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Indigenous religious values: understanding work and rest

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RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF

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SUPERVISED

BY

PROFESSOR BRIDGET KENNY

Declaration

I, **Fikile Masikane**, am submitting this research report to fulfil the requirements for the Master's degree in Industrial Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other University.

Signature.....Date.....

Fikile Masikane

Dedications

I dedicate thesis to the Shembe Church/ iBandla lamaNazaretha, who are holding fast the ground to ensure that black people know their worth and in the same manner embrace it without being defined by others.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to my Supervisor Prof Bridget Kenny, who has been patient with me throughout the tears, the moments of panic and the joyful moments of discovery. I cannot thank her enough for challenging me and pushing me, sometimes to a brink of collapse, with an aim of developing me intellectually. I thank also Prof Shireen Ally who has had confidence in me from day one; her willingness to always assist is dearly appreciated. I will forever be indebted to Sedzani (Sedz) and Mam Josephine (Mama J), for being available when I needed them the most, the confidence and motivation they gave me to persevere made this journey bearable.

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Terminology

1. The Shembe Church- formally known as iBandla lamaNazaretha
2. Ekuphakameni- is the holy mountain that Isaiah Shembe discovered near Durban where he and his followers go to for special occasions.
3. By referring to black people, I am referring to the Zulu natives from Zululand (In the analysis). And generally those of African descendant.
4. Indigenous- native, traditional

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that indigenous (native, traditional) religious values and beliefs engender a more nuanced and alternative thought – as opposed to the existing capitalist definition or interpretation- of what emancipatory work is for black people; this alternative interpretation of emancipatory work, I suggest, is relevant to black people as it is defined by black people themselves and not those in power, this is in light of the broader South African black emancipation project. I have made use of the Shembe church's concept of 'rest', as the theoretical framework, in order to answer the question: how if at all, does the Shembe church's doctrine of the Sabbath rest [help us] conceptualize the problem of work for blacks in the post-apartheid South Africa? How, furthermore does this practice of the Sabbath rest [help us] conceptualize black liberation? Further, this study used the Shembe church's doctrinal book (church manual or law book), which largely follows the laws or commandments presented in the book of Exodus (Bible). Adopting a qualitative research design, helped in using a method of biblical hermeneutics as a way to dissect and critically analyze the concepts of work and the proposed concept of rest as a way to begin to think of /and practice liberation through the lenses of Isaiah Shembe, the founding father of the movement.

Isaiah Shembe understands the Sabbath rest in its literal sense of 'inactivity', this is done by taking the last day of the week off from work and any form of activity that an individual would partake in, in the week. Following this, rest for Isaiah Shembe provides a sense of practical and present/current freedom that individuals claim for themselves as opposed to freedom/liberation as something only hoped for in future, especially for the ever hopeful black people. It is through this understanding of 'rest' that, as Isaiah Shembe presents, helps us understand the problem of waged work, which has been ideally presented by the post-apartheid government, as an emancipatory tool to bridge the gap of inequality for black people. Given the reality of the growing gap of inequalities waged-work, is evidently, never satisfactory as the individual is consistently working without reaping the necessary benefits. For Isaiah Shembe then, it becomes important to rethink and redefine the idea of what work is (for black people) which for him should be meant to elevate the individual mentally, intellectually, physically, and spiritually by allowing the individual to work creatively without imposition and supervision. At play, ultimately, Isaiah Shembe argues that by understanding rest, one will understand what work is and further how to work in order to get satisfaction.

Key Words: work [waged], rest, emancipation, indigenous religious values

INTRODUCTION

Following Isaiah Shembe's doctrine of the Sabbath rest, this thesis argues that indigenous (native, traditional) religious values and beliefs engender a more nuanced and alternative thought-as opposed to the existing capitalist definition or interpretation- of what emancipatory work is. This alternative interpretation of emancipatory work is relevant to black people, as it is defined by black people themselves, this is also in light of the broader South African Black emancipation project. This quest for emancipation comes as a result of the prevalent social injustices and inequalities among the black majority today, despite South Africa's democratic dispensation. These social injustices and inequalities are made manifest through the constant battle of access to dignified jobs, decent health care facilities, and what is considered 'quality' westernized education. The underlying problem to these discrepancies is the introduction of waged work, which served to benefit the capitalist system, by the commodification of time and the commodification of work itself, which only, even though introduced as a bridge to these inequalities, elevated the conditions. However, these prevalent social injustices and inequalities validate what Mignolo (2007) calls "coloniality of power" which expresses the lingering effects of colonialism in the now 'independent' countries. Here, Mignolo argues that "coloniality of power" is possible through "the global reach of imperial capitalism", which functions as "exploitation of labour" and controls "knowledge" production among other things (Mignolo, 2007: 158-159). These injustices further expose the relationship between "coloniality of power" and the ideology of waged work. At play ultimately, as Barchesi (2011) extends, is that in South Africa, post-1994 waged work or the idea of having 'dignified' jobs for black people has become a huge part of the emancipatory project.

Putting Mignolo (2007) and Gramsci (1948) in conversation, Gramsci in his notion of 'hegemony' argues that the 'conception' or 'logic' which is known as "common sense" is not necessarily common knowledge which people automatically know and is further seen as a blueprint that people should live by, but it is rather a mere reflection of the ideas which the ruling class or those in power have placed, for their own benefit (Gramsci, 1948), in the same light Mignolo (2007) sees the role of "coloniality of power" which controls knowledge production. In the context of work, 'common sense' argues that in order for an individual to live a decent life, he/she needs to work hard in school in order to have a good paying job and live a decent life as

Barchesi articulates. This common sense knowledge is highly driven by institutions (Seidman, 1994: 5) in particular social institutions such as schools, churches and so forth. It has been evident without reasonable doubt, that the aim of western colonial domination in Africa was to have complete control over her, by having control of the state and the law that helped aid its domination among other things. All this is controlled under one gaze and is driven by one ideology.

In Christianity (the religious teachings and practices of Jesus Christ), mainstream Western Christianity (Christianity introduced to South Africans through colonization), a neo-liberal understanding of work ethic was promoted. Today, the modern day Pentecostal churches, preach the prosperity gospel, using this common sense knowledge that is in line with the classical capitalist ideology. It is not surprising then that Sundkler et al (1961) would recognize that the introduction of Western Christianity in South Africa completely disoriented the tradition and culture of the Zulu people in particular.

The rise of Christianity through colonization (Atkins, 1988), which brought about a Western outlook in terms of its theology (its culture, habit and belief), has not only helped reproduce the basic inequalities of an apartheid society, which remains silent on the reality of the oppression and exploitation of which the black majority live, but it has also dismantled the identity and humanity of the black majority. For this reason, many black people at the time saw a need to break away from this type of theology, through the rise of African Independent Churches in the 1900s and in the recent year's black theology of liberation emerged. With this Steve Biko's conceptualisation of "black consciousness" became famous among many young black theologians. Black Theology aimed to redefine the ways in which the black majority come to understand themselves and their purpose. However, for Itumeleng Mosala (1986) a South African Black Theologian, Black Theology has failed to theorize a feasible emancipatory project, particularly because it is founded upon a Western theology which further enhances the neo-liberal ideologies instead of breaking away from them, and so have the African Independent churches of South Africa. And for Mosala until black theologians break away from these ideologies it cannot be seen as a useful tool in the hands of its oppressed people.

With this in mind, this thesis examined the discourse and practice of the Shembe church, which is a Nazarite Baptist Church of South Africa, a prophetically grounded Afro-Christian Church

(Gunner, 2002), founded by Isaiah Shembe, whose followers and leaders believe in complete resistance of Western Christianity, first, by coming up with definitions and meaning about who they are and what emancipation means to them. This, for Isaiah Shembe begins with placing great emphasis on the concept of the Sabbath rest, which simply put means, taking the seventh day of the week off in order to rest (rest from physical manual work and releasing emotional tensions that may have weighed heavy on an individual in the week) –this belief then, for Isaiah Shembe provides a different explanation of what work is, which Isaiah Shembe defines as a creative process, where no individual is confined in a building for set hours and getting a payment at the end of the week, for someone else's (the capitalists) gain. Rather, by understanding the concept of rest, one will work hard and creatively enough in order to get a fair reward of rest.

This discourse challenges the nature and idea of waged work as presented by the Western theology. It further problematizes the notion of time which is at the heart of capitalism. With this form of resistance from the Shembe church, the question then arises: How, if at all, does the Shembe church's doctrine of the Sabbath rest [help us] conceptualize the problem of work for blacks in post-Apartheid South Africa? How, furthermore, does this practice of the Sabbath rest [help us] conceptualize black liberation.

In order to answer this question, chapter two presents the research design, and the methodology which was conducted, by engaging with the main discourses of concepts and constructionist theories which are the driving forces of understanding, the Shembe church's doctrine and practice, to get a view of how the knowledge they have about who they are in the society helps them achieve the intended purpose proposed in the doctrine. This is followed by chapter three which consists of the literature review of the key theorists who try to understand how society functions. It further looks at writers such as; Vilakazi (1960-1970), Gunner (2001-2006) and Sundlker (1961) who have, for many years, extensively wrote about the Shembe church, however, much of the writing was concerned with the outward appearance of the church as opposed to the doctrine of which the church is founded upon.

Chapter four begins the analysis and an in-depth examination of the discourse of the dilemma that the Zulu people found them-selves in as a result of colonization. This problem is called as DuBois (1903) put it, "double consciousness", which for him is the problem of blackness as a

whole. Chapter five then explores the concept of rest itself and how time plays a major role in understanding black emancipation. Chapter six discusses space and rest, following the concept of emancipation for Isaiah Shembe literally means staying away from any building which confines individuals, treating them as cogs in a machine by not allowing them to creatively engage and interact with themselves and others. Thus, I examined what being outdoors (the connection with nature) at all times means to Isaiah Shembe which is also at the heart of his doctrine. The last chapter then provides a conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

2.1. Methodology

Background

For many years there has been a stigma behind the Shembe Church for its theology and practice. Some people believed that Isaiah Shembe is God and his people follow him because they believe that he is the ultimate Supreme Being. Others ridiculed Isaiah Shembe and believed that he jumped off the mountain (Ekuphakameni) to show his followers that he is the true Supreme Being and can fly. This has been the known story of Isaiah Shembe's death for many years. All of this is because of the church's uniqueness and exclusivity when it comes to information about its practice, its doctrine and its overall proceedings. The Shembe Church's strong commitment to tradition and refusal to conform to the western culture which has become a societal norm, their unique practice, which is seen through their traditional attire, their space of worship (outdoors) and ultimately their day of worship, has become comical to those observing it from the outside. Having lived in Zululand, the tension between what is western and traditional has always been apparent.

And as it stands the Shembe church remains the most ridiculed and criticized church amongst most Christian believers, in particular black Christian, because of the lack of understanding of the church's practice. In a sermon preached by Rev Chiliza (2012e), he expresses that "*when something does not get criticized it means that it is no longer relevant. When you get criticized you remain relevant and nobody forgets, and in that way you grow. This is the same way the Shembe church is criticized; it means that we are still relevant and that we are growing.*" So with that being said it is good they are getting criticised because it symbolises their effect and impact on people's lives.

Through a sociological view of how the society functions, the Shembe church became an interesting field to study, particularly for its exclusivity, restricted access and unavailability of its doctrine and overall conceptual framework. By conducting an in-depth analysis of its doctrine it became evident that Shembe church functioned beyond what was practically or outwardly observed, which most writers, researching about the church, found fascinating, without

thoroughly engaging with the conceptual framework that the church is founded upon leading to its unique practice and lifestyle. This in-depth understanding of the doctrine is important in order to understand how a particular group of people come to understand society as a whole and further show their understanding of power and how they relate to it. This is necessary in order to provide a more nuanced picture as a step towards the much needed change in the society.

2.2 Research design

In accordance with the above, this study has used a conceptual framework or analysis as an overarching tool, which has allowed for the study to unpack, and mostly interrogate the fundamental concept of the Sabbath "rest" presented by Isaiah Shembe which problematizes the concept of work, as he believes, has been omitted by Westernisation, by creating new concepts which have become like universal laws. These universal laws then guide the day to day practices and understanding of the African people, blurring the lines between what is true and what has been constructed. For instance, the concept of class by Marx which has been used for many years as the basis to follow in order to understand society and further seek for solutions to change certain injustices and inequalities in the society, which further comes from a one dimensional social standing. The Marxist theory believes that there are two main classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisies are those who own the means of production and the proletariat sell their labour in order to make a living and further do not own the means of production. The relationship between these two classes is unequal and exploitative, according to Marx (1848), this comes as a result of capitalism.

The Marxist theory of class then leads to alienation and estrangement between the worker and the product among other things. Marx studies this relationship of the workers and the means of production, which he then concludes that it is unequal and this gap leads to class struggles which are according to Marxism embedded on "the conflict of interest between the working class and the capitalist system" (1848). However, I argue, taking guidance from Robinson's Black Marxism, that in the South African context, part of the inequalities and injustices do not come as a result class struggles but rather race issues where white colonial systems were put in place in order to oppress black people.

And the danger of following theories of class does not help solve the problem but rather enhances it because there will be a constant battle for black people to fight to be a part of system which was from the beginning created and constructed to marginalise them. Much of the political, spiritual and mental tensions come as a result of whiteness wanting to have dominion over blackness. Social constructionism then plays a role in understanding how society functions. Social constructionism acknowledges the attachment of meanings behind certain beliefs and practices which are socially constructed, in order to carry through the ideas of a particular group in power. This then helped in understanding the fundamental problem with which Isaiah Shembe grappled with, leading him to establish his own movement, in the mist of the colonial conquest, in order to define emancipation for himself, by coming up or sticking firmly to the concept rest which he believes in. This is the type of knowledge that the church has about itself.

For Wodak and Meyer (2009: 39):

> *"Knowledge refers to all kinds of contents that make up a human consciousness, in other words all kinds of meanings that people use to interpret and shape their environment."*

The purpose was to understand the meanings that the Shembe church used in order to interpret shape and understand their surroundings. Consequently, the use of this conceptual framework, allowed the study to be situated within the qualitative research design. Following Sitas, Roberts and Greenstein (2003: 3), qualitative research methods allowed for the study to conduct an in-depth analysis of concepts, and meanings attached to these from the sources that they have written themselves. These concepts challenge what is considered to be the universal laws.

2.3 Methods

For this reason then, my research was based on a discourse and archival analysis of four key documents that the Shembe church use in order to carry through these meanings and the knowledge about their surroundings. In addition, I made use of a Newspaper article iLanga laseNatal, from the period of 1923-1926; this was the peak of blackness discussions being published in the newspaper at the time. Ilanga laseNatal, which when directly translated means the sun of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Figuratively analysed means the providing enlightenment or a certain

kind consciousness among the Zulu people, through writing and active engagement. Ilanga laseNatal was launched and further edited by John Langalibalele Dube in the year 1903, printed and manufactured at Ohlange Institute in iNanda Durban (the first black directed and controlled institute of its kind in South Africa). John Langalibalele Dube was the first African National Congress leader and founder of Ohlange Institute, Ohlange taken from the word *uhlanga* meaning the origin of new growth or founder of lineage. In the colonial era *uhlanga* had come to describe indigenous (native/black) people, who claimed their land and cattle back. Following this description and purpose of the Newspaper, I chose to use as a way of hearing the history and experiences of the Zulu people in the mist of Western domination from their own perspective (and perhaps not the way it has been interpreted by capitalists rather those in power).

The first document was Imithetho yomProphet uIsaiah Shembe (the doctrine or the law of Prophet Isaiah Shembe), the second was Izihlabelelo zamaNazaretha (the hymnal of the church), and the third was uShembe, a story of the visions of Isaiah Shembe by John Langalibalele Dube and lastly the book of Exodus (found in the Bible). I also made use of sermons from live podcasts on *YouTube*, with a documentary published in the 2001, which takes us through the history of the Shembe church and the pilgrimage at Ekuphakameni. I first found these through random selection from the earliest years or historical documentaries, to the sermons preached on Sabbath and gatherings which the church had on their big days like pilgrimage walks in January, Easter weekends and so forth. I then picked up a pattern in the style of preaching, which was the reliance on oral history. Most preachers used what they have been told by their parents about Isaiah Shembe, for instance, to follow through the practice. This of course, is interpreted and told differently by different preachers, but this does not make the stories false. What became an overarching theme was the ritual and performance which was demonstrated in most sermons and documentaries. The level of expression and dancing on the Sabbath day became a fascinating sight to witness.

2.4 Discourse analysis

This section uses Foucault's concept of discourse analysis: "*All knowledge can be subjected to analysis. This includes everyday knowledge transmitted through everyday communication,*

scientific knowledge from natural as well as cultural sciences, knowledge transmitted by media" (Meyer and Wodak, 2009: 39) People take this knowledge from their surroundings, either through spoken word or experiences passed down as Mudimbe (1988) and Ngugi (1994)would agree. Discourse analysis then aims to identify the knowledge's contained in discourses and dispositive (speaking and thinking on the basis of knowledge), and how these knowledge's are firmly connected to power. A discourse can be defined as "an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power" (Link 1983: 60). It is a flow of knowledge throughout time. Discourses are not mere expressions of social practice, but also serve particular ends, namely the exercise of power. Ultimately, these discourses shape reality.

Below, I discuss the four documentary sources which I consulted.

A. Imithetho yasEkuphakameni yomProphet uIsaiah Shembe (the laws of the prophet Isaiah Shembe)

These laws were written and compiled by Isaiah Shembe himself. There are 37 laws which the church has in a form of a booklet, with a cover page of children dressed in a Zulu traditional attire. The first law emphasises the importance of baptismal and keeping the Sabbath day holy.

1. *Uketha inkosi, uthenge umNazaretha, uthathe ithikithi, uvume izono, ubhajadiswe. Uvule amasango omuzi wasEkuphakameni, ugcine iSabatha (You choose the Lord, you accept the Nazareth faith, take a token and confess your sins, and be baptized. Open the gates of Ekuphakameni and keep the Sabbath)*

This booklet a member gets once they have accepted the faith, gone through various consultations with the leaders of the church. The members are then expected to read these laws and carry the booklet to church every Sabbath and gatherings. Though it is only given to members and is not made available to the public, I received it from a member of the church. I have used these laws as my primary source because this is what governs the church leading them into applying these laws to their day to day experiences.

B. 2.5 Izihlabelelo zamaNazaretha (the hymnal of the church),

Again, these were compiled and composed by Isaiah Shembe himself, written by John Dube. The hymnal is also a booklet which the members are expected to carry with them. These are written in a poetic form and all emphasise the importance of the observance of the Sabbath. There are over 200 hymns in the book and are all written in isiZulu.

C. "UShembe" by John Langalibalele Dube

This is a written biography about the life and death of Isaiah Shembe and also an interpretation of his visions. This booklet is found in the archives at Alan Paton in the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal only. It is recorded that Isaiah Shembe and John Langalibalele Dube were close friends and lived in INanda together. Shembe would go to Dube at night to tell him about his visions and John Dube would write them down for him. The friendship between Isaiah Shembe and John Langalibalele Dube is interesting because they, though they had the same vision of seeing the emancipation of the Zulu people, their strategies and ideologies differed, Shembe believed in complete resistance of white western colonization, in terms of work, education and overall lifestyle. Dube promoted the very ideas of introduced by colonization; he had a vision that black people should be taught how to be self-reliant citizens through academic work as well as industrial training. He was convinced that the route to black people full political and economic equality was to become economically self-reliant, have a Western education and follow the Western Christian faith.

D. 2.6 The book of Exodus

Isaiah Shembe did not believe in the Bible as a whole but rather much of his doctrine and practice is founded on the book of Exodus in the Bible. The reason why he does so is because this book has in it the Ten Commandment, which for Isaiah Shembe holds more significance over what the other books in the Bible have. This is because it has the law, which serves as the

fundamental guide of how individuals should relate to God, and how they should relate to one another; all this with the gift of the Sabbath rest which comes as an award for having run the society according to what is written. Interestingly, these laws even though written in the Bible, according to Shembe are principles with which the Zulu people were already living by. These promoted a mutual respect for others and God, with the intention of work, as a creative exercise for the common good of every individual.

With guidance from theology, a method of hermeneutics of liberation was conducted; this was done in order to understand Biblical and doctrinal questions and terminology. Hermeneutics is defined as the theory and methodology of text interpretation, especially the interpretation of biblical texts, wisdom literature, and philosophical texts. Originally hermeneutics was applied to the interpretation, or exegesis of scripture (Duncan et al, 2007: 3). For the purposes of this study it was important to critique and transform present realities through analytical concepts that can get to the bottom of real events, relationships, and structures and so forth.

Limitations

Access to ekuPhakameni

As a result of the church's exclusive, sensitive and strict nature, I wanted to allow myself, for the purposes of this research to first understand the concepts and doctrine that governs the church before conducting ethnographic/ participant interaction research. Hence, there is no use of any human subjects in this research. Also, with the strict access to any of the spaces especially Ekuphakameni for non-members requires numerous consultations with leaders and approvals from the headquarters, which with the limited time in which to complete this research would have been problematic.

2.7 *Vocabulary equivalence*

Most of the documents like UShembe written by John Dube and the hymnal by Isaiah Shembe were written in Zulu. Zulu is not a problem as I am a Zululand born Zulu speaking person, however, the barrier became with the type of Zulu written in these documents. This then formed part of the major limitations faced, the challenge of providing an equivalent translation to the

original written and spoken statement. The Zulu that was written during the time of John Langalibalele Dube and Isaiah Shembe' era is the most original Zulu as compared to what is spoken in Kwa-Zulu-Natal today. I then received help from an elderly person who then attempted to translate these with the idea that they have a much closer understanding than I would. This took time and a number of consultations to understand the idioms and handwriting of the author. According to Sechrest et al (1972: 41)

> *Vocabulary equivalence must take into account language as used by respondents and the possibility of terms lacking equivalents across languages. Equivalents in idioms and in grammar and syntax may be important, but equivalence in terms of experiences and concepts tapped is probably most important of all. Direct translation cannot be assumed to produce equivalent versions of verbal stimuli.*

In one particular idiom for instance, "ukuzala ukuzelula amathambo" (having a child is an extension of the person giving birth) which when translated in English loses its essence and direct meaning in isiZulu. This for Isaiah Shembe meant that his spirit will forever live through his children, though he may die.

In addition, because of the nature of this work, most of literature is from the early 1900s. This is done so to show the historical background of the study, to highlight how important it is to understand where we come from in order to thoroughly fix the future. Most 'facts' are quoted in both the literature review and the analysis chapters.

I am aware that there have been many debates in relation to archives, doctrines and concept analysis; these debates are centred around the facts that whatever is recorded in archives and doctrines serves the interests of a particular groups or that because some information is omitted from the archives which then does not show a true reflection of the particular study. However, the purpose here was not to provide what is true and what is not true for that matter, but rather the aim is to understand and provide descriptions and explanations of the way in which people in this space with the guidance of their leaders, doctrines and texts in order to understand how people in this space build themselves the meaning attached to their experiences (work) and the faith claims of their deliverance thereafter, which helps us to understand what liberation is to the Shembe church.

Chapter 3

3.1. Literature Review

For many years Sociology has been shaped and centred on the theories of three theorists who were considered as part of the canon of Sociology. Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920), and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), these theorists have been known as the founding fathers of Sociology. Ritzer in Zuckerman (2005: 6) extends "canonization is never a clean, objective process based upon who wrote what best." Canonization for him is structured by a particular group of people, for a particular reason (Ritzer in Zuckerman, 2005: 6). When it comes to Sociology and understanding social problems, it never made sense to Du Bois for instance, that the theorists deemed as the founding fathers understood social problems through the "car-window" or by "book-worming" (Zuckerman, 2005 [1903: 107]: 6).These terms refer to theorists that were closed in libraries or offices relaying mostly on their own imagination rather than observing human action as it is (Du Bois in Lester, 1971: 230). Although Sociology as a discipline has since evolved, the founding fathers are still deemed the founding fathers even in their car-window approach to societal issues.

Du bois (Du Bois in Zuckerman, 2005: 6) was against fixed or rigid explanations of human behaviour that are "biologically" or "psychologically" justified, for him this provided a narrow understanding of human behaviour and then wanted to look at the role that social institutions play, and also the impact of historical circumstances that he believed shaped the individuals actions and beliefs. This is particularly true in South Africa today. Many of the social conditions and social problems that black people find themselves in come as a result of social institutions and historical circumstances that then shaped their lives and outlook. This chapter presents the theoretical framework which shapes the understanding of the problem of blackness with which the black South African's find themselves in as a result of historical circumstances and social institutions, paying attention specifically to Zululand and the rise of Christianity.

3.2. The notion of double consciousness; a condition of blackness

As a result of these historical circumstances that have shaped black people, Du Bois sees the society as one which has been defined by colonization, slavery and in to South Africa, the apartheid system. This binary (Westernization and Africanisms) has left the black man with an identity problem;

> *Here, then, is the dilemma, and it is a puzzling one, I admit. No Negro who has given earnest thought to the situation of his people in America has failed, at some time in life , to find himself at these cross-roads, has failed to himself at some time; what, after all am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro, am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatens and separates Black and White? Is not my only possible practical aim the subduction of all that is Negro in me to the American? Does my black blood place upon me any more obligations to assert my nationality than German, Irish or Italian blood would?* (Du Bois, 1903: 184).

Du Bois notes that from the individual realising this dilemma, he moves beyond an individual consciousness and enters into what he calls "a strange experience" the "double consciousness" experience (reference missing here). This "double consciousness" is a dispossession or an inability to see oneself for who one is, except through the eyes of the other (Du Bois, 1903: 185). This experience reminds the individual of the alienation that he is faced with, searching for a way to escape (Du Bois, 1903). In this case, it is as though the individual has been transported into a different reality which he now has to act out in order to survive. Moreover, for Du Bois "we are provided with a vision of the goal, a merging of these unreconciled striving in a better and truer self, allowed to participate as a co-worker in the kingdom of culture" (Du Bois, 1903: 9).

Du Bois further shows that "the negro is a sort of seventh son" (after the Egyptian, Indian, Greek and so forth); "born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world-a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world" (Du Bois, 1903: 6). This creates in the individual a feeling of having a dual identity. "One ever feels his twoness-an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two

unreconciled strivings, and two warring ideals in one dark body" adds Du Bois (1903: 6). As a result of colonisation, the Zulu people experienced this process.

It is undeniable that the spread of Christianity through an advent of European settlers in South Africa dismantled the Zulu belief and tradition in a tremendous way. It introduced the Zulu to a strange hermeneutical environment leaving them alienated from themselves and socially marginalised (in a space that they are familiar with) above all, moving them from a primitive stage to a modern stage (Nkosi, 2015, 20). The purpose was to change and modernize the Zulu natives into a culture which did not believe in the practical (traditional practices) but rather the abstract and civilised. According to Hexham (1997: 361), "it was claimed that during the 18th and 19th centuries, Africans were without religion. Africans had no soul so then they were not fully human." This claim "legitimized slavery" (Hexham, 1997: 361). Later Africans were said to be primitive, lacked intelligence and in need to be saved by introducing colonization in order to help them catch up with the Europeans (Hexham, 1991: 361). With a quest of giving Africans 'souls' and making them human according to the European standards, there was then the spread of missionaries and mission stations across South Africa specifically at the time (Hexham, 1997: 361).

Through this spread, though, the Zulu people instead gained a sense of nationalism and a particular kind of consciousness about their heritage (Sundkler, 1961: 15). Although the South African Native Act of 1925 states that "the rapidity and ease with which the South African Native has received the teachings of Christianity is one of the most remarkable phases in his acceptance of European civilisation" (Sundkler, 1961: 22). This is not entirely true as Sundkler (1961) and Vilakazi (1960) would agree, many Africans at the time, in fact, expressed with great resented, mission churches and the teachings of his culture through his "attempted conquest" (Sundkler, 1961: 22).

The Independent Zulu churches for instance, revolted against the white man's missionary churches particularly because they rejected and demonised their traditional religion, which was largely embedded in their ways of communicative modalities i.e. the referral God as 'uNkhulunkhulu' 'uMveliqangi' or 'uHlanga' among other ethical principles with which they followed (Dube, 1936). On the one hand, for Africans, at the time, the interweaving of the Zulu tradition, through song and dance for some and through the ancestral connections for others,

which particularly for Shembe, was expressed with the ideology that the dead had a special communication with God. This then involved sacrificial rituals such as the slaughtering of animals in order to have access to them. On the other hand, the white mission churches shunned the traditional beliefs and practices of Africans calling it "spiritualism" (Sundkler, 1961: 22). As a result, the white man's churches put emphasis on his culture (with the argument that he was bringing civilisation), thus neglecting and marginalising the existent Zulu cultural heritage. For this reason, there was a rise to African Independent Churches or as Sundkler (1961: 23), phrases it the "Bantu Independent Churches" whose sole purpose was and continues to be the preservation of culture by capturing the Zulu forms of rituality.

3.3. The history of Christian missionaries in South Africa

In 1823, William Shaw founded the first Wesleyan missionary in Kaffraria or as it is known now, the Cape Province (Sundkler, 1961: 25). According to Sundkler (1961: 25) "Shaw was probably the first Protestant missionary to plan an apostolic road in Africa, a chain of mission stations to stretch from Salem, Shaw's first mission station in Durban". This resulted in an increase in the number of Zulu converts in the years that followed (Sundkler, 1961: 25). It is recorded that: "by the early 1900s there were forty societies which engaged in mission work in Natal and Zululand" (Sundkler, 1961: 26). By this time a number of the Zulu chiefs were concerned as this changed the ways in which the society functioned (Sundkler, 1961). However, others rejected white mission churches, so much so that they formed Separatist Church movements. (Sundkler, 1961: 27). However, these were founded by Henry Venn (1880) and Rufus Anderson (1873) who hearing about the rebellion by the Zulu natives called for African or Native led churches, self-supporting, self-governed and self-propagating churches meaning as stated by Sundkler (1961), that these churches could be independent and indigenous, though they succeeded it was in many ways only theoretical. In the same way that the capitalist society created a system that would deliberately exploit and marginalise black people and further create a solution to the problems that would then arise. After realising that a number of the Zulu people questioned the white Christian system, the colonialists came up with a way to solve the problem by allowing black people to run the churches, in a neo-colonial Christian form.

In the midst of this "the Independent Baptist Mission entered Natal in 1892 and was supported by the Swedish Baptists in the United States of America in order to extend its activities"

(Oosthuizen, 1968:3). This movement came with a 'different' ideology and practice, so it seemed. According to statistics at the time the church only had "1, 18 per cent of the Christian white population of South Africa in 1911, when Shembe founded his movement" (Official year book No.9: 1926 in Oosthuizen, 1968: 2). "When Isaiah Shembe founded his movement in 1911, it is recorded that 85 per cent of the African population still practised what was called their 'indigenous' religion in Natal" (Oosthuizen, 1968: 3).

The Baptist church had a huge influence on the African Independent movements (Vilakazi; 1954:35). Pentecostalism, known for its strong emotional tendencies and further its emphasis on the Spirit and faith based healing gave influence to Independentism (Vilakazi; 1954: 35). Oosthuizen (1968: 36), suspects that Shembe most probably joined the African Baptist church because of its "indigenous" character, its meticulousness in Biblical explanations and the importance attached to baptism. However, this to Isaiah Shembe was not enough, as the dreams and visions he had kept haunting him threatening his life for not listening to the word of God. Many of the Africans (Zulu), who had unsettling questions about their heritage and culture felt short changed and stripped of their Zulu heritage by the practices of these churches, which could not provide feasible solutions (Vilakazi 1954, Oosthuizen 1968).

This only exasperated the need for independence and originality by retrieving the historical-cultural thought and practice among the African people (Vilakazi 1954). There was a need of a religion that the Zulus could relate to, a religion that spoke to their day to day experiences. The growth of the African Independent churches in South Africa then came as no surprise. The African Independent churches "are churches that split from Western-oriented churches which are referred to as independent churches, churches initiated by Africans themselves, never having ties with Western missions, which are referred to as indigenous" (Sundkler, 1961: 30). What brings the congregates together, and what becomes important in terms of how they relate to one another, is spontaneity in worship, mutual understanding of social problems, with the spiritual and physical healing, which were exclusive to African people (Vilakazi, 1954). However, by the time this need became apparent, the knowledge and practices of the European settlers was deeply entrenched across the nation. This not only made it nearly impossible to move away from, but also entrapped the Zulu people between a dual sensibility and a dual ideology. It was as if the world they had known before colonization faded away, and they were now forced to adopt and

live in a world, this was not only a problem with Africans in South Africa but also a problem across Africa, as Du Bois expressed. For Du Bois this was a problem of blackness as a whole and the burden that they bare as is beyond their strength Du Bois (1903: 11). The notion Du Bois called the "double consciousness" was defined as a problem of the 20th century. This binary caused by the introduction of Christianity in South Africa can be usefully seen in the Shembe church.

3.4. Regaining the Zulu identity

To reiterate, with the spread of white Christianity which came to a deeply rooted and traditional continent, its customs and culture brought with it new styles of clothing, new customs, new forms of etiquette, new medical approaches and perhaps new armaments (Biko, 1978: 62). The people amongst whom Christianity was spread had to cast away their indigenous clothing, their customs and their beliefs which were all described as being pagan and barbaric (Biko, 1978: 62). These drastic changes made Christianity when looked at through these lenses, oppressive to the black South African. It presents the Supreme Being/Other as a being that only exists because he/she was created and brought to Africans as a way to oppress them.

At the time, in Kwa-Zulu Natal on the eastern seaboard, the Zulu nation was faced with "juxtaposed narratives of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879-1880, of the tax war known as "impi yamakhanda" (Gunner, 2005: 283) or as commonly known the "Bambatha Uprising which saw 3000-4000 Zulu people killed in a protest against the 1 poll tax (British rule and taxation), which was in addition to the already existing hut tax fee which was created to put pressure on Zulu men to enter the labour market" (Dube, 1905/6). It is also in this year that the Zulu nation saw an increase in the Zulu Congregational Church. The Baptist Churches started their missionary activities very late in the nineteenth century in Natal (Oosthuizen, 1968). In the same breath, in the Limpopo Province, as stated by Hofmeyr the Ndebele people fought against the Boers on the inheritance and ownership of the Mabopane caves, which had sentimental and cultural values attached to them at the time (Gunner, 2005, 283). This as Hofmeyr (1993) rightly puts, shows the significance that lay in the African people of the importance of culture, inheritance and a 'sense of place' which largely taps in to the notions of 'being' or 'identity.'

As a result then the government opposed Shembe's ideology and his work in the early 1920s and 1930s (Dube, 1936; Ooshuizen, 1967: 3). This was the case with most African Independent churches at first. "African religious movements were viewed by colonial administrators as cunning attempts by black Africans to organize them-selves under the guise of religion. For instance, they argued that these movements converted members of established mission churches back to Christianized forms of paganism; they believed that black Africans could not develop a genuine interest in religion" (Hexham, 1997: 364).

3.5. Isaiah Shembe the prophet

Isaiah Shembe was known for healing prior to his association with the church, he cast out demons and provided prayer and healing to the Zulu speaking people around Natal by giving holy water (Oosthuizen, 1968). He had no interest in travelling by bus or train and opted to walk by foot or an ox-wagon, when travelling long distance (Oosthuizen, 1968). By 1911 the Zulu prophet and healer Isaiah Shembe attracted a number of people in Kwa-Zulu-Natal by his unique way of healing, through prayer, and holy water and his preservation of the Zulu culture, he gained a large following. It is recorded by Chidester (1992: 61) that at the time Shembe had over "30 000 converts." Chidester (1992) further states that this facilitated the destruction of the Zulu life, custom and tradition (as they knew it) which was brought about by colonisation and industrialisation. One could argue perhaps, that Isaiah Shembe provided healing in more ways than the physical body; he settled the dichotomy that the Zulu nation as whole found themselves in. On the one hand, the inherent Zulu identity, on the other, the new found way of life i.e. the idea of being caught between two worlds. As Chidester (1992: 61) states that after "the failed rebellion in 1906 and the widespread dispossession of the land that followed the 1913 Land Act" there was a desperate need to remobilise and revitalize the Zulu identity. This became the main project of the iBandla lamaNazaretha, the revitalization of certain aspects of the Zulu culture which had been lost.

Maboea in Oosthuizen (1967: 4) sees iBandla lamaNazaretha (the Shembe church) as an answer to the deep need of the 'black problem' as Du Bois calls it. The churches understanding and relation with God as a source of reference provided the necessary healing that the black people

needed a divine healing. Arguably, Isaiah Shembe to his followers provided this healing by breaking away from what was declared the mainstream Western Christianity, by bringing to the people forms of healing that the white man could not offer amongst other things. "In 1911 Isaiah Shembe broke away from the Baptist Church fully convinced that Saturday, the Old Testament Sabbath, is the special day of Jehovah and that it should be observed most accurately; he then on this premise founded the iBandla lamaNazaretha, claiming all verses in the Old Testament referring to Nazarites for his movement" (Oosthuizen, 1968: 40).

In 1913 Isaiah Shembe visited Nhlangakazi for the first time, this became the holy mountain. Ekhuphakameni, the holy city was founded in 1914 and is about 18 miles from Durban (Vilakazi, 1954; Gunner 2005). This is the very centre of the movement. Isaiah Shembe is an Ntungwa, a pure Nguni from which the Zulu nation originated (Vilakazi, 1954). For Vilakazi (1954) this is important to note because many doubted this and argued that Shembe, came from the Orange Free-State to Natal, is of Sotho or Tswana descent (Oosthuizen, 1968: 20). Vilakazi (1954) stated that Shembe was "deliberately and unapologetically Zulu." Isaiah Shembe was a poet, composer and a singer, had a never failing sense of the supernatural presence, he lived an ascetic life and his life of celibacy was considered one reason for his great spiritual strength. He interpreted the Bible, especially the Old Testament, which resembled that which he understood in his own society (Vilakazi, 1954).

Isaiah Shembe is not only seen as Mediator but also as the manifestation of God, in Sundkler (1937:278), "Isaiah Shembe showed you a God who walks on feet and who heals with his hands." Isaiah Shembe is to the Nazarites the personification of the Supreme Power. It is in the movement of Shembe that the authoritative pattern of the Zulu society and its system of rank is deeply rooted. Moreover, "where people consider themselves to be socially oppressed, Messianism was never far removed, and where the substratum of the Zulu mind had not been changed by the Christian message because it never penetrated the innermost being of the person syncretism developed, leading back to the traditional religious concept which are now revitalised by the elements of the new" Sundkler et al (1948: 8). These same problems have led to the appearance of messianic figures elsewhere on the continent of Africa Oosthuizen (1968: 6) adds.

Vilakazi (1954) also sees Isaiah Shembe as the mediator in the service of the Supreme Being; that the God prayed to or worshipped is the God of Shembe; hence the expression from his

people ‘uNkhulukhulu uShembe’ is used. To his followers he is the reincarnation of the Holy Trinity. He is more than an instrument or a vessel used by God; through Shembe revelation comes to the people and what is revealed is his very own divine will (Vilakazi, 1968: 57). Thus then, among other things, the underlying reason for joining the movement is the fact that through Isaiah Shembe a black Christ (Saviour) is seen. Other reasons such as: “a strong sense of belonging is felt ritual prohibitions satisfy the magical-oriented person, healing, the shades are honoured, little inner or outer disturbance or change to become a member, indigenous liturgy, polygamists accepted, those who are possessed by evil spirits find healing” (Sithole, 2012: 2).

This inclusivity (of him being black and Zulu and familiar with the communities culture and tradition) and originality is what made the movement famous and attractive to most Zulu speaking people. Moreover, for Vilakazi (1954), the movement went beyond this, Isaiah Shembe tried to establish a national religion for his people and he is in this sense their Moses. The African claims for himself the right to interpret the Bible as he understands it. Social cohesion could for the Zulu only be established through the shades, reacted against in the churches, but given prominence by Shembe.

3.6. African literature and the Africans engagement with the Western texts

The issue of imperial domination in Africa continues to inform much of the literature of African writers of the past and the present; this aftermath is expressed through literature showing its influence and continued dominance (Musa, 2012:6). Musa (2012: 7) illustrates how literature writers such as Ngugi, emphasize the use of language which came as the result of colonization. For Ngugi because literature is bound to a certain kind of context and culture; with the rise of colonial and mission schools, school children, for instance, were exposed to a western culture through literature which allowed them to experience the world as defined by the European experience of history, Europe in this sense then became the centre of the world (Ngugi in Musa, 2012: 7). Admittedly, this became a crucial part of colonization which even today, continues to alienate Africans from their own languages, religions, environments and cultures (Musa, 2012:7). This leaves the African with an identity crisis or a dual identity.

Further, Ngugi (Musa, 2012: 6) shows “the role of the Bible to be equally central when he notes that both Shakespeare and Jesus brought light to the darkest Africa” this, as a matter of

interpretation, assumes that Africa was a dark continent in the beginning. Ngugi recalls his colonial-era teacher who used to tell them that Jesus and Shakespeare used very simple English. This also assumes that, like Shakespeare, Jesus spoke English. The English language is therefore seen as drenched with Christian ideas, which is to say that we see things, perspectives, experiences, events and the Bible itself through a colonial gaze, which fails to make a distinction between the English culture and Christianity or believing (Musa, 2012: 8-9).

In the same way that Ngugi understands colonization and the use of language and importance of literature, Mudimbe (1988: 1) looks at the "scramble and invention of Africa" as a result of European colonialism which occurred in the late ninetieth and mid-twentieth century's. Mudimbe (1994: 1) argues that since the fifteenth century, "the idea of Africa has mingled together new scientific and ideological interpretations with the semantic fields of concepts such as primitivism and savagery" which assumes that these are inferior to the other. For Mudimbe (1988: 1) colonialism or colonization means "organization" or "arrangement" which comes from the Latin word *colere* meaning to "cultivate" or "design" which is indeed what colonization has done, by cultivating and designing non-European areas in its own image. Mudimbe (1988: 2) argues that this construction and invention of Africa was conquered through the Bible, "its Western readers and its institutions were formed into mosaics of colonizing structures." The colonizing structures, for Mudimbe, are the procedures and the policies that advocate for the domination of space, the reformation of natives' minds and the integration of the local economic histories into Western perspectives" (Mudimbe, 1988: 2).

This conquest involved many actors such as "explorers, soldiers, traders, anthropologists, missionaries, scientists and map-makers –positions that were sometimes held by one individual as the case of David Livingstone." (Mudimbe, 1988: 3) All these actors collected, constructed, and distributed a discourse of "African Otherness" (Said, 1994; Mudimbe, 1988). On the basis of their constructions, policies were drawn to justify the imperial suppression of Africa (Mudimbe, 1988). In the colonial suppression of Africa, Mudimbe gives the missionary the centre stage; he believes that this played a major and critical role (Musa, 2012: 9). The problem here for Mudimbe (1988) is that as this civilization developed, "it submitted the world to its memory; but at the same time, it seemed itself to be sanctioned by and to produce the most unimaginable evils a mad-person could have imagined" (Mudimbe, 1994: 5).

It is evident that Africans rejected colonization in its many fragments particularly through Christianity. Most literary and philosophy writers agree that the Bible has had a central role in the lives of many Africans. Through Oral history a famous story of the experience between Africans and the Bible is narrated; "when the white man came to our country he had the Bible and we had the land. The white said to us 'let us pray'. After the prayer, the white man had the land and we had the Bible" (Mofokeng, 1988: 34 in Musa 2012: 3). Brown extends that, "any scholar who aspires to "think in black about the African (sub) continent has to learn also to think biblically" (Brown 2008b, 81-1 in Sithole, 2015: 193). This African narrative validates that the Bible is one of the major texts that imperialism used for the success and development of colonization. Hence Said (1993: 68), insists that "modern imperialism was so global and all Bible encompassing that virtually nothing escaped it…" seeing that the Bible has now become one of most read texts in Africa particularly, the question then lies, how do we read the Bible today? How do we further attempt to decolonize it?

West (1999: 65) stated that there is a need or an important task that awaits Africans and their relation to the Bible, in a sense West (1999: 65) puts forward the need for Africans to find a way to experience the Bible through their eyes and not how it has been interpreted by missionaries. With this important task that awaits the African hermeneutics it is therefore premature for Sithole (2011: 209), to argue that Shembe and his cohort used "a sermon setting to claim the Bible for Africa, appropriating it to his (African) context and underscoring its relation to the African continent while at the same time rejecting it as a foreign text." He further argues that "this simultaneous appropriation and ejection of the Bible defies a simplistic notion of the Bible as the word of God, and echoes Malukele's assertion that while African Christians may mouth the "Bible-is-equal-to-the-word-of-God formula, they are actually creatively pragmatic and selective in their use of the Bible so that the Bible may enhance rather than frustrate their struggles" (Sithole, 2011: 210)

Isaiah Shembe has been bold in not only reclaiming religion (the concept of believing in a supreme being in this instance) for the Zulus, but also has found a way as Ngugi admires to use the weapon that colonialist used to "get back to them." Here is a "Zulu-ized" religion as Vilakazi sings praises to it and argues that "Shembe has absorbed into his world view what is adaptable to it, and he stands at the centre so that his followers maintain, the only difference between the two

men (Christ and Shembe), they say, is that one was white and the other was black" (Vilakazi, 1962: 90). However, Isaiah Shembe's doctrine is not founded on the Bible as a whole, he rejects the New Testament and keeps the law book presented in Exodus as it provides a practical way of understanding society, a way which Shembe has always followed, and as he believes the silenced notion of the practicality of the law is reason enough for him to reject Western Christianity.

Moreover, Sithole brings the notion of "re-remembering" and "indigenous hermeneutics" together in order to understand the ways in which the church interprets the Bible. "Neo-indigenous hermeneutics" brings together traditional interpretive as well as missionary/colonial methods. For example, marabi (South African jazz) as a metaphor for "neo-traditional" hermeneutics, which Christopher Ballentine (1993), views as a metaphor for biblical interpretation are examples from Comaroff (1985: 253-254) of "those purposive acts of reconstruction in which native people have created a middle ground between a displaced traditional order and a modern world." This is further alienates the individual. It however, becomes interesting how; Isaiah Shembe and his successors interpret this text. According to Sithole (2011: 208), J.G. Shembe, Isaiah Shembe's successor does not adhere to the Western way of interpreting the Bible, he, following Isaiah Shembe presents it as an African inspired text, while denouncing it as a foreign text.

The point here is that by Isaiah Shembe by not using the whole Bible, he believes that the only book that explains his visions is the book of Exodus, where he can relate to the story of Moses and also where there are laws of how he should lead his people, these to him are practical lived experiences of encounters with God himself and deliverance. At the centre of the book of Exodus particularly the law is the notion of time, work and space, which is what capitalism through colonization used in order to dominate and change the way in which the Zulu people functioned in their society.

3.7. The commodification of time and work

Atkins (1988) sees an important relationship between work and time. Atkins (1988) explores the notion of time as the fundamental tool used to implement colonial ideas. She argues that the commodification of time became a useful tool for capitalism in that it opened avenues of waged

work, a practice which was foreign in the Zulu society at the time. This was reinforced by the introduction of white missionaries who through the misuse of Biblical hermeneutics for their self-gratification, they (colonialists) justified the issues of temporality as a 'moral code' to promote a good work ethic (a good industrial work ethic) from individuals. Weber (1904) elaborates that this made it easier for capitalism to expand. Following this logic, it is no wonder that Weber sees religion and religious groups playing a role in creating what he calls a 'capitalist spirit' (Weber, 1904). Weber argues that the religious ideas of groups such as "Calvinists" played a role in creating this "capitalist spirit." Weber (1904) saw the correlation between being "Protestant and being involved in business, and declared his intent to explore religion as a potential cause of the modern economic conditions." He further argued that the modern "spirit of capitalism" sees profit as an end in itself and pursuing profit as virtuous. By the use of temporality (the past, the present and future) religion gives an individual a "sense of predestination." This means that the individual is able measure if he is in God's favour or not, and through hard work, driven by the worldly materialistic standard of profit making as an achievement is enough to get individuals to have an excellent work ethic. In this way, (Marx 1848 in Sewell 2008: 524) capitalism moves endlessly, "from its money form, to its commodity form, and back again to its money form with the amount enhanced by profit" where everything and anything for that matter is "exchangeable for everything else" (Marx 1848, in Sewell 2008: 524). Although this is true, by following the argument of class in order to bridge the gap of inequality it only reinforces them, the main issue especially in South Africa remains the racial one, where black people remain segregated, although it may not be physically so.

Labour from a black Marxist perspective

Robinson (1983: 1), critiques the notion of what he calls, Western Marxism, which he believes has shaped the outlook we have on work and society. For Robinson (1983) Western Marxism failed to realize not only the racial character of capitalism but also the civilization in which it was born. Black Marxism as it is known, challenges our 'common sense' about the history of 'modernity', 'nationalism', 'capitalism', 'racial ideology' and the origins of Western racism. The point is that these 'wretched of the earth' are in fact a product of cultural logics and epistemologies of the oppressed as well as the specific racial and cultural forms of domination, in a sense Robinson argues that race is in fact a social construction. Robinson (1983: 2) not only

exposes the limits of historical materialism as a way of understanding 'black' experience but also reveals that the roots of western racism took hold in European civilization long before the dawn of capitalism.

Whiteness or racialization began with Europe itself long before Europe encountered what was called the 'Dark Ages' (Robinson, 1983: 4). Immigrant workers at that time were placed at the bottom of the racial ladder and considered as the lower marginal class. By looking back at this, Robinson (1983) shows how racialization did not only stem from the premodern European roots but also capitalism. He challenges the fact that capitalism was a revolutionary negation of feudalism; he explained that it emerged within the feudal order (Robinson, 1983). In this way it would be arbitrary for Robinson (1989) to break capitalism and racism from its logical roots, as it evolved from it in order to produce a modern world system of racial capitalism dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism and genocide (the lynching of black people).

The Irish working class, for example, exposed the myth of a universal proletariat, just as the Irish were products of popular traditions born and bred under colonialism; the English working class of the colonizing British Isles was formed by the Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, a racial ideology shared across class lines that allowed the English bourgeoisie to mistreat the Irish (Robinson, 1983: 8). This form of racialization was not only invented by the ruling class to divide and conquer but also aimed at shaping the process of proletarianization and the formation of the working class consciousness. Socialism was then born as a strategy to combat social inequality. Robinson argues that European scholars worked hard to rewrite the history of the ancient world (Robinson, 1983). This was done in anticipation of Black Athena by Martin Bernal, the roots of civilization and building on the pioneering scholarship which disavowed interdependence between Greece and North Africa (Robinson, 1983). They wiped out the intellectual and cultural contributions of Egypt and Nubia from European history to whiten the West in order to maintain the purity of the European race. Black Marxism then serves as a reminder of the exorcising of the Black Mediterranean and the fabrication of the Negro. Edward Said argues that the European project was in fact about the construction of the 'other' as he puts it the imaginary 'other' (Said, 2002)

European labour was thrown off the land and herded into a newly formed industrial order. African labour was drawn into the orbit of the world system through the transatlantic slave trade

(Robinson, 1983). European civilization through feudalism or the promising industrial order did not simply penetrate the African village culture (Robinson, 1983). Marx did not realize fully that the cargoes of labourers also contained African cultures, critical mixes and admixtures of language and thought of cosmology, metaphysics of habits and beliefs and morality, these were the actual terms of their humanity (Robinson, 1983). These cargoes then did not consist of intellectual isolates or 'de-culturated' black men, women and children separated from their previous universe (Robinson, 1983). African labour brought the past that had produced it and settled on it the first elements of consciousness and comprehension. African revolts were governed not by the Western critique but by a rejection of enslavement and racism. They were more intent on preserving the past, transforming society and overthrowing capitalism even if it meant death. However, despite these efforts, permanent unemployment, underemployment and homelessness for the black majority have become a permanent way of life (Robinson, 1983). For Robinson in relation to labour what is important is the way in which black people come to understand what it is, ways of seeing, and ways of worshipping in order to understand their own liberation. Belief systems play a pivotal role in this sense.

However, with the black majority longing for emancipation, Biko (1971) appealed for the emancipation of the mind first. Black Consciousness is in essence the realization by the black subject, of the need to rally together with his brothers and sisters, around the cause of their oppression (Biko, 1971). It is to embrace the blackness of their skin and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude (Biko, 1971). It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal' which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realization that by seeking to run away from them and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black consciousness therefore takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people, which He will come back to save from captivity (Steve Biko, 1971, Macqueen ,2011). One might argue then that this idea of consciousness and selfhood for Shembe is necessary in the quest for liberation.

The development of industrialisation was essential for capitalism as it introduced the idea of task presentation. This enabled cheap labour with the main incentive of products going to the market at a lower price. This was done to increase productivity by mass consumption and mass income.

However, in order for this to be achieved, dominant forms of control needed to be implemented when dealing with tasks, through processes of division of labour and the labour process in its entirety. Individuals here then see themselves as not being in control of time and therefore cannot afford to waste it (Weber, 1904, Thompson, 1967). Atkins (1988) examined the Nguni's temporal perceptions, by looking at them within the colonial context, through the shift from peasant to industrial time, by showing the central role mission churches played in this transition process.

Jean Comaroff (1985: 2) argues that "Christian missionaries served as a vanguard of colonialism among the peoples of the Southern African interior, introducing a mode of thought and practice which became engaged with indigenous social systems, triggering internal transformations in productive and power relations, and anticipating the more pervasive structural changes that were soon to follow". Importantly, for Atkins it is "the existence of a rich history of the nineteenth century African labour action (where until now the overwhelming assumption among historians has been that no such activity existed), much of which was related to the struggle over the definition of time" (Atkins, 1988: 15). The interpretation of time and its measurement was different for the Nguni's from that of the colonists. Atkins (1988:17) illustrates "moving beyond arid explanations of outside agencies to focus on some of the underlying cultural premises that ordered the day-to-day activities of northern Nguni communities." The Nguni's did not understand why and how day labour developed into a system which had set rules and regulations sanctioned by the government in 1874 (Atkins, 1988: 80).

The measure of value is purchased on time and a man may contract to buy and sell labour by the year, the month, the day or by the hour (Atkins, 1988: 81). Time here, was the connection of the 'kafir' (black) labour problem, where work and the master-servant contracts were based on the European measurement which clashed with the African mode of temporal reckoning. At the time, the moon and the stars were the only source used to measure and keep track of time (Atkins, 1988). An event for African people had to occur as an indication of the passing of time. With this then the tension between the two heightened when the Nguni's and the colonists failed to understand each other and the colonists were desperate to implement their ideas (Atkins, 1988). The idea of religion then became a mechanism to disseminate culture and carry forth the Western civilizing missions as a way to inculcate industry, the moral of steady work. "Our

natives will not be anything if they do not feel the propriety and necessity of formulating habits of industry and frugality, as their easy going ways do not furnish favourable soil for the Gospel" (Atkins, 1988: 83). Hence as Atkins (1988:83) states, that for the first missionaries such as Reverend Henry Callaway it became important "to make the Kefirs around (his mission station) to feel as much as possible the value of time, labour and skill".

The intensification of labour time and production led to the colonial implementation of signals which were used to measure time as it suited them. As Atkins (1988: 84) notes, "The hour of gunfire", for instance, "was altered to nine but as local lore has it, workers experienced difficulty phasing their inner timing mechanisms with the new starting hour of labour". This left the worker fatigued and unable to adjust to the changes, as their cycle was completely disrupted. However, Atkins adds that Monday in Zulu was appropriated as the "turning out to work day" (umsombuluko) Tuesday as work day-the second (olwesibili) and so on till Saturday which was named (umgqibelo) the completing day or a day of rest from work. Decisive progress towards an industrial regimen came with the imposition of the seven-day work/rest rhythm, a custom transmitted throughout a large part of the world by Christianity. Africans coming into contact with the missionaries were first taught the fourth Commandment, 'remember the Sabbath day'; thus Sabbath observation made it compulsory upon mistresses and masters to teach useful notions of the week, the week end and the time sequence of work days, which there were no words in Zulu at the time.

However, port employment was especially at the mercy of the seasons, and a busy day at Port Natal would commence at 7:00 am and end at 6:00 pm from the 1900's (Atkins, 1988: 88). From the 1880's, with improved shipping facilities the industry grew more labour intensive, meaning more labour time all week. These conditions gave rise to labour unrest, leading to industrial protests among dockhands of which disputes around time were the major grievances (Atkins, 1988: 89). "More than anything the sources convey that it was through the process of defining time as well as other concerns around their daily existence and in the course of struggling around these issues, that the Africans gained not only a new time sense but a greater understanding of their role in the workplace" (Atkins, 1988: 90).

Atkins here seems to suggest that through the commodification of time, rest or a day off as it were, is impossible to imagine as the Nguni's needed to make more money in order to survive.

This then gave rise to idea that “time is money” or “time is too precious a commodity to be undervalued...this is the golden chain on which hangs a massy eternity; the loss of time is insufferable because it’s irrecoverable” (Thompson, 1967: 90). The introduction of this ideology created a shift in the way in which work was understood; furthermore this awareness made people realize that the more time spent at work, the more money was made. Division of labour then became the core of production in order to produce more at the same time decreasing the value of the worker way of showing how one can be freed from poverty, bridge economic gaps and so forth through work, or rather emphasizing a consciousness perhaps that there is freedom through waged work. Thompson (1967: 92) stated that through the “division of labour; the supervision of labour; bells and clocks; money incentives, preaching and schoolings a new time-discipline was imposed.”

This further shows how time became a useful tool in the hands of colonialists and as such they came up with ways of ensuring that people used the clock time to work for them. This illustrated how capitalism was in fact always in motion. Waged labour in South Africa was then introduced as a way of making people work more under the ideology that, the more time one puts in at work the better the chances of bridging the economic gap.

3.8. Liberation through waged work

In South Africa, post-1994 waged labour or the idea of having dignified jobs for black worker’s became a huge part of the emancipatory project, according to Barchiesi. On the one hand, dignified jobs in this era, Barchiesi argues, were seen as a solution to “abysmal poverty, and inequality with their related, persistent risks of social explosion” (Barchiesi, 2011:2). Moreover, “work promised to infuse democratic citizenship in the new South Africa with unprecedented social and ethical inequalities” (Barchiesi, 2011: 4) framed hard work as a solution and way out of poverty. However, Barchiesi (2011: 7) sees both ‘work’ and ‘production’ as contrasting imageries where in the post-apartheid state, labour ideologies and ordinary citizenship are only but mere social claims.

The reality is that waged labour for the black majority is a humiliating, and violent state of affairs, which leads to poverty and uncertainty, especially ‘cheap black labour’ (Barchiesi ,2011). The apartheid government, justified the importance of having waged labour as something that

was not only a foundation of exclusive white citizenship but also a way to "teach citizens and natives alike that social virtue resided in hard work not in claiming public social provisions" (Barchiesi, 2011: 3). Social citizenship was the reward for hard work and productivity and fortification against laziness, unruliness and unrest, which could be seen as an extension of apartheid. This was problematic in a sense that waged labour was not a familiar concept for the black majority in as far as 'work' and hard work in particular, is concerned. It is true then as Barchiesi rightfully states, that black workers could not experience waged employment as part of decent human life. The persistent centrality of work as a solution to poverty and social exclusion has accompanied the condemnation of dependency on state and social programs in the government's discourse (Barchiesi, 2011: 14). The precariousness of black workers needs to be analysed as a social and existential reality filled with uncertainties and harmful unpredictability (Barchiesi, 2011: 15).

Kathi Weeks (2011) confronts the organization of work as an oppressive state of affairs, and thus dominates the social and political aspects of individuals. Weeks' (2011) discusses the problem with work by looking at both the quality and the quantity of work. Weeks' (2011) alludes to having a post-work society by dismantling the very nature of work. Weeks' (2011) argues that "the history of the imposition of waged labour and its dominant ethic is incomplete without a parallel history of rebellion and refusals" (Weeks. 2011: 81). The way in which Weeks understands the nature of work and the formation of the working class makes it clear as to why she sees the importance of dismantling work as it is. Of course this is similar to the way in which Marxism also comes to understand waged labour. In this view, the owners of the means of production exploit those without the means of production or rather as Marx puts it, the 'bourgeois' exploit the 'proletariat' as a way to maximize profits. Weeks then, starting from the nature of work, believes that individuals should exercise their agency by rebelling against the idea of work.

For Weeks (2011) then, the most popular post-capitalist alternative ascribed to Marxism is modernization. The central base of the critique of capital, in this view, is the problem of exploitation and the contradictory relationship between the relations and forces of production. In light of Marxism in Weeks (2011), concrete labour is the production of goods that have use value rather than abstract labour that produces exchange values. This is based on the assumption that

alienation is greater now than it was at the earlier stages of capitalist development, this is not the case in relation to the black majority, who have been alienated from birth. Class struggles for Marx, serve as the driving tool for achieving change: “The focus of this approach is on the collective as a unit of analysis and locus of political agency” (Weeks. 2011: 93).

Central to the problems with work, is the actual amount of time invested in working; a 30 hour full-time work week which does not affect a person’s income (because all members of society will be entitled to a basic income) frees up more time for other creative pursuits which are not a priority currently given the emphasis on waged labour. Weeks (2011) prescribes these remedies to a society she believes has placed work above everything else, dominating every public and private sphere of life. What Weeks (2011) hopes for is that these two reforms will result in our emancipation; especially for those members of the working class that are overworked reimagining the rules of engagement premised on wages and hours prompts Weeks (2011) to make the case for a universal basic income. Weeks’ then becomes important in this study as she contends the very idea of waged work which serves as an oppressive tool to those who do not own the means of production. Her notion of rebellion and refusal to work becomes part of what through the forcefully taken day off (Sabbath rest) by the Shembe Church illustrates this importance.

However, the fact that she considers herself a Marxist then for black Marxists excludes the racial oppression of work and thus does not relate their struggle for what it is but views it as a class struggle and therefore Western. This could be an example of what Black Theology argues to be the problem with white theology which does not speak to the oppression and exploitation of the black majority. With this, black Marxism is relevant as a way to illustrate how, central to class struggle is essentially a racial struggle which is in fact a black working class struggle who are particularly being currently oppressed.

3.9. A need for an African Philosophy as the foundation

Mbembe (2002) suggests that in order for Africans to regain this lost identity or even have an identity, they must move away from labelling the African as the victimized, traumatized, and vulnerable self, as a result of colonization. For example, black theology which came years after

the rise of African Independent churches, which in South Africa followed Steve Biko's notion of black consciousness, was founded by Cone (1969) on the narrative of Israelite slaves who need to be rescued as Cone (1969) suggests, and this illustrates Mbembe's concerns. This in a sense validates the oppression of black people now, with a hope of freedom in the future. It is only when the misrepresentation of Africans (as victims) comes to an end that the progression of the African continent will be possible (Mbembe, 2002). Mbembe, then, argues that Africans should form a new philosophy (African philosophy), pointing them in the direction of German philosophy and the Jewish Messianism as an ideal exemplar of grounded and true philosophy. This could be because of the way in which the German philosophy and Jewish Messianism have been successful in focusing on the subject, by making their suffering unique (Mbembe, 2002: 240).

However, as a result of the lingering effects of "coloniality of power" much of these African Independent churches were premised on Western theology and doctrine, the only difference was the presence of black leaders who spoke in vernacular only to reinforce white theology. This then became problematic to many Zulu's who were still coming to terms with the loss of their culture while trying to make sense of Christianity, many arguing that the black Christians "amakholwa" had sold out to white missionaries compromising their heritage and identity. This then leds to the debates between, Oosthuizen, Vilakazi and Sundkler regarding the category that iBandla lamaNazaretha should be placed. For Oosthuizen, amaNazaretha represented a "new religion distinct from Christianity" (Hexham, 1997: 364). Whereas, Sundkler and Vilakazi claim that amaNazaretha are "an authentic form of Christianity" (Hexham, 1997: 364). Whichever denomination one decides to place iBandla lamaNazaretha the main drive for Isaiah Shembe was to provide healing for the Zulu people, by bringing sanity to a nation that had gone insane as a result of colonization; and most importantly to regain the lost Zulu identity (traditionally and spiritually).

For Mbembe, it is essential for Africans to "re-conceptualize the notion of time" (Mbembe, 2002: 271), particularly, in its relation to "memory" and "subjectivity" (Mbembe, 2002: 272). The reality is that the present, or the time in which we live in now, is in itself "fractured" (Mbembe, 2002: 271). In other words, we are faced and threatened by a multiplicity of new challenges that need to be addressed. For instance, capitalism is a transnational problem which

neither Afro-radicalism nor Nativism can resolve. On the other hand, one could question the effectiveness of the subject, in particular, for black people, who are seen by the colour of their skins, and treated as inferior because of the European or imperial construction of race. Mbembe seems to be correct, nonetheless, that the time for Africans to play 'victim' has to end in order to capture the depth of the present and untangle its cluster, showing that "the only subjectivity is time" (Mbembe, 2002: 239).

With the understanding of society and how the changes brought about by colonization in general, through the lenses of Du Bois and his notion of double consciousness it is evident that what Vilakazi, Gunner, Sundkler and Oosthuizen did was embrace these binaries by writing and understanding the Shembe church as merely trying to regain a lost identity by forming a movement which is then classified as part of the African Independent churches which were neo-liberal in a sense. And in fact Mbembe is correct to suggest that there be an African philosophy to help shape a solid foundation for the day to day life of black people. And it is through rituals, transportation and transformation that black people, in a performative manner deal or face their struggles

3.10. Transportation, transformation

Rituals as defined by Richard (2006: 52) as "collective memories encoded into actions." Rituals are an important part of people's daily lives, in that they help people deal with "difficult transitions, ambivalent relationships, hierarchies, and desires that trouble, exceed, or violate the norms of daily lives" (Richard 2006: 52) This "act" or "play", temporarily gives people "a chance to experience the taboo, the excessive, and the risky. You can never be Oedipus or Cleopatra, for instance, but you can perform them through play." Rituals, in this sense, transport people into a "second reality", which is separate from ordinary life (Richard 2006: 52). This second reality is one where people can become themselves other than their daily selves. Goffman agrees and further adds that through rituals, individuals are constantly performing. He believes that people always imagine how they appear to others. They imagine their judgment of that appearance. They develop self-feeling based on the judgments of others (Goffman, 1969). They then modify and adjust their behaviour and communication in relation to the 'generalized other'

in our interactions (Goffman, 1969). In that sense humans behaviour is ritualized in order to establish rapport or connection with others (Goffman, 1969). According to Goffman then, life is a performance where individuals are on stage (metaphorically) and they are the actors (Goffman, 1969). The self is then the product of the dramatic interaction between actor and audience (Goffman, 1969).

Richard (2006) extends that, this performance allows "individuals to temporarily become or enact another; people perform actions different to what they do ordinarily." (Richard, 2006: 52) Thus, ritual and play transform people, either temporarily or permanently (Richard, 2006: 52). Moreover, people perform a number of rituals on a daily basis. "These range from religious rituals of everyday life, from the rituals of life roles to the rituals of each profession, from the rituals of politics and the judicial system to the rituals of business or home life." (Richard, 2006: 52) Many people equate ritual with religion and the sacred. In religion, rituals give form to the sacred; "furthermore they help communicate doctrine, communicating with prayer, open pathways to the supernatural, and mould individuals into communities; these may reside in, or be symbolized by gods or other superhuman beings" (Richard, 2006: 57).

However, performing rituals is not a new practice but it rather goes back to the very earliest periods of human cultural activity (Richard, 2006: 57). It is recorded that "numerous cave and burial sites dating back 20,000 -30, 000 years before the present show a ceremonial care with handling the dead as well as paintings and sculpting's that seem to be of ritual significance" (Richard, 2006: 57). Present day life throughout the world is filled with ritual observances. For example, some religious rituals are; "the Passover Seder of the Jews, the five daily prostrations towards Mecca of Muslims, the Roman Catholic Eucharist, the waving of a camphor flame at the climax of Hindu puja, the dances, songs, and utterances of a person possessed by an onxa of Umbanda or Candomble " (Richard, 2006: 59).

Formerly colonized and missionized peoples combine the religions of their homelands with what was imposed on them. In relation to iBandla lamaNazaretha as Sithole (2015, 195) notes Isaiah Shembe "mixed and blended Christian and African forms, many of the latter being downgraded and prohibited in mainstream churches" and as such Gunner (2001: 1) "sees the churches success in creating a religious presence which distinctively African as a force to be reckoned with social, religious and political terms." In essence then, Goffman (1969) argues that 'society is organized

on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social aspects has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way (Goffman, 1969). This, would be perhaps, what the iBandla lamaNazaretha, would have expected from society at the time it was formed. Furthermore, such performances are at the heart of communication. We infer attitudes by our knowledge of the other and their behaviour in subtle ways Goffman (1969) concludes.

The structure of society is maintained by rituals, they develop their 'social face', where conversations are a ritual, a shared reality and these are acted out in terms of what is socially acceptable (Goffman, 1969). For Goffman the real self is formed backstage, at home, in the bedroom. Here we are not presenting the self but rather we are preparing it, constructing it for the front stage (Goffman, 1969).

3.11. Rituals as liminal performances

"Everywhere people mark the passing from one life stage to another; birth, social puberty, marriage, parenthood, social advancement, job specialization, retirement, and death" (Turner, 1969: 66). Gennep in Turner (1969) noted that these "rites of passage" move through three phases: the "pre-liminal", the "liminal," and "post-liminal." The key phase being the liminal, which is the period and time when a person is "betwixt" or "between" social categories or personal identities, during the liminal phase, the work of "rites of passage" takes place (Turner, 1969). At this time, "in specially marked spaces, transitions and transformations occur" (Turner, 1969: 66). For Turner (1969) the liminal phase is when there is a possibility for ritual to be "creative, to make new situations, identities, and social realities." Moreover, "liminal entities" are "neither here nor there"; they are "betwixt or between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions." (Turner, 1969: 66)

Ultimately, what becomes evident is that black people by turning to rituals and performances are finding ways to act out their struggles in a sense that it allows them to cope by being transported to a world that is outside the current as a way of escape. This not only indicates the depth of their identity struggle but also shows how they are often times caught between two worlds. In the one

they are forced to live according to standards imposed on them, in the other they are free from oppression.

4.1Chapter 4

Understanding the problem of double consciousness which is largely a problem of blackness as a result of colonization

Introduction

This chapter presents the problem of identity which most black people grappled with as a result of colonisation. By identity here, I mean, the legitimate personal trait which every individual has and in Zululand, at the time, it was a common trait with every other individual in the larger community, with each individual coming together with what they have for the common good of everyone (Nkosi, 2015: 16). In Zululand, particularly, the rapid growth of white Christianity marginalised the Zulu culture by introducing its own culture, which is a capitalistic culture, which promotes among other things, individualism. This challenged the Zulu people's traditional religiosity, leaving them in a state of "double consciousness" which is largely a problem of blackness as Du Bois puts it. I am aware of the debates among African scholars such as Masilea Ntongela, who argue against the use of Du Bois in the South African context, however, for the purposes of this study, I agree with Du Bois because during the time of Isaiah Shembe, it seems me that he also grappled with the problem of 'double consciousness' which came as a result of the introduction of colonisation. I use information from Ilanga laseNatal to help set the context in which the Zulu people understood their social position.

The findings in this chapter illustrate how white Christianity disoriented the Zulu tradition and culture as a whole, this is done by reviewing the conversations that the Zulu people were engaging in as a way to find a solution to this problem, by taking guidance from theories such as "Garveyism", "Washingtonism" and "DuBoisism" as a starting point towards defining and solving their own problem. To follow the lineage of discussions around black thought, it then proposes the theory of emancipation by Isaiah Shembe through his life journey, by completely rejecting the imposition of white civilisation and culture, with this, for his followers he is believed to be the true way leading to emancipation by offering himself as a divine sacrifice to save his people from the bonds of colonisation. This is evident in one of the key slogans of the

church, which is written on stickers and placed on the doors of the Shembe followers, in their various homes, cars and so forth: *Shembe is the way*!

4.2. South Africa's problem: the People's opinion

With the rapid spread of western civilisation and Christianity in Zululand, a number of Zulu people were becoming educated, through western education, while a vast majority were adhering to the culture of Christianity. Writing to Ilanga laseNatal under the section "*People's Opinion*" on Friday, June 29, 1923: 6; Mkwanazi raises the questions of identity which comes a result of the society's transition from traditional and primitive to modern and civilised according to the standards set by colonisation:

> *"At this critical stage of Native development*, Mkwanazi (1923: 6) writes, *when they* (the Zulu people) *are no longer savages but not wholly civilised and likely to imbibe much which is not good for them and which may retard their national growth, it seems to us the great need of our people is good leadership.*

Here, Mkwanazi expresses that colonisation has done all it possibly could do in terms of developing black people into westernisation, Mkwanazi says that the natives are no longer savages because of the enlightenment brought about by colonisation and they are also not fully civilised because they will never be, because of the inequality gap that comes with colonisation, and also because of their own background as Africans it is not in their character to be fully Westernised, what is needed in order to help assist this predicament is good leadership. He adds that:

> *The army may be amenable to discipline and otherwise efficient but if it is at the mercy of unprincipled leaders the cause may be wrecked or lost. In the same way the Native people may be responsive to influences, if they are unwholesome ones, woe be to them. The condition of our American cousins and their leaders furnishes a good example of the kind of leaders that claim a following from their fellows. There may be many other shades and tinctures but to our sight at once appear three prominent names. 1. Garveyism 2. Duboism and 3. Washingtonism"* (Ilanga laseNatal, 1923)

He further engages with ways in which leaders around the world have tried to come up with ideas as to how this could be possibly resolved. This further shows how they (the natives) are looking for alternative ways to deal with the problem of blackness. By looking at the theories presented by American thinkers such as Marcus Garvey, Du Bois and Booker T. Washington illustrates how they were on a quest to come up with an African philosophy as a way to begin to think of their own emancipation. The author continues,

> *"At this distance we cannot be familiar with all of their various cults and principles but the first, Garveyism, as we understand it stands for the freedom of the Negro or Native from all European rule and that the European should at once give them all the rights of a sovereign people and evacuate to them a large portion, if not the whole, of Africa, their ancestral country. Mr Garvey has given himself high-sounding titles and conferred the same to some of his follower whom as far as we have heard seem complacent and contented with their aerial honours and castles in the air. He also posed as an economic expert and organised gigantic schemes to make his people rich in a few years. The latest news from the United States is that he has been sentenced to five years in penitentiary."*

Mkwanazi, though disagreeing perhaps, with the methods and the ideology with which Garvey uses in order to gain emancipation, what becomes clear is that black people were beginning to realise the inequality which came with colonization and were gaining a sense of wanting independence which they rightfully deserve by virtue of being human beings too.

> *The second leader is DuBois, who was an opponent of Dr Booker T. Washington, and Garvey and aimed at the recognition of the Negro by the Europeans as an equal participant in the blessings of civilization which has largely been the product of the European's brains the latter will not readily give up what to them is theirs by right of acquirement by discovery, labour and industry.*

Further, Du Bois in declaration of human rights extends:

> *"I do not doubt that the ultimate art of coming from black folk is going to be just as beautiful, and beautiful largely in the same ways, as art that comes from white folk or yellow, or red; but the point today is that until the art of the black folk compels recognition they will not be rated as humans"* (Du Bois in Gilroy, 1926, 55)

DuBois here, is understood to say that black people should fight for equality for all, like the Europeans in order to live descent lives

> *But of the three to our minds the third that is Washingtonism, that is, the principles and methods of the late Dr Booker T. Washington, seems the best to follow inasmuch as it is the safest and most productive of permanency and lasting good. These are that the power and intellects of the white is fully recognized and faith is put upon Negro or Native ability to help himself and gradually to rise in the scale of civilisation along sane lines.*

Booker T. Washington is understood as arguing for black people to believe in his/her own capabilities to be just as civilised. So the point here is to show that the Zulu people especially the "educated" were conscious about their condition and were actively having conversations about this condition as a starting point towards a greater end of emancipation. They are grateful to receive the knowledge that they have, but this knowledge should help them towards their freedom. Additionally, showing how in fact the notion of black consciousness does not begin with Steve Biko, people have long been conscious of their state and are seeking practical ways of dealing with these issues.

Moreover, while some were having conversations of decolonization, others recognized the positive effects of colonization and argued for both white and black people to work hand in hand for the common good of people. Writing to Ilanga laseNatal Mahambehala (1923) comments:

> *Dear Sir I hope you will not mind inserting the following in your National Zulu Organ in Ilanga laseNatal, Yes, the sun of civilisation, the sun of Evangelisation and Christianisation of the Garden Province, the sun of the Enlightenment and Awakening of the bulk of our Celestial people, of our iZulu nation, has already risen and with rapid steps, nay, with leaps and bounds, has left the horizon and reached the half-mid-day bright light of the modern civilisation. Signs of this onwards movement in the march of progress are not wanting, although they are still isolated and rather sporadic in their manifestations.*
>
> *It is really a sign of the times that even at this early stage of Native civilisation and Educational and Social Progress, we already count such enlightened and educated men as J.L Dube, C. Dube, Selby Msimang, P. Seme, A. Mangena, H. Poswayo and etc. these*

men are few indeed, when compared with the bulk of our people who still grope in the darkness of ignorance and in the shadow of death; but they are valuable in the highest degree in showing the latent and dormant potentialities of the African People. This small nucleus of native leaders and pioneers in the civilisation Expedition must after long wanderings and blunders land the African Nation somewhere. The European civilisation itself was not built in one day, but took thousands of years to mould and to shape, and still, it is very far from being consummate. Thus, we need not be perturbed by such foolish diatribes as "The Kafir is always a Kafir" backveldt policy, as expounded in the 'Natal Witness' by Mr Whiteman of Estcourt.

We contend that civilisation which is admittedly helpful to the Whiteman cannot be useless or harmful for the African. Only the impossibility of having it both ways is being proven by Mr Whiteman and Mr Blackman. Civilisation is spotless and immaculate. It is its prejudice and biased, one-sided and partial application to concrete cases that is absolutely impossible by both white and black. The Whiteman says: you, Mr Black man are a savage and a barbarian; you should not partake of the European Civilisation in the same degree as myself, a born civilised man. That Whiteman is jealous of that Black man becoming civilised. He would like to see the Blackman remaining a savage and a tool in the hands of the civilised Whiteman. This is impossible with the existence of rationability consequent to human nature in the black man"

Ultimately, what Mahambelala is putting forth is that, to him it is nonsensical that both the black man and the white man is fighting to be equals, when they are not of the same social standing to begin with. Firstly, he argues, for the black man there is a false thought that by virtue of being in contact with the white man he is able to absorb and adopt civilisation, "in a twinkling of an eye" he adds (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). It has taken Europe years to become civilised and equally so it will take them years to civilise the black man (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). Further, it has been scientifically established that nations have been longer in the stages of barbarianism than civilised (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). "There is an attenuation of the Native forestalling his time of civilisation and of his premature eagerness to equal his white fellowmen, when the white man proceeded step by step with the infant-stages of civilisation" (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). The African is overtaken by consummate civilisation and is making for lost time in over-hurried steps

to reach the flying Whiteman (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). There is then a problem between the two. The one forces the other not to run pass him and the other notices how he is being exploited and desperately wants it to end. For Mahabehlala, it is impossible to have it both ways. The white man cannot use the black man as an instrument and expect him not to emerge out of this stage.

"You cannot keep back the awakening and development of his human brains" (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). The only solution therefore of the twofold South African, the black and white problem, does not depend on one section separately but on both sections taken together. One cannot exist without the other, after the fact of the European occupation of South Africa has been accomplished (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). "The happiness and prosperity of South Africa's dual population, depends on common understanding, mutual help, combined action and cooperation of the two constituent sections" (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). All should come together for the common good of all, in their respective proportional capacities, he believes. "We hear some Europeans speak of White South Africa, of the white the white man's country, of white civilisation; such nonsensical talk is responsible for the more foolish similar echo of "return of Africa" "Mayibuye iAfrica" of native extremists" (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7).

"Certainly, if Europeans, who should know better talk or write of white South Africa are responsible for the reactionary Ethiopian movement on the part of the Native Africans" (Mahabehlala, 1923: 7). According to Hofmeyr and Pillay 1994: 159, Ethiopian Christianity was the indigenous response to western Christianity. "This is but application and expression of the principle of self-preservation misunderstood and misapplied. South Africa is so large that with good-will and common sense could live together, happily and prosperously". Lastly, misunderstandings and blunders may occur, but like clouds, they come and they go, without obfuscating the general view of essential interests of both races. Thus the two races ought always to remember that the clash of the interests pf the peoples is never real, but only seeming and apparent. Religion and civilisation can and do work together, Christian civilisation has made Europe what is it today; it is bound, all things being equal, to do the same for us. Thanks, therefore, to the Missionary Societies of all hues and colours, that brought to us, Africans, the good tidings of the Gospel, Divine Religion, Christian Civilisation, Economic and Social Development, Intellectual and Moral Improvement, Vision of a National Grandeur and a hopeful

expectation of a heavenly Home in Celestial City of God of all races (Mabonwabulwe ka Mahambehlala, Ilanga laseNatal, 1923: 7).

These debates between readers and writers to Ilanga laseNatal to set the context in which, as I suggest, Isaiah Shembe, finds himself, where he is also grappling with the problem of this dual South Africa. Though he believes that his movement is not politically affiliated, much of what the church practices through doctrinal writings and traditions is in response to the political dilemma that the country found itself in. Looking at the notion of Garveyism and its anti-European dependency, one could assume that this is where the source of inspiration comes from. However, in a recent interview with a spokesperson (Nkululeko Mthethwa) of iBandla lamaNazaretha on Power FM in 2016 was asked if the church perhaps followed the Garvey movement; he answered that Isaiah Shembe has always been apolitical and encouraged his followers not to be influenced or even be involved in politics (Nkhululeko Mthethwa, 2016 Power FM). Though it is true that they are not following Garveyism, it is also true that Isaiah Shembe like Garvey, DuBois and Washington sought to provide a feasible solution of this condition of double consciousness or the problem of blackness. What becomes evident and is in fact Isaiah Shembe's point of departure is the argument of active participation with civilisation brought about by white European settlers, for Shembe until black people rid themselves from the ways of Europeans they will never achieve complete emancipation.

4.2. The life of Isaiah Shembe

"Kukhona umfo onebandla lakhe okuthiwa uShembe. Isonto lakhe liqgoka ezimhlophe njengele Zioni engalibona eStanderton, namadoda uze uwabone ngezilevu ngoba agqoka afanisane nesifazane. Lomfo udume ngokuthi upilisa abagulayo. Umzi wakhe ungas'Ohlange angikafiki lapho ngobuya nginixoxele ngoba ngiyathanda ukubona lowo muzi womuntu" December, 23, 1926 Ilanga laseNatal

"There is a man who has a church called Shembe. The church wears white clothes like the Zionists that I saw in Standerton, the difference between the men and women is the long beard that the men have because they dress the same. This man is known for healing the sick. His house is in Ohlange, I have not gone there myself, but I will and will come back and tell you

about him once I have gone, because I am interested in finding out him and would love to see him."

Writing to Ilanga, Rollie Reggie (1926) writer here found out about Shembe and was interested in seeing what he does and finding out more about the practice and proceedings of the church. Through this it is evident that Shembe was unique in his doing people wanted to find out more about him and what the church does because it seemed different from what was done in other churches.

Following this, Isaiah Shembe being amongst the many that rejected missionaries and mainstream black Christianity, stuck to the African Traditional ways of life while preaching the existence of "uMveliqanqa" or "uNkulunkulu" who as he believed was not brought by missionaries therefore is not white. Though there is no specific date of the birth of Isaiah Shembe, the Zulu prophet who is also known as the great healer of "*iBandla lamaNazaretha"*, a Nazarite Baptist Church of South Africa (Dube, 1936). It is noted as 1867, by John Langalibalele Dube, a close friend, who was the writer and translator of Shembe's dreams, in his publication '*UShembe'* (1936). John Dube was the first to be called before Isaiah Shembe died; Dube (1936: 27) states that "*wayesegule isikhashana, waze washo wathi useyamuka emhlabeni, wathi makushelwe uRev John Dube abizwe azotshela konke ngefa lakhe nabantabakhe*" (he had been sick for a while, realizing that he will die soon, requested that John Dube be called so he can write down everything about his inheritance and his children).

According to Dube (1936: 27), on "*Ukufa kukaShembe (the death of Shembe)- ekuqaliseni kuka May 1935 uShembe wafa, wafela emzini wakhe Kwa-Zulu obizwa ngokuthi eseMkayidini, eduze nase-Richards Bay*" meaning Shembe died on May 2, 1935 at his home in a place called Mkhayidini near Richards Bay Kwa-Zulu- Natal, following a short illness. Dube (1936) adds that Shembe stated that he is about to die and cited a place ekuPhakameni where he wished to be buried. It has been narrated by his followers over the years that his last words were "my flesh is tired it will rest in the grave, but my spirit will rise up and be clothed in a new body. Forever I was born and forever I will be" (Nkhululeko Mthethwa, 2016 power FM). This has since then become the most recited words in iBandla lamaNazarethe, as it decided the rebirth or the new body which would carry the spirit of the great prophet or rather the next Shembe who would become the next prophet when the one dies. This serves a way of showing that his message and

mission will forever live. This declaration that although the old flesh might die one day, the very essence of Shembe remains in the new flesh through his son, Galilee Shembe, who took over after the passing of Isaiah Shembe.

This means for Vilakazi (1954: 57) that Isaiah Shembe will pass on his mantle, his important role and responsibility of power, which is to lead his people to emancipation, upon his son who will also pass it on to his son and it will be so from generation to generation. Vilakazi (1954: 57) further expresses that to the Zulu people this shows that the son is an extension of the father's personality an expression said: "ukuzala ukuzelula amathambo." (Vilakazi; 1954: 57; Oosthuizen, 1967: 5). "Ukuzala ukuzelula amathambo" in this way they do not worship a god that they do not see but with every passing time there exists Shembe who is practically and physically there which allows them to worship him believing that he is an extension of Isaiah Shembe. As Gunner (2005: 284) notes that "his influence persisted after his death in 1935 as church congregations continued to grow numerically, as new generations of church leaders drew on the memory of the church's founding father and used the texts Shembe had written and more than 200 hymns he had composed." As the world continues to exclude or impose a Westernised way of life upon black people, this place that Isaiah Shembe has created will forever provide solace and refuge for the Zulu people who continue to be marginalised in the society.

Moreover, according to Dube (1936: 2) Isaiah Shembe was a very sickly child, sickly not in a western sense of sickness where one gets treatment from the hospital for example, but sickly in a spiritual or traditional sense. He then later, after having answered to the numerous revelations or 'spiritual calling', that he had received as a young boy he grew to be a healthy man. As a young boy, Dube (1936) notes that he grew up in a farm in Harrismith where he worked as a farmer for white family, though he was born in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Here Isaiah Shembe transitions from a purely Zulu background to a white civilised background where he is exposed to the ways of the white culture and sees how black people live under the colonial influence by co-opting to his ways. He is then bothered by this and spends half of his young life rejecting this life. He would during the day work in the fields and later go to the mountains or find a secret place where he communicated with God. This illustrates how he began himself to grapple with the problem of double consciousness by him being spiritually sickly until he accepted the calling of rejecting

westernisation by completely submitting to God and forming his own movement which is traditionally based.

Further, it is said that it was "through lightning that he received his call" (Dube, 1936: 21). Moreover, "in the thunderstorm a voice told him to shun '*ukuhlobonga*' meaning that he must shun from immorality, as a young man with four wives he was again admonished in a vision to cease immorality after he saw his own corpse in a rotten state" (Dube, 1936: 21). It is believed that he saw God when it was revealed to him again in a third vision that he should leave his four wives and he obeyed, although he almost committed suicide (Dube, 1936: 21). "He was finally convinced of his calling when, after he was burned by lightning, Jehovah asked him in a vision: "you care for your mother, do you not obey my word?" he left his mother also and refused to have lightening burns healed by medicine as Jehovah revealed to him that he should only be healed by his word" (Dube, 1936: 21).

This emphasises the depth of the colonial situation at the time, it shows how colonisation was beyond what any man could comprehend. The striking of lightning, and the voice to shun from immorality, symbolises how Isaiah Shembe had an idea to free his people from these elements of life and environment which was beyond his ordinary comprehension. Though most religion is driven by faith, which is the belief of the unknown and things hoped for, the Zulu or African culture opposes this kind of belief. Following the way in which the Nguni people measured time through what they practically saw (moon), highlights how they are people of events, when a certain event has not occurred to them time has not passed. Isaiah Shembe being struck by what he practically saw, and further the practical and literal observance of the Sabbath emphasis this event based and practical based tradition of African people, the notion of "seeing is believing".

Thus, Isaiah Shembe's way of healing differed slightly from an average '*sangoma*' (Gunner, 2001). "*Zela abantu abagulayo ngaphambi kokuba ngibapatizwe kwa-fika umoyeni wami lelozwi ngokuba nami uqobo ngangiyiseguli ngelashwa inyanga. Sengiyeke – mganilandisa ngayo nokuyeka kwami imithi nezinyanga".* (I used to believe in 'isangoma' a traditional healer, I was also once ill and I realized that traditional healers will not completely solve my problems but a much greater power will do so). For Shembe traditional healers only healed the physical and not the mental condition of individuals. He then says that he stopped going to them and started healing people through prayer, which frees people also mentally and spiritually. As a seer or

'*oboniswayo*', he believed that it is through the literal and practical act of baptismal, among other things, that one could be healed far greater than an average person who gets healed through Western medicine (Dube, 1936). Through spiritual healing (baptismal) the idea of being made anew, the drinking of holy water and the use of natural medicine such as herbs shows how Shembe understands the body, as one which encompasses the mental, the physical and the spiritual, and in order for a holistic healing or emancipation all these need to be taken care of.

Isaiah Shembe was then baptised in 1906 by an African Baptist Church minister and later became a minister himself. The very idea of baptism, especially adult baptism is a symbol of healing-spiritual healing. The cleansing process signifies the notion of being made anew, where the old defiled self passes away or is done away with and a new self is resurrected. To reiterate this could be seen as a rebirth of Shembe from the defilement of the ideas and practices of colonisation, which is seen as immorality which is now cleansed through baptismal.

Though, through his refusal of using any form of technology coming from civilisation and doctrinal practice it became comical to those who viewed it and opposed but it provided refuge for those who grappled with the same issues as Isaiah Shembe did and hence he gained a large following. Dube (1936) records that: he had no interest in travelling by bus or train and opted to walk by foot or an ox-wagon, when travelling long distances. By 1911 the Zulu prophet and healer Isaiah Shembe attracted a number of people in Kwa-Zulu-Natal by his unique way of healing, through prayer, and holy water, and preservation of the Zulu culture that he gained a large following.

He interpreted the Bible, especially the Old Testament, which resembled for him that which he understood in his own society (Dube, 1936). And as Dube (1936), everyone admired him and wanted to follow him. He became so influential that people had an interest in meeting him and seeing what he does. As it is recorded by Dube that he was the first wealthy Zulu man the nation has ever seen, without obtaining the wealth from European settlers, people admired him for this and wanted to follow him. Reporting to Ilanga under the title uRev I.M. Shembe naba felokazi bakaDinuzulu Nkosi (Isaiah Shembe and the widowed women of Dinuzulu the king):

> *Loku kade belapha bafikisane nomfundisi uRev I Shembe ngako wathi uRev Shembe ekuPhakameni. Bala bafika babusa kakhulu. Wati uShembe baze bahlangane naye emzini*

> *wakhe oseJudia Kwa Zulu kwesika Mnyameni. Bala bafika khona. Umnomzane uMyameni wabapa imbuzi ebahlabisa ngemali ngo Oct. 4. Emva kwalokho uRev I. Shembe wabalisa ngokuthokoza kwakhe wabekha phambi kwabo imali eningi. Babonga kakhulu abafelokazi beNkosi* (November 2, 1923).
>
> *The widowed women of the king Dinuzulu came to Rev I. Shembe at Ekhuphakameni. They got there and had a blast. Then Shembe invited them to his home in Judia in Kwa Zulu Natal. They later went with Mnyameni, who gave them a goat and money to thank them on the 4th of October. After that I. Shembe told them how grateful he is for seeing them. He gave them a lot of money. The women thanked him and left.*

This was an important visit for Shembe by these women as they were the wives of the King Dinuzulu who had shaped the Zulu tradition before European civilisation emerged. Isaiah Shembe the carries the practices and traditional teachings of the Zulu people as inherited by the King. In many of his hymnals in fact, he sings praises to Dinuzulu, asking for him to shine his light upon them. The God that they serve as the church the same God that Dinuzulu worshiped. This indicates how influential Shembe was and most people in Zululand looked up to him and his teachings.

Hence, in his doctrine he writes:

> *iNazaretha aliyihambi imidlalo, amabhola, imidanso, amacece nemigangela. Alingeni ezinhlanganweni zemibangazwe (A Shembe follower does not attend social games, soccer matches; go out to parties and other social events. He/she does not take part in the political gatherings or meetings in the community)* - (Law no.9: 1).

Here, Isaiah Shembe begins by giving strict instruction to his followers not be a part of any social gathering outside of the church.

> Kuphela lihlonipha amakhosi noHulumeni okuwukuthi uma kukhona okufunwa amakhosi noma uhulumeni njengentela nje libanike libuye likhize uNkulunkulu. (Only, he/she respects the chiefs and the government, if there is anything the government or the chief needs, like tax, pay and goes back to worshipping God)- (Law no.9: 1).

Again, he is suggesting that the followers should in fact respect the government and pay their dues in order to avoid any arguments and discussions which may deter him/her from focussing on God. This could further be interpreted as Isaiah Shembe believing that it is unnecessary for his people to be involved in anything that involves the larger community which has now been westernised, from social events to political, governmental issues, in that way you do not get caught in this state of double consciousness but are focused on Shembe and his ways.

> Umuntu oyiNazaretha akawusebenzisi umuthi, uma eye esibhedlela wajova noma enzile okuthile okumeza angahlambuluki, akahlambuluke kuqala kumhlambululi wakhe bese eya esontweni. Futhi umuntu oliNazaretha akangcwatshwa ngebhokisi (A Shembe follower does not use medication, when he/she goes to the hospital and gets injected, he/she must go get cleansed at church by a church cleanser immediately after before going to church-further a Shembe follower does not get buried in coffin)- (Law 10 and 11).

So evidently for Isaiah Shembe, emancipation begins by complete rejection of western civilisation he again in the later laws emphasises this notion:

> *iNazaretha alihlanganyeli emicimbini yabantu abangakholwa. Alidleli nasezitsheni zabo ngoba bafuye izinja namkati badla nezingulube nazo zonke izinto ezingadliwa Ekuphakameni. Kuphela iNazaretha liyashumayela kubo* (A Shembe follower does not socialise with non-believers of the Shembe church, he/she does not share the same plate with them because they have cats and dogs and eat pork, which is not done Ekuphakameni. Only, he/she must minister to them about Shembe) - (Law 36)

In all, the problem of blackness, which is centred on the notion or questions of existence and the extent to which black people are given autonomy, is at play here. However, as Mbembe (2002) puts it, much is centred on the definitions of colonisation, slavery, and apartheid which will never give a true account of a true African philosophy. This through the political conversations that the people's opinion engaged in serves as a way to show how the Zulu people not only understood their condition, being caught between two conflicting worlds, but were also seeking ways to get out of this condition. It then becomes clear that Isaiah Shembe works on a belief system which acts not purely from a Zulu tradition, as a way of trying to restore and revitalize it,

as it is written, but rather deals with the broader understanding of what black emancipation is. For Isaiah Shembe, black emancipation begins by one not allowing oneself to be created into figments of other people's imagination, in this context, the European settler's imagination of how the Zulu society to be run following a European system and culture, on a mental level, a modern day black consciousness. In a physical sense, it begins by refusing to actively engage with the culture, habits and rituals of white European settlers. For him (Isaiah Shembe) the purpose is to solidify this identity so much so that it makes it easy for the Zulu people to stay true to it even in the presence of European colonisation

Chapter 5

The conception of the Sabbath rest as an alternative to the problem of work

"Baba ngicela isikalana ezinhleni zepepa lakho lodumo iLanga laseNatal. Ngibuze lombuzo kubafundi beLanga ukuthi lolusuku esisonta ngalo Ilona suku lwesikombisa olubalwe ezincwadini ezingcwele na? Fundani kuGenesis 2: 2-3; Exodus 20: 8-11. Exodus 13: 17 Det 5: 14- Lolusuku esisonta ngalo yilona olubhalwe kulezi zincwadi na? Ngi yafuna bakithi ningikhanyisele kahle ngalombuzo wami. Indlela ibuzwa kwaba phambili" March 5, 1926, Friday-*Obuza ngosuku lweSabatha* (asking about the Sabbath day).

Sir, I ask for an opportunity to write in your famous paper Ilanga laseNatal. I would like to ask a question to the readers of this prestigious paper, asking them about the day that we now worship on, is it the seventh day that is written in the book of Genesis and Exodus? I ask that the readers with shed some light on this matter. It is said that the way is asked to those in front.

This question indicates how the silenced notion of the Sabbath rest was not a concept which Isaiah Shembe made up for himself but rather indicates how the Sabbath rest as Atkins illustrates, has been a practice which the Nguni people knew and lived by before colonization. On this basis, this chapter presents the argument put forth by Isaiah Shembe of how by Western Christianity omitting the notion and practice of the Sabbath rest, which is now at the centre of his doctrine, is the main cause of the disorientation which the Zulu people are in. Through a certain kind of education that was introduced the knowledge of the Sabbath rest and the full understanding of work and the purpose of work disgruntled the unity and harmony which they had, by working together creatively and actively for the common good of everyone in the society. Further, for Isaiah Shembe, the Bible was never meant for black people however, the book of Exodus is the book which carries in it the practical ways which the society has been living by and should continue to live by. I analysis of the law in the book of Exodus which is often used by Isaiah Shembe and later his successors, in order to have a clearer understanding of the argument put forth by Isaiah Shembe.

5.2. The evolution stage of Bantu industries

Industry, whatever its stage may be has a very edifying influence on the character of the people. It elevates their intellectual and moral standards and eliminates among them such objectionable qualities as indolence sloth, and narrowmindedness, and pervades them with a spirit of common brotherhood and co-operation, which teaches them the useful lesson that no nation has ever risen to a respectable position but by making industry its first consideration. In fact the best kind of national education lies at the seat of industry. Industry was the first law of God to man, and our progenitors in the Garden of Eden were the first workers, ever since industry has been the chief source of our daily bread and butter and when all things shall fail; industry will still remain the mainstay of the world (Tsekiso, Friday, 29, 1926: 7)

> *Wayevama ukukhuluma ngomsebenzi uShembe, uthi akazi ukuthi kwenziwa yini abantu bangasebenzi balingise ama-Ndiya wona athola ukuzigcina endaweni encane. Abantu abaningi ababebunganyele kuye ekuphakameni wayevama ukubasebenzisa, babuthe amatye nehlabathi, nxa kwakiwe izindlu, abanye bakhe amanzi, abanye baxove udaka, bashaynele umuzi.*

Shembe spoke about work in most instances. He says that he does not understand why people do not want to work for themselves, but rather want to mimic Indians who work in closed and confined spaces. People worked hard in the farm and the mountain, cleaning and taking care of the land. (Dube, 1936: 32)

Following this, Isaiah Shembe did not believe in people working in factories. For Shembe this is not where black people are meant to work. Because of the space that enclosed and confined, it symbolises how working in such a space confines ones sense of creativity. The idea of enclosing people metaphorically means that they cannot think beyond the box for instance. This notion of space and freedom Isaiah Shembe emphasises by trying to show his people that there is so much more benefit when one works outside, where they can actively interact with the community at large and also work for the common good of others without being compressed and pushed by someone else's time. However, he had different duties for men and women. He believed that once

these two groups stick to what they are meant to does there will be harmony in the society. Women took care of men and men worked in the fields, and construction work.

> *Wayelikhulu inono, efundisa abantu bakhe ubunono obukhulu, umuzi ache wawuphatheke ngobunonoobukhulu izindlu zihlala zisindiswe, ezingadaywe ngamaplangwe nosemende zihlala zigezwa. Wayeshumayela njalo ngomsebenzi, ethi uNkulunkulu uthanda izikuthali nabantu abagezekile* (Dube, 1936: 32)

Shembe was a hygienic person; he taught his people how to take care of themselves with good hygiene. The women where lived knew that it was their duty to take care of him, by keeping his house clean at all times. He preached about work a great deal and believed God loved people who work. However, people who worked for themselves and not for others profitable gain.

For Isaiah Shembe, work should not be confined to a factory or under anyone's authority and time. He believed in hard work and complete determination for personal gain and not for another to profit. He argues in the statement above. Moreover, Isaiah Shembe believed as Atkins (1988) writes, that the seventh day of rest was changed by the Roman Catholics, who did so in order to make Africans follow their way, leaving the Africans original way of doing things. This he then justifies by saying that the very fact that missionaries want African people to work in factories and enclosed spaces is evident that they have a different God that they follow then that which came to Isaiah Shembe in visions. For Shembe, no man is meant to work for another, worse off doing his work to better his own needs. Shembe believes that God showed them how to work by creating something out of nothing; this not only highlighted the importance of creativity in ones work, but also promoted an idea working in order to enhance oneself. For example, people worked in the farms growing and taking care of plantations, building houses and so forth, this allowed them to be creative and did not imprison them in any way. When this free flow and creativity is exercised, the day of rest then makes sense. Because how does one rest when they have not worked hard and creatively?

5.3.The Sabbath Rest

Resolution no.2 Drink, Evil and Sunday Observance

"The following resolution was passed by the Transvaal interdenominational Native Ministers Union at 20 Phillips street Johannesburg on the 11th December 1925. That in view of the alarming increases of drunkenness and Sunday observance the 17th to the 21st of February 1926, be a season of prayer and humiliation. That during these days special meeting be held and efforts be made to arouse the public conscience regarding these evils. That the attendance of young people and leaders of Native thought be solicited, and further support this resolution"

This statement written on the newspaper further shows how the problem of the Sabbath rest and the Sunday Observance had become a huge problem among the Zulu people. The writer recognises that one people are indulging more in alcohol and not only that but they are also observing Sunday as a day of worship. The idea of drunkenness implies that people are no longer thinking straight by being sober minded and rational being, but they have become drunkards who no longer know the right way to follow and have no understanding of their surroundings as a result of colonisation. In the same light, Isaiah Shembe maintains a clear and sober mind, by rejecting Western Christianity and education which will lead to him being drunk and lose sight of the very essence of the Zulu society as he knows it.

Moreover, this debate on the Sabbath became so heightened that another Josiah Maphumulo writes to Ilanga laseNatal on Friday, January 18, 1926: 8 extensively expresses that the root of all this confusion is the kind of education that colonization teaches that leads to this indifference on critical issues which were once fundamental to the Zulu people:

> *We are taught that we have three powers in our souls: memory, will and understanding. These three powers are, as it were, shut up in the soul of every child when first it is born, into the world. But something is necessary in order to draw out these powers and give them their proper direction, and this makes up what we call the work of Education. The word from a Latin term which means to lead or to draw forth because the training of a man's soul is really the gradual bringing out of all his different powers. For we are not suppose that education consists merely in the teaching which a child receives at school.*

Whatever influence, good or bad, calls out his faculties, and teaches him how to use them, is to him education. Thus all men and women are more or less educated; they cannot exist with eyes and ears in a world full of varying objects, without receiving ideas and notions from what they see around them; and learning, by observation of others, is how they use their natural powers.

However, the education of rude nature is not sufficient to make men and women what his/her Creator designed that he/she should be. It acts very slowly and imperfectly, and only produces such results as are witnessed in wild and barbarous life-Western system. Savages are nature-educated men and women. They grow cunning and ingenious, and learn to catch animals that are suitable to serve them as food; they also make themselves crafts that can float them across rivers and seas and fashion for themselves garments out of leaves and skins. But they are never able to compel the great physical powers of nature to work in their service and for their own advantage, neither can they control and direct their own impulses and passions. Nations that are civilised are so precisely because they possess a higher kind of education. The ideas of other minds have been preserved for them, and have been communicated from one individual to another, and have been written down, and kept in these registers of other men's thoughts which we all call books so that as years roll on, the young start in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom furnished with all that has been already gained and laid up for them by the toil of those who have lived before; and each age adds to the stores thus laid up for succeeding generations.

Agreeing with Isaiah Shembe, Maphumulo believes that through the work of capitalism, people do not live out their full potential, the one which was given to them in the beginning. The idea of having someone think and draft a plan for you for the day, for instance, interferes with one's mental and creative development. This is blinded by the kind of education that is taught at an early stage in schools for instance, forcing people by wanting to get employment from someone else.

Education properly used, or true education, consists in training of all the powers of the soul. In the popular way in which we use the term, it is very often made to express the particular training of the intellect or the memory. If a man learns to

read and write, he is said to have some education, if in addition to this he has been taught Greek, Latin and Mathematics he is said to be well educated, and yet, in spite of his learning he may only be half educated after all. His intellect may have been developed, but his other powers may never yet been drawn out, his very intellect may have never been directed, nor shown on what it may most worthily employ its strength, and hence the man, with all his learning, may have less that will really serve his purpose than the nature taught savage from Africa.

He then recognises the gaps and inconsistencies that come with capitalism, one's that cannot be overlooked:

It is obvious, however, that every man does not stand in need of the same kind of education. A physician requires s different kind of teaching from a lawyer, a school master has to learn many things which would be quite useless to a farmer or a shoemaker. Of what use would it be to a farmer's wife is she perfectly well comprehended the whole solar system, and yet knew not how to make a shirt, or keep her husband's house in proper order. There are somethings that do not require the same kind of education, because all have not the same end to live for. The real end of man is not to be a carpenter, or a physician, or a lawyer; it is to know God, love God and serve God in this world and to be happy with Him forever. For without this thought in our minds how can we know in what direction our powers are to be let out, on what objects they are to be employed and to what purpose we shall use them? Unless memory shall be taught to think of God, and will to love him by resisting evil and resolving on what is good, and unless my understanding enlightened by faith shall have been directed to distinguish truth from false-hood-my education is imperfect, for surely that would be a sorry education by which the intellect had only been nurtured error. Never, therefore, let us fall into the common mistake of thinking man well educated simply he knows many things. Knowledge alone is not education any more than it is wisdom. Knowledge is merely information of the memory – a very useful part of education provided always that the facts so communicated be good and true; for

> *there may be knowledge of evil. It is evident that religion or religious influences are required in order to lead out all our powers, and shape them to their true end by training our whole intellectual and spiritual nature to be the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ*. January, Friday 18, 1924. (Josiah Maphumulo: 8)

With this in mind, Isaiah Shembe, by rejecting Western education, starts by dismissing the very day of worship that has been formally known as Sunday for most Christian followers. He argues using the book of Exodus to explain this concept. For Shembe, this book explains the structure with which the Zulu people lived by and believes that the New Testament in the Bible does not emphasise the important this structure hence, many Christian believers do not follow the Sabbath. 'Rest', for Isaiah Shembe, literally means inactivity, where individuals do not partake in any activity that they normally partake in for six days. The seventh day is important because it is a perfect number or a complete number in this weekly cycle it is a complete day. Here, the individual after having worked perfectly well is given a day of rest, a day to reflect and recuperate. White Christianity Sunday does allow for this to happen and it is thus not the day of rest that the Lord has put for his people. For Shembe, following the seven day cycle in the story of creation, he observes that God rested after he had done his work for the week:

> *And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day (Genesis 1: 31).*

This validates the fact that African people are people of events, when nothing has happened through what they see then time has not passed by for instance. Here African finds it difficult to accept among other things the fact that there is no day of rest.

Here, Isaiah Shembe further questions the notion of time that came with colonization, 12 midnight being the start of a new day, for Shembe citing Exodus does not make sense. When the sunsets for Isaiah Shembe that is the end of the day and a beginning of

a new day. This emphasises the notion that an event has occur for the Zulu's in order to see that time has passed. Moreover quoting further in creation Shembe explains,

> *"Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And the seventh day ended his work which he had made; and rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because in it he rested from all his work which God created and made* (Genesis 2: 1-2)

For Isaiah Shembe this signifies the standard with which human beings should live by. The example of God working hard for six days indicates that individuals should do the same. However, God in his divine wisdom knows that there will come a time when his children will be in a land that will be invaded by people who will teach them otherwise, cause confusion and lose the fundamental plan of the structure of society, in the book of Exodus it is written:

> *"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it Holy. Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, or thy son, or thy daughter, thy man-servant, or thy maidservant, or thy cattle nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.* (Exodus 20: 8-11)

Isaiah Shembe then founded the doctrine of "*ilanga lokuphumula*" (the Sabbath rest) and "*iBandla lamaNazaretha*" on this law in the book of Exodus as a foundation and instruction to his people to maintain. As many have questioned, like the person who wrote in to Ilanga laseNatal asking about the Sabbath rest, shows how this practice was there before Christian civilisation and with the tension brought about by white Christianity the clash between it and traditional Zulu practices blurred the lines for them and thus for Shembe it was important to maintain this practice to show his people the way to go.

The observance of Sunday dismantles the Zulu time cycle and he believes it is foreign to the Zulu nation and was brought to them by missionaries as a way of oppressing Africans, which not only takes away the concept of rest but also gives a false instruction on what work is and how an individual should work. In his doctrine the first law that the members, who after having being baptised and accept the faith need to remember the Sabbath as it is written in the Bible, more so, the members should not partake in any activities that will require manual labour, no one should bath after sunset on Sabbath, no one should cook on Sabbath. This becomes a reminder on Sabbath through sermons and through the hymns.

> *Ukhethe inkosi, uthenge umNazaretha, uthathe ithikithi, uvume izono, ubhajadiswe. Uvula amasango omuzi wasEkuphameni. Ugcine isabatha, geza umzimba wakho ntambama ngolwesihlanu, ucishe umlilo ukushona kwelanga udle ukudla okubandayo ngosuku lwesabatha, uze ubase umlilo ukushona kwelanga ngesabatha* - You choose the Lord, by choosing the Nazareth church, confess your sins and get baptized. Open the gates of the holy city, and keep the Sabbath, wash your body on Friday night, and turn off the stove (no cooking) on the Sabbath, eat cold food and only cook after the sunsets on Sabbath - (*Imithetho yasEkuphakameni yomProphet Isaiah Shembe*: The doctrine of the Shembe Church by Isaiah Shembe).

This is the first law written in the doctrine book of the Shembe church, Isaiah Shembe starts off by giving a clear instruction of how an individual who accepts the faith should live. He mentions how one should confess his/her sins, not just sins in a spiritual sense but also doing away with the beliefs and ways of western Christianity through baptismal (being cleansed through the water) and coming out as a new being mentally. He further gives a strict instruction of what should happen on the Sabbath day, no one should do their daily activities when the sun has set on Friday. No cooking, no bathing, one should be prepared before the sunset and the focus should be on partaking the in complete rest and bringing thanksgiving and glory at the holy city.

Moreover,

> *“Waqala eshumayela ngeSonto, wahamba wahamba, waguquka wathi uMgqibelo Ilona langa lokusonta, uNkhulunkhulu asebenza waphumla ngoMgqibelo, lelisonto laqanjwa amaRoma. Sonke lesikathi wayequba ngehlelo lase Baptist Church. Uthe lapho eseguqula iSonto liba ngoMgqibelo waye sefaka ubuNazaretha.” (Dube, 1936: 4)* He because of the Baptist background, started by preaching in a Sunday, he then realized that Saturday is in fact a day in God rested, Sunday observance came with the Roman Catholics.

> *“Umuntu onjengoShembe noma sikholwa noma singakholwa inqubo aquba ngayo, kufanele abantu bezwe ngaye. Akuqali ngaye ukwenza izinto ezehlukileyo kwezijwayelekileyo. Abanye basola isenzo sakhe sokuhlubulisa isifazane izingubo zesilungu, sibince okwemvelo yaso. Abanye basola ukuvumela kwakhe isithembu, nenqubo abequba ngayo iBandla lakhe lama Nazaretha.” (Dube, 1936: 10) A person like Shembe whether you believe in his teachings or not people listened to him. It does not start with him to do something out of the ordinary. Some people doubt the fact that he refuses for woman to wear Western clothes (follow the western fashion) and wear traditional clothing, some doubt his agreement of polygamy and the way the church functions.*

For most people because of his strong non-conformist character, they did not want to follow him but rather wanted to do things in a way they were not taught by missionaries.

The narrative of Shembe is always told in a sermon of every sermon particularly on the Sabbath day as a way to remind people of why they are following the movement, and as the preacher explained, it is important to do so in order to get rid of the false narrative that people have about Isaiah Shembe. Though with the most recent sermons this is not the exact words used but different people narrate it differently, some shorter than this, some longer, but all do tell the narrative on the day.

There was an English Bible in the farm where he worked. Because of his healing ability people mistook him for a "sangoma" but he was not a sangoma because sangomas did not know how to pray and he did. The young lady saw him looking at the Bible and asked him if he knew what it was and he said no, and the lady said it is a book which has news from God. He then had heart palpitations because he thought about the God he always meets on the mountains. From that time on he waited, wanting to know what the Bible has, while he was waiting God came to him and taught him the Bible in Zulu. He read the Bible through vision. And the vision told him where to go to get the actual book. He went to a Wesleyan church and he read it. The Bible was then always with him, when he did not understand what God had said in a vision, God would tell him to read a particular verse, and he would read it and understand. He then founded the church under three foundations. 1. The Law of Moses in the Old Testament. 2. The law of love by Jesus teaching, mercy, respect and forgiveness. 3. The African tradition that does not go against the law of God. The Law of Moses therefore cannot be changed.

God asked Shembe to come to earth to teach the laws of Moses. Why did Shembe incorporate the African tradition with the church? It is because the church and the doctrine did not come with outsides (colonizers). There was no missionary that taught Shembe but he was taught by God himself. The actual Bible is crucial because it supports God, which Shembe knew first who then taught him the Bible. Whereas the colonized Christians "amakholwa" know the Bible first, then the Bible teaches them God. The reason why ubuNazaretha is run the way it is, it is because it is African, God came to them directly, he did not make them step-children rather he spoke directly. In that way this covenant "isivumelwane" of the Nazarites is not "isivumelwane" a covenant between God and the children of Israel but rather is a covenant "isivumelwane" between God and the children of "Senzangakhona" (A Zulu chief and Shaka Zulu's father). When we pray, we do not call him God of Jerusalem "uNkhulunkulu waseJerusalem" but "uNkhulunkulu wasEkuphameni" God of Ekuphakameni. When we go to the mountain they do not to the mountain of Sinai but rather we go to the mountain of Nhlangakazi, why? Because God came directly to build a church there and it is not a sister church to any Christian church, this church was originally there even before Shembe.

> *Isaiah Shembe (in 1931) then said: I have lived with you for twenty five years, and yet you do not know who I am. I am old and I was there when Moses was called I was him, God was talking to me. It is beautiful where I am taking you. Though I am not going there myself, the prophet does not go up but lives on space forever. When the time comes he then remembers where he was I have come back five times through his sons. My spirit will always rise. Isaiah Shembe is a spirit who lives on space-it is this spirit that has been here for over one hundred years and does not die. In conclusion we are happy to have our own prophet (Shembe) who was not brought by nations.* [A brief history on the prophet Isaiah Shembe and amaNazaretha: 23/09/2001: Durban] a sermon preached on Sabbath.

The way in which the church sermons and overall proceedings of the Sabbath run, shows that the intention is not to preach about success, because it is something that they already have, provided their own definition of what it means to be successful, the aim is to emphasize the notion of the Sabbath rest recorded in the book of Exodus, as a way to remind the followers of the idea of work and how Isaiah Shembe as a true leader gave them emancipation by keeping this day as a space of recuperation.

6.1. Chapter 6

6.2 The Holy City: memory, space and rest

Isaiah Shembe in his journey identified a special landscape in the mountain he named Ekuphakameni, outside Durban in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, which he deems as a holy mountain where there is a connection between God and himself. As Gunner (2005: 281) puts it "this landscape transgressed the boundaries of colonial spatial divisions, and evoked meanings considered subversive by the state." However, Isaiah Shembe considered this space sacred and important for him and his followers. It is true as Gunner (2005: 284) further adds that the mountain in this sense represents or rather an interesting site for "memory, rhetoric and place" for Isaiah Shembe and his followers. Following this premise, this chapter presents the notion of space, memory and importance of rest for the Shembe church in the holy mountain of Ekuphakameni and also the place of worship on Sabbath day which normally at an isolated place, in any location under a tree or in a park. It further engages with the rituals and proceedings that occur in this space, which when the followers transition from their daily lives into this space it is as though they are liberated. The performances through singing and dance transport the followers into a different world. Their understanding of the place of worship and their outward appearance when entering into this space has an in-depth meaning attached to it, and is one of fundamental laws written in the doctrine.

Writing to Ilanga to February 12 (1926: 5), Cele notes "let us not forget that a black man shouldered the Cross to Calvary where the greatest emancipation the world has ever known was enacted for the salvation of mankind irrespective of race, colour and creed." In the same breathe, Isaiah Shembe like 'Christ' is sent to carry the Cross (the burden, the pain) of Zulu people up to the mountain at Ekuphakameni where the greatest emancipation from Western Christianity will take place, where the black will carry out his ambitions and aspirations of being what he was created to be by God. On this ground then Isaiah Shembe emerges as the true representative of God and a capable leader, aiming to liberate his people from white Christian civilisation.

6.2. The history of Ekuphakameni Mountain of Hlangakazi (The holy place)

Ekuphakameni Mountain meaning the holy place "was founded by Isaiah Shembe in 1914 and is 18 miles from Durban" (Dube, 1936: 29). When the followers of Isaiah Shembe go to the Mountain itself, it is for special occasions, like the January festival, the Easter weekend and the July festival. As written in the doctrine of the church these are very sacred holidays to make note of for the church:

> *12. Izinhlagano ezinkulu ziyalindelwa indoda iyaphuma endlini lapho ihlala khona nonkosikazi iye ekamu, uma kusekhaya iya kwenye indlu kuze kuvalwe imihlangano elandelayo; uJanuary, uJuly noOctober.* When it is close to the bi gatherings in January, July and October, it is important to prepare for these in advance, the man leaves his bedroom where he sleeps with his wife and moves to a separate room until the end of the gathering in order to remain purified.

The pilgrimage takes a number of days to reach to the top of the Mountain where there is dancing, singing, rhythmic drum beating which symbolises a form of ritual which the Shembe church follows. For Isaiah Shembe this space is meant to allow his followers to be visionary and transformed. This is a place where an individual is free to imagine and experience their own freedom a place where they can be who they want to be outside the influence of the larger community. Being overwhelmed with the transition in the society through colonization, Hofmeyer rightly puts that it is not surprising that Isaiah Shembe would create such a space for his people, because in it provides a new sense of spatial understanding, showing a new 'sense of place' which the Zulu people in this case are longing to have in order to define, express and experience their own emancipation.

Moreover, the sanctified mountain Ekuphakameni is equated to the holy place itself, perhaps where Moses had his calling. Isaiah Shembe describes it as *indlu ka Jehovah* (house of Jehovah). "He calls it *indlu ka Senzangakhona (the house of Senzangakhona a Zulu chief)* which he refers *ikhaya* (home) as a designation. This holy place has to be entered bare-footed" (Vilakazi, 1962), as he composes in hymn 111:

Abangafaki lutho

Ezinyaweni zabo

Wabalungisela ukungena

Endaweni eyingcwele

Those who put on nothing on their feet, you prepared them to enter into the holy place (Hymn 111). This is the reminiscence of Exodus 3. Shembe maintains that they (white missionaries) turn the house of Jehovah into a house of play by wearing shoes.

Bafika bathi yebo

Kulotshiwe kanjalo'

Nawe Kuphakama

Magquma as'Ohlange

"They have arrived and said yes, it is so written and you Kuphakama hillocks of uHlanga" (hymn 111).

Not only does he expresses this in the hymnal but also mentions it in his doctrine law number 3:

> *Ugcine izinsuku zesifungo (23 Nhalisuthi, 14 Jamegweni, 25 mKhosazane) uwunikelele uwuvule uwuvale. Uthenge imvunulo iphelele usine yonke imigidi. Keep the sworn days at heart, buy the church's prescribed traditional clothes and dance at all gatherings.*

Uma kungena iNkosi yasEkuphakameni esontweni, noma iphuma, noma uhlangana nayo guqa phansi ngamadolo ize ihlale phansi esihlalweni noma ize isithele lapho iyakhona. (When Shembe enters Ekuphakameni or when he leaves, and when you see him around, go down on your knees until he sits down or passes by)

On the Sabbath day, Isaiah Shembe's followers in Durban go to iNanda at Ekuphakameni where they spend the day on the Mountain. Those who cannot go to the Mountain and live in cities, for instance Johannesburg or Pretoria, they meet at the Park under a tree, where the come with a white painted stone to make a spot every morning, this symbolises the mountain. Here Shembe in the doctrine writes about how the followers should act and behave in this space, whether it is at the Mountain itself in Hlangakazi or any space in the city.

The followers should not wear shoes when going to the holy place, men wear animal skin underneath a white robe, and females wear a white rope for church. However, the most fundamental process of being in this space is to bring rest, and this is done through singing and dancing and preaching which unlike mainstream Christianity the kind of preaching done here is the reminder of the importance of the Sabbath rest, and the goodness of Isaiah Shembe. More so, as Brown (1999: 62), expresses "they provide a space for the interaction of orality and literacy in a way not readily available to more consciously literate church groups or individuals cut off from the public bodily aspects of performance"

As a result of the Shembe church being highly criticised, one could argue that the church then finds solaces in a space in which they created for themselves, a space that allows them to be who they want to be. This is done firstly, as a way to act out their grief towards the state or condition that the Zulu nation finds them-selves in, this is due to the rise of colonialism, which has taken away their inheritance and the world as they know it. Secondly, the very fact that they infuse African, Zulu traditions and rituals to their beliefs, and the westernized Bible, leaves them at the centre stage at all times. This leaves them at a liminal phase caught between social categories (acceptance of the western culture through missionaries), and their personal identity as the African Zulu culture.

At this time, in specially marked spaces (for Shembe in the mountains or under specific trees in the city), transitions and transformations occur. As mentioned above, the liminal phase is when there is a possibility for ritual to be creative, to make new situations, identities, and social realities. This, for "iBandla lamaNazaretha" then forms part of a ritual that they partake in on their chosen day of worship different from most mainstream Christians (apart from Seventh Day

Adventist), which helps them deal with the difficult transition and desires. The Sabbath day through the performance of music and dance allows them to experience this ordeal.

According to Oosthuizen (1967:1), Izihlabelelo zaManazaetha, the hymnal of the iBandla lamaNazaretha, "published for the first time in 1940 in isiZulu, is one of the most remarkable collections of indigenous hymns that have appeared on the continent of Africa and the most remarkable of its kind in South Africa." According to Gunner (2001, 5), the circulation of these hymns in writing, was a means of attesting to the presence of literacy within the individual and corporate life of church members. At the heart of Shembe's unique ritual were the hymns. The hymns are not only a prayer made by Isaiah Shembe himself, and which are later reiterated by his followers, but as Brown (1999: 63) believes that these hymnals show "works of bold appropriation and resistance." These hymns were all composed by Isaiah Shembe, as a prayer, a cry and also a longing for a world to come, or a second reality with which through the reading of the Bible extends that there is a world to come, which they now are preparing for.

As mentioned above, the Sabbath rest for them provides a space and time which allows for iBandla lamaNazaretha to be transported into a second reality. By singing this opening hymn on Sabbath morning, this idea is seen, Hymn number 212:

212. *Isihlabelelo Samakhulu amabili neshumi nambili*

1. *ISabatha nguZilili*
   Liyamseka uSimakade,
   Sivukile ngoku bakhonzi
   Masigcine iSabatha

2. *Simenyeziwe nguMenzi wethu*
   Sabelani bakhonzi,
   Isabatha lingu khiye
   Avuliwe amasango

Sabbath is the light; it is in accordance with the Lord we are now up brethren let us keep the Sabbath day holy. We have been called by our Creator respond brethren the Sabbath is the key that opens all gates.

These opening verses of hymn number 212, further express how joyous the experience of the entering into the Sabbath rest is for the Shembe church, how entering into this space moves them away from the reality with which they face. This shows how rituals transport people to a "second reality", and brings form to the sacred, doctrine; it moulds the individuals into communities. As Richard (2006) puts it, rituals are collective memories, in this case the church shares a common memory of the life of Isaiah Shembe, who according to their belief, gave himself up as their prophet to communicate with God, in order to free black people (Zulu people for them), from the mental shackles of colonization. Here a memory of their tradition and culture is acted or performed.

This is symbolized through song, dance and props (their traditional- animal skin for males and white ropes for women) which show how they have encoded this common memory through action. This then allows the performers (the followers of the Shembe church) a chance to experience the taboo, the excessive. Since it seems as though freedom for black people is farfetched, it only through finding solaces in ritual practices that transport them into a second reality, where they become stable in their instability experienced in their ordinary lives (westernization). It is as though they have entered into the liminal, where they are between personalities or social categories as Turner (1969) extrapolates. It is through song and dance the importance of rest as means of liberation, giving them the possibility to be creative, by formulating a new situation with their identity (untainted identity) and a new social reality.

Of all the commandments and ritual prohibitions the Sabbath is the most significant in the movement. It is often mentioned in iZihlabelelo (hymns). Isaiah Shembe attests the "he restored the observance of the Sabbath to the Zulu nation and the world" (Vilakazi, 1967: 103). Isaiah Shembe believes that the Sabbath day is the key to heaven which represents a form of freedom, a place where one day they will go and be liberated from all the troubles of the world. The Sabbath day is then a preview of what will happen in heaven. Isaiah sees himself as the direct link between God and the people, and the observance of the Sabbath is this key to enter into eternal rest. The observance of the Sabbath is taken so seriously such

that women in their special gatherings attire wear beads on their shoulders, aprons that go below the knees with texts printed “remember the Sabbath day to keep holy” around them.

According to these Scriptures the history of Bethlehem is the history of Ekuphakameni which is related to the Zulu history. The reference to Scriptures has a vagueness about it which however is not thus interpreted by illiterate and semi-illiterate people. Moreover, Shembe uses a legalistic approach to interpret the word through the commandments. The moralistic-legalistic interpretation of Scripture opens up the way for such a development in a society where ritual prohibitions are basic in the religious approach. Ritual prohibitions as positive magic, the observance of which influence the supernatural forces, give the disposition for regarding the Bible as a book with magically loaded texts, the observance of which magical effect. For Isaiah Shembe the core of these ritual prohibitions in Scripture is the commandment on the Sabbath (which speaks of freedom from all things) and it is thus the core of the word. For example:

> *KulobuNazaretha eThembelini nasemikhosini yobuNazaretha/yamaNazaretha akuhlatshelelwa amagama okungesiwo awenkonzo yobuNazaretha (asesiHlabelelweni samaNazaretha) aqanjwa uMphrofethi uBhombela kanye neNkosi iLanga lamalanga. (Law 37)*

When you enter into the Temple of the Nazarene, you should not sing any words that are not in the hymnal of the Nazarites.

By instructing his people not to sing anything outside the hymnal, he is saying that his people should enter into the full state of transition from the outside world into this space where they will fully express the freedom that comes with rest, through song and dance.

By entering into this space of worship, the followers of the Shembe church are transported into a world that is away the day to day activities of the world. In this space they are united and have a common goal. More than anything, it provides freedom for them immediately, freedom in this space is not something hoped for or is yet to come. This is seen by the beautiful passion which is expressed through the way they sing and dance, showing a level of comfortability and peace that comes with the Sabbath rest. Is it as though nothing else exists but them, Isaiah Shembe and

nature, which unlike being an enclosed space reminds them of a higher being, further giving them allowance of being emancipated than being confined by buildings.

CONCLUSION

For many years black people have been taught to fight their societal struggle of inequality and injustice by fighting for a good material condition. By this I mean, having equal tangible possessions like; owning an expensive house in a good neighbourhood, with a good car and so forth in comparison with the white elite in power. As expressed throughout this thesis this comes with the ideology of waged work which has been presented as an emancipatory tool to achieve these possessions and further overcome the inequalities and injustices, as the black majority do not own these possessions. Undoubtedly, with each passing year the inequality gap seems to be getting wider following the solution of waged work which is given to them as a means to bridge this gap i.e. by going to school (higher institutions of learning) with a hope of getting good paying jobs for instance, all accompanied with hard work and determination in order to prove themselves worthy. What becomes apparent is that regardless of how much work the black majority, who are trying to live a decent life, put in, the results still do not reflect the hard work put in.

This is evident with the intensity of protests in higher institutions of learning, also with workers all wanting a fair share of wealth within the capitalist system as a whole, which surely seeks to put them in the margins at all times. Much of these social inequalities and injustices are not premised on the material and tangible restrictions that the majority of black people do not have in comparison to the elite white people in power, rather these inequalities are premised on a wrong theoretical framework or as Mbembe puts it, a wrong philosophy that they follow. Isaiah Shembe by resisting the white colonial system completely provides an alternative to achieving black emancipation. He through his doctrine of the Sabbath rest defined work for himself and further defined freedom for himself. He, unlike black theologians seeking to liberate theology, does not follow what Steve Biko calls black consciousness and mental emancipation as a guide for black emancipation, which through this study becomes clear that black people were long conscious of their social condition. What Isaiah Shembe puts forth is a practical freedom, through a practical doctrine, and provides a space where total freedom is experienced at Ekuphakameni, as a way to begin to think about black emancipation now, and not as something hoped for in future. Lastly, having analysed the concept of rest which will be discussed shortly, Isaiah Shembe proposes that black people should not approach liberation or black freedom through the lenses of oppression,

because oppression was created by a system (oppression is manmade) in order to fulfil a certain purpose and in the same breathe the very system dictates and defines what freedom for black people should be thereafter. Rather Isaiah Shembe argues that black people should define for themselves what freedom is, from that basis they will understand what work is, what education is.

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b. *Izihlabelelo ZamaNazaretha* (the physical book) and some references from Oosthuizen, G.C 1967, '*The Theology of a South African Messiah', Leiden/Koln: E.J. BRILL*

c. Dube, J. (1936): '*UShembe*' Shuter & Shooter

d. The Book of *Exodus*-from the KJV Bible

e. Sermons found on *YouTube:*

f. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NsXsHsGsyJ8,

Isaiah Shembe and his successors

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBnlMf9awWE&t=1266s

Prophet Isaiah Shembe and the amaNazaretha

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3fzEwSGWkyk&t=1052s

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