1 Introduction

This book is a history of sacred texts in the South African Ibandla lama-Nazaretha, or Church of the Nazaretha. Throughout the past hundred years of the church's life, amongst its most frequently used texts were the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible. But Nazaretha believers have also read, produced, and circulated a wide range of other texts that they have considered invested with sacred power. Most famously, these have included the church's hymnal and prayer book. Less frequently studied, but equally important in the lives of believers, are the large number of story traditions documenting the miraculous deeds of the members of the Shembe family, one of whom founded the church in 1910. What all these texts have in common is the role they have played in church members' efforts to assert their identity as the 'beautiful ones of God', as one early twentieth-century Nazaretha convert referred to his fellow believers. A key argument will be that reading, writing, and performing sacred texts enabled Nazaretha believers to claim spiritual and social authority, both within the church and more broadly within twentieth-century and present-day South Africa.

The relationship between religious texts and authority is a theme that runs through the history of Christianity, a faith that, along with Judaism and Islam, is often called a 'religion of the book'. In the case of Christianity, the 'book' refers to the Bible, a collection of texts that combines the Hebrew Tanakh (named the Old Testament when incorporated into the Christian Bible) and the New Testament, or the writings of the early Christian community. Since the earliest days of the Christian faith, these texts have been regarded by believers as the medium through which God's will is transmitted to the world. But if sacred texts have been believed to disclose divine authority to the world, they have just as often been used to make human authority within the world. The history of the Bible, and indeed, of the Christian tradition, is also the history of the efforts of individuals and constituencies to capture exclusive control over authorised forms of reading the scriptures. Over the past two thousand years, disputes over how the Bible should be read – indeed, even over what texts should constitute the Bible – have repeatedly divided Christian believers into factions staking rival claims against each other. Those seeking to

legitimate a particular cause, or to claim charismatic authority, have long realised the strategic value of appealing to scriptures to argue that their position is divinely sanctioned.

More specifically, the South African Nazaretha church's method of using sacred texts to make and claim power has its roots in the evangelical tradition, an important strand within Protestant Christianity. Evangelicalism is best understood as a broad religious impulse, rather than a distinct movement. Its features have been evident in a wide range of Protestant churches, including the eighteenth-century emergence of Methodism in Western Europe and North America, the early twentieth-century Pentecostal eruption around the world, and the Charismatic renewal of the 1960s onwards. While different from each other in important ways, these diverse movements shared a common characteristic: their interpretation of the Bible as a direct word from God. Evangelicals have taken the Christian scriptures as an immediate revelation from above, one that possesses fresh, ever-enduring authority to regulate the lives of all Christians. This study argues that the holy settlements of the Nazaretha church across South Africa embodied a similar, deeply evangelical impulse to reform every aspect of life by submitting it to the script of the holy book.

While the role of sacred texts in evangelical culture is increasingly well documented with regard to Christianity in the West, scholars of African Christianity have only recently begun to consider how Christians throughout the continent participated in these broader developments. Influenced by a wider scholarly turn to reading and writing practices in modern Africa, the last decade has seen a growing interest amongst historians, anthropologists, literary scholars, and theologians in understanding the processes by which African Christians made and used sacred texts, as well as the role that these texts have played in shaping both their personal piety and the institutional lives of their organisations. Implicit in many of these studies is the theme of how reading and writing constitute power in African churches. This scholarship shows us that sacred books in African churches do not appear from heaven ready-made; rather, their production, interpretation, translation, and subsequent use take place by and through human agency. Holy books across the continent were therefore central to the processes by which modern African Christians crafted new forms of identity that both complemented and rivalled the forms of belonging espoused by nationalist politicians and other activists.

In the present case, members of the Nazaretha church have used sacred texts to claim their distinctive place in the landscape of South African religious and social life, and particularly within the Zulu-speaking areas of Natal, Zululand, and the Witwatersrand that were the strongholds of the Nazaretha church. Central to this process has been the role of the Bible in the church. Influenced by the region's Christian evangelical tradition, church members have claimed legitimacy for their religious practices by

arguing that these are based upon close, literal readings of the Bible. But while Nazaretha believers held the Bible to be the absolute word of God, this did not mean that they considered it to be God's *final* word. Rather, their deeply evangelical belief that the Bible was a map for future action, instead of merely a record of the past, gave rise to their conviction that the story of God's dealings with humanity was still ongoing. In time, this prompted believers to write new texts – indeed, a new 'Bible' – that recounted the life of the Nazaretha church as the latest chapter of the story of God's dealings with humanity. In this most recent instalment, however, the story was located in Southern Africa, rather than in first-century Palestine, and the key actor was no longer Jesus Christ, but the eternal spirit of Shembe.

This book, then, is a history of how the clergy and laity of the Nazaretha church have drawn deeply upon the legacy of Protestant Christianity, using its intellectual and spiritual resources to write a new body of sacred texts. But as was true of the older, existing Bible, these new texts soon came to play a highly polemical role in the life of the Nazaretha church. In writing texts that celebrated themselves and their readers as characters in the ongoing story of God, the authors and editors of Nazaretha scriptures found new ways of legitimating their spiritual charisma and social status, often in the context of disputes with opponents within the church and without. By means of their textual work, these Christians have written their own persuasive claims to spiritual power and authority within the context of South Africa over the last one hundred years.

A Bulwark of Zulu Tradition?

However, scholarship on the Nazaretha church has long neglected the importance of its Protestant Christian heritage. Instead, scholars commonly depict this church as a narrowly indigenous appropriation of Christianity; its adherents are considered to be more interested in imprinting local religious and cultural concerns upon the Christian faith than in drawing upon the resources of a global network of evangelical believers. More broadly, this school of interpretation usually locates the church amidst the nostalgic turn to tradition that characterised Natal and Zululand throughout the twentieth century. Much of the extensive literature dealing with this institution seamlessly folds the Nazaretha church into a well-established narrative about the rise of Zulu ethnic nationalism.

This interpretation – focusing more on the 'Zulu' than on the 'Christian' features of Nazaretha identity – is part of a tendency amongst scholars to classify a broader group of organisations known as independent churches as bastions of African tradition in the face of Western cultural encroachment. The Nazaretha church was founded by a northern Natal migrant labourer called Isaiah Shembe in the early years of the

twentieth century. The church was part of a much wider flowering of African religious initiative across Southern Africa in this period. Africans' frustrations at their limited opportunities for leadership within missionary-led churches, as well as the influence of African-American Protestant Christian thought in South Africa, were amongst the factors that prompted clergymen and laity to break away from missionary supervision and to form independent churches. By the late nineteenth century, Methodist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian and Anglican clergymen and lay leaders had begun to split from missionaries to found churches that came to be known by their members, the wider public, and the white administration as 'Ethiopian' organisations.[1] The name suggested African Christians' interest in identifying themselves with the continent's ancient tradition of indigenous Christianity – centred in the kingdom of Ethiopia – as well as with a symbol of black political independence, one of the only countries on the continent to retain political sovereignty during the colonial era.

By the early years of the twentieth century, the influence of Holiness, Higher-Life and Pentecostal groups in the region had prompted yet more African Christians to form churches independent of missionary supervision. This very loose federation of Protestant evangelical organisations, both in their South African expression, as well as in the United States and Europe, shared a broad commitment to 'the authority of the Bible . . . the centrality of Jesus' atoning work on the cross . . . the importance of conversion or "new birth" followed by sanctification, and the imperative of evangelism through fervent preaching and social reform'.[2] North American missionaries from the faith healing Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, Illinois, as well as individuals loosely linked to the early Pentecostal Los Angeles-based Apostolic Faith Mission, began to conduct evangelistic work in the gold-mining region of the Witwatersrand, and elsewhere in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. The emphasis placed by these groups upon the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit – most visible in their faith healing techniques – made them phenomenally successful with white, and particularly black, South Africans.[3] Soon, however, large numbers of black converts broke away from the centralised control of these mainly white American missionaries; over the next few decades, thousands of African-led churches that

[1] James Campbell, *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 103–38.
[2] Heather D. Curtis, *Faith in the Great Physician: Suffering and Divine Healing in American Culture, 1860–1900* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 7.
[3] The early Zionist and Apostolic movements appealed strongly to unemployed urban Afrikaners. Isak Burger and Marius Nel, *The Fire Falls From Africa: A History of the Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa* (Vereeniging: Christian Art Publishers, 2008), 28–9.

incorporated 'Zionist' and 'Apostolic' nomenclature and practised faith healing appeared across the Union of South Africa.[4] And like many black clergymen of the period, Isaiah Shembe drew religious inspiration both from the older mission churches of the region and from the new Zionist and Apostolic influences – and, in particular, from the latter's emphasis upon faith healing.

Yet despite these important connections between the African, American, Dutch,[5] and British members of early evangelical churches in South Africa, there is a well-established scholarly tradition of treating independent churches as expressive of an authentic African religiosity and thereby underplaying their Christian origins. Independent church members are depicted as conservative indigenisers intent upon preserving Zulu custom, rather than as Bible-reading innovators shaped by global currents of evangelical thought and practice. This method of interpretation can be dated to the 1960s, a period which marked the beginning of sustained academic interest in these churches as repositories of African tradition. Shaped by the wave of political independence sweeping the continent, and the corresponding search for authentic African identities, scholars of the 1960s seized upon the independent churches as evidence of the resilience of African religiosity against a 'foreign' European Christianity. These were, after all, churches that from the beginning of the twentieth century had chosen to break away from European-run missionary organisations and form their own institutions. Scholars' stress on the African origins of these churches, rather than their indebtedness to a global Christian tradition, was evident in the missiologist Harold Turner's influential definition of an African independent church in 1967 as:

> A church which has been founded in Africa, by Africans, and primarily for Africans . . . reveal[ing] some major discontinuity with the Christianity of the West in their origin or development . . . the major factors in their development remain African, and for the greater part of their history they have existed without effective fellowship with the wider Christian world.[6]

Some took this argument further. Terence Ranger argued that independent churches formed a locus of resistance to white rule in Africa; members of these churches were therefore the immediate precursors of the

[4] Bengt Sundkler, *Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 13–67.

[5] 'Dutch' refers to those Southern African whites who traced their origins back to the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape, as well as to other settlers of European descent; they spoke a variant of Dutch that later became known as 'Afrikaans'. Prior to their designation as 'Afrikaners' in the 1930s, members of this ethnic group were also labelled Boers or Burgers.

[6] Harold W. Turner, 'A Typology of African Religious Movements', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 1, 1 (1967): 17–18.

African nationalist politics of the 1950s and 1960s.[7] By the 1970s, scholarship on religious independency bore the imprint of the new concerns of symbolic and cultural anthropology. Rather than stressing resistance to white rule, interest now focused on how these churches – with their supposed emphasis on local ritual and symbol – constructed rich webs of cultural meaning that allowed indigenous cosmologies to absorb and transform Western Christianity to their own ends.[8] Theorists of religious conversion in Africa similarly emphasised the continuity of independent churches with local religions, rather than the element of change. One of the period's paradigmatic debates argued that African conversion to Christianity or Islam was less a movement from an old to a new world view, and more a process whereby a robust and highly adaptable African indigenous cosmology drew upon its own resources to adapt to colonial rule and the transition to capitalist economies.[9]

In keeping with these broader trends, a long tradition of scholarship on the Nazaretha church has interpreted the movement as evidence of the stubborn resilience of Zulu religion and culture when confronted by political conquest and social change. I will briefly discuss three examples from the extensive literature on the church that demonstrate this trend.[10] One of the earliest studies of independent Christians in South Africa, Bengt Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948), highlighted the presence of 'the pattern of Zulu religion' in the Nazaretha church. Sundkler held that Zulu religion, or 'heathenism', was comprised of a complex of 'myth, ritual and magic'.[11] And while the African Christians he observed in 1940s Natal and Zululand had discarded many aspects

[7] Terence Ranger, 'Connexions between Primary Resistance Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism', *Journal of African History* 9, 3/4 (1968): 437–53. See also George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Nyasaland Rising of 1915* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958).

[8] James Fernandez, 'African Religious Movements', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1978): 195–234. See also Fernandez's *Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982) and Benetta Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Maranke* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975).

[9] Robin Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa* 41, 2 (1971): 85–108; Robin Horton, 'On the Rationality of Conversion II', *Africa* 45, 3 (1975): 219–35. For a key response to Horton's thesis (which is partly inspired by J. D. Y. Peel's study of Christian independency in Nigeria, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968)), see J. D. Y. Peel, 'Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies: Ijebu and Buganda', *Past and Present* 77 (1977): 108–41.

[10] The earliest studies of the church were a Masters thesis – Esther Roberts, 'Shembe: The Man and His Work' (University of South Africa, 1936) – and John Dube's biography *UShembe* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1936). A survey of the literature up to 1998 is found in James Thompson, 'Shembe Mismanaged? A Study of Varying Interpretations of the *Ibandla lamaNazaretha*', *History of Religions* 8, 1 (1998): 14–26.

[11] Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), 19.

of the old pagan order, such as 'myth', Sundkler observed that in the independent churches (broadly typecast by him as Zionists) there was still a strong emphasis on ritual.[12] Sundkler drew a chart comparing how the old religious rituals – the 'surviving forms of Zulu culture' – found 'new expressions in Zionist churches'.[13] He concluded, then, that separatist church rituals such as healing, prophecy, and baptism were evidence of the old religion with the merest Christian gloss upon it, 'new wine in old wineskins'.[14] Zionism was thereby a means for mid-twentieth century Africans to give 'a more honoured place . . . to the religious and cultural heritage of the Zulus'.[15] For Sundkler, independent churches such as the Nazaretha were evidence, not of the strength of popular Christianity, but rather of 'the pull from the heathen heritage'.[16]

Other studies arrived at similar conclusions. Absolom Vilakazi's *Shembe: The Revitalisation of Zulu Society* (1986) argued that early twentieth-century Zulu culture was deeply damaged by military conquest and colonial rule.[17] A charismatic figure such as Isaiah Shembe was attractive to elders and chiefs because he 'revitalised' Zulu society by eliminating Western cultural traditions and reaffirming traditional Zulu cultural values such as polygamy and the veneration of ancestors.[18] Finally, the most recent full-length monograph on the Nazaretha church, Carol Muller's *Rituals of Fertility and the Sacrifice of Desire* (1999), proposed a similar interpretation of the church, via an ethnomusicological route.[19] Muller begins by naming the Nazaretha an 'indigenous religious group', seemingly careful to avoid the designation of the movement as either a 'church' or as 'Christian'.[20] She depicts the founder, Isaiah Shembe, as 'minister[ing] to the Nguni traditionalists of KwaZulu-Natal', amidst a context of warfare, social unrest, land dispossession, and racial segregation.[21] In particular, she focuses on the church's innovations in ritual dance and song, arguing that Isaiah Shembe

[12] Ibid., 181.
[13] Ibid., 262–3.
[14] Ibid., 278.
[15] Ibid., 17.
[16] Ibid., 240.
[17] Absolom Vilakazi (with Bongani Mthethwa and Mthembeni Mpanza), *Shembe: The Revitalisation of Zulu Society* (Johannesburg: Skotaville Press, 1986). The book was based upon Vilakazi's MA thesis, 'Isonto lamaNazaretha: The Church of the Nazarites' (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1954).
[18] Vilakazi, *Shembe*, xiii.
[19] Carol Muller, *Rituals of Fertility and the Sacrifice of Desire: Nazarite Women's Performance in South Africa* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999). Liz Gunner's work, discussed at more length below, is an important exception to this broad scholarly emphasis.
[20] Ibid., 1.
[21] Ibid., 88.

and subsequent Nazaretha members 're[invented] traditional life-cycle rites to speak more specifically to contemporary African experience and epistemology'.[22]

In recent decades, however, the appeal of this argument has sharply declined. Adrian Hastings commented that, as early as the 1980s, 'the topic of Independent churches . . . which had held centre stage for years began to lose its compelling attraction'.[23] The reason for this loss of interest may lie partly with the categories used to interpret these movements. By the 1980s, 'traditionalism', 'authenticity', and 'indigeneity' were all terms that had begun to fall out of favour across the humanities. Influential critiques had begun to call for scholars to recognise the discourse of power underlying scholarly and popular representations of non-Western societies as exotic or 'other'.[24] Anthropologists turned this critique upon their own method: far from being objective description, ethnographic work was recognised as a creative act, one that 'writ[es] cultures' in a manner that reflects the assumptions of the scholar.[25] Indeed, one theorist recently hailed the demise of the 'savage slot' – the category into which, he suggests, scholars have inserted all manifestations of non-Western culture and history.[26]

These wider developments have been particularly influential for historians and anthropologists of Africa, rendering the search for authentic African identities deeply problematic. Where nativism is a category deployed by historical actors, scholars are now prone to see it as part of an intellectual and social project, rather than an innate quality.[27] Moreover, recent decades have seen a resurgence of interest in the processes of colonialism itself.[28] While previously scholars had identified a stubborn African-ness that resisted the erasure of white rule, now their focus is on the modernity of Africans and their creative strategies of engagement

[22] Ibid., 20.
[23] Adrian Hastings, 'African Christian Studies, 1967–1999: Reflections of an Editor', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 30, 1 (2000): 37.
[24] For example, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002).
[25] James Clifford and George Marcus (eds), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
[26] Michel Rolph Trouillot, 'Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness', in Richard Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present* (Sante Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991).
[27] Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1989).
[28] Fred Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005); Nicholas Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Belgian Congo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

with the ideological repertoire of colonial powers.[29] Modern Africans, it is now recognised, transformed European ideology to their own ends: one scholar of colonialism has argued that Africans were able to 'alter the boundaries of subordination within a seemingly powerful colonial regime'.[30] And, in keeping with these broader trends, foremost on the agenda for scholars of African Christianity in recent years has been the missionary encounter. In studies of missions throughout the continent, Africans have emerged as creative agents who were engaged in a 'long conversation' with Western missionaries, often taking on, and simultaneously transforming, the ideologies and cultural and material artifacts of their European interlocutors.[31]

Largely for these reasons, the study of African Christians who are designated as indigenous or independent has been overtaken by research into Christians belonging to the mission, or historic, churches. Indigeneity is out; modernity and globalisation are very much in.[32] This shift is discernible in the research published in the *Journal of Religion in Africa* over the past decades. In the 1960s and 1970s, the *Journal* published more than 30 articles on independent churches, and less than half that number on mission churches. In comparison, 52 articles were published on mission churches in the years 2000–9, and only six on independent Christian churches. A further factor contributing to this decline in the study of independency has been the recent scholarly and popular interest in a more recent wave of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in sub-Saharan Africa, many of which arrived on the continent from the 1970s onwards, and maintained links with headquarters in North America and Europe.[33] While the missionary encounter exemplified African converts' creative appropriation of Western cultural capital, the recent history of

[29] Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1997).

[30] Fred Cooper, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History', *The American Historical Review* 99, 5 (1994): 1518.

[31] See Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Volumes One and Two (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1997), and J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington, IN: SB: Indiana University Press, 2000). See also Paul Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (London: James Currey, 1995); Keletso Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa* (London: James Currey, 1993).

[32] Birgit Meyer, 'Christianity in Africa: From African-Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 458; Peel, *Religious Encounter*, 318.

[33] Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst, 1998); Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity amongst the Ewe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

Pentecostalism in Africa is now viewed as an equally exciting example of Africans' engagement with globalisation and transnational flows.[34]

The present book reappraises the usual depiction of independent churches as nostalgic bulwarks of African tradition. It argues, instead, that these organisations point to Africans' place within religious networks that extended far beyond the region. Like their counterparts in mission churches and in the more recent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, independent church members have long been engaged in conversations with the broader Christian tradition, particularly with churches whose headquarters were located in North America and in Britain.[35] Zimbabwe has emerged as an especially rich site for this revisionary approach. Terence Ranger was amongst the earliest to show how the religious imagination of the independent preacher and baptiser Johana Masowe was formed by a Pentecostal revival within the American Methodist church in Rhodesia.[36] Within South Africa, though, the task of writing independency back into a history of transnational Christianity is still in its infancy. Studies of independent churches – many produced by scholars within theology departments – continue to play the traditionalism card, ignoring the links of these movements to Christian traditions within South Africa as well as further afield.[37] However, David Maxwell's work on the transnational character of Pentecostalism, and its influence upon the young Zionist and Apostolic movement in South Africa, has established something of a programmatic agenda for future research on the relations between independent churches, mission station Christianity, and transnational religious networks.[38]

[34] David Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of a Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006); Andre Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (eds), *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001).

[35] Terence Ranger advocated this shift in perspective as early as 1987. 'Religion, Development and African Christian Identity', in K. Petersen, *Religion, Development and African Identity* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1997), 31. See the recent work of Adam Mohr, 'Capitalism, Chaos and Christian Healing: Faith Tabernacle Congregations in Southern Colonial Ghana, 1918–1926', *Journal of African History* 52, 1 (2011): 62–83.

[36] Terence Ranger, 'Taking on the Missionary's Task: African Spirituality and the Mission Churches of Manicaland in the 1930s', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29, 2 (1999): 195–200.

[37] Retief Muller, *African Pilgrimage: Ritual Travel in South Africa's Christianity of Zion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011); Sello Maboea, *The Influence of Life-Giving Power in the African Traditional Religion and the Zionist Churches in Soweto* (Pretoria: C. B. Powell Bible Centre, 2002); Piet Naude, *The Zionist Christian Church in South Africa: A Case Study in Oral Theology* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995).

[38] David Maxwell, 'Historicizing Christian Independency: The Southern African Pentecostal Movement *c.* 1908–1960', *Journal of African History* 40 (1999): 243–64, as well as the important early work of Sundkler in *Zulu Zion*, 13–67. Along similar lines, see the articles of Allan Anderson, Paul Landau, and Colin Murray in a special edition on independent churches in South Africa, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29, 3 (1999).