the ancestors. Just as the ancestors threaten their descendants who ignore their requests with ultimate misfortune or complete ruin, so also did the Apostolic dream-messengers suggest to Chikata that he would get into trouble if he did not heed their calling.

The unofficial but very real integration of traditional dream-life in the ranks of the Ethiopian-type Churches, and the acknowledgment of ancestral demands as ‘compatible with Christianity’ even by the most senior Church officials, seem to me to point at an even more far-reaching form of syncretism than in the Spirit-type Churches. Or else one should call it the peaceful coexistence of two religious worlds within one all-embracing superstructure.

\(^{53}\) *Supra*, p. 145f.
The ‘door of dreams’ ostensibly controlled by the Ethiopian-type Churches – judging from the scarcity of dream-narratives during Church services – has in reality been wide open as a backdoor to the Shona past.

3. HEALING TECHNIQUES

a) Diagnosis and therapy

The overall impression which the Spirit-type faith-healing makes on a person is one of a remarkable confluence of old and new, of traditional divination and a confirmation of God’s sovereignty over evil powers in a typical African way. This is especially evident in the prophet’s diagnosis and therapy. It was mentioned that the prophet’s diagnosis of disease and misfortune runs parallel to that of the traditional diviner in that he, too, concerns himself primarily with the spirits considered to cause such maladies. In fact, the similarity is sufficiently striking to give rise to some doubt about the achievement of a thorough transformation of traditional divination within the prophetic movement. On the basis of casual observation one may be inclined to reject the prophetic diagnosis as syncretic and superficial. Small wonder that the representatives of Mission Churches, who have noticed that prophets concentrate on the customary conflict patterns between the living and the dead and on wizardry generally during their diagnostic sessions, frequently brand these as nganga practices.

It should be conceded that the preoccupation of prophets with the spiritual causes of disease has its negative implications. Instead of liberating the patient from the forces diagnosed to be involved, the prophet’s focus on them may, even if unintended, serve to elevate them to a certain prominence in the patient’s thought-world. This in turn may stimulate anxiety rather than serve as an introduction to a lasting solution of the patient’s problem. Moreover, a one-sided emphasis on the spiritual and personal causation of illness may well obstruct the development towards a modified view of the Christian ministry of healing which ultimately should combine both scientific medicine and spiritual healing.

Yet there are several reasons which necessitate a positive evaluation of prophetic diagnosis. The prophets themselves, for instance, do not consider their diagnostic activities as forms of adaptation to, but as a legitimately Christian substitution of, nganga practices. To them the source of revelation is not the divination bones (hakata), the ancestral or the shavi spirits, but the
Holy Spirit. Due to this cardinal difference they resent the indiscriminate identification of their activities with those of the nganga. Even more important is the fact that to the prophets the concern with the spirit world does not derive from their wish to meet the demands of the ancestors and other spirits in the traditionally conceived way but to introduce the Christian message into this vitally important world of beliefs. What outsiders therefore might interpret as the indiscriminate integration of old and new, or as the old religion extended into the prophetic movement under a thin veneer of Christianity, is actually a sincere attempt to confront indigenous problems with a relevant Christian solution. The prophet at least takes the fear of the patient for threatening spirits and the resultant need for spiritual protection seriously. This in itself is a positive contribution in the wider context of Christianity in Africa, considering the limitations of a Western-orientated ministry which has not always taken the ‘powers of darkness’ – as conceived of by Africans – seriously enough, and of which Crane correctly says: ‘Because we have reduced the “powers of darkness” either to scientific categories or to figments of the imagination, we have developed a kind of ministry in Africa which, in the face of crisis, seems powerless and far too dependent on rational argument and the appeal to resignation.’ Far from regarding the spiritual causes of misfortune as fictitious powers, the Spirit-type prophets deal with them as existentially real and fully capable, if not checked, of bringing about disaster in the lives of those whom they afflict.

It is doubtful whether all the prophetic diagnoses made in the name of the Holy Spirit can rightfully be ascribed to true revelation from this divine source. Prophets sometimes misuse the diagnostic spell by suggesting all sorts of mystical threats to their patients. In this way they try to place patients in a position of dependence on their protective spiritual activities, with the overriding motive of recruiting new members. Yet most prophets seem to be genuinely concerned with the problems of their patients, and it would be wrong to assume that they merely exploit faith-healing as a recruitment device and in the process make false claims about divine inspiration. There is no reason why the Holy Spirit should not inspire people and provide them with insights according to the cultural framework within which they live and conceptualize things. The Holy Spirit enlightens, enriches and widens the scope of people’s thought-world, but then through a process of transforming and renovating the known from within and not by way of negation or merely in vacuo.

There is ample evidence in the studied prophetic activities that this process

of transformation is actually taking place. In the majority of cases the therapy suggested by the prophet involves a distinctly Christian instead of a traditional religious solution. Instead of meeting the demands of the afflicting ancestral or other spirits through propitiatory rites, a deliberate stand is made against ancestor worship and traditional invocation of the spirits. Exorcistic treatment in the name of the Christian God or other symbolic activities, with the emphasis on the healing and protective power of God, is prescribed. In the effort to meet the needs of a predominantly semi-literate and tradition-orientated group of people, the healing techniques themselves are sometimes indigenized to a point where they become syncretic. I have also pointed out that in practice compromise solutions are sometimes worked out, especially by Zionists, in the effort to meet the requirements of patients' non-Christian relatives and to prevent estrangement in the inner-family circle. Thus, through a remarkable flexibility, the witness-character of the prophetic Christian solution may be less forcibly demonstrated than one would ideally expect. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the main trend of prophetic therapeutical treatment is essentially Christian in character and not merely a superficial alignment to customary healing techniques.

b) Healers and the use of symbolic objects

It has already been stated that despite the similarity between prophetic treatment and traditional medicinal practices – as became evident in the Zionist use of smoke repellants, holy water and the wearing of linen cloths – there is an important difference between the two. Whereas the nganga's medicines contain an inherent magical efficacy which is supposed to bring about the desired result, the objects prescribed by the prophets are in the first place symbols (zviratidzo) representing the healing power of God. It is doubtful, however, whether a complete change of traditional notions is achieved by all prophets. Due to the inclination of the Shona to identify the symbolic object with that which it represents in the ritual context, and subsequently to attribute more value to the object than a purely symbolic function, it stands to reason that to some patients the faith-healing objects prescribed by prophets obtain more than a symbolic meaning. There is a real danger, not only of an insufficient explanation by the prophetic healers concerning the actual relationship between the symbolic object and God's healing power but also of patients attributing magical qualities to such objects. Then the healer's prestige subtly determines the 'amount' of healing power in the object used, and in addition the magical approach obscures the importance of the individual's
faith in God. What becomes important in such cases is the possession of the holy water, linen cloth or paper strips which had been handled by a popular prophet considered to be a powerful healer, rather than an intensified and more meaningful relationship between patient and the Christian God.

Bishop Mutendi with his wide reputation as a faith-healer and miracle-worker is a case in point. As a result of the important role he plays as the negotiator of Godly power, he runs the risk of impeding rather than intensifying the personal relationship of his followers with the historical Christ. This is apparent from the testimonies of the Ruwadzano women in which the 'man of God' has such a central position that the healing power of God, or His person as a Healer, become more of an added commentary than the central subject of scriptural exegesis.

Another distinguishable trend is that the popular healer, under pressure from the expectations of his followers, is required to perform more and more wonders, or that he must adapt the symbolic measures representing the healing powers of God more to the magical ritual background than he originally intended. Thus the distinction between old and new fades for some people, and to them the Church itself merely forms an extension of the old religious practices in a somewhat new guise. The question arises, for example, in the case of Elias Bope, whether his attachment to Mutendi as the protector against ngozi spirits, and to Zion City as a kind of citadel against evil spirits, offers sufficient perspective to him as an individual for the liberating power of God. Are we not confronted here with such an attachment to the healer's person, to the symbolic objects used and to a specific environment that a complete and independently experienced liberation from the fear induced by the ngozi is excluded?

Quite apart from the latter consideration, some negative implications arise from the use of symbolic objects. The use in the zcc of a blessed yet unsterilized needle to puncture patients' nose cavities, or other parts of their bodies in order to draw 'polluted blood' in cases of bewitchment can cause serious, if not fatal, infection. Abdominal problems are sometimes aggravated instead of alleviated through swallowing excessive amounts of holy water, and the inhalation of spirit-repelling smoke from the strips of burning paper cannot be described as a healthy practice.

Yet a critical appraisal of the limitations of the Spirit-type healing techniques should take into account that the Zionist and Apostolic movements in Rhodesia developed under circumstances in which the individual was search-

55. Supra, p. 257f.
56. Supra, p. 244f.
ing for an own identity. The centrality and near deification of main leaders like Mutendi and Johane Maranke result in part from efforts to relate the Christian message to the African world of thought and belief in a manner the white missionary was not capable of. It is also to be expected that, due to a certain lack of scientific knowledge of the anatomy of the human body in prophetic circles, and due to the importance of magic in traditional healing techniques, some people will continue to attribute inherent magical qualities to the symbolic objects prescribed by the prophets. This trend, however, does not represent a massive reversion to the magical methods of the past. It characterizes the process of transformation of age-old practices, as yet however incomplete.

A hopeful prospect in the use of symbolic objects is that it may increasingly serve as a useful link between faith-healing and modern medicine. Of the Aladura Churches in West Africa Turner says that ‘the movement towards modern medicine is the most effective safeguard against the only other escape from the limitations of spiritual healing, a return to the magical methods of the past.” Although the shift towards modern medicine at this stage in the Rhodesian prophetic movements is less noticeable than with the Aladura movement in West Africa, as described by Turner, there are indications of a declining negative attitude of faith-healers to the use of medicine. It is possible that the use of a great variety of symbolic objects actually facilitates this change of attitude. The imitation of modern injection treatment with holy needles, for instance, may in fact be less of an exclusivistic religious substitute for medical treatment than a mid-way position between pure faith-healing and the use of Western medicine. It probably indicates an increasing appreciation, reluctant though it may be, of modern healing techniques. Among the Ndaza Zionists in urban areas, some Spirit-type Church leaders are to be found who have adopted a compromising attitude in a new situation of compulsory medical examination demanded by some employers. It has already led to a break with the more conservative leaders in the tribal areas.

For example, Bishop Komboni Vambire, who has been working at Fort Victoria for more than twenty years, broke away from David Masuka and started his own African Zion Church of Jesus in 1965, with the important addition of clauses 13 and 14 to his Church constitution. These clauses read as follows:

13) ‘We have permission to drink medicine and to go to the hospital: For Isaiah told them to take a lump of figs and use it for a plaster upon the boil, and he shall recover (Isaiah 38:21, see also Luke 10:33 and 2 Kings 20:17).

14) Whatever tree is medicine, we eat it (Genesis 1:29).

From interviews with Bishop Komboni’s four minister (vafundisi), it appeared that they were all former officials in David Masuka’s Church who had fallen into discredit because they used medicines. With the increase in urbanization one can expect Zionism in the urban areas to adapt itself more readily to the new and changing conditions. Thus the process of combining spiritual and modern healing techniques is already under way. It is a significant development because we agree with Crane when he states: ‘We pray that the time will come when scientific medicine and spiritual healing will be seen in the African Church as indispensable parts of one Christian ministry of healing.’

Amongst groups with a greater attachment to the leader, as in Mutendi’s case, the process will be somewhat slower. Mutendi’s son, Enginasi, who in all probability will be the future leader of the zcc, has already intimated that it may be advisable to abolish the sanctified paper and strips of linen. Whether he will succeed in his endeavours, or whether he will wilt under the pressure of his future subjects for whom the symbolic healing measures are inextricably bound up with their entry into the fold, and whether he will retain the existing practices in order to avoid schisms, only time will tell.

c) Exorcism

One of the most fascinating examples of adaptation in the Independent Churches is the expulsion of spirits through exorcism. Such practices are deliberately introduced to meet the need of Africans for visualized symbolic acts of combatting destructive forces. The general concensus of IC members is that exorcism is an effective means of getting rid of afflicting powers, and a great number of interviewed people who had undergone exorcistic treatment sincerely believed that they had received liberating assistance of a truly Christian nature.

The degree of transformation in the Independent Churches of the customary spirit-expelling practices varies from far-reaching forms of accommodation to resolute rejections of any compromise solutions which might create the impression of a return to traditional techniques. Preventive measures, such as pegging off a household with holy pegs against evil onslaughts and the payment of compensatory mutumbu cattle in the case of harassment by a vengeful (ngozi) spirit, can easily lead to confusion. It may lead to a magical

Instead of symbolic interpretation of the means used, or create the impression that the power of the Holy Spirit in itself is insufficient to rid one from the ngozi's affliction. In evaluating such compromise solutions and seemingly syncretic practices, one should, however, bear in mind that the prophets more often encourage their patients to meet some of the traditional requirements with the motive of preventing drastic friction between Christian and non-Christian relatives than from the conviction that the old appeasing rites are really necessary to achieve proper results.

There are in fact several built-in safeguards in prophetic exorcistic practices which counter possible misinterpretation. The ritual context within which exorcism takes place is quite different from that within which the nganga operates. Here we have a group of people professing to be Christians who dance and sing Christian songs in the expectation of a manifestation of the Christian God's delivering power. The act of driving out the inhabiting and unwanted spirit is usually performed in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Prophets generally recognize that the act of expulsion does not imply a self-willed manipulation of divine power and that God Himself is the final authority who decides whether their dramatized and symbolic action will be successful. Some of them admit failures, often with reference to God who willed otherwise. Then there is also the accompanying pastoral care and the insistence of prophets that afflicted persons themselves should pray perseveringly to be rid of the troubling spirits. Thus we have a group-integrated technique with interaction between participant congregation, excorcising prophet and praying patient – all of them in action before and depending on the great Deliverer of evil powers.

In view of the frequent occurrence of spirit-possession among Africans and the type of Christian rituals developed by Independent Churches to cope with the problems arising from it, Mission Churches may have to consider what Taylor calls 'the development of some properly safeguarded ministry of exorcism.' In doing so they will benefit from a study of the techniques already developed by the Independents. Thus far the Dutch Reformed Church in Rhodesia tends to associate the expulsion of spirits through the laying-on of hands with the activities of the Pentecostals. As an officially recognized form of healing it is not to be found in the Church. There are, however, some female workers who, in the case of psychically disturbed Shona women, not

59. Taylor, 1963, p. 211. Theologically the term 'exorcism' is somewhat misleading. Originally it meant the driving out of demons or malignant spirits by way of magic action and formulae (see Kittel TWNT, p. 463). To avoid misinterpretation in the African setting a different term should perhaps be used. See also Durand's (1961, pp. 172-173) criticism of the use of the term 'exorcism'
only anticipated the need for visual and symbolic representations of divine power, but also successfully applied the laying-one of hands.

Murphree describes how the Budiga members of the Methodist Church (in the northern parts of Rhodesia) developed their own ritual of shavi-exorcism, without the European missionaries being fully aware of it and despite the opposing criticisms of the African clergy. These rituals are directed by laymen during Ruwadzano meetings and are very similar to the Ndaza Zionist exorcisms described above. Through rhythmic singing which gradually increases in volume and intensity, the shavi spirits are induced to put in an appearance. As soon as a person falls possessed, the laymen in charge will place their hands on the subject’s head, pray, sing, quote Scriptures, place a Bible on her head and command the shawe in the name of Christ to leave its victim. These improvisations of Christian laymen reveal the need within the ranks of the Mission Churches to deal in an appropriate and vividly experienced way with the plaguing spirits still believed to interfere with man’s well-being.

I have not witnessed similar spontaneous developments of ritual life in the Mission Churches represented in the Chingombe chiefdom. Yet one of the best reflections of the importance of a Church-controlled form of exorcism appear in the extraordinary experimental attempts of an African minister, Rev. Mundeta, of the America Mission Board at Mt. Selinda in the Chipinga district. As a co-worker of the hospital-staff, this man’s pastoral task includes oft-repeated interviews aimed at penetrating into the deeper psychic backgrounds of the patients. Afflicting spirits are exorcised and all magical amulets or blankets dedicated to the midzimu are burnt in public. During exorcism Mundeta is assisted by his wife. In a specially constructed small ‘temple’ the Reverend and his wife sing hymns which are calculated to invoke the spirits possessing the person in question. If they succeed in letting the spirit appear (kubuda), they expel it through the laying-on of hands and prayer. In this way an attempt is made to represent the sovereignty of Christ in as concrete a manner as possible to those who need much more than just a mere medical treatment. Considering the prophetic approach of Zionists and Apostles it seems to me expedient that the Mission Churches embark on the type of experimental work employed by Rev. Mundeta.

4. WIZARDRY

Independent Church practices dealing with wizardry are varied and difficult
to evaluate. Basically one can say that the prophetic detection of uroyi-medicines and wizards represent an effort to Christianize an age-old custom based on the deeply ingrained beliefs in wizardry. Some prophets are only partly succeeding in this aim, but their techniques are at least distinct from traditional wizardry-detection. For one thing, they claim a different source for their visionary insights than does the nganga, namely the Holy Spirit. The impact of their detection on those involved also differs from the customary punitive measures undertaken against an imputed witch or sorcerer. Nevertheless, some negative trends are discernible in the dealings of prophets with wizardry and these should be clearly distinguished from the positive aspects.

In the first place the temptation seems to be very real to some prophets to misuse medicine-finding and wizard-detection as a popularized means of recruiting followers. A shift of motivation from a deep concern with the afflicted members of society to a certain capitalizing on the persistent beliefs in wizardry sometimes takes place. In his effort to gain prestige and a greater following the prophet now concentrates more and more on a dramatic performance, or even makes use of a sleight-of-hand technique to convince people that the feared medicine had actually been found. The drive for success may cause the prophet to become increasingly involved in working ‘miracles’ and subsequently to neglect the sustained pastoral care of his patients. In the second place, the implementation of baptismal ceremonies as a kind of wizard-detecting device obscures the spiritual meaning of this initiatory rite. Although members of the prophetic movements generally distinguish between the various types of ‘baptism’, the addition of new objectives and a wide range of ritual activities foreign to the essence of baptism can easily lead to misinterpretation and degradation of this sacramental rite in the eyes of non-members participating in ‘village baptisms’. Thirdly, the question can be raised whether the Spirit-type prophets are really working towards a long-term solution, in the sense of eliminating the fears arising from wizardry beliefs and progressing towards an understanding of illness and misfortune less dominated by such beliefs. It is conceivable that prophets who utilize, intentionally or unintentionally, the fear of wizardry for the recruitment of new members or for purposes of consolidating their leadership over those members who rely on their protective measures may be reluctant to uproot the very basis on which much of their success hinges.

Other limitations can be mentioned. The stigmatizing of certain Church members as wizards, for instance, implies discrimination – frequently against less popular individuals – which does not always correspond with the Christian spirit of love and sympathetic understanding. Accusations of witchcraft within the prophetic in-group nearly always concerns women, and the pres-
Adaptation and transformation

sures brought to bear on them imply a subjection which may retard the im-
portant process of female emancipation. We have also mentioned the embar-
rassment of Mission Church members, who become involved in village
baptisms and the problems of Church disciplinary measures arising from
their participation in such wizard-detecting ceremonies. The antagonism be-
tween different religious groupings in some instances is aggravated rather
than relieved during village baptisms. This is especially the case if a wizard-
hunting prophet lacks impartiality and publicly ridicules the members of
other Churches. Finally, a one-sided concept of sin may result from the pre-
occupation of prophets with wizardry. As Taylor says, witchcraft is the 'active
embodiment of that brooding anger which in Africa is the essence of sin' 61

Judging from the Spirit-type confessional during the 'gate-tests' preceding
Holy Communion services, many prophets still deal with wizardry as the
'essence of sin' and pay much less attention to other deeds or attitudes which,
in Biblical perspective, are equally wrong. To some participants of Holy
Communion, moreover, the catching out of witches just before the use of the
sacraments proves to be a distraction rather than an appropriate preparation.

Considering the more positive aspects of prophetic anti-wizardry activities,
the outstanding psychological factor is that prophets take the persistent tra-
ditional notions of evil seriously. They appreciate the need of Africans to
combat anti-social and disrupting forces, the need to do something about
these forces through symbolic action which rings true according to African
perception. At the existential level they have sympathy with the fears of their
fellow-men for the destructive perpetration of the wizard because they them-

selves know and have experienced similar fears. Thus they are capable of in-
troducing the Christian message of God's liberation from fear and His pro-
tection against evil powers into a realm frequently dominated by stark terror.

Even if prophets do not always succeed in eliminating their patient's fears
for wizardry, there is ample evidence of a new sense of physical and spiritual
security among those whom they treat. Some derive the feeling of being pro-
tected mainly from the prophetic control-system, which is considered to curb
destructive machinations. Others may lean towards a magical interpretation
of the symbolic means used. But there is no doubt about the pulsation of the
new message in prophetic circles, of a growing understanding of the Christian
God's infinite care which ultimately is much more than can be expressed in
the prophet's actions. In other words there are signs of a real transformation
of a limited sense of temporary security derived from traditional magic into a
deeper, more lasting sense of being in the protective hands of an almighty
God.

Indications of a transformed and new procedure of wizard-finding are especially noticeable in the prophetic treatment of suspect wizards. We have mentioned how some women, branded as witches in their village communities, more or less seek refuge in the prophetic movements and how this serves to stabilize their social status in their villages. Although they are subject to a somewhat discriminating control-system within the prophetic Church, they often experience acceptance and understanding as individuals which is quite different from the general attitude adopted towards witches. The reconciliatory aims of prophets also become manifest during court sessions following village baptisms, when prophets oppose excessive punitive measures against those members of society accused of wizardry. Apparently the prophets repudiate the evil deeds considered to be performed by wizards, yet at the same time try to prevent their followers or the villagers concerned from disassociating completely with the guilty parties. This attitude reflects an understanding of the Biblical message of reconciliation, forgiveness and brotherly love, and a certain willingness to put it into practice at a level of complex relationships. It also shows an awareness of the fact that God is the ultimate judge of human beings, which by implication calls for restraint and care in the treatment of those who have misbehaved. It is open to question, however, whether the prophet can contribute towards a complete change of the traditional attitude towards wizards while he himself is instrumental in detecting them.

Confession plays an important role in prophetic anti-wizardry practices. Prophets concentrate on exposing the secret deeds, the hidden forces and destructive motives through the tactful encouragement or even forceful persuasion of people to confess publicly. Very often his aspect of 'speaking out' satisfies the troubled conscience. Potential witches who experience calldreams and develop a sense of guilt because of their contact with the spirits of deceased witches sometimes respond willingly to the proddings of prophets to talk freely in front of the congregation about their problems. They request the intercession of their fellow Church members, witness about the spiritual assistance they have received in overcoming temptation through such intercession, and are often markedly relieved of inner frustration. Even the self-confessed witches benefit from recounting their nocturnal activities to prophets. Confession therefore not only forms a convenient part of the prophetic control-system. It appears to be one of the ways in Africa in which Christ demonstrates His dominion over all powers, including the secret and terrifying.

A balanced theological appraisal of anti-wizardry activities in the Independent Churches should take both the positive and negative trends into conside-
Adaptation and transformation.

On the basis of the material presented in Chapter 4 the Zionist and Apostolic prophets on the whole are progressing on the way to developing valid Christian techniques of combatting evil, according to their conception. The process of transforming the old techniques is admittedly incomplete and not always fully safeguarded against misunderstanding. Yet it is sufficiently meaningful for the Mission Churches to give it some serious consideration.

5. THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

It seems appropriate to conclude this book with some comments on the role played by or ascribed to the Holy Spirit in the Independent Churches, since so many of the religious practices described in the foregoing chapters are directly related by the prophets to His inspiration or revelation. The idea is not to present an analysis if Independent Church concepts of God’s trinity – this will be attempted in a later volume – but to pay attention to some of the main criticisms of a few observers of Independent Churches elsewhere in Africa, criticisms which on the whole imply a very definite misunderstanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in IC circles. The explanations ventured for such misunderstanding usually point at the continuation and domination of old ideas at the expense of a complete conversion and Christianization. We will have to weigh a few of the important arguments forwarded by these critics in the light of the information already presented on the Southern Shona Churches.

Both Martin and Oosthuizen have pointed out the weaknesses of the African prophetic approach of the Holy Spirit. The former signals a false pneumatology (doctrine of the Holy Spirit), and the latter presents us with a whole chapter on ‘the misunderstanding of the Biblical meaning of the Holy Spirit in the Independent movements’ in his book Post-Christianity in Africa. They object to what they consider to be a manipulation of the ‘Spirit’, with the prophet himself and not God taking the initiative. ‘In prophetic and messianic movements’, says Martin, ‘the prophets and messiahs “possess” the “Spirit” like an impersonal power, they get hold of it in their own way, and the “Spirit” must give utterance in a visible and audible way (glossolaly, trembling, leaps), and not in the hidden manner of the new life in Christ which is the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22f). In the same way as the black messiah must be visible here and now (e.g. in the case of Shembe and Lek-

hanyane) and deliver from suffering, so the Spirit must manifest its power in visible and audible phenomena.64 With reference to the Ngunza-Khaki ‘Church’ Oosthuizen states: ‘The Spirit has here become the monopoly of the leader; it is actually at his disposal, as in the case of the ancestors, who could even be ceremoniously scolded if they do not react favourably after sacrifices have been offered to them’.

One of the main tasks of the prophets in this movement is to “give” the Spirit to its members. Just as in animism the spirit is invoked by those entrusted with this task; the spirit is “given” by man’s initiative and not by God’s. The central doctrine of the Holy Spirit is obscured and distorted here beyond recognition. The position of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in a Church indicates whether that Church is standing or falling. In a utilistic religion, such as that of the nativistic movements, “the Spirit” is at man’s disposal.66

Since Mutendi’s zcc is a branch of Lekhanyane’s Church which Martin classifies as an African Messianic movement, and since the Shona Zionists and Apostles belong to the group of movements generally characterized by Oosthuizen as nativistic, their criticisms by implication also apply to the Shona Spirit-type Churches. If so, I would like to point out that terms like ‘possess’ and ‘at the disposal of’ are misleading and cannot be categorically applied to the Shona Independent Churches. In these Churches there are indeed indications of weaknesses and insufficient understanding of the true nature and work of the Holy Spirit. Some prophets claim the sanction of the Holy Spirit for activities which can hardly be qualified as Christian. Yet it is equally true that many prophets have gained sufficient insight about the work of the Holy Spirit according to Biblical norms to be aware of the dangers of misinterpretation involved.

The narratives of prophetic Church leaders frequently reflect their recognition of the fact that God and not man takes the initiative when it comes to inspiration or revelation through the Holy Spirit. Bishop Andreas Shako of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission, for example, tells us that he had to wait a full year after his baptism before he was first filled by the Holy Spirit.67 The Apostolic prophet, Jaka, mentions his experience of being directed by the Holy Spirit to perform certain tasks. Through seclusion, prayer and fasting he obtained directives from the Holy Spirit.68 These acts, however, are not interpreted as having a causal effect of bringing on the Spirit for they were in the

66. Ibid., p. 133.
68. Supra, p. 262f.
first place inspired by the Spirit Himself. Like many of his Zionist and Apostolic contemporaries, Prophet Jaka recognizes a spiritual compulsion which he considers to be the urgings of the Holy Spirit and not merely a projection of his own will. Even if prophets lay hands on a new convert with the aim of more or less conveying or ‘giving’ the Spirit to the neophyte, this is more than a manipulative, mechanic action. For they generally acknowledge their subordination to the will of the Holy Spirit, who knows best what talent, if any, He will bestow on the new Church member. Speaking-in-tongues does not of necessity follow such ceremonies, for although the Spirit is ‘received’ by the prophet’s follower, this may, in some instances, imply no more than an acknowledgement of the important function of the Holy Spirit which manifests itself in more ways than merely the gift of glossolaly. Besides, the ceremonial ‘conveyance’ of the Spirit is an act of faith which stands in direct relation to the recipient’s spiritual life, and which does not enable him or her to go forth and perform healing or other prophetic feats as a matter of course. It would also be wrong to intimate that the members of prophetic movements only appreciate visible and audible manifestations of the Holy Spirit. For, despite an undeniable predilection for dramatic forms of religious expression, the hidden work of the Holy Spirit is also recognized. Among the Shona numerous Zionists and Apostles admit that they have not received the gift of prophecy or glossolaly, that they do not ‘make a noise through the Spirit’ (kurira noMweya). This does not exclude the acknowledgement of spiritual progress in their lives, the fruitful performance of an administrative or other functions in the Church and other positive facets of religious life, as fruits of the Spirit.

The Shona prophets cannot generally be said to ‘possess the Spirit like an impersonal power’ Most diagnostic prophecies at Mutendi’s Zion City and in Ndaza Zionist groups are preceded by prayer in which the presence of God as a Personal Being is requested. Thus the speaking-in-tongues which follows the introductory prayer contains an element of expectation and of trust that the Holy Spirit will guide the proceedings; it is not merely an act of mechanically introducing the Spirit as an impersonal entity. Moreover, a content-analysis of the diagnostic and therapeutical ‘prophecies’, presented in Chapter 3, reveals continual reference to God (Mwari) as the One who directs the observations of the prophets. Mwari is generally conceived of in this context as a God who speaks and reveals, not as a force to be manipulated. Even if one can question some of the prophetic suggestions projected as God’s revelations, there are insufficient grounds for rejecting the insights of prophets as if these were not inspired by the Holy Spirit. We have presented sufficient evidence indicating that the revelations of the Spirit are not just mere adap-
tations to traditional patterns but that they cut across and transform traditional religious practices.

This brings us to the question whether there is really such a far-reaching identification in the prophetic movements of the Holy Spirit with that of the ancestors, as some observers have stated. As mentioned above, Sundkler suggests that the Angel, which is not clearly distinguished by the Zionists from the Spirit, performs the same function as the ancestral spirit. 69 Oosthuizen again states that 'the functions of the ancestor spirits have been transferred to the Holy Spirit, or simply "the Spirit", so that in the independent post-Christian movements their "holy spirit" is no longer the Holy Spirit of whom we learn in Scripture. 70 In connection with the Kimbanguists he speaks of a loss of the relationship between Spirit and Scripture. 71 These statements do not apply forthrightly to the Shona Spirit-type Churches. The Zionists and Apostles doctrinally classify the ancestors as demons. In practice they are more flexible in their approach, as we have indicated. Yet they clearly distinguish between the functions of the ancestral spirits and of the Holy Spirit. The messenger sent by the Holy Spirit in dreams or the Spirit appearing as a messenger, does not insist on ancestor worship. On the contrary, the message transmitted inspires spiritual improvement in the Christian sense. It frequently implies the rejection of ancestor worship, the intensification of prayer directed at the Christian God, moral imperatives with a Scriptural basis and loyalty to a group of believers which differs essentially from clan or tribal loyalties. The protective function of the ancestral spirits have indeed been transferred to the Holy Spirit but then in a different context and with different connotations. New spiritual safeguards are provided in a community of believers which differs from the lineage unit. The goodwill which has to be shown to the ancestors as a prerequisite for their protection is replaced by a different requirement, namely faith in the Christian God. Significantly, too, the new protective function as performed by the Holy Spirit often facilitates the exorcistic expulsion of the former protectors, the ancestors. Should there then be limitations in the prophetic perception of the work of the Holy Spirit, as there undeniably are, one will have to admit that a revolutionary process of renewal is taking place. In spite of the possibility of the prophet's declarations taking precedence over Scripture in some groups, the centrality of the Bible in regular prayer meetings and services — as was observed in the Shona Spirit-type Churches — acts as a continual corrective of excessive distortions.

Due to the great emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit, a balanced doc-

69. Supra, p. 333.
70. Oosthuizen, 1968, p. 129.
71. Ibid., p. 127.
Adaptation and transformation

The trinity on the trinity of God does not exist in the prophetic movements. Of the Ngunza-Khaki movement Oosthuizen says that 'a distinction is made between God and the Holy Spirit in the sense that they are not co-equal and co-eternal, as confessed in the Athanasium creed' 72. The Shona prophets, too, distinguish the Spirit from the Godhead. They do not, however, place the one in subordination to the other, despite their preoccupation with the manifestations of God as Spirit. Yet there appears to be a neglect of the Spirit's relation to the work of Christ; a weakened Christology as the result of an over-emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. In the evaluation of this trend, the same applies to the Shona prophetic groups as Turner asserts of the Church of the Lord (Aladura) in West Africa: 'It is not so much that he [Jesus Christ] is ignored, as that his divinity is taken for granted, and his humanity overlooked, so that he is readily absorbed in the term God, whose present manifestation in the Spirit is of more importance than his historical work in the flesh.' 73 It would therefore be more appropriate to speak of a submerged or weakened Christology than of a misconception or deliberate negation of Christ's work, in itself an important qualification which needs a more detailed treatment in a following volume.

Oosthuizen mentions a certain identification between man and the Spirit in the Independent Churches: 'The mission Churches react adversely against emotionalism, making a clear distinction between man and the Holy Spirit, whereas in the indigenous movements there is room for emotional expression, and a unity between subject and object, man and Spirit, the primal identity, which is the background of all mysticism.' 74 According to him, Paul's accusation against the Corinthians 'that their desire was directed towards the spirits', which they believed acted as mediators between them and the Holy Spirit, would also apply to the African Independent movements. 75

One cannot deny the continual and sometimes one-sided concern of Zionist and Apostolic prophets with the spirit-world. Yet this preoccupation derives from their urge to deal effectively with the reality of a host of ancestral, alien and vengeful spirits, as traditionally conceived of, and not from a desire to please these or a number of supposedly Christian spirits. In their struggle with the 'demons', some prophets, in fact, do seem to strive after a far-reaching identification with the Holy Spirit. During spells of Spirit-possession there are sometimes signs of a dissociate personality, of a prophet more or less losing himself and speaking as the Spirit Himself. Then an inter-

72. Ibid., p. 125.
75. Ibid., p. 141.
preter is needed, for the Spirit-possessed prophet no longer controls his rational faculties. This phenomenon obviously corresponds with the traditional state of spirit-possession as observed, for example, at Matonjeni when the medium in the cave, during the oracular session, speaks as Mwari, and a number of interpreters convey the message to the visiting delegation. It should be noted, however, that this type of possession in the Independent Churches is usually of short duration, and the sporadic identification between man and Spirit does not impair the perception of the unique nature of the Holy Spirit, distinct from that of man. Moreover, members of the Spirit-type Churches realize that seemingly authentic possessions may be cleverly staged projections of the prophets themselves, and they therefore distinguish between divine revelations breathing the spirit of Christianity and false prophecies.

The ideal in the Shona prophetic movements, it seems, is to become completely possessed by the Spirit (kubatwa nomweya; literally, 'to be seized by the Spirit') in order to reveal God's will as accurately and clearly as possible in a given situation. But in practice there is a wide range of Spirit manifestations, varying from pretence and religious drama to full possessions which involve trance-like behaviour. In Mutendi's Church the required assistance of an interpreter during prophetic diagnostic sessions reflects the expectation of full possession. Yet I have seldom witnessed a ZCC prophet going into a trance while dealing with patients. Instead the prophet speaks in tongues and then relates in understandable language what he considers the Holy Spirit to be revealing to him. In some cases the prophet himself contributes more to the interpretation of the Holy Spirit's revelation than does the official interpreter. Even if Church members acknowledge that such 'possessions' do not resemble that of a traditionalist spirit-medium (svikiro) who works through an acolyte, they do not necessarily question the authenticity of these somewhat rationalized performances. The important point is that their acceptance of the working of the Holy Spirit does not depend entirely on the degree of visualized identification and unity between prophet and Spirit during the spell of actual or supposed possession. To those Church members who live in close touch with their prophets the criterium for true 'prophecies' depends on much more than the occasional, dramatized spells of Spirit-possession. A prophet who is likely to be accepted as a reliable channel through whom the Holy Spirit conveys authentic messages to His people is the man whose daily living is characterized by spiritual depth and fellowship (not the identification of mysticism) with the Lord.

The temptation for the Shona prophet, Zionist and Apostle alike, is to utilize the authority through the Spirit for selfish purposes that are not aligned to God's Kingdom, to try to win or impress people through theatrical effect, sometimes at the expense of order during Church services. To the Western-orientated and sober-minded Church leader the temptation is to regularize and intellectualize the work of the Holy Spirit and to seek justification for doing so, with reference to the heretical excesses in Church history. In the present situation, with the courage and openness required for inter-Church contact, the one can learn from the other.
Glossary of Shona terms and phrases

angerosi

angel.

baba

father; babamukuru, father's elder brother; babamunini, father's younger brother.

basa

work; basa ravaduku, work of the young ones.

boka

group, congregation.

bvute

(syn. bvuri) shade; bvute reTopia, congregation of the First Ethiopian Church.

changamire

sir; honorary title for dignitary.

chapungu

bataleur eagle.

Chibarirwe

derived from kubara or kubereka, 'to give birth': that which was born for us; in the Independent Church context it means 'heritage of our fathers, that which has not been derived from others, our very own', and as such is the popular designation of the African Congregational Church.

chibereko

'fruit' child or child-bearing power (from kubereka, to bear offspring).

chidoma

witch's familiar; animal of psychic nature, conceived of as smaller than polecat.

chigaro

stool, chair.

chigumburo

stumbling block.

chipo (pl. zvipo)

gift; zvipo zvaMatonjeni, gifts of the Matopo High-God.

chiposo

an act of sorcery in which the malignant substance or particles are believed to be 'thrown at' the victim; kuposa, derived from kuposha or kupotsa, literally means 'to throw'

chiratidzo

symbol, indication.

chirayiro

literally, 'evening meal'; in the Mission Church context this term refers to the Holy Communion; kudya chirayiro, to participate in ('eat') the Lord's Supper.

chirungu

European ways; European influence generally.

chisi

day on which work (in the lands) is forbidden by tribal tutelary spirits.

chitsinga

physical disorder caused by an act of sorcery; see kutsinga.

chivi

sin.

chizvarwa

segment of patrilineage; the descendents of one man over several generations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dangwe</td>
<td>firstborn child; (from <em>kutanga</em>, to begin).</td>
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<tr>
<td>dare</td>
<td>meeting place, tribal court; <em>dare rekereke</em>, Church 'court' or council.</td>
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<tr>
<td>demoni</td>
<td>demon, evil spirit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>divisi</td>
<td>magical charm to damage crops of others or to cause abundance in one's own fields.</td>
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<tr>
<td>doro</td>
<td>beer; <em>vanhu vedoro</em>, 'people of the beer', those who drink heavily.</td>
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<tr>
<td>dunhu</td>
<td>tribal ward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzinza rinomutsa</td>
<td>ancestral spirit inspiring the practice of witchcraft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzvitil</td>
<td>invader; <em>muDzvitil</em>, a Ndebele person (when negatively appraised by a <em>muShona</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>godo</td>
<td>jealousy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gomba romwoto</td>
<td>pit of fire, hell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gona</td>
<td>horn; <em>gona rouroyi</em>, horn of wizardry; container of malignant medicine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gono</td>
<td>bull; <em>gono guru</em> (big bull), <em>gono romusha</em> (bull of the homestead): the bull dedicated to the family's senior ancestral spirit for ritual purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwiti</td>
<td>sexual play.</td>
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<tr>
<td>hakata</td>
<td>wooden divining slabs; this term is sometimes used as a general indication of all kinds of objects used for divination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakirosi</td>
<td>Apostolic singers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hosana</td>
<td>male children of God – especially dedicated to the traditional High-God and with special functions in the ancient, oracular cult; or followers of the Apostolic leader, Johane Masowe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospitara</td>
<td>hospital.</td>
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<tr>
<td>imba</td>
<td>hut, 'house'; group of descendants of one person, male or female.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbwazukuru</td>
<td>she-goat given by a man to his mother-in-law, who offers it to her grandmothers in recognition of their services in rearing her daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jukwa</td>
<td><em>shavi</em> spirit; closely associated with the traditional High-God and with His rainmaking powers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kereke</td>
<td>Church; <em>kereke yakatsauka</em>, a stray Church; <em>kereke yavakuru</em>, Church of the elderly people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubata</td>
<td>to hold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubatwa nomweya</td>
<td>to be possessed by the spirit (<em>nomweya</em>: by the Holy Spirit).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubaya netsvimbo</td>
<td>to stab with staff (during faith-healing procedure).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubuda</td>
<td>'to come out'; <em>mweya wabuda</em>, 'the spirit has come out' (implication: the spirit possesses its host).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Glossary of Shona terms and phrases**

- kubudisa: to reveal.
- kuchema: to cry, complain.
- kuchengeta: to keep; *kuchengeta mhuri*, to keep or protect the family – a function ascribed to the ancestral spirits.
- kudarika uta: 'to cross the (deceased person's) bow'; a method of finding out during the *kugadzira* procedure if a widow has remained chaste after her husband's death.
- kudyisa: to eat; *kudysa*, to bewitch by adding harmful medicine to the victim's food.
- kudzima: obliterate.
- kudzinga: to chase away; *kudzinga mademoni*, to exorcise the demons.
- kudzungudza: to exorcise an indwelling spirit by shaking the possessed person's head (an Apostolic practice).
- kufambidzana: to co-operate.
- kufeya: to investigate.
- kugadzira madzibaba: to settle the spirit of a deceased person; this term indicates the induction rite through which the spirit of a deceased relative is 'brought back home' and simultaneously elevated to the status of ancestorhood; *kugadzira matenga*: 'to fix the heavens' i.e. to procure rain from the spirit world through the performance of rain rituals; *kugadzira nzvimbo kudenga*: to prepare a place in heaven.
- kugamuchira: to welcome, receive.
- kugara nhaka: to inherit, or succeed to, a deceased person's estate of position; *kugova nhaka*, to distribute a deceased's estate (usually during the *kugadzira* procedure).
- kuhechu: to backslide spiritually.
- kukanda zviipo: 'to throw gifts' to present someone with gifts (sometimes as a token of recognition).
- kukumbira: to ask, to propose for marriage; *kukumbira mvura*, to ask for rain.
- kukwira makomo: literally, 'to climb the mountains'; descriptive of the mukwerere rain ritual since the request for rain is usually made to the tribal ancestors on a hill or mountain where their graves are to be found.
- kumanikidza: to enforce.
- kumira: to stand or stop; discontinue Church activities.
- kuona: to see, have a vision.
- kuparadza mhuri: to disrupt the family.
- kupenga: to be mad.
- kuperekedza: to escort.
- kupinda: to enter; *kupinda Zioni*, to enter Zion, i.e. become a Zionist Church member.
- kupinza magede: literally, 'to insert the gates' i.e. to pass the gates (a ceremony conducted in the prophetic movements in preparation of the Holy Communion).
- kupira: to offer for, propitiate.
kuponesa — to save, deliver.
kuprofitira — to prophesy on behalf of.
kupumha uroyi — to accuse someone of practising wizardry.
kuputsa — to smash; kuputsa nyika, ‘to break up the country’ in the sense of disturbing the existing order.
kurasha — to throw away; kurasha munhu, to cast out a person from a particular community, e.g. religious grouping.
kureverura — to confess.
kurira nomweya — to make a noise through the (Holy Spirit, to speak in tongues.
kurobwa nomweya — ‘to be beaten by the Spirit’ to be possessed with the Holy Spirit with great force.
kurobwa zivi — to bless.
kuropafadza — to dream.
kuroya — to bewitch, ensorcel; with or without magical substance.
kuruma — ‘to bite’; descriptive of traditional doctor’s treatment of a bewitched patient, when he literally ‘bites out’ the malignant substance from the person’s body.
kurwara — to be ill.
kushaiwa nzvimbo — to fail to receive a place in heaven.
ku s handura jeko — literally, ‘to change the menstrual pain’; i.e. to change the sex of a coming child if a woman has previously born children of one sex only.
kushara ganda — literally, ‘to select the skin’; to discriminate on racial grounds.
kushata — to become bad; zvakashata, evil.
kushopera — to divine by throwing divinatory bones or slabs.
kusungu — to unfasten; kusungu zivi, to deliver from sin, to pardon.
kutamba — to play; kutamba mashavi, to dance in honour of the shavi spirits.
kutemera kwamusoro — to have a headache.
kutenga — to make incisions on a person’s body through which medicine is applied; muroyi wokutemerwa, a witch who willingly accepts her profession by having witchcraft medicine rubbed into her body through incisions made by other witches.
kutendauka — to be converted.
kuteya — to buy; kutenga chisi, ‘to buy the ancestral sabbath day (with a pot of beer)’ thereby gaining permission to work in the lands on this day.
kutengera — to trap, to ensorcel; ndateyiwa gumbo, ‘my leg was trapped’ i.e. I was ensorcelled by treading on the medicine of a sorcerer or witch; see kutsinga.
kutongwa — to cause to run away; to elope with a lover.
kutonga — to judge.
kutondedzera — to explain.
kutona — to cool off, to assuage the anger of a troublesome spirit.
kutsinga to ensorcel with malignant medicine which is placed as a leg trap in the victim's path; after contact the medicine is believed to pass through the leg to various parts of the body where it causes the intended harm.

kuzarura mabuku erufu 'to open the books of the dead' ceremony of accompanying the deceased's spirit to heaven.

kuzarura mukova to open the door; if an ancestral spirit is said to 'open the door' it means that he has withdrawn his protection from his relatives, which act leaves them vulnerable to the onslaughts of the enemies (an act of retaliation caused by the livings' neglect of their ancestral spirits).

kuzira to fast.

mabarani mabweadziva magadziro echikriste magadziro ekuzithini
'secretary.'

'mabekana' popular designation of the rain shrines in the Matopo hills; the voice of Mwari is to be heard.

Christian ceremony for accommodating the spirit of a deceased person.

'mai' mother; mainini, mother's younger sister, father's second wife, or wife's younger sister.

makona see gona.

'mambo' king, chief; in the past this term was used for the Rozvi rulers.

'mangisi' sweet, unmalted beer.

'mapoka' see boka.

Matonjeni the Matopo hills; Mwari wamatonjeni, 'God of the Matopo hills'; popular designation of the rain-giving High-God.

'mbeu' seed; ungano yembeu, 'conference of the seed' (during which the ceremonial blessing of the seed to be sown takes place).

'mbongwa' woman dedicated (usually as a young girl) to the service of the Shona High-God, Mwari; sometimes referred to as 'the wife of Mwari'.

'mbudzi' goat; see imbuzukuru.

'mbuya' grandmother.

'mhandara' girl of marriageable age.

'nhiri' family, multi-lineal group of kinsmen living in the same locality.

'muchinda' from jinda; member of the ruling lineage, and especially one occupying a position of authority.

'muduku' young one, junior.

'mudzidzisi' teacher.

'mudzimu' ancestral spirit; midzimu yapamusha, 'home ancestors'; patri and matrilineal ancestors directly concerned with the welfare of a family group; vanhu wemidzimu, 'people of the ancestors' those who still venerate the ancestors in the traditional way.

'mudzini wemweya' person who exorcises spirits.

'mufumi' a wealthy person.

'mufundisi' minister of religion.

'muhedeni' heathen.

'mukoma' a man's elder brother or a woman's elder sister.
mukuru — elder, dignitary.
mukuwasha — son-in-law.
mukwashi — a person receiving preliminary religious instruction before attending catechismal classes.
mukwerere — rain ritual during which the senior tribal spirits are propitiated at their graves and/or at a rushanga (temporary pole enclosure around the trunk of a cork tree); these rituals are conducted at the commencement of each rainy season or if rains have failed.
mumiriri — mediator.
munhu — a person; munhu waMwari, 'man of God'
mununguna — a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister.
munyai — messenger, a representative; a munyai in the High-God cult organization is the person who maintains contact between the local district he represents and the priest colony at the cult centre; he annually visits the cult centre at Matonjeni to request rain for his district and to discuss local matters of significance.
munyadzi — comforter.
munyori — secretary.
muongamiri — Independent Church official of senior rank whose task it is to 'call others together' i.e. to lead the members of his congregation(s); from kuunganidza, 'to gather or call together' seam.
mupendero — love-potion used by females to attract a prospective lover or to regain the love of a husband.
mupostori — an Apostle; follower of Johane Maranke or Johane Masowe.
muprofita — prophet.
murairo — law.
murapi — healer, doctor.
muroromo — poor person.
muroyi — wizard (sorcerer or witch); muroyi wedzinza or muroyi wokuputsa marimo, hereditary witch who operates at night under the direction of an ancestral and/or shavi spirit; muroyi wokutemerwa, 'a witch who has been incised' European; see chirungu.
murungu — patient.
murwere — wind-shield, camp; musasa yuroyi, 'camp of the wizards' village, home.
musasa — medicine (all-inclusive term indicating both Western-type and African medicines, e.g. magical preparations).
musha — overseer.
musumbu — judge, councillor.
mustariri — member of the First Ethiopian Church.
mutorwa — foreigner; a person who does not belong to one's own lineage.
mutumwa — literally, 'the whole physical body'; compensation in the form of cattle and/or a mhandara (marriageable girl) payed to the relatives of an avenging ngozi spirit, by the afflicted party.
mumiriri — messenger; in the Independent Churches this term usually refers to an angel or other heavenly messenger.
mutungamiriri  | leader.
mutupo       | clan name.
muvingi      | enemy (from kuvinga, to hate).
muzioni      | a Zionist.
muzukuuru    | 'grandchild'; nephew, niece.
mwana        | child.
Mwari        | God (most common name of the Shona High-God); see Matonjeni.
mwene wenyika| owner of the land.
mweya        | spirit; Mweya mutsvene, Holy Spirit; mweya wakaipa, evil spirit.
ndaza        | cord; vaZioni veNdaza, 'Zionists of the (Holy) Cord' i.e. the garmented followers of David Masuka, Andreas Shoko and others, as distinct from the ZCC followers of Mutendi.
nganga      | diviner-herbalist.
ngombe yomidzimu | sacrificial beast of the ancestors; ngombe youmai, motherhood cow or heifer which is given by the husband to his wife's mother (apart from the official roora payment); ngombe yovutete, 'cow or heifer of the aunt' payable by a deceased male's name-bearer or other descendants to the deceased's sister, who acts as ritual officiant during the 'home-bringing' ceremony conducted on behalf of the deceased.
ngozi        | avenging spirit; harmful or dangerous influence of any kind.
nhaka        | inheritable property; see kugara nhaka.
nhendo       | thank-offering, Church contribution.
hopita       | mash made from pumpkin.
njuzu         | shavi spirit, associated with water and with healing activities.
nyama        | meat; nyama yavanhu, peoples' flesh (possessed by witches).
nyembe       | emblem.
nyika         | land, tribal territory, country.
nyusa         | spirit of deceased messenger of the High-God cult, still acting in the spirit world as rain intermediary.
nzvimbo      | place, space to be occupied; nzvimbo yembiri, place of glory.
pakati       | inside.
Paseka       | Paschal ('Passover') celebrations; popular name of annual festivals conducted at the Church headquarters (or in outlying congregations) of the Spirit-type Churches.
Pendi        | 'Pentecost'; popular name for the major July gathering of the vaPostori at their Church headquarters in the Maranke reserve.
rabaumah     | derived from liebumah – the spelling generally adopted by the vaPostori – indicates the topmost rank of each of the major offices of baptist, prophet, evangelist and healer.
roora        | bridewealth; marriage compensation.
ropa         | blood.
rudzi         | 'kind' or 'species'; tribe, clan, patrilineage.
rungano       | tale, history.
runyaradzo
consolation ceremony conducted on behalf of the relatives of the recently deceased.

Ruwadzano
Womens' Association.

rwendo
literally, 'journey'; this word is used by some IC members to indicate an evangelistic campaign conducted well away from Church headquarters.

sabbata
sabbath.
sabuku
'keeper of the book' village headman.
sadza
thick porridge.
sazita
name-bearer.
sekuru
grandfather or mother's brother.
shamhu
thin stick with which to beat a person; syn. for Dutch Reformed Church discipline; kurobwa neshamhu, 'to be beaten with a stick' i.e. to be disciplined by the Church.
shavi
alien spirit which does not belong to the lineage of the host whom it possesses; the various types of shavi spirits impart a variety of skills, e.g. hunting, healing, dancing, blacksmithing, etc. to their hosts; shavi youroyi, a shavi which inspires wizardry.

Shinga Postora
'Courageous Apostles' (schismatic group with its roots in Johane Masowe's Apostolic movement); kushinga, to be diligent or brave.

shoko itsva
new message.
shonganiso
union.
shungu
anger.
simba
strength, power; simba guru, great power.
suvo
vaginal cavity.
svikiro
spirit medium.
tabero
meeting-place for prayers.
tateguru
paternal grandfather or great-grandfather.
tevara
father-in-law.
Topia
Ethiopianism; see muTopia.
tsika
custom, convention.
tsvimbo
walking or hunting stick.

ukama
kinship, relationship; ukama yakanaka, good relationship.

umboo utsva
new revelation.

upfu
meal, flower.

upombwe
illicit sexual intercourse; adultery.

uroyi
wizardry; see kuroya.

vamwene
husband's sister who is 'owner' of his wife.

vatete
paternal aunt.

zvichemo
complaints.

zvidoma
see chidoma.

zvipo
see chipo.

zvipusha
epilepsy.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AACJM</td>
<td>African Apostolic Church of Johane Maranke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>African Congregational Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMEC</td>
<td>African Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARC</td>
<td>African Reformed Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>C of C</td>
<td>Church of Christ</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPS</td>
<td>Central Primary School</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Casual Sample, Reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CST</td>
<td>Casual Sample, Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Dutch Reformed Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEC</td>
<td>First Ethiopian Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>Full Gospel (Church)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Independent Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRM</td>
<td>International Review of Missions</td>
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<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Mission Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGTT</td>
<td>Nederduits Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSS</td>
<td>Random Sample Survey (conducted in the Chingombe chiefdom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTL</td>
<td>Tribal Trust Land</td>
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<tr>
<td>UPS</td>
<td>Upper Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAC of SA</td>
<td>Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>Zion Christian Church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography


BAVINCK, J. H. Inleiding in de Zendingswetenschap, Kampen, 1954.


Index of authors

Andersson, E., 7, 8, 189, 205  
Aquino, M., 48, 56, 57, 60, 216  
Balandier, G., 7, 8, 65  
Barrett, D. B., 1, 9, 10, 11, 19  
Bavinck, J. H., 310  
Camps, A., 332  
Crane, W. H., 337, 341  
Durand, J. J. F., 342  
Freytag, W., 310, 323  
Gelfand, M., 202  
Gerdener, G. B. A., 12  
Holleman, J. F., 53, 233  
Knoob, W., 8  
Kuper, H., 8  
Mair, L., 8  
Martin, M. L., 347, 348  
Mbti, J. S., 330, 331  
Mitchell, R. C., 192  
Murphree, M. W., 343  
Neill, S. C., 1  
Oosthuizen, G. C., 9, 171, 310, 319, 347, 348, 350, 351  
Pauw, B., 329  
Sundkler, B. G. M., 7, 8, 11, 12, 35, 139, 140, 142, 162, 192, 325, 332, 333  
Taylor, J. V., 259, 318, 325, 328, 342, 345  
Turner, H. W., 9, 12, 17, 198, 205, 351  
Welbourn, F. B., 1, 199

Index of names and subjects

AACJM: see also: Maranke Apostles; 14, 61, 155, 160, 186, 191, 198, 231, 249, 262, 267, 271, 288  
ACC: see also: Chibarirwe; 12, 14, 21  
adultery: 28, 34, 173, 196, 245, 269, 273, 276, 279, 286, 287, 292, 300, 303, 304  
agriculture: 49, 50, 58, 61, 63, 64, 66, 200, 212, 214, 247, 331  
American Board Mission: 12, 29, 31, 153, 173, 174, 195, 343  
African Zion Church of Jesus: 172, 340  
AGC: see also: Chibarirwe; 12, 14, 21  
Alheit Mission: 27, 29, 40, 41, 42, 43, 175  
Alheit Mission: 27, 29, 40, 41, 42, 43, 175  
American Board Mission: 12, 29, 31, 153, 173, 174, 195, 343  
agriculture: 49, 50, 58, 61, 63, 64, 66, 200, 212, 214, 247, 331  
Aladura: 192, 198, 340, 351
angel: see also: angerosi; 118, 142, 144, 156, 158, 162, 166, 196, 299, 300, 322, 326, 331, 333, 334, 335
angerosi: 118, 299, 322, 334, 335
Anglican: Church: 195; schools: 37
Apostles: passim; see also: AACJM and Marane Apostles
ARC (Shonganiso): 19, 31, 32, 33, 36, 172
babamukuru: 116
babamunini: 129, 133, 134, 137 244, 247, 248, 253, 267
beer: 116, 119, 123, 126, 127, 133, 135, 145, 193, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 334, 341; culling of: 52; ownership of: 58, 62, 63, 64, 66
chapungu: 115
charism: 186, 187, 190, 191, 216, 241; charismatic qualities: 244, 276, 284, 304
chibereko: 17, 202, 234, 238, 273
chidoma: 272, 281, 295, 296
chief(s): 24, 103, 106, 109, 110, 123, 143, 149, 150, 159, 177, 189, 255, 256, 285
chigumburo: 236
childbirth: 173, 210, 223, 226, 227 231, 235, 272, 277, 289, 298
Chingombe chiefdom: passim
Chipo (pl. zvipo): 105, 108, 109, 110, 117
chiposo: 205, 264, 276
chitidziro: 150, 237 257, 330
chiratidzo: 150, 237 257, 330
chirimbira: 29
chis: 114, 115
chitsinga: 205, 209, 264, 281
chizvarwa: 236
Church of Christ: 13, 14, 18, 40, 287
Church of the Lord: 9, 351
Colonialism: 8, 10, 65, 309
confirmation: 18, 22, 25, 42, 45, 195
consolation ceremony: see also: runyaradzo; 117, 128, 177, 312, 315, 322, 324, 326
councillor: 115, 123, 237
'Courageous Apostles': see Kushinga Pistora
court: see also: dare, Church; of village or chief: 110, 123, 278, 281, 284, 316; regional: 288, 291
crops(s): 105, 107, 115, 165, 268, 275, 284; fertility: 104; sales: 63, 66; yields: 61, 64
dance/dancing: 15, 40, 41, 105, 127 215, 240, 241, 243, 314, 342
dangwe: 126, 134
dare: of Church: 121, 137, 138, 155, 207, 210, 213, 215, 234, 237, 238, 303; of village: 110, 278, 279, 282
defection/defector(s): 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34
devil: 167, 273, 299
dialogue: 31, 32, 311, 312, 313, 317, 318
discipline (of Church): 27 29, 65, 103, 116, 138, 139, 154, 173, 175, 176, 200, 286, 345
dissent: 33, 37; dissenters/dissidents: 21, 22, 27
divination: 3, 128, 133, 136, 195, 224, 229, 232, 245, 249, 251, 276, 286, 292, 293, 333, 336
diviner: see also: nganga; 3, 105, 128, 133, 238, 247, 248, 263, 278, 281, 293, 311, 336
divis: 275
document(s): 4, 17, 26, 33, 34, 118, 120, 130, 132, 138, 197, 226, 227 232, 238, 260, 312, 319, 324, 327 347, 348, 350
doro: 121, 122, 272; vanhu vedoro: 126
DRC: 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 52, 65, 68, 102, 108, 117, 121, 123, 126, 132, 147, 165, 167, 168, 173, 174, 175, 176, 192, 194, 197, 198, 200, 209, 219, 267, 280, 282, 283, 285, 286, 342; and disciplinary measures: 2; and education: 18, 19; in Chimongwe: 14, 15, 18
drum beating: 151
Duma: 110, 168
dunhu: 51, 55
dzindza inomutsa: 274
Dzivaguru: 110
Dzviti: 219, 240
economy/economic factors and IC growth: 3, 4, 9, 46-67, 69, 173, 179, 309, 331
ecumenical co-operation: 25, 32; ecumenicity: 317
education: 3, 14, 15, 18, 22, 33, 34-46, 56, 57, 58, 59, 64, 65, 67, 68, 102, 108, 168, 192, 197, 200, 331
elope: 27, 29, 175
epilepsy: 201, 244, 245
Ethiopion-type Churches: passim
evangelism: 24, 151, 173, 331
faith: 156, 157, 190, 218, 233, 235, 238, 258, 272, 284, 310, 311, 318, 328, 335, 339, 349, 350
faith-healing: see also: healing; 3, 4, 20, 24, 25, 50, 65, 67, 101, 119, 140, 174,
Index of names and subjects 369

Jerusalem: 206, 217, 221, 223, 331
Johane Maranke (AACJM leader): 2, 12, 27
144, 149, 154, 156, 157, 159, 160, 163, 167, 170, 172, 186, 190, 196, 211, 237
242, 340
Johane Masowe (Apostolic leader): 146, 151, 195, 267
Johan the Baptist: 272, 275
Jordan: see also: baptism; 193, 199, 206, 233, 282, 284, 286, 294, 295, 297 317
jukwa (shavi spirit): 104, 252
Karanga: 56, 57 60, 64, 137 138
Kadekisima: 108
Kambungu: 189
kin/kinship: 4, 8, 10, 15, 102, 126, 128, 140, 148, 167-172, 178, 179, 200, 260, 320, 323
Kubuda/Kubudisa: 292, 343
Kuchena: 202, 205
Kuchengeta mhuri: 135
Kudarika Uta: 135
Kudylisa: 235, 262, 264, 271, 280, 282, 290
Kudzinga Mademoni: 239
Kudzungudza: 241, 242
Kufambidzana: 232
Kugadzira Matenga: 116
Kugova Nhaka: 119, 127, 132
Kuheduka: see also: backslide; 21, 56, 134, 244, 256
Kukanda Zvipo: 127
Kukumira Mvura: 111
Kukwira Makomo: 111
Kumanikidza: 168, 169
Kumira Pamukova: 178
Kupenga: 217, 220, 423
Kuperekedza: 125
Kupinza Magede: 302
Kupira (Mudzimu): 115, 117, 121, 127, 135, 137, 226, 250, 251, 320, 325, 328, 334
Kuponesa: 212
Kupumha Uroyi: 276
Kuputsa Mhuri: 229
Ku revera: 210
Kurinda Mhuri: 117
Kupafadza: 239
Kuroya: see also: uroyi; 193, 267, 301
Kuruma: 264
Kushandura Jeko: 258
Kushopera: 286
Kutavisa Bere: 114
Kutemera: 265, 266
Kutendeuka: see also: conversion; 269
Kuteya: 209
Kutonga: 116
Kuzarura Mukova: 117
Kuzira: 111, 112, 113, 177 312, 313, 314
Labour migration/migrants: 16, 22, 46, 51, 54, 55, 56, 60, 66, 69
Laity: 200
Land: apportionment: 46, 48, 52, 67, 69; as factor in Independency: 3, 47-54, 61, 69, 160; holdings: 49, 50; legislation: 4, 7 8, 47, 49, 51, 67; protest movements: 47, 51
Landless: 47, 49, 51, 54, 69
Land: Husbands Act: 50, 51, 53
Leadership: ambition: 20, 32, 34, 150; charismatic: 155, 157; of Independent Churches: 4, 9, 16, 21, 23, 33, 36, 46, 67, 104, 109, 120, 121, 144, 148, 151, 154, 162, 170, 174, 179, 190, 200, 256, 266, 278, 297 303, 331, 344; of Mission Churches: 27 286; rivalries: 161
Legalism: 34, 314, 324
Livestock: 58, 61, 62, 63
Madness: see also: kupenga/mental disorder; 220, 253
Mambo: 221, 223
Mangis: 122, 127
Maranke Apostles: 18, 36, 37, 112, 120, 141, 144, 146, 149, 151, 160, 186, 194, 216, 269, 280, 282, 302
Marriage: 27, 29, 102, 144, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 196, 259
'Master farmer': 48, 57, 144, 145, 161
'Maternity': 191, 210, 211, 212, 242
Matriline (matrilineal spirits): 113, 114, 161, 220, 226, 227 228, 276, 298
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

Index of names and subjects 373

Spirit-type Churches: passim
staff: see also: holy staff; 151, 212, 217, 234, 263, 264, 266
subsistence farmer/farming: 24, 58, 61, 62, 64, 66, 69, 108, 164, 177, 179
succession/successor: 46, 123, 155
svitiro: 119, 136, 164, 250, 352
sycrnetism/syncretic trends: 16, 177, 310, 315, 318, 322, 324, 326, 332, 335, 336, 338, 342

tatenguru: 136, 245, 247, 251, 334
tezvara: 168, 253
theology: 103; theological evaluation: 6, 26, 117, 310, 311, 318, 332, 346; theological factors for dissent: 34, 46; theological training: 2
therapy: 192, 197, 198, 214, 217 226, 336, 337
topia: see also: FEC; 21, 29, 30, 40, 41, 42, 46, 49, 57, 62, 64, 114, 147, 152, 157, 168, 169, 186, 187 197 200, 209, 213, 214, 237, 239, 242, 243
traditional customs/ritual, traditionalist: passim
transformation: 5, 177, 178, 308, 309-353
tribal: area: 22, 24, 120, 145, 149, 165, 340; authority/dignitary: 115, 123, 302; community: 130; dispute: 111; law: 225; politics: 24, 60, 104, 109, 110, 116, 177, 179, 329
tonga: 125
tsvimbo: 236, 237, 238
ukama: 116
ukuru: 144
Umboo utsva: 190
upombwe: 303
urban: congregation: 24, 67, 68; environ-

met: 4, 6, 22, 23, 54, 55, 56, 58, 61, 66, 69, 318, 340
uroyi: 114, 161, 224, 225, 261, 265, 266, 274, 281, 293, 295, 296, 301, 304, 306, 312, 315, 344
vamvone: 227
vision(s): 153, 163, 190, 263, 264, 271, 344
wage: earnings: 58, 61, 66; labour: 22, 24, 54, 60
witchcraft/bewitchment: see also: wizard-
Witchcraft Suppression Act: 225, 266, 288, 295
worship: see also: ancestor worship: 3, 15, 31, 36, 37, 101, 104, 107, 113, 117 118, 123, 127, 147, 152, 172, 175, 175, 229, 241, 249, 250, 270, 292, 234
ZAFM: 106, 220, 221
Zion City: 43, 47, 50, 65, 104, 105, 110, 120, 122, 143, 154, 155, 158, 177 188, 189, 191, 193, 201, 207, 210, 214, 220, 230, 244, 249, 260, 264, 293, 300, 302, 312, 316, 331, 334, 339, 349
Zion Sabbath Church: 144
Zionism/Zionist(s): passim
Zionist Reformed Church: 144, 167
zvichemo: see: kuchema
zvimpusa: 201
CHINGOMBE CHIEFDOM
DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES AND DENOMINATIONS

- Village
- Villages included in random sample survey
- Township
- Author's temporary residence
- Roads
- Unofficial ward boundary

DENOMINATIONS

- D.R.C
- R.C.
- Full Gospel
- Church of Christ
- Z.C.C.
- Ndaza Zionist
- Maranke Apostle
- First Ethiopian
- Chibarirwe