Inyimbo Zyabakristo: The Chitonga Hymnal of the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church

By Dwight W. Thomas *

Introduction

Music has held a significant place among the Brethren in Christ for many years. The emergence of the first North American Brethren in Christ hymnal series in the mid-nineteenth century came as a response to the need for a denominational hymnal and signaled the importance the Brethren in Christ placed on their musical life. Late nineteenth-century Brethren in Christ arguments over music-making practices highlight the intensity of their sentiments regarding music in the church.[1] Brethren in Christ interest in music continued to express itself during the twentieth century with new editions of hymnals, the emergence of performance-oriented ensembles, and the addition of musical instruments to worship services. A variety of factors encouraged the spread of musical ideas in Brethren in Christ contexts. Among those factors were the activities of key musicians such as Earl D. Miller, the impact of corporate contexts such as General Conference and Bible campgrounds, and the role of Brethren in Christ educational institutions such as Messiah Bible

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* Dwight W. Thomas is Assistant Professor of Music and Director of Christian Music Studies and Ethnomusicology at Messiah College.

School and Missionary Training Home (now Messiah College) as catalysts for musical ideas and directions.[2]

In light of an established emphasis on music within the church, it is not surprising that Brethren in Christ missionaries to Africa would use music as one of their primary tools for worship, evangelism, and teaching. In Zambia, this interest took concrete form with the creation of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, the most significant Brethren in Christ hymnal series outside North America. The importance of this series is evident in both the quantity of editions and the longevity of the series. Appearing first in 1936, *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* went through two subsequent editions and a total of five reprints.

This article will document the evolution of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* from its inception to the present. The author will explore the background and context in which the series was produced, the antecedents and influences that shaped it, and the contents and organization of its various editions. Finally, this article will briefly examine the use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* and other Zambian Brethren in Christ songbooks in current Zambian Brethren in Christ musical life.

The basic publication history of the series is as follows:[3]

> 1935? – [Brethren in Christ Church], *[Inyimbo Zyabakristo - Preliminary Edition]*, preliminary ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Sikalongo Bookroom, 1935?).
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> 1936 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 1st ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Sikalongo Bookroom, 1936).
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> 1944 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, Reprint of 1st ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Sikalongo Bookroom, 1944).
>
> 1954 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, Enlarged version of 1st ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Brethren in Christ Church, 1954).
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> 1963 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, Reprint of 1954 Enlarged ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Brethren in Christ Church, 1963).

1969 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 2nd Enlarged ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Brethren in Christ Church, 1969).
1978 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 1st Reprint of 1969 Enlarged ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Brethren in Christ Church, 1978).
1994 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 2nd Reprint of 1969 Enlarged ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Brethren in Christ Church, 1994).
2003 – [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 3rd Reprint of 1969 Enlarged ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Brethren in Christ Church, 2003).

Background: Missions and Culture

Brethren in Christ Mission Work in Africa

Brethren in Christ mission work in Africa began in response to calls for greater outward evangelistic efforts. The Brethren in Christ, like other American denominations, were inspired by reports of unsaved peoples on the so-called Dark Continent of Africa. They responded by sending their first missionaries to Africa at the end of the nineteenth century.[4] H. Frances Davidson, one of the first five Brethren in Christ missionaries to go to Africa, left a detailed account of the opening stage of the denomination's missions in Africa in her book, *South and South Central Africa: A Record of Fifteen Years' Missionary Labors among Primitive Peoples*.[5] Her account provides descriptive details of the period just prior to the creation of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* and gives us clues to the reasons for its creation.

Brethren in Christ missionaries went first to the Matopo Hills of present-day Zimbabwe. At the time, the British

controlled this region under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes, for whom the territory was named Rhodesia.[6] The Matabele were the indigenous people around Matopo and had only recently arrived from farther south. The Matabele are a branch of the Zulu tribe and had fled to Southern Rhodesia to escape the armies of Shaka, the famous Zulu military leader.[7] Cecil Rhodes himself directed Brethren in Christ missionaries to this location.[8] Finding themselves among a tribe closely related to the Zulu, Davidson and the other missionaries used Zulu materials as the basis for their early missionary efforts. Sindebele—the language of the Matabele—was similar enough to Zulu to enable the use of the Zulu Bible and the Zulu hymnal. The latter, entitled *Amagama Okuhlabelela*, is still used by Brethren in Christ in Zimbabwe.[9] These early missionaries to Africa began to learn the local language as quickly as possible. From all accounts, Davidson was particularly good at languages. This served her well and led to her later involvement in translation projects in Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia).[10]

Davidson worked for eight years among the Matabele in the Matopo Hills, but in 1905 decided to go north to Zambia.[11] She, Adda Engle, and their African companions, Ndhlalambi Moyo and Gomo Sibanda, headed to Zambia in 1906. They eventually made their way to Macha, just north of Choma, where they began their work among the local Tonga people.[12]

The Tonga People (Batonga)[13]

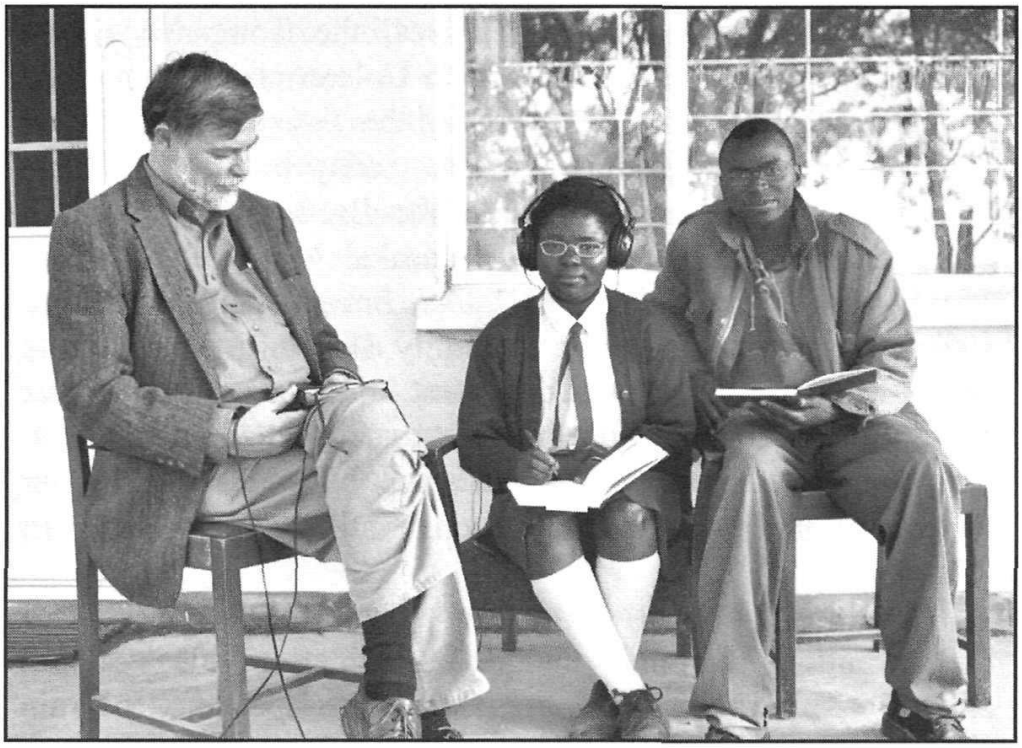
The Tonga tribe is one of the largest of over seventy tribes in present-day Zambia and it appears they have lived between Livingstone and Monze for nearly 800 years.[14] Prior to the nineteenth century, the Tonga had minimal contact with non-African people.[15] The first long-lasting contact from outside came as a result of the travels of David Livingstone through Tonga territory in the mid-1800s.[16] From Livingstone's account, and others that followed, we know that the Tonga

have long been a peaceful, agrarian people with a strong emphasis on cattle rearing.[17]

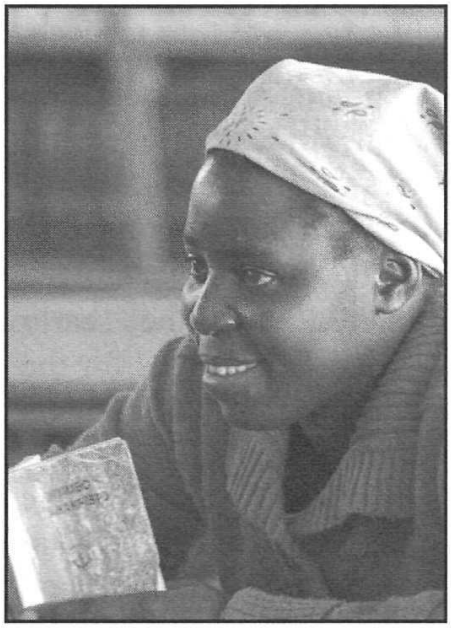
The late nineteenth century saw an influx of non-Africans into central Africa that drastically changed the culture and life style of the people in that region. Livingstone's published accounts encouraged a scramble for Africa by European powers that brought adventurers, entrepreneurs, administrators, and missionaries into central Africa.[18] By the end of the nineteenth century, southern Zambia was firmly under British control and open to the missionary efforts of English-speaking churches from Europe and America.

The earliest missionaries to Zambia came from several denominations and began their work in earnest during the 1880s.[19] Primitive Methodist missionaries were among the first to establish work in Ila-Tonga territory.[20] They worked primarily among the Ila people south of the Kafue River and the Tonga people living along the Zambezi River. Primitive Methodist linguistic efforts remain among their most important contributions. Three missionaries stand out in this regard: J. R. Fell, William Chapman, and Edwin W. Smith. All three men energetically worked at producing materials related to the Ila-Tonga languages for the sake of their mission work.

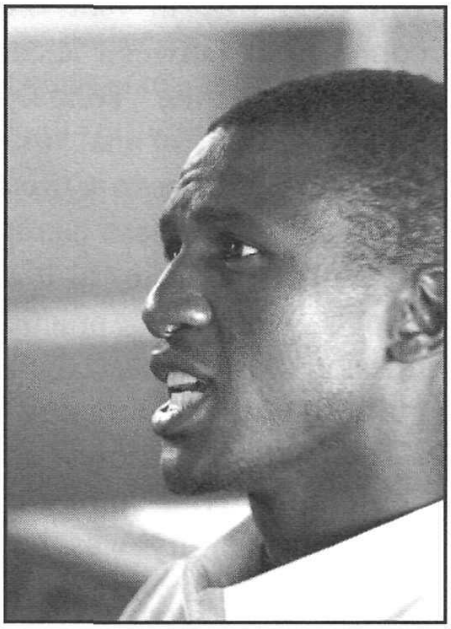
Written accounts from the first half of the twentieth century give us some idea of Tonga life in 1906, describing various aspects of local culture.[21] Village and family life was largely untouched by outside influence and probably existed as it had for centuries. We know, for example, that several different Ila-Tonga groups existed when Davidson arrived: the Valley Tonga, who lived in the valley along the Zambezi River, the Plateau Tonga just to the north and west of the valley, and the Ila who were located even farther north and west, but considered to be closely related to the Tonga.[22] Both the Ila and Tonga are among the matrilineal African tribes, although it is important to note that this aspect of Tonga culture has been significantly altered by influence from the West in the last fifty years.[23]



Dwight W. Thomas documenting Zambian Christian songs with Mary Chabakola and Bright Mushanga at Sikalongo, Zambia



Mrs. Kopakopa singing songs from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*



Mr. Munchangani singing from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*

Like most other Zambian tribes, the Tonga recognize clans and clan names, but Elizabeth Colson claims that clans occupy a less important function for the Tonga than for other Zambia tribes.[24] Nevertheless, even today traditional Tonga clan names are common among the Brethren in Christ in Zambia: Mudenda, Mweetwa, Munsaka, Munza, Muchindu, Munkombwe, etc. Although Tonga lineage and inheritance were traditionally matrilineal, family structure in 1906—as now—was strongly male dominant. Davidson notes, for example, the reluctance of girls to stray from the home and the presence of polygamy in Tonga society.[25] These and other aspects of traditional social structure still exist in Southern Zambia today.

Traditional Tonga religious thought in the first quarter of the twentieth century included distinctive ideas about ancestors, traditional medicine, and the importance of rain shrines. Once again Colson gives one of the most complete surveys of Tonga practice and thought, and although she writes about the middle of the twentieth century, it appears that the essential outlines of earlier Tonga culture and thought still held true at that time.[26] Colson makes a variety of connections between ancestral sprits (*mizimu*) and the social structure of the Tonga. Naming practices and kinship understandings at that time were related to ideas of ancestral spirits. Brethren in Christ missionaries faced some practical implications of these naming practices when they attempted to create personal files at hospitals and schools.[27] Other unique Tonga religious practices encountered by the early missionaries included the role of so-called rain shrines for the purpose of encouraging rain, and a variety of beliefs associated with sickness and traditional healing.

The material culture of the Tonga in the first half of the twentieth century was basic. Housing consisted of several small buildings with grass roofs surrounding a circular cook shelter. Each household compound also had a raised bin for maize and various pens for cattle and other livestock. A simple cloth wrapped around the body served as clothing. Furniture consisted of simple beds and handmade Tonga

stools which are still used today. Davidson gives an interesting summary of everyday life for the Tonga at the beginning of the twentieth century, pointing out that the Tonga managed well with the materials and skills available to them at the time. [28] Owning cattle was considered an essential aspect of Tonga life up to the middle of the twentieth century. Cattle ownership related to kinship ties, inheritance practices, and perceptions of wealth. In her book, Davidson recognizes many of these cultural patterns and discusses the difficulty faced by early missionaries in reconciling them with Brethren in Christ practice and thought of the early twentieth century.

Early Twentieth-Century Tonga Musical Culture

It is difficult to get a clear picture of Tonga musical culture at the turn of the century. Although music was an important part of early missionary efforts, most missionaries were not trained to carefully analyze or understand the musical intricacies of central African music. The available accounts from early missionaries are cursory or tend to be critical of the musical abilities and activities of the nationals, reflecting the limited expertise of many missionaries to assess musical materials and structures. In her description of a Tonga wedding, for example, Davidson states:

> The women and the girls gather and begin to sing the marriage song, the tune of which is always the same, but the words are improvised for the occasion. One of the older ones will lead off and say, " This girl is going to be married," and the rest will assent by singing in unison, again, "We shall receive some hoes, so that we may dig our gardens," and again the response. All this is done in a monotonous but not altogether unmusical manner. Another will take up the lead, and a day or two will be consumed in this way until everything that can be thought of in reference to marriage, good, bad, and indifferent, is

> repeated in song. The bride, however, is not among the singers.[29]

This account by Davidson—like those of other missionaries of the time—displays a mixture of honest cultural observation mixed with Western aesthetic bias. Her statement that their singing was "done in a monotonous but not altogether unmusical manner" betrays her ambivalence towards Tonga wedding music.

In his account of the Ila people, Edwin W. Smith bluntly recognized his lack of ability to describe adequately the musical elements of indigenous African music:

> Through ignorance of technique, we find ourselves at a loss when we come to describe the music and dancing of the Ba-ila. We can give, and have already given, the words of many of the songs, but to illustrate the music and to detail the steps of the dances are beyond us.[30]

Obviously many early missionaries were ill equipped to fully understand the musical sophistication of Tonga musical expressions. Only with the observations of later researchers who were better trained in music do we begin to get a more complete picture of Tonga musical life.[31]

As in most traditional African societies, music occupied an important place in Tonga culture at the turn of the century. The Tonga closely associated music with a variety of everyday activities and ceremonial rituals. Weddings, funerals, ancestral worship, and female initiation rituals all called for specific music.[32] Numerous musical instruments existed. We know they traditionally had well-defined roles and purposes, and the methods of constructing and playing them were well understood by Tonga musical specialists.[33] Fred Eyer, whose parents moved to Macha just before the release of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* in 1936 (IZ-1936), remembers playing a traditional Tonga thumb piano while his family still lived at Macha. Although he could not offer the local terminology for

the instrument, Eyer described it in detail and had vivid memories of its use during the 1930s.[34]

A specialized vocabulary accompanied Tonga musical culture. According to Frank Wafer, a Jesuit ethnomusicologist and linguist, twenty-nine song categories once existed, although many of these have since disappeared.[35] As is the case presently, music often carried a pedagogical as well as a ceremonial role. Songs might function separately as teaching mediums or sometimes be embedded in folk tales which were themselves teaching devices. Several early missionaries collected such folk tales.[36] All of this evidence suggests that a rich musical life existed among the Tonga in 1906 when Frances Davidson and Adda Engle arrived in Chief Macha's territory.

Despite the decline of traditional Tonga musical culture in Zambia today, some previous musical concepts and structures still exist among present-day Chitonga-speaking people. The words used by Tonga Brethren in Christ to categorize music highlight some of the differences that exist even today between Tonga and American understandings of music. The author has frequently encountered differences in meanings when asking for explanations relating to the word "music." Traditionally for the Tonga, as for many African peoples, musical expression was almost always combined with dance or other forms of activity. The idea of separating the sound event from these other forms of activity was foreign. Drums, for example, would not generally be heard without singing and dancing; and the music of the thumb piano would not be played for the listening pleasure of a passive audience. Music, as understood in traditional Africa, was an integral part of life and social interaction. Such differences of meaning were undoubtedly stronger at the turn of the last century, and although Davidson noted her awareness of these sorts of subtle linguistic differences as they related to religious ideas, we get no indication that she extended that thought to her observations of musical life.[37]

Materials Used by Davidson Among the Tonga

Upon her arrival in Macha, Frances Davidson became keenly aware of the absence of adequate written materials in Chitonga.[38] At Matopo, she had used Zulu materials since Sindebele was so similar to Zulu. She had also become relatively proficient in Sindebele. Davidson brought the Zulu Bible and *Amagama Okuhlabelela* with her to Zambia, but these were of limited use among the Tonga. Fortunately, a few local Tonga could understand some Sindebele and were able to help the missionaries. Nevertheless, Davidson immediately began to learn Chitonga. She says that she always carried a notepad in order to write down new Chitonga words and their meanings. [39]

More formal linguistic efforts had already been made by the Primitive Methodists. William Chapman and Edwin W. Smith had begun to translate the Bible into Ila and Chapman was also working on an Ila hymnal. J. R. Fell, after beginning work among the Valley Tonga, started a collection of Chitonga folk stories and eventually published the collection with an English translation.[40] All three of these missionaries were busy extending local linguistic resources at the very moment of Davidson's arrival.

The absence of adequate Chitonga literature initially led Davidson to utilize Ila materials developed by the Primitive Methodists. She writes:

> There were thirty-two boys in school, and they were doing good work. A translation of the Gospel of St. Mark had been printed by Rev. Smith, and an Ila hymn book by Rev. Chapman, of the same mission, and these were both very useful in our work. After our boys had finished the Ila books, we concluded to allow them to continue the Scriptures in the Zulu Testament, as it is always easier for the natives to pass from one native language into another than from English into their language. We found later that this use of the Zulu Testament proved very satisfactory, both to ourselves and the boys. Since we were familiar

> with that language, and they readily acquired it, their knowledge was of great assistance to us in translating portions of the Scripture into their tongue, and they were soon capable of interpreting for Elder Steigerwald and others who came to us from Southern Rhodesia. [41]

The Ila hymnbook referred to by Davidson in this passage was apparently printed in 1908 in Ila and translated into Chitonga by J. R. Fell in 1910.[42] Its use by Davidson at Macha in the early years of the mission led to its later role as an important source hymnal for the 1936 edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. The linguistic activity during the first quarter of the twentieth century highlights the sense of urgency felt by missionaries of the time to develop adequate Chitonga materials for use in preaching the gospel. Given this sentiment, it is not surprising that Brethren in Christ missionaries eventually undertook to create their own hymnal.

Antecedents and Influences

A number of antecedents and influences contributed to the character of the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. North American Brethren in Christ musical assumptions provided a basis for the creation of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo;* however, some of these assumptions were shaped by non-Brethren in Christ musical forces in North America and further modified on the mission field by the African context.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Brethren in Christ found themselves in the midst of a number of musical changes. Although the denomination emerged out of the Germanic Anabaptist groups of central Pennsylvania, the first Brethren in Christ hymnal in 1876 was produced in both German and English, signaling the young denomination's identification with a more progressive outlook than was present among similar groups in Pennsylvania. Denominational leadership at the time was divided between more conservative leaders who wanted to hold on to older

practices and those who favored newer ones. The musical debate surrounded the preservation of older repertory, objections to the use of instruments in worship, fears of a drift toward formalism, and disagreement over whether to use round notes or shape notes in hymnals.[43]

North American Antecedents

One of the primary influences on *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* came from earlier hymnals produced by the Brethren in Christ in North America. The first generation of hymnals appeared between 1874 and 1903. The series was entitled *Geistliche Liedern/Spiritual Hymns,* with versions of the hymnal appearing in German and English either separately or combined.[44] This hymnal was modeled after similar text-only hymnals in North America. The next generation of hymnals, released in 1909 and entitled *Spiritual Hymns*, appeared with round notation and in English only.[45] The third series was first published in 1935 and was entitled *Spiritual Songs and Hymns*.[46]

The first Brethren in Christ missionaries left for Africa just as discussions about a new hymnal were beginning. The 1909 hymnal, edited by S. R. Smith and J. R. Zook, and the 1935 hymnal probably had the greatest impact on *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.* By 1936, when the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* appeared, the 1909 hymnal had largely replaced the earlier nineteenth-century hymnals as the primary denominational hymnal. However, it appears that the denomination was eager for a new hymnal. Announcements relating to the 1935 hymnal appear in nearly every *Evangelical Visitor* issue in the year preceding its 1935 release.[47] Later denominational hymnals (1964 and 1984) have had little impact on the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church.[48]

The contents of the 1906 and 1935 hymnals reflected musical forces from the broader North American Christian movement. The Brethren in Christ, like many other American

denominations, were strongly influenced by the gospel hymn movement of the late nineteenth century. Songs published by Ira D. Sankey in *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6*, had a huge impact on American congregational song and the Brethren in Christ were not immune to this influence.[49] The nineteenth-century *Geistliche Liedern/Spiritual Hymns* included very few selections from the gospel hymn movement. By contrast, gospel hymnody dominated the 1909 Brethren in Christ hymnal.[50] The dialogue that accompanied the church's shift from the *Geistliche* series to the *Spiritual Hymns* series occurred at the moment that Davidson was about to move from Matopo to Macha and she was undoubtedly aware of it.

The 1935 hymnal that followed *Spiritual Hymns* restored some balance to the repertory, but still favored nineteenth-century gospel hymnody over the older Anglo-Germanic hymn repertory.[51] Hence, during the years that immediately preceded the publication of the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, nineteenth-century gospel hymn repertory firmly established itself as the dominant musical repertory of the North American Brethren in Christ. An examination of the repertory in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* reveals a substantial number of songs borrowed directly from Sankey's *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6*. Many songs included in the first two versions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* show references to either the 1909 or 1935 hymnals. The presence of such a large number of gospel hymns in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* testifies to the influence of the North American gospel hymn movement on Zambian Brethren in Christ musical life.

Another significant influence on the musical life of Brethren in Christ mission fields came from the growing importance of Messiah Bible School and Missionary Training Home (now Messiah College).[52] Begun by S. R. Smith as a place for training missionaries, it is not surprising that the musical life and priorities at the school would make their way to the mission field. A high percentage of Africa's missionaries either trained or taught at Messiah College. Men's and women's quartets and choruses became a critical part of the fabric of Messiah's student life during the first half

of the twentieth century. Students participated enthusiastically in these school ensembles as well as so-called gospel teams which included musical members.[53] This educational environment became the context in which many Brethren in Christ students trained for ministry and for the mission field, and it was inevitable that Messiah's musical repertory and aesthetic premises would make their way to places like Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The connection between Messiah College and Brethren in Christ mission work in Africa continued well into the twentieth century and is readily recognized by mid-twentieth century Brethren in Christ missionaries.[54] Earl D. Miller, music professor at Messiah, had a particularly important impact on the musical ideas of students who eventually went to the mission field. He helped to expand the role of Messiah College's singing ensembles in the college and throughout the denomination, and his influence had far-reaching consequences.[55] Both the repertory and performance practices of early twentieth-century Messiah College ensembles became part of the musical experience of the African church and some of that influence continues today.

African Antecedents and Influences

Brethren in Christ missionaries in Africa were also influenced by African materials and ideas. One of the strongest African influences came from the nineteenth-century Zulu hymnal, *Amagama Okuhlabelela.* First published in 1850, it was the obvious choice for mission work among the Matabele in the late nineteenth century. It appeared in multiple editions and formats and Davidson is known to have brought this hymnal with her to Zambia. Brethren in Christ use of *Amagama Okuhlabelela* in Zimbabwe understandably led to its use as a reference source when the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* was being created. Some editions of *Amagama Okuhlabelela* were issued with a unique notational system called tonic solfa. The system uses a variation of

standard European solfege (do, re, mi, etc.) to notate the pitch and typewriter punctuation to indicate rhythm.[56] This notational system was widely used in British contexts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and became part of the fabric of Brethren in Christ music life in Zimbabwe and, to a lesser extent, in Zambia.[57] The number of tunes in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* that were taken from the Zulu hymnal highlights the impact of *Amagama Okuhlabelela* (see below).

The work and materials of other denominations also affected the Brethren in Christ. As was noted earlier, the Primitive Methodist Ila hymnal and its Chitonga translated version were among the first hymnals printed in a Zambian language.[58] Brethren in Christ missionary use of this hymnal and other Primitive Methodist publications in their early work in Zambia appears to have laid the foundation for the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. A comparison of the 1936 edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* and the Primitive Methodist hymnal, *Inyimbo Zya Bakristi*, reveals that both hymnals have a number of hymns in common, and the organization of the two is very similar. The similarity of the titles is also noticeable. Other denominations were also present in Zambia during the first quarter of the twentieth century and produced hymnals and songbooks for indigenous use.

These hymnals had varying effects on the Brethren in Christ. An Anglican mission station was established at Mapanza during the first quarter of the twentieth century, for example, but it appears that musical materials from Anglican and Catholic mission efforts had little impact on the Brethren in Christ. The church's contact with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, Church of Christ, and Salvation Army, however, appears to have had some influence on later editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*.[59]

The writings of Arthur Morris Jones are of particular interest to this author. Jones was an Anglican missionary and outstanding cultural observer who lived for a period of time at Mapanza near Macha. In addition to his cultural acumen, Jones was a trained musician. His writings on African music provided the foundation for later ethnomusicological work

related to African cultures.[60] Although it appears to have had little effect on the Brethren in Christ and appeared later than the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, Jones was instrumental in the production of the African hymnal, *African Praise*, which attempted to represent both the African and European contributions to Christian worship music in Africa.[61] He encouraged the development of indigenous Christian songs in an African style before most other missionaries.[62]

Description of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*

Preparations

By 1930, the growing desire for a Zambian Brethren in Christ hymnal led to the creation of the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* (1936).[63] Many of the details surrounding the preparation of the first edition are unknown. Although Davidson left Zambia in 1923, she had been involved in translation work between 1910 and 1923 and might have had some preliminary involvement with the creation of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. We know that she collaborated with Edwin W. Smith, who was stationed nearby among the Ila at Namwala, and we know that the Brethren in Christ used Primitive Methodist hymnals.[64]

Ila and Chitonga are closely-related languages with similar syntax, but significant differences exist between the two. There are also several varieties of Chitonga. The Chitonga spoken by people in the Zambezi Valley differs greatly from the Chitonga spoken on the plateau, and Plateau Chitonga itself varies from region to region. It is understandable that people near Macha would have a greater exposure to Ila since they were closer to Ila territory. Linguistic differences between Ila and Chitonga and the expansion of Brethren in Christ mission work in the early 1920s to Sikalongo may ultimately have led the Brethren in

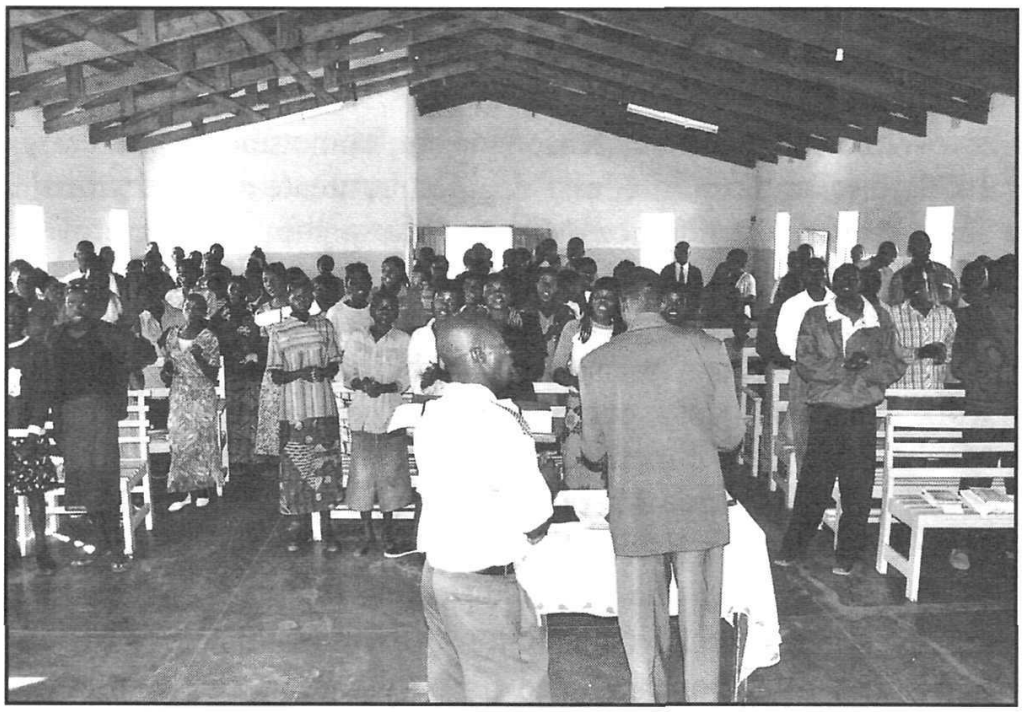
Christ to create a Chitonga hymnal that could be used in both regions.

Whatever the exact reasons were, sometime in the early 1930s the Brethren in Christ decided to create a new hymnal. The African Conference Minutes show the existence of a hymnal committee, but do not say when it was created or who the members were. [65] *Evangelical Visitor* articles tell us who was on the African mission field during the 1930s and the work was obviously completed by some of these people: Macha Mission (Elmer and Ethelda Eyer, Anna R. Engle, Annie Winger, Verda Moyer); Sikalongo Mission (Cecil I. and Janie Cullen, Anna Eyster, Elizabeth Engle). [66]

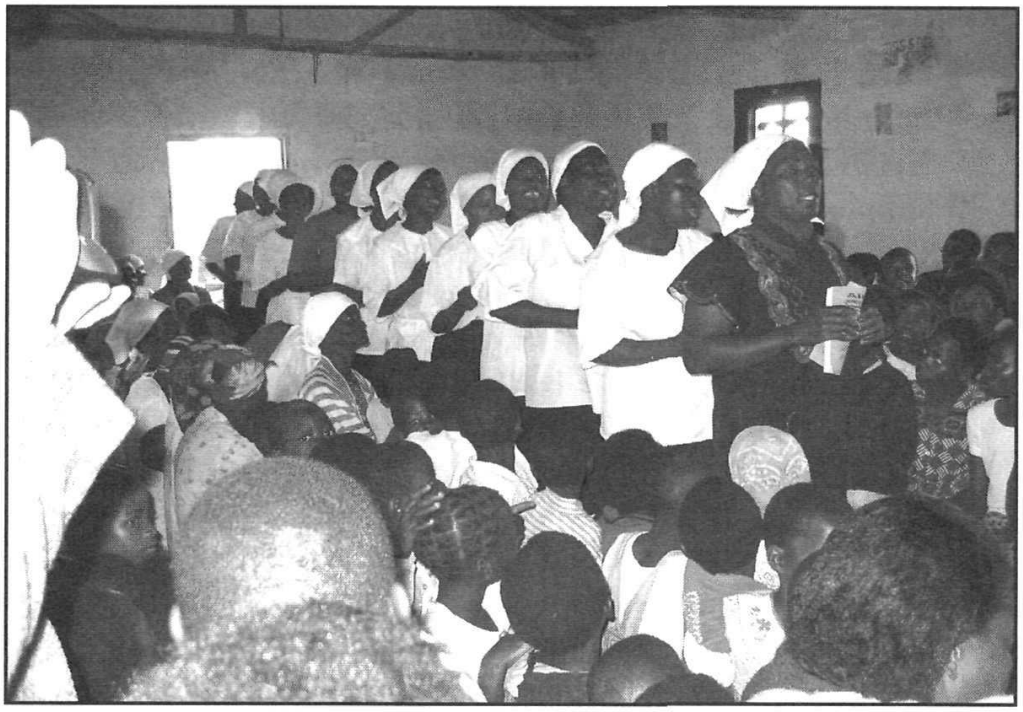
The preface to the 1936 edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* indicates that an earlier collection of hymns existed. [67] Anna R. Engle wrote about the need for a hymnal in a news release in August 1935:

> During the mid-term vacation she [Annie Winger] had been to Muzovu, a village which had had a school some years ago. The people here are receptive and would like to have regular services. Four young married men took a definite stand for the Lord while she was there. These BABES are willing, for the time being, to try to have simple services themselves. What a challenge this is to God's children both in Africa and America. They needed hymnals and, our supply being entirely exhausted, Sister Annie herself typed off fifty hymns and sent them home-made hymn books. We badly need a new hymnal and have been working on it, but the time for translation work and the money for publishing it are alike scarce. Would you like to place this need also on your prayer list? [68]

We have no knowledge which fifty hymns Annie Winger "typed off" for that preliminary hymnal, but one can assume that they are probably included in IZ-36 (Inyimbo Zyabakristo–36). At some point during the second half of 1935, a hymnal committee was appointed and work began in earnest. Reports related to the hymnal appeared in the



Congregational singing during worship at Livingstone, Zambia, summer 2002



Sikalongo Women's Choir entering the Mboole Brethren in Christ church singing a Zambian step song

Evangelical Visitor through January 1937. The hymnal committee was evidently made up of members from both Sikalongo and Macha and missionaries tried to schedule their work to coincide with their other activities.

Christmas service at Sikalongo in 1935 and their love feast celebrations in January and June 1936 provided such opportunities. "Sikalongo News Notes" in the *Evangelical Visitor* from December 20 indicates that the missionaries used the Christmas holiday of 1935 to work on the hymnal. [69]

> (presumably Wednesday, Dec. 25)
> The Missionaries from Macha and our Pilgrim Holiness neighbors spend Christmas with us. The Christmas service is very impressive. Bro. Winger and Bro. Reynolds bring very stirring messages. There are about two hundred and eighty-five present, and each one receives a small cup of salt as a token of good will.

> (no exact date indicated)
> The Committee chosen to select hymns for the new Chitonga Hymnal finds some difficulties but by persistent effort they hope to have it ready by the first of February for the printers.

Similarly, the January love feast provided another opportunity for working on the hymnal:

> Sunday, Jan. 12
> The week-end of the 12th was our love feast and baptismal service. Out of twenty-eight applicants, twenty-one were baptized. It was thought advisable that some wait for a few months yet. Two were ill and could not be present. These new recruits and also the teachers at the outstations need your prayers. The messages during these meetings were very inspirational. It was the largest representation we have ever had at the Lord's Table. May each realize the full meaning of the ordinance.

Monday, Jan. 13
The Hymnal Committee meets again. and spends most of the day pursuing their work.

Tuesday, Jan. 14
The Macha workers returned home and Bro. Brubaker left for Mtshabezi.

Wednesday, Jan. 15
The Hymnal Committee meets again and spends most of the day pursuing their work.

Tuesday, Jan. 21
All the Sikalongo workers to work on the new Hymnal and the rest to leave for Macha to spend a few days, some assist Sr. Winger with her sewing in preparation for their trip home. We returned home Saturday evening so that we would be present for the services on Sunday.

June 1936 was another big month for the hymnal committee's work. During the second week of that month, the Macha missionaries traveled to Sikalongo to celebrate love feast and wove their work on the Chitonga hymnal into the weekend's activities. The following weekend, the Sikalongo missionaries drove to Macha to continue the work. The *Evangelical Visitor* report for June and July 1936 makes it clear that this was the year during which the bulk of the work was accomplished, and the second two weeks of June were particularly eventful. The calendar for these two weeks give some sense of the extent of effort that went into their work.[70]

Thursday, June 11
In the afternoon, Bro. Brubaker, Bro. and Sr. Eyer and children, and Sr. Anna Engle and Moyer arrived. We were happy to see our co-workers.

Friday, June 12
The Chitonga Hymnal Committee were very busy at work all day, Sr. Elizabeth Engle took her first year Chitonga examination.

Saturday, June 13
At the mid-day service the church was crowded, and many were sitting outside. Following the examination meeting twelve followed the Lord in the ordinance of baptism. May God keep them true to Him. What a surprise!!! Bro. Brubaker announces the coming marriage of Bro. Mann and Sr. Thuma.

Sunday, June 14
God met with us as we commemorated the death and suffering of our Lord. There were seventy-three Native communicants. The Memorial Service for Bro. Frey was very impressive. Bro. Brubaker spoke, followed by Jesse and Joshua. In the evening Bro. Brubaker took the train south. We were sorry he could not remain longer.

Monday, June 15
Our friends from Macha returned home.

Thursday, June 18
Bro. and Sr. Cullen, Srs. Engle and Eyster left for Macha, leaving Andersen and William in charge of the incubator.

Friday and Saturday, June 19, 20
The Chitonga Hymnal Committee are trying to complete their work.

Sunday, June 21
Memorial service for Bro. Frey. May all of us be faithful as he was.

> Monday, June 22
> The "Sikalongons" returned home.

On October 22, 1936, the Macha staff proofread the hymnals and later sent them to the printers. The hymnals finally arrived and were ready for use in January 1937. The *Evangelical Visitor* notes that the hymnals immediately found eager users:[71]

> Thursday, Jan. 7
> Still receiving Christmas post. The new Shitonga [sic] Hymnals arrive. They were compiled by a committee taken from Sikalongo and Macha. There was some native help also.
>
> Saturday, Jan. 9
> After the working men's tickets were marked several of them bought hymnals. Then they sang awhile before going home.

Overview of the Editions

Later editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* indicate that the series went through a first edition, two enlarged editions, and a total of five reprintings. As was noted above, Annie Winger apparently prepared a fifty-song preliminary edition prior to the published first edition. The first edition was published in 1936, an enlarged edition in 1954, and a final enlarged edition in 1969. Reprints appeared between these three. The full publication history (including the preliminary edition) is as follows:

1935 – Preliminary edition
1936 – 1st edition
1944 – Reprint of 1st edition
1954 – 2nd Enlarged edition
1963 – Reprint of 2nd edition

1969 – 3rd Enlarged edition
1978 – Reprint of 3rd edition
1994 – Reprint of 3rd edition
2003 – Reprint of 3rd edition

Copies of the early editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* are rare. Production was probably limited to the necessary quantity, the available books were used hard, and the Zambian climate is unkind to books and paper documents as a rule. At the time of this writing, the only known copy of the 1936 first edition is in the possession of Fred Eyer in California. Eyer's parents were in Zambia when the first edition appeared.[72] Copies of IZ-54 are more common although still rare. Copies of IZ-69 and its reprints can still be found. The most recent edition (IZ-03) is available for purchase at the Zambian Brethren in Christ Central Office and at the Choma Bookstore for 8,000 kwacha.[73] Although that price is cheap by current American living standards (ca. $1.75 per copy), in terms of Zambian earning power it is expensive. [74] A Zambian laborer would need to work five or more hours to earn 8,000 kwacha.[75] In light of this expense, it is noteworthy that so many copies of the hymnal exist.

All three editions and their reprints have a number of features in common. They all include title page, preface, hymns, and indexes, and songs are topically arranged. All editions include songs borrowed from other hymnals, notably from *Amagama Okuhlabelela* and the Primitive Methodist Hymnals mentioned above. Although most songs in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* are in Chitonga, a number of songs are still in Chila. In order to understand the evolution of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, the different parts of the hymnal will be examined, comparing the various editions to each other.

Contents and Organization

Size, Color, Covers, Titles, and Title Pages. Although there is some slight variation in size (the first edition and reprint are smaller than following editions), every version of

Inyimbo Zyabakristo appeared in approximately the same dimensions: 3" x 4." The author is unaware of the reasons for choosing these dimensions other than the convenient and portable size and that this was a common size for text-only hymnals in the late nineteenth century. The color of the cover for the first edition and reprint was a light tan. Most subsequent hymnals have been printed with red or maroon covers. IZ-54 and IZ-69 and all but the last reprint have a small decorative insignia on the front. IZ-03 includes the North American Brethren in Christ symbol.

Covers of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* have all been fairly similar, with the title, *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, printed in bold letters on the front. The word *Inyimbo* comes from the Chitonga verb *kuiimba*, meaning "to sing." The form *inyimbo* means "songs." *Zyabakristo* means "people of Christ" or Christians, and the combination can therefore be translated "Christian Songs."

This article's use of the term "hymnal" to describe *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* poses an interesting linguistic and cultural dilemma. Not surprisingly, the Batonga had no word for the English words "hymn" or "hymnal." Moreover, the distinction made by the American church between these terms was meaningless to early twentieth century Batonga and continues to have little meaning even today. The Tonga traditionally classified songs with a variety of words, none of which approximate the associations implied in the West by the words "hymn" and "chorus." This dilemma highlights the reality that a culture's vocabulary reflects and controls its thoughts to varying degrees, and that some concepts may be so specifically bound to their original culture that they cannot or should not be applied cross-culturally.[76]

The title pages and backplates of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* include the hymnal title, denominational address, and sometimes the graphic that appears on the cover. IZ-03 adds an ISBN number in keeping with recent international publication standards. Most editions include the address of the printer. Interestingly, IZ-36 and IZ-44 indicate the publisher as the Sikalongo Bookroom, suggesting a stature to

Sikalongo that it currently does not hold in the denomination. In later editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, a chronology of the printing history was included on either the title page or the backplate. This practice made the inclusion of a publication date unnecessary.

Prefaces. The prefaces to *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* give clues to the purposes of the hymnal, the issues faced by the creators, and its general origins. The prefaces of the IZ-36, IZ-44, and IZ-54 are in English only: the prefaces to all the rest are in Chitonga. Several things are noteworthy. A comparison of the prefaces reveals that the editors of IZ-36 and IZ-44 considered those editions "temporary," "inexpensive" versions meant to serve "while a larger book was in the making." The editors admit to having serious difficulties in translating English texts into Chitonga and reconciling the natural rhythm of Chitonga with American and British tunes:

> In common with all other Bantu Hymnals in which Western tunes are retained, we have been confronted with the problem of attempted harmony of trochaic words and iambic tunes. The degree of success we may have attained in our efforts can best be measured by hearing the Bantu themselves sing the hymns.[77]

They wisely decided to "measure" their efforts by "hearing the Bantu themselves sing the hymns" rather than impose preconceived Western notions of melody on the African church.

The "problem of attempted harmony of trochaic words and iambic tunes" mentioned in this preface points to one of the key textual difficulties faced by editors of cross-cultural songbooks, that of matching the language of one culture with the tunes of another. Speech in a given language tends to have its own unique rhythm, pace, stress, and sometimes pitch. It is now common knowledge among ethnomusicologists that the practice of transferring linguistic or musical materials from one culture to another not only raises issues related to cultural dominance, but also poses practical problems of combining a

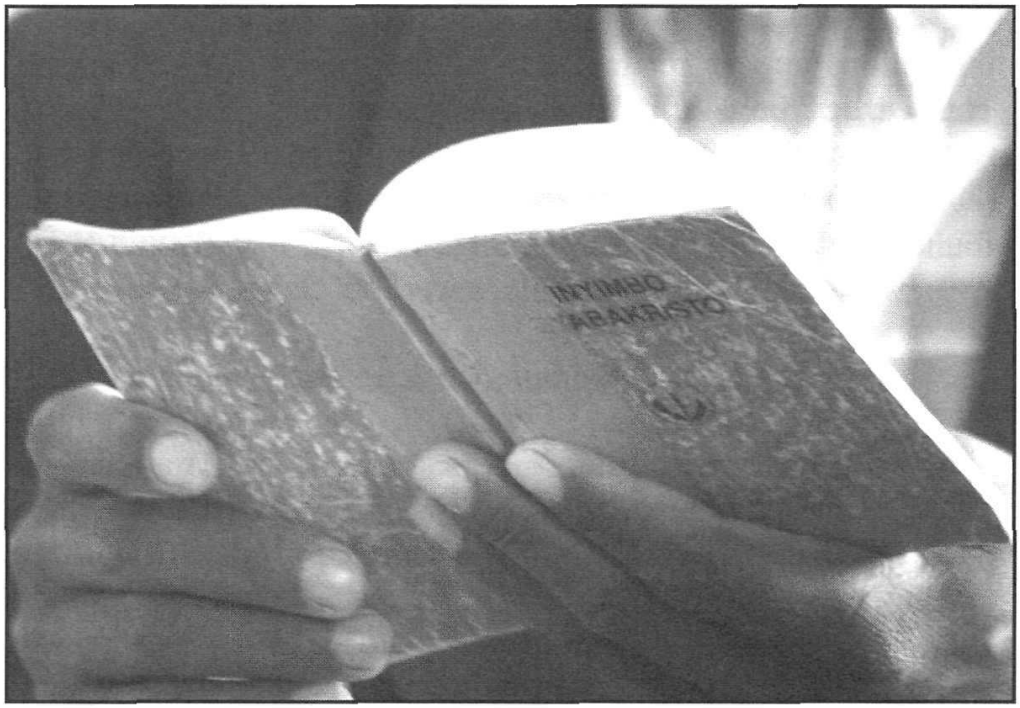
text from one language and culture with a tune that was created for another. The editors of this first Brethren in Christ cross-cultural songbook were obviously aware of this dilemma. It is unfortunate that they either did not have the foresight or the training to encourage Tonga Brethren in Christ to compose new tunes for use with new Chitonga texts.

Another interesting detail of the prefaces points to the sources from which songs were taken. IZ-44 notes "we are indebted to the Methodist missionaries for the use of a number of their hymns," making it clear that the editors of this book were still acquainted with the hymnals created by Chapman, Fell, and Smith mentioned above. The first edition editors emphasized that no changes had been made to hymns borrowed from the Methodists. IZ-54 adds thanks to several other denominations: Pilgrim Holiness, Church of Christ, Salvation Army, and Zambesi Union Mission. In contrast to the editors of IZ-36, editors of IZ-54 pointed out that their translations reflected both orthographic changes and changes specific to Brethren in Christ worship practices.

Definition of Symbols. A page titled "definition of symbols" follows the prefaces in IZ-63 and all editions after it. This page lists two abbreviations that appear below the titles of many songs in IZ:

> Z.H. – Zulu Hymnal. American Board Mission, Durban.
>
> M.H. – The Methodist Hymn Book. Methodist Conference Office, London.

The Zulu Hymnal is, of course, *Amagama Okuhlabelela*. The designation "M.H." is more difficult to identify. It is not clear to which Methodist hymnal this refers, but the abbreviation appears with more than thirty songs. The abbreviation "M.H.A.T." also appears in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* but is not explained on the Definition of Symbols page. When abbreviations appear in the body of the hymnal, they are meant to designate tune references. IZ-36 and IZ-44 do not have a similar page for identifying abbreviations, but tune



Singing from a well used copy of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*

Preface

This is the third collection of hymns by Brethren in Christ missionaries in Northern Rhodesia. It is the successor to the two temporary trial editions while a larger book was in the making. The compilers trust that it will meet a very real present need among our Batonga Christians.

In common with all other Bantu Hymnals in which Western tunes are retained, we have been confronted with the problem of attempted harmony of trochaic words and iambic tunes. The degree of success we may have attained in our efforts can best be measured by hearing the Africans themselves sing the hymns.

We are indebted to various societies, such as The Methodist Church, The Pilgrim Holiness Church, The Church of Christ, The Salvation Army and The Zambesi Union Mission, for the use of a number of their hymns. Many of these have been modified into a newer Citonga orthography, and in various instances have been adapted for usage in the pattern of Brethren in Christ worship services and terminology.

We are grateful to all who have had a hand in the compilation of this hymnal. Their blessing will be found in the enrichment of fellow Batonga Christians as they worship the Lord through song.

May God's Holy Name be worthily praised for ever.

Rockview, 1954

The preface from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 1954 enlarged edition

indications appear in the body of the hymnals nevertheless. The earlier books make it clear that they are primarily referencing the tunes, as in the example of "Tune: Azmon. (Z.H. 162)".[78] IZ-44 also includes several abbreviations not found in later editions: S.S.H., S.H., P.M.H., P.M.S., and N.H. Even without a definitions table, several of these are obvious:

> S.S.H. = *Spiritual Songs and Hymns* (the 1935 Brethren in Christ Hymnal)
>
> S.H = *Spiritual Hymns* (the 1909 Brethren in Christ hymnal)
>
> P.M.H. = *Primitive Methodist Hymnal* (not sure which one)
>
> P. M. S. = *Primitive Methodist Songs* (?)
>
> N.H. = uncertain as to which hymnal this refers (only two hymns carry this abbreviation)

These early abbreviations leave no doubt about the connection between the IZ-36 and the Primitive Methodist hymnals, and *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*'s connection to North American Brethren in Christ hymnals. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to identify the exact Methodist source hymnals to which these abbreviations refer.[79]

Topical Organization. The songs included in each edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* were topically organized into sections that are nearly identical from IZ-36 through IZ-03. The general order used is fairly common in Christian hymnals, but different enough from SH-1909 and SSH-1935 to suggest that the order used in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* was not borrowed from them but from another hymnal. The sections of IZ-69 (in Chitonga and English) are as follows:

Chitonga	**English**
Kutalika Mubungano	Opening Songs (lit: to start gathering)
Leza Taatesu: Milimo Yakwe Aluzyalo Lwakwe	Our Father God: His works and His grace
Jesu Kristo Mwana aa-Leza:	Jesus Christ the Son of God:

Kuzyalwa Kwakwe	His Birth
Jesu Kristo Mwana aa-Leza: Buumi Bwakwe	Jesus Christ the Son of God: His Life
Jesu Kristo Mwana aa-Leza: Lufu Lwakwe	Jesus Christ the Son of God: His Death
Jesu Kristo Mwana aa-Leza: Kubuka Kwakwe	Jesus Christ the Son of God: His Resurrection
Jesu Kristo Mwana aa-Leza: Bulemu Bwakwe	Jesus Christ the Son of God: His Glory
Jesu Kristo Mwana aa-Leza: Kuboola Kwakwe	Jesus Christ the Son of God: His Return
Muuya Uusweyisya	The Holy Spirit
Kujulu	Songs of Heaven
Mangwalo Aasweya	Holy Scriptures
Lufutuko	Salvation
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Kusanduka	Life of A Christian: To Repent
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Kulipeda	Life of A Christian: To Commit Oneself
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Kusolwedelwa	Life of A Christian: To Be Guided
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Kusyoma Leza	Life of A Christian: To Believe In God
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Kulumba	Life of A Christian: To Give Thanks
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Kukomba	Life of A Christian: To Pray
Buumi Bwa-MuKristo: Mulimo Wakwe	Life of A Christian: His Works
Mulalilo Wa-Mwami	The Lord's Supper
Kutamba	To Invite
Kukwata	To Marry
Bana	Children
Cisi	(Songs about our country) Patriotic Songs
Mangolezya	Evening Songs
Kulaya Akumwayika	Songs for Departure (i.e. dismissal)

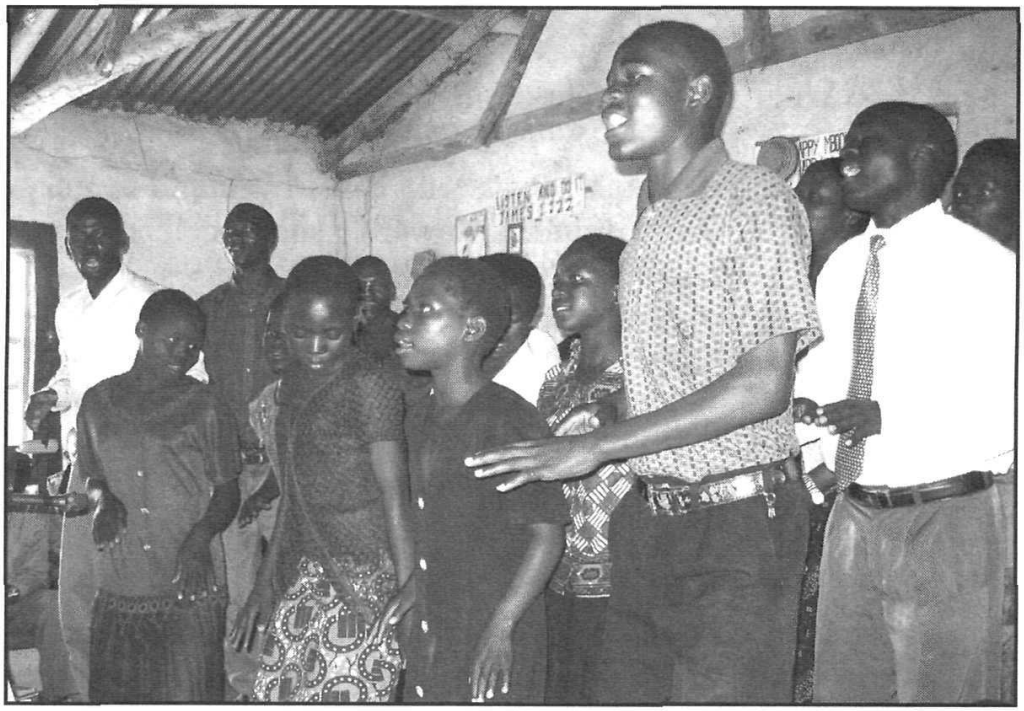
Inyimbo Zimbi	Other Songs
Zindululo	Choruses (lit: "repeat")

A comparison of this order of sections with Fell's 1910 *Tonga Hymns* makes it clear that the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* borrowed its order from the 1908 and 1910 Primitive Methodist hymnals. [80] Both *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* and *Tonga Hymns* place their topical index at the beginning of the book, both index titles are almost identical, and the order and wording of the section headings are nearly the same.

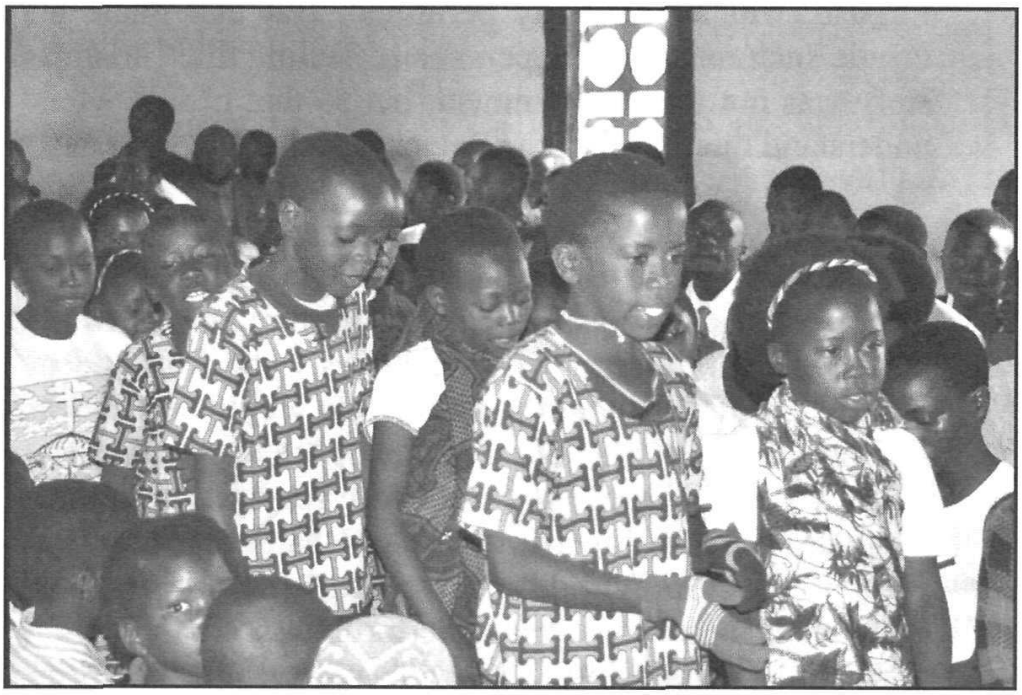
With Chapman's Ila hymnbook and Fell's *Tonga Hymns* already available, one might wonder why the Brethren in Christ wanted to create their own hymnal. It has already been noted that the Chitonga spoken on the plateau differs from that used in the valley. Chapman's Ila songs would not have worked well in the Sikalongo area, and Fell's Chitonga translations of Chapman's 1908 Ila hymnal would have been equally unacceptable for people in the Macha area. It seems probable that the Brethren in Christ needed a hymnal that would be well received by Brethren in Christ worshippers from both regions.

As previously noted, the order of sections in all editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* is almost identical, but the placement of songs within sections is not. A marked difference in song placement occurs between IZ-44 and IZ-54. Editors of IZ-54 eliminated only two songs from the earlier edition but moved many songs from one section to another. This suggests a strong editorial impulse in the 1954 enlarged edition, supporting the claim that the first edition was viewed as a trial edition. Seventy-three songs were also added to IZ-54, bringing the total from 104 in IZ-36 to 179 in IZ-54. IZ-69 (the second enlarged edition) retains the topical order of the two earlier editions and the same song order for the first 179 hymns. It was enlarged merely by adding twenty songs at the end of the previous edition for a total of 199 songs.

Most of the songs added to IZ-69 were Christmas songs. The inclinations of one of the missionaries who helped edit that edition accounts for the addition of these songs. During



Mboole Youth Choir singing an original Zambian chorus, July 2003



Sikalongo Children's Choir entering Mboole Brethren in Christ worship singing a Zambian step song, summer 2003

the 1960s, Mary E. Heisey was one of the Brethren in Christ Chitonga experts in Zambia. She helped edit IZ-69.[81] The early editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* included very few Christmas songs, perhaps because of early twentieth-century Brethren in Christ attitudes toward such celebrations. However, Heisey loved celebrating the Christmas story. In her account of her missionary experience, she notes both her interest in linguistics and her love for Christmas.[82] She brought her interest in Christmas celebrations to Zambia:

> An important event at Macha Hospital was the Christmas program. One of the hospital evangelists told us during the weekly report of his work and prayer for the spiritual needs of people around us that many people, even in the Macha community, did not really know the true meaning of Christmas. Telling the story of why Jesus came to earth had been a special interest of mine since the days in Kentucky. That early class of girls in 1957 had wanted to give their Christmas program in English, which I partially permitted. But that made me decide such must not happen again. Telling the Christmas story was not for entertainment, but so that people would understand their need of the Savior.
>
> From year to year, and one at a time, Christmas hymns were translated to be sung between the scenes of the Christmas story as read from Scripture and acted out by the students, starting with Hebrews I and followed by Isaiah's prophecy about the virgin who would bear a Son. The program was first given in one of the wards, but later in the hospital chapel. It closed with remarks and prayer by the hospital evangelist. The carol hardest to translate was "Joy to the World," and several times it was laid aside. One year we prayed again for the Lord's help in the translation and the words He gave have become a favorite, along with "Beautiful Star of Bethlehem" (from Kentucky) and "There Is No Name So Sweet."[83]

Having begun the process of translating Christmas hymns in 1957, Heisey and her helpers had plenty of time to accumulate Chitonga Christmas hymns before the release of the 1969 enlarged edition.

As previously noted, *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* borrowed from several sources for songs, some American and some African. The reference to songs from *Amagama Okuhlabelela* is one of the unique features of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* Thirty-three hymns in IZ-44 are referenced to *Amagama*. Some references are to tunes only; others have clearly borrowed both tune and text. Most of the borrowed tunes from Z.H. are British or American hymn tunes, but several tune names suggest African origins:

Chitonga or Chila Title	**IZ-44 #**	**Tune Name**	**Z.H. #**
Nkwali Uubaazyisya Banji	74	Umhlobo Omuhle	ZH172
Ulainda Akufwamba	53	U Bangepi?	ZH216
Kala Aswe, Mwami Wesu	41	Ukunxusa	ZH229
Amajwi Oonse Aa-Mwami Leza	42	Qub' Indaba ka Jesu	ZH246
Swebo 'Tunyamuke Toonse	48	Umfeli Wetu	ZH262
Sunu Twabungana Ano	56	Si Butene KuLe Ndawo	ZH324

A closer examination of these tunes, however, reveals that some of them actually refer to indigenous texts and not indigenous tunes (e.g. "*Si Butene KuLe Ndawo*"). Many of the songs from *Amagama Okuhlabelela* have fallen out of favor. Among those in common use today, "*Umfeli Wetu*" is a notable exception.[84]

The word "*Cila*" appears in parentheses after the titles of forty-two songs in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo,* indicating that they are written in the Ila language. The presence of Ila texts in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* is undoubtedly a remnant from early contact between Brethren in Christ missionaries and the Primitive Methodist missionaries at Namwala. A study of the "*Cila*" songs in IZ-69 shows that all of these songs were included in IZ-44, suggesting that they are an earlier contribution to *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.* Like the songs from *Amagama*, congregations seldom sing the Ila songs. Two notable exceptions are "*Mwami Wes' Ulibukile*" (IZ-03 #25 [CHRIST THE LORD IS RISEN]), sung at Easter, and "*Uleziza Jesu Mwini*" (IZ-03 #169 [JEWELS]), sung at funerals.

It was noted earlier that IZ-36 includes some songs from SH-1909 and others from SSH-1935. Not surprisingly, most of these were gospel hymns and the majority came from SSH-1935. The following songs came from SH-1909:

Chitonga Title	IZ-36	Tune Name/Text	SH No.
Atusyome Mwami Jesu	30	'Tis so Sweet to Trust in Jesus	SH145
Tuzoolumba Mwami Jesu	14	We Shall Stand Before the King	SH173
Jesu, Mwami Jesu	4	Jesus, Blessed Jesus	SH26
Ndeezya Syoonse Nsyuufwini	98	God Is Faithful	SH26
Uynezisye, Mwami Jesu	85	Refuge	SH351
Sius' Insoni Ukwa-Jesu	88	At the Cross	SH371
Na IzibiZyenu Zyasiya	49	Though Your Sins Be As Scarlet	SH484
Koonse Koonse Nkwaya Jesu	22	Anywhere with Jesus	SH51

Coolwe Cipati	19	There Shall Be Showers	SH75
Tuyoobona Mwami	11	We Shall See the King	SH9

The following were from SSH-1935:

Chitonga Title	IZ-36	Tune Name/Text	SSH No.
Mumwiinzo Wamalowa	70	There is a Fountain	SSH109
Cinzi Cinsanzyisya 'Tombe?	81	Nothing but the Blood of Jesus	SSH114
Ngwinzanda Lyoonse	89	I Need Thee Every Hour ("S.S.S. 116")	SSH116
Nguuli Mukwesu Ombuli Jesu	6	No Not One	SSH181
Cita Mboyanda	36	Have Thine Own Way	SSH200
Mubumbi Wensi Eyi	58	My Faith Looks up to Thee	SSH201
Lez' Ab' Amwe Nimukasakana	102	God Be with You	SSH201
Muvuni Wangu	5	My Redeemer	SSH240
Ndili Wako, Mwami	38	Draw Me Nearer	SSH254
Noonse Muzize Muteelele	96	The Great Physician	SSH283
Yoko Wako Ngu Mubombu	84	Come, Thou Fount	SSH29
Nombungano Yakwe	43	St. Gertrude	SSH320
Yebo, Moyo Wangu	40	My Soul, Be on Thy Guard	SSH326
Muzyime Nubakwesu	92	New York	SSH327

Leza Uusweyisya! Sinsana! Syoonse	63	Nicaea	SSH33
Jesu Owamasi-Masi	91	Even Me	SSH35
Sena Ndililembedwe Mo?	15	Is My Name Written There?	SSH409
Jesu Ul' Ame Ciindi Coonse	31	I Remember Calvary	SSH420
Wakasika Musilisi	7	The Precious Name	SSH44
Mbwembede, Mwami	47	Just As I Am	SSH456
Ndamukombelela	54	For You I Am Praying	SSH458
Niakatusiya	93	Blest Be the Tie	SSH46
Ngooyu Jesu	51	Come to Jesus	SSH470
Ndateelela Mufutuli	27	Where He Leads Me	SSH479
Ndilaboola Eneeno	52	Where He Leads Me	SSH479
Uleziza Jesu Mwini	99	Jewels	SSH517
Njandoobona Jesu Mwami	39	Must I Go Empty Handed?	SSH520
Mwami Jesu Ulayanda	57	Jesus Loves Me	SSH528
Koyandaula, Taata Leza	44	Sun of My Soul	SSH54
Ngu-Jesu Wakaamba	45	From Greenland's Icy Mountain	SSH578
Nobaya Kwiitwa Boonse	10	When the Roll Is Called up Yonder	SSH588
Jesu, Mwami, Kondiyovwa	35	Jesus, Saviour, Pilot Me	SSH596
Ni Nsene Kwako, Leza	90	Bethel	SSH626
Kuza Kusiya Kala Ame	59	Eventide	SSH629

Atumwiimbile Jesu	80	Safely Through Another Week	SSH690
Tembaula Leza Mwini	104	Praise God	SSH73
Pupulala Basinkombe	67	Mendelssohn	SSH93
Ndilaimba Amalweza	79	The Wondrous Story	SSHr06

In most instances, the editors borrowed both text and tune from their source hymnals.

Zindululo. IZ-54, IZ-69 and their reprint editions differ in another way from IZ-36 and IZ-44. The two recent editions include a section at the back entitled *Zindululo.* This is the Chitonga word used to translate the English word "chorus." It would be a mistake for American readers to impose on Africa the set of meanings and associations for this term that are currently held in North America. The Chitonga word *zindululo* literally means "repetitions." While this certainly captures one element of these songs as they are presently sung in Zambia, one should not imagine that Zambian Brethren in Christ have the same understanding of "hymn" and "chorus" that most Americans Brethren in Christ have. In a recent conversation with a Zambian Brethren in Christ, the author attempted to explain the current North American difference in meaning between "hymns" and "choruses." The Zambian informant found the American distinction difficult to understand, highlighting the error of imposing Western categories (by way of words and conceptual frameworks) on Christians in other cultures.

No *zindululo* are included in IZ-36 and IZ-44. Twenty-one *zindululo* follow the main section of songs in IZ-54. The placement of *zindululo* at the back of the book implies a conceptual distinction in the minds of the editors that led them to separate hymns from choruses. Admittedly, some *zindululo* differ structurally from hymns, generally consisting of a single short strophe. And some are in fact from the American repertory of choruses that emerged in the mid-twentieth

century. Nevertheless, the segregation of *zindululo* to the back of the book echoes American musical notions and categories, not necessarily Tonga ones. IZ-69 expanded the *Zindululo* section to a total of sixty-seven. Whatever the original intent of this section was, some *zindululo* have become standards while others have all but disappeared.

The songs in the *Zindululo* section come from four repertories:

Short American children's songs:
a. #12 – "Fishers of Men"
b. #26 – "Building up the Temple"

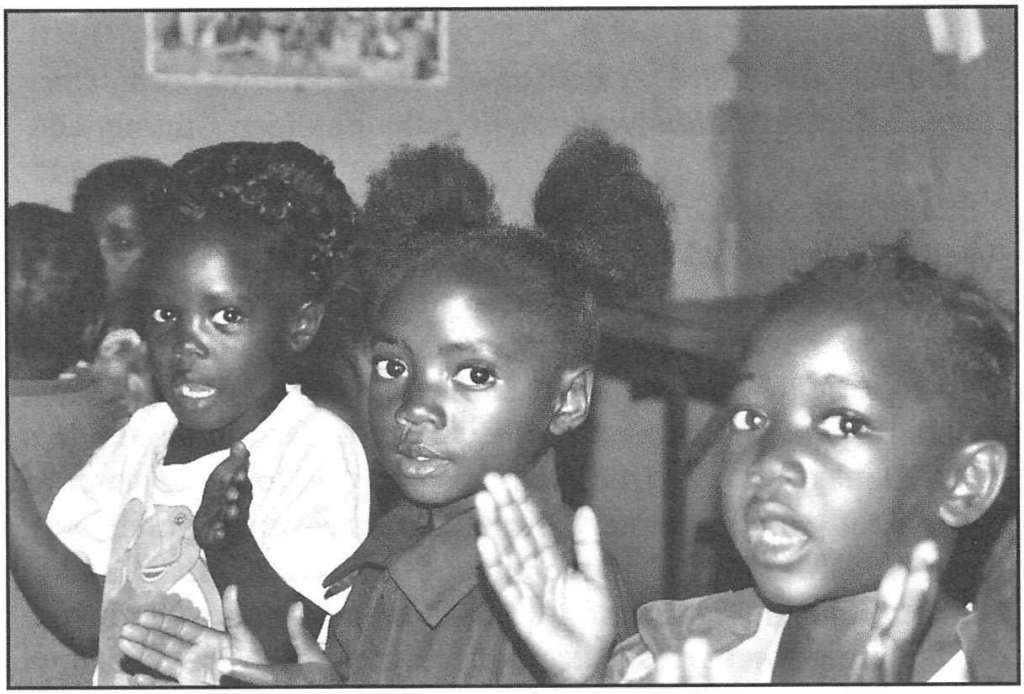
American choruses from the 1950s and 1960s:
a. 11 – "Everybody Ought To Know"

Refrains from American gospel songs:
a. #16 – "This Is My Story"

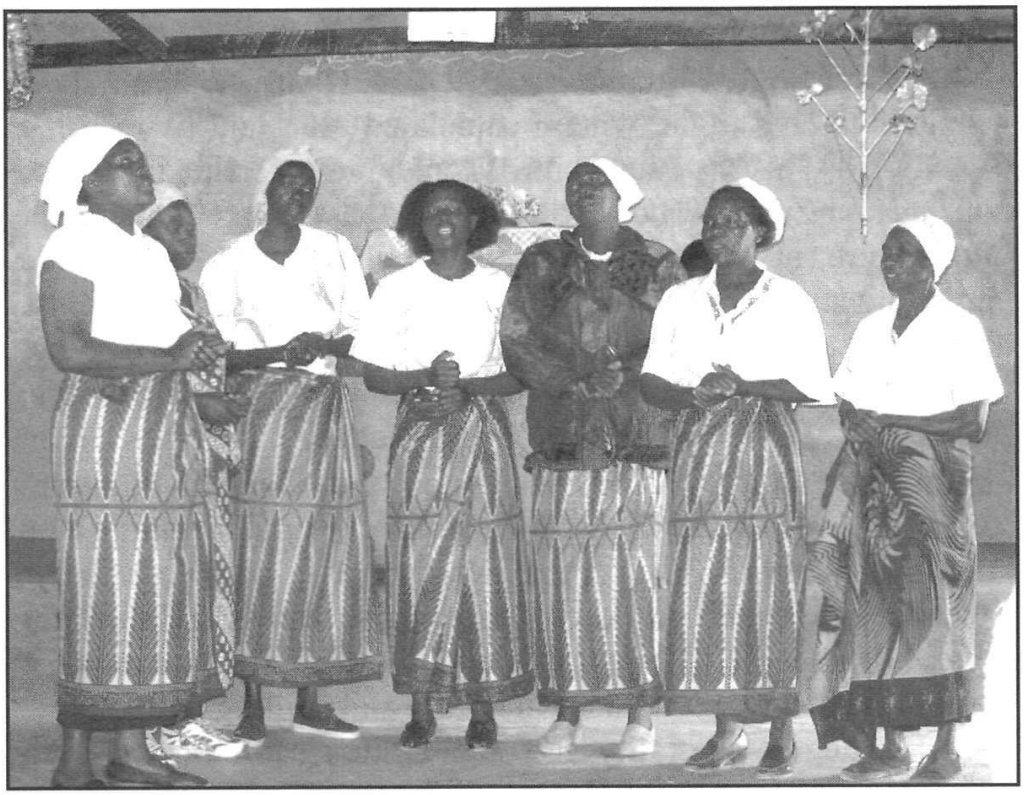
Songs without an English source listed and presumably of African origin
a. #9 – "*Ivangeli*"
b. #35 – "*Luyando Ndupati*"

The source of the first three categories is obvious: the last is less clear. A number of people claim that Shadrack Maloka, an evangelist from the Dorthea Mission, introduced songs in the fourth category to the Brethren in Christ.[85] Interestingly, a preliminary study of the frequency of use and the popularity of *zindululo* in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* reveals that the choruses most used by the present-day Zambian Brethren in Christ are those of probable African origin, not the American choruses.[86]

Indexes. All but the first edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* and its reprint conclude with two indexes: a topical index and an alphabetic index. IZ-36 and IZ-44 include an abbreviated topical index at the front which functions more as a table of contents than as an actual index with individual listings of the songs.



Sikalongo Nursery School children singing *"Luyando Ndupati,"* summer 2005



Chipande Brethren in Christ Women's Ensemble, July 2005

Use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* in the Zambian Church

It is somewhat difficult to get an accurate picture of the use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* in the past. Most informants say that it was once common for every faithful Brethren in Christ family to have at least one hymnal and Bible. Graybill Brubaker notes that students at Sikalongo Boys School were given a Bible and hymnal on their first day at school and that both books were prized possessions.[87] However, use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* today is not as pervasive as it once was. Fred Sodah claims that the use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* in small rural congregations is generally more limited than its use in the larger rural churches and urban churches. He points out that only three people out of thirty in his home congregation at Masopo own a copy of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.*[88] Although the research into the use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* is preliminary, the author wishes nevertheless to make a few observations on its use.

It was noted above that the cost of a hymnal is comparatively high when calculated in hourly earning standards. This may account for some of the decline in the use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.* However, it is just as likely that other forces are at work. Traditional cultures in Zambia are predominantly oral and most aspects of life reflect that reality. Interpersonal communication emphasizes talking over reading. According to Dennis Mweetwa, principal at Sikalongo Bible Institute, "We Tonga do not have a reading culture."[89] In an interview, Father Frank Wafer of the Catholic Chikuni Mission emphasized the same point to the author and noted that his institute aims to create newly-written Chitonga novels specifically for the purpose of creating a written literature for the Tonga people. He argues that Chitonga will not survive if it does not develop a written literature and reading culture.

The degree of orality in Tonga culture can be heard even in the simple pattern of everyday introductions.[90] One learns very quickly that it is important in a Tonga context to greet everyone directly and orally, even when that means greeting

each of ten or more people in sequence. Moreover, it is best if one goes beyond a simple hello and asks how the children are, how the crops have been, etc.

This strong sense of orality naturally informs the church's use of music and probably the church's use of hymnals. Presently, hymnals are not nearly as common as described by earlier missionaries. Furthermore, the use of the hymnal in worship is limited to a handful of songs on any given Sunday. On a typical Sunday, the leader announces a song number, someone starts the song, and most of the congregation sings completely from memory. Those who have hymnals appear to be using them but the hymnals are largely unnecessary for most songs in common use. Informal singing times before worship services have also weakened the role of the hymnal. During this informal segment, the congregation sings songs that are usually not from the hymnal but from a shifting repertory of anonymous songs of African origin.

The number of songs from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* in common use seems to be shrinking as a consequence of these developments. Of nearly 200 songs in the current edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, less than half appear to be sung regularly. A preliminary survey identifies the following ten songs as the most common ones in current use:

Chitonga Song Title	Tune	Source	Tune and Text both borrowed
Yama Kumaanza			
Leta Maila			Bringing in the Sheaves
Ndilakondwa			I Am So Glad
Ibbwe Eli Ngu-Mwami Wesu			Shelter in the Time of Storm
Nkajana Mweenzuma			What a Friend
Ibbwe Liyumu	Tappan	ZH157	My Hope is Built
Nkenaba Mbuli Jesu			Same

Chitonga Song Title	Tune	Source	Tune and Text both borrowed
Alimwi aa-Jesu			More About Jesus [no ref]
Ndil- Ezibi Zinjizinji	Saviour, Like a Shepherd	ZH119	Same but no ref
Buzuba Kwakugomana			O Happy Day [no ref]

A close examination of these ten songs shows that the most frequently used songs come from the most recent editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.* The songs least used in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* are those in the Ila language, which were also introduced in the first edition.

A number of songs in current use fulfill special roles. For the opening of a Brethren in Christ service in Zambia, one is likely to hear "*Buzuba Bwakukomana*" (#64) ("O Happy Day"). "*Leta Maila*" (#133) ("Bringing in the Sheaves") is the standard offering song in many congregations, with the congregation standing as ushers bring the offering baskets to the front and place them on a table.

"*Mwami Wes' Ulibukile*" (#25) ("Christ the Lord Is Risen") is a favorite for Easter. Interestingly, Easter caroling, not Christmas caroling, is the custom among Zambian Brethren in Christ according to Esther Spurrier and others:

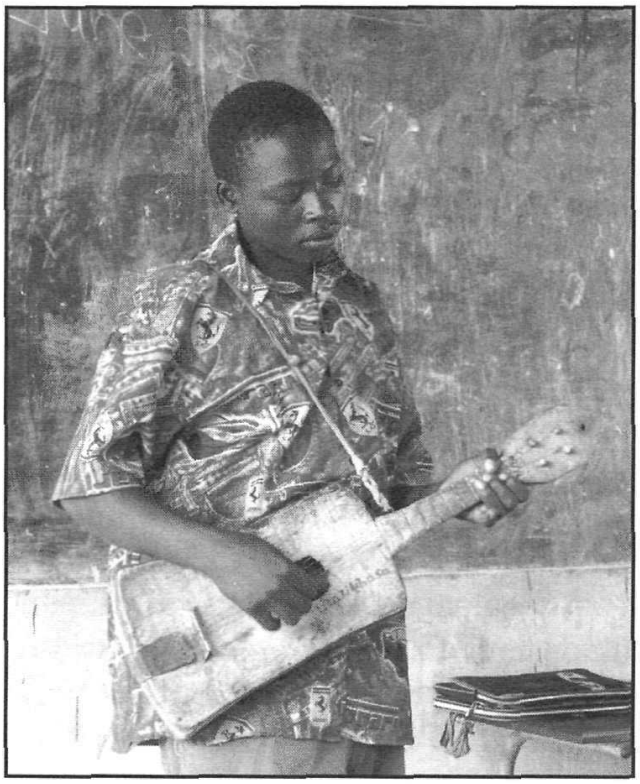
> Easter caroling is a strong tradition—not sure where or when it originated or how widely it is practiced. But at Macha it was done especially by school girls if they were still in session at Easter time. They would get up before dawn, wrap up in their sheets and walk through the various communities (school, hospital, mission) caroling to wake people to Easter dawn and call them to go along to sunrise service. Then the women began to camp out in an extended meeting over Easter weekend, and they would also carol. Now the area churches meet together in some church site (it rotates) and women and youth join in the

> caroling experience. However, Christmas caroling was only ever done when the missionaries were here and died when they left (we used to carol early around the hospital wards). Easter songs and hymns are much more widely known and sung than are the Christmas carols we are used to. [91]

Despite Mary Heisey's Christmas efforts, it appears that many of her Christmas songs have not survived the test of time. However, Esther Spurrier noted that "*Nyenyeezi Mbotu*" (#187) ("Beautiful Star") was a favorite of Mary Heisey's and continues to be a favorite at Sikalongo even in the present.[92]

Funerals are particularly important in Tonga culture so it is not surprising that funeral songs hold a special place. My informants agreed that "*Nobaya Kwiitwa Boonse*" (#32) ("When the Roll Is Called up Yonder") and "*Nkamuzyibe*" (#41) ("I Shall Know Him") are favorites for funerals.[93] At weddings, one might expect to hear "*Coolwe Cipati*" (#54) ("There Shall Be Showers").[94] And believers would undoubtedly sing "*Tulakuswaana 'Mulonga*" (#39) ("Shall We Gather at the River") at a Zambian baptism. In a place where most baptisms still take place in streams and rivers, this seems especially appropriate.

Some songs in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* carry distinctive demographic associations. The category of children's songs seems to be understood somewhat differently in Zambia than in North America, but informants singled out several songs from the *Zindululo* section as ones which are mostly sung by children: #19z – "*Coonse Ciinde*" ("Every Time I Feel the Spirit"), #34z – "*Bulamana*" (no translation shown), #35z – *Luyando Ndupati*" (no translation shown). Several of the songs in the *Zindululo* are popular among so-called quartets. These quartets often have more than four young men, but they are called quartets nevertheless. "*Leza Wakaambila Noa*" is a particular favorite for such quartets.[95] Other special music ensembles apparently favor songs *not* in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.* According to Fred Sodah, women's choirs and youth choirs (both of which are currently popular in Zambian Brethren in



Zambian "banjo" player at Popota, June 2005

Sikalongo Youth Choir singing in formation. Mary Chabakola directing, June 2005

Christ churches) tend to borrow songs from outside repertories, often singing songs from other denominational songbooks or other languages.[96]

The adaptation of Western tunes to suit African musical tastes is one of the most interesting musical aspects of Brethren in Christ use of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. Some adaptations occur in texts, some occur in the formal structure, and some occur in melodic or harmonic practices. As was noted earlier, text and tune are often intrinsically bound together by a language's patterns. The number of syllables in a pleasing Chitonga sentence often does not fit nicely into the rigid hymn meters of the Anglo-American poetic tradition. The first editors of IZ-36 noted this challenge in their preface.

Simply adding syllables at the end of a line is a common Tonga solution. If that does not work, a word might be truncated. These solutions appear in the Chitonga rendition of "My Hope Is Built" (#96 – "*Ibbwe Liyumu*"). This is presently a very popular song among Brethren in Christ and the American tune does not adapt well to the Chitonga words. The altered Chitonga version truncates some words and adds straggling syllables to the ends of some lines. Zambians also sometimes substitute a new indigenous tune as an alternative to the American tune. Not surprisingly, the new tune often fits the Chitonga text better than the American tune.

A second sort of alteration of Western hymn tunes mirrors the ubiquitous African musical device known as "call and response." The formula is simple: a leader sings a short phrase and the congregation answers with a musical response. The call portion may appear repeatedly in a given song or occur only at points where a musical cue or reminder is helpful. Over time these musical additions have become part of the fabric of some congregational songs. "*Yama Kumaanza*" (#180) ("What A Fellowship") illustrates this phenomenon. In a typical Brethren in Christ rendition, the song leader sings the first line (or part of it) from the pew. Some of the congregation may join in along the way, but the entire group joins in at the second line, "*Yama kumaanza atamani*." At the end of the verse, the leader interjects the

word *yama* and the congregation answers with *yama*. The result is a wonderful counterpoint between solo and group singing. This sort of call and response occurs in Tonga renditions of many Anglo-American songs that originally had no such feature.

Zambian congregations also modify Euro-American songs with the addition or alternation of pitches not found in the original melody or harmony. Zambian songs have unique musical features and one would expect those features to exert some influence on the adaptation of foreign musical material. Two musical features of Zambian songs stand out: the predominance of diatonic melodies and harmonies, and the prevalence of conjunct melodic lines. In music theory, a diatonic melody is one in which there are no accidentals. That is, the pitches used are those that occur naturally in the scale. Many American songs are also predominantly diatonic. However, one of the recognizable features of nineteenth-century gospel hymnody was its accidentals. Nineteenth-century accidentals were sometimes melodic (as in the case of "Have Thine Own Way") or sometimes harmonic (as in the case of "Abide with Me"). In both melodic and harmonic instances, Tonga congregations are likely to replace chromatic pitches with diatonic alternatives. Many songs in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* that originally had chromatic pitches are now sung with diatonic alternatives.

The smoothing out of melodic and harmonic contours exemplifies a second pitch alteration practice. African melodies tend to be largely conjunct; that is, they move primarily from pitch to neighboring pitch rather than in large and frequent leaps. Foreign melodies that are strongly disjunct are therefore likely to be altered or not used. The tune used by the American church for "Oh God, Our Help in Ages Past" (ST. ANNE), for example, is much too disjunct to find a comfortable home in a Tonga congregation. This song is doubly unsuitable because of the presence of chromatic pitches in the interior parts. The addition of a passing tone between two disjunct pitches makes the tune more acceptable to a Zambian singer. The use of the minor supertonic chord in

African versions of American songs illustrates a related harmonic alteration. This appears somewhat less predictably, but is a harmonic alternative to parts moving in contrary motion.

The smearing of pitches is yet another melodic practice rooted in Zambian musical preferences. North Americans prefer discrete movement from pitch to pitch as one might hear in a piano melody. In contrast, many Zambian songs employ strategic smears. "*Leta Maila*" ("Bringing in the Sheaves") is one such song. At the end of the second line in the refrain, the congregation smears the melodic movement on the syllable "-la." This smear functions essentially as a melodic embellishment and obviously provides an element of beauty for Zambian singers.

These modifications in performance practice should not be thought of as musical errors but as accommodations or adaptations to meet the norms of Tonga musical vocabulary. They represent an aesthetic preference that is uniquely part of the Zambian Brethren in Christ musical experience.

Some other congregational performance practices deserve brief mention. The Brethren in Christ generally sing songs from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* unaccompanied in their worship services. This practice stems from an interesting distinction that seems to prevail in the minds of Zambian Brethren in Christ. Since the songs in *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* were introduced to Zambians during a period when the North American church frowned on musical instruments in worship, the Zambian church is reluctant to adapt them to more contemporary instrumental performance practices. One is not likely to hear a song from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* accompanied by the guitar or by drums, even though congregations use these instruments for other songs in worship.

To be fair, the North American church struggles with a similar ambivalence. It is comparable to the logic that leads the North American Christians to believe that an organ is *only* appropriate with certain sorts of songs and drums are *only* appropriate with others. The negative associations between accompaniment and the repertory of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*

represent a clear instance of so-called marginal survival. Long after the North American church abandoned its policy of not using instruments in worship, the African church continued to insist on unaccompanied singing in worship, especially for the old favorites from *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.*

Some Personal Thoughts and Observations

A number of issues and personal questions arose during the course of my research into *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. I have no clear answers to these questions, but they continue to concern me.

Brethren in Christ believers in Zambia have had a vibrant musical life in the past and they continue to have one in the present. *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* has played an important role in nurturing and sustaining that musical life. The *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* series is, however, an extension of an American missionary aesthetic. Creative musical alterations aside, the role of Brethren in Christ missionaries vis-a-vis nationals expressed itself musically as one of dominance in the creation of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. Missionaries introduced songs from Euro-American hymnals into a musical culture that neither understood that musical vocabulary nor wanted it. Early missionaries misunderstood the musical heritage that existed and destroyed large segments of it. Musical products such as songbooks, songs, and performance practices that are brought from one culture to another are bound to represent the aesthetic understandings of the original culture. Christians should give careful thought before introducing such cultural materials into a foreign context.

Music always seems to be a direct reflection of a given time and place. Twentieth-century Brethren in Christ missionaries fully believed that they were doing a good thing by replacing indigenous musical expressions with Euro-American ones. The nature of music is such that a particular set of musical materials seem completely natural, right, and beautiful to those who have only known those materials.

Conversely, different materials seem equally wrong and un-beautiful, often because they are largely misunderstood. Unfortunately, many Christians continue to make the same mistakes as these early twentieth-century Brethren in Christ missionaries to Zambia. Where early missionaries took "Trust and Obey" to other cultures, today's Christians are taking "Lord, I Lift Your Name On High" and other praise and worship choruses, thinking that such songs are somehow qualitatively different from the hymns of the past. In so doing, they merely impose *today's* sets of American performance aesthetics and forms on other cultures.

Responding appropriately to this dilemma is extremely difficult. In 2002, Steve Ginder, who was teaching at Sikalongo Bible Institute at the time, asked me to lead worship and music seminars in various Brethren in Christ churches in Zambia. In those seminars, I suggested that the Zambian church should encourage the creation of indigenous songs that are uniquely suited to Zambian congregations. Despite my efforts, I repeatedly encountered Zambian believers who wanted me to teach them the newest Christian songs from the United States, and I frequently found myself forced to compromise in order to satisfy their desires to acquire the musical trappings of contemporary American worship. Though making some concession, I gave careful thought to the nature of songs I introduced to the Zambian church, choosing songs that suited indigenous Zambian musical patterns. Ultimately, however, I see no substantial difference between an earlier colonial imposition of nineteenth-century gospel hymns on the Zambian church and today's imposition of contemporary praise choruses.

At the same time, I recognize the resilience of the Zambian people and the toughness of their cultural anchors. Orality still reigns in Zambia despite the visually-dominant materials and methods of the twentieth-century Western world. Zambian adaptations of Western musical material lead me to believe that future Zambians will *always* make the best out of the barrage of outside influences they are likely to experience. It nevertheless pains me to hear some Americans

criticize Zambian Brethren in Christ worship for being too docile, encouraging them instead to adopt the current American worship trends in favor of what they currently have. How is this sort of criticism of Zambian worship practice different from earlier colonial criticisms of Tonga drums or wedding songs?

Lastly, I wonder about my own role vis-a-vis the musical life of Zambian Brethren in Christ. What ought to be the nature of my relationship to the Zambian church as a North American ethnomusicologist and scholar? How can or should I use my skill and training in cross-cultural settings? In our new global society, do I have the right to collaborate with Zambian musicians? If so, to what degree and in what ways should I collaborate? Is it appropriate for me to make observations and even criticisms of the Zambian church? If so, when do such criticisms cross the line into neo-colonialism? And if my criticism is acceptable, is it not equally appropriate for Zambian Brethren in Christ to do the same with the North American church?

In my relationship to change, what obligations, if any, do I have to existing musical forms and cultural expectations? Are new materials *always* better? Ought old forms *always* to be preserved? Are American ways *always* better? If not, how do we discern the difference? Does the so-called marketplace of ideas apply here? Should the musical expressions of the most powerful cultures be the ones to survive—a kind of Darwinian process of the survival of the strongest music? American churches and Christian colleges are sending their youth on mission trips partly because Americans can afford to do so. Zambian congregations enjoy no such luxury. This gives American culture (and hence American music) a decided advantage in the global arena. Does the strength of that advantage bring with it any additional cultural responsibilities on our part?

In response to several of these questions, some Christian ethnomusicologists have moved in the direction of so-called applied ethnomusicology.[97] They argue that their role should be to use their skills to help create musical materials that

mirror the musical forms and aesthetics of the cultures in which they work. But others have raised reasonable objections to this approach. These critics ask: How can outsiders—no matter how thorough their training or how keen their instincts—hope to discover the deeply imbedded cultural layers of expression and avoid with confidence the cultural errors of earlier missionaries?[98]

A practical example now presents itself: a recent effort is in motion to create a new Brethren in Christ hymnal for the Zambian church. If this is to be done, what would be the nature of the repertory of such a hymnal? Should it include recent American praise choruses? Should it exclude older songs? Does the Zambian church even need a hymnal or should it revert to oral transmission of its musical materials since it seems to be doing that currently? If there is to be a new generation of music materials, how might the church go about encouraging the creation of a new generation of Zambian Christian songs uniquely suited for the Brethren in Christ? Could the Zambian church collaborate with the American church to forge a new body of songs that borrows from both traditions?

In the midst of all these issues and questions and even in the face of admitted colonial actions and relationships, I recognize the vibrant quality of today's Zambian Brethren in Christ musical life. It would be nice if things had been different—if the early Brethren in Christ missionaries had found another solution to their need for Chitonga musical materials. But they undoubtedly did the best they could with the training and insight available. We have less excuse for such actions today.

Today's church would be wise to address present-day reservations concerning cultural dominance and to forge new patterns of cross-cultural communication. An earlier mid-twentieth century desire to address cultural dominance led the American church to seek indigenization for the Zambian church. It was a good effort. However, in the process of indigenization, I believe the American church has distanced itself from its international spiritual sisters and brothers, and at

the same time has still not resolved the cultural dominance nor altered the American attitude of cultural superiority. Disengagement of resources and personnel has led mostly to curtailing our cross-cultural dialogue.

My hope is that we in today's global Brethren in Christ Church would strive for something better than a one-sided exchange of culture: that Americans might avoid imposing their songs or musical aesthetics on believers in other places, and that Zambians and other non-Western Brethren in Christ might avoid simply embracing the musical materials of North American visitors. There are undoubtedly Zambians who are capable of creating new musical materials that are distinctively Zambian and yet equally modern. One young musician at Sikalongo has written over twenty original songs in the past year which exhibit genuine Zambian musical characteristics.[99] As a Christian ethnomusicologist, my hope is that the Zambian church would encourage people to compose songs which reflect Zambian musical aesthetics and utilize Zambian musical materials.

As members of the global Brethren in Christ community work together, I wish both Americans and Zambians would seek materials that genuinely bridge the gap between our cultures and authentically capture the true nature of today's global church. I believe we can accomplish this goal if we collaborate as genuine partners, each honestly contributing our perspectives and abilities while maintaining respect for the other.

NOTES

[1] For a complete discussion of the musical life of the Brethren in Christ to the middle of the twentieth century, see H. Royce Saltzman, "A Historical Study of the Function of Music among the Brethren in Christ" (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1964).

[2] For a history of Messiah College, see E. Morris Sider, *Messiah College: A History* (Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Press, 1984).

[3] In the remainder of this article when referring to a specific edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, the author will use the letters IZ, followed by the date (e.g., IZ-36 = the 1936 first edition).

[4] For a non-Brethren in Christ survey of missions in Zambia, see Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880–1924* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965) and C. W. Mackintosh, "Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland," in *The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Nos. 1–16 in One Volume*, ed. Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (Manchester, England; New York: Reprinted on behalf of the Institute for African Studies University of Zambia by Manchester University Press; Distributed in the U.S.A. by Humanities Press, 1974), pp. 249–296. Carlton Wittlinger and other authors have described Brethren in Christ developments in some depth: Carlton O. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ* (Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Press, 1977), Asa W. Climenhaga, *History of the Brethren in Christ Church* (Nappanee, Ind.: E.V. Publishing House, 1942), Anna R. Engle, John A. Climenhaga, and Leoda A. Buckwalter, *There Is No Difference: God Works in Africa and India* (Nappanee, Ind.: E.V. Publishing House, 1950). For a discussion of Brethren in Christ mission efforts as they relate to the large mission movement, see Susan Myers Shirk, "The Impetus for Brethren in Christ Foreign Missions," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* (August 1986), pp. 150–164. For a firsthand treatment of later Brethren in Christ mission developments, see H. Frank Kipe, "From Mission to Church: Zambia and Zimbabwe," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* (August 1994), pp. 145–156.

[5] Hannah Frances Davidson, *South and South Central Africa: A Record of Fifteen Years' Missionary Labors among Primitive Peoples* (Elgin, Ill.: Printed for the Author by Brethren Publishing House, 1915). E. Morris Sider has also written a wonderful summary of Davidson's life in E. Morris Sider, "Hannah Frances Davidson," in *Nine Portraits* (Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Press, 1978), pp. 159–214. See also his articles about her journal: E. Morris Sider, "The Journal of Frances Davidson: Pt. 4, The Founding and Early Years of Macha Mission," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* (August 1986), pp. 125–149. Sider, "The Journal of Frances Davidson: Pt. 4, The Founding and Early Years of Macha Mission" (December 1986), pp. 284–309.

[6] There is no scarcity of books relating to Cecil Rhodes. For a beginning, readers can refer to Robert I. Rotberg and Miles F. Shore, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[7] Peter Becker, *Path of Blood: The Rise and Conquests of Mzilikazi, Founder of the Matabele Tribe of Southern Africa* (London: Longmans, 1962).

[8] Sider, "Hannah Frances Davidson," p. 168.

[9] *Amagama Okuhlabelela* appeared first in 1850 and was followed by four other editions. One of the author's copies was once owned by Mary E. Heisey, one of the Zambian missionaries responsible for editing the 1969 edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. Reference information for that hymnal is as follows: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Amagama Okuhlabelela: Zulu Hymnal*, 5th ed. (Durban: Published by the American Board Mission Council [South Africa], 1957). The publication history of *Amagama Okuhlabelela* stated on the publication page of Mary Heisey's copy states: 1850 - first edition, 1864 - second edition, 1888 - third edition, 1911 - fourth edition, 1956 - fifth edition (in three different forms), 1956 - words only, 1957 - tonic sol-fa, 1958 - old notation.

The use of *Amagama Okuhlabelela* by the Brethren in Christ has been described in an earlier article by the present author: Dwight W. Thomas, "Music Sources Used by the Brethren in Christ Outside North America: Two African Examples," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* (1997), pp. 209–235.

[10] When writing about Southern and Northern Rhodesia in the remainder of this article, the author will use the present-day names of Zimbabwe and Zambia respectively.

[11] Sider, "Hannah Frances Davidson," pp. 184–187.

[12] Davidson gives a complete account of this journey in Davidson, *South and South Central Africa* and E. Morris Sider has an excellent summary in Sider, "Hannah Frances Davidson."

[13] Terminology for discussing Bantu peoples is sometimes confusing. The terms "Ila" and "Tonga" are often used by Western writers to refer either to the people or to the language. This use is not altogether correct. In both languages, native speakers use different terms. The terms "Batonga" (also spelled "BaTonga" or "Ba-Tonga") and "Baila" (also spelled "BaIla" or "Ba-Ila") refer to the people, while the terms "Chitonga" and "Chila" (also spelled

"Citonga" or "Cila") refer to the language. "Batonga" could reasonably be translated "the Tonga people" and "Chitonga" would be best thought of as "the Tonga language." Orthographic differences also complicate the issue. In most present-day Tonga writing, the letter "c" is pronounced like the English "ch." This accounts for the presence of two different spellings: "Citonga" and "Chitonga." Since both spellings are still in use and since the latter more likely will be pronounced correctly by American readers of this article, I have chosen to use the "Chitonga" spelling to refer to the Tonga language and to reserve the word "Tonga" for use as an adjective or to describe the people themselves.

The use of the phrase "Tonga tribe" also presents some difficulties. Some have argued correctly that the Western concept of "tribe" does not reflect the range of social structures that exist in Central Africa. Even in English we would recognize a subtle difference between the phrases "Tonga tribe" and "Tonga people." It is not the purpose of this article to address this linguistic issue, but the issue is not without merit. For a brief discussion of the idea of "tribe," read Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (New York: Africana Pub. Co., 1976), pp. 63–80. See also: Elizabeth Colson, "Political Organization in Tribal Societies: A Cross-Cultural Comparison," *American Indian Quarterly* (Winter 1986), "The Trouble with "Tribe": How a Common Word Masks Complex African Realities," *Teaching Tolerance* (Spring 2001), pp. 50–55. In this article, I will use "the Tonga tribe," "Tonga," and "Batonga" more or less interchangeably when referring to the Tonga people.

[14] Historical discussions of Zambia's tribal and colonial past can be found in Roberts, *A History of Zambia* and Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa; The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873–1964* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965). Early discussions of so-called Ila-Tonga culture can be found in Edwin William Smith and Andrew Murray Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, 1st ed., 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1920). Andrew Roberts and Brian Fagan discuss the early history of the region (including the presence of the Tonga) in Roberts, *A History of Zambia* and Brian M. Fagan, D. W. Phillipson, and S. G. H. Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede, and the Tonga), Robins Series; 5, 6.* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969). Elizabeth Colson has provided the most extensive description of Tonga culture and life at the

middle of the twentieth century. See the following: Elizabeth Colson, *Life Among the Cattle-Owning Plateau Tonga: The Material Culture of a Northern Rhodesia Native Tribe, The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum; New Ser., No. 6* (Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1949); Elizabeth Colson, *Marriage and the Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, [1st] reprint ed. (Manchester: Published on Behalf of the Institute for Social Research, University of Zambia, by Manchester University Press, 1967); Elizabeth Colson, *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962); Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, Reprinted with minor corrections (Manchester: Published on Behalf of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Northern Rhodesia by Manchester University Press, 1959); Elizabeth Colson and University of Zambia Institute for Social Research, *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Published on Behalf of the Institute for Social Research, University of Zambia by Manchester University Press, 1958).

[15] Arab and Portuguese slave traders are known to have had contact prior to the nineteenth century, but this was largely limited to traders and a few explorers.

[16] Livingstone wrote extensively about his exploration along the Zambezi River in his various journals published in the nineteenth century. The most famous of his writings is: David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa, and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda, on the West Coast, Thence across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean* (London: J. Murray, 1857). An excellent coverage of Livingstone's expeditions through present-day Zambia can be found in George Martelli, *Livingstone's River; a History of the Zambezi Expedition, 1858–1864* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969).

[17] For more on this aspect, see Colson, *Life among the Cattle-Owning Plateau Tonga.*

[18] The Berlin Conference in 1885 was an especially important turning point in the scramble for Africa. At this meeting, European countries agreed on a protocol for colonization that led to the partitioning of Africa. For more on general African history, see

Phyllis Martin and Patrick O'Meara, *Africa*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

[19] Rotberg describes the early missionary movement in Zambia in Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880–1924*.

[20] Ibid. William Chapman's firsthand account of the Primitive Methodist work is particularly interesting: William Chapman, *A Pathfinder in South Central Africa; a Story of Pioneer Missionary Work and Adventure* (London: Hammond, 1910).

[21] Davidson, *South and South Central Africa*. Chapman, *A Pathfinder in South Central Africa*. Perhaps the best early account comes from Edwin W. Smith: Smith and Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*.

[22] Davidson notes these basic tribal differences: Davidson, *South and South Central Africa*, p. 248.

[23] A brief summary of Zambian tribal culture can be found in Roberts, *A History of Zambia*. More extensive discussion of tribal culture is available in Smith and Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* and in Colson's many writings.

[24] Colson, *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 68.

[25] Davidson, *South and South Central Africa*, pp. 270, 285, 318.

[26] Colson, *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia.*

[27] Phone interview with Lois Jean Sider on August 9, 2005.

[28] Davidson, *South and South Central Africa*, p. 285.

[29] Ibid., p. 409.

[30] Edwin William Smith and Andrew Murray Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, 2 vols. (New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1968).

[31] Two internationally-recognized ethnomusicologists did work among Zambia's Tonga people: Arthur Morris Jones and Hugh Tracey. They are recognized as two of the most important African ethnomusicologists of the twentieth century. Jones spent some of his years in Africa working at St. Mark's school in Mapanza, near Macha. Among his writings the following are especially relevant to this paper: Arthur Morris Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and Some Other Places*, *The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum; No. 4* (Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1949) and Arthur Morris Jones and L. Kombe, *The Icila Dance, Old Style. A Study in African Music and Dance of the Lala Tribe of Northern Rhodesia (*Roodepoort, South

Africa: Published by Longmans, Green and Co. for African Music Society, 1952). Jones's field recordings are housed in the British Museum in London and his other papers in the London School for Oriental and African Studies.

Hugh Tracey did most of his work in the Zambezi Valley among the Valley Tonga just before the creation of Lake Kariba. He is perhaps best known for his book, *Ngoma. An Introduction to Music for Southern Africans* (London; Cape Town: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948). His recordings of Valley Tonga music from the 1950s have recently been released and provide a fascinating echo from the past. Listen to: Hugh Tracey, "Kalimba and Kalumbu Songs, Northern Rhodesia Zambia, 1952 and 1957: Lala, Tonga, Lozi, Mbunda, Bemba, Lunda," in *Historical Recordings by Hugh Tracey* (Utrecht, The Netherlands: Stichting Sharp Wood Productions; Grahamstown, South Africa; International Library of African Music, 1998).

[32] Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and Some Other Places*.

[33] In his article on Ila dance, A. M. Jones carefully describes drum construction and playing technique as well as African rhythmic complexity as it existed in the mid-twentieth century: Jones and Kombe, *The Icila Dance, Old Style.*

[34] Phone interview with Fred Eyer on August 8, 2005. A drawing of the exact instrument described by Eyer is shown in A. M. Jones article on music in Zambia. Jones says it was called an "ndandi" and details the method used to tune the instrument by musicians at Mapanza near Macha. See: Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and Some Other Places*, p. 92.

[35] Interview with Frank Wafer at Chikuni, Zambia on July 8, 2005.

[36] Primitive Methodist J. R. Fell was one of those involved in the collection of Tonga folk materials: J. R. Fell, *Folk Tales of the Batonga and Other Sayings: Ingano Zya Batonga E Zimpangaliko Zimwi* (London Holborn Publishing House, 1932). The Catholic linguist, J. Torrend, published a collection of Bantu folk tales (including Tonga) which includes musical examples: Julius Torrend, *Specimens of Bantu Folk-Lore from Northern Rhodesia. Texts (Collected with the Help of the Phonograph and English Translations)* (Port Washington, NY; London: Kennikat Press, 1921;

reprint, 1973). The musical examples, however, are basic and do not represent a very high degree of technical musical skill.

[37] Davidson, *South and South Central Africa*, p. 272.

[38] Ibid., pp. 270–271.

[39] Ibid., p. 271.

[40] The author has not been able to discover an extant copy of the 1908 hymnal, but a copy of the 1910 translation by J. R. Fell exists in the Doving Hymnal Collection at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Min.: J. R. Fell and W. Chapman, *Inyimbo Zya Bakristi. Tonga Hymns. Edited for the Baila-Batonga Mission of the Primitive Methodist Church by Rev. J. R. Fell.*, trans. W. Chapman (London: Published by W. A. Hammond for the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, 1910). The translation of St. Mark referred to by Davidson is probably the Ila version that preceded J. R. Fell's Tonga translation: J. R. Fell *[St. Mark]* ([London]: Baila-Batonga Mission, 1911). Edwin W. Smith also produced an Ila book of Bible stories that was apparently used by Davidson: Edwin William Smith, *Twambo Twa Bibele: Intestamente Ya Kale: Scripture Stories from the Old Testament Told in the Ila Language: The Baila-Batonga Mission* ([S.l.]: Printed for the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society by the Religious Tract Society, 1906).

[41] Davidson, *South and South Central Africa*, p. 306.

[42] Fall and Chapman, *Inyimbo Zya Bakristi.*

[43] Saltzman, "A Historical Study of the Function of Music among the Brethren in Christ."

[44] Abraham M. Engel, Samuel Buck, and Jacob M. Engel, *Eine Sammlung Von Geistlichen Liedern: Angepaszt Den Verschiedenen Arten Des Christlichen Gottesdienstes, Und Besonders Bestimmt Für Den Gebrauch Der Brüder in Christo, Bekannt Als Die "River-Brüder"*, 2. Aufl. ed. (Lancaster, Pa.: stereotypirt und gedruckt von der Inquirer Printing and Pub. Co., 1874). *A Collection of Spiritual Hymns Adapted to the Various Kinds of Christian Worship and Especially Designed for the Use of the Brethren in Christ, Known as "River Brethren"* (Lancaster, Pa.: [Brethren in Christ Church], Inquirer Printing and Pub. Co., 1874).

[45] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Spiritual Hymns of Brethren in Christ. Compiled, Published, and Edited by the Hymnal Committee, Appointed by General Conference of 1906 of the Brethren in Christ* (Harrisburg, Pa.: S.R. Smith; Abilene, Kan.: L.M. Hoffman, 1909).

[46] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Spiritual Songs and Hymns: For Use in All Gospel Services, Containing a Large Selection of Standard Church Hymns, Inspiring Gospel Songs and Responsive Readings* (Nappanee, Ind.: E.V. Publishing House, 1935).

[47] For a complete discussion of Brethren in Christ hymnals, see Saltzman.

[48] *Hymns for Worship* (Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Press, 1963). *Hymns for Praise and Worship* (Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Press, 1984).

[49] Ira David Sankey, ed., *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6*, Diamond ed. (New York: Biglow and Main Co., 1894). See Saltzman for a discussion of the impact of gospel hymns on Brethren in Christ repertory choices. For a good study of the development and role of gospel hymnody in American musical experience, see: Sandra Sue Sizer, "Revival Waves and Home Fires: The Rhetoric of Late Nineteenth-Century Gospel Hymns" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1976), and Esther Rothenbusch, "The Role of Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6 (1875–1894) in American Revivalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1991).

[50] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Spiritual Hymns of Brethren in Christ,* 1909.

[51] *Spiritual Hymns,* 1935.

[52] Sider, *Messiah College: A History.*

[53] Messiah College *Clarions.*

[54] Phone interview with David Climenhaga on August 2, 2005. Phone interview with Frank Kipe on August 2, 2005. Phone interview with Graybill Brubaker on August 4, 2005.

[55] Ronald L. Miller, "We Called Him Prof: The Life of Earl D. Miller," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* (August 2002), pp. 169–219.

[56] This system was developed by two nineteenth-century music educators. See especially: John Curwen, *The Teacher's Manual of the Tonic Sol-Fa Method, Classic Texts in Music Education* (Clifden: Reproduced under the Direction of Leslie Hewitt for Boethius Press, 1986).

See: Thomas, "Music Sources Used by the Brethren in Christ Outside North America: Two African Examples."

[57] Phone interview with Nancy Kreider Hoke on August 15, 2005; interview with David Climenhaga.

[58] Fell and Chapman, *Inyimbo Zya Bakristi. Tonga Hymns.* [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, 1st ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Sikalongo Bookroom, 1936).

[59] The Seventh Day Adventists, for example, produced a hymnal in 1916, but the author has been unable to establish any link between it and the 1936 edition of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*. [Seventh Day Adventist], *The Seventh-Day Adventist Chitonga Hymn Book for Use in Divine Worship* (Cape town, South Africa: Sentinel Publishing Co., 1916). However, the prefaces of later editions of *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* specifically give thanks to these other denominations.

[60] A. M. Jones, *Africa and Indonesia; The Evidence of the Xylophone and Other Musical and Cultural Factors* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964). A. M. Jones, *African Hymnody in Christian Worship: A Contribution to the History of Its Development, Mambo Occasional Papers; Missio-Pastoral Series; No. 8;* (Gwelo, Rhodesia: Mambo Press, 1976). A. M. Jones, *African Music, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Occasional Papers; No. 2* (Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1943). A. M. Jones, *African Rhythm* (London: International African Institute, 1954). A. M. Jones, *African Rhythm, International African Institute. Memorandum; No. 27* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961). A. M. Jones, *Studies in African Music.* Vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1959). A. M. Jones, *Studies in African Music.* Vol. II (London: Oxford University Press, 1959). Arthur Morris Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and Some Other Places*, [Rev.] ed., *The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum; New Ser., No. 4* (Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1958).

[61] David G. Temple and A. M. Jones, *Africa Praise: Hymns and Prayers for Schools* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969).

[62] See also: Henry Weman, *African Music and the Church in Africa, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift; 1960, No. 3* (Uppsala, Sweden: Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1960).

[63] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*.

[64] Davidson, *South and South Central Africa.* For the Primitive Methodist emphasis on language, see also Sider, "Hannah Frances Davidson." Study of the Tonga language was a serious enterprise for early twentieth-century Brethren in Christ missionaries. Early Brethren in Christ missionaries probably used Smith's Ila Handbook

for language study: Edwin William Smith, *A Handbook of the Ila Language (Commonly Called the Seshukulumbwe) Spoken in North-Western Rhodesia, South-Central Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1907). Later Brethren in Christ missionaries often used Hopgood or Collins: C. R. Hopgood, *A Practical Introduction to Tonga* (London, New York: Longmans, 1953) or B. Collins, *Tonga Grammar* ([London]: Longmans, 1962).

[65] [Executive Committee of the BIC African Conference], *Minutes of the African Conference.* Article 12. Item 12 (July 1935).

[66] "Foreign Missionaries," *Evangelical Visitor*, September 28, 1936, p. 316.

[67] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.*

[68] Anna R. Engle, "Macha Mission," *Evangelical Visitor*, August 5, 1935, p. 246.

[69] Sikalongo Cor., "Sikalongo News Notes," *Evangelical Visitor*, April 13, 1936, p. 126 (114).

[70] Ibid., September 28, p. 316 (312).

[71] Macha Cor., "January and February at Macha," *Evangelical Visitor*, May 10, 1937, p. 156 (112).

[72] Phone interview with Fred Eyer.

[73] Dwight W. Thomas, Zambia 2005 Research Notes, August 2, 2005.

[74] Ibid. Current average Zambian wage for those who are fortunate enough to have jobs is about 1,000–1,500 kwacha per hour.

[75] This would be the equivalent of $50–$100 calculated in terms of current American hourly wages.

[76] A large literature exists which discusses these sorts of linguistic and literary issues. See, for example, books by Benjamin Whorf, Edmund Burke, and Lakoff and Johnson.

[77] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo.*

[78] [Brethren in Christ Church], *Inyimbo Zyabakristo*, reprint of 1st ed. (Choma, Northern Rhodesia: Sikalongo Bookroom, 1944).

[79] It is possible that the Primitive Methodist Hymnal is the following: John Flesher and Hugh Bourne, *The Primitive Methodist Hymn Book: Partly Compiled from the Large and Small Hymn Books, Prepared by the Late Mr. Hugh Bourne: Partly from Hymns of Numerous Popular Authors, and from Those of Unknown Authors, and Enriched with Original Hymns, and Selected Ones, Altered or Re-Made* (London: Published by Ralph Fenwick, 1880).

[80] Fell and Chapman, *Inyimbo Zya Bakristi. Tonga Hymns.*

[81] By her own account, Heisey notes that she was responsible for creating Chitonga teaching materials for missionaries at the time and was also involved in teaching and testing them. In 2005, the author discovered a manual written by Heisey for teaching Chitonga to missionaries in the files at Sikalongo Bible Institute.

[82] Mary E. Heisey, "Mary E. Heisey," in *My Story, My Song: Life Stories by Brethren in Christ Missionaries*, E. Morris Sider, ed. (Mount Joy, Pa, Brethren in Christ World Missions, 1989), pp. 209–222.

[83] Ibid., p. 217.

[84] "*Umfeli Wetu*" appears to be an original African tune although the author has been unable to discover its origins.

[85] Phone interview with George Kibler on August 2, 2005. See also: Shadrack Maloka and E. Morris Sider, *Amazing Grace: My Own Story of Rejection and Redemption* ([Elizabethtown, Pa.]: Brethren in Christ World Missions, 1990).

[86] In June and July of 2005, the author had several informants go through *Inyimbo Zyabakristo* and rank each song according its familiarity and use. Much more could be done in this regard, however, to thoroughly discover the extent of current song usage among Zambian Brethren in Christ.

[87] Phone interview with Graybill Brubaker.

[88] Interview with Fred Sodah.

[89] Interview with Dennis Mweetwa at Sikalongo, Zambia, on July 8, 2005.

[90] The term "orality" has been in common use by literary critics and anthropologists since the middle of the twentieth century. Authors such as Erik Havelock, Marshall McLuhan, and Walter Ong drew attention to the fact that mediums of communication (speech vs. reading in this instance) can have an impact on peoples' understanding of concepts. See: Eric Alfred Havelock, *Preface to Plato, A History of the Greek Mind,* Vol.1*;* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963); Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy; the Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word, New Accents* (London; New York: Methuen and Co., 1982).

[91] Esther Spurrier, Email Regarding Easter Caroling, Macha, Zambia: 11 August 2005.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Interview with Esther Spurrier at Lusaka, Zambia, on July 24, 2005. Interview with Fred Sodah. Interview with Phanuel Milimo at Sikalongo, Zambia, on July 18, 2005.

[94] This song was sung at the Hanchobezyia wedding at Sikalongo on July 28, 2005. Thomas, Zambia 2005 Research Notes.

[95] Interview with Fred Sodah.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Vida Cheoweth was among the first Christian ethnomusicologists to suggest the use of ethnomusicological perspectives and methods as a tool for Christian cross-cultural witness. She was followed by others, notably SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics). A recent book by J. Nathan Corbitt is overt in this regard: J. Nathan Corbitt, *The Sound of the Harvest: Music's Mission in Church and Culture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1998).

[98] John Vallier strongly criticizes Christian ethnomusicologists (whom he dubs "ethnomissionaries") in his article in Ethnomusicology: John Bellarmine Vallier, "Ethnomusicology as a Tool for the Christian Missionary," *European Meetings in Ethnomusicology* (Vol. 10), pp. 85–97. An interesting counterpoint to these perspectives can be found in Jean Kidula, "Where Is Your Tradition? On the Problematics of an African Ethnomusicologist Research on Christian Musics," paper presented at Southeastern Regional Seminar in African Studies (SERSAS) Fall Conference (University of Georgia, Savannah, 1999); available at http://www.ecu.edu/african/sersas/kidulaF99.htm.

[99] The musician's name is Bright Mushanga from Mboole, Zambia. He is a grade 12 student at Sikalongo Secondary School.