SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 AREA OF INVESTIGATION

This is a study on the concept and practice of *diakonia* in the New Testament and its implications in the Zimbabwean context. First, is the study of the teaching and practice of *diakonia* in the New Testament. This is then followed by a study of the teaching and practice of this concept in the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe (RCZ). Lastly is a comparison of the teaching and practice of *diakonia* in the New Testament and in the RCZ.

*Diakonia* is a Greek word which literally means service, particularly that meant to serve someone or others’ needs. However, the sum total of its use in the New Testament renders this definition too simplistic. In defining the word from its use in the New Testament, G. Kittel\(^1\) came up with a four-fold definition:

a) waiting at table or provisions for bodily sustenance. (Luk. 10:40).

b) any discharge of service in genuine love, for example, charitable giving. (2Cor. 9:12).

c) discharge of certain obligations in the community, for example apostolic office as service. (1Tim.1:12).

d) collections made for the Jerusalem saints during Paul’s missionary journeys. (1Cor. 8-9).
This study makes use of all these definitions of *diakonia* but also allows the New Testament context to dictate the meaning of the concept. The study investigates the concept of service focusing on the types of service provided by the Early Church, the recipients of the service and the reasons for the provisions of such service. In the RCZ the aim is to find out the types of service provided by the church and the extent to which the church is influenced by the same practice in the New Testament.

1.2 JUSTIFICATION

To the best of the writer’s knowledge, no work has been wholly devoted to the study of *diakonia* in the New Testament. This study therefore aims to provide this missing link in the academic study of the New Testament. Also during its over a century of existence in Zimbabwe, the RCZ has built schools, teachers’ colleges, hospitals, clinics and other institutions in the name of service to the community. However, no extensive academic work has been devoted to the study of such service, particularly to compare such service with that found in the New Testament and to find out the extent to which the church’s practice of *diakonia* was influenced by the same practice in the New Testament.

The RCZ, and indeed all other Christian denominations, to a large extent, considers the Bible normative. Its teachings and practices are mainly based on it. Therefore to understand the practice of *diakonia* in any Christian church today, one needs to investigate this practice in the New Testament first.
A reading of the gospels on the teaching of John the Baptist shows his emphasis on what one can call ‘religion with production’ ² (Luk.3: 7-14). He taught that belief in God is not only shown in lip service. Instead one should be seen practising what he/she believes in. For example, to the multitudes that asked him what they should do as a sign of repentance, John said:

He who has two coats, let him share with he who has none; and he who has food let him do likewise.       ( Luk. 3:11).

Even Jesus, as we read from the gospels, also taught and provided service to help those who were in need. For example, the feeding stories show us that despite caring for people’s spiritual needs, Jesus also cared for their physical needs.

The letter of James also teaches that faith without works is dead:

What does it profit, my brethren if a man says he has faith but has not works? Can this faith save him? If a brother or a sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily food, and one of you says to them, “Go in peace, be warmed and filled”, without giving him the things needed for the body, what does it profit? ( James 2:14-16).

On the basis of these and other teachings, the early Church put these teachings in practice. Acts teaches us that when hunger broke out in Judaea in the 40s C.E., Christians, including those from the Gentiles, had to give a hand in order to alleviate the food problem that their fellow Christians in Judaea were facing.( Acts11:27-30).

Though there are problems concerning the historical authenticity of this Lukan story there is a sense in which the story points to the practice of diakonia in the New Testament.
Now considering that the RCZ has done a lot in the name of service, this study intends to find out the extent to which this service is similar to the service practised by those communities behind the New Testament texts. Because the RCZ is still using the same New Testament, which mirrors the teaching and practice of the Early Church which produced it, it is interesting to find out whether it is also fulfilling the provision of service and for the same motives. It can also be seen that the problems that affected the people in the first century New Testament world, particularly in Palestine, are still affecting people in present day Zimbabwe. For example:

i) Israel as semi-desert region was affected by droughts. In the same way Zimbabwe also has a problem of recurrent droughts.

ii) Acts tells us of the poor in Jerusalem, for example, the widows who were looked after by the Church (Acts 6:1). Similarly there are many poor people in Zimbabwe and the study intends to find out what the RCZ has done for the poor.

iii) The gospels mention many ill people who came to be cured by Jesus, for example, the lepers, the blind, the lame and many with various diseases. There are also many ill people in Zimbabwe who need the help of the Church.

The study thus investigates the extent to which the Zimbabwean Church, in particular the RCZ, has fulfilled the practice of *diakonia* as shown in the New Testament under the Zimbabwean social, political, economic and cultural setting during its more than a century of existence.
1.3 OBJECTIVES

This study aims at finding out the implications of the teaching and practice of diakonia in the New Testament in the Zimbabwean context. To this end the study aims at achieving the following objectives:

1.3.1. To investigate the types of service taught and practised in the New Testament and the theological or doctrinal principles behind such service.
1.3.2. To investigate the types of service taught and practised by the RCZ, from its establishment up to the present.
1.3.3. To find out the extent to which the RCZ, from its establishment up to the present, has been emulating the Early Church in its teaching and practice of diakonia.
1.3.4. To suggest, in the process, other ways by which the Christian community in Zimbabwe can emulate the Early Church in the New Testament in giving ‘sight’ to the blind, giving ‘ears’ to the deaf and many other forms of service as the church ‘moved with the times’.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Many methods are going to be used in this study. As a result mention will be made of the main method(s) used in each section of the study. In this section mention of the methods to be used will be made and a brief description of each method made. The first one is the exegetical method. The name of the method comes from
‘exegesis’ which comes from a Greek word, *exegeomai*, which means ‘to lead out of’. Thus exegesis means finding meaning from a text, interpretation or explanation.\(^3\)

Exegesis is meant to fulfil two functions. The first one is that one’s initial interpretation of a text is checked or tested. The second one is that it furnishes reasons why someone understands a text in a particular way. The diagram below represents these two functions:

Initial understanding (of text)  Exegesis (of the same text)

Reasons for own interpretation  Check  Reasons for other interpretations.

Diagram from F.E. Deist, *The ABC of Biblical Exegesis*, p.3

This method is going to be used throughout the study to interpret studied texts. For example, it will be used to interpret New Testament passages like the sharing of goods (Acts 4:32-37), collections by Paul (1Cor. 16:1-4), caring for widows (1Tim.5:16) and many other texts.

The nature of this study also implies Biblical hermeneutics. The word hermeneutics is from a Greek word *hermeneia*. Traditionally hermeneutics has been defined as the study of the locus and principles of interpretation of ancient texts.\(^5\) In this study, C. Braansten’s definition of hermeneutics is going to be used as a working definition. He defined hermeneutics as, “the science of reflecting on how a word or an event
in the past time and culture may be understood and become existentially meaningful in our present time.\textsuperscript{6}

Hard perspectivists or radical relativists have however, challenged Biblical hermeneutics. These are people who reject that a person can have true or valid knowledge of anything outside his/her own historical or cultural context\textsuperscript{7}. They argue that beliefs and principles particularly evaluative ones, have no universal or timeless validity but are valid only for the age in which, or the social group or individual person by which they are held. Such people therefore deny that New Testament practices can be applied in the present context. However, this study follows soft perspectivists or qualified or moderate relativists\textsuperscript{8}. These hold two assertions. First, that there is a foundational framework of reality and rationality, and so rational assessment of historical or cultural contexts or perspectives is possible. The second assertion is that various cultural environments may be different but without being logically incompatible. Thus this study assumes these two assertions of soft perspectivism. Aware of the problems of cultural relativism, this study therefore solves it by assuming moderate relativism in its application of the New Testament in the study of modern societies. As D. Knight has rightly noted, humanities must become more inclusive, involving a range of cultures and to address the basic issue of human existence\textsuperscript{9}. Knight even says the Bible is a work providing a classic vision able to speak to the present through dialogue which bridges the historical context between the text and today. This is particularly true of the Christian community under study because it regards the New Testament and indeed the whole Bible
normative. However, the study agrees with D. Ferguson when he also cautions “against pressing the Bible too eagerly facicely to our breasts, for a broad gulf in time and world-view exists between it and us.” Because of this the Bible cannot necessarily communicate the same message in the contemporary context that it did in its ancient one. Thus hermeneutics is going to be employed in this study from soft perspectivism. It is going to be used following W. Brueggemann’s views on cultural relativism and the Bible. Brueggemann says, “Theological convictions about truth, ethics, divine-human relationships and nature of a called community which are derived from an authoritative scripture must be reconciled with the results of humanistic studies, that is, with the findings of the historical-critical method.” Hermeneutics is therefore going to be used in this study together with findings from the historical-critical method.

The use of hermeneutics in this study is also justified because as we have noted above, the RCZ considers the Bible normative and so it is the basis of the church’s teaching and practice. We have also noted that some problems that affected people in the first century New Testament world, particularly in Palestine are affecting people in twentieth century Zimbabwe. It is therefore interesting to make a comparison of the concept and practice of diakonia in these two contexts and find out to what extent the former influenced the later.

The historical-critical method (source, form and redaction criticism) will also be used. The historical-critical method is the reading of biblical texts in the light of the
historical contexts in which they were produced. The method seeks to determine the questions when and where the work in question was written, who wrote it, for whom was it written and for what purpose it was written\textsuperscript{12}. The method will be used to trace the concept and practice of service from the New Testament Church to the Church in Zimbabwe. It will also be used to analyse the interpretations that have been given by some New Testament scholars on texts like the communal life of the Early Church in Acts 4.

In collecting data from the RCZ interviews were mainly used. Church officials and members were interviewed. Church documents were also used to find out what the church has done in terms of service. The researcher also visited the National Archives to find out information on social service provided by the RCZ. The National Archives have also provided information on the country’s educational policies during colonial and post-colonial times.

The main method to be used, together with other methods mentioned above, is the social-scientific method, ones called the sociological method\textsuperscript{13}. The social-scientific method encompasses the use of sociology, psychology, anthropology and even economics in the interpretation of the Bible. T.E. Smith says that in its purest form, sociology simply attempts to understand what people do.\textsuperscript{14} R. Pregeant describes it as the refinement of the historical-critical method\textsuperscript{15}. This is because he says that in using the historical-critical method, one has to learn about the social and cultural contexts within which the New Testament writings were produced. J.H. Elliot\textsuperscript{16} says
the social-scientific method studies three main issues:

i) not only the social aspects of the form and context of the texts, but also the conditioning factors and intended consequences of the communication process.

ii) the correlation of the text’s linguistic, literary, theological (ideological) and social dimensions.

iii) the manner in which this textual communication was both a reflection of and a response to a specific social and cultural context, that is, how it was designed to serve as an effective vehicle of social interaction and an instrument of social as well as literary and theological consequence.

Thus social-scientific criticism is a sub-discipline of exegesis. The method, however, has its own problems which one needs to be aware of before using it. We will discuss the weaknesses first then the strengths thereby justifying the use of the method.

One of the weaknesses of the social-scientific method is its complexity. This complexity can also result in the problem of reductionism. For example, in interpreting the New Testament using the method, caution should be taken to avoid overemphasising society thereby removing God. This is because the social-scientific method seeks to analyse empirical data. It therefore does not deal with metaphysics and transcendence. As C.S. Rodd noted, “----this puts the truth of the Jesus movement into jeopardy.”¹⁷
The other problem of using the social-scientific method in the New Testament is that the method mainly deals with modern societies. Christianity originated some two centuries ago, therefore there is a danger of misinterpretation in using modern theories to interpret phenomena in ancient societies. The canonical writings are also not historical but theological. Thus it is difficult to test the social theories as the method requires. Care must therefore be taken to avoid a simple transfer of theories and models that have been devised within the setting of modern society to biblical and other ancient societies.

As has been mentioned above, the social-scientific method is very complex. It is in fact not simply a method but a field of methods. One can interpret a text using the sociological method of sects, of cognitive dissonance, of social history or social description as it is also called, of typologies or of social knowledge. There is therefore need for one to be cautious of the danger of the time gap between scholarly disciplines. Since Biblical scholars borrow the social theories from the social sciences, they may work with outmoded or discredited anthropological or social theories. One therefore needs to state the social-scientific model s/he uses when applying the method.

There is also the problem of the lack of concrete data to guarantee the proper use of the social-scientific method in the New Testament. Besides the Bible, the researcher is entirely dependent on chance sources that have survived. Thus the researcher has to work with the utmost caution and strictness and guard against being over-
enthusiastic on little data which he/she has found.

However, despite the weaknesses, the social-scientific method as a method of New Testament study has a number of strengths. The first and most important strength of the method is its placement of the origins of Christianity in the early Palestinian society. It has shown that Christianity did not originate in a vacuum, but that it originated in a society that had its own social factors. From the New Testament we can find out that the society of the early Christians had its own problems, achievements and failures. History repeats itself thus solutions to certain problems in ancient societies can help us solve our own problems today. This is why this study will discuss the concept and practice of *diakonia* in the New Testament before assessing what this implies to the modern day Zimbabwean Christian community.

The other strength of the social-scientific method is that it has shown that early Christianity was not wholly a unique social group. Therefore some of the solutions it implemented to solve its problems can also be used today. Thus though there can be no complete sociological analysis of early Christianity, there are times when a sociological model may actually assist in our ignorance. As R. Scroggs wrote:

> If our data evidences some parts of the gestalt of a known model, while being silent about others, we may cautiously be able to conclude that the absence of the missing parts is accidental and that the entire model was actually a reality in the early church.\(^{24}\)

So since the New Testament teaches us that Jesus provided service, it is interesting to find out whether the church today still follows his model of *diakonia*. 

12
Though the social-scientific method has a number of strengths, one needs to seek solutions to minimise its weaknesses. The problem of reductionism will be minimised or even avoided because the study assumes that in providing service Christians will be following God who is generous to all. The study therefore does not remove God to emphasise society, but seeks to find out whether Christians emulate God in their practice of *diakonia*.

The problem of modernity is not a serious one in this study because we study services in the New Testament first and then move on to the Zimbabwean context. Thus though situations might differ, where there is a group of people there is need for others to provide services.

The problem of complexity of the method is avoided because the study uses selected models of the social-scientific method. A model, is “an abstract, simplified representation of some real world object, event or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control or prediction.” Therefore models generate understanding, formulate relationships among the persons, things and events we want to study. J.H. Elliot has grouped the sociological models into five categories: social realia, social history, the deliberate use of social theory and models, social and cultural scripts and analysis of biblical texts. This study integrates social with economic and political phenomena, thus it will mainly use the sociological model of social history and the model of social and cultural scripts which influence and
constrain social interaction. Here B.J. Malina’s cultural anthropological method will particularly be used. Cultural anthropology is a more cross-cultural model. According to B. Malina and J. Neyrey, 'cultural anthropology' is concerned with 'describing different cultures in a comparative way, and with understanding the respective ways in which persons in different cultures are perceived and evaluated'.

The model is usually used to study ancient societies. However, it also works with pre-industrial societies that are similar in some respects to ancient societies. Cultural anthropology is therefore fitting in this study since it analyses an ancient society, the New Testament society, and a pre-industrial society, that is, the Shona society from the time of arrival of the European missionaries and colonialists. Since the study is on provision of service, Malina's discussion of cultural anthropology focusing on reciprocity is of particular importance. The patron-client model shall also be used. We shall define these methods in chapter 9 where we apply them in analysing the practice of diakonia in the New Testament and the RCZ.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section of the thesis reviews the literature that has been produced in the area probed by this thesis. It is, however, not possible to review every piece of work that has been produced on this topic. Therefore the review which follows is of selected major works which have been consulted. References to other works used will be made in the thesis itself.
The literature review has been divided into three sections. The first section is on those works on the methods employed in the thesis. The second section is on those works on **diakonia** in the New Testament and finally the third section is on those on **diakonia** in the RCZ.

1.5.1 Works on methodology

As stated above, this thesis mainly uses the social-scientific method in the interpretation of the material under study. Though a relatively young method in the interpretation of biblical literature, of late, a number of scholars have applied the method both in the New and the Old Testaments. R. Scroggs in an article entitled, “The Social Interpretation of the New Testament: the present state of research”, in *The Bible and Liberation*, edited by N. Gottwald, however, has noted that the sociological method (presently called the social-scientific method by scholars like J.H. Elliot) is a complex method. He then mentions the different models that are used in carrying out sociological interpretation. One of the models is that of typologies. This is a model that looks at Christianity as a sect. R. Scroggs himself is one of the New Testament scholars who used this method. He used it to study the early church as it is reflected in the New Testament having noted the following characteristics of a sect:

i) The beginning point of the sect as protest.

ii) The rejection of the assumptions of reality upon which the establishment
bases its world and the creation of a new world with different assumptions.

iii) The egalitarian nature of the sect.

iv) The vitality of love and mutual acceptance within the sect.

v) The voluntary character of the group.

vi) The demand of total commitment to the new reality accepted by the sect.

vii) Sometimes adventist or millenarian expectations.

After studying the synoptic gospels on the basis of the above assumptions, R. Scroggs concluded that these characteristics of a sect are evidenced in the synoptic material, which reflect the earliest Palestinian communities in their interaction with the larger social context.

One can also approach the sociological method from a psychological theory of cognitive dissonance. This is a theory that was popularised by L. Festinger (1957) and asserts that when in a community, religious or otherwise, a certain belief is held, specific enough for disconfirmation to be unavoidably clear, and given certain other conditions, the likely result of any disconfirmation of the belief will not be the dissolution of the group but rather an intensification of proselytising. J. Gager applied this model in the study of the early Palestinian community while L. Togarasei used it to discuss the conversion of the apostle Paul. According to this theory there are five conditions that are necessary if proselytising is to occur following disconfirmation:

i) The belief must be held with deep conviction.

ii) There must be committed action on the part of believers.
iii) The belief must be specific enough that disconfirmation cannot be denied.
iv) The believers must recognise the disconfirmatory evidence.
v) There must be communal support for the individual believer.

The other model of the sociological method that R. Scroggs mentions is role analysis. In role analysis one looks at the description or self-understanding of people who adopt or accept certain roles within the society. Such roles can be defined by social status, relation of person to group or the kinds of activities expected by the role. One who applies this model then investigates how these roles function in the larger societal context. For example using the model G. Theissen analysed the early Palestinian Christian prophet as a 'wandering charismatic'. Such people had given up all their old life to proclaim the urgent gospel of the kingdom of God. They were characterised by lack of family, home, possessions and protection.

The other model of the sociological method is the sociology of knowledge. This model teaches that, “the world we live in, the world we think or assume, has ontological foundations, is really socially constructed and is created, communicated and sustained through language and symbol.” For example the model argues that theological language and the claims made therein can no longer be explained without taking into account socio-economic and cultural factors as essential ingredients in the production of that language. Thus W. Meeks writes, "One's 'world' in the sociology of knowledge is understood as the symbolic universe within which one functions, which has 'objectivity' because it is constantly reinforced by the structures of the society to which it is specific."
There are, however, many other models that Scroggs discusses, for example Marxist theories, but these discussed should be enough to show the complexity of the social-scientific method. Scroggs’ work is important in this study in that it points out the necessity of spelling out the models one uses when applying the social-scientific method in the study of the New Testament.

J.H. Elliot is one New Testament scholar who has popularised the use of social-scientific criticism in the New Testament. Once called the sociological method (for example by people like R. Scroggs), Elliot was the first to suggest that the method should properly be called the social-scientific method since it involves the use of the social sciences in the interpretation of Biblical literature. He notes that the systematic application of the research concepts and theory of the social sciences to Biblical exegesis and the study of its social world emerged as a programmatic methodological enterprise in the 1970s. Like Scroggs, J.H. Elliot has noted that the social-scientific method is a complex method. Expanding on Smith (1973) J.H. Elliot says that studies concerned in any way with social matters can generally be classified into five main categories. The first one is an investigation of social realia (groups, institutions, occupations and the like), generally to illustrate some feature(s) of ancient society without concern for analysing, synthesising and explaining these social facts in a social-scientific fashion. The second category is of studies that take interest in social issues, integrating social with economic and political phenomena to construct a social history of a particular period or movement.
or group. Here concern is mainly history with an eschewing of social theories and models. The third social-scientific approach by J.H. Elliot is the deliberate use of social theory and models. Here focus may be on the social organisation of early Christianity in terms of both social forces leading to its emergence and its social institutions. The fourth category is of social-scientific studies of the New Testament that concentrate on the social and cultural scripts influencing and constraining social interaction. Focus here may be on the social and cultural environment of the New Testament. There is also a deliberate use of explicit theory and models of the social sciences, particularly those of cultural anthropology. The final model is the analysis of biblical texts, for example focusing on the analysis of the gospel of Luke like what H. Moxnes did. J.H. Elliot has also provided this study with a definition of a model. Following B. Malina he has defined a model as, “an abstract, simplified representation of some real world object, event or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control or prediction.” J.H. Elliot’s insights have been used in this paper to a great extent and his social scientific model of deliberate use of social theory and models has been employed in this thesis.

M. Sahlins’ book, Stone Age Economics is quiet central to this study on the concept and practice of diakonia. Malina discusses the vice-versa movement of goods and services in primitive communities. He is the one who identified the three types of reciprocity that New Testament scholars like B. J. Malina used to interpret some passages of the New Testament. Our discussion of reciprocity in this study therefore follows Sahlins’ classification of reciprocity into negative, balanced and generalised
reciprocity. Malina noted all the three types of reciprocity in the economic relations of primitive communities. He also argued that each type of reciprocity is a result of kinship relations amongst members involved in the exchange of the goods or services.

B.J. Malina has two books which are pertinent to this study. These are *The New Testament: insights from cultural anthropology* and *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology*. In these two books Malina employed cultural anthropology for the interpretation of the New Testament. Malina has therefore helped us avoid one of the problems of the social-scientific method, complexity, by focusing on the cultural anthropological model. This model helps us to understand what appears foreign to us, that is, the New Testament writings and the behaviour of the people portrayed in them. As Malina says, “These (models) help us to understand cross-culturally, and force us to keep our meanings and values out of their behaviour, so that we may understand them on their own terms.” B.J. Malina’s method of cultural anthropology, particularly the model of reciprocity has formed the basis of this thesis which is on service. His employment of Sahlins’ three forms of reciprocity; balanced, generalised and negative reciprocity is used in this thesis to analyse the concept and practice of diakonia in the New Testament and its implications in the Zimbabwean context.

D.S. Ferguson’s work on biblical hermeneutics also requires a review because his definition of hermeneutics is the one followed in this study. He defined hermeneutics
following C. Braansten who said, "(hermeneutics) is the science of reflecting on how a word or an event in the past time and culture may be understood and become existentially meaningful in our present time." His definition and application of hermeneutics is followed in this study which tries to understand the implications of the teaching and practice of diakonia in the New Testament and in the RCZ today.

W.J. Larkin’s work raises the problems of culture and biblical hermeneutics. He raised the problems of using the Bible to answer the problems of present societies. He then noted that following these problems two perspectives can be noted, hard perspectivism and soft perspectivism. Hard perspectivism denies that a person can have true or valid knowledge of anything outside his/her own historical or cultural world. Thus for a hard perspectivist modern societies cannot get any useful knowledge from the Bible. Soft perspectivism on the other hand accepts the relativity of the Bible but insists that it remains a cultural deposit with its own identity and integrity which makes it a partner in conversation with those living in later periods. This is the position followed in this study.

1.5.2 Works on the teaching and practice of diakonia in the NT

In A Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, G. Kittel gave a four-fold definition of the word diakonia. His work is of much importance in this study since we have discussed diakonia in the light of this four-fold definition. The study, however, has gone beyond Kittel’s definition. Instead of being limited to the four
definitions the study allows the New Testament to define the word from the sum total of the teachings and practices in it.

H. Moxnes’ work, *The Economy of the Kingdom*, has been used widely in this paper. He interpreted Jesus’ teaching and practice of *diakonia* in the gospel of Luke from the perspective of social conflict and economic relations. Interpreting the parable of the rich fool (Luk.12:16-21) from this perspective he says that there was nothing wrong morally in the way the rich man got his wealth, that is, through a good harvest. What is morally wrong is not sharing his wealth with others, not in visiting other people in the village to celebrate with him and so to spend some of his gains on others. Moxnes also discussed reciprocity and patron-clientage, methods used in this study. For example he interpreted the parable of the rich man and Lazarus from the patron-client perspective. He said power to give access to scarce resources was in the hands of patrons. Lazarus did not have access to food, which the rich man could have given him (Luk. 16:20-25). Thus people who have the means and opportunity to give are in a position to be patrons while those who do not have remain clients. Moxnes says in its widest sense patronage can include relations between relatives and neighbours. The only limitation of Moxnes’ work is that it is limited to the gospel of Luke. This work has gone further to discuss the concept of *diakonia* in the New Testament and to see the implications of this teaching and practice in the Zimbabwean context.

Related to the work of Moxnes is the work of L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann. In a
book entitled *Jesus and the Hope of the Poor*, these two scholars have also discussed Jesus’ teaching and practice of *diakonia* in the gospel of Luke. They say that in the gospels Jesus’ emphasis is on the caritative works of mercy on the part of the Christians. They, however, do not use the word *diakonia*, but show that Jesus carried out acts of service. They note, for example, that in Matthew’s gospel, care of the poor in the Jewish synagogues is caritative activity directed primarily to co-religionists, and that in Luke, this refers to charity directed to non-Christians, for example, in Acts 3:1-11. This thesis then classifies *diakonia* in Matthew under balanced reciprocity and that in Luke under generalised reciprocity.

B. Holmberg’s work is used in two areas of this thesis. First, his *Sociology and the New Testament* discusses the level of Early Christians and shows that the New Testament can be better understood by applying sociology in its interpretation. This book has been used to argue for the use of the sociological method in this thesis. Of much importance to this study is the book *Paul and Power*, which discusses the Pauline collections project in detail and mentions various theories on the significance of this project. Holmberg, however, does not classify this Pauline act of *diakonia* into B. Malina’s three forms of reciprocity. This is what this thesis does in preparation for a comparison with the concept and practice of *diakonia* in the RCZ.

1.5.3 Works on the teaching and practice of diakonia in the RCZ

W. J. Van der Merwe’s work comes in three volumes, *The Day Star Rises in
Mashonaland, From Mission Field to Autonomous Church and *Kuvamba nekukura kweKereke yeReformed muZimbabwe* (The Origins and Development of the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe). In these volumes, van der Merwe retells the history of the establishment of the RCZ. He traces the history of the church from the time it was in Cape and then called Dutch Reformed Church. He also discusses the different services the church carried out from the time of its establishment in Zimbabwe: education, health, cares for the disadvantaged, printing and selling of both Christian and academic books. He, however, does not discuss this service in the light of the forms of reciprocity. Though he shows the influence of the New Testament on the church’s practice of *diakonia*, he does not do this from critical and academic perspectives but rather from a confessional perspective.

D.N. Beach discussed the initial planting of the Dutch reformed Church among the southern Shona people. In his article, “The Initial Planting of Christianity on the Shona: the Protestants and the Southern Shona” in *Christianity South of the Zambezi Vol.1*, Beach has discussed how the DRC first got into contact with the Shona. Of interest to this study are the reasons he gave on why the Shona people accepted Christianity. Though he does not mention the word *diakonia*, he discusses the services provided by the DRC missionaries apart from evangelism or as methods of evangelism. Beach also made a good observation to be followed throughout this study. He observed that the missionaries tended to think of a mission beginning when a European missionary settled permanently at one spot. The Shona conceived this differently. For them their experience with Christianity often began when an
African evangelist arrived to preach.

C. M. Brand also discussed the DRC in an article entitled, “African Nationalists and the Missionaries in Rhodesia”, in Christianity South of the Zambezi vol.2. He discussed why the Shona accepted the missionaries. He also discussed land as a form of service in the DRC. However, like D.N. Beach, his work is simply historical. He does not compare this with the practice of diakonia in the New Testament as this study does.

In his dissertation, N.O. Magaya investigated the role of Morgenster Mission Farm during the colonial as well as post-colonial periods. This work is quite valuable to this study particularly where the study discusses how land has been used as a form of diakonia by the church. His observation that the Shona in Chief Mugabe’s area accepted Christianity largely because they were looking forward to having a wide range of benefits from the pioneer missionaries, is also used in this study.

1.6 Outline of thesis

This thesis is divided into four sections. The first section is an introduction of the whole thesis. It forms chapter one of the thesis. Here the problem under study is stated and justified, objectives are stated, the methods employed in the study are also stated and lastly a review of the relevant literature is made. Section two is on the teaching and practice of diakonia in the New Testament. It is made up of two
chapters; chapter two which is on the New Testament teaching on diakonia and chapter three which is on the practice of diakonia in the New Testament. Section three is on the history of the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe and on its teaching and practice of diakonia. It is made up of three chapters; chapter four which is on the history of the RCZ including its teaching on diakonia, chapter five which is on the church’s practice of diakonia in the area of education, chapter six which is on the church’s practice of diakonia in the area of health and chapter seven which is on the church’s practice of service in the area of the disadvantaged and chapter eight which is on other services: the translation of the Bible, the uses of the printing press, care for the old, relief, bookshops, employment and the land. Section four is a critical analysis of the teaching and practice of diakonia in the New Testament and its implications in the RCZ. It has three chapters. Chapter nine is on the application of social-scientific methods on service in the New Testament and the RCZ. Chapter ten compares diakonia in the New Testament and in the RCZ to find out the implications of the former on the later. Chapter eleven then concludes the study.
SECTION II : THE TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF DIAKONIA IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

This section is made up of two chapters which are on diakonia in the New Testament. The first chapter, which is chapter two of this thesis discusses the New Testament teaching on diakonia. It attempts a reconstruction of the concept of diakonia in the communities of the New Testament. The second chapter, which chapter three of the thesis looks at the practice of diakonia by these communities of the New Testament.

CHAPTER 2 : THE CONCEPT OF DIAKONIA IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

This chapter discusses what the New Testament teaches concerning service. Two dominant methods will be used. First is the historical-critical method. We will attempt
a historical reconstruction of the development of the concept and practice of diakonia from the time of Jesus’ ministry (ca 30C.E.) to the time when the church had now developed into a universal institution (ca 125C.E.). Since we are interpreting the New Testament, exegesis is therefore unavoidable. We will use it to draw out the church’s teaching and practice of diakonia at a given period.

Our starting point are the gospels. This appears unchronological to any student or scholar of the New Testament since it appears to defeat the findings of the historical-critical method we have pointed out as the major method in this chapter. Let us therefore point out here that we are aware that the gospels are products of the mid to the late first century of this era and therefore in terms of the chronology of the books of the New Testament they come after the Pauline letters which were written in the fifties of the first century. We are also aware that they were written to solve problems in particular communities to which they were written. However, though the writers were addressing problems of their own time, they tried to answer them by attempting a reconstruction of the life and teaching of Jesus. We believe these writers added a lot to the story of Jesus for their own theological purposes. However, just as the new questers have observed, we cannot run away from the fact that any attempt to find out Jesus’ teaching and practice has the gospels as its source. We therefore here try to decipher from these gospels what could be John the Baptist and Jesus’ teaching and practice of diakonia. Attempt will be made to separate the teaching and practice from that of the communities of the evangelists. Thus our chronology here is not of the New Testament texts but of the concept of
We therefore first discuss what the gospels say were John the Baptist’s and Jesus’ teachings on service. This is followed by the teaching and practice of *diakonia* by the early Jerusalem community as reflected in Acts and some Pauline letters. This is also followed by the Pauline teaching on service as is reflected in the presently accepted genuine Pauline letters. Lastly we will discuss the concept of service in the deuetro-Pauline letters, Pastoral letters and the Catholic letters.

### 2.1 The Gospels

The four gospels in the New Testament all tell the story of the life and ministry of Jesus. They, however, agree and disagree. The disagreements can be explained in terms of the different audiences the evangelists were addressing and their different theological interests. The gospels’ teaching on service is found in what they say were the teachings of John the Baptist and Jesus. We will discuss these to find out the teaching on service in the gospels.

Of the four gospels, Matthew, Luke and John provide us with substantial information concerning the ministry of John the Baptist (Mat. 3:1-17; Luk.3:1-22; Jn. 1:14-51). Mark only focused on the baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:4-13). Though Matthew, Luke and John have written on the ministry of John the Baptist, it is Luke who has preserved what we will call ‘the Baptist’s teaching on service’. Here we follow P. Winter convinced by his argument that Luke used a Baptist document which contained our passage in question (Luke3:22) and also Luke 1:5-80. As J. de Santa
Ana noted, “--- the life and thought of John the Baptist are important in our study of the challenge of the poor and poverty to the community of faith.”

The following passage summarises John the Baptist’s teaching:

> And the multitude asked him, “What then shall we do?” and he answered them, “He who has two coats, let him share with him who has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise.” (Luk. 3:10-11).

Commenting on these verses E Mutema has said that John here was teaching ‘religion with production.’ In other words John was saying one should not just confess that he/she is religious without providing service to the needy. The ‘haves’ must share with the ‘have-nots’. This is a kind of communism; and so in a society there should not be a wide difference between the rich and the poor. This is because those who have will have to share with those who do not have.

When asked the question, ‘What shall we do?’, John’s answer shows that salvation does not come from elsewhere but from one’s right relationship with others. His message being apocalyptic, (“--even now the axe is laid to the root of the trees--”), the people are afraid and so ask him what they have to do. His answer shows that salvation is attained by those who help others in need of food, clothes and protection. Commenting on this J.L Mays has therefore rightly observed that the message framed for each group not only addresses the temptation peculiar to each, but provides an occasion for an early glimpse of the social message of Luke and especially his attention to economic oppression and inequality. Here, Luke probably addressing concerns of his community, gave a sample of the Baptist’s ethical
preaching especially as it was concerned with social contact. Though the message could have been reinterpreted by Luke to suit his own context it should as well be from John the Baptist whose central message was repentance as all the gospels testify. J. A. Fitzmyer says, “John here is advocating a selfless concern for others in sharing the fundamentals of life, that is, food and clothing”\(^{50}\). Throughout the gospel of Luke one finds a strikingly high number of passages referring to famine and hunger and in most cases there are contrasts between some who go hungry and others who have plenty (1:53, 6:21, 15:17, 16:19-21). Some of these passages are going to be interpreted when we discuss Jesus’ teaching on providing service.

John the Baptist also mentions clothes. Like food, clothes belong to the necessities of life. Luke 3:11 and 6:29 show that at the time John and Jesus taught, people wore a cloak as an outer garment and under that a shirt (tunic)\(^{51}\). It is not surprising that poor people could go without a shirt. Those who managed to have two tunics were therefore relatively well off, in a time when clothes were scarce (evidenced by Lk 6:29 and 10:30 which show that clothes were targeted by robbers). So though Luke has been accused of being a tendentious writer what he says John taught about diakonia can be accepted considering that other sources confirm, for example, that clothes were very expensive. D.L. Mealand tells us that in Mishnaic times, a cheap shirt or a cloak cost about twelve denarii and a better one twice as much\(^{52}\). Considering that a denarius was a day’s wage, it can be seen that clothes were very expensive. It means one was to work for twelve days or more to get a shirt. And considering that poor man had to feed their families from a day's wage, it seems it
was almost impossible for a poor man to afford a new shirt. L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann say those who had two tunics wore one during the weekdays and the other on the Sabbath day\textsuperscript{53}. Such people, the Baptist taught, were supposed to share with those who did not have even one tunic. Sharing with such people prevented others (the poor) from nakedness, which was not only a deprivation but also considered shameful. This explains why the madman of the Gerasene was dressed after he was healed by Jesus (Mark 5:15 par.). For a long time he had gone without clothes, but as a sign of sanity he was clothed after he was healed. This is because to be naked marked exclusion from the village; it marked a transition from human life into demonic existence\textsuperscript{54}. We also find that when the prodigal son returned he was clothed by his father (Luk.15:22). Luke does not tell us that the prodigal son was naked but basing on the extent of his poverty, it is less likely that he could afford clothes. John thus taught that at least everyone must have a cloak, his objective being the “solidarity of the poorest of the poor with one another”\textsuperscript{55}. W.R. Farmer summarises the teaching on sharing thus, "His (John's) injunction to share clothing and food strikes at the very heart of an acquisitive society and indicates that John advocates a kind of eschatological brotherhood, perhaps similar to that practised in Essene communities.”\textsuperscript{56} New Testament scholars believe that John the Baptist learnt this as a member of the Essene communities as Luke 1:80 implies.

In verses 12-14 the Baptist stipulates how the tax collectors and soldiers ought to behave when rendering their services. The tax collectors are told not to defraud people by collecting more than is appointed. The soldiers are told not to rob people
and to accuse them falsely but to be satisfied with their wages. As noted above, the message for each group addresses the temptations each group faces. Tax collectors were considered sinners by the Jews for two reasons. First, they were corrupt and so charged people more than was appointed. They converted the extra charges to their personal use. As a result many of them were very rich. Two tax collectors in the gospels prove that generally tax collectors were rich. Matthew/Levi (Mat.9:9-13) hosted a meal not only for Jesus and his disciples but also called his fellow tax collectors to the meal. Zacchaeus (Lk.19:1-10) was also very rich. Luke tells us that he was “a chief tax collector and rich” (19:2) and that when he received Jesus’ teaching he promised to repay the people he had defrauded fourfold (19:9). The second reason why tax collectors were considered sinners is that they worked for the Jewish enemies, the Romans. They were Jews working for their colonial masters and therefore they were considered sell-outs. In terms of Jewish purity codes, the profession itself was impure. However, John the Baptist assured them salvation if only they did not collect more than was appointed.

It is not clear whom the soldiers John mentioned were. They could not be part of the Roman army since Jews were not conscripted into the army. We are therefore tempted to follow W.R. Farmer who suggests that they could be the fiery patriots known as the Zealots, an organised Jewish resistance to Rome, active ever since the Roman census for taxation was made in AD6. These zealous patriotic groups sustained themselves in part by forcibly expropriating the property of the Gentiles and collaborating Jews. John’s advice to these soldiers was that they were to be
content with their army rations and to refrain from improving their lot at the expense of helpless civilians.

Therefore the underlying principle in John’s teaching is the need to live in solidarity with others in whatever one does. This is also seen in his teaching against his ruler’s marriage (Lk. 3:19-20). Herod Antipas had divorced his wife and married his brother, Phillip’s wife, Herodias. John denounced this marriage. Not only was this against the Mosaic law, but it was also a sign of not living in solidarity with others.

In concluding the Baptist’s teaching we can recapture Mutema’s words that John taught “religion with production”. He taught that salvation is attained by those who consider the needs of other people and so live in solidarity with others. In John’s teaching such solidarity should be with everyone, believers and non-believers. Therefore in John the ‘Baptist’s teaching,’ diakonia is any discharge of service in genuine love. Thus his concept of diakonia fits in G. Kittel’s second definition, that is, any discharge of service in genuine love. This is because he taught that the provision of service must know no boundary.

Now concerning ‘Jesus’ teaching’ on diakonia, it should be noted from the onset that, the Christian church was founded by and on the basis of the teaching of Jesus. It is therefore of paramount importance to find out what the gospel writers say Jesus taught concerning diakonia. From this we will then find out whether the teaching and practice of service by the early church in Jerusalem, by Paul and his churches, in the
rest of the New Testament and in the R.C.Z. today is based on Jesus’ teaching and practice. However, it should be noted at this juncture that not everything said to be from Jesus in the gospels is indeed from him. The criteria of authenticity have been suggested as a method to find the authentic sayings of Jesus. The question of which material is authentic to Jesus is, however, still problematic in view of the well-known difficulties of the quest for the historical Jesus. Even the criteria of authenticity have problems because they are far from complete and decisive. This explains why we have decided to discuss this section of the topic as diakonia in the gospels not specifically diakonia in Jesus’ teaching.

Of the four gospels, Matthew and Luke have recorded a lot of Jesus’ sayings. Modern New Testament scholarship is in agreement that this is because they had access to a document that had the sayings of Jesus. The document has been given the name ‘Q’ after the German word ‘Quelle’ which means source. Matthew and Luke also contain what scholars have called their special material (Matthean and Lukan special material). These contain information on service, particularly the Lukan special material. The material seem to reflect what was happening in the communities behind the two gospels, but as we mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, though they were addressing problems of their communities, the evangelists must have used some of Jesus' sayings. As a result, our discussion of the teaching of Jesus on service will mainly be based on these gospels. Of these two Luke has more sayings of Jesus on riches and the need to share them than Matthew. Many scholars, for example H.J. Cardbury, H. J. Degenhardt and G. Theissen noted by R.J. Karris
agree that some members of Luke’s community had possessions. They say the community had some rich Christians whom Luke wanted to share their possessions with the poor. Thus we will mainly use Luke and Matthew’s gospels assuming that in addressing the concerns of their communities they made use of the Jesus tradition.

In his great sermon (on the mountain according to Matthew 5:1 and on the plain according to Luke 6:17), Jesus taught the need to give alms. Here he was referring to the Jewish practise of giving alms to the poor. This was a kind of service to the community. Jesus, however taught that one must not sound a trumpet when helping the needy (Mat.6:2). By engaging in this kind of service to the poor, Jesus taught that one will be laying treasure in heaven, “---where neither moth nor rust consumes and where thieves do not break in and steal.” (Mat. 6:19-20). The words of E. Troeltsch summarise Jesus’ teaching on this aspect, “Jesus requires men to be indifferent to material happiness and to money, to practice social restraint, to have a mind that values the unseen and eternal more than the seen and temporal, and finally to develop a personality which in its central aim is thoroughly harmonious and unified.”

Apart from Mat. 6:1-4 discussed above, the gospel of Luke together with Acts of the Apostles mention alms often (Luk. 11:41, 12:33, Acts 3:2, 3,10, 10:24,31, 24:17). As a result L Schottroff and W. Stegemann have said that Luke's mention of alms was a result of his intention to impress upon the minds of his community that caritative works of mercy are part of Christian life.
The parables of Jesus recorded by Luke also tell us a lot on diakonia in the gospel. The parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10:25-37, presents an example of Jesus’ teaching on offering service to the needy. The parable is about a man who on his journey from Jerusalem to Jericho fell in the hands of robbers who beat him, took his possessions and left him half-dead. Two people on top of the Jewish social ladder, a priest and a levite, happened to pass by but offered no assistance. A Samaritan, who was considered to be at the bottom of the social ladder, offered assistance to this man. He treated his wounds with oil, carried him on his beast to the nearest inn and paid for his care at the inn. Jesus’ teaching in this parable is therefore that, not only should people offer service to others, but also that our service must not be limited to specific people. As W.R. Bowie says, “Jesus’ emphasis is on the man as a stranger and the extravagance of the Samaritan’s compassion.” The stranger’s action is in fulfilment of the commandment to love one’s neighbour.

The parable of the rich fool (Luk.12:16-21) is another parable which tells us Jesus’ teaching on service. The parable is about a man whose land brought plenty food. The rich man then decided to destroy his small barns and build larger ones. He then stored his grain there and told his soul to be at ease and to eat, drink and be merry. However, that very night God took his soul from him and the rich man died. Interpreted from a social-scientific perspective, this parable has to do with sharing. God as the source of everything, expects us to share what we have with others. The rich man did not realise this, so as E.E. Ellis says, “---he discovered too late that all,
even his own being was a short-term loan from God. Thus Jesus here was teaching that one must not always think of her/himself, but must also think of the welfare of others. If the rich man knew this he would have decided to share his bumper harvest with others.

Another parable close to this is that of the rich man and Lazarus (Luk.16:19-21). The rich man in this parable enjoyed life on earth and never thought of helping a poor man called Lazarus who stayed at his gate. However, after the deaths of both the rich man and Lazarus, the later was carried by the angels to Abraham’s bosom for eternal happiness while the rich man went to Hades for eternal suffering. In this parable Jesus taught the need to help other people regardless of their social status.

Jesus also taught those who wanted to follow him that they must not consider riches, but the plight of the poor. This is seen in the story of the rich young ruler (Mar.10:17-22). The young man asked Jesus what he was to do in order to inherit the kingdom of God. Jesus told him to observe the law to which the young man answered he had observed from his youth. It seems the young man was indeed an expert in the observance of the law since Jesus did not reject or question that. However, he noticed that the young man lacked only one thing, concern of other people’s needs. In other words the young man was not practising diakonia in his community. Jesus then told him to sell everything and give the poor then follow him. The young man could not accept this, so he went away sorrowful. Jesus then taught of the difficulty the rich encounter in entering the kingdom of God. Thus though his
teaching was not on service, indirectly one can find that true belief and observance of God’s commandments involves sharing what one has with others. So though the young man observed all the commandments, it seems he did not practise diakonia and Jesus said this is the only thing he lacked.

Jesus’ teaching on diakonia is also seen in what he said concerning greatness (Luk.22:24-27, Mat. 20:25-28, Mark 10:42-45). He heard that his apostles were arguing on who the greatest among them was. Jesus then taught that greatness is achieved through diakonia. Luke recorded Jesus as saying, “---rather let the greatest among you become as the youngest, and the leader as one who serves.” Jesus also understood his whole mission to be an act of diakonia. Mark 10:45 records the following statement of Jesus, “ For the Son of Man himself did not come to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.” Just as Jesus served, his followers were also to serve. Jesus also taught his disciples to love even their enemies (Luk. 6:32ff.).

Jesus taught more on service than discussed above, however, this should be sufficient to demonstrate Jesus’ teaching on service. More will be said in the tenth chapter when we compare the teaching and practice of diakonia in the New Testament and in the R.C.Z. What we have seen in this section is that the gospels teach the need for practising service. The writers say Jesus taught the need for secrecy when helping the poor, that colour, creed, nationality and so on should not be considered when providing service. It is through service that one achieves
greatness. Jesus therefore taught that the road to salvation to be followed by all is that which must take the form of charity toward the needy, that is, “the solidarity with the poor and the exploited.”

2.2. Acts of the Apostles

Acts of the Apostles’ teaching on *diakonia* is the same as that found in the gospel of Luke with the two books having been written by one author. As we have seen the author emphasised that the rich must share their wealth with the poor. We shall see in the next chapter the practice of *diakonia* in the early Jerusalem community as reflected in this book. There is therefore very little to discuss on the teaching as this can only be deciphered from the practice. For example the story of Ananias and Sapphira teaches against hypocrisy in the practice of *diakonia*. We also learn from the community of goods (Acts 4:32-37) that the sharing of goods was not compulsory but as E.M. Blaiklock says, it was sacrificial.

2.3. The genuine- Pauline letters.

Though we have said that the Christian Church was built on Jesus’ teaching, one must not underestimate the work of Paul. In fact scholars have hotly debated whether the Christian Church was founded by Paul or by Jesus. Thus in order to find
the teaching of the early church on diakonia, one would leave much if Paul’s teaching on this is not considered. Our sources are the presently accepted genuine-Pauline letters, which are Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon and 1 Thessalonians.

Paul’s first statement on providing service to others is found in Acts 20:34 where he is said to have said, “You yourselves know that these hands ministered to my necessities and to those who were with me.” Sometimes Paul discussed ministry as diakonia and in this particular context Paul encouraged the elders of Ephesus to do just as he had done. He also quoted a statement of Jesus on giving, “It is more blessed to give than to receive.” (Acts 20:35). We do not know whether this statement is Jesus’ ippsissma verba or not. This is mainly because Luke did not mention it in his gospel. G.H.C. Macgregor, however, suggests that Luke was probably ignorant of it until he discovered it in his source of Paul’s speech. Thus we can use it to reconstruct Paul’s teaching on giving. We are aware that there is the problem of the Paul of the letters and Paul of Acts in New Testament scholarship. There is a school of thought that regards the Paul of Acts to be different from the Paul of the letters. Such scholarship regards Paul’s speech in Acts 20:19-35 as a result of Luke’s tendentiousness. However, the teaching on using one’s hands so as to sustain oneself and even to give others is supported by evidence from genuine-Pauline letters. For example, Paul encouraged the Thessalonians to “---- work with your hands, as we charged you, so that you may command the respect of outsiders, and be dependent on nobody.” (1 Thess. 4:11-12). Throughout his letters Paul also
emphasised that love is the basis of Christian morality, for example in 1Cor. 13. Thus there is a high possibility that Acts 20:34-35 is genuine-Pauline.

Paul also taught that as believers, Christians are individually members one of another because they share together in common life (Rom.12). As a result he taught that those who are helpers serving the Church in various practical ways, must be active in such service. In Rom. 12:13 he encouraged the Christians to contribute to the needs of others. G.R. Cragg says this contribution to the needs of others can be rendered as *koinonountes* which literally means ‘to share in’ or ‘participate in’ others’ needs, that is, sympathetically feeling with them as well as generously serving them.\(^71\) Thus Paul understood the church as a community (*koinonia*) in which the necessities of one are suffered by all and the privileges of one are to be enjoyed by all.

Paul, however, did not teach Christians to practice *diakonia* only among themselves. He also taught them, like Jesus had, to love their enemies. One would be justified to go along with Cragg’s exposition that, “----there can be little doubt that Paul is thinking of persons outside the church itself when he speaks of those who persecute you (Rom.8:35).”\(^72\) Paul was therefore concerned with extra-church relations. Thus Paul’s use of *diakonia* in Rom. 12 shows that the use of the word was already on its way to becoming a technical term referring to service to the needy, that is, practice of charity and other acts of mercy.\(^73\)
Rom.13 also tells us something on Paul’s teaching on service. He believed that even
the governing authorities also offer service to God. He regarded such authorities as
God’s _diakonoi_ (servants). Many scholars believe Paul had in mind human
authorities, in particular, the governing authorities of the Roman empire.⁷⁴ There
are, however, some like O. Cullmann who think Paul had in mind the invisible angelic
powers at stand behind the state/government.⁷⁵ I am, however, of the opinion that
Paul was referring to the Roman government authorities under which he and his
readers lived. This is because Paul refers to taxes, revenues and honour given to the
Roman officials. This is the view taken by C. K. Barret when he says, “That
authorities are put by God has its roots in the Old Testament conviction that God is
the ruler of all nations and all history, and it can be described as a doctrine of
providence, arrived at by taking seriously the fact of God’s lordship.”⁷⁶ He goes on to
say in order to protect his creatures from consequences of unbridled sin, God
provides them with civil rulers just as he provides them with the sun and rain. Paul
therefore employs the same word _diakonos_ (minister) of the state (Rom. 13:4) as he
applies it within the church (Rom.12:7). In the same way in Rom.13:6, he applies of
the agents of the state the term _leiturgoi_ (liturgists), corresponding to the _latreia_ or
divine service which the church exists to offer (Rom.12:1).⁷⁷

Paul’s teaching on _diakonia_ is also found in his passages on the collections for the
Jerusalem church, particularly 2Cor. 8 and 9. In these passages Paul taught that God
loves a cheerful giver. He also taught that the provision of service to saints is proof
of genuine love (8:8), agreeing with M. O’ Connor who defines love as earnest in
and will produce thanksgiving to God (9:11) since, “he who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and he who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully.” (9:6). Paul thus used the Macedonian generosity to delicately challenge the Corinthians to move from eager acceptance of the idea of collection to actual giving. We will discuss these passages on collections further in the next chapter under Paul’s practise of diakonia.

In conclusion, we have seen that in the genuine Pauline letters, Paul taught that Christians must practise service out of love. He insisted on a personal decision taken in complete freedom. Though such service should be given even to one’s enemies, Paul mainly encouraged the Christians to help fellow Christians. He also believed that even governing authorities are doing a service to God. Compared to Jesus’ teaching as we have seen in the gospels, one can see that Paul emphasised diakonia in the church whereas Jesus’ teaching was outreaching. On the whole Paul’s understanding of diakonia encompasses Kittel’s four-fold definition of diakonia.

2.4. Deutro-Pauline letters.

At one time all letters claiming Pauline authorship (2Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossions and the Pastorals) were called Deutro-Pauline letters. Today the name is now used for the first letters. This is because they are “--- surely unauthentic” letters of Paul. The reasons for rejecting these letters from Pauline authorship range from language to style, theology and even the historical context. This study assumes
this standpoint that is why the concept of diakonia in these letters has been discussed separately from that reflected in the Pauline letters.

2 Thess. says nothing on the concept of diakonia. In chapter 3:8-10 the author only encouraged the readers to work using their own hands so that they do not become a burden to other people. He encouraged them “to do their work in quietness and to earn their own living (3:13).

The concept of diakonia is, however taught in the letter to the Ephesians. Chapter 4:11-13 discusses service of those appointed to fulfil special functions in the Christian community. The author mentions gifts of prophecy, teaching, apostleship and so on as works of ministry (eis ergon diakonias). Thus apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers offer a service to the church which enables it to grow in maturity. In chapter 4:28 the author taught on using one’s hands. He encouraged the thief not to steal again but to work using his hands, so that he may be able both to sustain himself and to help the needy. By helping the needy one will be rendering service. The author also teaches slaves to offer service to their human masters (6:5-8). Just as in Col.3:24, the author taught that in serving human masters slaves will be serving Christ and as a result, they will receive their reward.

The Deutro- Pauline letters also teach service of believers in general. The works of people like Epaphras(Col. 1:17) and Tychicus( Col.4:7-8), who informed Paul of the faith of the Colossians is described as diakonia. Like in the letters of Paul, in some
cases the nature of their service is not specified (Eph. 6:21, Col. 1:7) while in others it is clear that what is involved are activities such as gospel ministry (Phil. 2:22, Col. 4:12). Also in Eph. 3:7-8, the author regarded himself as a **diakonos** of the Lord to preach the gospel to the Gentiles.

Therefore the author of the Deutro-Pauline letters considered service as rendered by slaves to masters, service of church officials and service of believers in general as **diakonia**. In fact he considers any activities meant for the spread of the gospel of Christ and the growth of the church to be **diakonia**. The four-fold definition of **diakonia** by Kittel is encompassed in these letters.

### 2.5. Pastoral letters

1 and 2 Timothy and Titus are called Pastoral letters. This is mainly because they discuss the qualifications and roles of people to be appointed as pastors. C.G. Kruse discusses pastors as providing service of those appointed to fulfil special functions within the Christian community. Thus the letters discuss the offices of the bishop and deacons in a more advanced way than they are discussed in the Pauline letters. It seems by the time these letters were written the church offices had now become institutionalised. Leadership of the church was no longer through charisma but through possession of laid down qualifications.
By the time the letters were written, it seems the concept of service had been institutionalised. The author urged Timothy that the church should serve the needs of widows and the elderly (1Tim. 5:9). As a result the rich were taught “---to be rich in good deeds, liberal and generous.” (1Tim. 6:17). Thus the rich are taught to place their wealth at the disposal of the needy, as de Santa Ana says though without specific reference to 1Tim. 6:17, “The basic purpose of wealth is to help those who live in misery”\(^8^1\). De Santa Ana reaches this conclusion because he believes God is not the source of poverty. He notes that there is in the world a clear disparity in the distribution of the fruits of human labour and the resources available to our societies, so poverty cannot be blamed on the divine will. God provided the whole of humanity with the resources in the world and expects them to be used equitably.

### 2.6 Catholic letters.

Seven letters in the New Testament are called Catholic letters. These are 1and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3John, James and Jude. The letters do not address specific recipients but the entire church. Thus ‘catholic’ is used in the sense of universal, general, that is, the letters were written to the whole church.\(^8^2\) Scholars, like R. H. Fuller, however, debate whether 2John and 1Peter for example are catholic letters.\(^8^3\) The debate is not the focus of this study. What is of importance here is what the letters say concerning diakonia. The following are the passages which will be analysed: Jam. 2:14ff, 1Pet.2:13-17, 5:1ff, 1John3;17-18 and 3John verse 5ff.
The letter of James is rather important on diakonia. It brings to us daily realities. In it we are confronted directly with the problems ordinary people of the time faced. It seems the letter was written at the end of the first century or beginning of the second century when the problem of the relationship between the rich and the poor in the life of the church was becoming more apparent. So if the early church was made up of the poor (1Cor. 1:26 has such implications though 1Cor.11:17ff implies the contrary), the church of James’ time was different. It had both the rich and the poor. In the letter the poor are the wretched, the weak and the oppressed of low social standing who are easily exploited and persecuted. Such people are the widows, orphans and slaves who in the ancient world were considered ‘living tools’. The Greek word which best describes them is penes (destitutes).

Teaching on faith and works, the author of the letter of James says, “If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily food and one of you says to them, ‘Go in peace, be warmed and filled’, without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit?”(2:15-16). Though the author does not mention the word diakonia, he is teaching on service. A cursory reading of the statement seems to show that the speaker is concerned with the plight of the brother or sister in need. This is because “Go in peace’ is a Jewish word of farewell meaning something like, “May it go well with you.” However, a deeper reflection on the statement shows lack of coherence among those who believe but do not direct their lives accordingly. James says they have a ‘double mind’ (dipsychoi). This is because they proclaim the justice of God, but still live as friends of the old world overcome by Christ. In 2:14, James is not
drawing a simple contrast between faith and works, but between faith alone, which is dead, and faith active in and completed by deeds, which is only but alive. M. Dibelius and H. Greeven conclude thus, "James wants to show precisely how useless a merely friendly attitude is in such a circumstance if there is no action." The brother or sister here is probably a Christian. If so the author was teaching that Christians need to practically help fellow needy Christians. They must not only be concerned by the plight of the poor without doing something to help them. Such concern only can be compared to that of a millionaire who, seated in his spacious air-conditioned house and watching television sees poor orphans on the television and feels pity but does not think of taking even one percent of his wealth to help them. James teaches that these double minded are not doers of the word (1:22). They practice unfair discrimination thereby threatening the equality that should exist between members of Christ’s body. The author therefore teaches that the expectation of the justice of God motivates people to assist the poor, the weak, the orphan and the widow. Thus the writer of James "--- is an earnest, common sense moralist, unconcerned with deeper spiritual problems of the relations between God and man, but wholly concerned with everyday contact."

Like Romans 13, 1Pet.2:13-17 exhorts Christians to be subject to governing authorities. The author does not mention that the governing authorities are douloi of God, but through punishing of wrongdoers and praising those who do right, they are offering diakonia to God. By being subject to governing authorities Christians will be offering service to God. As a result such service even to pagans can be a form of
evangelism as it acts as a window showing the goodness of God. (1Pet. 2:18, 3:1 and 5:5). The author also taught that Christians must maintain good relations with outsiders. The author believed that the best witness for Christianity is a good Christian life. Discussing this A..M. Hunter says, "--one saintly life is worthy a dozen stout volumes of Christian apologetics." Thus Christians must serve even those outside the Church. The author taught that such service goes to God therefore it must not be used to win personal power and influence. It seems the church of the writer’s time had arrangements to serve one another to seek the welfare of others. This is so if we interpret ‘elders’ in 1Pet. 5:1 literally to refer to elders on the basis of age. The word, however, could mean church officials not older men.

The writer of the letters of John also taught something on service. He, however, does not have the word diakonia, but teaches on the need for Christians to provide service. 1John 3:17-18 teaches that our material goods are an essential part of our lives and so have to be shared along with life itself. The author teaches against over-spiritualisation of religion but down-to-earth practical behaviour. For him the principle of sharing one’s goods is a Christian ethic applicable to economic ordering of human society. The ethic establishes the meeting of human need rather than the making of profits as the main motivation of a truly economic order. The author therefore teaches that Christian concern for human welfare, as an example of diakonia, is different from mere secular concern.

3John 3-5 is a thanksgiving for the report given by travelling missionaries that Gaius
is a faithful member of the Johannine community. Gaius’ help of the missionaries is described as service. Commenting on this passage, A. N. Wilder says the author taught that the Church must never hesitate to present the challenge of missions as fundamental to its purpose to serve the whole world. In this service the church must understand that the support of missions is correspondingly a first claim to their money and prayer and requires an intelligent comprehension of the world’s need and of the gospel’s truth. Wilder says such service must be offered in abandoned, joyful love to God and must be kept pure from world compromise, commercialism, flattery and patronage if it is to be worthy to Christ.

2.7. Conclusion

In this section we have looked at what the New Testament teaches concerning service. In the gospels we have looked at John the Baptist and Jesus’ teachings on diakonia. The gospels generally teach that Christians should live in solidarity with others, be they poor or rich, believers or non-believers. Their service should be open-ended.

Paul emphasised love and sharing of goods, but however, his teaching is mainly on believers who need to share with other believers. For Paul, the state, church officials and the laity offer service to God indirectly by helping others. The same is also true of the Deutro-Pauline letters in which service rendered by slaves to their masters, service by Church officials and service by believers is called diakonia. This is also
found in the Pastoral letters. Lastly the Catholic letters show that service can be a
form of evangelism.

In discussing the concept of diakonia in the New Testament, we have mainly focused
on what the books teach. We did not necessarily follow G. Kittel’s four-fold definition
of diakonia, but have allowed the New Testament to dictate the meaning of the
concept. In the next chapter we discuss the practice of service in the New
Testament before moving on to discuss the implications of New Testament teaching
and practice of diakonia in the R.C.Z.

CHAPTER 3: THE PRACTICE OF DIAKONIA IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In the previous chapter we have discussed the New Testament teaching on service.
We have seen that generally the gospels, the letters of Paul and other New
Testament books taught the need for service. In this chapter our focus is on the
practise of service. As we did in the previous chapter, we will start by discussing the
practise of diakonia in the gospels. Here we will discuss the works of Jesus for it is
through them that we see the practice of diakonia in the gospels. This will be
followed by the analysis of the community of goods in Acts of the Apostles. Lastly we
will discuss the practice of diakonia by Paul and his churches. The practice of
diakonia in the Deutro- Pauline letters, pastoral and catholic letters can only be
deduced from the teachings, so very little will be said on the practice.
3.1 Jesus

The gospels present us with Jesus’ practice of *diakonia*. Taking the generally held view that the gospel of John is the most theological of all the four gospels and therefore can hardly be used for the reconstruction of the historical Jesus, our discussion will mainly take examples from the synoptic gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke. However, we should also note as we did in chapter 2 that the synoptics were also theological to a great extent and not everything said to have been done by Jesus is necessarily true. From these sources, Jesus’ acts of *diakonia* are mainly seen in his miracles. Scholars have defined miracles differently, for example, in the enlightenment period miracles have been defined as those acts that violate the laws of nature. This definition has since been rejected. An accepted scientific definition would be that of Augustine, “a miracle is an occurrence which is contrary to what is known of nature.” It is a good scientific definition in that it shows we do not know everything concerning the laws of nature. However, though this is a good definition from a scientific perspective, the problem is that it does not take into consideration the believer. Today scholars, for example, R. H. Fuller and G.H. Boobyer generally believe that in defining a miracle one must consider the believer who has faith that miracles happen. They also say one has to consider the etymological meaning of the word. The word miracle is from Latin ‘Miraculum’ which means an act or an event which evokes wonder. Thus in this discussion we define a miracle as an event which evokes wonder and religious awe and leads the beholders to give praise and thanks to God. But to use the miracles of Jesus as examples of acts of *diakonia*,

53
we need to answer the following questions:

a) Did Jesus perform the miracles he is said to have performed; and

b) If he did why did he perform these miracles?

Following the scientific definitions of miracles given by people like D. Hume, liberal scholars in the 19th century tended to dismiss the miracles of Jesus as fiction. However, scholars believe that many of Jesus’ miracles except for nature and raising miracles were common in his world. These scholars therefore believe in a number of Jesus’ miracles. For example, F.N. Davey notes that in the gospel of Mark, we find details that suggest Jesus healed like his contemporary wonder-workers.\textsuperscript{101} Davey gives examples of Jesus’ use of saliva to anoint the tongue of the stammerer (Mar. 7:34) and the eyes of a blind man (Mar.8:23). Before he healed the madman of the Gerasene (Mar.5:9), Jesus also inquired the name of the supposed devil. This was also a healing method in Jesus’ world. Documents from this period show that this was thought to be a means of exerting control over the demon.\textsuperscript{102} F.N. Davey also argues that Jesus himself appears to have assumed that in healing and exorcising he was not unique\textsuperscript{103}; for example, when the Jews accused him of using the power of Beelzebul to exorcise, Jesus asked them, “And if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out?”( Luk. 11:19). Jesus’ question implies that the sons of the Jews also practised exorcism. In fact H. Daniel-Rops says there were professional exorcists among the rabbis in Palestine of Jesus’ time.\textsuperscript{104} Davey thus concludes, “Jesus used the more primitive methods of that part of the world in which he grew up and it would be very dangerous to read more than that into these
fragmentary, though primitive records of his use of material means and outward signs.”

It is very likely therefore that at least Jesus performed these healing miracles.

As for the second question, two theories have been put forward to explain the purpose of Jesus’ miracles. The first one is that Jesus’ miracles were a proof that he was the Messiah since God’s power was seen at work in him. The second one is that Jesus performed these miracles because he was moved by human sympathy. This is the theory which is accepted by most liberals. For example, A. von Hanarck who was prepared to accept the healings of Jesus in so far as they could be explained psychologically and attributed to the influence of his personality on the sick. Arguing along the same lines, F.N. Davey says the miracles of Jesus were acts of compassion. Also E.C. Hoskyns gives a good summary of liberals’ view of Jesus’ miracles:

We are left to suppose that our Lord was touched by the sight of suffering and that by the powers of his faith he was able to alleviate the pain of certain cripples, and that the few more incidents of kind actions must therefore be added to the history of humanitarianism and that the church, if it is to be the church of Christ must be persuaded to undertake more seriously the support of doctors in their work of healing.

This is the theory we will mainly consider in our discussion of Jesus’ miracles as acts of diakonia. This is because it shows us the human side of Jesus which makes it possible for us to hermeneutically compare Jesus’ practice of service and the modern church’s practice. Apart from the two reasons which have been discussed we will also consider F.N. Davey’s thesis that Jesus’ miracles could not be separated from his
preaching. It is not possible for us to discuss all the miracles of Jesus, therefore we will choose a few which represent his many other miracles. Our intention here is to find out the meaning Jesus attached to diakonia through his miracles. First let us look at the categories in which his miracles fall.

The miracles of Jesus can be divided into two major categories, nature and healing miracles. Nature miracles are those which proved that Jesus had power over nature, for example, the stilling of the storm (Mark 4:35-41). Healing miracles are those in which Jesus healed the sick, for example, the healing of the leper (Luk. 5:12-16). Under healing miracles are also miracles of exorcism, for example, the healing of the madman of the Gerasa (Mark 5:1-20) and the controversial ‘raising’ miracles, for example, the raising of Jairus’ daughter (Luk.8:40-41;49-56). We will now discuss some of the miracles in a bid to find out Jesus’ practice of service.

The gospels tell us a lot of Jesus’ healing miracles. From these one is justified to conclude that Jesus was a physician. V. Taylor is therefore correct when he says few New Testament scholars dispute the historical character of the works of Jesus. Some of the methods he used for healing, for example the use of saliva were common in the ancient world, where the medicine of the time was rudimentary and nearer to primitive magic than science. In his healing Jesus was providing service to the people. This is especially true in the light of Jewish beliefs on illness. The Jews believed that illness was a result of the work of the devil. This explains why the Jews accused Jesus of using the power of Beelzebul, the prince of demons, to cast out
demons (Luk. 11:15).

The healing of the solitary leper in Luke 5 and Mark 2 also shows Jesus’ practice of service. Lepers were considered outcasts in Israelite society for leprosy was the most dreaded of all diseases. Leviticus 13 and 14 spell out Jewish beliefs on leprosy. People who suffered from this disease stayed outside the village. They could therefore not participate in activities like parties, family gatherings like marriages and also could not attend the temple for annual festivals. The law gave scrupulous directions on lepers. Daniel-Rops says the leper was to go bare-headed wearing special clothes; he was to live far away from towns and villages, and wherever he came near a healthy man he had to call out in a loud voice, “Ame! Ame!” meaning “Unclean! Unclean!”.

They sometimes moved in groups as we read in Luke 17. Touching a leper made one ritually unclean. This explains why lepers were to make warning cries so that they could warn people to avoid contact with them. Thus the healing of the leper bears witness to the love of Jesus. Jesus touched him bridging the six-metre distance between him and the leper which the regulation imposed.

The incident tells us that when practising diakonia, Jesus did not consider social class. Commenting on this miracle G.A. Buttrick has noted that chaulmoogra oil is being injected, apparently with some measure of success, into the veins of lepers in Christian mission hospitals. Thus he believes that though Jesus did not inject chalmoogra oil, the Christian mission hospitals are still continuing in a way with Jesus’ service to the lepers.
We have seen in the miracle discussed above that Jesus did not consider social class in his practice of *diakonia*. The healing of the centurion’s slave (Luk.7:1-10) is one miracle which proves this. Slaves were at the bottom of the social ladder not only in Israel but in the whole Graeco-Roman world. It is said Caesar once apologised for feeling pity for a slave.\textsuperscript{115} Though living in such a world Jesus did not behave this way. He praised the centurion who came to him asking him to heal his slave. Like him this centurion had learnt to cross lines of class, nation and creed. No wonder Jesus commented the centurion.

As a physician Jesus also knew the truth of *mens sana in corpore sano* (sickness in the body afflict the whole person).\textsuperscript{116} As a result he did not consider national or racial fences in doing his acts of compassion. This again is seen in the miracle of the healing of the madman of Gerasene (Mark 5:1-20). The man was most probably a Gentile since the people there kept swine. But Jesus did not consider this. He cast out the demons which had troubled this man for a long time. The man wanted to follow him after he was healed but Jesus denied and told him rather to preach the good news of his healing to his relatives and friends.

Jesus also considered service to human needs more important than ritual or covenantal law. This is seen in that Jesus even healed on a Sabbath day contrary to the Mosaic covenant (Exod. 20:8-11). The Mosaic law considered healing to be work so no healing was to be practised on the Sabbath day except where life was threatened. Instead Jesus considered human needs more important than the law. He
taught, "The Sabbath was made for man not man for the Sabbath." (Mark 2:28). Thus the healing of the man with a withered hand (Mar. 3:1-7 par.), the healing of the paralytic (Mar. 2:1-12 par.) and many other Sabbath healings show that Jesus considered human needs to be more important than the law.

The nature miracles like the feeding stories also show Jesus’ practise of diakonia. These nature miracles like the raising miracles are, however, very controversial. Liberal scholars outrightly reject these miracles. They do not believe that Jesus performed these miracles but that they are a theological construction by the evangelists. For example C. Turner has suggested that the nature miracles should be relegated to a ‘theological suspense account’.\textsuperscript{117} I, however, would like to agree with R. H. Fuller against Turner that miracles should have been theologically meaningful to the gospel writers and their communities; thus instead of relegating them to a ‘theological suspense account’ we need to relegate them to a ‘historical suspense account’.\textsuperscript{118} It is the historicity of the miracles which can be questioned but the theological significance seems to be clear. The feeding stories can serve to prove this.

The synoptic gospels have two feeding stories, the feeding of the four thousand and the feeding of the five thousand. There can be little doubt that the two are a variation of one story. The statistics and minor details vary, but these are just the features which are likely to get altered in oral transmission. Assuming that the two feeding stories are variations of the same story, scholars believe that the story is
more theological than historical. Some even interpret it by saying that Jesus and his disciples distributed their own small store of provisions and their own example stimulated a contagious generosity among others. However, we can no longer recover what actually happened. R. H. Fuller should in fact be right when he says, “The story as told in the gospels has been shaped by later theology: ideas of the messianic banquet, the manna in the wilderness and the miraculous plenty of the messianic age.” Be that as it may, the fact is that it points to the practice of service in the gospels. After he was asked to tell the people to go and buy food in the villages by his disciples, Jesus told them, “You give them something to eat.” (Mark 6:37). What we hear here is a voice of care. In other words the gospel writers were telling the readers that despite caring for people’s spiritual hunger, Jesus also considered their physical hunger.

Therefore in the gospels Jesus practised diakonia through his miracles. Even death on the cross was understood by the evangelist as service. Thus M. S. Miller and J.L. Miller say, “The life of Jesus from his first recorded miracle------ to his final act of world redemption on calvary, was one of service(Luk. 22:27).” The service knew no ethnic, national, religious or economic boundary.

3.2 The early Jerusalem community

Our source for the history of the early Church in Jerusalem is mainly Acts of the Apostles. To a limited extent the letters of Paul also provide some information. The
book of Acts, however, presents problems as we noted in the previous chapter. It is more theological than historical. The author is also accused of being tendentious and filling his work with legendary material. However, not everything in Acts is historically inauthentic. H. Conzelmann and A. Lindemann have pointed out that events such as the dispersion of the Hellenistic Jewish Christians from Jerusalem, and the church’s initial adherence to the temple cult can be reconstructed from Acts. Also some events can be confirmed historical if they are found in the Pauline letters. This is because scholars have tended to accept the letters of Paul as the primary source in the reconstruction of the history of the early church. Thus if the early church’s practice of diakonia is also found in the letters of Paul, then it should also be considered historically authentic. We are going to follow this argument in our reconstruction of the practice of diakonia in the early Jerusalem church.

One of the fundamental images of the early church in Jerusalem was that of fellowship (koinonia). The author says this was a result of the Holy Spirit which brought unity in the church (Acts 4:32). Such fellowship, “refers to both sharing in the Holy Spirit and to the community which is its result”. It was therefore not only spiritual but was rather exemplified in the sharing of possessions. (Acts 2:44-45). This had the effect of eliminating the poverty of many who joined the community. As de Santa Ana says, “the goods were shared not to make the rich poor seeing poverty as an ideal condition, but to vanquish and eradicate poverty, so that there shall be no poor.”
Acts 4:32-37 tells us that this early Jerusalem community lived corporately healing the sick and transforming self-centred individuals into self-sacrificing members of the community. Though we know that the community was mainly composed of Galileans, we are not told of their social level. The author only tells us that they shared whatever they had with those who had less or nothing at all. Commenting on this practice by the Jerusalem community G.A. Buttrick says, “---every church is potentially a resurrection centre where people who have been primarily concerned with their own affairs, have their horizons broadened to know and feel the needs of other people.”

This implies that the community had both the rich and the poor. But for a community that was led by former fishermen, one would expect that it was economically precarious. However, B. Holmberg should be right when he says that besides the Galileans the community was made up of a large part of Jews from abroad, who generally were people of means. These seem to have been the main contributors to the church’s common fund. We find one of them mentioned by name as Barnabas, a native of Cyprus (Acts 4:37). He sold his land and brought the proceeds to the church. We do not know whether the land Barnabas sold was in Jerusalem or Cyprus. But Jacquire suggests that if Barnabas came from Cyprus, he could have acquired land in Palestine through inheritance or purchase. He goes on to say Barnabas might equally have sold land in Cyprus. Be that as it may, Barnabas sold his land and brought the proceeds to the brethren in Jerusalem. We do not know what actually motivated Barnabas to take this action. We shall revisit this in chapter 9.
Luke summarises the practice of the early church by saying, “---the company of those who believed were of one heart and soul---”(Acts 4:32). This is expanded by the special feature that no Christian regarded his /her possession as personal property. The author does not tell us how this practice worked practically. As a result some scholars have explained this as a feature of some form of asceticism comparing it to the practice among the Essenes. The life of the Essenes has been clearly understood from the discoveries of 1947 made around the south banks of the Dead Sea. Following these discoveries the Essenes have been understood to be the people of the Qumran community who settled at this place probably some time in the second century B.C.E. According to the writings of Flavius Josephus and Philo of Alexandria, the Essenes practised a life of sobriety and common ownership of goods. So this theory sees the early church as having been following this practice of the Essenes. This view is, however, not in line with what we find in Acts. There is no mention of asceticism in the Christian community in Jerusalem. 1Cor. 9:5 tells us that some apostles and brothers of Jesus were married. Family life and monastic life are incompatible. This is why the Essenes practised celibacy. The few who got married did this only for reproduction. Textual evidence from Acts also shows that the Christians did not form a closed and self- sufficient society like the people of the Qumran who lived a common life and co-operated to produce the necessities of life. The selling of property in the Jerusalem community was also out of the ordinary, not the rule. Acts 11:29 shows that each gave according to his ability. Also Acts 12:12 implies Mary retained her house implying that the practice of the community of goods did not mean the abolition of all types of private ownership.
Some people have explained the communal ownership of property and selling of possessions by the early church as a result of an expectation of the imminent return of Jesus.\textsuperscript{132} If we go by this theory then the practice does not fit in our models of reciprocity to be discussed later. It would appear like the selling of property by people like Barnabas was just a way of disposing what they knew was no longer of value. It seems this is not what the author intended to say when he passed this tradition on to his hearers. He intended to show the oneness of the early Christians in Jerusalem. Thus for him this was \textit{diakonia}. It seems Christians who were already resident in Jerusalem were better placed and these are the people who looked upon others. E. Haenchen suggests that these people also had to support the families of the apostles and the brothers of Jesus.\textsuperscript{133} The widows mentioned in Acts 6:1 must also be added to this list. Many Jews came to Jerusalem to die and be buried in the Holy city. Such men left widows who had no families to look after them, hence the church had to do this. Looking after the poor was not pioneered by the early Jerusalem Christian community. The Jews practised this. In fact economic conditions in Palestine particularly in Jerusalem dictated the practice of \textit{diakonia}. The people in this region could be divided into two groups, that is, the small community of the rich and the great mass of the poor.\textsuperscript{134} The poorest sections of the society included widows and those whom sickness and disability forced to depend on alms. Thus the Christians probably emulated and improved the Jewish practice of \textit{diakonia} which was necessitated by the economic conditions of the region. Jews practised two kinds of poor relief.\textsuperscript{135} First, every Friday the local poor would be given, by three officers,
enough money for fourteen meals. This money was first collected in boxes by two relief officers from the local residents. The second type of relief was for poor strangers, that is those whose presence in Jerusalem was only transitory. They received daily offerings of food and drink from the tray that had been filled by three officers going from house to house collecting the food and drink. It is probably this practice that the early Jerusalem community emulated in a bid to address its own needs.

The practice of *diakonia* in the Early church is also seen in the election of the seven deacons. The growth of the church must have created difficulties as regards *diakonia*. The church had to choose people to be responsible for *diakonia*. Luke did not give the seven the title *diakonoi* in Acts 6, however, in verses 1 and 4 he speaks of their work as *diakonia*. The work of the seven was to make sure that none among the brethren would be neglected. Thus in this way the Old Testament promise to God’s people that there would not be any poor among them (Deut. 25:4) was brought to fulfilment in the church by the generosity of the better off members. So we find the practice of *diakonia* being formalised with officers chosen to carry out the practice.

The early Jerusalem community’s practice of *diakonia* can also be seen in the area of health. Those who were ill were cured. Thus Peter (and John)’s acts of healing can also be considered as acts of *diakonia*. We have seen that the Jews practised almsgiving and one way of practising it was to help the lame and beggars. But at
the Beautiful gate Peter and John provided the lame man with more than silver and
gold. They gave him the strength to walk (Acts3:1-10). Peter alone did many other
acts of diakonia, for example the healing of Aeneas (Acts9:32-35) and the raising of
Dorcas (Acts 9:36-43). Many of Peter's healing acts can be compared to those of
Jesus.

Dorcas herself also practised diakonia. Luke tells us that during her life time she
made tunics and garments, some of which she probably donated to poor widows as
Acts 9:39 implies: “All the widows stood beside him weeping, and showing him
tunics and other garments which Dorcas made while she was with them.” We need
to note here that service in the early Jerusalem church was therefore mainly to the
fellow Christians. Even the ill brought to the apostles (Acts 5:12-16 ) were probably
Christians.

The motive for the generosity of these members of the early Jerusalem community
according to Luke was the presence of the Holy Spirit which made them one.
However, we should not rule out the influence of Jesus’ teaching and his practice of
diakonia in this community. D.M. Beck has thus said, “The origins of this community
of goods may be found in the example of Jesus and his disciples (Luke8:3/Mark10:21) and in the contagious new joy of a common life in the Spirit
which overflowed into a sharing of wealth.” J. Jeremias also supports this when he
says, “It should be emphasised that such communism is understandable if one
remembers the repeated challenge of Jesus to devote possessions to the good of the
poor, and the example of Jesus and his disciples, who depended on a common fund and forsook their possessions (John13:29; 12:6; Matt. 19:29par.)."138 E. Troeltsch also agrees saying it was a consequence of the revolutionary nature of Jesus’ teaching, “the communism of love”.139 But did the community adopt Jesus’ model of diakonia? This question will be discussed in chapter 9.

3.3 Paul and his communities.

Though Paul was a member of the Early church, we have decided to discuss his practice of diakonia separately because he worked separately from the Jerusalem community as discussed above. Paul’s practice of diakonia is mainly seen in the collections he made for the Jerusalem church. Thus our sources for this discussion are Acts of the Apostles and the genuine- Pauline letters. We have already mentioned the problems of Acts of the Apostles as a source and also how we can proceed to use it cautiously. The letters of Paul though written by Paul himself have their own problems. First, they are occasional letters and so they do not explicitly describe Paul’s practice of diakonia but provide us with a glimpse of the problems he wanted to address. Second, they are not always historically reliable since Paul sometimes over-stressed facts for apologetic reasons. (For example in Gal.1:23 he says he had never been seen in Judea but again mentions that he had previously persecuted the Judeans. How then could he be unknown by people he had persecuted?). But, despite these problems, the letters provide us with a wealth of evidence concerning the practice of diakonia by Paul and his communities.
According to Acts, Paul’s first act of service was the collection of aid for the poor saints of Jerusalem:

And the disciples determined, everyone according to his ability, to send relief to the brethren who lived in Judaea, and they did so sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul. (Acts11:29-30).

This was probably during Paul’s second journey to Jerusalem after his conversion. If so, then it is the journey mentioned in Gal.2:10 during which Paul was asked by the Jerusalem pillars to continue remembering the poor. J.G.D. Dunn, however, thinks that Gal.2:10 is unlikely to refer to the collection as such noting that the references to the collections elsewhere have a similarity in language and tone which is not shared by Gal.2:10.¹⁴⁰ He thinks that the agreement to which Gal. 2:10 refers was part of the stimulus to the collections project. Be that as it may, this project became Paul’s obsession for the greater part of his missionary life. We can therefore see that he had already started this project together with the church at Antioch. Some scholars like T. Zahn assume that the project at Antioch was also as great as the Pauline collections project.¹⁴¹ The text, however, does not speak of this, although it does not exclude it. So it can be concluded that Paul started the practice of diakonia early in his Christian life. The question, however, is what were Paul’s reasons for providing such service? Several reasons have been given to explain why Paul engaged in the collection for the saints. Acts says there was poverty in Jerusalem that was a result of a drought (Acts 11:27-28). The author says it was a world-wide
famine but there is no historical evidence to support this. As a result scholars\textsuperscript{142} have suggested the following as causes of poverty in Jerusalem.

a) Perhaps the experiment of living in “communism of love”\textsuperscript{143} for almost twenty years brought impoverishment of those who had owned something at the start.

b) Perhaps the pilgrimages to Jerusalem of both the elderly and Galileans burdened the church in Jerusalem. Probably the Galileans left their jobs and homes and went to wait for the advent of Christ in the Holy city.\textsuperscript{144}

c) Perhaps persecution by Jewish authorities added to the poverty of the church.

d) Perhaps the general economic conditions in Judea account for the people’s poverty. J. Bligh argues that at this time Judea was heavily taxed and badly irrigated.\textsuperscript{145}

Whatever the underlining reasons for the poverty, one thing remains sure: “---the Christians in Jerusalem were poor.”\textsuperscript{146} If so, then Paul’s main aim in providing service was to help the poor in Jerusalem. Scholars, however, have argued for the theological purpose of Paul’s service. Let us discuss these before we look at Paul’s collections project as a relief programme falling under \textit{diakonia}. The first theological purpose of Paul’s collections is that given by Karl Holl.\textsuperscript{147} Holl said the collection was not only an expression of Christian love for needy brethren, but also the expression of a certain understanding of the church. Rom. 15:27 shows that Paul believed that the Gentiles were in debt of gratitude to the church of Jerusalem from which they had received spiritual treasures. Paul described the collections as meant for the poor saints (\textit{hoi hagioi proxos}). Holl says the phrase ‘poor saints’ was a technical self-
designation of the Christians in Jerusalem. Thus Antioch and the churches of Paul were regarded by the Jerusalem church as being under an obligation to support their mother church. If so, then Paul was fulfilling this obligation. This view is similar to K. Berger’s argument which says the collection itself was seen as almsgiving on the part of the Diaspora Gentile church. Berger goes on to say, "--- the collected funds and gifts were a symbol of the Gentile commitment to Israel and its law, a visible sign of their recognition of the priority of the Jewish nation in salvation history." 

The second theological purpose of the collections of Paul is believed by some to be bringing unity in the church particularly between Jews and Gentiles. A number of scholars like C.K. Barret, say Paul wished to create, by the collections for the saints, a concrete expression of the unity of the Jewish and Gentile sections of the church. They say Paul was motivated to demonstrate that just as the church has one Lord and one gospel, so it is also one, bringing together Jews and Gentiles. This motive is mainly seen in his letter to the Romans (15:30f). This explains why Paul seems to be almost in tears when he wrote this section of the letter. He writes:

I appeal to you, brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the spirit, to strive together with me in your prayers to God on my behalf, that I may be delivered from the unbelievers in Judaea; and that my service in Jerusalem may be accepted to the saints----.

Paul is so anxious that his service be accepted. If it was for the relief of poverty why did he think it could not be accepted? The anxiety was therefore probably a result of his concern for Jerusalem’s acceptance of his ‘law-free’ gospel. B. Holmberg has stressed this saying, “This ‘ecumenical’ or unifying purpose------ has been stressed
McKnight sees another theological purpose of Paul's collections. He says the collection was Paul's eschatological provocation of the Jews. He wanted to provoke the Jews to conversion through envy of the Gentiles and their obvious participation in salvation (Rom. 10-11). Thus Paul urged his churches to give voluntarily (1Cor. 16:1; 2Cor. 8:3) and generously (2Cor.:2-4, 9:6-15) as a demonstration to the Jerusalem churches that the Gentile Christians wanted to be involved in the relief efforts.

Related to the above significance is that the collections of Paul were meant to be thanksgiving for the Jerusalem church’s spiritual heritage. Rom. 15:27 shows that Paul believed the Gentiles were in debt of gratitude to the whole church of Jerusalem from which they had received spiritual treasures. So both Antioch and the churches of Paul were regarded by Jerusalem as being under an obligation to support their mother church.

The fourth theological purpose of the collections is that they were a substitute for the Jewish entry rites. This purpose has been suggested by K. Berger who argues, "the collection itself was seen as almsgiving on the part of the diaspora Gentile church, and as such was seen as a substitute action for their sacrifices and circumcision." He says since the Gentiles were exonerated from observing Jewish laws and rituals, money gifts for Israel were seen as the act whereby the Gentiles
demonstrated his or her allegiance to the covenant of Abraham and to the people of Israel. The money collections were a visible sign of the Gentiles’ recognition of the priority of the Jewish nation in salvation history and as a substitute for not keeping the law the Gentiles had made the collections.\textsuperscript{155} According to this theory this would have been Paul’s understanding of his collections.

The above are some of the reasons given to explain the purpose of the collections of Paul. It is possible that Paul might have had more than one purpose in carrying out this project. To this effect McKnight concludes, “It may well be that what began largely as an adventure in charity became, as a result of growing tensions, an act of theological unity and eschatological provocation.”\textsuperscript{156} This is the view we want to work with here, that the collections of Paul probably started as charity and became an act of theological provocation because of growing tensions between Jewish and Gentile Christians. We also take seriously the traditional view that Paul simply wanted to help the poor Christians in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{157} The view regards Paul’s collections as charity meant to create equality in the church. This is supported by 2Cor.8:13-14 which says, “--- but that as a matter of equality your abundance at the present time should supply their want, so that their abundance may supply your want, that there may be equality.” This way the collections will also fit into F.X. Murphy’s definition of diakonia, “a service particularly of the poor, widows, orphans, pilgrims, strangers, organised by the church in a systematic fashion.”\textsuperscript{158} If we consider the fact that by the time of the Pauline collections the economic state of Palestine was further deteriorating, then there were really poor people in Jerusalem and these collections were therefore meant to alleviate want. J. Jeremias says that
the accounts of the famine under Claudius (41-54 C.E.) show that Jerusalem suffered special hardships. Luke says there was a world-wide famine, although at present it is agreed that the famine hit Palestine only. It has been suggested that this famine was at its most severe during the year 47-48 C.E. as this was probably a sabbath year when the fields lay fallow. The effects must have been quite severe on the poorest in a city which was always expensive. Modern scholars have calculated that during this period the price of bread, for instance, reached something like thirteen times the normal amount. As a result, not only Gentile Christians send aid to Jerusalem, but we are told that Queen Helena of Adiabene also sent aid. The situation was so serious that Josephus records that even priests went hungry. If the situation was like this then first and foremost, Paul’s collections were surely an act of charity, designed to help the Jerusalem Christians in this time of distress. Thus Paul’s expression in Rom. 15:26, “Macedonia and Achaia have been pleased to make some contribution for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem”, must refer to the real poor.

That Paul’s collections were an act of charity is also supported by the fact that Paul teaches elsewhere that the love of Christ and others ought to motivate believers to show compassion (Gal. 5:6, 14; 6:10; 1Cor. 13; 2Cor. 5:14 and Rom. 12:13). Understood from this perspective the collections were motivated by love for the churches of Christ. McKnight is therefore right that Paul was motivated by love and that, “in this he followed in a long line of deeds of mercy so typical of ancient Judaism (Exo. 23:10-11, Deut. 14:28-29), the teaching (and probably practice) of Jesus
Paul therefore wanted to alleviate the needs of the people in Jerusalem. By this time the poverty which was at first overcome by the practice of diakonia amongst the Jerusalem Christians must have reappeared, so the collection was also for those who lived in need.\footnote{165}

Not only did Paul practice service in his collections project, he also helped those who worked with him. In Acts 20:33-35, Paul reminded the elders of Miletus:

I coveted no one’s silver or gold or apparel. You yourselves know that these hands ministered to my necessities, and to those who were with me. In all things, I have shown you that by so toiling one must help the weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive.’

We noted in the last chapter that some scholars dismiss these words as unPauline because of the reasons we discussed. However, these words should be authentic Pauline since they agree with what Paul says in his genuine letters. For example, in 1Thess. 2:9 Paul reminded the Thessalonians of how he worked night and day that he could not be a burden to them while he was preaching the gospel. (cf 1Cor.9:6-18 and 2Cor.11:7-12). Thus Paul’s acts of charity were mainly motivated by love.

The churches Paul established also practised diakonia even outside the collections project. The Christians helped each other (Gal. 6:10) and also Paul himself whenever he was in need. Commenting on 2Cor. 8:14 and 9:12 G. Theissen assumes that in Ephesus, for example, Paul received some material support from Stephanas.\footnote{166} Stephanas is said to have offered service to the saints(1Cor.16:15). Such service
therefore could be hospitality. Phil.4:10-20 is a full concluding thanksgiving for the support, “apparently financial, though obviously tangible,” the Philippians had given him. It seems when the Philippians heard of Paul’s imprisonment (either in Ephesus or in Rome but most probably in Ephesus), they sent him a gift of money by Epaphroditus. Though Paul insisted he had the charisma to be sustained by God, and thereby to be content in whatever state he was, he was deeply appreciative for their contributions. The practice of *diakonia* by the churches of Paul must have been motivated by the Pauline ecclesiology of seeing Christians as members of one body (1Cor. 12:12).

### 3.4 The Deutro-Pauline Community

As we mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the practice of *diakonia* in the Deutro-Pauline community, the Pastoral community and the Catholic community cannot be easily discerned. However, from the Deutro-Pauline community we can draw out that those with different kinds of spiritual gifts used them for the strengthening of the community. The apostles, the prophets and others with different gifts offered a service that enabled the church to grow in maturity (Ephesians 4:11-13). Epaphras (Col.1:17) and Tychicus (Col.4:7-8) also practised *diakonia* by informing the writer of the letter to the Colossians of the faith of the Colossians. Thus the practice of *diakonia* in this community was mainly among the Christians.
3.5 The Pastoral community

The practice of *diakonia* in this community was institutionalised. The church now had structures to cater for the needs of its disadvantaged. Timothy as the leader of this community is urged by the author of the letter to serve the needs of widows and the elderly. We do not know how this service was put in practice. It could be that they had a central fund from which the needs the poor were served. Whatever method they used, what we learn from 1Tim.5:9 is that the church practised service to the disadvantaged members of its community. Not serving one's relatives was strongly condemned (1Tim.5:8).

3.6 The Catholic community

The practice of *diakonia* was also practised in the Catholic community. The letter of James which emphasises practical religion, however, does not show the practice, but rather the teaching. It is 3John 3-5 which provides us with an example of how *diakonia* was practised in this community. One of the members of this community, Gaius, is thanked for helping travelling missionaries. Thus, like in the other communities discussed above service in this community was mainly practised to fellow Christians.

3.7 Conclusion
From the foregoing discussion it can be seen that all Christian communities of the New Testament period practised *diakonia*. Jesus practised it in his miracles. His service was not limited to any social group but was to all people. We also found the same in the early Jerusalem community, the Pauline communities and the other communities. We have also seen that towards the close of the New testament period, *diakonia* had become institutionalised. Now that we have looked at the teaching and practice of *diakonia* in the New Testament, we need to move to the Zimbabwean context and find out the RCZ’s teaching and practice of *diakonia* before we make a comparison of the two.
SECTION III: THE TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF DIAKONIA IN THE RCZ

This section focuses on the RCZ. It opens with chapter four which gives a history of the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe together with the church teaching on diakonia. The other chapters will discuss specific practices of diakonia in the church. Chapter 5 discusses the church's practice of diakonia in the area of education, chapter 6 in the area of health, chapter 7 in the area of the disadvantaged and finally chapter 8 discusses 'other services' that cannot be classified in the other specific areas. The historical method is main method used in this section.
CHAPTER 4 THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE OF RCZ

This chapter discusses the history of the RCZ and its teaching of diakonia. It begins with a brief history of the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church, the parent church of the RCZ, at the Cape, then traces the church’s history up to the end of 2001 the time of the writing of this thesis. This history is important for this study of diakonia, for it is during the time of the establishment of the church that many acts of diakonia which still continue today were started.

4.1. Attempts to establish a mission among the Shona

The history of the establishment of the RCZ is in a way connected to the history of many missions in Zimbabwe. The history of the RCZ, however, goes beyond Zimbabwe. The church first touched the African soil in 1652 when the Dutch colonised the Cape in South Africa. However, though 1652 is the year the Dutch arrived in Africa, the first synod at the Cape was established in 1824. It is after the formation of the synod that attempts were made to evangelise Zimbabwe and other
northern parts from the Cape colony. In 1874 the DRC then established a General Mission Committee whose objective was to focus on the evangelisation of the native races of Southern Africa. They began their work in the Orange Free State. Various missions then made attempts to evangelise the Shona to the north of the limpopo river. The DRC, the Paris Evangelical Society and the Swiss Mission Vaudoise collaborated to promote a series of the mission expeditions. Up to 1883, they mainly wanted to establish missions in the territories of Zimuto and Chivi. We will discuss the efforts in detail when we come to the establishment of individual missions of the church. N.D. Beach says there are two periods when missionaries made attempts to evangelise the people in Zimbabwe. He says that the years up to 1883 was the first period of missionary endeavour to evangelise Zimbabwe. The second period he says was from 1883 to 1894 when the Berlin Missionary Society and the DRC sent successive expeditions into the Shona country. This led to the establishment of Morgenster and Chibi missions. But before we look at the establishment of these and other missions let us look at the establishment of the Zoutpansberg mission in South Africa, which paved the way for the establishment of missions in Zimbabwe.

4.2. The establishment of Zoutspanberg congregation

The attempts to evangelise Zimbabwe from the Cape began with the establishment of the Zoutpansberg congregation. This congregation was established in Goedgedacht by Stephanus Hofmeyer in February 1865. He was the first South African born foreign missionary of the DRC who had been spiritually vitalised by the
revival which had swept the Cape colony in the 1860s. His main task was the conversion of the Venda and the Sotho but, “ – by November(1865) Hofmeyer was writing to his superiors about the Shona to the north”. Hofmeyer had heard of the Shona beyond the Limpopo River by hunters who used to hunt among them. It is this congregation which made headway in the evangelisation of Zimbabwe. Hofmeyer’s vision was that African Christians were to be equipped for carrying the gospel to others more effectively. He laboured much on this aspect, also preaching amongst the people of Euro-African extraction (Coloureds) especially those of the Buys tribe. The vision worked. One of the Buys tribe, named Gabriel Buys who had received the gospel, started preaching at the kraal of chief Zimuto while he was on a hunting expedition in Zimbabwe in 1872. On one of his expeditions he even brought back to Zoutpansberg many Shona Christians. No reason is given by Merwe on why the converted Shona had to be taken to Zoutpansberg. However, one possibility is that they were to be nurtured among other Christians in the Zoutpansberg congregation. Notable among these Christians was Mutsikwa Madzivire, who was named Johannes after baptism and who later became an elder in the Zoutpansberg congregation. Gabriel Buys, who was therefore the first DRC ambassador to the Shona, continued working among the Shona people of Zimuto until he was killed when there was a skirmish between the people of Zimuto and hunters from Transvaal. Efforts were also made to sent ordained preachers to the Shona in Zimbabwe. In 1876 Rev. H. Dieterlen and four Basuto people were sent by the DRC(Cape) as the first missionary expedition. Unfortunately when they arrived at Pretoria they were arrested and imprisoned on the orders of President Burger,
because they had firearms.\textsuperscript{178} Though they were released after paying a fine they were not allowed to proceed with their journey.

A second missionary expedition was sent in 1877. The expedition left the Cape on 16\textsuperscript{April} 1877.\textsuperscript{179} This expedition was led by Francois Coillard, a French missionary of the Paris Mission in Basutoland.\textsuperscript{180} He had in his company, his wife, his niece and four African evangelists namely Asael, Aaron, Andreas and Aser. They were also twenty other Africans. At Goedgedacht the Buys brothers, Simon, Jefta and Michael who had experience among the Shona as hunters joined them. The group arrived in Chibi in 1878 and were received by Chief Masunda.\textsuperscript{181} The chief showed much interest in the visitors since he wanted to secure from them ammunition, blankets and other gifts. The chief’s expectations were turned down since Coillard told him they were not traders. This created hostilities between the missionaries and the king. The hostilities were aggravated by Lobengula, the king of the Ndebele, who questioned why the missionaries had entered the country without his authority. Lobengula also disliked this group because it had Basuto evangelists who belonged to Chief Molapo who was at loggerheads with him.\textsuperscript{182} As a result the missionaries were summoned to Bulawayo where they were detained for four months and then released to go back to the Cape.

The Zoutpansberg congregation, however, continued with its efforts to establish a Christian community in Zimbabwe. In 1889 the congregation sent three men: Micha Makgato, Jozua Masoha and Lucas Mokoele to the Shona. Their work was also not
successful because of the Ndebele raids among the Shona. Describing the brutality shown by the Ndebele in these raids P.A. Strasheim says, "The proud and bloodthirsty Lobengula swayed the fate of the Mashonas and his murderous impis traversed their land from time to time, rifling the homes and kraals, and butchering all the inmates that were useless for their purpose."\textsuperscript{183} The establishment of a mission took a long time partly because the Ndebele who frequently raided the Shona were opposed to the idea of a mission. This is reflected in the three’s letter to Hofmeyer; "Here there is no peace. We continually see Matebele who surround us and go around killing people. They hunt the Banyai [a very pejorative Ndebele term meaning 'dogs' used to designate the Shona]."\textsuperscript{184} Unfavourable conditions for the establishment of a mission among the Shona continued until the entrance of the Pioneer Column of the BSAC in 1890. In June 1890, the three who had been sent the previous year, set out to guide Rev. S.P. Helm to Chief Mugabe to ask his permission to start a mission there.\textsuperscript{185} This was after a concession was granted by Lobengula to Charles Rudd and his friends. S.P. Helm and his company had a brief negotiation with Mugabe in which it was clear that he would welcome a permanent mission.\textsuperscript{186} Having this assurance, the party returned to Goedgedacht and the following year a final move towards a permanent DRC mission among the Shona was made. This move saw the birth of Morgenster mission

4.3. The establishment of Morgenster Mission

Stephanus Hofmeyer’s dreams for a mission among the Shona were realised in 1891
when Andries Adriaan Louw, popularly known as Andrew Louw established a mission in chief Mugabe’s area. Andrew was born on 26February 1862, being the son of Rev. A.A. Louw and J.Murray. A man of poor health, Andrew had failed to complete his theological studies at Stellenbosch twice. After this failure he decided to become a farmer in Colesburg. It was when Rev. S.P.Helm preached in the Colesburg congregation in 1890 that it became clear to him that the Lord was calling him as a missionary to the Shona. He then dedicated to work among the Shona on 30 March 1891 in Orange Free State and in the same year set for the journey to Mashonaland. He was accompanied by a number of African evangelists. In Nyajena on his way to Mugabe’s area, Louw and his company met a man called Katore Makumire who became of much help to them. He had worked in South Africa for some years and so was quite conversant in both Sotho and Africans. He therefore acted as their interpreter. This man accompanied Louw and his company to Chief Mugabe’s area. Unlike his predecessors whose work was hindered by political instability, Andrew Louw arrived when the land of the Shona was now under the British flag. He arrived a year after the Pioneer Column which saw the total colonisation of Zimbabwe. Louw’s call and commission was always supported by scripture. For example his father wrote him on 1 April 1891, “I have been greatly relieved from my worries concerning your physical weakness by reading 1Cor.1:27, ‘And God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty.’” He also sent him the words from Psalm121:8, “The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and even for more.” W.J. van der Merwe also tells us that when Andrew Louw’s party camped at their first
huts in Zimbabwe, the promise of Exodus 23:20, “Behold I send an angel before thee into the place which I have prepared”, came to Andrew Louw with a new meaning.¹⁹¹ Such a use of scripture is important in this study which seeks to analyse the scriptural basis of the church’s practice of diakonia. Did the church support its practice of diakonia by scripture as happened during the call and commission of Louw?

Andrew Louw and his company arrived at what they considered to be their destination on 9 September 1891. The site for the first station was then selected on the top of Chief Mugabe’s mountain. The place had four advantages. First, it was conducive because it had a perennial spring of water. Second, a dense African population that acted as the missionaries’ sphere of influence surrounded it. The Shona were staying in the mountain because of fear of Ndebele warriors. With the Great Zimbabwe nearer, the people would flee there in times of Ndebele raids.¹⁹² Third, because of its altitude it would likely be less subject to malaria. Lastly it was only 33km from an urban centre, Fort Victoria, from which the missionaries could get food supplies and protection by the BSAC government which had been soon established.¹⁹³ When they arrived, Makumire introduced them to a man called Dumbu who in turn introduced them to Chief Mugabe. Louw had left some of his missionaries on the way for them to preach and so when he arrived, he had with him David Molea (his interpreter of Sotho origin), Kootjie Pienaar and George Euvrard, a hunter who had joined them on the way.¹⁹⁴ In consultation with surrounding Chiefs, Murinye, Shumba and Nemamwa, Chief Mugabe gave the missionaries permission to
preach the word of God in the area. They were allowed to settle in the mountain close to the Chief Mugabe’s homestead. It is only this mountain that the missionaries were given by the Chief who had consulted with his neighbouring chiefs. The rest of the land was granted to them by the colonial government or they purchased it. Louw gave the place the name Morgenster which means ‘day star’.\(^{195}\) It was the name of his home in Paarl. van der Merwe contends that the name was also an expression of Louw’s hope and prayer that, with the founding of this mission, “the day star would indeed arise for the benighted heathen of Mashonaland”.\(^{196}\) The church at this time was still called Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) of the Cape Province.

With a large audience around them Louw and his companions preached daily but for the first five years they did not make even a single convert. Towards the sixth year, on 17 August 1896 the first converts were baptised. According to the Baptismal Register of 1896 to 1954 these converts were Mutizigwa Hungwe and Muzeza Ngara who after baptism were named Joseph and Matthew respectively.\(^{197}\)

The DRC soon received the support of the BSAC. In the early days of the DRC missionaries’ settlement, Rhodes visited Morgenster and showed a keen interest in what was going on at the centre. He even made a contribution of 50 pounds towards the mission work at Morgenster. Rhodes also took it upon himself to provide Louw with his needs, for he said of him, “He is worth fifty police to me to keep peace”.\(^{198}\) For a long time Louw received from Rhodes 1 bag of meal, 2 pockets of sugar, 50lbs. ground, coffee 1 case shoshong tea, 1 large bag of salt and other luxuries. In 1892
the church was also granted a farm of six thousand morgen. A pole and dagga church was built and other services started. These services have continued to the present day and the mission has expanded greatly. Today the mission is home to more than two thousand people and is still the largest mission station of the RCZ. It houses a primary school, a hospital, a secondary school, a teachers’ training college, a printing press, a pastors’ college, a bookshop, a sub-post office, a farm, a school for the deaf and a recently launched university. All these departments, as the church calls them, reflect the church’s practice of diakonia. These services are going to be discussed in detail in the next chapter where we discuss the church’s practice of diakonia.

4.4. The church spreads its wings

After Morgenster mission the church moved fast to establish other centres. These were called ‘outpost’ missions. Attempts to establish such ‘outposts missions’ started when Andrew Louw’s party was still on its way to Morgenster. On his journey Louw left his African evangelists behind at various selected outposts. For example, he left Izak Khumalo, a grandson of Mzilikazi at Nezuro, near the banks of the Lundi River. After the establishment of Morgenster, further attempts were made to establish more outposts. In fact in the first years of the church’s establishment emphasis was on expansion rather than consolidation. It should be noted that many of the outposts were established through the introduction of western education and
medicine as forms of diakonia by the church. At one stage approximately ninety percent of the converts came from these outposts.\textsuperscript{200} Many more outposts were established. We will discuss below the main mission stations established by the church from the time of its establishment as DRC. Our focus is mainly on rural missions started by the DRC (Cape). Urban congregations were first established by the DRC (Orange Free State) and were only handed to the African Reformed Church in 1977 when the Church became independent from the DRC (Cape).\textsuperscript{201}

4.4.1 The establishment of Harawe

After Morgenster, an outpost mission station was established in 1895 after the DRCM purchased a farm at Harawe. The place was in Bikita district. It was purchased so that the African Sotho evangelist missionaries and their descendants would settle there after retirement from serving as church ministers.\textsuperscript{202} J.D. Moller was the first evangelist to be posted there. Unfortunately, the place was soon turned into a commercial farm and so few people stayed there.\textsuperscript{203} The idea of continuing with the establishment of a mission station was therefore abandoned. Since there were few people staying there, there was now a small 'catchment' area for the church’s evangelistic work. Rev. J. D. Moller, the mission’s evangelist was then called back to Morgenster where he was asked to take charge of the school that had been recently established.
4.4.2 The establishment of Pamushana

This was the third mission station and was also established in Bikita district. The mission was started by Revs. P.H.A. Fouche and L. Du Plessis in 1901. These two, however, did not stay for a long time because their wives became ill. Fouche left in 1904 and du Plessis in 1906. In 1904 Rev. Jackson went to replace them. The African teacher-evangelists who were later trained at Morgenster Mission then did much of the evangelistic work. The mission expanded and by the end of 2001 it had a primary school, a secondary school which was upgraded to a high school at the beginning of the year 2001.

4.4.3 The establishment of Gutu Mission

Initial attempts to establish a mission in Gutu were made by the missionaries, Beuster, Wedepohl and Meister. These were forbidden by the BSAC who had now taken control of the area. In 1892, the Berlin Missionary Society managed to establish a mission there. This mission was, however, transferred to the DRC in 1907. The First DRC missionary to be sent there was Rev. Meister. Unfortunately within a few months of settling there, the missionary, his wife and his son died of malaria. The other missionary who remained, Rev. Wedepohl continued with the evangelistic work. Soon the church started a school and later, a hospital. Medical work was started by Rev. G.S. Murray. Though he was not trained in medicine he is
said to have attended a course in tropical medicine and then started medical work at Gutu Mission.\textsuperscript{206} After him many qualified doctors and nurses came to continue with medical work at the mission. Notable among them was Dr J.N. (Kosie) Booysen who served at the hospital for a period of 23 years from 1957 to 1976. In 1947 a training school for teachers was started. Today Gutu mission is one of the DRC’s large mission stations. The mission has a primary school, a high school and the district hospital of Gutu.

4.4.4 The establishment of Chibi Mission

The first evangelist to attempt missionary work in Chibi was the French minister of the Paris Mission in Basutoland, Francois Coillard. Unfortunately, as we have already seen, he was not received favourably by Chief Masunda. A mission station was however, established in 1894 by the Berlin Missionary Society which had established another mission station in Gutu. It was then transferred to the DRC together with Gutu and Zimuto in 1907. However, when the work was taken over from the Berlin Missionary Society, the station at Chibi was without a European missionary for several years.\textsuperscript{207} The possibility of abandoning the mission altogether was even considered. For a time the mission was run by a Shangan evangelist whose name was Joseph Mboweni.\textsuperscript{208} It was in 1911 when Rev. and Mrs H. C. Hugo volunteered to go there. The couple did great work there even laying the foundation of the school for the blind. The foundation stone laid by Rev. Hugo still stands at the old church of the mission station, which also houses a high school and a clinic.
4.4.5 The establishment of Zimuto mission.

As we have seen above the first DRC contact with the Shona was with the people of Zimuto in 1872 when Gabriel Buys preached at Zimuto kraal while on a hunting expedition. As N.D. Beach says, “(Gabriel Buys) stayed with the Zimuto people beginning a full century of contact with Christianity in that area—.” Gabriel Buys’ efforts were supported by his brother Simon Buys, together with a Sotho called Sehababane who in 1874 preached in Zimuto’s kraal and promised the people that a mission would be established there. Further attempts were made in 1877 by Francois Coillard who led Andreas and Azail who were to start a mission at Zimuto. This mission was, however, unsuccessful because when Coillard and his party arrived in Chibi, their mission was diverted by the chief who wanted gunpowder and ammunition to protect himself against the Ndebele who had recently raided the area. The plan to establish a mission at Zimuto was therefore stopped because Coillard ‘remained nervous’.

In 1880 Gabriel Buys went back to Zimuto again. This time he was accompanied by Petrus Kolkodo, a Sotho. They preached and returned with the encouraging news of the continued willingness of the Shona to accept a mission. Again Ndebele raids forbade the establishment of a mission. In 1883 Gabriel and Petrus Buys set out once again for Zimuto. This time they were accompanied by Jacob Moemi and Micha Maghato. The mission was, however, abandoned sadly after the unfortunate
death of Gabriel Buys on 30 July 1883 in a skirmish with an Afrikaner party under field cornet F. Grobler of Waterberg. Gabriel Buys’ death marked the end of any hope of a mission among the Shona of Zimuto. The Buys dropped out of the picture and further attempts to establish a mission were made by Africans of the DRC and Berlin missions. The Berlin Missionary Society managed to establish a mission at Zimuto in 1904. The mission was transferred to the DRC in 1907. The first DRC missionary, Rev. G. S. Murray was sent to the mission in 1907 and he did a lot of evangelistic work there. Educational and medical work was started soon after the opening of the mission. In 1956 a secondary school was opened with its main aim being to offer the preparatory academic training required for entering the Higher Primary Teacher Training Course, an advanced nursing course or the course for African ministers. Today Zimuto is also one of the RCZ’s large mission stations. It has a conventional primary school, a primary school for the blind, a high school, a secondary school for the blind, a clinic and workshops for basketry and chalk making by the blind.

4.4.6 The establishment of Jichidza Mission.

We have seen that mission work at Harawe was stopped because the place was turned into a farm. The abandonment of Harawe led to the establishment of Jichidza mission in Zaka district in 1908. It was opened by Rev. J.F. Roux. This mission has not grown as fast as other missions that were established at the same time. P. Dauramanzi suggested that it is probably due to its location. The mission is not
easily accessible. It, however, has a primary school, a secondary school, a clinic and a sizeable congregation.

4.4.7 The establishment of Alheit Mission.

Alheit was the second mission station in Gutu. It was established in 1909 in Chief Chimombe’s area. At first the station was called Hubwe, but was changed first to Chimombe and later to Alheit, the name of Rev. W.A. Alheit, the minister of Ceres, the congregation which supported Rev. H.H. Orlandini financially as well as by its intercession from the time of his arrival. It was again changed to Chingombe after independence. In 1910, Joseph Shoko, an evangelist-teacher was sent to assist Orlandini. The mission grew establishing a number of preaching outposts which were outstanding in the growth of the church. One of the most outstanding outposts was Chitsa. A.R. Mutumburanzou says that Chitsa outpost was started when H.H. Orlandini had assisted in carrying chief Chitsa’s son who was ill on his horsecart to Morgenster Hospital for treatment. One of the hands of the patient was in a bad state of decay and was amputated at Morgenster hospital. When his son recovered, the chief agreed that a preaching post could be put up at his place, an idea he had once rejected. There were also other outposts like Munyikwa and Mazuru. These outposts have existed up to this day. The mission also runs a secondary school.

4.4.8 The establishment of Makumbe Mission

Makumbe mission was the first station in Buhera District. It was established in 1909
by Rev. P.A. Badenhorst who had been transferred from Zimuto Mission. In 1950 a teacher training school was started. The mission grew steadily and at present it also runs a primary school and a high school.

4.4.9 The establishment of Nyashanu Mission.

This was the second mission in Buhera District. It was established in 1954, and was the last outpost mission the church established. At present the church has a high school, a primary school and a clinic.

The above are outpost missions the RCZ established. At present the church is in the process of establishing another mission at Tinde in Binga. A mission station was attempted at Jena in 1909, but this was unsuccessful. The place was turned into a farm and so the like what had happened at Harawe, the idea of a mission was abandoned.

4.5 From the DRC to the Shona Reformed Church

From the time of its establishment in 1891, the Church in Zimbabwe was called the DRC and was still controlled by the mother Church in the Cape Province in South Africa. On 9 September 1952, the congregations in Zimbabwe supported by the
Rangano Huru (Council of Congregations) constituted a synod. The Church’s name was then changed from DRC to Shona Reformed Church.\textsuperscript{220} This gave the local board autonomy. Its decisions and regulations were no longer subject to the approval of the Mission Council and/or the Mission Board of the DRC in the Cape.\textsuperscript{221} The name Shona Reformed Church was suitable at this time for the members were mainly Shona people from southern Zimbabwe.

4.6 From Shona Reformed Church to African Reformed Church

The autonomous Shona Reformed Church soon extended its operation over the whole of Zimbabwe. It took the gospel to the Ndebele and even to the Nyanja and Chewa people from Zambia and/or Malawi. The young Church had thus to accommodate a greater variety of ethnic groups within its fold. Due to this ethnic diversity a motion was tabled at the synod in 1956 to change the name Shona Reformed Church. The name was then altered to African Reformed Church.\textsuperscript{222}

4.7 From African Reformed Church to Reformed Church in Zimbabwe.

Though the local board of the DRC (Cape) became autonomous in 1952, it only controlled the congregations and the church buildings. All other assets: schools, hospitals, printing press, books and others, remained in the ownership of the DRC (Cape).\textsuperscript{223} With the ‘winds of change’ blowing across the country in the 1960s, the church, just like political parties, started asking for what they considered theirs. The ARC then started asking the DRC to hand over the church assets to them. This was
done in 1977 and with the achievement of independence in the country, the church change its name from ARC to RCZ in line with changes elsewhere, for example, the Zambian DRC was now called the Reformed Church in Zambia. Thus in 1981 the church then became known as the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe.

4.8. The Church’s teaching on diakonia.

The RCZ does not have a specific teaching on service which can be separated from the practice. However, S. Kundishora, Superintendent at Morgenster Mission emphasised that when Christians practise service, they are not doing good to man (humanity) but to God.\textsuperscript{224} He also said to be Christian is in fact to offer service to those in need. He supported this by quoting James 2:26, “For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, so faith apart from works is dead.” So for him ‘works’ are the acts of \textit{diakonia}. His words were also supported by Rev. A. Mandebvu, the General Secretary of the church, who using James 2:26 said, “The missionaries practised and even the church today practises service to show that apart from faith in Jesus, they also have works.”\textsuperscript{225} Rev. R. Rutoro, a lecturer at the church’s theological college, also had this to say, “A human being is physical and spiritual, so both the physical and the spiritual needs have to be satisfied. This is the purpose of the church’s services.”\textsuperscript{226} Drawing from the views of these three interviewees, one notices that the RCZ’s understanding of \textit{diakonia} is therefore mainly seen in the Church’s practice. \textit{Diakonia} is understood as anything that an individual Christian or the
church as the board of believers does to help those in need.

4.9. Practice of diakonia.

The following passage by W.J. van der Merwe introduces the RCZ’s practise of diakonia quite perfectly:

In its missionary approach the DRC (RCZ) has tried to serve the whole Shona society, even those of its members who were formerly treated as outcasts by their own people. In the light of the New Testament, the lepers, the blind and the deaf became neighbours to the missionaries. They felt that they could not adequately serve Christ as his ambassadors if they did not serve him by serving these outcasts.227

The above passage shows that it was the Church’s principle to practise diakonia alongside evangelism. From the passage one can deduce that Merwe understands the Church’s diakonia to be influenced by the New Testament, and indeed this is so considering the fact that the Church considers the Bible normative for its teaching and practice. A.R. Mutumburanzou says, “(The RCZ’s) confessional basis regards the Bible as Holy and infallible Word of God----.”228

The church’s institutions and growth up to today prove van der Merwe’s statement on the mission of the church, that from the beginning, the church emphasised service. The church’s service is seen in what it has done in areas of education, health, care for the outcasts, emancipation of women from what it considered as oppressive cultural practices and production of scriptures and other literature in vernacular. Of interest in this thesis is the church’s motive in practising these different forms of diakonia. The next chapters examine the different forms of diakonia.
CHAPTER 5: RCZ’S PRACTICE OF DIAKONIA IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

This chapter focuses on education as a service provided by the RCZ. By education here we refer to formal western education provided at educational institutions. From the beginning of its work in Zimbabwe, the RCZ’s evangelism has been closely related to this kind of education. In fact education was used as an effective tool for evangelism. We have seen in the last chapter that for the first five years at Morgenster, Louw and his company failed to convert even a single person. Louw thought this was a result of the people’s illiteracy. He then introduced formal education starting in 1899 with the arrival of the first missionary teacher, Ms van Coller. The introduction of formal education drastically increased the number of people who accepted the missionaries’ message. Thus A. A. Louw then realised that youngsters at school were more receptive to the Christian message than the adults. It is interesting to note that even the Roman Catholic Church also failed to make converts among the Ndebele until they introduced education. The first school for the Africans was established by Robert Moffat at Inyati in 1859. The second one was established at Hope Fountain in 1870. In all these endeavours, D. A. Mungazi says that the missionaries intended to pursue a set of objectives designed to promote their own interests. The interests were to westernise the Africans to make it easier to convert them to Christianity. After many years of evangelisation at Hope Fountain, the Catholic church missionaries could not make converts until in
1888 when Mr Carnegie reported that two boys had been taught to read and write and they subsequently were the first converts.²³²

Coming later than the Catholic missionaries, the RCZ emphasised education. Its emphasis on education was seen in the establishment of many mission schools. With competition for converts with other denominations during the early 1900s, it became true that the more schools a mission had, the more the number of church adherents.

The RCZ missionaries set up five types of schools.²³³ First, was the Home school. In these schools pupils learnt Ngano, Shumo, some New Testament passages, Shona spellings, arithmetic, hygiene and physical education. The second type of school was the Ward school. Basically this was the same as the first one that additional subjects like English were added. The third type was the Mission school. This was the school for pupils studying Standard one to four. Their curriculum included Bible, English, Arithmetic, Moulding, Geography and many other practical subjects. The fourth type of school was the Intermediate school. For a long time such schools were only at Morgenster and Gutu missions. Here pupils studied all the other subjects studied at the lower schools but with emphasis now being on handwork and Agriculture. To maintain the idea of running schools there was need for teacher education. The teachers were in demand not only at Morgenster, the first mission station, but also at various posts which the church had established. The Teachers’ school was therefore the fifth type of school. As we saw in the previous chapter all the outpost missions established offered formal education. So in 1902 the church started training teachers. Admission requirements to the training school at this time included a certificate of good conduct from a missionary and a pass in Standard 3. In an
interview Dr K. Rugara, the deputy principal of Morgenster Teachers’ College had this to say about the college, “The College boasts of being the first teachers’ college in the country and of training the first black teacher.” The teachers, in the words of van der Merwe, “were to be engaged in evangelisation.” With the subjects taught in the training school including Bible and Church History the graduates were fully prepared for evangelisation. The church had now realised that although European missionaries could make an impression on a few, the real work of spreading was to be the responsibility of the native who spoke the local language and was one of the people himself. The teachers proved to be very useful for evangelisation as many of the school children ended up members of the RCZ. Many RCZ members who were interviewed said they got converted into the church through catechetical lessons at the mission schools. For example G. Muzvondiwa had this to say, “Catechetical lessons were conducted by our teachers everyday. Other subjects were building, agriculture, craft, but the Bible was our daily ‘food’.” In fact many of the people who studied at the RCZ schools became members, some for only as long as they were at the schools. Examples are VaMagumbo, who was baptised into the RCZ at Machitenda school but became a Catholic soon after leaving the school and also K. Tomu who was baptised at Copota school for the blind but left the RCZ for another when he was now at the University of Zimbabwe. So as we have noted above, education was used as an effective tool for evangelism.

With this emphasis on evangelism one would expect that the church only enrolled those who believed in their gospel, as P. H. Gundani says was happening in the
Roman Catholic Church, "Denominational competition among the missionaries led to some priests adopting the policy of no religion no place in school." In the RCZ this was, however, not the policy. The church up to now say they do not consider church affiliation in their admission of students, but only give preference to members of the church. As J. Marange said in an interview, "Though the church schools admitted all pupils, preference was first given to those who belonged to the church." S. Kundishora also shares the same views when he says it was easy for him to get a school vacancy as his parents were members of the church. Again though non-members were admitted, the aim was mainly to bring them into the church environment to have them evangelised. Catechetical schools were run at the mission schools and those who went for catechesis were exempted from general work. S. Kundishora says the attempt to avoid general work at school led him to the catechetical school where he then embraced the Christian teaching wholeheartedly. This was not only true of the RCZ but also of other Christian denominations. In a letter to the overseas Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in London on the 18th May 1899, Isaac Shimmin wrote from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), "It is with the children that our main and indeed our sole hope of building up a Christian community in this country rests and from the beginning it is our aim to endeavour to provide them with a Christian education." Indeed many of the Churches emphasised the provision of education as *diakonia* because with competition for converts in the beginning of the missionary work in Zimbabwe, it soon became evident that those churches that catered for material needs of their members attracted the most converts. Probably out of this realisation the RCZ used and is
still using education as a form of service. Several mission schools were established. The table below shows the number of RCZ [given as DRCSA] mission schools in 1924.

Table from E. Smith, *The Way of the White Fields*, p.154

By 1966 the RCZ controlled 397 out schools, 8 central primary schools, 3 teachers’
training centres and 4 secondary schools making it one of the competent players in the field of education in the country.\textsuperscript{244} The church also ran two special schools, a school for the blind and a school for the deaf, which were the only ones of their kind in the country at that time. We shall discuss these special schools in detail in chapter 7.

The number of schools was, however, reduced in 1971 when the church handed over all the primary schools to the government except for the CPSs. This followed the government move that the churches were to provide five percent of the schools’ budget with the government providing ninety five percent.\textsuperscript{245} The church could not afford the five percent so they handed over the schools and remained with the CPSs which were part of the mission stations. This affected the evangelistic work of the church since from the 1940s the mission schools had become centres of Christian formation.\textsuperscript{246} However, CPSs, secondary schools and teachers’ training centres continued with the education side of evangelistic work. Today the church has even expanded further having 6 primary schools, 7 boarding schools, 3 day secondary schools, 1 teachers’ college and a recently launched university. The table below shows the church’s schools and the number of students and teachers as at December 2000:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>No: of pupils</th>
<th>No: of teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyashanu Primary</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemamwa Primary</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgenster CPS</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makumbe CPS</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Hugo (for the blind)</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Murray (for the deaf)</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutu CPS</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamarare CPS</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimuto High</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makumbe High</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutu High</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chibi High</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyashanu High</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jichidza Secondary</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamushana Secondary</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chingombe Secondary</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Hugo Secondary (for the Blind)</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgenster Day Secondary</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgenster Teachers’ College</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From The Office of the Secretary for Education: RCZ

Though the church considers these as general service, in the words of J.N. Dah this, “--- is a means to draw the adults nearer by opening the way to the houses of the pupils. The school proves a relatively easy way of influencing the populations and winning converts as Christian schools always had an (Christian) impact upon the society in which they operate.”²⁴⁷
Education, as we saw above, was also considered very important because it also provided the church with teacher-evangelists. A. A. Louw believed that evangelist-teachers were important for the growth of the church. The church also stated categorically that religious instruction based on Biblical teaching should always occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of any mission school. And so apart from the evangelist-teachers, at every station as a rule there was a native evangelist or a preacher who conducted a school for young people, preached and instructed converts. As A.A. Louw wrote in 1925, “Evangelisation and schools are inseparably linked together.”

The duties of a teacher as stated in 1947 by the Mission Council of the RCZ also show that the church used education as a weapon of evangelism. The duties were:

a) spiritual church services,
b) catechumen classes,
c) evangelistic work,
d) Sunday school classes,
e) prayer meetings
f) all academic work and
f) sport and welfare.

It can be seen therefore that education did not play second fiddle in the business of the church. It was in fact meant to achieve the church’s core business of evangelism. Analysing the educational work of the missions E. W. Smith said, “If they (the
missionaries) were asked the reason (for giving education a prominent place in their programme), they might reply that the schools have been their best evangelistic agency. Probably ninety percent of the Christians have come into the church by way of the school."\textsuperscript{250} The question then is why did the Church give such emphasis on education as a form of evangelisation? That the church places much weight on education can also be seen in the number of the educational institutions it runs in comparison with other institutions of service.

In the words of M. Bourdillon, education attracted the Shona to the mission churches, "The Shona (of late) saw education as a means of obtaining the white man’s knowledge and ultimately the white man’s wealth."\textsuperscript{251} This education was offered them by the mission churches. Some of the churches demand church membership for attendance at their institutions and give some preference to their own members. Though others may not be excluded at the institution, religious practices and indoctrination are often compulsory features of church controlled institutions, encouraging to conversion those who are not church members. Education therefore provides the church with an opportunity to evangelise many people and has attracted a number of people to the church. Of all the people interviewed more than fifty percent confessed that education as a form of service provided by the church attracted them into the church. For example, J. Marange who is a teacher says it was through his membership of the church that he was admitted first at Chibi High school and then at Morgenster Teachers’ College.\textsuperscript{252} That some students are accepted at Morgenster through Church affiliation (without disregarding
qualifications) was supported by Dr K. Rugara, the Vice Principal of the college and Mrs C. Zizhou\textsuperscript{253} a church member of the Ngomahuru congregation. Dr K. Rugara admitted that each year the college admits a quota of the students from various congregations of the church.\textsuperscript{254} He, however, could not be drawn into revealing the actual number of students. But in other separate interviews, Mrs Zizhou and a church official\textsuperscript{255} at Morgenster mission who considered anonymity said each congregation is given fifteen application forms each year and of these five will be accepted. The truth of this claim could not be established. However, because of the need to have such an advantage some people have converted into the church basically for this service. For example, one male student teacher who asked for anonymity accepted that he was admitted to the college through his congregation. J. Chinheya, of the ZCC, also said he would become an RCZ member if he were to do that and get a place to train as a teacher at Morgenster teachers’ college.\textsuperscript{256} This way the church has grown because some people have been converted for these material benefits. All those who were educated at mission institutions were influenced by its Christian environment, as F. Veit- Wild writes, “---students usually came out of this (education) process ‘white washed’, having been thoroughly acculturated, having adopted the rules, tastes and beliefs of their Christian teachers.”\textsuperscript{257} This was also supported by A.R. Mutumburanzou who said many of the students who passed through their missions prefer to come back and work at the missions to maintain the spiritual values they would have acquired when they were students.\textsuperscript{258}
 CHAPTER 6: RCZ’S PRACTICE OF DIAKONIA IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH.

The history of medical service in the RCZ is as old as the church itself. Medical service was and is still a powerful weapon for evangelism. Medical work in the RCZ was started at Morgenster mission in 1894 by Dr John Helm, a brother of the Reverend S.P. Helm who first approached Chief Mugabe with the idea of establishing a mission. Born in 1860 at Bredasdorp, John Helm initially wanted to become a church minister. He even spent three years at Victoria College Stellenbosch but did not qualify. He then went to Edinburgh where he studied medicine. After qualifying as a doctor he then came to Morgenster to begin medical service. While rendering medical service, Dr Helm thus also witnessed for Christ and proclaimed the gospel wherever opportunities arose. He even assisted in the training of evangelists and with the translation of the Bible. He travelled far to visit his patients and on such visits preached the gospel and opened preaching posts. One preaching post, which later grew to become a congregation centre, was opened as a result of his work. He continued as the hospital doctor until 1914 when he had to leave Morgenster because of ill health.

After Dr Helm, medical work at Morgenster hospital continued under various sisters until 1924 when Dr M.H. Steyn took over the medical work assisted by Sister E. Wells. Dr Steyn was born in 1896 and studied medicine in Holland. As the mission
doctor, Dr Steyn also preached the gospel through his medical service. During his term the hospital expanded greatly. In his first five years from 1924, he worked in the two-roomed cottage of Dr John Helm. In 1929 a new hospital with 30 beds was opened and was named John Helm Memorial Hospital after the mission’s first medical doctor, Dr John Helm. Dr Steyn won the hearts of many people because of his determination to learn and communicate in the Shona language, the language of his patients. The hospital became identified by his name. Even after his death in 1973, Morgenster hospital was still known as “KwaSiteni”, that is, Steyn’s place.

Mbuya Chionioni who is about hundred years old and still remembers Dr Steyn, still refers to the hospital as “KwaSiteni”. In 1943 the hospital was expanded with 30 more beds for women and children added. The ward which housed these beds was named Cinie Louw Memorial Hospital in memory of Mrs Louw. In 1952 a TB section with 56 beds was opened. Morgenster hospital has also been used for the training of nurses. Dr Steyn started the training of African nurses. Though initially an informal local certificate was awarded after training, later the government granted a Native Nursing orderly qualification and a Midwifery certificate, and later still Medical and Midwifery Assistant qualifications registrable with the Medical Council. The hospital continued to grow and by 1973 it had 216 beds. In 1975 a Health Centre was opened to train medical assistants in rural health and medicine. The hospital at present houses the Masvingo Province Eye Care Unit and according to the matron of the hospital, this unit treats eye patients from all over Zimbabwe. In its medical work the hospital worked together with the government. Even many of the stations used by the missionary doctors as visiting posts later developed into clinics run by
local councils with government aid.\textsuperscript{270}

Apart from Morgenster Hospital, the RCZ also runs Gutu hospital, which is the district hospital of Gutu district. The hospital was started as early as the establishment of the mission. At one time it was known as George and Maggie Murray in memory of this couple who had worked there for a long time. The couple introduced medical work at the mission after the husband attended a course in tropical medicine.

To show its commitment to medical service, the church also runs four clinics at Chibi, Jichidza, Zimuto and Nyashanu. All the RCZ clinics belong to the Zimbabwe Association of Church Related Hospitals (ZACH). ZACH is an organisation which was formed in 1974 to represent the interests of church related health personnel and institutions.\textsuperscript{271} The RCZ was represented at the formation of this organisation by Dr Dale Miller du Toit, who was the Morgenster hospital superintendent at the time and was chosen as the organisation’s first president.\textsuperscript{272} As in education the RCZ was and is still not the only church involved in medical service. As early as 1913 the Wesleyan Methodist Church also began medical work among Africans by opening a hospital at Kwenda Mission.\textsuperscript{273} In 1971 the Catholic Church was running nearly 50 hospitals and clinics. These included three TB hospitals for Africans at Makumbi, Mutare and Driefontein and two large private urban general hospitals, St. Annes in Harare and Mater Dei in Bulawayo.\textsuperscript{274} Many other churches also operated health institutions. The map below shows church related hospitals and clinics in Zimbabwe.
Map from ZACH handbook.
It can be seen that many of the health centres run by churches are in rural areas. This was the character of medical missionaries as M. Gelfand says, “---through their faith, they chose to go to help the poor and less fortunate in places where no such help existed. They went to lonely unhealthy places, cut off from the outside world.”

In their provision of medical service, the RCZ also emphasised evangelism. Van der Merwe has this to say about the church’s medical service, “Religious service and evangelistic work at the hospitals have been welcomed and have been a source of blessing to many.” In 1922 A.A. Louw suggested the use of physicians who had also been ordained to the ministry after having taken a brief course in theology. Thus in 1924 the church had Dr Steyn at Morgenster who “communicated the Christian message by his attitude, his service and his verbal witness.” Dr H.M. Steyn believed, “The care of the body of the sick is the command of the Saviour. It is the application of the teaching of Christ. The teaching that he came as a saviour of soul as well as body must not be neglected.”

The medical work had a great influence on the growth of the church. In 1950 it was reported that eighteen percent of the patients treated at Morgenster came even from outside the areas where the church was then at work. Even today the superintendent of the hospital said the hospital treats people from all over the country, especially in the eye care unit. This brings the patients in contact with the Christian message of the church. The church took this opportunity to preach to these
people. Remarkable conversions which are a result of medical service have been reported. For example, Chief Ndanga of the 1940s was converted at Morgenster Hospital when he came for treatment. We have also noted in chapter 4 that Chief Chitsa accepted the establishment of an outpost preaching centre when Rev. Orlandini had taken his son for treatment at Morgenster Hospital. These cases show the importance of medical work to evangelism. Even today the church’s health institutions pray before starting the business of the day. At Morgenster Hospital, once a week a pastor from the nearby theological college is called to preach to the patients. But what is the place of medical work in the church’s evangelistic pursuits?

The words of J.N. Dah explains why the RCZ had to incorporate medical work in its evangelistic mission. He says, “Christian medical missionary work is one of the expressions of love and witness which seeks also to bring heathens under the influence of the gospel.” This may explain why Louw suggested the use of physicians with some theological training. These would then preach to those people who came seeking medical care. The RCZ also based its practice of service on scriptures. As Mrs Mantsebo said, “Christ came to heal, teach and preach.” Therefore the healing acts of Jesus and the apostles serve them as examples for Christian medical missions. Medical service is important both to Christians and to non-Christians. According to Oehler, among Christians where the gospel has already been preached and accepted, medical work comes as a strong complement to dispel pagan beliefs connected with illness through the doctor’s conversation with
patients. This was especially true in the ancient Shona society where illnesses like leprosy, for example, made the victims outcasts. Van der Merwe reports that it was not rare among the Shona that lepers could even be buried alive. The RCZ missionaries’ treatment of such diseases had a great effect on the Shona’s acceptance of their Christian message. To non-Christians if worship is connected with medical care, the masses attending such healing centres cannot, in the long run, avoid coming under the Christian influence.

Indeed the missionaries have used medical service as an attraction to Christianity. However as we have said much emphasis was on education. This is explained by the fact all Christian acts of _diakonia_ are mainly for evangelistic purposes. M. Bourdillon supports this and as a result explains why the church emphasised education over health when he says, “--- contact of missionaries with their patients is less prolonged than that with pupils at school---.” He goes on to say missionaries sometimes insist on church attendance by patients as a condition for receiving treatment. The RCZ, however does not insist on church attendance, but according to Mrs A. Mlambo, a nurse at Chibi Clinic, a number of people have been converted into the RCZ because of the way they are treated at the clinic. Mrs Mantsebo also accepted this saying many people are attracted by the Christian environment of Morgenster Hospital and so a number of patients end up converting into the church. This was also supported by a nurse aid at Zimuto Clinic when she said many people in the area prefer to be treated at the church clinic. She said some people even by-pass other clinics coming to the RCZ clinic. She attributed this to the fact that prayer
precedes the medical activities of the clinic.

Therefore by and large, medical service in the RCZ is used for evangelism as van der Merwe writes, "Whilst ministering to the ailments of the body, patients are directed to Christ who alone makes the spirit whole."²⁹⁰
CHAPTER 7: THE RCZ’S PRACTICE OF SERVICE IN THE FIELD OF THE DISADVANTAGED

From its establishment in Zimbabwe, the RCZ has been home to the disadvantaged members of the Zimbabwean community. The church played a big role in the uplifting of women, in the care for the blind, the deaf and the lepers. In doing this the church used the New Testament to support its practice as van der Merwe writes, “In the light of the New Testament, the lepers, the blind, the deaf became neighbours to the missionaries.” Let us now look at how the church served the needs of these disadvantaged.

7.1 Women

The humanitarian and Christian service of the missionaries has helped very much in the emancipation of women. Through cultural practices, Shona women were generally oppressed by their male counterparts. They were in many cases treated like minors who needed the guidance of adults. For example, man could beat their wives whenever they felt offended. They were therefore not treated as equal partners in marriage. The DRC missionaries emancipated women from such oppressions by, for example, teaching the equality between men and women. Many RCZ women interviewed considered the church’s teaching on monogamy as one teaching which has liberated them from the ills of polygamous families. For example
Mrs R. Zinhuka, who said before they converted into RCZ her husband wanted to marry a second wife, but through the RCZ teaching he abandoned the idea. The RCZ was strongly against polygamy that one of its elders, Mr J.M. Zvobgo was excommunicated from the church when was accused of inheriting his brothers’ wives. Kuzvarira was one cultural practice women considered oppressive. The RCZ was against this practice and it accommodated many girls who had run away from their parents when they intended to give them in marriage. Many of these girls in turn accepted the Christian message of the RCZ missionaries. One such woman is Mbuya Chiononi whose father Chief Nyakunuwa wanted to give her in marriage through the practice of kuzvarira. She ran away to Jichidza mission where she was looked after and educated by the missionaries. She later got married to a man of her choice. She has remained a committed member of the RCZ more than 70 years later.

The RCZ did not only liberate Shona women from oppressive cultural practices. The church also taught them skills to sustain themselves in life. Three weeks after her arrival at Morgenster, Cinie-Malan, the wife of A.A. Louw started a sewing class for women. Margaretha Hugo also had such service to women in Chivi. She started a sewing and soap making class for women. Wives of elderly students who stayed at the mission schools could also attend Domestic Science classes while staying with their husbands. A two year course for training African teachers of Domestic Science was started in 1945. Women and girls were taught sewing, cookery, housewifery, childwelfare, general hygiene and related subjects. Cinie-Malan was
also very much interested in the development of Girl’s homes. Through her influence
the church kept some disadvantaged girls at Morgenster Mission and indeed the first
RCZ converts who were named Maria and Martha, were amongst the girls who
stayed at the mission.297 Many of the girls who were kept at the mission had run
away form their parents, when they for example were to be given in marriage
through some oppressive practices like Kuzvarira.298 Such service to these
disadvantaged was surely a method of evangelism. This is seen in the fact that the
first woman to be converted was baptised in 1899, eight years after the
establishment of Morgenster Mission. It can therefore be stated categorically that it
was because of the love shown to her that she reciprocated by accepting the
missionaries’ message.

7.2 The blind

Service to the blind in the RCZ started in 1915, “---when a heathen mother fled to
Chibi Mission with her blind son of nine years.”299 The woman together with her son,
Dzingisai, had been sent away by her husband who did not want to look after the
blind son. Since it was a year of famine, the husband could not look after the large
family and so he decided to get rid of the ‘useless’ blind son. Rev. H. Hugo and his
wife accepted the boy who was later baptised and renamed Samson. The couple
took the boy to a specialist in Johannesburg to have his sight restored but nothing
could be done for him. So in 1927 with encouragement from her husband, Mrs Hugo
started teaching Samson braille.300 This marked the beginning of the School for the
Though the school started with only one pupil, within a few weeks, three more students joined the class with one coming from as far as Mt Selinda in Chipinge. Thus initially the school for the blind was not a church institution. Even the caring of these blind was the responsibility of the Hugo family, as S. de Silva writes, "Rev. Hugo bought food, clothes and all other necessities for the blind from his own pocket." Thus their service was a form of evangelism. Many of the blind students became Christians and Samson the pioneer blind student actually trained as an evangelist. F. Manhango, now affectionately known as Mbuya Muparidzi, also trained as a preacher at Morgenster in the 1950s. She had heard of the care of the blind at Chibi mission from her home area in Bikita. In need of education she made the journey to Chibi against her parents, who did not want her to go there.

Having started in 1927, the school for the blind, which was later named Margaretha Hugo School for the Blind after the name of its founder, Mrs Margaretha Hugo, continued to grow. The church soon accepted responsibility over it and the government also supported it with grants. In 1938 it was decided that the school be moved to Copota in Zimuto area. It was found out that Zimuto was more accessible since it is close to the town of Masvingo. The church has continued with its service to the blind particularly through Copota School for the Blind. The school starts with pre-school for the blind up to Ordinary Level. The blind are taught all other subjects taught in other schools but with emphasis on art and craft, that is, basketry, domestic science, agriculture, sewing and knitting. This way the school equips its
graduates with skills for life. Some of its graduates have been employed in the chalk and basket making departments of the mission.

7.3 The Deaf

The School for the Deaf is one form of service by the RCZ. Like the School for the Blind which was started by an RCZ family (the Hugos), the School for the Deaf also had humble beginnings. The school was started at Pamushana Mission by Sr. S. Smuts in 1947. She had met a deaf girl and asked the headmaster permission to start teaching her. Noticing the progress of the girl, more deaf students started coming for lessons. S. Smuts then asked the church to open a school for the deaf. The church agreed but it was realised that such a school had to be at Morgenster Mission. The school therefore started at Morgenster in January 1948, the church having realised the need to care for the disadvantaged deaf to enable them to communicate with other people and to teach them skills which would help them in life. Building, Woodwork, Metal work and Sewing were some of the subjects the school initially offered. Today Food and Nutrition, Agriculture, Typing and Computer Studies have also been added to these other subjects. Because of the work involved in teaching the deaf, the children spent twelve years in primary school. Though the students are taught academic and technical skills, the church emphasises religious instruction. It is a form of evangelisation as van der Merwe says about the schools for the Blind and the Deaf, “God has indeed used these institutions as a witness to his glory.”
7.4 The Lepers.

“In its missionary approach the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (RCZ), has tried to serve the whole of the Shona society, even those of its members who were formerly treated as outcasts by their own people”, writes van der Merwe.\textsuperscript{307} This is particularly true of the lepers. The Africans like the Jews, treated lepers as outcasts and in most cases the disease was believed to be a result of a curse by ancestral spirits or God respectively. We have mentioned in chapter 3 that in the Jewish society lepers lived outside the village, among the Shona it was not uncommon for them to bury acute cases of leprosy alive.

The RCZ started work among lepers in 1899 through Dr Helm. One of the lepers sent to Morgenster had been rescued from a grave by a Roman Catholic priest.\textsuperscript{308} After rescuing him, the priest asked the RCZ missionaries to look after him. Many more lepers then came to seek refuge among the RCZ missionaries. For example, in 1907 a leper woman and three others sought refuge among the missionaries.\textsuperscript{309} The RCZ took care of these lepers. Subsequently a leper colony was established with government aid. A number of the lepers became Christians. The photograph below shows an RCZ missionary ministering to lepers.
The church accepted in its leprosy home, all people not Christians only. The church
no longer runs this service since the government took over the care of the lepers in 1915 and transferred the centre from Morgenster to Ngomahuru. 7.5 The Orphans

The RCZ also took care of African orphans. In 1924 a home for such orphans was started at Morgenster Mission. It was located near the hospital and was supervised by Miss M. Hodgskin. The orphanage was closed in 1944 and the responsibility of looking after the orphans was taken over by the hospital. Orphaned babies are now taken at the hospital and attended to until they are old enough to be cared for by their relatives.
CHAPTER 8: THE RCZ’S PRACTICE OF DIAKONIA IN 'OTHER SERVICES'

The RCZ practised service in many other areas which could not be classified in our broad categories discussed above. We therefore have decided to discuss these under the heading 'other services'. These other services include the translation of the Bible into the Shona language, the printing of books and other documents at the printing press, the running of bookshops, the provision of employment and the use of land. We are going to describe each form of service to see in what ways it can be considered the practice of diakonia by the church.

8.1 Translation of the Bible.

Another form of service by the RCZ was the translation of the Bible into the Shona language. From the time he arrived at Morgenster, A. A. Louw started learning the Shona language. It soon became a general rule that all DRC missionaries in Zimbabwe had to master the Shona language. After mastering the language, he started translating some passages into Shona. Since Christianity relies heavily on a person's ability to read and understand the Bible, it was realised that, without the production of religious and other literature in the vernacular, "no robust African Christian community could be built up." On December 30 1891, three months after his arrival Louw wrote, “Today I found time to review the translation of Psalms 23,
John 3:16 and Our Father (the Lord’s Prayer)." 

In 1897 Louw’s translation of the gospel of Mark was printed. Louw, his wife and an African called John Hungwe continued working on the translation of the rest of the New Testament. In 1919 the whole New Testament was published in Shona. By 1950 the whole Bible had been translated into Shona.

The translation of the Bible into Shona was a great service to all Shona Christians, not only to RCZ members. Though it was meant to enable Christians to read and understand the Christian teaching, it was also probably meant to enable non-Christians to read and get converted. Van der Merwe says, “Undoubtedly, the Bible in Shona was one of the greatest gifts to the VaShona by the DRC.” His words were confirmed by P. Moyo and S. Chiramba, both Zion Christian Church members who thanked the RCZ for translating the Bible into Shona. They both agreed that one can understand better a message expressed in his/her language. However, E.T. Jerera, a Zimbabwe liberation war veteran who said he belonged to the indigenous Shona religion, said he did not agree that the translation of the Bible into Shona language was a service to the Shona. He said he was a young boy when the RCZ launched the complete Shona Bible and concerning this Bible he said, “The missionaries used the Bible to justify colonialism and the Shona’s loss of land.” So though the RCZ missionaries and Shona believers saw the translation of the Bible into Shona as a service, some people like E.T. Jerera did not see it as a service to the Shona but rather as means to the achievement of the white missionaries’ objectives, that is, to convert the indigenous people into their religion.
8.2 The Printing Press

The production of literature was greatly furthered by the setting up of a mission press in 1913. Many people interviewed expressed the fact that the printing press came as a great service to the people in Masvingo province and Zimbabwe at large. This is because though initially the printing press was for printing religious literature, later, academic books were also printed. For example, a number of books used in primary schools in the 1960s and 1970s like Zvipere, Vambai, Mago, Dzidzai, Pfuurai were printed at the Morgenster Mission printing press. Books were printed both in English and Shona. At one time an English magazine called Mashonaland Quarterly was published at the mission press. The government, however, took over the printing of the magazine in 1929. The printing press also published books on Christian life and on beliefs of other Christian denominations, e.g. \textit{vaRoma} (Roman Catholics), \textit{vaZion} (Zionists), \textit{vaApostora} (Apostles) and \textit{vaChitawara} (Jehovah's Witnesses). Today the printing press department has three units according to Miss C. Mugadziwa, secretary and receptionist of the department.\textsuperscript{317} These are the Printing Press, Bible College and \textit{Munyai Washe} (God's Messenger).

The Printing Press unit today prints stationery, school reports, bus tickets, invitation cards, hospital cards and so on. These are merely for profit making since their evangelistic role is not clear. However, evangelistic books are still printed. A number of these books trade under the banner CAVA (Christian Audio Visual Aids).
The Bible College unit plays a very important evangelistic role. According to Mrs Mushavire, an employee in this unit, the unit provides Bible Education to people from various walks of life. One can obtain a certificate or a diploma through correspondence. A number of people have been converted through the services of this unit. Mrs Mushavire gave an example of some prisoners who completed the course while serving prison sentences and have ended up as Christians. She said school pupils in the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate course and those doing the Ordinary Level course in Religious Studies appreciate the unit’s service. The unit is therefore important for evangelisation. Running the courses is expensive because of the printing, marking and mailing costs. Despite this the church has continued running the unit. This shows its importance in spreading the gospel to the people.

*Munyai WaShe* is a bi-annual magazine of the RCZ. The first magazine was printed in 1913. Initially the magazine was for sometime used as a class reader. The magazine can be obtained for a small fee. The unit does not make any profit since the fee is charged only for paper costs. The clientele is mainly the RCZ members. However, non-members can also purchase the magazine. Although Miss Mugadziwa said the magazine is for evangelistic purposes, a reading of a number of the magazines proved that there is little evangelism since the magazine discusses church activities, important developments and occurrences and any other matters of interest to the church.
8.3 Bookshops

The RCZ runs eight bookshops which use the trade name Mabuku Bookshops. According to J. Makwangudze, initially three quarters of the books in the bookshops were religious. The bookshops also sold the books which were printed at the Printing Press at Morgenster. However, in 1988, the bookshop was registered under the Booksellers Association of Zimbabwe. This meant that the bookshops could now operate like all other bookshops in the country. However, up to today, the bookshops emphasise the selling of religious books. The bookshops sell books to the church’s institutions and to all other people in Zimbabwe. Makwangudze considers it a strong method of evangelism though one sees that the bookshops are like any other bookshops. It is therefore more on the profit making side of the church’s services.

8.4 Employment

One of the services provided by the RCZ is employment. The church’s institutions like schools, hospitals, bookshops and so on have resulted in the creation of a number of employment opportunities. However, except for schools and hospitals, the church mainly employs its members. All the employees at Morgenster interviewed, professed to be members of the RCZ. No doubt, therefore, some people have become at least nominal Christians or what one can call ‘mealie-meal Christians’ in order to be able to profit financially from the church. Even in schools and hospitals high posts are
occupied by church members. Those who are not members are encouraged to become members, as stated by E. Mariga, a Divinity teacher at Chibi High School, “There is a circular encouraging all staff members to be RCZ members and some teachers at Zimuto have been baptised to remain at the school.” I managed to interview one of the teachers when I visited the school. The teacher who asked for anonymity said he and his other companions felt that the pressure on them to get converted was now too much that they could be transferred from the school if they did not convert. Another teacher from Nyashanu High School also confessed that there was such a circular. He said many of them who are not RCZ members do not feel to belong to the community since they cannot be appointed to higher grades if they are not members. For example, the positions of head and deputy head of a department can only be given to RCZ members. The existence of the above circular was supported by I. Nhachi, the Acting Deputy Headmaster of Chibi High School who is a member of the church. Because many of the church schools and hospitals provide good facilities like electricity and safe water, many people do not want to lose their posts there and so accept Christianity or if they are already Christians in other denominations convert to the RCZ. That the RCZ want members of other churches working at their stations to convert into RCZ was confirmed by the wife of one non-RCZ employee at Zimuto mission. She confirmed that there was pressure on her husband and his family who are Roman Catholics to convert to the RCZ. She said a number of people had been expelled from work because they were not willing to convert. She said her husband had survived because of the nature of his job that requires much expertise and so if the church were to expel him it could not easily
replace him. She gave an example of a man who joined the Zion Christian Church because of illness and was then dismissed from his job by the church. Therefore employment has been used by the church as a strong weapon for evangelism encouraging those who are already Christians to remain so and those who are not to become Christians. The later argument is supported by J.N. Dah who writes; “Natives learn the higher culture through being employed by the missionaries in building, making of furniture, gardening ----- . Such things make the natives receive a new world-view and can go into business and carry out their profession with a Christian spirit.”

8.5 Land.

Christian missions in Zimbabwe were fortunate in that they were established after the BSAC had colonised the country. The BSAC was very favourably disposed toward the early missions and as a result it awarded most of them, “handsome land grants”. This is because the new government of the BSAC considered the churches important for pacifying the natives. To this effect R.J. Zvobgo had this to say about Rhodes and his other imperialists:

Rhodes even believed that the missionary religious influence would provide an ideological arm for colonialism in African society. The imperialists (therefore) saw no distinction between their own aims and the aim of the missionaries as regards the propagation of Christianity, British civilisation and culture.

This is seen in Rhodes’ words concerning A. A. Louw, “He is worthy fifty police for me to keep peace.” The missionaries used the land to establish Christian
communities. Initially the RCZ was given 3000morgen, but with the growing needs of the church, A.A. Louw later made a special trip to Salisbury to request more land.

The following conversation between him and Dr Leander Starr Jameson, the administrator of the new government, shows how easy it was for missionaries to get land.

Jameson: What can I do for you Mr Louw?
Louw: I have come to ask for more land for my mission.
Jameson: How much do you need?
Louw (with hesitation): We could use another 6000morgen.
Jameson: You can have it. 330

So Rhodes and his government supported the missionaries by giving them large tracts of land. In fact by the year 1900 land grants covering 325 730 acres had been given out to ten different Christian denominations. 331 Louw’s journey to Salisbury to ask for more land shows that the colonial government had already taken the land from the Shona and so the traditional rulers had no jurisdiction over it. The land that the missionaries were given belonged to the Shona. Four chiefdoms Nemamwa, Shumba, Mugabe and Murinye lost large parts of their chiefdoms to the missionaries. The missionaries, however, saw their taking of the land as a service to the Shona. They wanted the land for building of schools, hospitals, training colleges and other facilities. The land was also used for farming. The church has three large farms at Riebek near the town of Masvingo, at Morgenster and at Zimuto. The RCZ missionaries used food from the farms to feed school children, patients in hospitals and the missionaries themselves. So they believed that the benefits that the Shona were to accrue from the loss of their land far outweighed the loss of the land. But
did the Shona appreciate the views of the missionaries? We address this issue in chapter 9.

The church also settled some people on the mission farm. As van der Merwe says, "Under certain stipulated conditions Africans were granted permission to grow crops for their own consumption." The church considered the granting of land to other people a form of service to society. N. Bhebhe says, "From a missionary point of view, the offer of large farms would enable them to have a captive audience and would convert whole chiefdoms and impose their regulations and codes of conduct, for example outlawing beer drinking, polygamy and child labour."

8.6 Trading Stores and grinding mills.

When the RCZ missionaries arrived among the Shona there were no trading stores and grinding mills. A. A. Louw even received his food supplies from South Africa. The missionaries thus later established stores to serve both the missionaries and the Shona. That the church also wanted to make some profit cannot be ruled out. The colonial government had established a money economy and so the church could make profits from running such services. Van der Merwe says that the stores yielded considerable profit which secured a substantial income for the mission. A grinding mill started operating at Morgenster mission in 1937. Mrs Muzvondiwa who still remembers the years when the mill started operating said initially not many Africans made use of this facility. They continued with their traditional way of pounding the
grains. The grinding mill thus mainly served the needs of the mission. It was used to grind meal for the school children, patients in hospital and even meal for the missionaries themselves. Trading stores were, however, later abandoned as A. A. Louw is said to have been opposed to the idea of running trading stores. It is said he did not find the missionary values of the stores. The stores were therefore leased to N.Richards and Company who are still renting them. The grinding mill continued operating. People come from distant places sometimes even leaving other grinding mills in their places. Many of such people interviewed said that the main reason why they prefer the mission-grinding mill to other mills is that it is cheaper. Shamiso Paridzai for example said the grinding mills at her shopping centre at Chikarudzo cost $35 compared to the mission’s charge of $25.
SECTION 4: Analysis

This section draws together the findings of the previous chapters for a social-scientific analysis of the concept and practice of diakonia in the New Testament and in the RCZ. After this, a comparison of diakonia in the New Testament and in the RCZ is made to find the implication of the former on the later. The social-scientific method is therefore the major method used together with hermeneutics.
CHAPTER 9: APPLICATION OF SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF DIAKONIA IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND IN THE REFORMED CHURCH IN ZIMBABWE

9.0 Introduction

This chapter now analyses the teaching and practice of diakonia in the New Testament and in the RCZ from a social-scientific perspective. Two sociological models mentioned in the introductory chapter; the cultural anthropological model of reciprocity and the patron-client model will be used. First, is a detailed discussion of the tenets of the models. Second, will be an application of the models in some New Testament passages. Third, is the application of the models on the RCZ’s teaching and practice of diakonia.

9.1 Social-scientific models of dikonia.

The social sciences have provided Biblical scholars with methods for the study of ancient Biblical societies. Biblical scholars have employed these social scientific methods out of the realisation that the Bible, and in this case, the New Testament, contains witnesses to social phenomenon. This social phenomenon, “is comprehensible only within a larger constellation of social, economic, political and cultural currents.”338 But as we have noted in the introductory chapter, there are
many approaches to social-scientific criticism. Here we have decided to use two approaches, the cultural anthropological model of reciprocity and the patron-client model.

9.1.1 Cultural anthropological model of reciprocity.

The cultural anthropological model of reciprocity is the major social scientific method used to solve the problem probed in this thesis, that is, to analyse the concept of diakonia in the New Testament and in the RCZ. Reciprocity together with redistribution and market exchange are some of the cultural systems of distributing material goods according to an economist called Karl Ponyani. Polanyi observed that markets, which are central in modern capitalism, played only a limited role in the economic affairs of pre-modern societies. In these societies economic activities were always socially restrained or constrained and so were not allowed to dominate other social institutions. Thus reciprocity and redistribution were crucial economic activities to the market. Reciprocity involves the movement of goods and services between two parties and can be defined as, “a transaction between two parties whereby the goods and services of roughly equivalent value are exchanged.” B. Malina defines it as, “the back-and-forth movement of goods and services.” Apart from reciprocity which we are using in this study, there are also other types of action flow. One is centricity which is the movement of goods and services towards some central point. Thus in society one can practise either reciprocity or centricity. However, there are some people who refuse to take part in any of the two movements. Malina says this is called rudeness or selfishness and that no society
tolerates such behaviour.\textsuperscript{343} In a society Malina notes that there are also people who seek to control both the reciprocal and centric movement of goods and services. Usually these are the minority elite. Such social interaction is called agglomeration or totalitarianism.\textsuperscript{344} Selfishness and totalitarianism are not accepted in societies. Rather reciprocity is the most preferred type of action flow. Our study of diakonia deals with giving and receiving. Thus reciprocity is the most appropriate model which we can use to analyse the dimensions of interactions portrayed in the New Testament texts. After a study of the New Testament from this perspective we can then use the insights gained to analyse the practice of diakonia in the RCZ which claims to base its teaching and practice of diakonia on the New Testament. Though reciprocity is usually done to fulfil social obligations, sometimes it is done to gain prestige, for example in the case of a person who gives a party expecting sooner or later to be invited to similar parties by some of his/her guests. The common English word for reciprocity is therefore ‘sharing’.

For M. Sahlins, there are many kinds of reciprocities.\textsuperscript{345} He notes sharing of unprocessed food, informal hospitality, ceremonial official exchanges, loaning and repaying, compensation of specialised or ceremonial services and others as some of the reciprocities, particularly in what he calls ‘primitive societies’. But basing on extremes and midpoint, Sahlins then suggested three types of reciprocities. It is these types of reciprocities that B.J. Malina has applied in the study of the New Testament, and which we follow in our discussion of New Testament and RCZ diakonia. The first type is generalised reciprocity. According to Sahlins, generalised
reciprocity “refers to transactions that are putatively altruistic.” Here giving is without specification of some return obligation in terms of time, quantity or quality. Price therefore referred to generalised reciprocity as ‘weak reciprocity’ because of its vagueness of obligation to reciprocate. It does not, however, mean that return is not expected. Rather expectation of some return is always implied but left indefinite and open-ended. As we have mentioned above, sometimes the giving is made to attain prestige, the achievement of which is a return. The return may be very soon or may even be never, so a person who practices this type of reciprocity does not keep record of the service he/she gives, to see whether return will be made. The failure of the receiver to reciprocate does not cause the giver to stop giving. Examples of generalised reciprocity include gifts, particularly ‘pure gifts’ as Malinowski prefers, meaning gift giving in the altruistic sense. The various types of assistance given to relatives and friends also fall under generalised reciprocity. The gifts parents give to children are also examples of this type of reciprocity as well as assistance given to people regardless of their social location. In all cases of generalised reciprocity the ‘cost’ of the transaction is not counted. In the Bible, generalised reciprocity is seen in almsgiving, which is the giving of the poor and the needy regardless of their ability to return. The diagram below summarises the movement of goods and services in generalised reciprocity.

```
A -------------------------------- B
```

138
As the diagram shows, the goods/services move one way (from A to B as shown by the solid arrow) in favour of the have-not. B might or might not return (reason for dotted arrow), but even if he fails to return, A will continue giving.

The second type of reciprocity Sahlins talked about is balance reciprocity. Balance reciprocity refers to direct exchange of goods and services. Sahlins says this kind of relationship is symmetrical in the sense that the immediate focus of any transaction is on equivalent reciprocity in the customary equivalent form and is without delay. Sometimes there is a simultaneous exchange of the same types of goods to the same amounts. Here the giving and receiving, as well as time involved are more specific. The parties involved in this transaction are both focused on their social interests. The material side of the transaction is as critical as the social side. W.A. Haviland says, "Giving, receiving and sharing (in balanced reciprocity)---constitute a form of social security or insurance." For example, a family contributes to others when it has the means and can count on receiving from others in times of need. The need might be material or social. This author noticed this kind of reciprocity in Zaka district of Masvingo province, where an unofficial 'register' of funeral attendance is kept to see those who do not provide assistance or attend funerals when others are bereaved. Such people might face a 'boycott' if there is also a funeral in their families. In 'primitive' communities where the exchanges were mainly material, this kind of reciprocity provided a levelling mechanism which promoted an egalitarian distribution of wealth over the long run. Balanced reciprocity keeps score or tabs
in terms of time, quantity and quality of assistance given. As a result, Sahlins says, “Balanced reciprocity’s pragmatic test is inability to tolerate one-way flows.” Relations between people are disrupted by failure to reciprocate within limited time and equivalence leeways. This type of reciprocity therefore entails a balanced vice-versa exchange, ‘---a tit-for-tat movement, a command for a command, a request for a request, information for information or some goods and services for other goods and services in equivalent terms.’ Examples of balanced reciprocity are gift exchanges, payments for goods and services (for example, payment for tuition, for professional services provided by people like doctors) trade or barter exchange. In this type of reciprocity, the movement of goods and services is based more on economic interests than social interests. The diagram below illustrates this type of reciprocity.

A  ←→  B

The arrows show the movement of goods and/ or services between parties A and B and the two solid arrows show that the reciprocation is the customary equivalent of the thing given and the thing expected in return. On the last note it should, however, be noted that balanced reciprocity can develop into generalised reciprocity, for example when one become friends with his/her doctor or teacher such that he/she will receive some free services.

The third and last type of reciprocity according to Sahlins is negative reciprocity.
Negative reciprocity refers to interactions that are focused immediately on the social interests of the self or it can be an extended self (one’s group). It is in fact an attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, “the several forms of appropriation; transactions opened and conducted toward net utilitarian advantage.” The parties which are involved in negative reciprocity have opposed interests and so in transaction maximisation of gain and minimisation of cost is sought. Sometimes force is even used to get the desired goods or services. If balanced reciprocity is more economic than social as we have seen above, negative reciprocity is the most economic. It is the most impersonal sort of exchange, through various degrees of cunning, guile, stealth and violence----. Examples of this type of reciprocity are gambling, chicanery, theft, robbery, profiteering, lying, cheating and even hard bargaining. In short, transactions of this type of reciprocity entail maximisation of one’s own interests at the interacting partner’s expense. The diagram below illustrates the movement of goods or services in negative reciprocity.

The curves show that though each party pretends to be giving the other party, the overall intention of each is its benefit.

The three types of reciprocity (reciprocal relations) discussed above are influenced by kinship relations where, “Reciprocity is inclined toward the generalised pole in proportion to close kinship and towards the negative extreme in proportion to
kinship distance.” It therefore follows that close kin practice generalised reciprocity while the distant or non-kin practice negative reciprocity. Though this according to Sahlins, was more significant in primitive societies, it also seems perfectly applicable to our own Zimbabwean society. We have seen that generalised reciprocity is usually among the close kin. This is true among the Shona who express it in the proverb “Chawawana idya nehama mutorwa ane hanganwa” meaning that because strangers easily forget the good that one receives should be shared with close kin. The diagram below shows the relationship between kinship relations and the type of reciprocity.

Sectoral diagram showing the relationship between kinship relations and type of reciprocity: from M.Sahlins, Stone Age Economics, p.199
As can be seen in the diagram, the tribal plan can be viewed as a series of more and more inclusive kinship-residential sectors, and reciprocity seen then to vary in character by the sectoral position. Certain modes of reciprocity are characteristic or dominant in each sector. Generalised reciprocity is dominant in the narrowest spheres, balanced reciprocity is characteristic in intermediate sectors and negative reciprocity in the most peripheral spheres.

9.1.2 Patron-Client model

Patron-client relationships take various forms which cannot be exhausted here considering the nature of this study. Focus here is therefore on those forms of patron-client relations most pertinent to this study and particularly those related to reciprocity. Patron-clientship is an institution that structures the exchange of goods and services according to the norms and values of the society at large. Like in reciprocity, in patron-clientship there are also two parties, a superior patron and an inferior client. The relationship is therefore characterised by inequality and asymmetry in power and status. It is therefore "a mutual relationship between unequals for the exchange of goods and services." C.S. De Vos defines it as, "a particular form of social relationship that involves an exchange of different types of goods and services (such as money, employment, legal representation, or favours) to a person of lower status who reciprocates by acting submissively (out of strong sense of indebtedness, duty and obligation), and by enhancing the patron's personal favour." J. Tarkowski talks of two forms of patron-clientship pertinent to this
study. First is the classic traditional patronage where patrons occupy high positions in the system of power or in economic management providing clients with desired goods and assure them of protection and support. In return the patrons receive different kinds of goods and services. In the Graeco-Roman world patronage was characterised by generosity on the part of the patron and patrons showed this generosity for example by building public buildings and other structures for different cities. They got returns in form of loyalty, praise in the form of statues, inscriptions and public office. The second form of patronage is the political kind of patronage where, by dispensing services, protection and support, strategically-located patrons acquire political support, either mobilised for them by clients or deriving from the very positions held by clients. For example, clients in the Graeco-Roman world could put up inscriptions showing the generosity of their patrons, leading others to accept these as their patrons too.

Patron-clientship relations bind either legally or socially. However, in most cases the relationships are social, informal and unwritten. The relationship is also personal, based on informal and friendship ties, but serves ends that exceed the personal domain. Examples of patron–client relationships are ruler-subject, landlord-tenant, master-freed slave and even God-creatures. The following are the main characteristics of a patron-client relationship:

1. Interaction between patron and client is based on simultaneous exchange of types of resources. A patron has instrumental, economic and political resources and can therefore give support and protection, and in return a client can give promises and
expressions of solidarity and loyalty.

2. There is a strong element of solidarity in these relations linked to personal honour and obligations. There may even be a spiritual attachment between patron and client.

3. Patron-client relationships are seemingly binding and long range ideally of lifelong endurance. But such relations between individuals are in principle entered into voluntarily and can be abandoned voluntarily.

4. Patron-client relationships are based on a very strong element of inequality and difference in power. A patron has monopoly of certain positions and resources that are of vital importance for his client. Thus since the patron has resources, the client has to show respect and loyalty to get the resources from the patron.

In the next section we therefore apply the methods on the practice of diakonia in the New Testament and RCZ.


In discussing the practice of diakonia in the New Testament, we considered what John the Baptist, Jesus, the early Jerusalem community, Paul, his communities and the communities of the Deutro-Pauline letters, Pastorals and Catholic letters taught and practised. We will follow this scheme in our analysis of the teaching and practice of diakonia by these communities from a social-scientific perspective. We will start with John the Baptist and end with the community behind the Catholic letters.
We saw that John the Baptist taught that solidarity should be with everyone, believers and non-believers. He did not give any reason why people should share the little they have but seems to have emphasised human solidarity. Therefore in John the Baptist’s teaching, *diakonia* is any discharge of service in genuine love. His concept of *diakonia* fits G. Kittel’s second definition of *diakonia* as any discharge of service in genuine love. Considering the three types of reciprocity discussed above, the reciprocity John the Baptist taught therefore falls under generalised reciprocity. This is because he taught that the provision of service must know no boundary.

In the teaching of Jesus we saw that Jesus taught people to give alms; and we defined alms as gift(s) offered to the poor for the love of God. Giving the poor is a transaction which is putatively altruistic and therefore Jesus taught people to practice generalised reciprocity. Even his emphasis on secrecy when giving: “The left hand must not know what the right hand is doing” (Mat. 6:3); shows generalised reciprocity. Jesus taught that those who give must not expect a return from the ones they have given but from God, “---who sees in secret.” (Mat.6:4). Following Jesus’ teaching then, the giver does not expect return of the same quality and quantity. Return remains indefinite and open-ended making it typical generalised reciprocity. Jesus’ teaching on generalised reciprocity can therefore be seen in parables like the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37). The Samaritan who offered service to the man who had fallen into the hands of the robbers did not expect any definite and spelt out return. Also in the parable of the rich fool (Luke 12:16-21), Jesus taught both balanced and generalised reciprocity. The parable can be understood
both from a patron-client model and from the cultural anthropological model of reciprocity perspectives. The patron-client relationship as we have seen works together with reciprocity. The rich man in the parable must have had a large estate. This is because the Greek word describing his land is *cora* (Luk.12:16) which means an estate as opposed to *agros* which means a field. J. Jeremias is therefore right to note that the word used for barn should rather be translated warehouse.370 If this is anything to go by then this rich man must have been a patron to a number of clients; his employees being some of these clients. In Palestine of Jesus’ time rich man did not work in fields. They either had labourers or tenants. This rich man therefore had to practice either balanced or generalised reciprocity to his clients. Instead he practised negative reciprocity and in the parable Jesus was teaching against this. The rich man could have had practised balanced reciprocity by increasing the wages of his labourers or as a Jew he could have practised generalised reciprocity by giving part of his bumper harvest to the poor. This teaching is also found in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus in which the rich man failed to practise generalised reciprocity (Luk. 16:19-21). The rich man was supposed to help poor Lazarus simply considering that Lazarus was a human being like him. Thus Jesus taught the need for generalised reciprocity.

Jesus did not only teach the need for generalised reciprocity, but also went on to practise it. As we have seen in chapter 3, Jesus’ practice of *diakonia* is mainly seen in his miracles, particularly the healing miracles. Jesus healed lepers (Mark 2), the demon possessed (Mark 5:1-20 par.) and the ill (Luk.8:40-56). In all cases it can be
clearly asserted that Jesus’ healing acts were generally acts of generalised reciprocity. The recipients of his medical service were not given time, quality and quantity of return. The healing of the mad man of the Gerasene that we discussed in chapter 3 shows this generalised reciprocity. The healed man thought he could pay for his healing by becoming a disciple of Jesus, but Jesus told him to remain with his people.

Though generalised reciprocity mainly characterised Jesus’ practice of *diakonia*, one can also argue for balanced reciprocity. First, it can be noted that Jesus used his miracles for evangelism. F.N. Davey supports this saying that Jesus did not go about healing all people who were sick; evangelism was his main motive. Mat.13:58 supports this; “and he (Jesus) did not do many night works there because of their unbelief.” The statement shows that Jesus seems to have set a condition for his service. The condition was the need for faith. Recipients of services were supposed to also reciprocate by showing faith in him. As Sahlins says, “In balanced reciprocity relations between people are disrupted by failure to reciprocate.”

Secondly, balanced reciprocity is also seen in that sometimes Jesus healed people in order to show that he had authority from God. For example, in the healing of the paralytic, Mark (2:10) reports Jesus as saying, “But that you may know that the son of man has authority on earth-----.” Thus Jesus sometimes healed in return for authority just as a patron who protects a client in return for loyalty. Thirdly, Jesus and his movement also earned their livelihood from their acts of *diakonia*. G. Theissen describes the Jesus movement as a group of wandering charismatics who survived
on sympathisers like Mary and Martha (Luke 10) and the women who ministered to Jesus (Luke 8:1). These sympathisers in return for the services provided them by the Jesus movement provided the material needs of the movement. For example they gave the movement food as in the story of Mary and Martha. Luke 8:1-3 also mentions that among the women who ministered to Jesus was Joana the wife of Chuza, the steward of Herod. Such women from affluent families must have contributed large sums of money to the fund of Jesus and his disciples. John 12 tells us that Jesus and his group had a fund and it is probable that the sympathisers also contributed to this fund. They were therefore the clients of Jesus looked at from a patron-client perspective. This is because we assume that they benefited a lot from Jesus' healing miracles J.H. Elliot supports Jesus’ patronage using the story of the Roman centurion in Luke 7:2-5. In the story Elliot says the centurion became Jesus’ client for he wanted Jesus to heal his slave. Also in Acts 10:34-44, Jesus’ healing actions are specifically recommended by Peter and he is celebrated as patron and benefactor.

In discussing diaconia in the Early Jerusalem community here, we have to establish first, in which type of reciprocity the practice fell and secondly, whether or not the community followed the Jesus model of reciprocity since it was founded on his teaching. We have seen that the community practised some communal form of ownership of goods which was meant to eliminate poverty in some members. The service was mainly towards members of the community. However, as we have discussed in chapter 3, there are some people who have suggested that the selling
of property by people like Barnabas was based on the belief that the parousia was near. We have rejected this suggestion therefore we can see it as *diakonia* and then proceed to classify the service into our models of reciprocity. The early Jerusalem church’s practice of *diakonia* can be classified mainly under generalised reciprocity. This is because they seem to have concentrated on the members of the community. The community regarded its members as brothers and sisters making them of one ‘kinship’. Kinship distance, as we have seen, influences the type of reciprocity, and so since the members of the early Jerusalem community regarded each other as kin, their reciprocity must have been of the generalised type. Barnabas sold his land and brought the money to the community, so did Ananias and Sapphira. Mary, the mother of John Mark opened her house to the members of the community only (Acts 12:12). All this shows generalised reciprocity in action. Their giving was not tabulated in terms of time, quality and quantity of return. Even Dorcas’ acts of service seem to have been focused on members of the Christian community (Acts 9:39). The healing activities of Peter must also have been on members of the community. The healing of Aeneas (Acts 9:32-35) and the of Dorcas (Acts 9:36-43) are cases in point. We, however, do not know whether those brought to the streets to have Peter’s shadow heal them or the lame man of the Beautiful gate were members of the Early Jerusalem Christian community.

Having noted the emphasis on *diakonia* among members of the Christian community, the question then is whether or not the community followed ‘the Jesus model of reciprocity’ considering the fact that we have classified both services under
generalised reciprocity. Though both practised generalised reciprocity, the early Jerusalem community’s diakonia seems to have been focused mainly on members of the community as we have argued above. Jesus did not only provide his services to members of his movement but also to non-members. Thus though the community adopted the Jesus model of reciprocity, it did not do so wholesale. Perhaps the needs of the community which was gathered in Jerusalem dictated the way the community had to practise its service.

In the Pauline communities as we have noted in chapter 3, one encounters the problem of the motive of the services provided by Paul and his communities. This makes the interpretation from a social-scientific perspective, particularly classification, difficult. For example, if we were to see the Pauline collections from the perspective of Rom.15:30, then the collections could be classified under balanced reciprocity where-by Paul and his Gentiles were paying back for the spiritual blessings that had come from Jerusalem. If we were to see them as acts of charity towards the needy, then we could classify the service under generalised reciprocity where the collections would be regarded as alms. But considering our conclusion in chapter 3 on the purpose of Paul’s collections, we can proceed to classify it accordingly. We concluded that the collections project could have started as charity but was later used by Paul for some theological purposes. If we understand the collections this way, then initially the project fell under generalised reciprocity. 2Cor. 8:13-14, “--- but that as a matter of equality your abundance at the present time should supply their want, so that their abundance may supply your want, that there
may be equality” supports that it was generalised reciprocity. Generalised reciprocity is also seen in Paul’s service towards his missionary companions. These were men and women who were close to him and whom he regarded as brothers and sisters. Considering their kinship distance, his practice was surely generalised reciprocity.

Be that as it may, Paul’s use of the project for theological purposes leads it to balanced reciprocity. Rom. 15:30 implies more than charity. As has been discussed in chapter 3, it seems the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem were rejecting the Pauline gospel without the law. Paul then used the collections project to get recognition of his gospel by the Jerusalem authorities. The giving of aid was therefore meant to be returned in form of the recognition and acceptance of his law–free gospel that he preached. Even the practice of diakonia by his communities such as the Philippians, fall under balanced reciprocity if we take the Pauline view that they were repaying the word they had received from him (1Cor.9:1ff). Thus we see both generalised and balanced reciprocity in Paul and his communities’ practice of diakonia. But did Paul and his communities follow the Jesus model of reciprocity? In some ways they did, particularly as far as their service can also be classified under generalised reciprocity. The difference, however, is that the Pauline communities seem to have followed the model of the early Jerusalem community in focusing mainly on members of the Christian community. The use of services for evangelism is not as strong in these communities as it was in the ministry of Jesus.

It seems the model of diakonia followed by the early Jerusalem community and the
Pauline communities is also the one which was followed by communities of the Deutro-Pauline letters, Pastoral letters and Catholic letters. The way the service was practised cannot be clearly established but it seems focus was mainly on providing service to members of the community as can be seen in the case of 1Tim.5:8. The church now had structures in place to look after the needs of its disadvantaged. Such were people like widows and the elderly. In the Catholic letters the practice of diakonia also seem to have been limited to believers. People like Gaius in the Johannine letters helped missionaries.

9.3 Analysis of the teaching and practice of diakonia in the RCZ from a social-scientific perspective.

We have seen that the RCZ has a number of services it provides. Our intention here is to apply the social-scientific methods on these services and see whether the church practises diakonia on the basis of balanced, generalised or negative reciprocity or on the basis of the patron-client model.

Education was the first form of service that the RCZ provided. But what was the purpose of this education? The answer to this question can probably help us to classify this RCZ service in Malina’s categories. We saw that for the first five years of their presence among the Shona, Louw and his company did not manage to convert even a single person. They failed apart from the fact that they preached everyday
since evangelisation was their sole business among the Shona people. Realising this failure Merwe tells us that they decided to introduce formal education. They attributed their failure to convert the Shona people to the people’s illiteracy. Formal education was therefore introduced and it is only those who had received the missionary education who then accepted the Christian message. Therefore the main objective of missionary education was religious. To find the type of reciprocity in which this form of service falls we need to analyse the purpose of this education to the Shona of the early 1900s. I am of the opinion that at this time surely western education was not very important to the Shona to be considered a service. The Shona must not have seen education as a service provided to them. This education as T.N. Mucherera says was heavily influenced by westernisation and colonialism and so the Shona should have seen no value in it.\textsuperscript{375} This is supported by the fact that at this time very few Shona people wanted to send their children to school and so the missionaries had to beg for pupils. D.A. Mungazi says that this negative response to missionary education by the Africans remained a problem until the 1920s.\textsuperscript{376} Thus the recipients of this education did not at this time benefit from it. Instead this education contributed to bringing the Shona people down to a level where they could be used by the coloniser as a tool. It is in fact the givers who benefited by having recipients of their education converting into their religion, thereby having their wishes of establishing Christianity among the Shona fulfilled. Seen this way the provision of education by the missionaries could be classified under negative reciprocity. This is because I see the missionaries as having used education as a way to achieve their own objectives, that is, to enable the Africans to read and write so
that they could understand religious literature and interpret its meaning according to Christian precepts. This is because even the movement of returns was one way, from the missionaries to the Shona and back to the missionaries as represented in the diagram below.

We have even seen that this education benefited the missionaries materially. The pupils were taught carpentry (to make furniture for the missionaries’ houses and the church), agriculture (to provide food for the missionaries), metal work (for the needs of the mission), building (for mission structures) and mainly Christian education (for them to accept the missionaries’ message and be able to convey it to others). Thus initially the provision of education was for the benefit of the givers making the service negative reciprocity.

However, with the passing of time this education became useful to the recipients. Developments in both the church and in the country now required this western education. For example, when the RCZ realised that through education they were making many converts they had to train and employ teacher-evangelists. Those who became teacher-evangelists had to receive a salary. Salaries were now important because of the money economy that the European colonisers had introduced. The introduction of taxes, for example hut tax introduced by Ordinance Number 5 of July 27, 1894, meant that the Africans now wanted money to pay the tax. Section 7 of
the ordinance stated:

Hut tax shall be payable in sterling coin, but in cases where the Administrator for the Collector has no alternative it may be accepted in grain or in stock, the value of such grain or stock can be disposed of, and all such cases the reasonable cost of carriage or driving, as the case may be, shall be paid in addition to the Hut tax by the person tendering payment in grain or stock as aforesaid.\textsuperscript{378}

Considering the cost that would be incurred in paying the tax in form of grain or stock, it seems many Africans had to seek employment to have cash to pay the tax. Others who had learnt carpentry, building, metal work and other skills could now earn a living since society was now moving towards urbanism and money economy. These now saw the missionaries’ education as a real service. At this stage the education could now be classified under balanced reciprocity. Both the givers and the receivers of the education benefited. The givers (the church) benefited by getting more people into the Christian fold and the recipients (pupils) benefited by gaining skills for livelihood. One can probably ask how, by gaining converts, the missionaries could be said to receive something for us to classify the reciprocity as balanced. We have seen that in all the types of reciprocity, sometimes giving is meant to achieve prestige. The more the converts the church had the better it was both economically and socially.

Balanced reciprocity also applies to education as a service the church is still providing today. Though the church admits even non-RCZ members in its schools, the non-RCZ members are expected to be influenced into conversion by the Christian environment around them. The church also benefits from the school fees paid by the
pupils, as five percent of the school fees paid by each pupil is put into the central fund of the church. Balanced reciprocity is therefore seen in that both the student and the church benefit.

One would expect that the provision of education to the blind and to the deaf falls under generalised reciprocity. However, a close analysis shows that this service also falls under balanced reciprocity. Both the blind and the deaf receive Christian education which is meant to make them members of the RCZ. Indeed many of them did. The words of J.N. Dah which we have quoted above come to mind: that through providing education, churches open doors to the homes of the pupils and so education is one effective method of winning converts into Christianity.

We also noted from M. Bourdillon that at one time the Shona considered education as a means of gaining the white men’s wealth. Considering that the missionaries provided this education, one can notice patron-clientage in the church’s provision of education. Taking for example some churches which regarded church affiliation as a criterion for admission, pupils had to show loyalty to the church policies and teachings to remain at school. A number of cases of pupils expelled from mission schools for not following the church rules are known. For example J.F. Zinhuka who was expelled from Berejena Mission in 1968 for not attending church services. Thus the church’s service in the form of education was actually meant to benefit the church and the pupil (balanced reciprocity).
Thus church service in form of education started in form of negative reciprocity but as education became of value to the Shona, it developed into balanced reciprocity. Patron-clientage is also seen particularly when loyalty is required for one to stay at school. The place of the new government from the time of the RCZ’s establishment also needs to be considered in analysing education as a form of service offered by the RCZ. D.A. Mungazi has rightly pointed out, “...colonial governments formulate policies to ensure not the advancement of the colonised but the advancement of their own socio-economic and political interests.”\textsuperscript{380} This was quite true of the educational policies advanced by the colonial government in Zimbabwe. A run through the education ordinances of the colonial government confirms Mungazi’s argument. In analysing these policies we need to bear in mind the fact that the DRC came into Zimbabwe at the invitation of the BSAC which formed the colonial government in 1891, coincidentally the same year that the DRC was established in Zimbabwe. Many of the missionaries who preceded the DRC missionaries had been unable to establish themselves as we noted earlier. R.J. Zvobgo should therefore be accepted when he says, “...as a result (of the missionaries’ failures) they looked to colonial invasion as a way of breaking African resistance to Christianity.”\textsuperscript{381} Thus in analysing education as a form of service offered by the church, we need to consider its attitude to government policies. Three players need to be considered when discussing education as a service, that is, the DRC as the providers of service, the BSAC government as the responsible authority formulating educational policies and the Shona as the supposed recipients of the service. It can be stated categorically that from the enactment of the Education Ordinance of 1899 to the New Education
policy of 1971, the education to be provided to the Africans was to enable them to function only as cheap labourers enabling the colonial entrepreneurs to make profit.382 This says Mungazi, “has been the major objective of all colonial governments from the Roman Empire to European colonial governments in Africa.”383 Their major objective is to exploit resources, both human and material for the sole benefit of the coloniser.

The BSAC government enacted its first Education Ordinance in 1899 basing it on a bill first introduced in 1898 by Earl Grey who was education administrator from 1896 to 1898.384 Grey had argued, “I am convinced that the very first step towards civilising the Natives lies in a course of industrial and practical training which must precede the teaching of dogma.”385 The enactment of this ordinance marked the beginning of government control of education. Coincidentally 1899 is the year in which a school was started at Morgenster mission. The ordinance provided for an education grant of $4 per white student per year meeting an academic standard of proficiency in English, Latin, Literature, History, Mathematics, Geography, Science, Music and Shorthand. Section B of the ordinance made provision for the African school, all of them at this time run by missionary organisations. In these schools each student was granted $1 per year and the schools were to offer no less than two hours per day of practical training and manual labour.386 The table below shows the discriminatory character of the educational policy that came into being with the 1899 Education Ordinance and how expenditure for education placed African students at a financial disadvantage:
This discrimination remained a standard feature of the education system throughout the colonial period. It was particularly strengthened during George Stark’s stint as Director of Native Education Department from 1934 to 1954. The Education Policy was to make Africans “hewers of wood and drawers of water.” This objective started as we have seen with the first education ordinance of 1899. The 1903 ordinance which was the second education ordinance of the colonial government stated that to qualify for government grants, the African students were to have four hours of manual labour per day as the core of the curriculum in addition to the study of English. English was to enable the would-be graduates of this education system to understand instructions given by their future employers. They were also to study
habits of cleanliness and discipline.\textsuperscript{389} The 1903 Education Ordinance was amended in 1907 still to emphasise that manual labour and practical training was to be the major component of the curriculum in all African schools- this time whether or not they qualified for grants.\textsuperscript{390} The 1912 ordinance even empowered the Director of Education to close any Native school if he was not satisfied by its conduct in terms of manual labour and practical training.\textsuperscript{391} Further amendments were made to the 1899 education ordinance. It seems all the amendments were meant to serve the needs of the colonial government. The 1966 education plan which was implemented in 1971 was one plan which shows that, the colonial government educated the Africans for its needs only. The aims of this plan as outlined by the then Minister of Education\textsuperscript{392} were as follows:

1. A full seven year course of primary education for all, beginning 1969.

2. A two-year post primary vocational preparation course (grades 8 and 9) in a new type of junior secondary school. Approximately 37.5\% of primary school leavers were to be accommodated in these new schools by 1974.

3. A four-year course of formal, academic secondary education for 12.5\% of primary school leavers, followed by a further course for those suitable for sixth form work and university entrance.

4. The provision of correspondence courses for the remaining 50\% of primary school leavers not accommodated in the post primary system at the pupil’s expense.

A close look at this plan shows that the education system was meant to serve the
labour needs of the growing money economy introduced by the colonial government. The 12.5% it seems was to provide the employers with a few blacks who would help in management of the firms, industries and other government institutions. The 37.5% was probably to provide the employers with skilled personnel while the rest of the school leavers were to the unskilled labourers.

But what was the position of the DRC mission on state policy? No clear position of the church could be obtained from the sources consulted. However, by and large, it seems the church collaborated with the state policy on education. We have seen that the curriculum of the DRC mission schools followed that dictated by the government. Most of the interviewees who studied in the mission schools confirmed that they mainly studied practical subjects like Building, Craft, Metal Work, Carpentry and other subjects. Religious dogma also remained central in the curriculum of the mission schools. Seen this way, the DRC’s service in the field of education served mainly the needs of the new government rather than the intended recipients. As we have noted above, initially western education had no obvious benefits to the Shona whose way of life had no use of it. Eighty year old Sekuru P. Mupuwa, a long time member of the RCZ said that he did not go to school early because his father thought it was better for him to look after the family’s cattle than to attend missionaries’ education lessons. He said he only started school probably at the age of 15 when a white missionary had convinced his father of the advantages of the western education.
The purpose of health service can also be analysed from a social-scientific perspective. The words of J.N. Dah we have noted above summarise the purpose of church medical service. He said, “Christian medical missionary work is one of the expressions of love and witness which seeks also to bring heathens under the influence of the gospel.” So the church as we saw in chapter 6, used medical service for evangelism. Through this service a number of people were brought closer for evangelism. Initially the missionaries had realised that the Shona associated illness and ill health with the spiritual world and so consulted traditional healers whenever they were ill. The introduction of western medicine then slowly detached the Shona from the traditional healers to the missionary doctors whose medicine soon proved to be more efficient compared to the traditional medicine. The missionaries then took this opportunity to evangelise to the Shona through the care of the physical body. This makes this service fall under balanced reciprocity. The recipients of the service had their illnesses treated and in return the church got people close for evangelism. However, not all who receive medical service get converted. In fact the majority do not but in classifying the service under balanced reciprocity we have considered the motive of the church in practising medicine. As we have seen this was mainly to convert people. We have seen this in that some congregations were opened through the medical work of people like DR John Helm. Initially Louw had realised that people were not receiving the Christian message because of superstitious beliefs concerning illness. Medical missionary work had to avert people from this and in doing so direct people to Christ.
In the area of the disadvantaged, one sees both generalised and balanced reciprocity in the RCZ’s practice of *diakonia*. We saw that the RCZ missions became home to the girls who were running away from some oppressive cultural practices. Surely these girls benefited from the missionaries’ hospitality. The missionaries also benefited in that they had people to preach to. The same is also true of women whose husbands did not practice polygamy because of the missionaries’ teaching. This shows balanced reciprocity in practice. Balanced reciprocity is also seen in the service to both the blind and the deaf. Many of the blind students have become Christians. Some of the blind students like Mbuya Muparidzi became renowned preachers who ‘recruited’ many into the church. Samson, the first blind student, became a pastor in the church. The students have also contributed much to the development of the church through their skills. For example, students at Copota School for the blind make chalks and baskets which have contributed to the coffers of the school and the church.

Balance reciprocity is also seen in the translation of the Bible into Shona. Having taught the Shona there was now need to put the Bible into their own language so that they could read, understand and convert into Christianity. On the other hand, we saw that even non-RCZ members, for example, Roman Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists also benefited from the translation of the Bible. To them such service was surely generalised reciprocity. However, the motive of the RCZ in translating it makes the service fall under balanced reciprocity. Services in the form of the printing press,
bookshops, employment and land fall under balanced reciprocity. The printing press published books for the growth of the church and for profit making. The church wanted money for its expansion, thus some of these services were mainly meant for profit making. Employment falls under balanced reciprocity since we have seen that many of the church’s employees are members of the church. It seems the church employs Christians for them to remain in the church and non-Christians to bring them under the influence of Christianity in order to convert them. Land initially was given to members of the church. Patron-clientage is seen in this area and in the area of employment where the benefactors have to show loyalty to the givers in order to continue enjoying the benefits.

9.4 Conclusion.

It has been established in this chapter that in the New Testament the practice of diakonia in the case of Jesus was mainly generalised reciprocity. In the case of the early Christians and the Pauline and post-Pauline communities, it was mainly balanced reciprocity. In the RCZ we saw that the practice falls under both negative and balanced reciprocity. In the next chapter we therefore compare New Testament and RCZ diakonia to find out the extent to which the concept and practice of diakonia in the New Testament has influenced the RCZ.
CHAPTER 10: COMPARISON OF NEW TESTAMENT AND RCZ DIAKONIA AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE FORMER ON THE LATER.

The intention in this chapter is to then find out the implication of New Testament
**diakonia** on RCZ **diakonia**. To do this we will compare **diakonia** in the RCZ and in the New Testament to see the extent to which the former has been influenced by the later. Having noted that the RCZ considers the Bible normative, we want to gather together our findings in the study and see the implications of the concept and practice of **diakonia** in the New Testament in the context of the RCZ.

We have seen that the RCZ’s practice of service has similarities with that in the New Testament. The RCZ, like Jesus and his first century followers healed and provided some material needs like food. We saw that in the New Testament particularly in the case of Jesus, the basic form of service was healing. We have seen that Jesus did not heal everyone who was ill, but healed as a way of evangelising, that is, in order to show people that the power of God was at work in him so they were to follow him. We have also seen that this was the case from the time the RCZ was established in Zimbabwe. Medical work was started primarily for bringing people close to the missionaries for evangelisation. As a result we have classified both services under balanced reciprocity.

There are, however, some differences also particularly in the practice of service in the New Testament and in the RCZ. For example we saw that the church did not use miracles in healing as was the case in the New Testament. The church rather followed modern scientific methods of healing. This we saw in that the church established hospitals and clinics. Though prayers are made before treatment of patients starts at all the medical centres, the centres are equipped with modern
medical machines and so the method of treatment is nowhere near those used by Jesus. The church also used different forms of service not found in the New Testament, for example education, the use of the print media, bookshops and many other services we have noted. These acts of service were taken to be part of a comprehensive programme of Christian witness in which evangelisation was an integral and basic part. The question to answer then is: If the RCZ missionaries were influenced in their practice of *diakonia* by the New Testament, how can one account for the differences we have noted?

It seems the time and context in which the RCZ carried out its missionary work called for a different strategy resulting in different forms of service. The church’s practice of *diakonia* was therefore influenced by the environment in which it operated. For a religion to survive, it has to operate along the parameters of the needs of a community in which it operates. For example, in the African context emphasis is on what is concrete in the here and now.\(^{396}\) This is probably a result of what P. Gifford has noted, that Africa’s traditional religions were focused on material realities, for example the Yoruba religion searches for peace, health, children and money.\(^ {397}\) G.C. Oosthuizen says that Indian religions have failed in Africa mainly because of their failure to provide that which is concrete.\(^ {398}\) Assessing this further he says that even a form of Christianity which ends in promising people ‘a pie in the sky’ will remain an appendix in the African context. The RCZ and indeed all other churches had to face this situation. We saw that the first DRC missionaries had problems with people who thought they would provide them with guns. For example
in the case of Francois Coillard we saw that when he arrived in Chivi, the reigning chief Chivi, Masunda, welcomed him thinking that he would provide him with some guns. In fact those missionaries who were later accepted by the chiefs were accepted because the recipients thought that they would benefit materially from them. D. N. Beach gives four reasons why the missionaries were accepted in Zimbabwe.\(^{399}\) First he mentions demand for imported goods. This is supported by the already stated case of Chief Masunda and the other of Chief Masukume who in 1877 and 1883 respectively only pretended to welcome the missionaries to get them into positions where possessions of the missionaries could be extorted from them by the threat of force. The DRC Sotho missionaries were also of the opinion that the main interests of rulers near Zimbabwe was to gain wealth from them. Second, Beach says that the Shona chiefs also accepted the missionaries because of their shooting skills. For example, Petrus Buys wrote that he thought one of Zimuto’s motives for a missionary was for him to get a supply of game from him. Thirdly, the Shona chiefs accepted the missionaries for security reasons. Beach says, “A missionary who could shoot, supply powder and ammunition and introduce new techniques was of considerable potential value to a Shona ruler in the continual rivalry between chiefdoms.”\(^{400}\) This was the case with many chiefs. Even Lobengula who was later cheated into signing a charter which paved the way for the colonisation of Zimbabwe thought he would benefit from the whites. Fourthly, but related to the third, Beach says that for the Shona chiefs missionaries were potential allies against other Shona Chiefs, as we noted in Beach’s statement that there was continual rivalry between chiefdoms. The Shona thought a missionary would help
them stand against their rivalries. For example one of Chief Nyamondo’s people said in 1883 that, “If we could have such a teacher, who would live with us whenever danger forces us to flee, that would be good.”  

M.Gelfand also writes that the Shona found that a mission settlement nearby protected them from attack by unfriendly neighbours. Missionaries elsewhere were also accepted because of their involvement is service of different types. During the 1896 Shona and Ndebele uprising against the colonial government, John White of the Methodist Church had the Africans at Epworth given protection by the government. As a result, “—the people accepted the new religion not because of what the missionaries said about God, but because of the good works they did in the name of God.”

We can therefore note that the missionaries were initially accepted by those who wanted material benefits from them. It seems then that having realised this, the DRC missionaries made use of service to convert people into Christianity. They made use of the New Testament, copied and adapted the New Testament concept and practice of *diakonia* to the Zimbabwean context where they had realised that the people could be enticed by material benefits. Thus New Testament *diakonia* had to suit a particular context.

Having realised the above, we now want to find out how the concept and practice of *diakonia* in the New Testament was adapted in the Zimbabwean context to see the implications of the New Testament diakonia on the RCZ *diakonia*. The DRC missionaries came among the Shona equipped for their missionary work with a Bible.
They knew the New Testament practice of *diakonia* and used it as the basis for their own *diakonia*. As van der Merwe writes, “In the light of the New Testament, the lepers, the blind and the deaf became the neighbours to the (DRC) missionaries. They felt that they could not adequately serve Christ as his ambassadors if they did not serve him by serving these outcasts.” Thus the DRC *diakonia* was influenced by the New Testament *diakonia*. We saw that the RCZ, however, adapted it to suit the context in which they were operating. Evidence shows that Africans were reluctant to accept the Christian faith. It was only when the missionaries started providing material benefits that they started winning converts into their religion. Education as we have seen became one most appealing type of service. Though initially it was not considered very important by the Africans as M. Gelfand says, “In some instances, the Shona even opposed the adoption of western education,” it soon became very popular. This was because the Shona now saw education as a means of obtaining the white men’s knowledge and ultimately the white men’s wealth. For the majority of the Shona in southern Zimbabwe, this education was provided by the missionaries. The missionaries had to use this service for effective evangelisation probably realising that, “---to accept service from someone we dislike challenges us to give up our antagonisms or old resentments.” The Shona who accepted the missionaries’ religion had to give up the antagonisms. Though education was not an aspect of New Testament *diakonia*, the RCZ missionaries and indeed all other missionaries in Zimbabwe had to ‘move with the times’ in their provision of service. Education as a service was found to very important because education as a process implied an adaptation of Christian principles and European
views. F. Veit-Wild summarises thus, “Being at a mission school, it was not possible to remain heathen.” Thus, “Initial conversions to Christianity were made largely through or in response to the influence of mission schools.”

We saw that the most common type of service provided by Jesus was healing. The RCZ missionaries also did the same but again ‘moving with the times’. They did not heal miraculously as Jesus did but had to follow the scientific methods of medicine. Healing, just like education, was actually for converting people to Christianity. M. Bourdillon has this to say on the relationship between health and religion, “It does not need a sociologist to point out that many people who normally ignore all forms of religion, often resort to religion when in trouble, particularly trouble of life-threatening illness.” This probably gave rise to what M. Gelfand called medical missionaries, that is, those who prayed for God’s help when practising medicine.

The missionaries among the Shona soon realised that one hindrance to the Shona’s accepting of the Christian religion was illness which led them to traditional healers, whom they considered to be influenced by evil spirits in their practice of medicine. There was therefore need for Christian healers. The introduction of Christian medical service worked strongly in their evangelisation. It brought people to the influence of Christianity. In his researches B. G. M. Sundkler found out that the missionaries’ hospitals played the same evangelistic role played by faith healing in Zionist churches. He found out that at least a third or more of the first generation of Christians in his areas of studies among the Lutheran mission churches had been won for the Christian faith either generally in crises of illness or more specifically
through the influence of the hospital. The example of people converted by the RCZ missionaries through health service also shows the evangelistic role of this type of service. So just as Jesus healed people to demonstrate God’s power and draw the people to God, the RCZ missionaries used hospitals to draw people from ‘heathenism’ to God.

The RCZ also had to introduce other types of service not found in the New Testament because of the context in which the missionaries were operating. Realising the position of women in the community they were operating in the church taught the ‘freedom’ of women from certain cultural practices they considered heathen. As a result the church won a number of women into its fold. There are therefore generally more women than men in nearly all its congregations. For example, on one Sunday service at Mutamba congregation in Zaka there were twenty women compared to four men. The church’s service to the blind and the deaf has also converted many of those who come for its educational service into the church. The translation of the Bible was also a necessary and quite effective service which availed the Bible to the people in their own language. This resulted in a number of people understanding and accepting the message of the missionaries. Other services like the running of a printing press also provided the church with access to the reading public and the selling of the books has been an effective method of spreading the gospel.

It seems therefore that the concept of diakonia has been developing with time and
context. No wonder the church has now introduced university education. Competition among the churches in Zimbabwe cannot be ruled out as four churches now run universities, the Seventh Day Adventists have Solusi University in Bulawayo, United Methodist Church has Africa University in Mutare, the Catholic Church runs Catholic University in Zimbabwe in Harare and now the RCZ has opened Great Zimbabwe University in Masvingo. Thus diakonia in the history of the Christian church developed from simple forms in the case of the services offered by Jesus to the complex collections project of Paul. It seems at each stage of development, the church provided forms of service appropriate for that time. In the same way, the practice of diakonia in the Zimbabwean context, influenced by the same practice in the New Testament, was then adapted to suit the needs of the context in which the missionaries were operating. Finding the people in need of material benefits, the church provided the material benefits to win the people into its fold. Thus in both the New Testament and in the RCZ the concept and practice of diakonia has followed the lines of generalised reciprocity and balanced reciprocity as has been argued in the thesis.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that the concept and practice of service in the New Testament have similarities and differences. The similarities have been found to be a result of the RCZ’s use of the New Testament in its practice of diakonia. The differences have been explained in terms of the need for service to respond to the
needs of a particular society and particular time. It has been established that in both the New Testament and the RCZ, *diakonia* has been used theologically as a tool for evangelisation. Applying the social-scientific methods to do with giving and receiving, both practices have been classified under generalised and balanced reciprocity. Negative reciprocity has also been seen in the case of the RCZ.

The study has shown how the practice of *diakonia* has developed from simple to complex forms from the New Testament times to the present times. It demonstrated that in the first days of Christianity, Jesus and indeed John the Baptist before him, emphasised giving help to other people. It has been established in their cases that such service was to be given to all people regardless of whether or not they belonged to one’s social group. It has been found that with the church growing, *diakonia* changed to focus mainly on members of the social group because of the circumstances in which the church found itself operating. For example, we saw that the Pauline collections project was mainly for his fellow Christians probably because of the economic conditions in Jerusalem. Where service was provided for those outside the church, the main aim was to convert the people. This is what the RCZ did and is still doing. The church has also varied its types of service to cater for the people’s material needs as the church realised.

Thus the RCZ has moved with the times in its practice of *diakonia*. It seems the church did not let the New Testament dictate to her the way *diakonia* should be practised, but rather allowed conditions to dictate the forms of service the church
should practice. We want to suggest therefore that the churches should move with the times in their practice of *diakonia*. They should note that from the beginning Christianity’s methods of operation and teaching changed in each context and at each time. As N. Perrin says, that Christianity began as an apocalyptic sect within ancient Palestinian Judaism and moved into the Gentile world.\(^{413}\) He goes on to say that once it was established it tended to take emphasis of its own, no longer necessarily dependent on Palestinian Judaism that spawned it, nor on the Hellenistic Judaism that propelled it into the wider world. Rather it interpreted itself in new ways in response to the challenges of the new environment and it reached new understandings of itself and its Lord by using categories available in Hellenistic Gentile culture. The twenty-first century church in Zimbabwe should therefore face the challenges there, for example economic and health challenges. People still need to be fed by the followers of Jesus and healing is still called for particularly in the light of the AIDS pandemic. The church though following the New Testament does not have to follow the same types of *diakonia* the early church practised but rather should let the circumstances dictate the types of service to be given. By so doing the church can give ‘ears’ to the deaf and ‘sight’ to the blind. In all these services the church should aim at balanced and generalised reciprocity if it is to stay within the limits of what the New Testament teaches.
ENDNOTES

1 G. Kittel (Ed.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* vol. 2, p.87

2 E Mutema, *The Voice of Freedom*, p.19

4 F.E. Deist, *The ABC of Biblical Exegesis*, p.3

5 D.S. Ferguson, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, p.5

6 Ibid.

7 W.J. Larkin, *Culture and Biblical Hermeneutics*, p.19

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid. p.22

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.


13 For example B. Holmberg, *Sociology of the New Testament*


15 Ibid.


17 C.S. Rodd, ‘Sociology and Social Interpretation’ in *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, p.639

18 For example R. Scroggs.

19 For example R.Carrol, *When Prophecy failed* and J. Gager, *Kingdom and Community*

20 For example M. Hengel in too numerous publications to mention, see N.K. Gottwald (Ed.), *The Bible and Liberation*, p.341.

21 For example G. Snyder as cited by R. Scroggs. op. cit.
22 For example P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*


26 *________, What is social-scientific criticism?*, 18-19

27 B.J. Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology*, p.18


30 J.H. Elliot, *What is social-scientific criticism?*, p.4

31 R. Scroggs, *op.cit.* p.34

32 *Ibid*.

33 J. Gager, *op. cit*.

34 L. Togarasei, *Cognitive Dissonance in Christian Origins with Special Reference to the Conversion of Paul*

35 R. Scroggs, *op.cit*.

36 *Ibid*

37 G. Theissen, *Sociology of the Early Palestinian Community*

38 R. Scroggs, *op.cit.* p.349
39 W. Meeks cited in *Reading the New Testament: Methods of Interpretation*, C. Tuckett, p.141

40 J.H. Elliot, *op.cit.*

41 H. Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom*

42 ________, Semeia 35, p.4


44 D.S. Ferguson, *op.cit.*

45 L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann, *Jesus and the Hope of the Poor*, p.105 and 109


47 J. de Santa Ana, *Good News to the Poor: the challenge of the poor in the history of the church*, p.12

48 E. Mutema, *op.cit.*

49 J.L. Mays(Ed.), *Harpers’ Bible Commentary*, p.1018


52 D.L. Mealand, *Poverty and Expectation in the Gospels*, p.6

53 L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann, *Jesus and the Hope of the Poor*, p.91

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid. p.108

56 W.R. Farmer, *op. cit.* p. 960
Ibid

D.L. Mealand, op.cit.

For example R.F. Collins, Introduction to the New Testament, p.130


E. Troeltsch quoted in J. de Santa Ana, op.cit. p.25

L.Schottroff and W. Stegemann, op.cit. p.109

J. Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Times of Jesus, p.272


J. de Santa Ana, op. cit. p.33


C.K. Barret, Romans, p.237


For example, E. Haenchen, Acts of the Apostles

G.R. Cragg, ‘Romans’ in The Interpreter’s Bible Vol.9, p.590

Ibid.

C.K.Barret, op.cit. p.238

Ibid. p.244

O. Cullmann, Church and State in the New Testament, p.41

C.K. Barret, op.cit. p.245

J.M. Robinson, Wrestling with Romans, p.137

M. O’Connor in The New Jerome Biblical Commentary, J Fitzmyer (Ed.), p.822


81 J. de Santa Ana, op.cit. p.18

82 R.H. Fuller, A Critical Introduction to the New Testament, p.151

83 Ibid.

84 J. de Santa Ana, op. cit. p.47

85 Ibid. p.48

86 Ibid. p.49

87 S. Laws, A Commentary on The Epistle of James, p.139

88 M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, James, p.153

89 J. de Santa Ana, op.cit. p.49

90 B.S. Easton, ‘The Epistle of James’ in The Interpreter’s Bible Vol.12, p.40

91 A.M. Hunter, ‘The First Epistle of Peter’, in The Interpreter’s Bible Vol.12, p.113

92 A.N. Wielder, ‘The I, II and III Epistles of John’ in The Interpreter’s Bible Vol.12, p.265

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.


96 R.H. Fuller, Interpreting miracles, p.18

97 Ibid.

98 G.H. Boobyer, op.cit.
99 Ibid.


102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 H. Daniel-Rops, Daily Life in the Times of Jesus, p.304

105 F.N. Davey, op. cit. p.51

106 For example the miracle of the stilling of the storm.

107 A. Von Hanarck, quoted by R.H. Fuller, Interpreting Miracles, p.12

108 F.N. Davey, op. cit.

109 E.S. Hoskyns quoted by R.H. Fuller, op. cit. p.13

110 F.N. Davey, op. cit.

111 V. Taylor, ‘The life and Ministry of Jesus’ in Interpreter’s Bible vol.7, p.20

112 H. Daniel-Rops, op. cit. p.318

113 Ibid.

114 S.E. Johnson, ‘Matthew’ in Interpreter’s Bible vol.7, p.338

115 Ibid. p.340

116 Ibid. p.342

117 C. Turner, quoted by R.H. Fuller, op. cit. p.37

118 R.H. Fuller, op. cit. p.


120 R.H. Fuller, op. cit. p.37

183
For example E. Haenchen, op. cit. discusses the view that some Jesus’ apostles could have abandoned their property in Galilee in order to come and wait for the coming of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem (p.234). Also R.A.B. Ewbank, The Apostolic Age, p.13.

E. Haenchen, op.cit. p.235

D.L. Mealand, op.cit. p. 5

E. Haenchen, op.cit. p.261


D.M. Beck, ‘Community of goods’ in The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible vol.7, p.666

J. Jeremias, op.cit. p.130

J. de Santa Ana, op.cit. p.43
As we stated earlier that many diaspora Jews wanted to die in Jerusalem.

J. Bligh, *Galatians*, p.170

S. McKnight, *op.cit.*

K. Holl, quoted by B. Holmberg, *Paul and Power*, p.36

Ibid.

K. Berger quoted by B. Holmberg, *op.cit.*

Ibid.

C.K. Barret quoted by B. Holmberg, *op.cit.*

B. Holmberg, *op.cit.*

S. McKnight, *op. cit.*

K. Berger, *op.cit.*

Ibid.

S. McKnight, *op.cit.* p.45

Ibid.

F.X. Murphy, ‘Diakonia’ In *New Catholic Encyclopedia vol.4*, p.840

J. Jeremias, *op.cit.* p.121

D.L. Mealand, *op.cit.*

Ibid.

J. Jeremias, *op.cit.* p.22
163 Ibid.

164 S. McKnight, op. cit. p.145

165 J. de Santa Ana, op. cit. p.44

166 G. Theissen, The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity, p.88


170 Ibid.

171 W.J. van der Merwe, The Day star rises in Mashonaland, p.8

172 D.N. Beach op. cit. p.27

173 W.J. van der Merwe, From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe, p.35

174 ____________, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.8

175 Ibid.

176 W.J. van der Merwe, From Mission Field, p.42

177 A.R. Mutumburanzou, A Historical Perspective on the Development of the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe, p.31

178 Ibid.

179 Ibid.

180 E.W. Smith, The Way of the White Fields in Rhodesia, p.63

181 A.R. Mutumburanzou, op. cit.
Ibid.

P.A. Strasheim, *In the Land of Cecil Rhodes*, p.4

W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p.10

D.N. Beach, *op.cit.* p.33

Ibid.

A.R. Mutumburanzou, *op. cit.* p.37

Ibid. p.36

W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p.13

Ibid.

Ibid. p.14

F. Siyavizva, Interview, Machitenda School, 15/02/00

A.R. Mutumburanzou, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 12/01/01

________________, *op. cit.* p.31

W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p. 18

Ibid.

A.R. Mutumburanzou, *op. cit.* p.37

W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p.19

Ibid.

W.J. van der Merwe, *From Mission Field*, p.74

A.R. Mutumburanzou, *op.cit.* p.17

Ibid. p.56

W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit.*

Munyai WaShe vol.86, No. 1, p.2
205 W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit*. p.7

206 M. Gelfand, *Godly Medicine in Zimbabwe*, p.174

207 W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p.28


209 D.N. Beach, *op.cit*. p.28


214 W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p.28

215 P. Dauramanzi, Interview, Masvingo, 15/01/01

216 Munyai WaShe, *op.cit*. p.3


218 A.R. Mutumburanzou, *op.cit*. p.56

219 Munyai WaShe, *op.cit*. p.3

220 W.J. van der Merwe, *From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe*, p.124


223 A.R. Mutumburanzou, Interview, see note 169

224 S.Kundishora, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 16/02/00

225 A. Mandebvu, Interview, Masvingo, 11/01/01

226 R. Rutoro, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 14/01/01
227 W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland*, p.29

228 A.R. Mutumburanzou, *op.cit*. p.57

229 W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit*. p.22

230 ________________, *From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe*, p.66

231 D.A. Mungazi, *Colonial Education in Zimbabwe: George Stark’s policy in Zimbabwe*, p.1

232 W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit* p.33

233 A.R. Mutumburanzou, *op.cit*. p.69

234 K. Rugara, Interview, Morgenster Teachers’ College, 16/02/00

235 W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit*.

236 G. Muzvondiwa, Interview, Morgenster Mission Hospital, 27/09/01

237 VaMagumbo, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 27/09/01

238 K. Tomu, Interview, Harare, 4/09/01


240 J Marange, Interview, Ngomahuru Hospital, 17/02/00

241 S. Kundishora, see note 199


243 D.A. Samudzimu, ‘The Methodist Church and Education’ in C.S. Banana, Ibid. p.81

244 RATA, ‘The DRC Mission’, in *Journal of the Rhodesian African Teachers’ Association Vol.5 No. 5*, p.38
A.R. Mutumburanzou, Interview see note 169

P.H. Gundani, op.cit. p.48

J.N. Dah, Missionary Motivations and Methods, p.97

W.J. van der Merwe, From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe, p.67

_______________, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.16

E.W. Smith, op.cit. p.153

M. Bourdillon, The Shona Peoples, p.286

J. Marange, Interview, see note 215

C Zizhou, Interview, Ngomahuru Hospital, 18/02/00

K. Rugara, Interview, see note 209

Church official who preferred anonymity, Interview, Morgenster, 16/02/00

J. Chinheya, Interview, Zimuto Mission, 13/01/01

F. Veit-Wild, Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers: A Social History of Zimbabwean Literature, p.50

A. R. Mutumburanzou, Interview, see note 169

M. Gelfand, Godly Medicine in Zimbabwe, p.10

W.J. van der Merwe, From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe, p.68

_______________, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.46

1997 Morgenster Hospital Annual Report, p.6

W.J. van der Merwe, Kuvamba nokukura kwekereke yeReformed muZimbabwe, p.32

Mbuya Chionioni, Interview, Madzivire Village in Zaka, 24/04/01

W.J. van der Merwe, *Kuvamba nokukura kwekereke*, p.32

M. Gelfand, *op.cit.* p.172


C.O. Mantsebo, Interview, Morgenster Hospital, 16/02/00

M. Gelfand, *op. cit.* p.171

ZACH handbook, p.1

M. Gelfand, *op.cit.* p.173

C.J. Zvobgo, *op.cit.* p.13


M. Gelfand, *op.cit.* p.13

W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland*, p.48

__________________, *From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe*, p.85

*Ibid.* p.86

*Ibid.* p.87

W.J. van der Merwe, *Kuvamba nokukura kwekereke*, p.48

C.O. Mantsebo, Interview, see note 234

J.N. Dah, *op.cit.*

C.O. Mantsebo, Interview, see note 234

J.N. Dah *op.cit.*

W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, p.29

M. Bourdillon, *op.cit.* p.287
287 A. Mlambo, Interview, Chibi Clinic, 17/02/00

288 C.O. Mantsebo, Interview, see note 234

289 Anonymous nurse aid, Interview, Zimuto Mission Clinic, 13/01/01

290 W.J. van der Merwe, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.29

291 Ibid.

292 A.R. Mutumburanzou, Interview, see note 169

293 Mbuya Chionioni, Interview, see note 240

294 W.J. van der Merwe, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.21

295 S. de Silva, Helen Hugo of Copota, p.27

296 A.R. Mutumburanzou, op.cit. p.69

297 W.J. van der Merwe, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.26

298 Kuzvarira is a Shona practice where a young girl is given in marriage by her parents.

299 W.J. van der Merwe, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.29

300 S de Silva, op.cit. p.27

301 Ibid. p.28

302 F. Manhango, Interview, Copota, 13/01/01

303 J. Chiwera, Interview, Copota School for the Blind, 13/01/01

304 I.S. Chigumo, Interview, Henry Murray School for the Deaf, 12/01/01

305 W.J. van der Merwe, The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland, p.35

306 Ibid. p.36

307 Ibid. p.29

308 Ibid.
309 M.Gelfand, *op.cit*. p.47
310 W.J. Van der Merwe, *The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland*, p.38
312 *Ibid*. p.38
313 P. Moyo, Interview, Mutendi School, 17/01/01
314 S. Chiramba, Interview, Mutendi School, 17/01/01
315 E.T Jerera, Interview, Chikarudzo Township, 15/01/01
316 *Ibid*.
317 C. Mugadziwa, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 16/02/00
318 S. Mushavire, Interview, Morgenster mission, 16/01/00
320 C. Mugadziwa, interview, see note 291
321 J. Makwangudze, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 16/02/00
322 M. Bourdillon, *op.cit*. p.287
323 E.Mariga, Interview, Chibi High School, 17/02/00
324 I. Nhachi, Interview, Chibi High School, 17/02/00
325 Anonymous teacher, Interview, Zimuto High School, 13/01/01
326 J.N. Dah, *op.cit*. p.98
328 R.J. Zvobgo, *Colonial Education in Zimbabwe*, p.12
329 W.J.van der Merwe, *op.cit*.
330 C.M. Brand, *op.cit*. pp. 70-71
331 M.W. Murphree, *Christianity and the Shona*, p.7

332 W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit.*

333 N.O. Magaya, *An Investigation into the role of Morgenster mission Farm during the colonial and post-colonial periods*, p.13

334 W.J. van der Merwe, *From Mission Field*, p.71

335 Z. Muzvondiwa, Interview, Murinye Village, 16\01\01

336 W.J. van der Merwe, *op.cit.*

337 S. Paridzirai, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 17/9/01


339 W.A. Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology*, p.196

340 Ibid.

341 Ibid.


343 Ibid.

344 Ibid.

345 M. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p.196

346 Ibid. p.193

347 Ibid.


349 M. Sahlins, *op.cit.* p.193


351 M. Sahlins, *op.cit.* p.194

352 W.A. Haviland, *op.cit.* p.197
Ibid.

M. Sahlins op.cit. p.195

Ibid.

B.J. Malina, op.cit. p.102

Ibid.

Ibid. p.103

M. Sahlins, op.cit.

Ibid.

Ibid.

J.H. Elliot, op.cit. p.132


J. Tarkowski, ‘Poland; Patrons and Clients in a planned economy,’ in Political Clientelism, Patronage and Development, S.N. Eisenstadt and R. Lemarchand (Eds.), p.175

C. Osiek and D.L. Balch, op.cit. p. 50

Ibid.

Ibid. p.48

J.H. Elliot, op.cit. p.132

J. Jeremias, op.cit.

F.N. Davey, op.cit. p.51
372 M. Sahlins, *op.cit.* p.195


375 T.N. Mucherera, *Pastoral Care form a Third World Perspective: A Pastoral Theology of Care for Urban Contemporary Shona in Zimbabwe*, p.36

376 D.A. Mungazi, *op.cit.* p.20


378 Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 5, July 27, 1894, ‘Imposing and providing for the payment of Hut Tax’

379 J.F. Zinhuka, Interview, Mutamba school, 20/12/99


381 R.J. Zvobgo, *op.cit.* p.12

382 D.A. Mungazi, *op.cit.* p.xviii

383 *Ibid.* p.x


385 BSAC Record: Earl Grey, G.r:1/1/11: Fols:5474-8

386 Southern Rhodesia 1899 Education Ordinance

387 D.A. Mungazi, *op.cit.* p.5


389 Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 1, ‘Schools for Natives,’ 1903, Section D

390 Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 133: Education Ordinance of 1907 Section D
Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 7, Ordinance to provide for the control of Native schools, July 19, 1912.

Quoted by M.W. Murphree, *Education, Race and Employment in Rhodesia*, p.46

For example G. Muzvondiwa and VaMagumbo, Interview, see notes 211 and 212

P. Mupuwa, Interview, Mutamba school, 20/12/99

J.N. Dah, *op.cit.*


G.C. Oosthuizen, *op.cit.*

D.N. Beach, *op.cit.* pp.34-35


*Ibid.* p.35

M. Gelfand, *op.cit.* p.14


W.J. van der Merwe, *The Day Star Rises in Mashonaland*, p.29

M. Gelfand, *op. cit*

M. Bourdillon, *op.cit.* p.286

WCC, *Turn to God, Rejoice in Hope*, p.29

F. Veit-Wild, *op.cit.* p.50

M. Bourdillon, ‘Christianity and the Wealth in rural Communities in Zimbabwe,’ in *Zambezia* (1983), XI (i), p.42
410 ______________, Religion and Society, p.20

411 M. Gelfand. op.cit. p.13

412 B.G.M. Sunkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, p.20


SOURCES

i. Books


Carrol, R. *When Prophecy Fails*,


Cullmann, O. *Church and State in the New Testament*. 
__________, *SEMEIA 35*  
Fuller, R.H. *Interpreting the Miracles*, London: SCM Press Ltd.


van der Merwe, W.J. The Day Star Arises in Mashonaland, Fort Victoria: Morgenster Press, 1953.


________________, From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe, Transvaal: NGKB, 1981.


ii. Theses and Dissertations


Magaya, N.O. An Investigation into the role of Morgenster mission farm during the colonial and post-colonial periods in Masvingo Province, M.A. dissertation, Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, 1996.

iii. Journals and Archival material

Morgenster Hospital, Mogernster Hospital Annual Report, 1997.

Munyai WaShe Vol.86 Number 1, 2000.

National Archives, BSAC Record: Earl Grey, G.r. 1/1/11.


______________, Southern Rhodesia Education Ordinance, 1899.

______________, Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 1, Section D, ‘Schools for Natives’, 1903.

______________, Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 133, Section D, Education Ordinance, 1907.

______________, Southern Rhodesia Ordinance Number 7, ‘Ordinance to provide for the control of native schools, July 19, 1912.


Zimbabwe Association of Church-Related Hospitals Handbook.

iv. Oral Interviews

Ms N. Badza (80), RCZ member and retired worker, Interview, Copota, 13/01/01.
Ms E. Bangojava (+80), RCZ member and retired worker, Interview, Copota, 13/01/01.

Mr M. Chatira (49), RCZ member and miller, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 27/09/01.

Mr I. S. Chigumo (47), RCZ member and school head, Interview, Henry Murray school for the Deaf, 12/01/01.

Mr J. Chinheya (17), ZCC member and school pupil, Interview, Zimuto, 13/01/01.

Mbuya Chionioni (+/-100), RCZ member, Interview, Madzivire Village in Zaka, 24/04/01.

Mr. S Chiramba (36), ZCC member, Interview, Mutendi School, 17/01/01.

Mr J. Chiwera (41), RCZ member and school head, Interview, Copota School for the Blind, 13/01/01.

Mr P. Dauramanzi (66), RCZ member and Church Education Secretary, Interview, Masvingo, 15/01/01.

Mr S, Gurumani (75), RCZ member, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 14/01/01.

Mr S, Gwaragwara (44), RCZ member and church employee, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 14/01/01.

Miss C. Havadi (16), RCC member, Interview, Zimuto Mission, 13/01/01.

Mr T. Hungwe (32), RCZ member and church Assistant Bursar, Interview, Masvingo, 15/02/00.

Mr E.T. Jerera(52), Zimbabwe Liberation War Veteran, Interview, Chikarudzo Township, 15/01/01.
Rev. S. Kundishora (58), RCZ minister and superintendent at Morgenster Mission, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 16/02/00.

Mr E. Magama (20), RCC member, Interview, Zimuto Township, 13/01/01.

VaMagumbo (60), RCC member and vegetable vendor, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 27/09/01.

Mr J. Makwangudze (21), RCZ member and bookshop salesman, Interview, 16/02/00.

Mr a. Mandebvu (44), RCZ Synod General Secretary, Interview, Masvingo, 11/01/01.

Ms F. Manhango (100+), Retired RCZ preacher, Interview, Copota, 13/01/01.

Mrs C.O. Mantsebo (50), RCZ member and Morgenster Hospital matron, Interview, Morgenster Mission Hospital, 16/02/00.

Mr L. Mapuranga (17), RCC member, Interview, Zimuto Township, 13/01/01.

Mr J. Marange (40), RCZ member and school teacher, Ngomahuru Hospital, 17/02/00.

Mr E. Mariga (32), school teacher, Interview, Chibi High School, 17/02/00.

Mr A.B. Marime(60+),RCZ member and school head, Interview, Morgenster CPS, 16/02/00.

Ms G. Maturure (75+/_), RCZ member and retired worker, Interview, Copota, 13/01/01.

Miss M. Maverengo (15), RCZ member, Interview, Zimuto Mission, 13/01/01.

Mr S. Mhungu (29), RCZ member and school teacher, Interview, Zimuto Mission, 13/01/01.

Mrs A. Mlambo (58), RCZ member and Nurse, Interview, Chibi Clinic, 17/02/00.
Mr P. Moyo (40), ZCC member, Interview, Mutendi mission, 17/01/01.

Miss C. Mugadziwa (27), RCZ member and secretary for Morgenster Mission Printing
Press Department, Interview, Morgenster mission, 16/02/00.

Mr P. Mupuwa (82), RCZ member, Interview, Mutamba School, 20/12/99.

Mrs S. Mushavire (53), Bible Correspondence school tutor, Interview, 16/02/00.

Miss T. Mutamiri (14), RCZ member, Interview, Zimuto mission, 13/01/01.

Rev. Dr A.R. Mutumburanzou (55), RCZ Theological College lecturer and former RCZ
moderator, Interview, Morgenster Mission, 12/01/01.

Mr G. Muzvondiwa (70), RCZ member, Interview, Nemamwa Township, 15/01/01.

Mr I. Nhachi (31), RCZ member and deputy school head, Interview, Chibi High
School, 17/02/00.

Dr K. Rugara (62), RCZ and Morgenster Teachers’ College deputy principal,
Interview, Morgenster Teachers’ college, 16/02/01.

Mrs E. Rutoro (31), RCZ member and school teacher, Interview, Morgenster Mission,
14/01/01.

Rev. R. Rutoro (42), RCZ minister and Theological College lecturer, Interview,
Morgenster Mission, 14/01/01.

Miss A. Sanangura (16), RCZ member, Interview, Zimuto Mission, 13/01/01.

Mr S. Shumba (44), Communal farmer, Interview, Chikarudzo Township, 16/01/00.

Mr K. Tomu (34), FOG member and former RCZ member, Interview, Harare,
4/09/01.

Mr J.F. Zinhuka (60), RCC member, Interview, Mutamba School, 20/12/00.

Miss L. Ziyayiya (45), RCZ member, Interview, Copota, 13/01/01.
Miss C. Zizhou (32), RCZ member, Interview, Ngomahuru Hospital, 18/02/00.