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RITUALS OF AN AFRICAN ZIONIST CHURCH

by

A.I. BERGLUND.

I. THE RITUALS

THE SCENE

The scene is the home of prophet Emmanuel Ngema of the Zion Jerusalem Church of the Twelve Apostles in South Africa. The home is typical of a Zionist leader in Natal. The flag-staff with the flag is not lacking, nor the banana-plantation in this particular district. Because it is Sunday (iSabata) Ngema has hoisted a new flag, which will be removed in the evening. On the flag is the typical white cross with a blue background.

The prophet calls his congregation by striking a ploughshare with a stone, and the congregation enters the room of worship after removing their shoes and socks and placing them in a neat row outside the door. Fourteen women enter, some with babies in their arms, together with men and children. When all have taken their places the prophet himself enters and sits down on a bench which, perhaps for safety's sake, is placed against the wall. Two of the men sit on either side of him while his wife, who apparently plays an important role in the life of the congregation, sits to the right of the prophet on the floor.

A quick glance at the walls indicates that we are in the heavenly Jerusalem. There is a picture of the Holy City, the picture in turn being surrounded by photos of the prophet and his congregation. There are attempts at drawings of angels on the walls. The name of the congregation is printed in large, clear green letters around the walls. We are soon brought back to the earthly Jerusalem in the vicinity of Mapumulo in Natal by an almanac with the local shop-keeper's name printed on it. On the almanac is a large advertisement lauding the advantages of using Sunlight Soap and explaining that it is available in this particular shop.

The men and women are all dressed in white, and each man also wears a green sash. The prophet wears a blue cope, very similiar to a chasuble, and attached to it are crosses and stars. In his hand he carries a brass staff, while the other members of the congregation carry wooden ones, generally two or three in number: a simple straight white one and the second and third with a small cross and a round circle at their upper ends(the circle is about one foot in diameter, with a sliver of the wood neatly pared off about three inches above the point where the circle emerges from the staff).

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On the table in front of the prophet stands a jam tin with some flowers pushed into it. The jam tin, in turn, has been placed on a tablecloth, neatly washed and ironed. There is also a small bowl of ashes on the table and an old Zulu translation of the Bible, the latter very well used.

THE SERVICE

Ngema intones the opening hymn, and although nobody has a hymnbook the singing is by no means slack or dull. All join in with great zeal and, accompanied by the drum, the singing increases in volume. The women move their bodies in time to the beat, and the hymn only comes to a close when the prophet has sung "Amene, amene, amene" at the top of his voice for a minute or two. The singing finally comes to an end when the prophet's wife comes to her husband's assistance and very vividly raises and lowers her arms in front of the congregation. Then the prophet yawns very dramatically, and the enthusiasm shown by the congregation in their repeated Hallelujas inspire him to further yawns.

He then stands up and addresses the congregation with the typical address of peace," ukutula ebandleni" (peace in the congregation), to which the congregation answers, "Amene". He proceeds: "We have a white man amongst us today, but he is not from the magistrate's office. He is from Umpumulo and wishes to khonza uJehova (praise/worship Jehovah,) with us today. He shall speak soon. As for the rest I was in the homes yesterday and prayed for the sick. Due to the drought I was on the hill (the local Sabuyaze mountain in the district) for prayer early on Wednesday but nobody accompanied me except this woman (pointing to his wife, who replies with a certain amount of self-pride "Amene"). They say that the drought has been sent by the God of our fathers because of certain things. The child of Ntuli is better after the prayer, but he is not well in the chest. The vomiting was not sufficient and the prayer not strong because too many were absent from the prayer meeting. Peace in the congregation. There will be prayer at the house of Ntuli on Wednesday again, but without the prayers of the congregation I lose all the powers of healing. The wife of Ngema at Hlimbitwa died, but she died because she took medicines instead of prayer. Peace in the congregation. May the Lord forgive me for not praying for her, but the truth is that she took medicines from the hospital. (The hospital referred to is the local Umpumulo hospital of the Evangelical Lutheran Church). There is nothing else I have to say. Peace be in Zion."

The prophet's wife thereafter gets up and addresses the congregation for at least twice as long as her husband. She refers to various matters, especially to disturbed relationships with her neighbours who have, according to herself, purposely allowed their cattle to enter her fields

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and feed on the maize-stalks that the Ngema cattle should have fed on. The reason for their behaviour is their lack of uMoya, the spirit, and thus they have tried to kill the Ngema people in this manner. Very dramatically the complete picture of the case with the neighbours is given by the prophet's wife - one became envious of her most exciting way of conveying her troubles and the manner in which they were understood and indeed appreciated by the listening congregation.

When the prophet's wife eventually sits down a young woman, whom I recognise as the servant in one of the local European homes, gets up and relates her sad adventures with her employers. They had been to Durban and had come back with that wealth of good things that could lead anybody less privileged into serious temptations. One day she had been accused of taking tea, sugar and other desirables from her employers' kitchen. She had a long argument with her employer and his wife about the matter and refused to cook for them any longer because of her hurt feelings. She ends her confession thus: "May the Lord forgive me for this anger!"

Lastly, a man gets up and states plainly that his difficulty was a question of snuff. He had offered a man some snuff, but the man had taken the lot and on being reprimanded had merely laughed scornfully. The narrator describes how he spoke to people who witnessed this tragedy and asked their advice on the correct procedure. But they had simply said that they did not know. He suddenly bursts out in furious snortings and shouts aloud, "Woza Moya" and, taken by a sudden frenzy, falls to the ground. The congregation shouts "Hallelujah" and begins singing a hymn, again accompanied by the rhythn of the drum. Gradually the man recovers from the entry of the spirit(uMoya) into his person and the service carries on.

The prophet finds it equally difficult to close the singing of this hymn, and only when his wife comes to his assistance do they stop. The hymn is followed by prayer, during which the door is closed. The day is hot and the heat in the small, closely-packed room becomes nearly intolerable. Everybody kneels on all fours, facing the centre of the room, and prays, first in a normal voice; but after about five minutes it is so loud that the words of the various prayers are incomprehensible. Everybody is so occupied in prayer that no one hears, feels or otherwise takes notice of the others. Suddenly one of the women shouts out louder than the rest, turns away from the centre which everybody is facing, rises up on her knees and starts speaking in tongues.She works herself up more and more until froth starts forming around her mouth and the sweat runs freely down her face. She suddenly reels over and brings up a little froth, then gradually quietens down, turns back to the centre of the room and continues her prayer without any of the congregation showing signs of having noticed her experience. After eighteen minutes of prayer, the drummer taps her instrument and hymn-singing breaks forth with great zeal and engagement.

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The time for the sermon has come. Ngema gets up, takes the Bible and opens it. Characteristically he opens at Matthew, Chapter 5, and reads a few verses with numerous mistakes, his more schooled wife now and again filling in when he cannot make out what the words are. Suddenly he closes the Bible and starts preaching about the salt of the world and repeatedly asks if salt is the same as medicines. His question leads him to admonish his congreaation to refrain from medicines and warns them against the evils of the hospital, pointing to the outcome of his brother's wife who died because of medicines. When Ngema has completed his sermon his good wife assumes duties. She speaks a large number of confused sentences with no apparent meaning at all. I find no 'red thread' in her contribution and have difficulty in following, and due to the extraordinary speed with which she spoke I could make no notes.

The last testimony is by one of the men, who testifies to the effect that he, having had serious pains in the regions of the neck and shoulder, was healed by the laying on of hands and prayer by the prophet, and is thankful that he today is saved (sindisiwe).

The last part of the service is apparently the most important, and to it no less than six late-comers arrive. After removing their shoes and socks, they are shown their places by the prophet's wife, who advises them to arrive on time next Sunday.

Ngema rises and takes his place in the middle of the floor inside a circle, with four different signs marked in the four parts of the circle. He carries his brass staff with him and afterasking the congregation to rise, takes up the hymn: Basindisiwe abaseJerusalema, (They are saved, those of Jerusalem). The sick and suffering enter the circle. There are four of the late-comers and five from the rest of the congregation. With their staffs in their right hands, the congregation run around them in a clockwise direction, then suddenly swing around and run in an anti-clockwise direction, with their staffs in their left hands.

The prophet starts his act of healing with one of the women. He lifts her up by the neck, stretches her upwards and shouts at the top of his voice: puma dimone lokufa. Several times he repeats the cry, rubs the woman up and down her neck, bangs her shoulders with great strength, and beats her on the back. He tells her that she suffers from an inability to conceive and the woman starts weeping bitterly. He lets his hand pass down the length of her body, places it with a slap on her stomach and holds it there, and then starts a vigorous massage. He tells her that there is a snake in the womb and that this snake has been sent by an earlier lover who has bewitched her. But his healing hand will help her, and she is to return next Sunday for further treatment at the hand of the prophet and then next month, when the moon is growing, she will conceive.

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In like manner each one of the seekers-of-help are dealt with, including a woman with an infant in her arms. This child is taken from its mother and thrown up into the air by the prophet, who catches it again. To the mother he gives the reason for the child's sickness. It is her milk that is bad and she is henceforth not to suckle the child. In the same way that the prophet had smeared a mixture of his spittle with ash on the places of pain and agony of the sick, so he smears some of this on the woman's breasts so that they should not swell and become painful, but that the demons may leave when the milk leaves.

Each of the treated people puts a contribution on the prophet's table. He counts these with the aid of one of the men of the congregation, the total sum is announced and blessings are called over them.

After yet more singing, further admonitions, announcements and closing prayers, the service comes to its close. I glance at my watch and notice to my amazement that I have spent over three hours at this service. While the members of the congregation gather in the yard to put on their shoes, I remain in the room to collect my impressions. My notes include the following four remarks:-

1. I had been in a fellowship so close that I, as an outsider, found it difficult to make my way into this fellowship, although I had been asked to witness.

2. I had experienced love and common concern for each other. There was something in this community which breathed the air of love in a way that I have never experienced elsewhere in Natal. The concern for each other's health and prosperity was indeed moving. Each member of the congregation visualised the pains of the maiden and her encounter with her employers over the tea and sugar issue, as well as the driving out of demons during the healing service. Indeed, the concern born out of such love and sincerity was remarkable and would have moved even the most stubborn heart.

3. I had partaken of joy. If anything could be said of this service as far as characteristics are concerned, the picture would have been incomplete without mention of joy. I lack words to describe the joy that was there, because English words lack the spirit, and cannot convey the meaning of joy in its Zulu connotation. There was nobody that laughed nor was there any

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touch that caused joy; there were no shouts of joy. I found only one way of describing my impressions and wrote in my notebook: 'This is joy in Zululand.'

4. A glance at the faces of the members of the congregation illustrated what one spoke of when one repeatedly said: Ukutula ebandleni (peace in the congregation). I had experienced peace in its Zulu sense - not peace that finds itself expressed in quietness, but in relaxed faces. There was no tension in the faces, no passiveness, no pathetic looks, no bewilderment. One was at home, at rest. One was in an atmosphere which, disregarding the tumult, the noise, the heat and everything else, nevertheless was peace.

THE CONGREGATION AND ITS BACKGROUND

Before turning to the second part of the paper, which is an attempt to analyse this service, it is essential to see the background of each of the members of Ngema's congregation. The prophet himself had, prior to his ukuhlakanipha(i.e. having become wise), been a member of the local Lutheran parish. His wife had been a member of a Zionist congregation; but Ngema could not be accepted into that congregation because the moment he entered the room of worship the leader of the congregation felt sick, had sudden and intense pains in the shoulders and back, and furthermore lost his power of healing. Thus Ngema started a new Zionist congregation with his wife and a number of followers who left the old congregation. To put it into Ngema's own words : "How can two suns shine under one and the same roof? They must shine at different places so as to spread the light." Of the remaining members of the congregation no less than eleven had their original religious affiliations in the heathen setting of the ancestor cult; three had been Lutherans; two Congregationalists; and two other members had belonged to other Zionist groups; but owing to their having been healed by Ngema had joined his congregation. "It is clear that he has power of healing", was their remark.

It was noteworthy that of the original eight who had left the congregation of Ngema's wife to start off the new group under Ngema's leadership, not one remained. A visit to Ngema's congregation five years later showed a completely new set of members with the number of faithful worshippers diminished to only thirteen and only one remaining of the original group of five years before.

Two things appear important as far as the composition of the congregation is concerned:-

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1. The fact that about 50% of the members came from completely heathen backgrounds, having had no affiliation to the traditional Churches of missionary background. Further investigations of other Zionist congregations who live under more or less similiar social, economic and cultural backgrounds as that of Ngema, show figures varying from 45% to as much as 80% of the members with heathen background. It would appear that this is true of many groups of the Zionists.

2. The frequent and more or less complete turnover of membership is remarkable. But comparative material from other Zionist groups shows similiar tendencies. Figures which I have from one congregation in the Hlobane region of Natal shows a complete turnover of the congregation in less than four years. In this case the leader claimed that it was due to the frequent coming and going of the mineworkers at Hlobane. Yet only about 50% of his group were mineworkers, the remaining 50% being local people.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE RITUALS

TOGETHERNESS, SIN AND CONFESSION

Africans do not seem to approach life analytically. Zulu philosophy is that of totality, a synthetic approach in which every little detail of life fits into a larger unity, a unity which is only complete when there is complete harmony in all its components. It is for this reason that Africans are not atheistic in their life-approach. They must have a supernatural environment which is so close, so real and so active in life that life would be incomplete without it. Further, individuals do not stand forth as specific in their environment. They are parts of the essential totality, but parts that are exceedingly important in the functioning of the totality. Ngema was merely a part of that community which met in his house for service. He was a part of the religious congregation, as was the drummer, his wife and everybody that was there.

To Zulu Zionists, evil is sin. But the word 'sin' must not be understood in terms of its orthodox, traditional interpretation of a breaking of God's commandment or will. 'Sin' to the Zulu is that which disturbs the equilibrium of society, that which causes unrest and disharmony and leads to

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harsh words and unbecoming acts of violence and suffering. Everything that disturbs the normal flow of life and those elements that sustain and develop life, these are sin and sinfulness. Goodness, on the other hand, is everything that develops and strengthens life, prosperity and well-being. Salvation, consequently, has a much wider meaning than that often taken for granted by traditional Christians. Salvation is everything that delivers one from all evils which can endanger and harm the flow of life in the tribe and nation. Salvation has its roots in one's desire to see the flow of life from generations past, through oneself to the future in one's children, grandchildren and future generations.

Confession is a declaration of that which disturbs harmony and the normal run of life. This is the background to the prophet's personal confession when he said that he could not pray for the woman who died, and to the testimony of the woman who brought to the attention of the congregation the disturbed relationships between herself and her employer. Note that it was for her anger that she wished to be forgiven and not for the fact that she had taken sugar, tea and coffee. That she had taken these was not a sin in her opinion, because she had taken from those who had plenty and given to those who had nothing. She personally had not benefitted from the sugar taken. So how could this have been sin and consequently something that was to be confessed?

As far as the confessor was concerned, the snorting of the prophet was looked upon as "absolution". Snorting is interpreted in Zionist circles as being a visible sign of the presence of the spirit, and the very presence of the spirit is an indication of forgiveness. Naturally, the snorting, yawning and belching in the Zionist rituals have their background in similiar phenomena in pagan Zulu rituals in which these indicate the presence of ancestors,(amadlozi).

The angels painted on the wall of the room were mentioned by name by the prophet's wife after the service, when she showed me around. Besides Gabriel and Michael, there were also some with Biblical names whom I could unfortunately not identify. But there was also Bekumuzi, who was the prophet's elder brother who at some stage had joined the congregation; Siphiwe, the prophet's mother; and uBaba omncane, a younger brother to Ngema's father. The latter was buried in the banana plantation immediately below Ngema's homestead.

PURIFICATION AND MEDICINES

The use of medicines among Zionists is very limited. But those used are in one way or another related to cleansing. Ashes, bicarbonate-of-soda, soap and water form the four components of most cleansing medicines, although only three or even possibly two may be used.

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The Sunlight calendar hanging on the wall of Ngema's room was more than a decoration and announcement of the day of the week, month and year. It filled, possibly quite unconsciously as far as Ngema was concerned, a symbolic and cultic function in that it described one of the essential characteristics of the community - that of cleansing and healing, as they are understood in the Zulu sense of the words. Modern soap, obtainable in all shops, is the substitute for the ibulawo of old, a purifying material which brings about both a material and a ritual cleansing. I am told that the room where Ngema gathered his flock is sprinkled with soap-water three times an a Sunday prior to service and once on every other day. Ash is also added to the water.

Ashes are used to draw the circle within which healing is to be carried out in the middle of the room's floor; they are smeared on to places of the body which are painful or otherwise not in good health, and on to containers which will carry cleansing water. Characteristically, many of the rivers used for baptismal purposes (Baptism often being an act of cleansing) are renamed Jordan by the Zionists, because "it was in the Jordan that the leper baptised himself free from his sickness."

LIFE AND HEALING

For the Zulu, life is continuous, carried from the one generation to the next through the links of individuals. Life is linked with eternity and immortality in so far as the latter is understood to be the continuation of the life-principle from one generation to another.

Everything that interferes with life, understood in terms of eternity and immortality, is evil. Jealousy and hatred are evil because they bring about disharmony; sickness is evil because it interrupts the normal flow of life and is in this capacity a stepping-stone to death which is the greatest evil, especially if one should die childless. Being evil, sickness, suffering, barrenness, hatred, jealousy and that host of other calamities which are announcers of death, have to be fought against. Before they even influence man, they should be guarded against, and it is in this light that the use of preventive medicines and cures such as emetics, vomiting and so on, are to be understood. Prevention of evil is a sustaining and encouragement of life.

Whereas the traditional Zulu very much believe that they can be healed through the use of medicines, Zionists generally believe that medicines are the cause of illness or other sufferings. This is somewhat remarkable, as the use of medicines in the old Zulu society was common and played an important part in social life. It is difficult to see the cause of this objection to medicines. Could it stem from a certain antagonistic approach to mission hospitals and the Western

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approach to medicines, which widely differs from that of the Zionists? Zionists themselves claim that they abstain from medicines because they have not heard that Jesus used medicines when He healed. Certain things are essential to the act of healing. There must be prayer, signs of the presence of uMoya as revealed in hiccoughs, sudden cries, yawnings and belchings: there must be laying on of hands, possession, true veils and holy sticks, cleansing remedies such as water, soap and ashes: and lastly, testimony to the fact that health has been regained. Without the latter the healing is incomplete and "the demons will return again." It is perfectly clear that the laying on of hands has its source to some extent in the Holy Scriptures, but it must be added that the act of touching in Zululand has great significance, and very much so when it comes to touching the head and certain parts of the body. If one is convinced that one has power over and above that which already exists in a certain human being then, amongst the Zionists, the way to drive out a demon over which one has power, is by means of touch. This explains the violent massage of the stomach of the barren woman.

Healing and the rite of driving out evil are never complete without also discovering the source of the evil which has been driven out. In this rite the prophet will act in a manner corresponding to that of the pagan diviner. However, the bones, sticks and other articles used by the diviner have been supplanted by pages from a Bible, a camera, the brass rod carried by the prophet, the drum played during the service, and the bowl containing the ashes used in cleansing rites. The articles used in divination will naturally depend on the type of divination required. A Zionist once divined by means of a cowrie shell which he held to his left ear; he claimed to be speaking to his deceased mother, from whom he obtained the information he required. From the thatching of the hut the prophet will procure horns containing evil medicine that have caused illnesses, and with the brass rod he points out evil-doers. He will readily find small bottles containing black medicines(imiti emnyama), buried in the soil next to the doorway of a home, dig them out and destroy their powers, thus bringing harmony and health to people who have suffered under the curse of the medicines. Zionist prophets are often approached when planning some journey or before travelling by modern means of transport, in order to foretell whether the journey will be safe or not.

Thus the prophet fulfills a two-fold function, that of healer and that of diviner, the latter in Zionist circles defined as "prophetism".

SYMBOLISM

The use of veils, robes, sashes, holy sticks and various symbols on these, holy water, ash, etc. play an enormously important role in the rites of Zionists. I propose

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that a careful study of these objects in their cult would reveal much of the underlying ideas and beliefs of Zionist rituals.

It is certain that the sticks carried by Zionists and referred to by them as izikhali are important cult objects in all fertility rites. They are placed on a barren woman to bring about fertility; they are used when the prophet and his congregation go to the fields prior to ploughing in order to "pray for a good harvest" and in the treatment of cattle that do not give birth to good and healthy calves. That the two major sticks represent the male and female principles appears to be indisputable: the one with the small cross attached at the top or with a Y-sign is masculine, while the one with the round circle attached is feminine. It is customary to rub the feminine stick with milk, at least in the Mapumulo and Hlobane districts of Natal, in order that "they may be white and beautiful". I suggest that there is more to the custom of rubbing them with milk than merely a matter of the outer appearance of the stick.

The crosses that occur so frequently on the clothing of Zionists and their various cult objects need not necessarily be of Christian origin. They may equally well be symbols of completion, harmony, equilibrium. One stroke can be the sign of something that is not in order, an accusation or broken relationships of goodwill. Thus at court cases I have attended, the accuser would place a stick in front of the chief for each accusation he brought against the accused. A stroke that cuts the stroke of broken harmony or of accusation brings harmony to restoration again. At a court-case the accused is allowed to place a stick over the one against which he has successfully defended himself to show that the accusation no longer stands: it has been ruled out, neutralized, and order has been restored. If this reasoning is correct, then this would explain why amongst the Zionists only those that are healthy, and people of harmonious standing, are allowed to wear the coats and copes with crosses on them, while the sick or otherwise disturbed people must refrain from using them until equilibrium has been restored.

In Zululand, ritual movement is aesthetic movement. Yet there is more to movement than merely an aesthetic appreciation. Movement in a circular formation around those that are being attended to has meaning, otherwise it would hardly play such a dominating part in Zionist rituals. A prophet once said, when encouraging his congregation to move more convincingly: "Qinisani inkhatha". This expression embodied Zulu concepts underlying circular movement. The concept underlying the inkhatha or sacred coil, emblem of national unity of those that are living and those that are no longer amongst men in the form of human beings, is used by the Zionists in their rituals, in that by their circular movement they dramatise that which is taking place in the middle of the circle, and hence in their own midst, namely the restoration of unity with those that have come outside the unity of the harmonious

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circle through sickness, barrenness and other sufferings. Similarly, just as male and female are opposites in an equilibrium, as are also right and left, light and dark, up and down, so too are the clockwise and anti-clockwise movements of the circulating congregation.

Action itself is, further, a method of expression. To force a Zulu to say something with only words and deprive him of the privilege of using the movements of his limbs, his body, his facial expressions and the various tones of his voice, would be making him a captive. Well realizing the importance of words, their use and their power, it is essential that they be accompanied with action to bring about that effect which is indicated by the words themselves. Words and action go together. I am reminded of a man who was to speak over the telephone but said that he could not do so, because "my friend who hears me in the wire does not see me." The man found it difficult to express himself only in words. I suggest that the various actions of the Zionists, including that of the circular movements around those that are being healed, are intended to bring into effect what is indicated in the words, underlining the power of the words uttered in the process of healing.

Practically all Zionists refer to some Biblical motivation when asked about the removal of their shoes and socks prior to entering their places of worship. Generally, one will point out that Moses was required to remove his sandals when he approached the burning bush because the earth that he stood on was holy. Likewise, the place of worship is claimed to be holy to the Zionist, and therefore he is obliged to remove his footwear. Yet very often it has happened that Zionists have not removed their shoes on entering their places of worship on occasions when there is no service. Only in exceptional cases have I, as a visitor, been requested to remove my shoes. This would appear to contradict the general argument about the holiness of the room. Presumably, the only reason for the removal of footwear is the fact that Zulu feet are not always accustomed to the burden of shoes and that these consequently hamper the freedom of movement during the movements in the various rituals.

No satisfactory explanation for the star-symbols has been obtained up to the present. Ngema once said that the stars on his cope were the stars of Bethlehem, where salvation was to be found. On pointing out to him that there was, according to the Scriptures, only one star that brought the wise men from the East to Bethlehem, he replied that there was only one saviour in Bethlehem at that time. But in his congregation there were many who were believers (<u>amakolwa</u>). Here, once again, the community as the cult entity, the active unity in which each plays his or her important role, is quite evident. Another Zionist once said that in the same way as the star lights up the darkness of night, so he lights up the darkness of sickness and suffering in that he heals people of their sickness.

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This paper has not concerned itself with the many rituals of baptism, (isidlo), the many festivals, prayers on mountains in times of extreme need and danger, hoisting of flags, offerings, ukubethela (strengthening of homes and houses, fields and roads), burials and other Zionist rites. It would appear that Zionist rituals to a large extent are based on pagan Zulu religious conceptions and activities, although there are marked contributions also from the traditional mission Churches, the latter consisting of such elements as a day of the week set apart for worship, a room or definite place set aside for worship, the use of the Bible, and to some extent the singing of hymns, as well as certain terminology such as amakolwa(believers), isono(sin), and imvuselelo(revival meetings).

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