The Sound of Worship

Cover photographs:
Surinamese choir members singing during the celebration of Keti Koti in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast; a local preacher of the Wesley Methodist Church, praying during a Sunday worship service.

Druk: Ridderprint, Ridderkerk.

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The Sound of Worship

Liturgical performance by Surinamese Lutherans and Ghanaian Methodists in Amsterdam

The Sound of Worship

Liturgische performance door Surinaamse Lutheranen en Ghanese Methodisten in Amsterdam
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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To Christiaan Winter – kindred spirit,
as a token of our fellowship

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PREFACE

This study results from teamwork, taken in its broadest sense. A number of people have, each in their own ways, contributed to the process of writing this book. Therefore, at the beginning of this study, I would like to express my sincerest thanks to them.

I owe a large debt of gratitude to the members and ministers of both the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast and the Amsterdam Society of the Wesley Methodist Church. I am particularly grateful to the Reverend Maartje Wildeman and the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, who, during the fieldwork I undertook, did not put the slightest obstacle in my way to carry out the research the way I wanted to, and indeed always cordially welcomed and helped me. I wish to thank all respondents who put their trust in me and found the time to share their stories with me. They were the people I intensively worked with for a period of ten months – a time which I greatly enjoyed.

Many thanks I owe to my supervisors. Marcel Barnard encouraged me from the very beginning to set up an explorative project that would leave the traditional ways of research on church music. He particularly supported me in thinking about the research subject in systematic ways. In addition, he familiarized me with the world of academic research, teaching me which matters therein were to be taken seriously and which were not, and remarked cleverly that I was in need of a holiday every single time I was about to be swallowed up by the project. Hijme Stoffels evoked my enthusiasm for investigating immigrant churches and was a walking encyclopaedia to me when I was in need for methodological advice. After each conversation we had, he expressed how much he enjoyed my research and by doing so, stimulated me to continue my work. Martin Hoondert has been of great help with his knowledge of (liturgical) music and of empirical research in Liturgical Studies. He expertly and in detail commented on each chapter I delivered, and I am deeply grateful for that. To have these three experts as my supervisors was a blessing.

My colleagues in the Practices research group, of whom I particularly mention Rein Brouwer, Ronelle Sonnenberg and Annemieke van der Veen, have been of much help, thinking along with my project and regularly giving feedback. I also thank Eddy van der Borght and my fellow students of the MARRT, who witnessed my drawing the first outlines of this study and stimulated me to make it more concrete and narrow down my plan. I am very grateful to Mary McGann, who, after I first contacted her, started her reply by welcoming me as a colleague in the emerging field of liturgical ethnography. Her ongoing enthusiasm about my work had a contagious effect and encouraged me along the way. Much gratitude I owe to Mattijs Ploeger, whose systematic theological know-how helped me sharpen my ideas. I thank my friends in Ghana, more particularly J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu and his family, for their warm friendship and unstinting support and guidance during my round trip of their country. I owe many thanks to Kees Zwart for the great discussions we had on the issues that arose both from our trip to Ghana and from the respective chapters of this study. During the last months of my writing this study, the support and pep talk of Annet Tijhuis has been inestimable. I hope to be able to support her equally well during her research.

The governors of the Evangelical-Lutheran Seminary appointed me for two years to carry out the research, and the governors of the Stichting Luthers Diakonessenhuis Fonds put their financial trust in me. I am greatly thankful to both for the opportunity to do in-depth research into a subject that is very dear to me. This provisional publication was made possible by the Ds Pieter Groote Fonds and the Stichting Luthers Diakonessenhuis Fonds; I am grateful for their financial support. Thanks to Elsa Aarsen for allowing me to include some of her pictures in this study, and to Theo Proeskie for editing the English text of this study in a very short period of time.

I dedicate this study to Christiaan Winter, who did not only act as an oracle on church music matters during this study, but who has, more particularly, also proved a very close

friend over the last decade. To conclude, I thank my husband Jacco for his patience with me (which fortunately was not endless) during my writing this study, and our daughter Swaentje, who has only just arrived, for the new sounds with which she fills our house.

Amsterdam, September 23, 2009

ABBREVIATIONS & CLARIFICATIONS

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout this study:

AIC	African Instituted Church
CAN	Christian Asore Ndwom (Christian Church Songs: a Ghanaian hymn book containing a compilation of hymns from MHB)
EBG	Evangelische Broeder Gemeente (Moravian congregation/Unity of Brethren)
ELCAS	Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast
MHB	The Methodist Hymn Book (1933) as used in WMC
WMC	Wesley Methodist Church (in particular its Amsterdam Society)

Codes and Signs

The following codes and signs are used:

I	Illustration
N	Section taken from personal narrative
PH	Photograph
SR	Sound recording
VC	Video clip
[…]	Clarification or addition by the author (in personal narratives)
(…)	Indication of a skipped part (in personal narratives)

Description of Used Terms

For a proper understanding of the concepts used in this study, I here describe and illustrate certain crucial terms more closely.

Africa in this study always refers to the entire continent – after Asia the world's second-largest and second most-populous continent.

African-American refers to black American citizens whose ancestors were imported as slaves from Africa. Many African-Americans have Native American, European and/or Asian ancestors.

Conga is an upright floor-standing or stand-mounted drum, played with the hands (and occasionally with sticks). In WMC (Chapter 7) conga's are mostly used during local choruses of praise and worship, and during the offertory.

Culture is a concept of which numerous definitions and descriptions exist. In this study it is used in a broad sense, to denote 'the world of human activity, especially to the extent that it is coordinated and forms recognizable patterns' (Fokkema & Grijzenhout 2004, 16). The concept is introduced in Chapter 2.

Djembe is a widely used percussion instrument that originates from West Africa. It is a goblet-shaped drum made of wood, with a goat skin cover which is tightened by strings and is played with the bare hands. In one of the worship services of ELCAS (see Chapter 6) two children played the djembe.

Dundun or 'talking drum' is an hourglass-shaped, two-headed drum that is held under the arm. It is made of wood and has animal skins at both ends, that are beaten with a bent stick. The twin heads are laced together by thongs made of gut or leather. When squeezed under the arm, the thongs pull on the skins, thereby varying the pitch of the sound.

European in this study principally refers to the (North-)West of the European continent.

Ghana is a country in West Africa. It was the first Sub-Saharan African nation to achieve independence from the United Kingdom in 1957. The country is entirely situated in the Northern Hemisphere. Ghana is populated by many tribes; there are six main ethnic groups: the Akan (Ashanti and Fanti tribes), the Ewe, the Ga-Adangbe, the Mole-Dagbani, the Guan, and the Gurma.

Globalism is taken as 'the extension of the effects of modernity to the entire world, and the compression of time and space, all occurring at the same time.' (Robertson and Beyer, quoted in SCHREITER 1997, 8).

Globalization is seen as the process in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world.

Gospel (music) in this study is interpreted as songs that have the following characteristics: they reflect the personal religious experience of people; the lyrics are often subjective, usually addressed to fellow human beings, and focus on a single theme that is emphasized through repetition of individual phrases; each stanza is followed by a refrain; texts deal with conversion, atonement through Christ, salvation, and heaven's pleasures; stylistically they range from meditative and devotional to instructive and even militant (MCNEIL 2005, xvii). In Chapter 7 of this study, when respondents use the term 'gospel', they refer to 'any religious song'.

Highlife is a musical genre that has its roots in Ghana in the 19th century, and spread to other West African countries in the early 20th century. It is an African pop music style, in which percussion instruments and guitars are important. Several variants of highlife now have come to evolve. A Christian variant, performed both in and outside church, is called 'gospel highlife'.

Late modernity refers to social shifts in capitalism at the end of the twentieth century, to the communications revolution, to cultural shifts in the arts and the media, to religious renewal, and to a crisis in the philosophical

foundations of modernity, in epistemological, ontological and anthropological areas (BARTHOLOMEW 1997, 9-10).

Liturgy is a term that derives from the Greek word *leitourgia*, meaning 'service'. After the New Testament Scriptures had come into being, 'liturgy' became the term the church used for worship gathering, in the sense of 'service to God and to people'. In the field of anthropology, several definitions of worship are current, which could all more or less be described as variations on a theme. Recurring and mutually connected terms are 'order', 'system', 'symbol(ic)' and 'rite'. In this study I take liturgy as 'a Christian symbolic and ritual order' (BARNARD 2008, 118). Further (cultural-anthropological and theological) reflection on this concept is found in Chapter 2.

Maracas is a type of shaker, made from gourd, covered by a net that contains shells. The one used in WMC (Chapter 7) had no handle, it was held in one or two hands and shaken in any rhythmic pattern. The instrument is easy to play for little children.

Modernity refers to the social order and perspectives upon the world that emerged out of the Enlightenment. Some of its major characteristics are: unprecedented change and positive espousal of this, closely related to the Industrial Revolution; rejection of the authority of tradition, and belief in the power of unaided human reason to produce freedom; belief in progress; global industrial and economic influences, like rationalization, urbanization, military developments and secularism (BARTHOLOMEW 1997, 4) as well as separation of Church and State – mostly in the European world.

Music is taken as 'organized sound' (as such, it is one of the manifestations of sound). Music consists of musical movement, which always requires more than one tone (or sound) to relate to other tones (or sounds).

Performance in this study is taken as the execution or completion of an action or deed. The concept is elaborated on in more detail in Chapter 3.

South America in this study always refers to the entire Southern continent of the Americas.

Sound is used as a term for 'the sensation produced in the ear or other organ of hearing by the vibration of the surrounding air or other medium' (BROWN 1993, 2955). In worship the term 'sound' covers a wide range: from speech to music, from weeping to the noise of body movement, from intended to unintended sound. A further elaboration on this concept is found in Chapter 4.

Sticks are a pair of sticks used as a percussion instrument to enhance the beat in music and also to accompany dancing. Usually one stick is held in one hand, loosely resting on the palm of the hand. It is struck by the other stick in order to create a resonating sound.

Suriname (formerly known as Netherlands Guiana; independent from the Netherlands since 1975) is a country in northern South America, bordering the Caribbean Sea. The country is entirely situated in the Northern Hemisphere. Ethnic groups that make up the Surinamese population are Hindustani, Creole, Javanese, Marroons, white, Amerindian, Chinese.

West Africa is the western part of Sub-Saharan Africa, which includes the following countries: Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Upper Volta, Niger, Togo, Benin, Nigeria and Cameroon.

Western refers to the cultures of Europe, the United States of America, Canada and Australia. European cultures have similarities with those of the other Western countries, such as the late modern society. But as regards its religious landscapes and musical traditions, Europe is considerably different.

Worship when used as a noun, is equivalent to 'liturgy' in this study. In the church described in Chapter 7, 'worship' may also refer to the liturgical element called 'local choruses of praise and worship' (in particular to the second, more calm and solemn part thereof). When used as a verb, 'to worship' means 'to celebrate liturgy'.

PHOTOGRAPHS, VIDEO CLIPS AND SOUND RECORDINGS

All photographs, video clips and sound recordings – both in this publication and on the companion CD-ROM – were made and produced by the author, except where otherwise specified. All materials are reproduced with permission.

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1 LOOKING AT THE SOUND OF WORSHIP

An Introduction to the Study

1.1 Research Subject and Definition of the Problem

In the years of my adolescence, I was seeing a young man who belonged to an orthodox segment of the Netherlands Reformed Church (Nederlands-Hervormde Kerk). We courted for a little longer than a year. During that time, I used to go to church with him and his family on occasion. However, coming home from these Sunday worship services, I invariably felt depressed. The cause of my blues had not much to do with the doctrines preached by their minister. Surely, these doctrines were different from those in our church – my family belonged to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church, where hell and original sin received much less emphasis – but that did not seem to be a matter of concern to me: not being intent on taking in the message anyway, all I did was trying to behave the way my in-laws expected me to. Neither were my feelings of dislike triggered by the sight of the other churchgoers, although many looked as if they had been sent up for punishment. It had to do with something else.

When my boyfriend asked me one time why I had stopped going to church with him and the family, I remarked that I had come to dislike his church simply because their service sounded bad to me. The singing was slow, with equal duration imparted to each note, and the organist was playing far too loud. The elder used a plaintive tone of voice in welcoming the congregation (which certainly did not make me feel glad that I had come!), the minister's style of delivery was never less than elevated and could rise to an aggressive pitch during the sermon. When the sermon was over, the flock produced a dejected coughing. I simply disliked the sound of their worship. It made me feel most uncomfortable, both physically and mentally. I told him I just could not stand it any longer.

A couple of weeks later, his mother informed me that I would not be welcome to their house any longer and told me that she did not consider me a suitable match for her son. Soon my boyfriend and I split up. The fact that I chose not to attend their church any more, was more than he and his family could accept.

This story actually reflects in a nutshell what this study is about. It shows that sound plays an important part in our perception and appreciation of worship: it can make people feel at home, but it can also make them feel uncomfortable or even turn them away from church. Also, it illustrates that sound is bound up with performance. Sound happens, it always implies action. Last but not least, the story suggests that different kinds of worship have different sounds, which one way or the other seems to correspond to different prevailing theologies within the celebrating church.

The present study attempts to investigate the sound of worship in two churches. In the Netherlands, worship has, in recent decades, shown a development towards a larger variety of 'sounds', especially as far as the sound of music is concerned: these sounds differ in musical style and genre, loudness, instrumentation, tempo and rhythm. But the sound of worship consists of more than only music: quiet or even silent prayer is also part of it, as is spontaneous exclamations, calls for praise and the performance of the sermon. The performance of sound in some churches has come to involve exuberant body motion, like rhythmic handclapping, swaying and dancing.

It will be understood that during recent decades the rise of the present Western European late modern multicultural network society has contributed to this change and variety of performed sound in worship. This rise is partly related to the process of globalization – a process in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world – which was advanced by developments in

technology. Nowadays, everyone who has enough money to book an air ticket, can fly to any part of the world. Everyone in this world who has access to the internet, can acquire information from the farthest corners of the globe, on almost any conceivable subject.

In as far as it applies to music, globalization leads to a 'scaling down'. As a result of this ongoing process, 'traditional', characteristic traits are being swapped for 'universal' features and indigenous customs are adopting international practices. To give two examples of this scaling down: internet users download and watch video clips of the latest music of their favourite group at the other side of the world; at the moment of my writing this first chapter, the members of the 'YouTube Symphony Orchestra' – announced as the first online cooperating orchestra – have just been selected. Musicians from over the whole world, of any age and playing any kind of instrument, had been invited to audition for the orchestra by uploading a video clip of their performance of a new piece of music, written for the occasion by a renowned Chinese composer. The winners are invited to travel to New York to participate in the 'YTSO-summit' and play at Carnegie Hall. Globalization in music also leads to an ongoing osmotic process wherein music cultures influence each other. European music, for instance, which used to be principally 'organized' on the basis of melody, has increasingly been influenced by the sound and structure of (African-)American music that is based on a strong beat. From the 1930s onwards, these developments have increasingly become visible and audible through globalization: consciously and unconsciously, people influence each other, copy and/or edit each others music practices.

The ongoing process of globalization also influences worship and changes the world in the area of social and religious relationships: Africa will soon be the largest Christian continent in the world. A 'reversed mission' is being forecasted: migrants from the so-called 'developing world' will re-christianize Europe. Immigrants are expected to make the largest group of Christians in Europe in the foreseeable future, and in many cases bring with them a variety of indigenous cultural roots from different continents, and a 'dash' of Pentecostalism. This large-scale movement also influences the worship of many other churches on the European continent: many worship gatherings in congregations that belong to the Protestant Church in the Netherlands, have been influenced by the worship as celebrated in evangelical and charismatic movements, which mainly originate from America. The singing of Geneva psalms and other hymns in these Dutch churches is being expanded with English-language 'praise and worship music'. All these (mixed) liturgical-musical practices take their own position in the sound spectrum of worship, and reinforce the diversity of the sound of worship as it is being celebrated in this country.

It is clear that thus the world has become smaller and increasingly complex. Life in the 21st century, at least in the Western world, appears to be layered, versatile and ambiguous. People move and migrate over the whole world, but we have little or no idea how this influences worship. My choice to study worship in two immigrant churches in Amsterdam Southeast – in particular worship's sound – relates to this situation in several respects. First, I want to do justice to the multicultural society I live in. Second, in the Netherlands hardly any research has been done on worship in immigrant churches so far, so it is high time to develop some effort in that direction. Third, investigating the practice of 'foreign worship' – especially worship with a variety of (to my ears) unfamiliar sounds – compels me to look and listen more carefully to what is actually going on in these churches.

My personal motivation to choose this subject of research comes from a deep-seated interest in Christian worship and music. Since childhood I have always been intrigued by the phenomenon of worship: in my experience, it was the celebration of a mystery. Also, since childhood, I have been involved in making music, which has given me the experience that sound at times may evoke a comparable sense of mystery. Then, as now, it would seem to me that in some ways worship and music, have things in common. Therefore I was happy to extend my theological studies to do in-depth research into a subject that combines the two:

the sound of worship in two immigrant churches. I wanted to listen to these sounds and trace the meanings people attributed to them, thus hoping that I could characterize the sounds of these particular churches, and relate them to their underlying theologies.

1.2 European Academic Research in Liturgical Studies

1.2.1 Orientation

Given the complexity of life in the 21st century Western European late modern multicultural network society, looking at the sound of worship in two immigrant churches requires investigation from multiple angles: from the perspectives of worship, performance and sound, as well as from the perspective of the people that populate the two congregations. For this reason, I unravelled and distinguished theoretical and empirical facets of the subject.

Something more is to be said in relation to the theoretical unravelling and relating of the elements of sound, performance and worship. To European scholars, the unravelling of notions may seem to be a standard way of investigating a problem. However, they need to be aware that this way of approaching a problem, bears the mark of European, indeed Western, academic and late modern thinking. I will elaborate on this more closely now, since this approach will determine the outcome of my research.

The research I did is marked by a dominant Western perspective. It is impossible – even for an academic – to shake off native backgrounds and traditions: these are factors that influence the way we think, experience the world and live. And as far as Western thinking is concerned: this is informed by modernistic notions such as an implicit belief in progress; the power of human reason; the blessings of science; the ideal of total human self-determination in freedom and equality; the power to attribute meaning that great ideologies have, as comprehensive explanatory systems (De Dijn, quoted in LAMBERTS 1995, 149).

Western thinking exerts influence on Western academic discourse, which is characterized by methodically led research and verifiable results. What is more: many researchers believe that the modern features of Western academic discourse are 'universal': academic research should always be critical, traceable and verifiable. However, one should realize that from the viewpoint of other cultures, other features might be considered important for academic research.

The present study might from a Western perspective be considered an experiment wherein three different elements (sound, performance and worship) are connected, in order to determine whether the combination of the three provides useful knowledge. This approach takes its cue from the fact that most Europeans, in their everyday experience, would find it difficult to conceive of these three notions as belonging together. Because Europeans have a perception of the self that is essentially dualistic, by which they generally distinguish[1] between spirit and body, they rarely, if at all, experience a unity of life. Other cultures, however, in particular those of Africa, South America and the Caribbean, do experience a unity of life and are thus capable to experience the unity of the notions sound, performance and worship: their world view is, generally speaking, more holistic and dialectical.

The European white culture that was strongly influenced by modernity is, as has happened in the increasingly diverse culture of North America, losing its dominance (REDMAN 2002, 105). Given this development, Europeans should keep in mind that their way of experiencing life and the world around them, notwithstanding its deep-seated roots, is just one of many possible ways. Although from a European perspective one might

[1] The late modern emphasis on holism, which today – perhaps under the influence of other cultures – is occasionally in evidence, does not contradict, but rather confirms this. Such developments are to be seen as reactions on predominating views, which evoke the opposite.

consider the three notions investigated in this study to be a coincidental selection of random phenomena, the elements of sound, performance and worship simply belong to a common domain and are mutually related. The story at the head of this chapter, is an illustration of this statement. I shall return to this matter in detail.

1.2.2 Modern Liturgical Studies

This study relates to the field of Liturgical Studies, where worship is the subject of research. By way of context for this study, it is important to consider how Liturgical Studies are being practiced nowadays. The fact is that the character of this field of research has changed during recent decades: there has been a shift towards the cultural-anthropological dimension of worship.[2] Liturgical Studies have come to use other disciplines in order to investigate worship from a broader perspective. Therefore nowadays, more attention is being paid to, for example, the social, psychological, ethnic and ritual dimensions of worship. As a consequence, research in Liturgical Studies currently requires multidisciplinary methods and calls for a combination of insights gleaned from different disciplines.

The cause of the focus on cultural and anthropological dimensions of worship is explained by, amongst others, Marcel Barnard, professor of Liturgics at the Protestant Theological University (Utrecht, the Netherlands), who made clear that there is a close connection between worship and culture (BARNARD 2000, 5). He defines Liturgical Studies as 'the science of Christian rites and symbols', and goes on to remark that rites and symbols are not only essential to worship, but also have fundamental importance to culture. Because of this shared significance, worship and culture dynamically relate to one another. It is for this reason, Barnard says, that we should study Christian rites and symbols. But there is still another reason to do so: the protestant practice of Liturgical Studies has had a long-standing tradition of examining liturgies as bodies of texts and language only, without paying attention to the ritual and cultural perspectives and to the way people deal with contemporary ritual offerings (BARNARD 2000, 9). Liturgical Studies should take current trends in ritual and culture into account. A third reason for examining Christian ritual lies in the fact that European society and its churches now show an abundance of rituals and symbols. The serious crisis in ritual of the 1960s is definitely a thing of the past. The negative connotation of the word 'ritual' has gone, and the rediscovering of ritual's positive elements brought about an explosion of ritual in the 1990s. With this revaluation of (both human and religious) ritual, a new aspect manifested itself. The tendency towards individuality, which is part of modernity, has also affected the way rituality is experienced in late modernity: people are now dealing with ritual in their own individual way. Everyone is creating his/her own system of meaning, we are all 'like a spider in a unique web' (BARNARD 2000, 11). Rites and symbols are increasingly becoming an expression of the unique person we are, they have – so to say – become expressions of our own identity. Thus, in addition to reproducing meanings, we are also appropriating them. Moreover, we are not only appropriating them collectively, as groups, but also more and more individually. As a consequence, worship is no longer a system of unity, but has become a process of ongoing appropriation of meaning that reflects our (individual and group) identity. Like culture, worship becomes a meaning network that relates to and intersects with other meaning networks.

I consider the subject of this study – worship – to be a ritual. Therefore, I have also taken into account the context wherein the ritual is performed. Worship is always celebrated in a context, by a specific group of people, who have a specific cultural and liturgical identity, in a

[2] In this study, I use the term 'cultural-anthropological' in a broad sense – thus comprising social, cultural, psychological, musical, bodily and performance aspects – unless otherwise specified.

specific part of the world. So I could not but include the cultural-anthropological dimensions in this study, which will be delineated in both Part I (on a theoretical level) and Part II (on an empirical level).

A last remark on the modern practice of Liturgical Studies is to be made here. Although approaches that pay a lot of attention to the cultural-anthropological dimensions of their research objects, are increasingly considered fruitful, this practice has also been criticized. Critics (mostly from the theological arena) often claim that the cultural-anthropological outcomes of the research are almost never subjected to a theological valuation. One might, however, turn the argument around: systematic studies on or relating to liturgy (at least those from the Netherlands) often limit themselves to 'classical' theological concepts, without focusing on the (empirical) cultural-anthropological reality of worship.[3] Until now, not many studies have been published that combine or integrate both the theological and the cultural-anthropological approach.

In this study, I aimed at taking this critique seriously, all the more because I conducted the research at a protestant theological university. Although I took the cultural-anthropological approach as a starting point, I am also fully aware that Liturgical Studies is a theological discipline. Therefore, at an early stage of this study, I decided to bring my theological point of view – an incarnational understanding of the performed sound of worship, on which I elaborate in Chapter 2 – into a conversation with the cultural-anthropological outcomes of this research.

1.3 Question and Method

1.3.1 Question and Aim

The area of interest in this research project as outlined above is worship as celebrated in a late modern, 21st century, Western European country – a complex research area – and the research subject is the sound of worship in two immigrant churches in particular. The main question of this study thus can be formulated as follows:

Which are the qualities of sound in the performance of worship as celebrated in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation and the Wesley Methodist Church in Amsterdam Southeast, and in what ways do these qualities relate to worship's incarnational character?[4]

By investigating the sound of worship, instead of 'liturgical music', the study first aims to make a valuable contribution to the anthropology of sound in Liturgical Studies, which so far has not received much attention. This could be interesting in more respects than academic research alone. It could, on a practical level, help local churches to become conscious of the fact that – as far as sound is concerned – worship is more than music, more than listening to the organ and singing some hymns. A range of possibilities for worship appears when the notion of 'sound' is introduced (instead of the more limited term 'music').

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[3] The PhD dissertations of Martin Hoondert (see HOONDERT 2006) and Goedroen Juchtmans (see JUCHTMANS 2008) may serve as examples of 'one-sided' cultural anthropological research in the field of Liturgical Studies. The PhD dissertation of Mattijs Ploeger, on liturgical ecclesiology (see PLOEGER 2008), might serve as an example of a 'one-sided' systematic study on liturgy.

[4] In this study, I use the term 'qualities' in the sense defined by Paul Post, who considers them as "identity-determining characteristics, traits, dimensions or tendencies in a ritual repertoire" (POST 2001, 47-77). I elaborate on the concept in more detail in Chapter 5.

Worship turns out to be a interesting interplay of sound, rituals and performances and performers.

Second, this study aims to reduce the deficit of empirical research material on liturgy *in actu*. Although the cultural-anthropological approach in Liturgical Studies may attract much attention, there are still relatively few case studies in which the researchers have put their ears to the ground to listen to the actual liturgical practices in the field, and, indeed, to listen to the people who are involved in this practice.

Third, by (theoretically and empirically) investigating the sound of worship from a cultural-anthropological point of view, and relating the results to a theological understanding of worship, this study also aims to show that both points of view are complementary, and that a conversation between the two can be very fruitful in the current practice of Liturgical Studies.

1.3.2 Structure and Method

This study consists of three parts, which all treat sub-questions derived from the main question that was formulated above.

Part I consists of a theoretical exploration of the field, in search of an answer to the question **Which anthropological and theological aspects determine the sound of worship and its meanings, and in what manner do they achieve this?**

On the basis of literature research, I explore the field of research, focusing on three significant aspects: worship (Chapter 2), performance (Chapter 3) and sound (Chapter 4). Since the second, empirical part of this study concentrates on an African immigrant church and a (predominantly) Surinamese congregation in the Netherlands, I will be focusing on African, Southern American and Western European cultures in the first, theoretical part. Regarding music, I am paying attention to the African-American culture for two reasons. First, because of Suriname's roots in African slave culture, in which music played a very important part. Second, because the African-American sound is the foundation of today's popular music, which has strong influences on Western (and thus European) culture at large and is, at the same time, the foundation of the music of the so-called 'Praise and Worship Movement' (an umbrella term for evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic churches, see REDMAN 2002, 22-46). Many Africans and African-Americans who live and celebrate worship in Amsterdam Southeast are familiar with (and sing) a lot of praise and worship music.

Part II presents a methodological account on the empirical research done (Chapter 5), as well as two case studies: the sound of worship in a Lutheran congregation with predominantly Surinamese members (Chapter 6) and in a Ghanaian Methodist church (Chapter 7), both situated in Amsterdam Southeast. Sound itself is charted, as well as its qualities – the latter both on the basis of my observations as a researcher, and the meanings attributed to these sounds by informants. In this account two sub-questions are answered, namely **Which sounds occur in the worship of the respective churches, in what ways are these sounds being performed, which meanings are attributed to these performed sounds and which are the qualities of sound that can be derived from all of this?** and **In what ways do these qualities relate to the contextual background of each of these churches?**

Part III (Chapter 8) brings the cultural-anthropological results of the empirical research into conversation with several theological discussion partners (many of whom have already been introduced in Part I). The qualities of the sound of worship in the two churches are

evaluated against the backdrop of sacramental, incarnational worship. The concluding chapter thus answers the main research question of this study.

The method of research used in this study is a multidisciplinary one.

The first, theoretical part of this study, consists of literature research. I have collected literature from various sources, making full use of several disciplines. This approach is in keeping with current practices in Liturgical Studies: since its subjects of research can be investigated from various angles, a multidisciplinary research method is required. Scholars in Liturgical Studies, for example, intensively use Ritual Studies, which serves as a platform for disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, theatre and performance studies, semiotics, musicology, philosophy, psychology and so on. Since the performed sound of worship is still a somewhat unexplored subject of investigation in Liturgical Studies, hardly any literature is available on the specific topic. The present study thus has a highly explorative character, which made it all the more necessary to use a multidisciplinary method for Part I: since a relatively uncharted field was to be discovered, I needed to describe my perceptions of the research subject.

The second part of this study describes an empirical liturgical-musical ethnographic research. Because this is still a burgeoning method, I extensively accounted for this method in the first chapter of Part II.

1.4 Selection of Loci

1.4.1 Presence of Immigrant Churches

As has been mentioned, this study is concerned with two immigrant churches. One of the reasons why I chose to do research into immigrant churches, is related to the fact that, until now, multicultural and multi-religious aspects of Dutch society have hardly been taken into account in Liturgical Studies. From an academic point of view, we have little or no idea of what is going on in worship as celebrated by immigrants in the Netherlands. This is an odd state of affairs when one realizes that in the Southeast part of Amsterdam, for example, every Sunday afternoon a cacophony of sounds spreads over the area. In churches, car parks and school buildings, dozens of Christian congregations gather for worship. Most of these congregations are immigrant churches, which constitute a considerable part of the total number of Christian congregations in the Netherlands.[5] The country has a substantial quantity of Christian immigrants: it is assumed that more than 800,000 people of the total Dutch population are immigrant and Christian.[6] Although it is virtually impossible to indicate exactly how many immigrant churches are present in the Netherlands, the number according a fair estimation is 930 congregations at the least. In the capital Amsterdam alone, at least 10% of the inhabitants is said to belong to the group of Christian immigrants (74,300 persons in 2005), 24,000 of whom attend worship services on a regular basis,[7] in about 160 of the total number of 930 immigrant churches. According to estimation, about one half of these 160 churches is situated in the specific Southeast area, while the other half is spread over the capital. Together, these churches celebrate their worship in 37 languages. In most

[5] The data in this paragraph are based on EUSER 2006, 34-40.

[6] Euser claims that it is very difficult to determine the number of Christian immigrants in the Netherlands for three reasons. First, the number of Christian immigrants is hardly being recorded. Second, many Christian immigrants are 'undocumented' ('illegal'). Third, the accurate determination of the number of Christian immigrants strongly depends on the definition of Christians and of immigrants that one uses (EUSER 2006, 33). In addition to the three reasons mentioned, the number is constantly fluctuating, simply because of the fact that immigrants come and go.

[7] Compare the number of churchgoers that regularly attend services in communities in Amsterdam that belong to the Protestants Church in the Netherlands: the total amount is estimated at 2500 (EUSER 2006, 40).

instances, worship is a bilingual or multilingual happening: 58% of the immigrant churches use English in addition to one or more other languages, 38% use Dutch (as the only language or in addition to other languages) in their services.

1.4.2 A Multicultural and Multi-religious Society

I chose to do research in Amsterdam Southeast, because of its multicoloured collection of religious denominations. Another reason to choose this particular area was the fact that Amsterdam Southeast accommodates people from a diversity of cultures. The society of the Netherlands as a whole is often described as a multicultural society; Amsterdam Southeast visibly mirrors the existing variety of cultures.[8] On January 1, 2008, Amsterdam Southeast accommodated 78,922 inhabitants (versus a total amount of 747,290 in the entire city), 63.4% of which were non-Western foreigners, 8.2% of which were Western foreigners and 28.4% of which were Dutch nationals. Obviously, the worship of Christian immigrant churches must be seen against the backdrop of a society of mixed cultures. Immigrant churches relate to such a society in different manners, but one thing is for sure: the multicultural society poses new questions regarding the way in which these churches perform their worship (in terms of language, space, duration, sound equipment, instruments, music, churchgoers, etcetera) and thus, in several ways, regarding their identity.

The combination of a multicultural and multi-religious society in Amsterdam Southeast is not unique though: city districts like this exist all over Europe. Today, immigrants from Africa, in particular Sub-Saharan Africa, represent a substantial proportion of the immigrant population in Europe. Many of them have come in search of a better life, or to make money and support their families in their homelands. Many of the Christians among them have come to evangelize (in) Europe, which they consider to be in an appalling spiritual condition, due to the process of secularisation (TER HAAR 1998, 1). They believe that the gospel needs to be reintroduced to the nations that originally took it to the African continent – a process that is known as the 'reversed mission'. This has often taken place, and continues to take place, by the foundation of new and independent congregations (generally referred to as AIC's: African Instituted/Initiated/Independent Churches).[9]

In addition to these 'new' African immigrants, who have become part of the multicultural society, there are also groups of people who have immigrated into Europe during earlier stages of its history. In the Dutch situation, these immigrants mainly originate from countries with which the Netherlands used to have historical – mostly colonial – connections: Indonesia, Maluku Islands, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles.

1.4.3 Doing Research in Two Immigrant Churches

Bearing the multicultural and multi-religious society in Amsterdam Southeast in mind, and considering the presence of so many Christian immigrants, I chose the Lutheran Congregation with predominantly Surinamese members and the Ghanaian Methodist

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[8] Data in this paragraph are based on figures of Gemeente Amsterdam, Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek, http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/kerncijfers/stadsdelen/zuidoost

[9] The AIC's are self-governing and are founded and led by black Africans, either men or women (TER HAAR 1998, 5). These "are churches which have been established in large numbers only since the beginning of the twentieth century by Africans independently of the former mission churches" (TER HAAR 1998, 4). Today, in the Netherlands, a large number of such independent churches exists, most of which were founded in the 1990's. They are often located in the larger cities (mainly in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague), since most Africans have settled there to find a job. The AIC's are often at the heart of their lives. The Ghanaian Methodist Church, investigated in this study, is no 'AIC' in the sense that it is not independent. This church however bears many similarities with AIC's, such as the motives of its individual members to immigrate into Europe, the role of the church in peoples' lives, and the aspect of 'reversed mission'.

Church for the empirical research on the sound of worship. Both churches will be introduced in their respective chapters (6 and 7), and I here will limit myself to explaining this choice. As I have mentioned, little research has been done on the worship of immigrant churches in the Netherlands, and even less on those churches who came to the Netherlands, or were established there, during the last forty years. Being as diverse as the countries and cultures they come from, these immigrant churches can in no way be looked upon as a unified community. That is why I chose to investigate two entirely different congregations. The Surinamese Lutherans and the Ghanaian Methodists are different in many respects: their congregations are of different size, they meet in different locations, they are differently organized, they have a different cultural background, they are different as regards the number of nationalities present in the church, they celebrate their worship services in very different ways, and consequently, the sounds of their worship show substantial differences.

Before concluding this introductory chapter, it may be sensible to briefly describe my personal background (social, cultural, anthropological and theological). Even researchers cannot be expected to entirely cast off or exclude their own outlook, personality, etcetera, and especially in empirical research, these factors will in some degree determine their professional perception.

I would describe myself as a Dutch, academically educated woman in her late twenties, who was raised in an open-minded family where classical music, the arts, design and style, and social commitment were valued and considered meaningful. From my mother I learned to appreciate and enjoy beauty, and I was taught to sing and to play several musical instruments at an early age. My interest in matters of style was developed by, among other things, the worship services we were attending weekly in a congregation of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church. In this church, the liturgy – which was strongly influenced by the liturgical movement that evolved in the second quarter of the 20th century – and its music were (aesthetically) well-cared for, and that was how it should be, I thought.

Previous to my empirical research, I had heard about the Lutheran congregation in Amsterdam Southeast, which predominantly consists of Surinamese people. Having no experience of this congregation, my expectation was to find the Lutheran worship I was familiar with: well-cared for, performed with style, including church music performed at a high level. I had never thought that the Surinamese background of the church members would make much of a difference to the way they celebrated worship. However, once in the congregation, my eyes were opened to a rather different worship landscape. Members of the congregation were most cooperative and kindly informed me about their lives in Suriname, their families, their practices in daily life as well as in church – even though, sometimes due to the political reasons for their immigration into the Netherlands, this was not always easy for them. I learned that there is more to worship than aesthetic performance and that their seemingly 'orderless' performance of worship was strongly determined by their Surinamese identity, and justifiably so.

Previous to my empirical research, I hardly knew anything about Africa, African people or African cultures. I had only noticed the many Africans who travel daily through Amstel railway station. My being introduced to the Ghanaian Methodist Church thus opened a whole new world for me. Although church members were always kind, it took me a while to build some kind of communicative relationship with them, or at least with some of them. However, after a few months of attending their worship services and choir practices, I became more and more involved in the church and learned a lot. The fact that I was planning to travel to their home country (as part of the research) much increased their openness towards me, and also my appreciation of the trust they placed in me ("You are African now", one of the church members said, when I left the congregation after ten months of research.) Today, every time I enter Amstel railway station, I look around to see if

any of the Ghanaian church members are there. But since the church members are many, I anyhow smile kindly to every black person passing me.

Hopefully, this study will be of value as an attempt to broaden the academic view on the sound of worship, and be of value to churches in becoming aware of what is actually at stake in worship's sound. Last but not least, this study is valuable to me: the research process, and particularly the empirical research, were an enrichment to my life.

PART I A THEORETICAL EXPLORATION OF THE FIELD

2 WORSHIP

2.1 Introduction

This first theoretical chapter elaborates on the cultural-anthropological and theological perspectives on 'worship'. I start with the theological conception that takes worship as sacramental and incarnational (2.2). This conception determines how I see the field: it best describes what, in my view, is theologically at stake when worship is being celebrated. (The fact that I feel most comfortable with a christological perception of worship is probably related to my Lutheran background). This conception therefore is also the backdrop against which I evaluate the sound of worship in the concluding chapter of this study.

A cultural-anthropological approach of worship implies that one takes notice of the context in which the ritual is performed. Worship is always celebrated by a specific group of people, that has a specific cultural-anthropological and theological identity. A determinant of this identity is, among other things, the way people experience life. With an eye to the Surinamese and Ghanaian congregations investigated in the empirical part of this study, that celebrate worship in a multicultural Dutch context, I pay attention to the experience of life and the world of Surinamese, African, and European people (2.3). A short summary and some conclusions will close this chapter (2.4).

2.2 Sacramental, Incarnational Worship

As has already been described in the preceding chapter, I consider Christian worship as 'a symbolic and ritual order' (BARNARD 2008, 118). From cultural-anthropological perspectives, much has already been published on ritual and worship. The question, however, is how these perspectives relate to theological understandings of worship. This question is of course not new, and several theologians have already analyzed in detail the relation between the anthropology and the theology of worship. The Roman Catholic theologian Gerard Lukken, for instance, in his most comprehensive book on Christian ritual, deals with the issue. He presents several theologians, such as L. Lies, who formulates a balanced but firm answer to the problem: "Symbol is always an anthropological reality, while the sacrament is a theological reality which goes back to God, but which, however, does not lose its anthropological character." (Lies, quoted in LUKKEN 2005, 497). Without denying the relation between these two kinds of reality, I wonder whether it is possible to be more specific on the relation between anthropology and theology in worship. In search of an answer to the question, Lukken himself states that Christian ritual takes on the face of, and is shaped by, contemporary culture:

> It has the characteristics of all ritual, including the ritual of our contemporary culture. It stands open to, and includes the shape of our culture. Through this openness to and rootage in contemporary culture it takes on a face which is recognisable for, and can be experienced by believers today. Christian ritual cannot retain its identity by jumping over culture. It is always incarnate in a particular culture. Therefore Christian ritual has a changing shape, and we in our culture are in search of a new shape for this ritual. (LUKKEN 2005, 524).

The fact that Christian ritual has the characteristics of all ritual, does not imply that it does not have its own irreplaceable identity. This identity, according to Lukken, is that of the

paradox of the Easter mystery[10] as the radical revelation of God's love, of the new man as a pure gift. This is where God takes on a name, where his face lights up as the completely other. Lukken's answer is in line with Chauvet, who considers christology as an interruption, a break, in the movement between anthropology and theology. Christology is seen as "the intersection, so to speak, of the ways from below to above and above to below" (Chauvet, quoted in LUKKEN 2005, 501).

Lukken thus starts from a christological explanation of the theologically defined identity of Christian ritual. And so will I, in this study: instead of taking a pneumatological line of approach as is often found in Protestant theologies of liturgy, I choose a theological point of departure based on a sacramental, even incarnational conception of worship (although without championing any one of these viewpoints at the expense of the other). This sacramental, incarnational view is in line with the writings of several theologians. I here present the ideas of three important contributors to the discussion on sacramental and/or incarnational worship: Van der Leeuw, Sample and Kakoma.

Gerardus van der Leeuw, a Dutch phenomenologist of religion and Reformed theologian, who lived from 1890-1950, considers worship as sacramental. As we shall see, he bases this view on the incarnation.

Van der Leeuw relates theology to the arts. Kernel to his thoughts is the fact that we can imagine God in human shape, because God himself took this shape, because the Word became flesh (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 337). Basing himself on this image of God, Van der Leeuw interrelates the arts according to a pattern wherein he considers visual art, as an expression of our imagination, to be central. Thus, he considers the shape of Christ to be the principle of both the arts and theology. However, they do not operate on the same level, since *Gestaltung* (form-making or design) is an act by which God expresses himself, while human image making or representation always has a tentative character: man's approach of the total different Other is, so to speak, something of an impossible possibility and therefore is ambivalent. Art and religion are at cross purposes in the present, but will eventually coincide in the eschaton (BARNARD 2004, 77). In our reality mankind keeps searching for God's image in forms of creation, because God revealed something of himself in Christ in the image of a human being. To put it in other words: in and behind the exterior world the believer is looking for an 'other' reality, a power, the sacred, revelation. Thus, creation and art can obtain a sacramental character (BARNARD 2004, 78). Then worship – and this is of fundamental importance to the present study – when described as a portrayal of this human search, of this human imagination[11], is also sacramental: it is a form in which the encounter with the Eternal One takes shape. Although this sacramental form may be seen to be already present, it will at the same time remain a promise. The sacramental is thus eschatological, in Van der Leeuw's words a 'visibly invisible reality' (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 338). The portrayal remains in suspension between on the one hand the risk of completion of the image, that is, the autonomy of the made image and idolatry, and on the other hand the risk of erasure of the image, that is, the dissolving of the contours into the All or Nothing of mysticism (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 252). This 'visibly invisible reality' also applies to worship. God and worship do not coincide: the sacramental character of worship always is subject to eschatological and pneumatological conditions. Those who believe cannot see the image of God in reality, but may experience it under the veil of the sacramental signs.

[10] "*The* great paradox of Christianity is the Easter mystery. *The* short circuit with our anthropology, *the* theological moment, occurs where suffering and death prove to be a way to resurrection." (LUKKEN 2005, 517).

[11] The paraphrase of this definition is my own. The original comes from N.A. Schuman, who takes worship as 'uitbeelding van verbeelding' (see http://www.eredienstvaardig.info/Blauw/Definities.htm).

However, this veil does not reduce the reality of the image: it is yet, and is not yet. The sacramental reality of faith that *is*, is created by the Holy Spirit (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 337).

As we have seen, Van der Leeuw relates his sacramental view on worship to the incarnation: worship has a sacramental character (i.e. it has forms in which humans may encounter the living Christ), because God revealed himself in Christ in the image of a human being. This makes his sacramental conception of worship a very 'visual' one. However, when one seeks to relate a sacramental conception of worship to worship's sound, the view of Van der Leeuw seems somewhat limited: in his pattern of arrangement of the arts, he places music furthest from the centre because it lacks visibility and provides no hold for the imagination (in the most literal, image-related, sense of the word). Today, used as we are to sound made visible on music television channels such as TMF, MTV and The Box, a more liberal opinion is required. For example, Tex Sample – whose cultural understanding of 'the Word becoming flesh' is presented below – would at this point most likely disagree with Van der Leeuw's material understanding of an encounter with God in (pre-eminently visible) shapes. In fact, and in contrast to Van der Leeuw, I would claim that the sound of worship is indeed suitable to obtain a sacramental character. To understand this, one needs to broaden Van der Leeuw's idea of a 'visibly invisible reality' in a more multi-sensory direction (an 'audibly inaudible reality' inclusive), and at the same time focus on the acting aspect behind the sacramental forms.

The sacramental forms in which believers experience and recognize Christ, are not (or not only) a cerebral matter. The Eucharist, embodied in its sacramental forms of bread and wine, may serve as an example: "Do this in remembrance of me" is not so much a command to *remember* Christ as an admonition to *do* something. Thus, the recognition of the image of God has unmistakable multi-sensory aspects: when we take the bread, we feel it; in breaking it, we hear it; eating it, we smell and taste it. Our body enables us to recognize the sacramental presence[12] and in this way we remember Christ. My emphasis on the acting character of worship, which includes and involves the total human body, is in line with Van der Leeuw's view of worship, insofar as he considers a sacrament to be a symbol (in a similar way as contemporary liturgists do): it is a way to relate to the world, a way to reach beyond oneself and relate to other domains. Anyone who symbolizes plays. By playing, people become human beings. Their playing in life extends to their worship, which is – for good reason – also described as 'holy play'. As I explained, this holy play is an act through which the encounter with the Eternal One takes shape. Thus Van der Leeuw does not fix God in any theological dogma, but makes the presence of the Eternal One a theme in our reality. He does not set the rules of the doctrine (for example, the admonition to remember Christ through sharing bread and wine), but studies the rules of the play (BARNARD 2004, 84-90). I thus observe that my claim that sound is suitable to obtain a sacramental character, is indeed compatible with Van der Leeuw's view on worship: the sacrament is a moment in which we encounter God, and its multi-sensory aspects enable human beings to experience this encounter also in the sound of the holy play.

Tex Sample – a sociologist and Methodist theologian from the United States – in his view on worship specifically concentrates on incarnation (as a detail of christology). In one of his books, he investigates worship as celebrated in contemporary Western life, and claims that in worship incarnation is at stake: "when so-called 'traditional' churches are out of touch with the people who live around them, the problem is not that they are irrelevant, but that they are not incarnational" (SAMPLE 1998, 105). Sample bases this on Scripture. He understands John 1:14 ("the Word became flesh and pitched tent with us") as God becoming flesh and

[12] Remember Van der Leeuw's pneumatological 'condition': we may trust in this sacramental presence, but the actual encounter is an act of God.

joining the indigenous practices of the culture of Jesus' time. Incarnation thus involves, according to Sample, three things at least: the Word, becoming flesh and pitching tent. The absence of any of these three things, results in something less than incarnation.

The author considers worship as Word and consequently asks what it means for worship to be fleshly and to pitch tent with the people of an electronic culture. To be able to answer that question means to take into account that our flesh is encoded culturally and historically and that we are socially constructed. The influence of electronic culture – Sample's focus of attention – on our flesh can be explained by three characteristics: 1) we engage the world through images, 2) sound is encoded in our beings (including our bodies) as beat and 3) there is an ongoing process of visualization of sound. Since at different times in history human nature has taken on different encodings, different organizations of the senses, different content in feelings, different forms of reason etcetera, the way in which God pitches tent with us has differed from one time to another: "Every faithful attempt to be incarnational requires a kind of indigenous engagement. In the incarnation God pitches tent with us, tabernacles with us. Such engagement with the world is basic to the Christian faith." (SAMPLE 1998, 106)

Sample also refers to the discussion on the relation between the anthropology and theology of worship, by adding that incarnation does not mean that God joins the human story and becomes part of it. Rather incarnation is disclosure that the world is part of God's story, he says. The task of worship is to understand our picture in terms of God's greater picture, instead of trying to get God into our picture. The church that fails to take the fleshliness of God's story (and its consequent engagement with the doing of man) with the utmost seriousness, is not incarnational. "For this reason the church will take seriously the fleshly uses of image, sound as beat and visualisation. The Word will take on embodiment in spectacle, performance, soul music and dance." (SAMPLE 1998, 106). As will be obvious, the understanding of incarnation that Sample applies to his vision of worship has an explicit culture-oriented bias.

An incarnational conception of worship, that is seen as a particularization of a sacramental view, is found in one of the recent documents of the Lutheran World Federation. As does Sample, this document emphasizes the concept of incarnation as the theological core business of worship. Incarnation here is considered as an umbrella term: the document claims that an incarnational conception of worship goes beyond questions about worship's cultural 'shape'. To discuss matters of worship using paradigms like indigenization, contextualization or inculturation is not satisfactory. "Worship is 'carnal' in the sense that, first and foremost, it is expressed by way of 'bodily things' such as history and culture." (KAKOMA 2005, 11) The Lutheran editor, Itonde Kakoma – a first-generation American of Rwanda/Ugandan origin – explains this in emphatic terms, on the basis of worship in African contexts:

> 'African' worship is necessarily dynamic, incorporating the entirety of creation's experience. As human beings our expressions of worship are informed and shaped by our environments – including that which is ecological, cultural, socio-political, historical and contemporary. To consider worship from an African perspective is to consider HIV/AIDS and the foreseeable extinction of many communities; it is to consider illiteracy and the lack of access to empowering resources; it is to consider environmental degradation and the calling to be stewards of creation; it is also to consider genocide and the role of the church in perpetuating divisive ideologies, not to mention death, life and the holistic acceptance of the sacredness of all creation. Moreover, to consider worship from an African perspective is to consider the human body in all of its abilities/disabilities – senses and movements – in actions not limited to the mind's capacity to reason. (KAKOMA 2005, 10)

Clearly, the incarnational conception of worship touches many of its fundamental dimensions. According to Kakoma, incarnation is significantly different from inculturation: "When one speaks of an authentic liturgical expression, one speaks of a certain embodiment of a context and not simply its 'culture'." (KAKOMA 2005, 12). Although I totally agree with the concept of incarnational worship as embodiment of a context, I find Kakoma's distinction between incarnation and inculturation somewhat questionable: they are each other's opposite in a lesser degree than Kakoma would have it. His perception of culture seems a little narrow: are HIV/AIDS, illiteracy, environmental degradation, genocide, the human body and – last but not least – the church not part of or related to a culture? Why restrict inculturation to textual translations, historical traditions, linguistic theories and anthropological studies? Inculturation, like incarnation, concerns a specific people, in a particular place, within a given experience of time, I would say. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the value of Kakoma's contribution lies in his choice of a concept that raises the issue to a different level: speaking of worship in terms of incarnation relates the specific cultural-anthropological context of the celebrating congregation to a theological understanding of the church as the body of Christ – a tangible, fleshly body, including all the practical connective tissue and muscles of daily struggle. That is why Kakoma says that

> to speak solely of culture with regard to matters of worship is to perpetuate the impoverishment of the church as ethnic slums or social clubs, as opposed to being a sacramental presence of Christ's body in a fragile and broken world. (KAKOMA 2005, 12)

My view on incarnational worship is mainly in line with the thoughts of these three theologians. I take worship as a sacramental reality, in which the living Christ obtains shape and may be encountered. In particular, I consider an incarnational view on worship as a suitable perspective for connecting the shapes in which the living Christ may be encountered in worship to the human body, that physically embodies faith: in the fleshly embodiment of faith shapes occur in which the living Christ is being encountered. Incarnation is thus not taken in the classical sense of the one-only event of God becoming human in Jesus Christ, but is related to the repeated encounter of the living Christ and the celebrating congregation, who may trust that Christ is present among them in the shapes of worship (the sound of worship being one of these). In my view, the cultural-anthropological approach to worship as a symbolic and ritual order, shows and describes the shapes in which, theologically speaking, worship may become incarnational.

I must answer one last question: why choose the theological concept of incarnation to investigate worship? Would pneumatological creativity not provide a sufficient explanation for the different sounds of the worship of different churches? Probably it would, inasmuch as there are more and other methods that might supply answers to my research question. As I already suggested, the choice of a christological perspective on worship might be related to my Lutheran background. In contrast to 'the Calvinistic extra' (*extra calvinisticum*, the belief among Calvinists that Christ's humanity is not infinite or omnipresent and therefore can only be at one place at one time, even after the ascension), I hold the view that the risen Christ can be present at more than one place at one time, and thus that his infinite presence is both located in heaven and gets shape here and now (for instance in sacramental worship). But there is more to it than my denominational background. The incarnation concept is often used in theological research these days and is certainly receiving a lot of attention, which I find significant. Incarnation apparently helps us acquire a better understanding of what is happening in the church, in worship, in daily life, in the world around us. Bodiliness is present everywhere in our culture (in advertisements, in consumer products, etcetera), but not only there. It is present in church as well: the way we deal with worship is influenced by

(and maybe influences) the ways in which we are confronted with our corporeality and deal with our bodies. Thus, using the concept of incarnation, in theology and church, relates to our bodily existence, which is not only an issue in culture: worship's material, physical aspects are very fundamental.[13] Therefore, the concept is a promising way to make clear what is at stake in worship. But its relevance can also be demonstrated the other way around: it is because of God taking human shape in Jesus Christ, that the importance of the body in worship is not to be underestimated.

2.3 Experiencing Life and Worship

The theological concept of incarnation does justice to the dynamic relation between worship and culture. Humans are not the same in all times and places, and neither should one expect worship to be so. We all live in a specific culture, which we form and which forms us. Analogous to the late modern claim that there is no such thing as 'essential human nature', I would say that it is impossible to speak of universal worship: the way worship is celebrated is always cultural-anthropologically determined.

As mentioned above, Part II of this study contains the results of empirical research on the sound of worship in a predominantly Surinamese congregation and a Ghanaian church in the specific area of Amsterdam Southeast. Thus, by way of introduction, we now need to take a close look at how people in these cultures experience life, the world around them, and worship.

First, I will discuss the diversity of Surinamese culture, which forms the multicoloured backdrop to a variety of world views and religions (2.3.1). Given the heterogeneity of this culture and the unique place of Suriname within the South American continent, it is almost impossible to make valid generalizations about the life and world view of Surinamese or South American people. The culture of Suriname (as far as it is possible to speak of a 'Surinamese culture') is a motley collection of cultures from the farthest corners of the world. As will be shown in Chapter 6, this heterogeneity strongly determines the sound of worship in the Surinamese congregation. In addition, there are external factors that have increased the diversity. Suriname has a peculiar position on the continent: geographically it is situated in South America, but culturally it is part of the Caribbean. Finally, due to colonization, the Dutch culture has had a pervasive influence on Suriname (to which no other South American country was exposed).

Next, I will be focusing on the African experience of life and the world (2.3.2). Although Africa consists of more than fifty countries, which are most diverse, and although Ghana is populated by several indigenous tribes, it is possible to delineate the matter in broader outline; African countries and Ghanaian tribes in fact have more in common than South American countries and the population of Suriname.

To conclude, I shall then indicate how the European world view influences the celebration of worship in Europe, and show that the 'original' European way of experiencing life is in many ways opposite to the African (2.3.3). In doing so, I mainly base myself on two African scholars (Uzukwu and Kabasele Lumbala), both of whom are acquainted and conversant with European culture. However, the otherness of European culture forces and enables them to look more carefully at Europe and to compare the world view of this

[13] The fact that I read a column about incarnation in a Dutch national daily newspaper, underlines the relation between bodiliness in culture and bodiliness in church. The columnist wrote: "Small test, for Christians only. Read this phrase: 'God has chest hair in Jesus.' What kind of feeling does this spontaneously evoke? Right, that is exactly what I mean. Your faith has an aversion to corporeality." (SUURMOND 2006)

continent to the African (and, for that matter, partly also to the South-American and Caribbean) world view.[14]

Before I continue, I briefly describe the conception of 'culture' I use. Culture is a concept that may be demarcated in several ways and of which countless definitions exist. In this study, I take the concept in a wide sense, namely as 'the world of human activity, especially to the extent that it is coordinated and forms recognizable patterns' (FOKKEMA & GRIJZENHOUT 2004, 16).

2.3.1 Experiencing Life and Worship in Suriname

The population of Suriname is very heterogeneous, consisting of: natives who entered the territory some 8000 years BCE; white people from all the different countries (England, the Dutch Republic, the Dutch colonies in Brazil and Germany) who settled as colonists in Suriname in the 17th century; West-Africans who were enslaved and imported in the 19th century (today's Creoles being their descendents); descendents from African runaway slaves (today's Maroons); Asian contract labourers, such as Chinese, Javanese and British-Indian (today's Hindustani being their descendents) people, who came to Suriname in the 19th century and stayed, American and Lebanese traders and some of the foreign workers from Guyana and Haiti who came to Suriname in the 20th century (DALHUISEN 2007, 10-11). This extraordinary ethnic variety[15] has given Suriname a variety of languages: over twenty languages are spoken, including Dutch (the official language), English, Chinese, Hindi, Javanese, Arabic, Portuguese, German, French, the local Creole language Sranan Tongo (short: Sranan) and dialects spoken by the Maroon tribes and the Amerindians.

The Surinamese culture thus is a rich collection of cultures which – other than in surrounding South American countries – have not totally mixed, but are in coexistence. According to Luxner, this is a result that comes from a feeling of brotherhood, which was not forced upon the people, but came naturally (LUXNER 2006, 14): because many inhabitants were brought to Suriname from other places, and simply had no other place to go, they had only two options: either fight each other, or live together. Out of necessity a basic tolerance developed, which extends to the diversity of religions present. Most inhabitants today profess Hinduism, but Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Judaism also have a strong presence. The worship of God thus takes many different forms in Suriname. The country is one of the few in the world where you may find a synagogue next to a mosque. It should be no surprise that there is similar diversity within the Christian population: many Christian denominations exist in the country. The Moravian Church has become the predominant form of Protestantism in Suriname, because during their former mission among slaves, they combined mission and education, and made a considerable contribution to the development and the emancipation of the Sranan language.

The multicoloured collection of cultures in Suriname and the absence of a true mix of cultures, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to speak of '*the* Surinamese culture'.[16]

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[14] Compare one of the reasons why I chose to study the sound of worship in two immigrant churches (see Section 1.1).

[15] The old flag of Suriname was made up of five stars, the colours of which represented five broader categories of inhabitants: brown (mixed, Hindustani and Javanese), black (maroon, African-Surinamese and other black), yellow (Chinese), white (European, Middle-eastern and Jewish) and red (Amerindian/Native-Surinamese).

[16] When I speak of the 'Surinamese culture' in Part II of this study, I am always referring to the entirety of cultures in the country.

2.3.2 Experiencing Life and Worship in Africa

Generally speaking, one could say that Africans have a unified view of life. They experience life, the self and the world holistically and dialectically. Although the world is seen to be complex, it is perceived as a whole. Africans, more than Europeans, have an innate sense of the harmony of the universe, which is reflected in their conception of the self: they perceive themselves to be integral to this harmony of the universe, both mentally and physically. The self reveals itself, in gestures,

> as one complex reality – visible yet invisible; corporeal-incorporeal; part of, but also the centre of a complex universe of interaction. (…) The rhythm of interaction in this universe is discovered, re-created and expressed bodily by humans. (UZUKWU 1997, 10)

In fact, a human being is seen as a microcosm representation of the universe.

The perception of the self as being integral to the harmony of the universe implies that body and spirit are seen to be equal in value. What is more, Africans do not even conceive of body and spirit in the individual in terms of a dichotomy: the human person is a unity. In addition, the corporate wholeness extends not only to the self, but also to community: oneness and harmony are significant within the social body. One might even say that in Black African cultures, a person is nothing without the community: an individual only becomes a person in relation to others.

Thus, we see that it is natural for Africans to define life basically in terms of relatedness: to the self, the other, the community and the universe. When it comes to the latter: the sense of being in harmony with the world is also reflected in the African perception of holiness. Although, in recent times, globalization has led to change, African people originally experienced no duality between concepts like 'sacred' and 'secular'. A distinction between religion and other areas of human existence was unfamiliar. "Africans get their spiritual revelation and inspiration from neither a book nor their oral tradition but from their lives. (…) Africans recognize the role of the supreme God and the work of various lesser divinities in their daily human existence." (REED 2003, 1). In Black African civilization the material universe is the place of communion with the divine. (As I indicate below, this is in contrast to the theology that is influenced by a dualistic conception of human personality as consisting of body and soul.) Moreover, the human person is part of the sacred: he or she is seen as the figure of the divine. Thus, "the human is in the sacred and the sacred in the human" (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 3).

I-1 The sacred as everyday practice: such advertisements are very common in Africa. *Surroundings of Makola Market in the centre of Accra, Ghana, January 2008.*

No wonder that, in the perception of Africans, religion and culture (including other religions) go hand in hand: "African

cultures are impregnated with the sense of the religious and the holy, so that in Africa attention to culture and the encounter of the Christian religion with other religions go together." (Power in KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, foreword x). The road of God and of the church is, after all, the road of humanity. This is mirrored by the Christian beliefs that the Word became flesh (John 1:14), and that the Jesus Christ is the image of the invisible God (Col.1:15). The divine is revealed in the human, therefore incarnation is a kernel concept in the context of African worship.

Summarizing the above, I conclude that the African world view and the African experience of life and worship are to be described not in terms of duality, dichotomy, bipolarity, contrasts and clear and distinct categories, but rather in terms of unity, harmony, totality, communion and blended or fused dimensions. When it comes to celebrating worship services, it is now easy to understand that African worship cannot exist without involving the full range of the senses. "Worship is a place where the sense of sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste determine the objects, arrange the space, organize the relationship and the contact among persons." (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 2). Taken as a symbol, worship signifies the glory of God and the salvation of humanity, and must therefore do justice to humanity: to the individual body, the social body and to the cosmic body of humanity (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 7). The concept of incarnation again makes clear the importance of humanity in the relationship with God.

2.3.3 Experiencing Life and Worship in Europe

The Western European experience of life, the self and the world is almost diametrically opposed to African (and South-American and Caribbean) world views. Holistic nor dialectic, the European world view has always been predominantly dualistic. This manifests itself in a multitude of ways. Of basic importance is the perception of the self: the individual is seen to consist of spirit and body, which are distinct components of unequal value. The spirit prevails over the body, and this has been a problematic concept, ever since Greco-Roman antiquity.

It is particularly the art of rhetoric, as developed in the thinking of the classical world, that has enabled this view of the self, by its perception of physical movement. In rhetoric, moderation was stressed and in the ideal gesture the spirit dominated the matter (UZUKWU 1997, 6). Gradually, the concepts of 'spirit' and 'body' came to be seen more as polar opposites, the spirit taking precedence. To Plato and Aristotle, the ideal state of being is that "where there is no place either for joy or for pain, but only for thought at the highest possible degree of purity." (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 2). The body eventually became "a problem to the spirit, a burden to the self, a prison to the soul" (UZUKWU 1997, 7). Since Christianity in Europe has its roots in classical antiquity, this dualistic conception of man became indigenous to the church and became more widespread as Christianity grew. The negative view of the body was given another a renewed impetus when the Western church, in particular the Church Fathers, identified the concept of 'body' with the (fallen) flesh (*sarx*). It was mainly Augustine who emphasized the original sin of the flesh, a dogma that intensified the thinking in terms of spirit versus body. This teaching did little to help the appreciation of the body and bodily movement in worship.

Although by the twelfth century gesture was being conceived of in less negative terms, it appears that by then the ideas inherited from antiquity had affected Western European thinking on the unity of body and spirit (and, by implication, on the unity of life) in an irreversible way. Centuries later, Enlightenment rationalism gave a new impulse to the divisional thinking: the spiritual is separated from the physical, the rational from the emotional, the natural from the supernatural (REDMAN 2002, 105).

The shift from modernity to late modernity has in several ways influenced the European view of the self. Contrary to the Enlightenment ideal of the dispassionate, autonomous, rational individual, the self as seen by late modernity is far more complex and artificial than the rationalists and, later on, the modernists had thought. The self, formerly considered as unitary and exclusively rational, has come to be perceived as a composite of selves, of which some correspond to different functions of the brain, and others to social norms and expectations. Late modernists claim that the self is changeable, rather than stable and fixed, and is relational rather than isolated from (or unaffected by) context or social relations. Moreover, some late modernists believe that the true nature of the self is mysterious and beyond our capacity to understand, while others claim that there is no such thing as a self: selfhood to them is just a social construction, designed to reinforce group identity (REDMAN 2002, 139-140).

The dualistic character of European thinking also reveals itself in the experience of the sacred, which is clearly separated from the secular. These conceptual boundaries in the European tradition are shown in the practice of religion, which is "rituals performed at appointed times and in designated spaces" (REED 2003, 1). Religion is a distinct area of human consciousness that can have a connection to other areas of life only by means of human acts.

All value judgements aside, it is good to be aware of this dualistic thinking and of the fact that we make these distinctions. Once more we are reminded that the European world view is not the only possible one. To consider this research subject as being a combination of different elements, is contrary to the way other cultures perceive life and the world. As far as African cultures are concerned, they may be said to be

> impregnated with the sense of the religious and the holy, so that in Africa attention to culture and the encounter of the Christian religion with other religions go together. For peoples who like to separate their religion and their common cultural values, this is a reminder that, however legitimate or necessary the distinction, it is not possible to banish the question of the transcendent and of communion with the spiritual world, however it is conceived, from any sphere of life. (Power in KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, foreword x)

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter started with the anthropological claim that Christian worship is a 'symbolic and ritual order', followed by a discussion on the relation between the anthropology and the theology of worship.

I articulated my theological point of departure, which elaborates on the theologians Van der Leeuw, Sample and Kakoma: worship is a sacramental reality, in which the living Christ may be encountered through shapes. It bears an incarnational character insofar as these shapes are a fleshly embodiment of people's faith. I parted with the Dogmatic concept of incarnation as the once-only event of God taking human shape in Jesus Christ: the concept in this study relates to the repeated encounter of the living Christ and the celebrating congregation, who may trust that Christ is present among them in the embodied shapes of worship. The incarnation concept then connects the human body – with and in all its cultural, social, ecological, historical, corporeal and contemporary manifestations, dimensions, forms and aspects – to the sacramental presence of Jesus Christ, the Word, who "was made flesh, and dwelt among us". The cultural-anthropological approach on worship as a symbolic and ritual order, thus shows and describes the shapes in which worship, theologically understood, may become incarnational.

In preparation for Part II of this study, in this chapter I elaborated on the cultural 'encodings' of Surinamese, African and European people. These encodings form part of the

background that determines the incarnational character of the worship in each of the two investigated immigrant churches.

So much for worship, it is time to turn to a second element that determines the research domain of this study: performance. I will discuss the element at some length and relate it to worship.

3 PERFORMANCE

3.1 Introduction

A part of the research question mentions 'the performance of worship'. It is a truism that without performance, there is no worship. But what about this performance character? In this chapter I use the platform of Ritual Studies in search for views on performance in other disciplines. I first take a closer look at the performance of worship (3.2) and compare this to theatre performances (3.3). Next, I focus on one major performance aspect that is also very important in relation to sound, namely: body motion (3.4). As in the preceding chapter, I shall again relate this aspect to European and African cultures (their views on the body are, as will be understood, closely connected to their world views). Unfortunately, literature on Surinamese body motion is not (yet) available. A possible reason for this might be that in Suriname there is a diversity of cultures which have not really mixed: it is likely that each culture has its own body motions. However, it is good to keep in mind that Suriname bears traces of African and European cultures, so part of what is written in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 will apply to the Surinamese context. The chapter will be completed with a short summary and some conclusions (3.5).

3.2 Performing worship

What is 'performance'? Several dictionaries and encyclopaedias contain a variety of descriptions of performance, such as (the execution or accomplishment of) an action, act, deed or operation; an achievement, the carrying out or fulfilment of a command; a ceremony, a rite, a play, a piece of music, etcetera. Indeed the phenomenon 'performance' appears to be a complicated one. In the first volume of an American Series on Performance Studies the editors write (as early as in 1982) in their introduction:

> Performance is no longer easy to define or locate: the concept and structure has spread all over the place. It is ethnic and intercultural, historical and a-historical, aesthetic and ritual, sociological and political. Performance is a mode of behaviour, an approach to experience; it is play, sport, aesthetics, popular entertainments, experimental theatre, and more. (McNamara and Schechner in TURNER 1982, 4)

The author of the first volume in the aforementioned Series, the anthropologist Victor Turner, describes his view on performance, departing from an awareness of the 'theatrical' potential of social life, of 'social drama' as theatre's roots. Although he was educated in studying 'social facts as things', he discovered the value of approaching performance from the concept of experience – an approach that is processual rather than product oriented. For Turner, the anthropology of performance is an essential part of the anthropology of experience. "In a sense, every type of cultural performance, including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry, is explanation and explication of life itself." (TURNER 1982, 13) Through the performance process itself, what is normally sealed up, inaccessible to everyday observation and reasoning, in the depth of sociocultural life, is drawn forth, 'pressed out' or 'squeezed out'. An experience is itself a process that "presses out" to an "expression" which completes that process. By bringing up the etymology of the word 'performance' – a word that has nothing to do with 'form', but derives from Old French *parfournir*, a verb that means 'to complete' or 'to carry out thoroughly' – Turner concludes that performance is the proper finale of an experience. Experience itself is an event with a processual structure, with five connected phases: 1) it has a perceptual core (e.g. pleasure or pain), 2) images of past experiences are evoked with unusual clarity of outline, strength of sense, and energy of projection, 3) feelings originally bound up with past event are fully revived, 4) 'meaning' is

generated by 'feelingly' thinking about the interconnections between past and present events, 5) an experience is never truly completed until it is 'expressed' (TURNER 1982, 13-15). By means of experience, we are living through a sequence of events. "Such an experience is incomplete, though, unless one of its 'moments' is 'performance': an act of creative retrospection in which 'meaning' is ascribed to the events and parts of experience, even if the meaning is that 'there is no meaning'." (TURNER 1982, 18)

The concept of experience, in the sense of 'living through and thinking back', is relevant to worship. Worship can be seen as the finale of the experience that God has done, and continues to do, great deeds in the history of mankind. In theological terms, this remembrance is called *anamnesis*: we present (and by presenting: live through and think back to) God's deeds, with an eye to the future. The anamnesis is an important aspect of worship's ecclesiastical order of rites and symbols. As an aspect of this order, anamnesis occurs through prayer, the reading of the scriptures, the sermon, and – in particular – when Christ is remembered in the Eucharist. This remembrance is irrefutably an act, an execution. Worship thus becomes an act of creative retrospection in which meanings are ascribed to events and deeds; in this way worship obtains a performance character. Without a performance, as an aspect of the experience of God's deeds, there is no anamnesis. It is obvious that worship, described as a 'finale', is always just a temporary, provisional finale, that lasts until the next (earthly or heavenly) celebration.

Now the question might rise how the performance aspect of experience relates to the sacramental character of worship (sacramental, including pneumatological and eschatological aspects). Again, *anamnesis* is the keyword. The (provisional) finale of the experience of God's deeds is performed, as said, *with an eye to the future*. The anamnetic character of worship realizes the presence of Christ, but at the same time keeps the expectation of a future redeeming of a promise alive. This happens in words, in sounds, in the sacramental signs of bread and wine. The performance of worship becomes a 'visibly invisible reality' (and/or an 'audibly inaudible reality'), because in the experience of the remembrance the image of God is recognized. By performance, the presence of Christ becomes 'experience-able' in reality, here an now. Yet this reality also points toward a future completion, there and then.

The similarity between performance 'on stage' and the performance of worship becomes clear when Turner concludes his book with the following quotation of Schechner:

> Performance comprehends the impulse to be serious and to entertain; to collect meanings and to pass the time; to display symbolic behaviour that actualized 'there and then' and to exist only 'here and now'; to be oneself and to play at being others; to be in a trance and to be conscious; to get results and to fool around; to focus the action on and for a select group sharing a hermetic language, and to broadcast to the largest possible audiences of strangers who buy a ticket. (Schechner quoted in TURNER 1982, 122)

There are several analogies between performance 'on stage' and worship. The impulse to be serious and to play is an ambiguity that also characterizes liturgical performance: worship is a play, a holy play though. It is an order in which meanings are collected, ascribed and appropriated. Time is passed, even articulated, but also transcended. The transcendence of the time is inherent to the character of *anamnesis*. As I said, the 'there and then' is actualised in worship, in the 'here and now', in different ways: in either the reading of the scriptures or the celebration of the Eucharist the past is presented, becomes meaningful in the present, and carries promise for the future. The holy play has often aspects of acting as well: all people have a role, although the role of some is closer to their own personalities than the role of others (the person who conducts the service probably has the most remarkable role). To get results and to fool around refers in the case of worship to its meaningfulness and uselessness at the same time. Worship is, as a ritual, a process of ongoing appropriation of

meaning; it is a meaning network that relates to and interferes with other meaning networks. But worship is useless at the same time. It has no function: it is celebrated for no other sake than its own. The polar opposition between the 'in-crowd' and a larger audience of strangers is also demonstrable in worship and relates to the question: what is church? The term 'in-crowd' could refer to the faithful that gather around the Word, the people who together form the church. But mindful of the call to mission, the church has a Word to the world and so the gospel is spread to a larger audience (no ticket required).

Turner finally draws the conclusion that

> when we act in everyday life (…), we act in frames we have wrested from the genres of cultural performance. And when we act on the stage, whatever our stage may be, we must now in this reflexive age of psycho-analysis and semiotics, as never before, bring into the symbolic or fictitious world the urgent problems of our reality. We have to go into the subjunctive world of monsters, demons, and clowns, of cruelty and poetry, in order to make sense of our daily lives, earning our daily bread. (TURNER 1982, 122)

This statement implies that if we do not bring our reality into worship – which I, after all, consider a symbolic order – worship does not make sense. I once more call to mind the remark of Tex Sample, mentioned in the second chapter of this study, stating that whenever worship is experienced as irrelevant (i.e. not related to our daily lives), the problem is that worship is not incarnational.

In line with Turner's thoughts on performance is Schleiermacher's view of worship and the arts. He considers both to be representations of affections. Marcel Barnard – who, in an article on secular and Christian feasts, demonstrates how Schleiermacher's thinking can be useful to the study of worship and the arts – shows the starting point of Schleiermacher's reasoning, namely, the individual subject, constituted in its dependency on God. According to Schleiermacher, worship originates "from human activity in which inwardness enters into an outward manifestation" (BARNARD 2001, 189). "The outward manifestation is only possible by means of art. Worship and feast are always to a greater or lesser degree compositions of artistic elements such as speech, music, singing and decoration. (…) The essence of all arts is its manifestation, just as everything that seeks only to be a manifestation or representation is art." (BARNARD 2001, 190). Relating Schleiermacher's theory to the notion of performance, it becomes clear that the religious feeling of being dependent on God is in fact worthless if it is not expressed/represented/manifested. Performing worship is a form of representative activity. The performance of the ritual is an expression of a (religious) feeling, which comes from a heightening of consciousness that leads to this manifestation. No worship without manifestation, no worship without performance. The expression of artistic and religious feeling forms "a cycle or *order of myths and symbols*." (BARNARD 2001, 189, italics mine).

The notion of performance is also brought up by the Roman-Catholic theologian Edward Schillebeeckx. He comes to speak about the Christian sacraments in terms of ritual, the essence of which is that they present and express Christian faith in the form of a 'performance', based on a scenario or score (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 175). This performance has, as a ritual, in general its own rules and its own logic. At the same time it is controlled and lead by a religious faith, that *in* and *by the performance itself* gets deepened and intensified towards a concrete conveyance of faith. So similar to the way the performance of a musical score can move people and evoke something with the participants, one could speak about the performative 'force' of worship (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 184). Schillebeeckx, like Turner, mentions the original meaning of the word 'performance', that roughly boils down to "to

accomplish something to the end". But he takes it further and draws attention to the fact that nowadays the word 'performance' also indicates some artistic appearance: it is widely used in connection with films, TV, theatres, shows and spectacles. This usage goes back to about 1965, when the word 'performance' began to be used to refer to artistic 'shows' or 'appearances', in all kinds of contexts. Originally, the audience did not take part in the performance, but listened and sat by and watched. When the notion broadened, the meaning of 'performance' was extended to include engagement. It increasingly implied movement and involvement. More than ever, performance now comprises physical expressiveness and/or artistic command of language and musicality, show and 'achievement'. In the terminology of linguistics, performance and 'performativity' have become standard usage. These terms refer to the 'speech-act theory', which means that the act that speech refers to, is performed or executed by speech itself (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 186). Once he has clarified the historical use of the word 'performance', Schillebeeckx explains how he, as a theologian, uses the word in relation to worship. Christian worship is not about *one* performer (the minister), but about a gathered congregation, which – as a whole – is the active subject of the entire performance (although the parts of that performance are distributed among a number of individual participants). The religious ritual, as a performance, has something to do with an artistic, consistent *mise en scène*, that both invites acting and, at the same time, is expression of this acting: worship, gratitude and tribute, brotherly and sisterly love, and contemporary ethos or ethic acting. Sacramental worship is not theatre, not a musical concert, not choreography, not show; but as a performance worship shares in the features common to all of these, which betray their connection (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 186-187). On the basis of the research question of this study, the following questions could rise: how and on which accounts can the sound of worship be described as a *mise en scène*?; how important is the artistic element of sonic acting in worship?; in which way can be understood that liturgical performance differs from theatre performances?; which is the role of engagement in liturgical performance?

Gerard Lukken, who investigated several performance aspects from the viewpoint of semiotics in his essay "What has worship got to do with theatre?" (LUKKEN 1996, 134-166), mentions several similarities between the performance of worship and theatre performances (including concerts, opera, ballet, cabaret, etcetera). I will now discuss two important similarities he examined.

Firstly, both the audience of a play and the churchgoers pass through a narrative program. Several acts frame the main program of attending the performance (the play or the worship service), namely: 1) to go there; 2) to cross the threshold; 3) to enter; 4) to attend the performance; 5) to leave the hall; 6) to go back home. In phase three, the visitors gather and become a collective acting group: the audience or congregation. This group dissolves again in phase six, where they become individual agents again.

Secondly, both worship and theatre work with a script: a book with texts and directions. This script, in worship often called 'order', is performed time and again. Still, each performance is a unique instance, which is never repeated in exactly the same way. In both cases the script is at a later stage (in a greater or lesser degree) adapted into a detailed scenario for the actual performance. Worship is tied to its order, more than theatre is: the repetition aspect of ritual, which thus also characterizes worship, restrains the 'producer' (i.e. the minister) from introducing too many changes. But, in accordance with the cycle of the liturgical year, adaptations in worship are both possible and required.

3.3 Worship and Theatre

As we see, worship and theatre touch on each other, but there are clear differences as well. These differences have resulted from a historical development during which theatre and ritual, although originally a unity, moved into separation, and subsequently moved back to a

state of interweaving, as is clearly described by Gerard Lukken (LUKKEN 2005, 324-331). Thus it becomes clear that there is a connection between worship and theatre, although this connection is complex: solid differences in the performance of worship and performances 'on stage' are not easily determined. Apparently, the differences are differences in degree. I mention a couple of distinctions here.

In the first place, worship is a play that aims at future *realization* (GOVAART & SPEELMAN 2006, 103). It will be remembered that I have described sacramental worship as having an 'eschatological aspect' in Chapter 2. In worship, the eschaton is not entirely realized in the present: worship is a moment that refers to a future realization, which remains a promise. Something of this eventual and future reality is recognized in the present though. Transcendent dimensions envisioned: "one accepts reality, but directs it, and thus penetrates into it, and breaks through it into the transcendent depths as a (to a large extent yet to be revealed) mystery" (LUKKEN 2005, 323). Now, a play in a theatre does not aim at a future realization, on the contrary: a future *unmasking* is expected – in the play, an imaginary world is created, a dream, an illusion. This is what theatre is about: to believe that our own reality is not the only possible reality. Aside from the world we know, other possibilities are explored – but, when the play has ended, the performers step out of their role. They return to everyday reality and so does the audience. The dream, the imaginary world is not our reality. In worship the situation is different: it enacts not a possible world but a coming world, a promised future. Worshippers are not expecting an unmasking as with a play; instead, they (choose to) believe that eventually the realization will come.

Second, a role in a play differs from a role in worship. In a play, a role is adopted by an actor, who, in order to enter into the character, agrees to partially loose himself. In worship, the participant's role is superimposed on the human being that he is (GOVAART & SPEELMAN 2006, 103). Moreover, the role that participants in worship play should not be performed in an expressly theatrical (let alone exhibitionistic) way: a certain reticence is desired, to create an enabling space for participation by all who are present. The pastor stands back, mindful not to let his performance of a religious text interfere with the underlying 'actual' voice and the 'true' discourse he communicates (LUKKEN 1996, 145).

Third, the communication between those who are in attendance varies according to the type of the performance and the relations it implies. In theatre we find actors and spectators, usually opposite to one another. They have different roles. The actors are there to act, the spectators are there to watch, to listen, to laugh, to intervene sometimes, to applaud, etcetera. Both parties perform, each in their own way. Most of the time, there are spatial boundaries between them. If a boundary is transgressed, this is merely a dramatic provocation: the transgression recognizes and even emphasises the boundary (LUKKEN 1996, 139). This is different from worship, in which there is no such distinction between actors and audience. All who are in attendance are acting subjects, there is a collective acting agent who performs on behalf of them. There are less explicit spatial boundaries between the two: there are no footlights, there may be a space between the congregation and the space where the central ritual action takes place, but this is not in order to focus the attention on the actors so that they outshine the worshippers. Indeed, those boundaries may be crossed when appropriate, for example when parishioners come forward to read lessons or to say prayers.

3.4 Body Motion in Worship

In my view on Christian worship as a ritual, one of its characteristics is that it does not exist, except as performance: without action, without actual accomplishment or execution, there is no ritual (and thus no worship). Besides, ritual itself is actually pattern of action. It is in this way that worship and performance are inextricably bound up with each other.

Now, performance always involves movement of the human body (verbal and non-verbal). This means that there is no worship without motion, or, to put it another way: worship is always dependent on performance and therefore on human gestural behaviour, which I consider to be the act of moving the limbs or the body as an expression of thought or emphasis. This gestural behaviour is characteristic of humans: they are after all "acting beings", every human person is "an endless complex of gestures" and humans "assimilate bodily the impact that this universe makes on them, and they display, bodily, adequate responses" (UZUKWU 1997, 2).

In worship, all different kinds of movements are conceivable, from the motion of the vocal cords for speech or song, to motion of the body through playing an instrument, rhythmic handclapping, or swaying and dancing, etcetera. The act of body movement in worship is often, if not always, accompanied by sound. In fact, worship always sounds, no matter how: speech produces sound, as well as singing or the ringing of bells do. Even when worship is performed in silence, there is the sound of taking seats, coughing, maybe sighing. A moment of complete silence can be described as the total absence or articulation of sound. Thus, one could say that sound, performance and worship are inevitably related to each other. The way sound in worship is performed, or rather: the body motion that goes together with sound in worship, depends on the (group) identity of the celebrator(s). This is because, as we shall now see, sound and motions and gestures are bound to an ethnic experience: sound and human gestural behaviour have an ethnic basis, and the social body gives gestures their meaning. Below, I first investigate body motion in African culture and worship (3.4.1). Subsequently, the subject will be mapped in relation to European culture and worship (3.4.2).

3.4.1 Body Motion in African Culture and Worship

Although it is obvious that music and dance are intertwined, I confine this paragraph, for a clear understanding of the matter, to dance, and resume the thread of music in Chapter 4.

The statement that the human body is very important in worship might not seem an obvious truth to Western European worshippers, but it is likely that the African churchgoer will readily subscribe to it.

The crucial concept here is 'rhythm'. Rhythm is supreme and is everywhere. The world moves in various rhythms. Days, months, seasons and years follow one another. Man and woman are born, grow up, age and die. Human beings are carried by the rhythm. They deal with this rhythm according to the social body they are part of. The African way of managing the rhythmical order of the universe and the ambivalence of life can be described as a rhythmic sharing of experience through music and dance. For Africans, music and dance are ways of bodily assimilating the impact that the universe has on them, and they dance, sing and 'music'[17] their responses accordingly. Notably, this applies not only to music professionals or musically talented men and women, but to everyone. Everyone is expected to be minimally competent in music making, particularly in singing and dancing.[18] Thus, all

[17] The term is from Chris Small, who stated in one of his lectures that he has problems with the word 'music', since music isn't a thing but an action. "It ought to be a verb. The verb 'to music'. (…) I have taken the liberty of redefining this verb, which does in fact have an obscure existence in some of the larger English dictionaries, to suit this purpose. I offer it to you now, the verb 'to music', with its present participle 'musicking' as in the title of this talk – the added 'k' is no caprice but has historical antecedents – not as verbal cutesiness but as a genuine tool for the understanding of the act of music and of its function in human life." (SMALL 1995). For further explanation, see Chapter 4.

[18] In many African societies, drumming is the exclusive preserve of male though. It reflects one aspect of the larger societal distribution of power (AGAWU 1995, 91).

Africans try to harmonize – or even reconcile – their lives with the rhythm of the universe. The following quotation is illustrative here:

> In Africa, in particular, it is characteristic to believe that the world is well-created and beats with a certain rhythm. Therefore, humans must synchronize themselves with this rhythm. This is the principle role of dance. One dances in joy as certainly as one dances in pain; one dances love as certainly as one dances anger and hatred. One dances rest and work. All life's elements come from the rhythm and harmony and are to be celebrated in dance. (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 25)

Dancing, as all gestures, can thus be seen as a realization of human creative freedom that integrates the universe into the human condition.

Because it is normal to dance life, it is usual to dance worship, the life in Jesus Christ, as well: it would be very unnatural not to do so. Worship, being life, must be danced, all the more because the body is the *locus* of communion with the divine, since – as I have emphasized before – the material universe is the place into which the divine makes its way. The body is vital and dance is a necessity for prayer, because rhythm forms a basic reference for the understanding and experience of the universe. This has, according to noted liturgist David Power, three implications for the African (thus cultural) worship of God:

> First, revering God requires that the human person have a sense of personal wholeness, without any division in the self between the spirit and the body. Second, it requires respect for the human need to act in accord with the rhythms of nature. Third, it requires harmony and oneness within the community, something that is expressed in the coordinated movements of the dance, danced together rather than alone. (Power in KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, foreword xii)

It would be far from truth to pretend that Africans are the only people who dance their worship. Ritual dance has always existed, not only in Christian worship, also in oriental cults (such as the Cult of Dionysus) and in Judaism. Nevertheless, even though Christians in Europe are attempting to emancipate from the old contempt for and pessimism about the body, and even though liturgical dance is cautiously being revalued, liturgical dance is often considered to be no more that a means to help express and communicate a message to the spectating audience.[19] But this attitude is totally different from the African liturgical motion, for in Africa

> one expresses oneself through dance, but above all, one seeks harmony between one's body and spirit in the liturgical action, harmony between the members and the community at prayer, harmony with the Spirit of God, which makes us pray. (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 25)

3.4.2 Body Motion in European Culture and Worship

I have already indicated that European cultures are characterized by pessimistic ideas about the body and movement. The fact that these ideas have been inculcated time and again, is significant. History has frequently shown that the emphasis on specific thoughts often arises from a resistance to opposite ideas. The negative view of the body is a good example of resistance against a countermovement, which glorifies the body. Both the past and the

[19] Compare, in the preceding paragraph, the last part of the third implication that Power mentions.

present provide examples of adoration of the body, expressed in various ways: from the worship of fertility goddesses to pictures in bus shelters of half naked men, recommending the latest deodorant, and chubby women (a statement in itself!) on billboards, showing knickers and G-strings. Although the negative *reasoning* about the body has been dominant for a long time, these tendencies in *culture* have not and will not let themselves be ruled out by such pessimistic and condemning views.

The roots of the negative view of the body are clear though: Christian theologians and philosophers, who were responsible for the church's 'guidelines' concerning Christian behaviour, were acquainted with and were influenced by Greek and Roman classical philosophies. Body movement, as one of the aspects of behaviour, thus was to be regulated by *modestia*: since God was seen as 'the unmoved mover', godlike immobility was preferred above 'undisciplined body motion'. Motions of hand and face were generally approved, as they were prominent in classical rhetoric. These gestures embodied the Greek-Roman Christian world view, other movements were virtually deemed improper in the church. In time, body and movement became more suspect through the process of inculturation of Christianity in the West.

This is, of course, a most generalizing assumption, that needs added nuance. Obviously, we cannot celebrate worship without the body now, but neither could Christians in the first centuries. Even though Christianity was deeply tuned to the classical world, it was influenced by other practices. The church freely adopted gestures that were used in Judaism and Greco-Roman religions, "without feeling they were betraying their Christian faith" (UZUKWU 1997, 18). These gestures consisted of orientation toward the east, washing of hands before prayer, making the sign of the cross, taking of baths, gestures of blessing, elevation and extension of hands in prayer, patterns of kneeling, kissing, etcetera.

Meanwhile, the European dualistic view of spirit and body has changed, at least in theology, according to the Dutch Roman-Catholic theologian Gerard Lukken. He considers the broad anthropological shift in theology to be the cause of this change. Particularly since the sixties of the last century, there has been an increasing interest in the human being (in all his facets) in Christian worship. Corporeality and its own value are emphasized. The human body – which is the whole body, including all its senses of touch, sight, smell, taste and sound – is considered to be a junction in any ritual, and thus also in worship. I shall explain this.

The Western church tradition has long emphasized people's spiritual participation in worship, to the detriment of the bodily aspects of worship's performance. It is nevertheless by our senses that worship comes to us. Or to put it the other way around: we can only partake in worship with and through our body, just as our body enables us, in general, to live and to organize our lives. So the body is an instrument to participate in worship. Still, this instrumental view of the body is somewhat restricted in scope. There are more qualities to corporeality. The body is also capable to mediate symbolically. Symbolic mediation implies that our body and the things around us can become an expression of a more profound world. They can even realize and perform contact with this world. This does not mean that the body is merely an instrument by means of which we are able to transcend our own powers of perception: the body is the first condition to transcend these powers (LUKKEN 1990, 11). We cannot do without it, but the body also has capacities or qualities to act symbolically instead of only instrumentally. To give an example: we can bend because we want to pick something up (an instrumental act), but our bowing can also be an expression of our respect toward the reality which exceeds us (a symbolic act). When we act symbolically, two things are going on: on the one hand, our symbolic acting is the expression of an other reality and evokes this reality; on the other hand, this deeper reality reveals itself to us in our symbolic acting. There is movement in two directions: from us and toward us. In both cases, this movement always involves the body. These symbolic acts are only

effective when they are full expressions and performances of human corporeality and of the way we bodily deal with life and the things around us (LUKKEN 1990, 13-14).

This explanation touches the sore spot of worship in the European world, which is marked by a change in the way of symbolic acting. I need to elucidate this. As I said above, performance is one of the basic dimensions of ritual. Therefore, worship is dependent on symbolic acting. Inadequate acting or poor performance can ruin a ritual that would otherwise be powerful. Now in the West, there is a tendency to keep distant from ritual (POST 2001, 40): we talk about worship, rather than participate in it, and we prefer to explain ritual, instead of being taken along by the ritual. Rituals are often weakened because we do not surrender to the play. This hesitant attitude toward symbolic acting naturally influences the corporeality of worship. If we are reluctant to participate, we shall not get drawn into worship, nor will our bodies be involved.

This change must be seen in the light of present-day ritual dynamics in the West. In one of his articles, Paul Post explores these dynamics and the way they become evident in the form, content and perception of rites. He points out three signals which indicate the shifts in ritual experience: (1) ritual is hardly being celebrated and performed collectively, but enacted by some and spectated by others; (2) the ritual play is no longer performed according to mythical rules (i.e. open-minded towards all sensory dimensions and without any explanatory comments): there is a lot of explanation, commentary and clarification *about* the ritual during the performance of it; (3) there is a tendency to render an account of the legitimacy of the ritual in the ritual play itself: we hardly know how to deal with the uselessness of ritual (POST 1999, 136).

The European tendency to keep a certain distance from the ritual, might indicate that the worship (the symbolic acts) does not match the way Europeans presently deal (physically) with life and the things around us. Surely the way we experience and know the world, is different from the way our ancestors did. We even differ from our own parents in this respect. The fact that the church did not deal with the changes brought on by our electronic culture is, according to Tex Sample, a basic factor in the lower levels of participation of post-World War II electronic generations.

> We face a time reminiscent of the coming of the printing press and the way in which Martin Luther, for one, addressed its implications and responded to the challenges it represented. We live in a transformation of the culture with implications even more far-reaching for the life of the contemporary church than those of Luther's time. (SAMPLE 1998, 15)

This transformation of the culture consists of relating to the world through images, through sound as beat and through visualisation (SAMPLE 1998, 14). Words are being eradicated, we turn more and more to icons in our communication. Our 'sensorium' (the historical and cultural organization of the senses) is radically being transformed in the electronic culture: "people are being 'wired' differently in the enormous changes brought by new developments in new technology" (SAMPLE 1998, 16). The role of media cannot be underestimated here. They are basically extensions of the human body:

> That is, the wheel extends the foot, the book extends the eye and modern media extend the central nervous system. Further, the speed of electronic communication radically changes our relation to space and time, collapsing them in such ways that we simultaneously experience events around the globe. All of these introduce a larger scale into our lives. (SAMPLE 1998, 17)

The church has, regarding her worship, at least in Europe, hardly engaged in electronic culture so far. Consequently, she has not found the good sense (yet) to relate the gospel to the new culture forming all around us.

Thus, notwithstanding the anthropological shift in theology, the cautious attempts to revalue the role of the body in worship, and the emphasis on the body in our culture, it would seem that the body does not have an undisputed place, neither in European cultures, nor in European worship. Freedom of physical expression is in many churches still more or less restricted to standing, sitting and – in few cases – kneeling. Other kinds of physical activity, like raising hands, clapping or dancing, are often frowned upon (REDMAN 2002, 40). Time will tell if Pentecostal and charismatic churches (among which are many immigrant churches), where fleshly expression of worship seems to be no problem at all and has maybe even gone to excess, have such influence that this bodily stiffness will be overcome. It is unlikely that all Dutch worshippers will go out their heads in their worship services, but a little more movement would not do any harm to the corporeality of their worship.

3.5 Conclusions

I started this chapter with a discussion of the term 'performance'. We have seen that the concept developed from a term which pointed to the 'completion' of an act to a synonym for a complete happening or spectacle, being the proper finale of an experience, an act of creative retrospection in which meaning is ascribed to a sequence of events that is lived through.

Furthermore, we gained an insight into the connection between worship and theatre, and noted differences between the performance of worship and performance 'on stage'. As we have seen, the concept of performance is relevant to worship through the *anamnesis*. In the anamnesis, which features worship's 'ecclesiastical' order, we present (and by presenting in our reality live through and think back to) God's deeds, with an eye to the future. This anamnesis only takes place through an act, through performance. The performance of worship thus has eschatological dimensions: the anamnetic character of worship keeps the expectation of a future redeeming of a promise alive.

Because of the acting character of worship, I have focused on what is probably worship's most significant performance aspect: motion, performed by human beings, who have nothing more and nothing less than their bodies to do so. We have discovered how the body is perceived in African and European cultures, an issue that is closely related to the way life and the world are experienced in these cultures – a way that partly constitutes their fleshly 'encodings'. These encodings take place in the body and are expressed through body motion. Thus one may conclude that the body is of great importance to the way incarnational worship is performed.

Now that I have elaborated on worship and performance, I turn to the last element of the research domain: sound. In the next chapter I will introduce this concept as a broadening of church music, and relate it to both worship and performance.

4 SOUND

4.1 Introduction

Sound – the sensation produced in the ear or other organ of hearing by the vibration of the surrounding air or other medium (BROWN 1993, 2955) – is a very broad concept, that manifests itself in different forms. Worship, as the opening anecdote of this study illustrated, comprises all kinds of sound manifestations (music being one of the most common forms in which humans experience sound), that are linked up with performance and movement. Therefore, considering the broadness of the concept 'sound', a combination of disciplines is again required to investigate this element of the research domain.

This chapter examines the concept 'sound' and the qualities of sound that play a part in the performance of worship. First, I illustrate that the investigation of ritual sound is crucial to this study, and show that music, as one of its manifestations, is inextricably bound up with performance (4.2).[20] Then I map the cultural characteristics of sound and try to gain an insight into Surinamese, West African, African-American and European approaches to sound (4.3). A short summary and some conclusions will close this chapter (4.4).

4.2 Sound instead of Music

The broadening of the traditional view and research on church music that I am seeking in this study, is in line with a broadening that the concept 'music' has seen in various related disciplines, such as the philosophy of music, the psychology of music and musical studies. The influence of late modernity on these fields of study is evident: principles and ideas are moving from unity, sameness and singularity to plurality, difference and diversity. To define the nature of things is thought to be impossible according to the prevailing spirit of the times. Thus, descriptions of music have gone from fixed to open specifications of musical features: pieces of music are considered to have certain qualities. Scholars in these different disciplines have developed a common view of music in so far that they describe music in terms of sound.[21] In particular, they postulate different (kinds of) possible and flexible qualities of sound. As far as the sound of worship is concerned, two things are important:

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[20] The classical 'musical performance', a musicological tern referring to the skills of musicians and their performance professionalism, will be left aside here, for that is a separate issue which does not provide an answer to the main question of this study.

[21] For example, in the philosophy of music, practitioners and theorists have, in recent years, moved away from music as 'tonal organization' towards 'sound organization', from 'sound organization' towards 'noise organization', from 'noise' towards 'temporal' and from 'temporal' towards 'spatial organization' (DAVIES 2001, 621). Thus the flexible qualities of musical features set the scene. The psychological study of music also describes music as 'sound'. This discipline studies individual human musical thought and behaviour, expressed as activities concerning the perception and cognition of music. These activities relate to different qualities of sound, such as sensation; listening; performing; creating; memorizing; analysing; learning and teaching (DEUTSCH 2001, 527). This list can be enlarged though, with qualities such as participation; visualization and affects (feelings, emotions and moods). Musicology has been widening its scope considerably so that it now includes the study of music as sound. It shows "a trend of increasing inclusiveness, perhaps even a kind of gluttony, in which all conceivable sound from the most central (such as Beethoven) to the most peripheral (elevated speech, sounds of whales, birdsong, industrial noise, backgrounds sounds for mass media advertising etcetera) are all appropriate subjects for musicological study" (NETTL 2001, 431). Thus, its objects of study include much more than merely pieces of music. Musicology supplies instruments to examine qualities of sound in worship on the basis of the classical parameters of musical analysis: melody, rhythm, harmony, dynamics, tempo (VERNOOIJ 2002, 101). Enlarging the paradigm of the parameters a little more, other aspects of sound come to mind, such as: instrumentation; acoustics; loudness; timbre; tone movement (ambitus, ascending, descending, undulating movements, stepwise, skips and leaps); pitch; metre; form; silence.

this sound resounds in a ritual context, and it is performed. Both aspects will now be elaborated on.

4.2.1 Ritual Sound

A huge amount of literature has been published on 'liturgical music' and 'church music', mostly originating from the disciplines of musical history and church history, that discusses ritual music in church during various historical periods. Unfortunately, this literature does not really provide an answer to the question which anthropological and theological aspects determine the meanings of sound in the performance of worship here and now. More helpful are questions that are asked in Ritual Studies. Ronald Grimes, one of the leading academics in the area of Ritual Studies, has made a 'checklist' of questions regarding the sound and language of ritual that is most relevant to the present study. I quote part of it here, because it affords a broad insight into what is at stake in the sound of ritual. In addition, it makes clear that although all music is sound, not all sound is music, because sound also comprises unorganised 'noise'.

> Does the ritual employ non-linguistic sounds such as animal sounds, shouting, or moaning? (…) How are instrumental and vocal sounds related – chorally, in unison, antiphonally? What musical sounds and instruments predominate? How would you characterize their style? Are there discernible connections between rhythmic or musical patterns and social circumstances? Are any elements of the vocal or instrumental sounds archaic or imitative? What moods do the sounds most often evoke? What moods are avoided? (…) What is the role of silence in the ritual? Are musicians sacred personages or only assistants? (…) Do the people consider it important to talk about the ritual, to talk during the ritual? (…) How important is language to the performance of the rite? (…) In what tones of voice do people speak? Do participants sing or chant things they never would say? At what points do words and actions seem in tension with one another, in harmony? (…) Do people use books during the ritual? How much of the language is spontaneous, how much planned? What stories are told either verbally or gesturally in the ritual? (GRIMES 1982, 26-27)

Grimes' line of approach helps to think of sound as an alternative concept for music, because it takes the broad sonic spectrum of ritual into account. Many of these questions proved to be useful to the empirical research on the sound of worship.

4.2.2 Sound as Performance

As I indicated in Section 3.4, I consider worship a ritual that requires performance: without action, there is no worship. And in similar terms, one may say about sound: it does not occur without performance, without an accomplishment or execution. Sound is made through the acting of a human being, either because he or she is playing an instrument, is using his or her voice, or is clapping hands or stamping feet, etcetera. Even if sound is reproduced sound coming from loudspeakers so that the person(s) performing the sound cannot be seen, we will still be hearing the sound as if it were *being made*, because we are imagining the acoustical source (NIEUWKERK 2005, 48).[22] We picture a musician, for instance, as if he or she were there: an acting human being, with whose gestures we may even identify ourselves. (Imagine yourself playing along with the music using an imaginary (air) guitar or drums).

[22] Van Nieuwkerk calls this with a Dutch word 'hoorspelfictie', which refers to the fiction of radio play.

As has been mentioned before, I take music as one of the manifestations of sound. Music thus partakes of the performance character that is associated with sound. In this context, I will discuss the view of Christopher Small, former senior lecturer at the Ealing College of Higher Education in London, and music expert, who takes a very keen interest in the performance character of music. Over the years he has come to believe that it would be better not to speak about music as an object. He emphasizes that music is inextricably bound up with performance: music is not a thing, it is an action. Thus, we should not use a noun to refer to it, but a verb: 'to music'. However, Small uses this verb not merely to express the idea of performing ("we already have verbs for that"), but "to express the idea of taking part in a musical performance" (SMALL 1995). Small came to this viewpoint through many years of questioning the nature of music and its function in daily life. He read Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer and Adorno, Lukacs and Langer and Meyer, but could, in their aesthetics of music, not find satisfying answers to his questions, for three main reasons. In the first place, their theories are quite abstract and complicated. He could not believe that so universal and so concrete a human activity as music should require such complicated and abstract explanations, so remote from his own musical experience, as performer, listener, composer, and teacher. In the second place, these philosophers dealt more or less exclusively with music that comes from a western 'high-art' tradition. They all accept the presuppositions of this tradition as they are, without reservation. Thus, their theories are only relevant within context, i.e. the culture of western art music. In the third place, Small makes objection to their use of the word 'music', because

> one moment it is treated as if the art itself were a thing, with powers of growth and development and action, and then, suddenly, by a stealthy process of elision, the 'thing' becomes equated with those works of music which are the pride and the glory of western tradition. And then the assumption is quietly made that it is in those works, those music objects, that the nature and the meaning of music reside. (SMALL 1995)

In this kind of literature, the performers of music, though active members of the composer-performer-listener triad, are hardly ever mentioned: they are often represented as no more than a medium through which the work has to pass in order to reach its goal, the listener. The truth is, no music – whether live or reproduced – exists outside performance. All people make music, "in bathrooms and at political rallies, in supermarkets and churches, (…) discos and palaces, stadiums and elevators: it is performance that is central to the experience of music." (SMALL 1995). One must not think that a musical *work* is needed: to many of the great musical cultures in the world this is an alien concept. The fundament of music thus does not lie in the musical object, Small claims, but in the act. Nor is the presence of a listener (other than the performer him-/herself) required: there being no listener does not prevent music from being made. Given the prerequisite that there needs to be someone performing – and this is of crucial importance to the present study – the point of departure for thoughts on the meaning of music lies not with musical works, but with performing. It is for this reason that Small introduces the verb 'to music' (present participle: 'musicking') as a serious tool for the understanding of the act of music and its function in human life. 'To music' is

> to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance. That means not only to perform, but also to listen, to provide material for a performance – what we call composing – to prepare for a performance – what we call practicing or rehearsing – or any other activity which can affect the nature of the human encounter. (SMALL 1995)

Small's perception of 'musicking' perfectly fits in with a conception wherein worship, performance and sound are inextricably related to each other: they are all based on action

and movement, with everyone participating in his own way, while the participants' roles differ only in degree. Thus, Small's 'musicking' illustrates a broader view of music as sound. It emphasizes the performance character wherein sounds matter more than music, or the musical 'work'.

4.3 Cultural characteristics

Chapter 1 was introduced with a true story about a specific worship that, in my opinion, sounded bad. Although I disliked the sound and although it made me feel miserable, I was nevertheless able to understand it, or at least, to see it in perspective. I knew the Western European culture from which the music stemmed, I was familiar with the use of the organ as accompaniment to the singing of the congregation and I had a nodding acquaintance with the underlying theology that determined the minister's elevated and aggressive tone of speech during the sermon. I am, however, sure that a Ghanaian woman would have understood less of this sound of worship (and not only because she would not comprehend Dutch). The melodic structure of the music, the harmonization used by the organist, the fact that the church members sang a-rhythmically and with damped tone of voice, but particularly the fact that they did not clap or stamp or even rose from their seats, might have surprised her.

It is obvious that sound is culturally influenced. By way of introduction to Part II of this study, a closer look will now be taken at Surinamese (4.3.1), West African (4.3.2), African-American (4.3.3) and European (4.3.4) approaches to sound. I will focus on both the place of sound in these cultures (and in their worship) and on some specific aspects of sound that are important in the respective cultures. In this section, the term 'music', instead of sound, occurs frequently because it is frequent in the quotations from musical research.

4.3.1 Surinamese Approach to Sound

This subsection first discusses the background of Surinamese sound, and then elaborates on some sound features of Surinamese music. As has been indicated in Chapter 2, Surinamese culture is a patchwork of multicoloured cultural influences. Because of these cultural extremes – which, as will be understood, also influence sound in Suriname – the organization of this subsection is somewhat different from the subsections following. I shall not attempt to capture the perception of sound in Surinamese culture using a blanket definition, but instead will order the information on the basis of the main cultural influences and the development of hybrid forms of popular music in the country.[23]

NATIVE AMERICAN INFLUENCES

Arawak- and Carib-speaking natives inhabit the interior forests of Suriname. Their cultures as well as their music have been influenced by missionization, which has led to acculturated and syncretic musical forms of expression. Nevertheless, some elements of their native cultural and musical heritage have survived. The major forest people are the Akumo, Tirió and Wayana (OLSEN 1998, 503). The Tirió people originally adhered to traditional Shamanism, and – although Western and European folk song are also heard – some shamans are still keeping to their traditional songs for curing. These songs are accompanied by traditional dances and are being preserved insofar as they are passed on to apprentice shamans.

[23] The work of Olsen (1998) provides the foundation for this section. However, his contribution is one of the few articles available on Surinamese music in general. The majority of publications focuses on particular genres and styles of music in Suriname (possibly because of the heterogeneity of music cultures in this country).

African Influences

The Maroons – descendents of runaway slaves who were imported from West Africa, particularly from Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) – may, in terms of cultural identity, be said to be the most African among South American people. Their three main cultural groups are: the Saramaca, Djuka and Boni. These Maroon cultures have preserved many African beliefs, such as a supreme being presiding over many lesser gods or spirits. These all have their particular food, colours, taboos, rituals, songs, drum rhythms and dances (Olsen 1998, 504). The musical instruments they use for ritual performance are rattles (made of calabashes and seed pods), drums, *felu-ko-felu* (two pieces of iron hit together) and *kwakwa* (a wooden stool beaten with two sticks) to provide a steady pulse for music. Several kinds of single-headed open-ended drums, and the two-headed talking drum, are powerful ritual Maroon instruments, played by male players. Women may clap to accompany singing and dancing. Many aspects of Maroon ritual life are related to African (especially Ghanaian) counterparts (Olsen 1998, 505). In addition to religious music, secular music also has a place in Maroon culture.

Indonesian Influences

At the end of the 19th century, Dutch people in Suriname imported many Javanese from the Dutch East-Indies (present-day Indonesia), to work as labourers. The descendents of these Javanese, who still live in Suriname, incidentally perform gamelan music (the major Javanese musical expression), either played for its own purpose, or to accompany Javanese shadow-puppet (*wayang*) plays. Their religious background bears traces of both Islam and the worship of spirits, the rituals of which involve singing and musical performance. The ritual drum *bedug*, is mostly used by the Islamic population for the daily call to prayer – its beat being a signal that is recognized by the community (Olsen 1998, 507).

Urban Creole music

Suriname bears several genres of popular music – flourishing in particular along the Atlantic seaboard – that have Maroon musical features. *Kawina*, *kaseko* and *aleke* are the main ones.

Kawina is the oldest genre. It dates back to the late 19th century, when it comprised a musical mixture of Creole, Maroon, Afro-Surinamese and European traits. In the course of time, the European instruments (accordions and clarinets) were discarded in favour of percussion instruments. *Kawina* may be religious or secular. Religious *kawina* is used in Winti religion, whereas secular *kawina* accompanies social dancing and singing.

Kaseko is a more contemporary musical genre. It is an amalgam of Caribbean and African styles, mixing Carribean calypso, reggae, and *zouk* with West African *soukous* and Surinamese Maroon Djuka drumming. Musical instruments used are trumpets, saxophones, keyboard, electric guitars, electric bass and percussion. It is highly danceable music, in which "the melodic instruments play extended ostinatos and jazz-inspired solos, whereas the percussion features steady rhythms, interspersed with syncopated accents" (Olsen 1998, 508-509).

Aleke – a hybrid genre, combining the traditional and the popular – is, in contrast to both preceding genres, heavily percussive: a battery of three *aleke* drums is used, together with a horizontally placed bass drum and a high-hat cymbal. It only emerged a few decades ago and has become the most popular Maroon music among the young, in particular because is also a vocal music that aims at communicating a clear message. Its lyrics often bring up modern and controversial themes in Maroon social life: tradition versus modernity; continuity versus change; young versus old; inside versus outside, etcetera. "Because of its ability to mediate and bridge these oppositions, aleke has been particularly sensitive to shifts in social boundaries and has often served as a vehicle for the expression of new forms of identity." (Bilby 2001, 31).

4.3.2 West African Approach to Sound

In this subsection, I will first elucidate the concept of sound in West African culture. As we shall see, holism is one of the kernel features of West African sound. Other important characteristics are sound's meditating potential and the community aspect of sound. Subsequently, I briefly discuss some important West African sound aspects.

SOUND IN WEST AFRICAN CULTURE

The first characteristic of the way Africans 'deal' with sound in their culture, is related to their world view. The West African holistic experience of the *world* and of *life* in general, is mirrored by a holistic experience of *music*. It is a tightly wrapped bundle that links sound to dance, instrumental playing and narration. As we have seen in the section on body motion in African culture and worship (3.4.1), Africans dance as a response to what happens in their lives: they dance in joy as well as in pain, they dance love as certainly as anger and hatred. Their music making is likewise a response to life. A blacksmith and ritual practitioner once said: "If you cry, then you must make music. Otherwise your heart will not be contented. If you are happy, you must perform. Otherwise your heart will not be contented." It is important to be aware that music and dance are not separate things. Music and dance are so closely intertwined, that it is difficult to separate song from movement or playing the drum from speech. In fact, none of the West African languages has an exact equivalent for the Western concept of 'music'. Rather, the African vocabulary refers to specific sound-related action, such as drumming, singing or dancing. The African term for performance is a broad one, that may encompass song as well as dance, oration as well as instrumental playing. Thus, West Africans are, in their conceptualization, quite unfamiliar with the Western isolational view of music as solely sound. To them, an entire spectrum is involved.

The holistic view of sound also extends to the different possible musical idioms. The distinctions that Westerners make between 'folk', 'popular', 'religious' and 'art' music, have no significance in West Africa. Fusions of different elements are common, whether they come about through a combination of styles (indigenous African music combined with world beat, for example) or of instruments or techniques. As a result, one sometimes sees "local West-African music blended with high-tech Euro-American popular music" (STONE 2005, 17).

As has been mentioned in Section 2.3.2, Africans are unfamiliar to the duality of the 'sacred' and the 'secular': life and the spiritual world are inextricably bound together. It is thus easy to understand that popular and religious music have a fluid boundary and that there is no division between sacred and secular sound. To West Africans, sound is inherently spiritual, the sacred is inherently sonic: both sound and the divine permeate every imaginable part of life. A classification based on the sacred and secular in music is useless, because the power of music lies in its aspect of giving meaning.

A second feature of West African sound is its significant *mediating role*. As I have mentioned, Africans sing and 'music' their responses to life. "Sound (of speech, prayer or incantation, of song and music, and especially of the talking drum) is an important vehicle or symbol of rhythmic mediation in this complex universe." (UZUKWU 1997, 11). Thus, one could say that sound is one of the African responses to the impact of life. This statement is underlined by Samuel Floyd, when he says:

> The aim of African music has always been to translate the experiences of life and of the spiritual world into sound, enhancing and celebrating life through cradle songs, songs of reflection, historical songs, fertility songs, songs about death and mourning and other song varieties. (Floyd, quoted in REED 2003, 5)

It is for this reason that Teresa Reed, associate professor of music in the United States, who spent her childhood surrounded by the music of the black Pentecostal Church, labels traditional (West) African music as functional: "[it] is used to facilitate and intensify life experiences. Its purpose is either to help things happen or to make things happen." (REED 2003, 4). Henry Weman, a Swedish cathedral organist and missionary in the African continent († 1992), also considered African sound to be functional, because it is part of everyday life: people sing whenever the occasion calls for it. "Music mirrors the soul of the African, and is an essential part of his inmost being; it has the power to liberate, and it is in the music and in the dance that the African can best be himself." (WEMAN 1960, 20). Although it is somewhat risky to use the term functionality in connection with the mapping of ritual dimensions (which I consider music to have), the authors mentioned rightly indicate that music is closely associated with attributing and appropriating meanings. Or to put it the other way around: in the appropriation of meanings, music is always involved. These mediating qualities of music elucidate its significant importance and crucial role. A Liberian proverb is illustrative here: "If you build a town and there is no drummer in it, then it is not a town. If you build a town and there is no singer in it, then it is not a town." (STONE 2005, 4). Such a saying highlights the central place of sound in the lives of West Africans. Sound performance is as important and as normal as walking, talking, eating and sleeping.

The third quality of sound in West Africa is again a feature that extends to life in general: it is a *social happening*. Making music together – especially in its most natural way: by the use of the voice – creates a bond of fellowship between people (the more so when they are members of the same tribe). From this social aspect, it follows that one does not make music on one's own. In West Africa, music is the concern of everyone. Performance of sound in the sense of playing music *for* someone, is very uncommon: it is hardly possible to distinguish performers and audience. Africans play music *with* someone; music is hardly ever performed alone. All take part in what is going on, there are seldom passive listeners. If someone starts singing a song, the others join in, and start dancing and handclapping. It is a way of recreation and diversion, but also a way of sharing joy, sorrow and pain. African music and dance, like African society, is a collective experience, and as such it is an important force that connects people.

Again, I would emphasize, that sound and dance are not a dual but a single experience. Singing and dancing, for example, is performed by the same people. This is not to say that all singers are also great dancers and vice-versa, but you can not do one without some basic skill at the other. Thus, and this underlines the social or collective dimension of sound, it is usual to see dancers and singers exchanging advice and correcting each other. Performers need one another: if the singer does not sing well, the dancer cannot dance well, and once the enthusiasm is gone, the performance will be dull and dead. Besides, the social aspect of sound intensifies the feeling of authenticity and strengthens the (group) identity.

One cannot discuss sound in West African cultures without mentioning an important group of persons, called the 'griots'[24] (to be pronounced: gree-ohs, from the French word *guiriot* or the Portuguese *criado*, meaning 'servant').[25] A griot is a poet and wandering musician-entertainer of West Africa whose performances include tribal histories and genealogies. Griots are members of a hereditary professional caste of praise singers, historians, musicians and orators. In old days griots were court musicians who sang praise of their renowned leaders, meanwhile telling the story of the region. Presently, they sing the history of tribes and families at a variety of social and religious occasions. Thus, griots (and griottes) are

[24] This paragraph on 'griots' is based on http://www.geocities.com/jbenhill/griots.html.
[25] Different African languages use different names: a griot can also be called a *jeli*, *jali*, *géwal*, *gawlo* or *igiiw*.

actually repositories of oral traditions. Their main task is to preserve history and to praise the deeds of their patrons. Doing so, they perform in many different ways: they sing, speak publicly, play instruments, recite history, tell stories, pose riddles for the audience to solve, do acrobatics and entertain. In pre-colonial times, traditional griots were, even more then today, responsible for the transmission of messages, by words or through communicative drum beats on an instrument with the revealing name 'talking drum'. But with the arrival of colonialism and urbanization, most of the contexts in which griots performed faded away. Many people, belonging to the griot-caste do not perform any of their art practices any longer. Nevertheless there are people who have tried to transform or modify the content of griot performing art, in order to make it survive in new contexts. Griots are more often active in popular music nowadays, where they dominate. Over two thirds of popular instrumentalists today are griots, while over 90% of popular singers are griots.

West African Sound Aspects

Many books have been written on African music and its characteristics. In the present study, it would be impossible to discuss all aspects of sound on the West African continent and do justice to the full complexity of the matter. Instead, I will confine myself to mentioning some of the characteristics that, from a Western perspective, are salient.

Song and Musical Instruments

When one mentions the words 'African music', many people will first and foremost think of drums. This popular image, with its emphasis on African drumming and the accompanying complex rhythms does not concur with the findings of the specialists, who say that it is actually song that lies at the heart of African musical expression. There is a dissonance – to use a quite western concept – here. Scholars say that pride of place should be given to song and performed speech, because African music is rooted in and derived from language. Kofi Agawu, professor of music at Princeton University, even states that rhythm is perhaps the most sensationalized parameter in African music (Agawu 2003, xix-xx).[26] African sound should rather be understood as spoken language, in particular as regards its tonal and rhythmic contours and its metalinguistic function. In his study among the Northern Ewe people of Ghana, Agawu says:

> In the beginning was the word. Or so it appears in Northern Ewe culture. In city as well as village life, the verbal arts play a central part not only in situations of formal artistic expression but also in ordinary, everyday communication. (Agawu 1995, 31)

The fact that rhythmic activity is considered the primary attribute of musical performance in (Sub-Saharan) Africa, does therefore not primarily point to rhythm performed by musical instruments, but rather to the rhythm of language. Song, after all, "consists of a fusion or

[26] This claim is one of the milder remarks Agawu makes in his book *Representing African Music* (2003). The entire publication is a critique of discourse about African music, in which the author indicates a disjunction between the practice of African music and its scholarly representation. He claims, for instance, that many representations of African sound aspects are based on myths, imaginings and constructions, and he accuses Western ethnomusicologists of misunderstanding and misrepresenting African rhythms (Agawu 2003, 95). Although he might be justified in criticising such discourse, his publication has a querulous and sometimes aggressive tone that detracts from its value. It was received critically: several reviewers have observed that the book contains valuable remarks, but that "it is an unpleasant read, fraught with gratuitous nastiness directed at real and imaginary colleagues, and troubled by contradictory statements and flippant assertions. It is burdened with double negatives, ambiguously shifting subject positions, and speculations." (Meintjes 2006, 769; also see Shain 2004). Although controversial, this is one of the few contemporary texts that question the nature of the discourse on this subject. I use some of the information it offers in so far as it seems valid, but have decided not to take it as a starting point for my account of African music.

integration or amalgamation of words, or 'language' or 'text'." (AGAWU 1995, 2). So pure instrumental music is uncommon in African sound performance: accompanied song is the most prevalent music genre. However, although African music is rooted in language, Africans do not only speak by words: they also speak by rhythm. They talk with their drums (remember the instrument called 'talking drum'), reproducing rhythmic and tonal patterns of spoken language on their drums. I can best illustrate this by means of a story told by John Chernoff, specialist in African drumming, who once was practicing with a Ghanaian boy. "I was following him well until he suddenly performed a rather complicated series of rhythms and then went back to the basic rhythm he was showing me. A few minutes later a man who had passed at that moment returned with two bottles of beer." (CHERNOFF 1979, 75). Apparently, the boy used the drums to tell the passer-by that he was thirsty, or to ask him for some beer.

West Africans use their *voice* not only to lead (by singing a song with words), but also to accompany, either by vocalising, or by 'voice masking'. In vocalising, the voice is used to produce vocables (words used without meaning) or linguistically meaningless syllables in order to accompany a melody. These vocables and syllables often function as memory aids; they are called 'mnemonic syllables' when they help to remember a rhythmic pattern. In the practice of 'voice masking', the voice is modified to produce deep chest growls, shrieks, false bass tones, buzzing timbres and other effects, or to imitate sounds, either of nature, such as bird calls or mating calls of animals, or of musical instruments. Voice masking is often achieved by singing or talking through a musical instrument, which is then used principally as a megaphone, leaving the identity of the person who masks the voice unrecognizable (KEBEDE 1995, 5).

Important though the voice may be, the inhabitants of West Africa play a range of indigenous and imported instruments. They play lutes, harp lutes, zithers, rattles, plucked lamellophones (thumb piano's) and struck instruments of many forms. Africans know a very large variety of drums. They can be single or double headed and be played with the hands or with sticks. One finds goblet drums, square drums, cylindrical, conical and hexagonal drums as well as drums that have the form of an hourglass. Beside the drums, electric guitars and synthesizers are – due to the ongoing process of globalization – increasingly becoming part of musical ensembles. It is interesting to see that West Africans relate to their instruments in a way that is rather uncommon to Europeans. Africans consider their instruments to be more than material objects; they are often seen as quasi-human, as the instruments take on human features:

> These instruments, usually played by master musicians, may be given personal names, kept in special houses and 'fed' sacrificial food. In West Africa, people classify musical instruments according to their own (local) categories. These categories can differ enormously: instruments are labelled according to the way they produce sound (compare our aerophones and membranophones, for example) or according to their male or female attributes which are emphasized. But many people label individual instruments with social predicates, such as queen, chief, mother or child. (STONE 2005, 19-20)

Song Themes

Music is part of African everyday life. That is why there are lots of different song themes. Work with continually repeated rhythmical movements is easily accompanied by a work song. Africans readily sing while chopping or sawing wood, or while sowing and harvesting. Other song themes are, for instance: enthusiasm songs, which consist of cheers and exhortations to enliven a performance; personal growth songs, that guide individual development; ethical conduct songs, which are often repeated social lessons; morale and

self-esteem songs, to find dignity when adversity is being faced; children's counting songs; leadership or role-model songs, which praise great leaders of present and past; mourning songs, that are commissioned for the funerals of important individuals; political action songs, that incite armies that gather people to fight injustice; songs of religious instruction, which contain rules for various ritual situations (GORLIN 2000, 20-21). One might think that Africans only sing songs with a positive message. This is certainly not the case: there are insult songs and bawdy songs as well, the texts of which are sometimes quite plain.

Improvisation

I will now briefly discuss the phenomenon of improvisation. This is a widespread and richly developed feature of African music. While the performance of music in the Western (classical) tradition often depends on written or printed texts and scores – that are thoroughly rehearsed – Africans improvise their music. This does not imply a random or 'free' playing, in the sense of a total on-the-spot invention; it means that African music performers are free to invent anew when it is appropriate. Christopher Small illustrates this on the basis of the West African drum ensemble leader, or master drummer:

> [he] has spent his apprentice years playing the supporting drum rhythms, and his performance consists of improvised variations on those rhythms, simple at first and then with increasing complexity, in such a way as to make the development of each out of its predecessor clear and audible to all. (SMALL 1998, 293-294)

The master drummer's art is to give form and organization to what already exists, more than to invent new rhythms. Improvisation in African music is not intended to draw attention – that would be un-African: it would mean that one person takes the spotlight, and this would conflict with the communal character of African 'musicking'. Every musician regards himself as responsible for the social progress of the event. Improvisation is thus not only a response to the 'inner necessities' of the sound world the musician is creating, but also a response to the dynamics that surround him. As Small says: "It is his task to create not just a single set of sound perspectives which are to be contemplated and enjoyed by listeners, but a multiplicity of opportunities for participation along a number of different perspectives." (SMALL 1998, 295).[27] (This social purpose in the performance of music is absent in Western classical music.) By improvising, African musicians keep possibilities open and modify the performance as it goes along. This enables them to pick up the sense of an occasion, bring it into focus in the performance and enhance it for the greater social and spiritual benefit of all. This African aspect has been passed on to African-American musicians, and is clearly recognizable in a style like the blues.

Rhythm and beat

The European time-scheme, which is based on a *quantitative system* of note values, might leave Africans unmoved: their own rhythms are vital for their indigenous sound. The African approach to rhythm is best explained by referring to the above-mentioned vocables and syllables. These vocables or syllables are spoken in *qualitative relationship* to each other. This 'system' is thus not based on meters but on different sound patterns, which are characterised by different internal relationships of their units. These rhythms are not only cognitively, but also bodily remembered, because they go together with a particular dancing pattern.

West African indigenous music is well known for its polyrhythmic, multilayered sounds. There is, however, an underlying sound pattern, which fits in with the other patterns that are

[27] Compare Agawu's description of African music, which is "best understood as a potentiality" (AGAWU 2003, xiv).

being played simultaneously. This 'structural core', 'timeline', 'time keeper' or 'beat' functions as a link between the various patterns, which thereby often seem to be performed independently but each in their own way relate to this beat. Thus, it functions as a reference point for singers, players and dancers to synchronize their sounds and movements. The timeline is often played on a double bell or just on a shaped piece of iron or even on beer bottles that are struck with the back end of a pen knife. The pattern becomes recognizable through the timbre of the distinctive and penetrating metal sound (STONE 2005, 83). The vocal soloist and the master drummer are the ones who, by improvisation, constantly vary their parts, while the other performers carefully craft a steady structure of sounds.

Timbre

The emphasis on African rhythm in research has somewhat overshadowed the importance of timbre. Still, according to the ethnomusicologist James Koetting "the importance of sonority cannot be overemphasized" (quoted in STONE 2005, 47). Just as a drummer needs to learn rhythmic patterns, he needs to learn patterns of timbre. Timbre is important to understanding rhythmic patterns; a pattern of timbres can help learning rhythms. So there clearly is an internal connection between rhythm and timbre.

Different tone colours are produced in different ways. In speech, tone colours exist because words and syllables of words are pronounced on different pitch levels, such as low, medium and high. Glides are sometimes made in correspondence with the meaning of the words (structural glides), but they may also depend on the mood or circumstance of the speaker (non-structural glides). Another way of producing different tone colours with the human voice is voice masking (AGAWU 1995, 38).

Musical instruments produce different timbres in different ways. The voice of the drum begets various timbres, depending on where the drummer places his hands, depending on which part of his hands he uses to strike the skin of the drum, depending on whether he cups his hands or not. These different sounds can be enriched by other layers of timbres, for instance, by combining a pattern of drum timbres with the jingling of bells. Within this jingling of bells, one can also develop a sound pattern. Similarly, on all kinds of instruments subtle manipulations can make a nuanced change to the sound. By varying the tones, adding lower or higher layers of tone colour and adjusting them, a multilayered sound is developed. This shading of sounds and the performance of various colours of tones enrich African music in their own way.

Call and Response Form

In connection with what I said above about the community aspect of singing and dancing, of society actually, I should mention here a well known form of West African music making and dancing: the call and response or responsorial form. West African societies are steeped in the consciousness that everything requires cooperation to succeed, and this also applies to music making. This means that when a song leader, a master drummer or a band leader makes a call or a gesture, the others immediately respond with a new chorus, drum pattern or dance movement. It is a way of structuring performance that Africans find aesthetically pleasing. In popular music, part-counterpart has less importance. This is because this style of music is influenced by Western popular music, where a 'star performer' is in the centre of interest. (Note that this corresponds with the globalization I have mentioned in the first chapter of this study.)

The responsorial form shows a variety of possibilities. It is used in both vocal and instrumental music. Each instrument may have its own role. Sometimes one instrument is played by two players, sitting opposite one another at the same instrument: the first player starts playing the leading part, then the other starts interweaving a second part. It is also possible that one person plays a responsorial form on his own. Ruth Stone distinguishes two types of call and response: an *overlapping* and a *non-overlapping* type. An overlapping call and

response occurs in musical dramatic folktales. The non-overlapping type is for example used in work songs, such as a rice planting song. The rhythm of the work (consisting of hoeing and preparing the soil) is the same for both soloist and chorus. Physical work was energized by song as much as song was energized by work. In the above example, the time intervals between the soloist's call and the chorus' response were fixed, but these intervals can also be non-fixed. In that case, the phrases are of variable length and the soloist alerts the chorus by a descending melodic line or the injecting of syllables like "ee" or "oo". (STONE 2005, 67).

Ashenafi Kebede adds another distinction with regard to the responsorial style. The plainest kind of responsorial singing is the *simple response* or *imitational response*. It is performed by two singers (or a single leader and a group response). The second (group of) performer(s) directly imitates or duplicates the part of the first performer. Another form of call and response is *antiphonal*, a term which points to a chorus-chorus alternation: two groups perform independent (and often overlapping) parts and thus answer each other, while each chorus sings polyphonically (KEBEDE 1989, 7).

The Influence of Globalization

As will be understood, the African continent has been influenced by an explosion of technological developments, as have other parts of the world. The extent of aural and visual contact has been intensified at both national (interethnic) and international levels. Mass communication that went hand in hand with these technological developments, made a significant contribution to this change. People from different cultures have been enabled to listen to each other and exchange sound and pictures, ideas and creativity, through a global dissemination of information. It is clear that these developments have changed all cultures.

These developments in the field of communications media were key in speeding up the process of music change. On the African continent, users of short wave radios (who mostly live in the cities) are familiar with the European BBC and other international radio stations. According to Kebede, the popularity of radio in Africa has caused a marked decline in music making, threatening the very existence of the traditional forms of music (compare what I said above, about the changing role of griots):

> The audience for Western popular music has increased dramatically. In most of Africa where the music of oral tradition is closely linked to dance, drama, poetry and other subtle symbolic attributes, culture can be preserved and promoted only through active performance and audience participation, definitely not by passively listening to radios. Programs are produced according to consumers' demand; audiences often prefer American pop, disco or urban music. (KEBEDE 1995, 110)

In contrast to this somewhat negative view, Ruth Stone discovered African performers who tried to integrate different styles (STONE 2005, 30-35). They had an eclectic style, borrowing sounds from other African countries, wearing African haircuts and bell-bottom trousers at the same time (this was in the nineteen seventies). They implemented the very Western idea of a star singer – a prominent soloist – into their own performance and combined it with elements from indigenous musical practices. So the question is whether the globalization should be considered a threat or an enrichment.

4.3.3 African-American Approach to Sound

This part focuses on the concept of sound in African-American culture and worship. As we shall see, African-American sound is of great importance to this research in several ways. In the first place, the African-American 'beat' has conquered the world: a lot of current popular music originates from the blues, that has its roots in the music of African-American people (such as spirituals, gospel, work songs, etcetera). In the second place, the African-American

sound is important because Amsterdam Southeast bears lots of evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic immigrant churches. The spirituals and gospels of such churches can be heard throughout the whole world, and are increasingly popular and influential. In the third place, African-American sound is important in relation to the Surinamese immigrant congregation described in Part II of this study, since a part of the inhabitants of Suriname has African forebears.

In this section, I will first discuss the background of African-American sound. As we shall see, it is deeply rooted in West African sound. Blues originated from there and developed into an independent genre. I will also be looking at the 'Praise and Worship Movement', which evolved from African-American Churches. Then, I will further discuss some of the sound features of African-American music.

Sound in African-American Culture and Worship

The roots of African-American sound are principally (West) African. Enslaved inhabitants of West and Central Africa were transported to the Americas and the Caribbean by traders on the Trans-Atlantic slave route between circa 1600 and 1807 – the year in which the slave trade was abolished in the United Kingdom, and the United States. These slaves – whose descendants are now called African-Americans – had their origin in various ethnic groups of Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon and Western Congo. Their ability to endure, and their spiritual strength, enabled Africans to survive in slavery. Music was of great importance here: they preserved the music and the musical values they had brought with them, notwithstanding the involuntary departure from their homelands and the inhumane treatment they received from the slave traders and owners (Stone 2005, 21). Although slavery had torn them away from their material culture and their social and political institutions, their music, dance, oral poetry, folk tales survived, as did their African world view (Small 1998, 33-35). This background is essential in understanding why African-American music shares certain style and sound characteristics with (West) African music.

Anthropological and ethnomusicological studies generally distinguish three theories on African-American culture and music: a theory of *survival*, a theory of *non-survival* and a theory of *compromise* (Kebede 1995, 128-129). The survival theory claims that African features have survived in all aspects of black American culture, including religious and social attitudes, language (syntax, intonation and accent), names, puns, tales, stories, dance, music. Supporters of the survival theory maintain that during the above-mentioned period of slavery, a birth of powerful musical expression has taken place. A birth, conceived as the black man's struggle for his survival and freedom. According to Samuel A. Floyd Jr., founder, director emeritus of and consultant for the Center for Black Music Research at Colombia College Chicago, there is much more to the African survival theory: he believes that

> the musical tendencies, the mythological beliefs and assumptions, and interpretative strategies of African-Americans are the same as those that underlie the music of the African homeland [and] that these tendencies and beliefs continue to exist as African cultural memory, and that they continue to inform the continuity and elaboration of African-American music. (Floyd 1995, 5)

The second theory denies the survival of African features in black American culture and claims that black Americans have absorbed, adopted, learned and borrowed everything in their culture – their whole lifestyle included – from the Euro-American culture.

The third theory strikes a compromise between the survival and the non-survival theory. It claims that European and African musical traditions have both affected sound in black

American culture. Out of the European and African traditions an American Negro style developed: the (Negro) spiritual. Certain elements within these traditions conflicted and some were initially ousted. An example of the latter is the fact that slave owners prohibited their slaves from making body movements during Christian worship, because in the European tradition dance in worship was forbidden. This third theory is the most plausible and explains, for example, the European influence on spirituals: Africans that were, due to suppression, forced to express themselves in other than native ways. They had to 'invent' songs their masters would accept. So, they sung songs which resembled European melodies and set these melodies to English (mainly biblical) texts. Most of these spiritual texts are sorrowful and carry the promise of relief: they refer to a release from earthly cares in heaven (MILLER & SHAHRIARI 2006, 365).

Blues

A musical style that is of eminent importance in the history of African-American sound is *blues*. Although it is impossible to date its origin exactly, blues first appears around the beginning of the twentieth century. Blues is sometimes described as "a secular African-American folk music" (GROVE ONLINE, entry: blues), but that somewhat over-simplifies the matter, as we shall see. The blues style had a major influence on later American and Western styles, such as *ragtime* (syncopated rhythms with rhythmic accents on the weak beats), *jazz* (improvisation, blue notes, syncopation, call-and-response form, swing and polyrhythms), *rhythm 'n blues* (upbeat popular music, combining jazz, gospel and blues), *reggae* (a mix of the African Caribbean sound tradition and rhythm 'n blues), *rock 'n roll* (electric guitar, bass guitar, drum set and often piano or keyboard, combining elements of blues, boogie-woogie, jazz, rhythm 'n blues with influences from Appalachian folk music, gospel, country and western, and fusing heavily rhythmic African shuffles with melody-driven European genres), *hip hop* (rap music, combining rapping and scratching, telling semi-autobiographic tales in an rhythmic lyrical form, using alliteration, assonance and rhyme), *country music* (an amalgam of popular musical forms with roots in traditional folk music, Celtic music, blues and gospel music). According to Small, these seemingly disparate styles of music resulted from the collision in North and South America, during and after the times of slavery, between two great groups of musical cultures – that of Europe and that of Africa. These styles contain elements of both (SMALL 1998, 3).

Since blues has been a basis for many of these later styles (SMALL 1998, 12), I shall focus on its roots. As the origin of blues is closely related to the holistic world view of the African slaves, I will also consider religious developments connected with African-American sound. As the African slaves, who arrived in the colonies, were unfamiliar to the concepts *sacred* and *secular*, they not only sang their spirituals inside the church building, but also outside: they used the spirituals as rowing songs, field songs, work songs and social songs. In addition, camp or bush meetings were a common type of religious gathering for black people during slavery (REED 2003, 7). These meetings were religious and social events at the same time. They were known as "the invisible black church" or "the invisible institution", referring to the place where this church resided: not in the liturgies or buildings of the white, but in the slaves themselves.

The position of the black American preacher is in some respects similar to that of the African griot. During the period before the American Civil War, the black preacher (either male or female) appears as a leadership person who is considered both an elder and a servant in relation to the slave community. This position resembles the position of the African griot, whose social status is similarly ambiguous. The black American preacher, to whom respect and authority were attributed, was recognized both by whites and blacks as the principal mouthpiece of his or her fellow bondsmen (REED 2003, 115). He or she passed information through stories, sermons and songs. The slave preacher had to do more than just preach. He

was also expected to lead his followers into spirit possession, a kind of ecstasy that helped the slaves cope with their harsh situation. Slave preachers were often recognized for their ability to sing and the congregation depended on their musical leadership during worship.

After the American Civil War (1861-1865), numerous black churches were founded. Their establishment at the end of the 19th century should be seen against the backdrop of a national religious climate which at that time was dominated by three connected movements: Evangelism, the Holiness movement and Pentecostalism. These movements had an enormous collective impact upon African-Americans. A large number of black denominations developed from them. Teresa Reed claims that they had a common interest in enforcing a definite distinction between the world and the church, and, therefore, between practices that were allowed in church and those that were not (think of African features related to sound, such as spontaneity, emotional intensity and dance). But there was another reason to enforce such codes. "At a time when they had little, if any, hope of achieving social, political or economic equality with whites, the adherence to strict religious codes gave many blacks a sense of moral superiority over whites."(REED 2003, 8). Aside from the manifestation of the black church, the latter part of the 19th century is also marked by a shift in black consciousness. Where before a preoccupation with the afterlife, as expressed in spirituals, had been prevalent, now the immediate problems of survival came into focus. This was the beginning of blues. Blues became a way for blacks to vent one's feelings concerning all sorts of problems, such as poverty, homelessness, alienation, lovesickness, but also to vent feelings of joy. Although religiosity was still being referred in these blues themes, it was not the focus of the music. However, the older generation, whose most familiar songs were spirituals, had no appreciation for this music.

The distinction between music that was appropriate for use in black churches and music that was not, was intensified by the rise of the blues. Indeed, several black performers now had a double career, both as secular blues musician and – under pseudonym – as performer of sacred blues. Thomas Dorsey (1899-1993), an important blues man who is often called 'the father of gospel music', simply fused blues ethos with sacred texts, from which an extremely popular genre developed: *gospel blues*. Black urban churchgoers in the nineteen thirties loved this music. The connection of blues and gospel was very natural to Dorsey. He stated that, if a man has lost a woman, the blues is the natural way for him to express his feelings. It is the same with gospel: "Now you're not singing blues; you're singing gospel, good news song, singing about the Creator; but it is the same feeling, a grasping of the heart." (Dorsey, cited in REED 2003, 11).

During the first half of the 20th century, blues singing was associated with moral decline. An article in Current Opinion in 1919 characterized the blues as

> the little songs of the wayward, the impenitent sinners, of the men and women who have lost their way in the world. "Blues" are for the outlaws of society; they are little plaintive or humorous stanzas of irregular rhythm set to music not of the conservatories. (…) The loser at craps, the luckless in sport, the mourner for rum, the profiteer in things forbidden whom the law has evicted, the sick and lonely woman – all these have their appropriate blues. (quoted from REED 2003, 9)

Some ten years later, not only blues was disdained by the elite but also jazz and ragtime, because of biases against the "lower" class people that produced these kinds of music and against music in improvisatory rather than notated form. The working class, who had a considerable presence in Holiness and Pentecostal denominations, struck a different note, claiming that religion was a corporeal and emotional experience, stressing that music was a way of giving praise and assigning a religious meaning to upbeat rhythms (REED 2003, 34). Pentecostalism was even the primary spiritual influence upon the pop music of the nineteen

fifties, judging by the performances of artists who were involved in Pentecostalism: Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Little Richard, Sam Cooke, James Brown, B.B. King and Tina Turner (REED 2003, 28). In the nineteen eighties, Christopher Small described the way he discovered African-American music. He notes that the African-American musical sound, which is based on both European and African traditions, fulfilled in him "not only an emotional, but also an intellectual and a social need which European classical music, however much I loved and admired much of it, did not, and if I was honest, never had fulfilled." (SMALL 1998, 3).[28] Nowadays, despite the fact that blues is no longer exclusively African-American, the importance of blues and its impact on Western culture are evident. The complex interweaving of African and European musical and cultural traditions through which African-American music has developed, has now been shown.

'Praise and Worship' Music

Originating from African slavery, African-American worship is – besides Methodist revivalism and the Holiness movement – one of the roots of the so-called 'Praise and Worship Movement'. Robb Redman uses this term to summarize the ways of worship of evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic churches (REDMAN 2002, 22). Their worship is emotional, exuberant, highly participatory (without clergymen conducting their services) and focused on community.[29] Participation is expressed in worship music and in emotional and physical expression: "worshippers are expected to sing, clap hands, raise their hands in adoration, and even sway and dance" (REDMAN 2002, 39). These churches certainly are known for their enthusiastic singing and response. Praise and worship music must be easy to learn and enable worshippers to express praise and worship to God. The worship as celebrated by praise and worship groups and churches, can be described as a flowing stream (in contrast to the "start-stop feel of Protestant Worship", REDMAN 2002, 34), with only a few distinguishable sections: congregational singing, prayer and announcements, the sermon and sometimes a 'ministry time' of prayer and charismatic activity. The first section, that of congregational singing, is very important in praise and worship. Barry Liesch speaks of this part as a *free-flowing praise*. He discerns two approaches constructing this free-flowing praise: the approach of the charismatic Vineyard churches and a neo-Pentecostal approach.[30] The structure of the free-flowing praise in Vineyard worship has five phases: (1) invitation, (2) engagement, (3) exaltation, (4) adoration, and (5) intimacy (LIESCH 2001, 53-66, here 55). This progression leads to a desired objective, which is attained in the last phase: 'intimacy with God'. In Vineyard churches, the crucial quality of church music is that it evokes specific experiences in a church: a sacred intimacy. It focuses on the encounter with God and on the affections, and does not refer to anything outside the worship context. Worship thus brings about an emotional and mental receptivity to God's will. Furthermore, worship must express familiar feelings and must evoke consolation (VERSTEEG 2001, 111-112). The neo-Pentecostal progression of free-flowing praise follows five other phases, borrowed from the ancient Jewish tabernacle and temple worship: (1) outside the camp, (2) through the gates with thanksgiving, (3) into His courts with praise, (4) onto the Holy Place, (5) in the Holy of Holies. Again, the fifth phase is the desired objective, the other phases lead up to it (REDMAN 2002, 36).

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[28] Small uses the term '(European) classical music' in a popular sense, pointing to the music of the European concert, church and opera tradition since about 1600 as performed today by symphony orchestras, concert soloists and chamber ensembles, as well as by opera companies, and including the music of the post-world war two *avant garde* and its offshoots and successors (SMALL 1998, 6).

[29] Remember the African connection of life with the spiritual world, their view of life as a whole and the connectedness of families and tribes, which also extends to worship as a community act. Compare Section 2.3.2.

[30] I further examine these approaches, their structures and their musical features below.

The role of the worship leader is significant in the Praise and Worship Movement. The worship leader considers himself worshipper first, then musical leader. His role and responsibility is quite different from those of the music director in a traditional Protestant church. A worship leader primarily focuses on God, then on the music and/or the congregation's singing. As Redman says:

> The pastor frequently delegates selection and arrangement of songs to the worship leader, who then makes important decisions during the free-flowing praise, such as whether to add or drop a song, when to invite the congregation to sit or stand, and when and how long to encourage singing in the Spirit. The worship leader is also expected to lead in other elements of the service, such as spoken prayer, giving liturgical instruction, and exhortation. (REDMAN 2002, 37)

I must discuss one significant issue: the distinction between praise and worship. These terms reflect a theological view of the presence of God in worship and of the worshipper's approach to God. Mainstream evangelicals consider praise to be an element of worship, but neo-Pentecostals and charismatic worshippers regard praise and worship as two phases in the progression of free-flowing praise (although they are not mutually exclusive). Peter Versteeg, who carried out research in a Dutch charismatic church, describes three aspects that are basic to Vineyard worship. First, praise is *about* God, whereas worship is directed *to* God. This implies that worship music basically consists of love songs, which in a very personal and intimate way, express what is felt about God. Second, "worship is the most important thing a believer can do", since worship is an act that is exclusively intended to glorify God. Third, worship is seen as communication between the believer and God, a mutual process of declaring love for each other (VERSTEEG 2001, 115).

Bob Sorge, a neo-Pentecostal pastor and writer, discerns six points of distinction between praise and worship. First, God does not need our praise; he seeks worshippers. Second, worship is intimate and requires a relationship. Third, worship can be hidden to the observer, praise necessarily has external features. Fourth, praise is a horizontal and/or communal interaction, worship a vertical and individual interaction with God. Fifth, praise is often exuberant and expressive, whereas worship is more quiet and introverted (REDMAN 2002, 37-38).

AFRICAN-AMERICAN SOUND ASPECTS

In this section, I confine myself to the sound characteristics of three important musical movements: the situation of African slaves and the indigenous features of the music they brought along when they were enslaved, the characteristics of blues, and 'Praise and Worship' sound features.

African Features

In the section on West African sound, I mentioned work songs, the rhythms of which often accompanied the rhythms of physical work. Now African-American slaves also sang while working, but the causes and circumstances were rather different. These differences are important to the history of origin of African-American sound.

Slaves that worked in the fields were absolutely not allowed to talk to each other. Therefore, they attempted to convert speech into song. They used *calls*. Since these were used for communication, they were often sung solo. As a means of communication, calls were very effective, because their sounds travel over long distances in the fields and echo through mountains and hills. Undoubtedly, these calls have African roots. At the American plantations, they would have had different functions though: to attract attention (1), to warn an inattentive friend at a distance of the approaching white overseer (2) to break a long monotonous silence (3), to summon slaves to work (4), to eat (5) or to gather (6). (KEBEDE

1995, 129). Slaves passed the word for a worship gathering in the camp with calls like "Get you ready there's is a meetin' here tonight" and "Steal away to Jesus" (REDMAN 2002, 26).

Other sounds that could be heard at American plantations at the time, were *cries*. These were not meant to be in any way instrumental, but were expressions of deeply felt emotional experiences, such as loneliness, lovesickness and also hunger. These cries were half-sung, half-yelled; their melodies are performed in free and improvisational style, vocables are mixed with the text, they apply many African vocal aspects, such as tonal glides and melismas (KEBEDE 1995, 130).

The *shout* is also an African-American sound that has plain African roots. Since the late 18th century, shouts were often heard after African-American worship services, where they accompanied the singing of spirituals (REED 2003, 18). Emotional shouts went together with moans, religious dancing and handclapping and foot-stamping. In case of *ring shouts*, people would sing, form a circle and move in one direction, counter clockwise.

Before the American Civil War, the African worship aesthetics penetrated the 'invisible black church'. Gradually, the approaches to worship changed as African-Americans more and more assumed denominational identities. In the North, black denominations would suppress these dramatic, emotional performances in order to attain a more structured and refined way of worship, while other dominations in the South would continue to stimulate these physical expressions of religious raptures.

Blues Characteristics

The term 'blues' describes both a characteristic melancholy state of mind and the 8-, 12- and 32-bar harmonic progressions that form the basis for blues improvisation. Most common is the 12 bar form. Important to this style is the 'blue note', which has an expressive function: it is the 3rd, 7th and sometimes 5th note on the tonic, sung or played at a pitch in-between major and minor scale (OLIVER 2001, 730-736). Other significant features of the blues are the AAB verse structure; a complex rhythm and syncopation; call-and-response, often between singer and instrument; the conversational "talking" of the guitar; buzzing timbres; blues tonality (based on the blues scale, which is pentatonic: it consists of five notes per octave); varied themes, often relating to mistreatment and hard times (JACKSON 2003).

Blues singers and musicians expanded the expressive range of guitar, piano, harmonica and human voice and evolved many musical substructures within the framework of a recognizable and distinct form. Country blues performers also used a large variety of unusual instruments like washboards, fiddles, mandolins or kazoos (small musical instrument that adds a buzzing timbral qualities to a player's voice when he or she hums into it). Sometimes certain particular techniques were employed, such as rasping or growling, to realize different qualities of timbre. The blues progression could be played in any key, though blues guitarists favoured E or A.

Since blues started as a music of people who were mostly illiterate, improvisation – both verbal and musical – was an essential part of it. The varying (bar) patterns evolved to facilitate improvisation. Although blues is folk music, many songs are "of genius and beauty, expressions of the human spirit that are both profoundly moving and complete in themselves as creative works" (OLIVER 2001, 736). In its simplicity, sensuality, poetry, humour, irony, and resignation transmuted to aggressive declamation, blues mirrored the qualities and the attitude of African-Americans for three quarters of a century.

'Praise and Worship' Sound Features

'Praise and Worship' sound features relate to two possible kinds of structure.

The charismatic structure of free-flowing praise, as practiced in Vineyard churches, had 'intimacy with God' as its desired objective. The progression is as follows: the first three or five songs (during the first two phases of invitation and engagement), are upbeat. They focus on the act of gathering to worship God. The third phase (exaltation) is filled with songs on

the nature of God. People sing his attributes exaltedly ("Jesus is Lord", "God is good", "Great is the Lord and worthy of glory"). Then, at the fourth section, the music changes and softer and smoother sounds are performed. Mellower music invites worshippers to become aware of God's presence in adoration. (People may be seated at this point.) The fifth and last section is the quietest. It is the phase in which worshippers are closest to God. While in the songs of the first three phases the third person singular is often used, God is addressed personally during the adoration and intimacy section. As I have said, the personal relationship and the encounter with God are most important in this kind of charismatic worship. That is why songs often mention the senses and contain physical terms ("Touch me Lord Jesus", "Open the eyes of my heart, Lord", "I feel Jesus", "Hold me Lord, hold me tight, I beg of you"): they emphasize the intimacy with God.

The structure of the neo-Pentecostal free-flowing praise starts, as I have indicated, "outside the camp". Rejoicing in the encounter with the Lord, that is about to take place, the songs are very energetic and upbeat. The singing of Psalm 100:4 ("Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise") is the sign for the second and third phase. By singing these songs, the worshippers celebrate God's greatness and offer him thanks for his goodness. The mood changes when the singing moves into the fourth phase – just as in the Vineyard structure – and finally reaches the Holy of Holies, where all attention is exclusively aimed at God, or Jesus, or the Holy Spirit.

4.3.4 European Approach to Sound

The way sound is perceived in the European world is fundamentally different from what has been described so far, although globalization has also influenced and is still influencing European sound enormously. In this subsection I first focus on the way Europeans generally approach sound. Among other things, I examine sound theories by musicologists, philosophers and psychologists of music. Then I concentrate on the sound aspects that appear to be typical of European music. As the discipline of musicology originated in Europe (during the Enlightenment, compare GROVE ONLINE, entry: musicology), I discuss in this section some of the musicological terms that have already been mentioned in the sections on African or African-American sound.

SOUND IN EUROPEAN CULTURE

The differences between the African and the European world views, and the different ways of experiencing life and the human body, and the different approaches to religion associated therewith, are paralleled by the differences between West African and European music. The main ones are discussed here.

The European dualistic thinking manifests itself in music through the traditional division between the sacred and the secular. Religion in the European tradition is experienced as "rituals performed at appointed times and in designated spaces" (REED 2003, 1). Therefore, sacred songs belong in the church, not on MTV. Likewise, the secular music that is heard outside the church, does not belong in the church's worship. The sacred and the secular do not converge: there is no unity in music.[31] This is elucidated with a quotation of Teresa Reed, who explains the absence of unity in European music as follows:

[31] Things are changing though and we should reconsider our traditional divisions: in our time we see that Bach cantatas and Passions are performed at concerts and that pop music sometimes sounds in liturgical settings. I have contributed to the discussion concerning these traditional divisions in my master thesis on the meaning of so-called 'secular' music in Christian funeral worship (KLOMP 2005). In this thesis I have pleaded for a broad approach to liturgical music, wherein both secular and sacred music have their place.

> In the West [Reed uses this term as a synonym for Europe, MK], music and the other arts are often approached as objects detached from human experience yet intended for human contemplation and consumption. (…) We speak of music as scores, pieces, cuts, tunes or tracks rather than in terms of the experience these aural objects afford. (…) We value precision in performance, and our musical notation leaves little room for variance. Our programs are timed, and our recorded music is measured for duration down to the second. Musical performance in the West is appropriate at designated times and in designated places (i.e., the symphony concert in the orchestra hall), and spatial boundaries separate its participants (i.e., the performer[s] on stage, the listeners in the audience). (REED 2003, 3)

Reed's assessments of musical performance in the last sentence parallels her perception of the way religion is experienced. Her observations on the demarcation of time and place and the dissection of music into multiple parameters agree with Weman's (older) view of the European approach to music: in the West "music is considered to be an expression of art; the concertgoer looks for relaxation, recreation, edification and enjoyment, while the artist, the choir or the orchestra in their music give us an experience which at best enriches our lives" (WEMAN 1960, 19). As observed by these authors, the direction of the performing activity is one-way: from the stage to the audience. Daily life is not steeped in music making – at least, not for average people, that is those who are not professionally involved in musical performance, and the distance between performers and audience is permanent.

Both Reed and Weman observe that the traditional European approach to music is not characterized by a sense of unity: it is governed by divisions in categories, dissection of music into parameters, as well as divisions in specific times and places, division between performers and audience. I should, however, make two remarks about their observations.

The first remark concerns the style of music Weman speaks about. Although he does not mention it himself, his assessment mainly applies to concerts of classical music. This is understandable, if one considers that he wrote his book in the late fifties of the 20th century. But what he could not have known at the time, is the fact that rock 'n roll (a style that was developed from the fifties onward) and other styles of pop music would soon conquer the world and effect a major change in our music culture. Weman's observations, although by no means outdated, today apply only to a minority segment of music. Even in the West, music is no longer seen as an expression of art only. It has become a part of our (group and individual) identity. Far from being a mere 'enrichment' of life, it has become a way of life itself. Of course, classical concerts are still drawing audiences who act much as they used to, but today other styles demand and evoke different ways of acting.

My second remark concerns Reed's designated times and places. She is certainly right as far as musical performance is concerned: daily life is not steeped in music making, such as in African cultures. Daily life of (especially West) Europeans ís steeped in music though. However, the activity lies in the listening to music, not so much in the making of it. I shall further explain this on the basis of some features that characterize the 21st century European music culture. First, late modern western music culture has become principally an *auditive culture*: we now hear music rather than make music ourselves. This process, that began with the invention of recorded sound, has made music more like a product than an activity. Second, the listening that we do in our music culture is often '*easy listening*': we do not always listen intensively to music, but often just hear it, or listen to it as background music. Third, music is *omnipresent*: it is heard always and everywhere, in fitness clubs, supermarkets and in the streets there is music. We have iPod's and MP3-players, and can listen to web radio on our cell phones if we like. Everyone can now listen to his or her favourite music, every day, all day long. Fourth, listening to music has more and more become an *individualised activity*. A trend that developments in the field of electronics have again contributed to. Fifth, we are

now directly being exposed to the *sound picture* of music. This sound picture has taken the position of the score image, through which music had been presented for centuries. Sixth, closer contact with the sound picture has made music *more accessible* to the general public (KLOMP 2005, 15-16).

As is the case with African music, European sound has in many ways been globalized. During the last century, Europeans have become acquainted with heaps of genres and styles. The sound of classical music and folk music has changed. Experimental music, minimal music, negro spirituals, blues, jazz, dixieland and bebop came to development. From the fifties onward, pop and rock music have been on the scene, genres which in turn have spawned house, funk and heavy metal, to name but a few. Globalization did and will produce a large variety of musical sounds.

EUROPEAN SOUND ASPECTS

I would, once more, like to share a true story. It is about how I learned music. When I was seven years old, my mother sent me to our local music school, for elementary music education. The music class always took place in a musty smelling room, with carpet on the floor (imagine the marvellous acoustics of this room). In the corner, there were two pianos. When our music teacher called us in, we (that is, me and 25 other children of my age) were expected to seat ourselves around a very long table and listen quietly. Not to the piano or to other musical instruments, but to the music teacher. Every week we took out notebooks, pencils and erasers, and after ten lessons, our notebooks were full of self-drawn notes, music examples, pitch names, staffs, note values, durations, beat points, etcetera. We knew everything about music and our parents were so proud! But until then we had not touched a single instrument, except maybe for a woodblock and a triangle. However, with two instruments on 25 children, each child had only thirty seconds to 'play'. (Even less, if you were a bit shy and did not feel like snatching the instruments out of other children's hands). No way we were allowed to touch the piano. Only if we had behaved well, the music teacher would, at the end of class, sing a few songs with us and use the piano to accompany. Surely, we did some handclapping. Not to accompany the cheerful singing, but to learn that 'Am-ster-dam' and 'Scher-pen-zeel' each have three syllables whereas 'Arn-hem' and 'U-trecht' have two.

Later on, I learned how to play the organ. The exercises in my book each contained four measures; they were extremely boring. During my third year at the school of music, my teacher mostly divided the pieces I had to study into two (or more) parts, because in his opinion I had to look at each individual motive. Moreover, he first let me study the right hand, and then the left hand, before allowing me to combine the two. These classes did not do any good to my motivation.

The way I 'learned' music is characteristic of the way Europeans generally deal with making music. As Teresa Reed has aptly commented, Europeans often speak of music in terms of "scores, pieces, cuts, tunes and tracks" (REED 2003, 3). What is required to be able to say anything about music in this approach, is not so much an analysis of aural objects, concentration on the structure of the piece, the knowledge of historically informed performance practice etcetera, as a perception of how music is experienced. Similar to the way I learned music theory, dancers and musicians who are trained in European institutions learn to concentrate on individual steps and parts, before combining them into a finished performance piece. Even in the best performing ensembles, the whole piece is viewed in terms of technical or aesthetic qualities. An African performer would probably find this approach hard to understand, because the collective awareness, that soaks African society and binds African performers together, is not there. The European performance, done individually or by a group, is not really a shared experience. The social aspect of a performance remains less important than its technical or aesthetic aspects. Likewise, audiences in the West do not consider performing groups as social entities (GORLIN 2000,

11). Audiences, in commenting on performers, are likely to focus on their individual expressions and on their personal technical skills (or on the absence thereof). Europeans then see performers as individual, skilled professionals, who have been teamed up to stage a specific production, more than as members of a group or community.[32]

Before addressing some of the main European sound aspects, I make one last remark. When in music history courses the term 'European music' is used, it will usually refer to the 'classical' tradition of 'Western Europe'. But Europe's music tradition includes more than just classical music and the continent is more than only its Western part. In addition to classical music, several other genres in European music can be identified, such as folk, religious/liturgical and popular music. It is important to realize that these genres exist only in people's minds, and are often based on implicit value judgments and hierarchical ways of thinking. 'Classical', for instance, refers to what is often regarded the highest class of music: classical music flourished where there were wealthy courts and aristocracies, which were mostly found in the West of Europe (MILLER & SHAHRIARI 2006, 263). It will be no surprise that complexity and sophistication are favoured in this genre and that primarily this kind of music is studied in universities and conservatories. This situation is changing, though: today popular music, for example, is taken more seriously than before and is also taught in universities and conservatories.

I will now indicate some main features of European music. There are three factors that, in the course of time, have contributed to the cultural and musical unity of Europe (RICE 2000, 5-6): *similar seasonal patterns* of summer agriculture and winter rest (which have given rise to songs based on the cycle of the calendar – songs which are still sung at social gatherings and folk festivals); the almost universal *adoption of Christianity* (that influenced many aspects of life, including musical life); *literacy* (which led, by way of musical notation, to a spread of music throughout most parts of Europe). I am just mentioning these factors here as a historic framework that is the backdrop to a discussion of particular sound aspects of European music that I will presently focus on: harmony, melody and scales, rhythm, timbre and musical instruments, and music notation.

Harmony

Harmony is to the European musician what rhythm is to the African: the central organizing principle of the art (SMALL 1998, 25). Most of European classical music is based on harmony and its use is more highly developed in European/Western music than in any other. The musical term 'harmony' refers to the combining of notes simultaneously, to produce chords, and successively, to produce chord progressions (DAHLHAUS 2001, 858-859). Harmony is sometimes referred to as the 'vertical' aspect of music. This is incorrect though, because restricting harmony to the vertical aspect does not take into account the (horizontal) chordal, or harmonic progression, which is a central category in the teaching of harmony.

Melody and Scales

Strongly linked to harmony is the concept of melody. Melody is to be perceived as a single entity: "a series of musical notes arranged in succession, in a particular rhythmic pattern, to form a recognizable unit. Melody is a universal human phenomenon, traceable to pre-

[32] The emphasis on the individual performer may likewise be observed in certain recent television shows. In recent years, various elimination contests have been broadcast that aim at electing which is the funniest home video, who is the best pop singer (*Idols*), which love couple has the strongest relationship (*Temptation Island*), who is the most popular occupant of a house, all supported by audience-interactive voting options. Even clergymen and -women are now engaging opponents in a competition for the best sermon (*Sermon of the year*). As I said: in Europe, performing is not a collective affair, it is an individual undertaking, in every respect.

historic times. The origins of melodic thinking have been sought in language, in birdsong and other animal sounds, and in the crying and playing of young children." (GROVE ONLINE, entry: melody). Interesting within the scope of this study is the definition given by the physician and acoustician Helmholtz (1821-1894), who described melody as the *incarnation of motion in music*, expressed "in such a manner that the hearer may easily, clearly and certainly appreciate the character of that motion by immediate perception" (RINGER 2001, 364).

Melody often consists of one (or more) musical phrases or motifs and is usually and in various forms repeated throughout a song or musical piece. Musical phrases may also be described by their melodic motion, by their pitch(es) (or intervals between pitches), by their tension and release, continuity and coherence, cadence and shape.

European melodies are significantly different from African melodies. African music has no coordination of word-accent and melody-accent (WEMAN 1960, 152). In European music, word-accent and melody-accent are an issue, especially in classical and religious music. Generally, as regards the word-music relationship, two categories are distinguished: one is marked by primacy of words and expression of text, the other by primacy of melody and melodic expression (VERNOOIJ 2002, 108). In religious or liturgical music, the first category is usually referred to as *cantus*: sung responses, lectures, acclamations and prayers etcetera – this singing can be described as musically intoned speech. Cantus, in general, does not require voice-training as it is intended to be sung by the pastor, the reader or the congregation. The second category of liturgical music, in which melody and melodic expression are emphasized, is called *musica*. This is, in fact, art music: it is characterized by melody, harmony, rhythm and dynamics. Musica is usually performed by trained musicians, such as a cantor, a choir and/or instrumentalists.

Rhythm

In addition to harmony and melody, there is a third essential element of European music: rhythm. I take rhythm as the subdivision of a time span into perceptible sections; the grouping of musical sounds, principally by means of duration and stress. In the section on African rhythm, I mentioned that the European time-scheme is based on a quantitative system of note values. In Western, and thus in European, music, time is usually "organized to establish a regular pulse, and by the subdivision of that pulse into regular groups. Such groups are commonly of two or three units (or their compounds, such as four or six); the arrangement of the pulse into groups is the metre of a composition, and the rate of pulses is its tempo" (GROVE ONLINE, entry: rhythm). This principle is significantly different from the African rhythmic system, which is based on different sound patterns, that are characterised by different internal relationships of their units.

In instrumental music, a variety of rhythmic artifice can be found: syncopation (displacement of accent), shortened notes at strong parts of the bar, phrases not based on regular four- or eight-bar structures, merged or extended phrases. In vocal music, the natural rhythm of speech could be used as a basis (such as in recitative, where the rhythm may run counter to metric regularity). Some 20th century composers have avoided regular rhythmic patterns in order to attain more flexible rhythm, and sometimes rhythmic instructions have been refrained from altogether (GROVE ONLINE, entry: rhythm). However, no music can exist but in time, and therefore rhythm is a fundamental element of music.

Timbre and Musical Instruments

Timbre, or tone colour, is the term that describes the tonal quality of a sound. An oboe, a clarinet and a flute, when sounding the same note, produce different timbres, or tone qualities: "the flute's tone is relatively 'pure' (i.e. has few and weak harmonics), the oboe is rich in higher harmonics and the clarinet has a preponderance of odd-numbered harmonics. Their different harmonic spectra are caused primarily by the way the sound vibration is actuated (by the blowing of air across an edge with the flute, by the oboe's double reed and

the clarinet's single reed) and by the shape of the tube. Where the player's lips are the vibrating agent, as with most brass instruments, the tube can be made to sound not its fundamental note but other harmonics by means of the player's lip pressure." (GROVE ONLINE, entry: acoustics).

Many of the musical instruments that are used in European music, can be found in symphony orchestras (sometimes called philharmonic orchestras). A symphony orchestra nowadays includes: violins, violas and cellos, double basses, flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, cornets, trombones, tuba and several percussion (GROVE ONLINE, entry: orchestra). Other instruments that are found in European music are recorders, harpsichords, organs, saxophones, euphoniums (in Germany known as *Baryton* or *Tenorbasshorn*), electric versions of instruments (such as guitar, violin and cello) synthesizers, bagpipes, tambourines, accordions and mouth organs (BOSMANS 2000, 525-533). An instrument that is very popular and quite unique in the Low Countries (the Netherlands and Belgium) is the carillon: a set of stationary bells, normally in a tower or on a high outdoor frame. The instrument is either played from a large keyboard (and pedal) by a carilloneur or operated by means of a pegged barrel or paper rolls.

Music Notation

The most common music notation system (staff notation) dates from the eleventh century and has gradually developed into our current system, which has means to represent many aspects of pieces and songs as regards rhythm, metre, dynamics, accents, phrases, and so on. Although there are many aspects of notation that are imprecise (ornaments, expression markings, tempo, volume, rhythmic alteration and articulation), the use of a system of musical notation had a pervasive influence on the performance and the character of European music. Although folk musicians have not left written music, many traditional melodies found their way into printed collections that mostly served middle-class amateurs. The spread of these manuscripts most likely influenced the continuity of melodies throughout time and (European) space (BOSMANS 2000, 523-525).

4.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, I showed how a broadening of the concept 'church music' in the direction of (ritual) sound is a concept proper to the study of liturgical ritual and is also in line with developments in other music-related disciplines: in worship there are many sounds to which meanings are attributed. I illustrated that sound is inextricably bound up with performance and movement: it does not occur without action. Sound shares this performance character with worship. Therefore, what is attributed meaning to, is not so much 'the (musical) thing or work', but the sounds which are performed in a particular way. The close relation with motion and performance is valid for sound in general, but – as we have seen – is particularly manifest in Surinamese and West African cultures. As is apparent in the case of worship and body motion, sound is closely related to and influenced by culture. Surinamese, West African, African-American and European sounds and sound performances have been shown to differ to a substantial extent, although these are never met in a 'pure' form.

The first subsection demonstrated that 'Surinamese sound' as such does not exist, because Suriname bears many heterogeneous musical influences. Native American, (West) African as well as Indonesian and European cultures that influence the sound in Suriname, all have been shown to have contributed their own customs, practices and musical instruments (although percussion instruments slightly seem to prevail). Contemporary Surinamese music genres fuse these influences in all kinds of ways, at the same time distinguishing themselves by a particular combination of musical traits or sources.

The subsection on West African sound showed that this has a set of significant features: sound is an integral and essential part of every day life; rhythm is the central 'organizing

principle' of sound; musicians create rhythms that are often asymmetrical and interlock with those of other performers in a very precise way; everyone is assumed to be musical and contributes to the communal work of music making; improvisation is widespread and richly developed; music and dance are inextricably bound up; timbre is much appreciated and admired in music; key soloists are expected to improvise against the background of a rich and layered backdrop; continuity in music performance builds through the density of many discrete parts.

In the subsection on African-American sound, we have seen that its musical tendencies, its underlying beliefs and assumptions and its interpretative strategies were based on African sound features, but were influenced by European music traditions as well. From these roots, the typical blues sound evolved, a musical style that has had a major influence on later Western popular styles, both inside and outside the church. Praise and worship music has its roots here.

The subsection on European sound showed an analytical, 'objective' and auditive approach to music, as well as easy and individualised listening, omnipresence of musical sound, and direct contact with the sound picture. It has been shown that European musical sound is mainly based on harmony, that its melodies are often harmonically dependent, and that music notation determines the performance of music to a high degree. Thus, a range of features has been shown to determine different sounds.

This chapter dealt with the last of three important elements of the research domain of this study and concludes Part I. In this part, I theoretically explored the field of study. First, I explained the unity of the research subject in Chapter 1, and subsequently investigated each of its significant notions – worship, performance and sound – in respective chapters. In discussing these notions, Surinamese, West African, African-American and European backgrounds were elucidated. This first part will serve as a theoretical basis for Part II of the study, in which the results of the sound of worship in a Surinamese congregation and a Ghanaian church will be represented.

PART II AN EMPIRICAL SOUNDING OF THE FIELD

5 METHODOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding part of this study, I theoretically explored the anthropological and theological aspects that determine the research domain, thus answering the sub-question "Which anthropological and theological aspects determine the sound of worship and its meanings, and in what manner do they achieve this?"

Looking back on the preceding chapters and the relation between the elements that determine the research domain, I conclude that worship, as a symbolic and ritual order, is constituted by sound, which humans perform by means of the body (and body motion). The cultural-anthropological backgrounds of the performers – consisting of their 'physical encodings', the cultures they come from, which influence their experience of life and the world, the way they fleshly express and deal with sound – determine their own, particular performance of the sound of worship. These cultural-anthropological backgrounds influence the ritual forms in which, theologically seen, the living Christ may be encountered. These material forms or shapes are thus considered sacramental. More in particular, forms – such as the sound of worship – are considered incarnational insofar as they are a physical embodiment of the performers' faith and enable an encounter with Christ. Clearly, the cultural-anthropological and theological viewpoints on worship appear to be two perspectives on one topic. Each from a different starting point, they both shed their own specific light on the sound of worship. Neither of these approaches excludes the other: anthropology and theology are complementary, as was aptly expressed by the African theologian François Kabasele Lumbala:

> Insofar as God is at the origin of every human step toward God, the worship is inspired by God; but its exercise concerns the rhythm of life in the present, the rhythm of the human, in its bodiliness and its signifying activity of giving meaning. (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 25)

So much for the cultural-anthropological and theological viewpoints on three important elements of the research domain.

In the second part of this study, I offer an empirical sounding of the field. It starts, in this chapter, with a methodological account of the empirical research on the sound of worship in a Surinamese congregation and a Ghanaian church in Amsterdam Southeast. The next two chapters render the results of the investigations on the actual sound of worship in these two immigrant churches.

The empirical research looks for the qualities of the sound of worship (which I expect to give insight into how worship on a local level may become incarnational – this is elaborated on in part three of this study). In this methodological chapter I first render an account on the place of empirical research within the field of Liturgical Studies (5.2) and on the liturgical-musical ethnography as a research method (5.3). I then report on how I used this method to find the qualities of sound in the investigated churches (5.4).

5.2 Empirical Research in Liturgical Studies

As indicated in the Chapter 1, Liturgical Studies nowadays often seek contact with the platform of Ritual Studies. Research on worship, which is conceived as a part of a cultural, anthropological, ritual and sociological context, is frequently characterized by openness and exploration (not seldom due to the fact that it concerns qualitative, instead of quantitative

research). New meanings are attributed to established concepts and, not infrequently, these concepts are re-examined and are given new definitions.

An example of such pioneering work is the PhD dissertation of the Dutch researcher Martin Hoondert (2006), *Om de parochie. Ritueel-muzikale bewegingen in de marge van de parochie. Gregoriaans, Taizé, Jongerenkoren.* (Around the parish. Ritual-musical movements in the margin of the parish. Gregorian Chant, Taizé, Youth Choirs.) In his book, Hoondert redefines the concept of liturgical inculturation from a modern perspective, taking into account the fact that in liturgical practices processes of attribution and appropriation of meaning are going on. He examines the concepts of the 'centre of the parish' and the 'margin', and concludes that the worship of the future is in fact germinating in the margin. Hoondert however did not change or rethink his concepts 'centre' and 'margin' – an issue concerning which critical questions were posed following the publication of his book: is it, considering the outcome of his research, still useful to speak about the parish in terms of centre and margin?

Studies like this are important to the development of the practice of Liturgical Studies. They are also significant, because they involve empirical research on worship. The shift towards a more cultural-anthropological understanding of worship, that changed the practice of Liturgical Studies during recent decades, has shed light on an unexplored part of Liturgics' field of research. Hoondert's study has contributed to the exploration of this part of the field, in particular by looking for a cultural-anthropological understanding of liturgical music. Thus Hoondert has helped relieve the shortage of research material on worship, specifically liturgical music '*in actu*'.

The present study similarly aims to contribute to the development of the practice of Liturgical Studies and to help relieve the shortage of material. But it does so in its own way: by broadening the traditional view on music in worship. I did not investigate the meanings of a particular style or repertoire, that is often associated with a specific liturgical or musical tradition, such as Gregorian chant, Geneva Psalms, the music of Youth Choirs and the songs of Taizé. I did not investigate a musical 'product'. Instead, I focused on the meanings of the sonic processes in worship – a focus which includes the traditional concept of music, but goes beyond that and comprises the cultural-anthropological aspect of 'sound'. In line with 'recent' musicological tendencies, I described music as humanly organised sound (see Chapter 4), and applied this to worship. Such a 'broadening' has been exceptional in Liturgical Studies so far. Although we have been exhorted to re-invent the study of liturgical music – for example, by Paul Post, who made an appeal for a thorough re-orientation in the field of liturgical-musical studies (POST 2005, 316) – sticking to the investigation of music is in my view an approach too limited for what is ('sonically') at stake in worship.[33]

With this study I intend to give some initial impetus to the broadening of Liturgical Music Studies: I set out pickets and indicate some of worship's cultural, anthropological and sonic dimensions. In two case studies, I depict the qualities of sound that determine the performance of worship in these churches. To be able to do so, open and explorative research was required. As I have indicated, this study leaves aside the established concept of 'church music' and the traditional discussion of liturgical musical styles, and instead focuses on worship's sound; the study investigates the performance of sound against the backdrop of the performance of worship, and makes the theological notion of incarnation enter into conversation with the cultural-anthropological view on the sound of worship. In this way, the present study takes its cue from the latest results in various fields of research: it

[33] Paul Post's view is connected with the ongoing re-invention of liturgical music itself: Post discerns a tendency in churches to bid traditional music farewell and to experiment, albeit hesitantly and tentatively, with new forms of music that become integrated to the ritual, and claims that new kinds of liturgical-musical practices necessarily require a new, different academic approach to the matter.

combines Liturgical Studies and Ritual Studies – the latter forming a platform for disciplines such as Social Sciences, Musicological, Cultural, Anthropological and Theatre Studies.

5.3 Research Method: Liturgical-musical Ethnography

My contribution to the re-invention of Liturgical Music Studies and the development of the new concept 'liturgical sound' takes the shape of a liturgical-musical ethnographic study. In this section, I dilate on the qualitative character of the investigations and discuss several forms of ritual(-musical) ethnographic studies.

5.3.1 Qualitative Research

The empirical research in this study has a qualitative character. I investigate the sonic spectrum of worship – taken as the entirety of Christian sonic rites and symbols – as described on the basis of both my own observations and the natives' points of view, to determine the qualities of the sound of worship in two immigrant churches. This requires an open and explorative, and thus qualitative kind of research: what I am striving for in this study is depth, more than breadth. Below I elaborate on four aspects of the qualitative investigation: qualities, the natives' points of view, a ritual-symbolic order, and the sonic spectrum of worship.

QUALITIES

The research question mentions 'qualities of sound' in the performance of worship in two immigrant churches. In this study, I take 'qualities' in the sense described by Paul Post, who uses a specifying definition: qualities are "identity-determining characteristics, traits, dimensions or tendencies in a ritual repertoire" (POST 2001, 47-77). As a researcher, I ascribe these qualities to the sound of worship on the basis of both my own observations and the natives' points of view.[34] To be able to get a picture of the native's point of view, the researcher needs to gain an insight into the meanings people attribute to what they do when performing the sound of worship. This necessarily requires an open and explorative approach. Since qualitative research is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced and produced (MASON 2002, 3), it was exactly this kind of research that best enabled me to investigate the process of giving meaning to sound.

THE NATIVE'S POINT OF VIEW

Attribution of meanings is done by the participants of the ritual. Therefore, worshippers who attend the worship had to be enabled to speak about the meanings that the sound of worship has *for them*. Moreover, the floor was to be handed over to them, because they themselves are the performers of the sound of worship: it is impossible to indicate qualities, let alone analyse, interpret and evaluate them, without consulting the performers on what they do when performing the sound of worship (i.e. to ask them about the meanings they attribute to it). Qualitative research was required to inquire and analyse such hermeneutical questions: this not only gave me an insight into how people actually perform the sound of worship (by means of participant observation), but also enabled me to gen up on the meanings that the sound of worship has for its performers, in an open and explorative way.

[34] The role of the researcher as a participant observer and as analyst of empirical data is further elaborated on below, in Section 5.4.4 (see the passage on codes under 'analysis of empirical data').

A RITUAL-SYMBOLIC ORDER

Investigating the sound in the worship of two churches in Amsterdam Southeast means entering a field and a context that is complex, not unequivocal, multi-layered and marked by diversity. These characteristics do not only apply to the location of these churches – Amsterdam Southeast is an area that bears many cultures and, in this respect, is in fact the entire world in a nutshell – but it also applies to the celebration of worship. I previously described worship as a 'Christian symbolic and ritual order'. To this order – in case of this study: to the entirety of Christian sonic rites and symbols – meanings are attributed. The qualities of sound – indicated by the researcher – thus have and obtain their place against the backdrop of a complex web of meanings. Seeing that qualitative research is based on methods of data generation that are both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced and on methods of analysis, explanation and argument building which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context (MASON 2002, 3), qualitative research proved most promising to study the sound of worship in Amsterdam Southeast: it provided a basic method to constitute compelling arguments on how things work in their contexts and produced well-founded supra-contextual insights.

THE SONIC SPECTRUM OF WORSHIP

To inquire about the qualities of the sound of worship in two specific churches is, in fact, to inquire about the sonic spectrum of worship. This field of research is fairly new and has hardly been discovered; it needs to be explored and mapped. The preparatory theoretical research on worship, performance and sound carried out in the first part of this study, does by no means take the inquiry to its conclusion. If anything, it evokes questions on how this sonic spectrum takes shape in actual liturgical practices. Therefore, although the theoretical part may serve as a source of orientation, on the spot exploration of the liturgical sound *in actu* is necessary.

5.3.2 Ethnographic Research

The object of the investigation concerns the sound of the worship of two different groups. This being the case, liturgical-musical ethnography to me seemed the most suitable research method. As it might not immediately be evident how this method relates to the investigation of worship, I will first enlarge on ethnography itself and then look at ethnomusicology. These prove to be closely intertwined. Subsequently, I will explain why liturgical-musical ethnographic research is promising and contributes to the re-invention of liturgical music studies, on the basis of five examples.

ETHNOGRAPHY

What exactly is ethnography? Martin Stringer (Senior Lecturer in Anthropology of Religion, Ritual and Christian Worship at the *University of Birmingham*, United Kingdom) approaches ethnography as a traditional anthropological method that is based on three essential assumptions: 1) it demands an extended period in the field, rather in years than in months; 2) it focuses on everything that is happening in a specific social context and aims to provide a holistic understanding of that context; 3) it tries to understand the situation being researched from the native's point of view (STRINGER 1999, 43). Hammersley and Atkinson, both social scientists, treat the method somewhat broader. They describe ethnography in its most characteristic form as "the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extend period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research." (HAMMERSLEY & ATKINSON 1997, 1). For that reason, ethnography is committed to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting on the basis of (though not exclusively by) participant observation.

Observation and participation remain the characteristic features of the ethnographic approach (ATKINSON 2001, 4). This means that fieldwork is an important method in ethnography: obviously, participant observation is involved, but in fact it can contain all methods that lead to a comprehensive picture of the social group (or of one of its aspects) that is being investigated: analysis of textual material, analysis of spoken discourse and narratives, collecting and interpreting audio and visual materials (recordings, photographs, videos). To make hard distinctions among these methods is often difficult: in field work, conversations, interviews, all kinds of interaction and dialogue frequently shade off into each other.

Ethnographic research is often very complex. The complexity lies in the fact that this kind of research may defy planning: an ethnographic research strategy must leave enough space for the unexpected. The character of ethnographic research implies ongoing reflection on the process of observation. It is, so to say, "a practical activity requiring the exercise of judgment in context" (HAMMERSLEY & ATKINSON 1997, 23). This does not mean that ethnographic fieldwork does not require a well-considered plan or proper preparations. But it would be fruitless to make observations in conformity with a fixed plan or strategy, without being able to focus on signals that attract attention, on patterns that show up, on occurrences that provide potential answers to the research question. So, the strategy of research is also object of reflexivity: the collection of data and the analysis of these data are not strictly separated. Ethnographic research involves an ongoing process in which the analysis of data can lead to adjustments of the strategy of data collection. Thus, ethnographic research is a reflexive and cyclical process.

Ethnography, like other forms of social research, has a reflexive character. This arises from the fact that social researchers are part of the social world they study. They both observe and participate in the social world (in whatever role). It is not possible for the researcher to escape the social world when studying it, any more than it is possible for the social world to remain unaffected by the research to which it is being subjected. This, however, leads to a difficulty. As Hammersley and Atkinson rightly argue, there is 'no external, absolutely conclusive standard' by which to judge our knowledge (HAMMERSLEY & ATKINSON 1997, 17). However, they say, it is nevertheless possible to work with our knowledge such as it is, provided that we recognize that this knowledge may be erroneous and provided that we engage in systematic research in cases where doubt seems justified. The key solution to the problem how knowledge should be judged, is the human capacity for participant observation. Researchers act in the social world and, at the same time, are able to reflect upon themselves and their actions in that world: once they examine their own role within the research focus, they are able to 'clear' their observations. Thus, they can produce and justify accounts of the social world (HAMMERSLEY & ATKINSON 1997, 18). In this way, participant observation can be a reliable research method for the investigation of a social group.

Both congregations whose 'liturgical sound' I observed in the empirical study, form a social group. As a group, the churchgoers (whether church members or not) share a certain part of their daily lives: at appointed times, they gather to celebrate the worship, in a way that is typical of their congregation. Taking the position of an ethnographer enabled me to examine which meanings were attributed to the sounds of these specific social groups, in their own contexts.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

As I have said, this research project is rather unique in using the concept of 'sound' in a research project on worship in the field of Liturgical Studies. I extensively discussed this

concept in the first, theoretical part of this study and showed that traditional definitions of music have, in the course of time, given way to more open and inclusive descriptions.[35] On the basis of these developments, I concluded that manifold and diverse qualities can be attributed to sound; qualities that are contextually determined. To discover how the sound of worship is contextually determined, ethnomusicology is required: a discipline that concerns the study of music and musical systems in their (cultural) context. Music is seen in its wider context in ethnomusicology, because this context is a crucial part of how a community gives meaning to music and why the community members make music in a particular way.

The discipline is also called 'anthropology of music' or 'ethnography of music'. It examines the 'other' in its own context. However, one always approaches the 'other' against the backdrop of one's own knowledge, views and experiences. As anthropologists have aptly shown, there is a definite risk that we find ourselves 'writing up cultures' according to 'what we think they are like' on the basis of our own cultural dispositions and the knowledge we have. If researchers would avoid trying to grasp the whole picture or the total system from one viewpoint, they would be less susceptible to this risk. In fact, as Thomas Turino (professor of musicology and anthropology at the *University of Illinois* at Urbana-Champaign) rightly mentions, we should question the concept of culture itself, thus preserving ourselves from the assumption of cultural homogeneity within entities like culture, ethnic group or society (TURINO 1993, 8). Veit Erlmann, professor of ethnomusicology at the *University of Texas*, Austin, in his book *Nightsong*, an ethnography of the *isicathamiya* performance practice in South Africa, states that in ethnography the view of the totality can only be a fragmentary, partial one:

> The production and interpretation of meaning – through systematic unpackings, figuring out what the devil they are up to, and so forth – becomes more and more like dancing, Zulu style: a shifting of vantage points, a patch work of steps. The search for a system, the whole or whatever literary metaphor else has traditionally been invoked to mask "the discipline's impossible attempt to fuse objective and subjective practices" has been subverted by the juxtaposition of disparate and discordant realities (Clifford 1986, 109). Like the myriad steps that make up a dance, these realities compete with each other as centers of attention and can no longer be subordinated to authoritative, monologous representations. No bird's-eye perspective brings the field within the sight of any one individual. (ERLMANN 1996, 11)

The end of what Erlmann calls 'authoritative, monologous representations' has a double consequence. On the one hand, the people who give meaning (the dancers, in the example above) are engaged in the research; they become co-researchers, in a way. On the other hand, the researcher, who used to consider himself the subject of a process called fieldwork, increasingly finds himself a member of an audience. Thus, the researcher looses his exclusive right on appraisal, questioning and critique: the production of texts, recordings etcetera is recognized as an essential element of a dialogical mode of discourse. Research has more and more become a relational process: subject and object are no longer separated.

One of the anthropological issues that have been dealt with in ethnographies of performance, is also important in this study: ethnographic authority, or: the question what the role of the ethnographer is in constructing authoritative accounts of performance practices. Erlmann discusses the issue in *Nightsong*. He mentions some self-consciously

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[35] Mary McGann in her work mentions the definitions of music of three ethnomusicologists, all containing the word 'sound' (MCGANN 2002, 20-21): "humanly organized sound" (Blacking), a "system of sound communication with a social use and a cultural context"(Qureshi) and "a system of communication involving structured sounds produced by members of a community to communicate with other members" (Seeger). These definitions have in common that they all mention sound as the basic characteristic of music.

experimental accounts that have marked significant turning points in performance studies and ethnomusicology. In his view, these accounts represent the recent departure from "the detached, objectivist tribe-and-tradition paradigm, prevalent in monographs on performance, music and dance" (ERLMANN 1996, 13), because they do not

> reproduce the rigid distinction between scientific ethnographies and other more conventional strategies of constructing the Other such as diaries and travel accounts – a distinction that has long been recognized as a legacy of nineteenth-century objectivism, and one that is largely maintained in anthropology and performance studies. (ERLMANN 1996, 13)

The author claims that the shifts of the narrative register and the deconstructions of the conventional boundaries between discursive genres, as they take place in these experimental accounts, ultimately undermine ethnographic authority. The truth in an audio or video recording, in a performance or a sentence, is no longer the property of one person, but has become a matter of negotiation, connections and combinations. Multiple meanings come from this negotiation; meanings that cannot be captured from one vantage point.

As has been shown, ethnography and ethnomusicology are closely intertwined. They both enable me to draw a picture of the 'other' of sound in the context of worship, and give an insight into the manifold and diverse meanings of these sounds in each social group (congregation/church). Moreover, they enable me to come to an indication of qualities of sound in the worship of these groups.

LITURGICAL-MUSICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

The aforementioned PhD dissertation of Martin Hoondert showed that liturgical ethnography is a promising method to describe, analyse and evaluate ritual-musical movements. Apart from Hoondert, three other important authors have recently used ethnography as a method of research on (music in) worship: Mary E. McGann, Associate Professor of Worship and Music at the *Franciscan School of Theology* in California, Berkeley USA; Thérèse Smith, Senior Lecturer in Ethnomusicology at *University College Dublin*, Ireland; and Martin Stringer, Senior Lecturer in Anthropology of Religion, Ritual and Christian Worship at the *University of Birmingham*, United Kingdom. All together, in the last decade, these four authors have published five significant works. Admittedly, liturgical ethnography is a very old art – we might say that it was initiated by the pilgrim Egeria in the fourth century[36] – but it is a somewhat lost art. Therefore, I find it important to discuss these publications somewhat more extensively. Another reason to do so, is the fact that (notwithstanding their using the same method) the four authors mentioned are hardly paying attention to each other's works. Only Martin Hoondert refers to the work of Stringer, on which he based his own research, and mentions McGann in a footnote. But neither Hoondert nor the other authors elaborate very comprehensively on their use of the method 'liturgical(-musical) ethnography'. Below I briefly discuss these five publications, since in my view, the present study is continuing a tradition which has only come to the fore in the last decade.

[36] Coming from Galicia (in Spain) or Marseille (in France), this female pilgrim visited the Holy Land. With an eye for detail, she described and recorded in her travel-diary the liturgical events she attended in this foreign land. Her notes contain information on the full range of aspects that she experienced during these worship events. As such, Egeria's diary can be considered the first liturgical ethnography.

On the Perception of Worship. The Ethnography of Worship in Four Christian Congregations in Manchester (1999)

In the introduction of his book, Martin Stringer describes how he, as an anthropologist, came to develop a method that construes the meaning of worship as seen through the eyes of its performers. He notes with surprise that, until then, practically every writer on worship or ritual, whether from a liturgical, a theological or sociological/anthropological viewpoint, had assumed that the real meaning of any rite exists primarily within the texts and/or the performance of the rite itself. Stringer himself, on the other hand, had discovered in the field that

> the 'meaning' of any act of worship existed primarily within the minds of the worshippers who attended the rites and had very little to do with the specifics of the texts or the actions of the worship being used. (STRINGER 1999, 3)

This discovery led him to the application of ethnography to examine "how worship is perceived by those who take part in it every week or every day of their lives" (STRINGER 1999, 17). In his book Stringer presents an ethnographically informed analysis of how ordinary members understand what they do in church, in four Christian congregations in Manchester. The method leads him to formulate three distinct objects that the ethnographer should investigate, namely "what a person says they should be doing", "what they say they are doing", and "what they are actually doing" (STRINGER 1999, 50). What 'should' happen in worship, the liturgical 'order', is often prescribed and visible for all when it is written down in liturgy booklets. What people say they are doing can be discovered through surveys, questionnaires, and interviews. What is 'actually' happening can be perceived by participant observation in their Sunday worship. It is the ethnographer's task to provide a type of analysis that connects the three. Stringer does so by trying to uncover the inner reality of the mind of human beings. This reality is not directly accessible to the ethnographer, therefore he should analyse the event, by listening to, recording, and interpreting layers of discourse.[37] Since I only had nine months to investigate the sound of worship in two churches, I chose to limit my own empirical research to Stringer's second and third question: I tried to discover what people said they were doing, and what was actually happening on the level of sound in their Sunday worship (keeping in mind the usual discrepancy between action and thought). Addressing these questions would suffice to answer the research question. I developed a type of analysis that connects the two.

According to Stringer, ethnography has three forms (or rather: stages) of analysis available, loosely categorized as: 'translation/description', 'interpretation/explanation' and 'theory/generalisation' (STRINGER 1999, 54). In the *first* kind of analysis, the ethnographer tries to present the material from a native's point of view, understanding what it is like to be the individual or social group that is being investigated. At the same time, he translates this material to make it intelligible for other people by giving a sorted, contextualised description. The *second* kind of analysis is based on the first one, but aims to get beyond the surface reality of the situation being translated and described. While interpreting, the ethnographer provides a context of meaning for the events. When he explains the event, he explores the situation by asking questions about the underlying patterns or causes. In both cases, the researcher describes the situation that is observed in terms of something else: something beyond, something which is unobservable, some cause that enables participants to give meaning to the event. The *third* stage of analysis serves as the bedrock of interpretation and explanation: the second stage is insignificant if it cannot be generalised. In the third stage of

[37] Discourse in Stringer's terms consists of "actual statements, or a series of statement, which exist in the world, can be recorded and can be analysed by the scholar" (STRINGER 1999, 61).

analysis, a general 'theory of the mind' is required; a theory "about the way in which human beings function as whole persons in real situations and in social interaction" (STRINGER 1999, 57). This theory gives an insight into the internal reality of the mind, that produces the reality of worship (i.e. the discourse). Obviously, this theory of the mind comes into being through the mind of the ethnographer, but that is, according to Stringer, inevitable and can only be 'solved' by many different ethnographers, working on an increasingly complex theory.

Stringer makes a valuable contribution to liturgical ethnography by remarking that the 'meaning' of any act of worship primarily exists within the minds of the worshippers. However, since Stringer focuses on discourse in his book, the actual liturgical practices of the investigated churches remain at a considerable distance from the reader, which is not only a pity, but also makes it hard to prove that there might be a relation between these practices and their meanings for worshippers.

Exploring Music as Worship and Theology (2002)

Mary McGann, as far as I know, was the first scholar who applied liturgical ethnography to music in a liturgical context. In this methodologically focused work, she reflects on the method which she developed on the basis of her research in the African American Our Lady of Lourdes congregation in San Francisco. Conducting this research, she sought to discover the impact of the vital musical style of that congregation (i.e. gospel music) on their worship and on the embodied theology that emerged in their musical performance (MCGANN 2002, 8). McGann shows she has an eye for the cultural determination of liturgical music. She is aware of the fact that each style or idiom is more than only an acoustic tradition: each style or idiom also carries social customs, ritual expectations, spirituality, and a world view. But when it comes to the musical styles of liturgical music, McGann makes clear that cultural determination alone does not provide a complete answer. Hence it is not surprising that she poses some more questions: "(…) how can we access these musics as complex systems of meaning and explore the manner in which they are used by Christian assemblies? How can we understand these emerging dimensions of our liturgical heritage?" (MCGANN 2002, 9). She concludes that little has been done to develop methods for studying music within a congregation's worship performance, and for assessing how such a performance affects the entire continuum of liturgical action, shaping and expressing an embodied theology. To overcome this deficiency, she proposes an interdisciplinary method to study music within worship, encouraging other scholars to elaborate on her method.

In the first part of this work, McGann provides interdisciplinary orientations to musical-liturgical practice. She comes to a set of assumptions about worship and music, based on three disciplines: Liturgical Studies, Ethnomusicology and Ritual Studies.[38]

In the second part she translates these assumptions into starting points, research methods and interpretive strategies. The first thing a researcher should do is make sure he becomes acquainted with the music, as he becomes acquainted with the church: he needs to learn the complex spiritual and ecclesial relationships that are mediated in the community's life and its liturgical-musical performance. For this reason it is necessary to take the community as the centre of learning and interpreting its practice. "The image, understandings and associations by which they describe and reflect on their experience need to become categories by which we come to know and interpret it."[39] (MCGANN 2002, 39) The researcher's second task will

[38] This set of assumptions is very similar to the theoretical orientations I worked out in the first part of this study (see Chapters 2 to 4). For this reason, I mainly concentrate in this chapter on how McGann makes her assumptions operational to ethnographic research.

[39] This first task may be compared to Stringer's first stage of analysis in which the researcher tries to understand the native's point of view.

be to make these descriptions and reflections available to further reflection within the field of liturgical studies (or within the pastoral group who receives the research).[40] According to McGann, these tasks are best accomplished by means of ethnography, because a method that aims to develop "sustained, detailed, and polyvocal descriptions of performance that are rooted in the understandings and categories of those who perform", is "an effective way to access and describe the nuanced embodied complexity of liturgical-musical performance – to portray lived liturgical life" (MCGANN 2002, 40).

With respect to the phases of research, McGann suggests that at the end of the first phase of research, the researcher writes an ethnographic presentation: a vivid portrait of the community's music and worship, in which he presents the material from the native's point of view, using the congregation's own language and categories of interpretation. In this presentation the researcher also addresses the scholars in the field of Liturgical Studies, exploring the significance of what has been portrayed in the terminology of interpretation that is used within the academic field. The latter bridges the gap between the first and the second phase of research: this second phase contains the integration of the research as carried out and described in the first phase, into the comprehensive work of Liturgical Studies. McGann offers a model of reflection on what is learned; a creative dialogue between the musical-liturgical performance of the congregation and the researchers in the field of Liturgical Studies.

With regard to research methods, McGann presents several strategies for research on liturgical-musical performance: reflexive and 'intentional participation' (which she prefers to the more dichotomous term 'participant observation'), including participation in the music ensemble; ethnographic field notes, using sensitivity and intuition; audio and – at times – video recording; interviews and spontaneous conversations with individuals or small groups; collecting oral, written and pictorial information about the congregation's life and history; dialogical and cyclical self-reflection of the researcher.

For the focused study of musical performance, the ethnography of musical performance is a helpful tool, as "a systematic examination and interpretation of music in context, in this case, within a community and its ritual" (MCGANN 2002, 51). This means the researcher should not only focus on the musical notation of sound structures, but should transcribe the entire event, including the multiple dimensions of musical performance. The event-centred analysis complements the ethnography of musical performance, because it enables the researcher to explore and interpret music's relationship to all other aspects of the liturgical performance. This will provide an insight into the way the music is an integral part of this performance. The first assumption about this analysis is that both ritual and music are patterned actions, which consist of distinguishable elements that structure them. I quote McGann somewhat more extensively as she explains this assumption:

> Ritual action is structured, that is, given performative form, as participants make use of time, space, words, objects, movements, gestures, and so forth. Musical action is structured, given performative form, as participants articulate sound acoustically – melody, words, pitch, rhythm – and perform the music bodily through particular cultural styles of expressiveness and behaviour. Figure 1 [reproduced below, MK] offers a more complete identification of the structuring aspects of both ritual action and music making, allowing for others that might emerge in local practice. (MCGANN 2002, 53)

[40] McGann does not exactly make clear how this 'making available' should be taken. She could refer to translation and description of the event (like in Stringer's first kind of analysis). It is also possible that she aims at interpreting and explaining the event, thus making it intelligible for others (Stringer's second kind of analysis).

Figure 1

Structuring Aspects of Ritual Action	Structuring Aspects of Music Making
• ritual participants (inclusive/roles) • ritual time (real/perceived) • ritual space (architectural/acoustic) • ritual flow (progression) • modes of embodiment (personal/ social) • postures and gestures • actions with words • actions with objects • actions with sounds • movements in space • ritual occasion (specific perceptions/ expectations/associations) (others that may emerge in local practice)	• musical participants (inclusive/roles) • acoustic articulation • words (song texts/other) • form (textual/musical) • pitch (range) • dynamic (range) • rhythm • melody • layering sound • harmony/harmonic rhythm • duration • vocal/instrumental timbre • performance style • range/modes of expressiveness • engagement of body in music making • configuration of voices/instruments (others that may emerge in the field)

(MCGANN 2002, 54)

Through event-centred analysis, the researcher investigates in which way the ritual and musical processes become one, and how this takes place. Having discovered the interaction of these processes, the researcher is able to express how music – because of its constitutive and integral qualities in the liturgical event – can be recognized and interpreted as worship. This ethnographic presentation of the congregation's musical-liturgical action, that portrays the lived experience of the church and explores the significance of this practice for Liturgical Studies, serves as a basis for the above-mentioned creative dialogue with the scholarly field.

The third part of McGann's work provides a model for the integration of the conducted research into the comprehensive work of Liturgical Studies. She favours a dialogue by means of a face-to-face encounter between professional and lay theologians on the basis of a written presentation. She suggests the following dialogue partners: a few members of the community, key musicians or pastoral leaders[41]; a few musicians who know the broader musical tradition of the community; theologians who speak from within the ethno-cultural tradition of the community. Afterwards, she introduces two sets of questions as a framework for the reflection, that are to be used in two phases of dialogue. The *first* phase reflects on music as worship. Its set of questions reads: "What fresh insights does this community's practice offer about music as worship? In what measure do these conceptions confirm, expand, or challenge the categories by which liturgical scholars interpret the role of music in Christian worship?" (MCGANN 2002, 60). The *second* phase reflects on music as theology. Important questions in this phase are: "What has been learned about music as theology within a particular community's music-worship practice? Insofar as music is integral to the

[41] It is important to involve local assemblies, since they "have gained their liturgical competence not through study or office, but through faithful practice, by entering the paschal mystery 'by embodying it ritually'" (MCGANN 2002, 80).

act of worship, how does a community's embodied theology, mediated in musical performance, address current articulations of the theological character of worship? In what ways does it confirm, expand, or challenge the theological categories by which music and worship are currently interpreted within the field of liturgical theology?" (MCGANN 2002, 61) Within this phase of the dialogue, the author advises to centre the questions on six theological dimensions of Christian worship: theological-Trinitarian, pneumatological, sacramental, biblical, ecclesiological, and eschatological. She illustrates her model with a dialogue on the basis of her research in the African-American Our Lady of Lourdes community in San Francisco. In my own research, I did not include such dialogue, simply because of a lack of people who could participate in it, at least from the side of the investigated churches. On the basis of my fieldwork, I was almost sure that neither of the two congregations would be able to 'provide' either the dialogue partners McGann mentions, or other people who have the ability to reflect on their liturgical-musical practice (on any other level than what respondents conveyed in interviews).[42] Therefore, although McGann launches a praiseworthy recommendation, I have doubts about the feasibility and the results of such dialogue.

McGann concludes her book with some implications for future research in Liturgical Studies and ends with the question: are liturgical theologians willing to undertake the experimental process by which liturgical theologies, that in their plurality reflect the diversity of the world church, can emerge?

A Precious Fountain. Music in the Worship of an African American Catholic Community (2004)

In this book, Mary McGann shows what the liturgical-musical ethnography can yield: a highly readable publication in a narrative, descriptive style, on the "rich particularity of one worshiping community whose roots and practice are at once Black and Catholic" (MCGANN 2004, xv). The author emphasizes the need of this new genre of liturgical literature at the onset of a new century: the transition of the (Roman-Catholic) Western church into a pluriform and multicultural world church. Liturgical ethnography embarks on the challenge to probe the cultural intuitions (the structures of thought and feeling that give form to their sense of divine mystery, of self-identity and relationship) that are fundamental to the worship of these multiple ethno-cultural communities. She clarifies why she thinks music is a good 'lens' through which the worship practice of a community and its embodied ritualized theology can be explored: "For all peoples, music expresses their deep intuitions about themselves and their world, the values they hold, and the particular ways they perceive and relate to the mysterious wisdom at the heart of life." (MCGANN 2004, xxi). Interesting is the fact that McGann defines music as 'an encounter between human beings through the medium of sounds and movement', more than as 'organized sound'. This raises some questions – that also cropped up after I had read *Exploring Music* – which are related to the ritual character of music: what happens when one defines sound as a *medium* to realize an encounter? Could one speak about music in worship as a *means*?[43] What does this imply for sound: will it be judged by how well it succeeds in communicating current articulations of the theological character of Christian worship? Will it be evaluated in terms of usefulness and efficiency? And how does music as a means relate to music's individuality? I am

[42] I did present my chapter on sound in the worship of the Ghanaian church to their superintendent minister, though. The main reasons to do so, were the fact that I was not so familiar with Ghanaian culture, nor had mastered Akan: therefore my account of the sound of their worship services could possibly have contained mistakes. I asked the minister to respond, if he desired to do so. He did not. However, a Ghanaian theologian friend who is one of the family there, read my chapter and said he had not discovered serious flaws in my account.

[43] Compare the quotation on the previous page: "Insofar as music is integral to the act of worship, how does a community's embodied theology, *mediated in musical performance* [italics mine], address current articulations of the theological character of worship?" (MCGANN 2002, 61)

wondering whether defining music as a means of communication does justice to the matter, especially in the case of worship: doesn't music 'act' independently as well? McGann unfortunately does not address these questions in her book, which to some extent leaves them dangling in the air.

After her introduction, the author, in a lively style, treats a range of themes that have risen in the field. These key interpretive perspectives introduce the reader to the church[44], and to the church's worship.[45] The final chapters introduce 'pervasive' aspects of the congregation's liturgical practice.[46] Five intermezzo's offer analytical reflections to make transparent what can been learned from the congregation's musical-liturgical action. The thematically organized set-up of the book makes the information offered easily accessible, but also makes the reader wonder what pathways the researcher followed to develop this organization. How exactly did she analyze the data, which steps did she take between the jotting down of field notes and the recordings, and the eventual reproduction of these data?

As in her previous book, McGann concludes with a chapter on the theological implications that are embedded in the narrative chapters. She consecutively discusses: sacramental world view, biblical pneumatology, gospel christology, ecclesiology of the Body of Christ and a historical/social-political eschatology.

Let the Church sing! Music and Worship in a Black Mississippi Community (2004)

Thérèse Smith in this book examines 'facets of worldview and their articulation in expressive culture through religious ritual, music specifically', in a so-called 'black' church. In her view, this is unique in her study: 'the in-depth treatment of the intersection of belief system, expressive culture, and worldview of a single, more-or-less self-contained African American Baptist Community in the Deep South' (SMITH 2004, 1). Her account of the exploration of religious expression in the Clear Creek Missionary Baptist Church Community is by far the most illustrative liturgical-musical ethnography of all publications discussed here: Smith offers a rich set of pictures, extensive musical transcriptions, and an accompanying CD of recordings from actual church services, which are all integral to her elaboration of music and worship in this church. Like *A precious fountain* by Mary McGann, the book is organized thematically. Smith does not give a description of 'what worshippers are doing' in order to confront this with 'what they say they are doing', but illustrates the themes ('identity', 'concepts of time', 'tradition', 'moving in the Spirit', 'prayer' and 'sermon', which are unlike quantities) by means of the collected data. Although an order of service, as well as transcriptions of prayers and sermons are reproduced in the book's appendices, the thematic organization makes the picture of what is actually going on in worship somewhat fragmented and therefore nontransparant. Moreover, the author does not account for her method: why did she choose these particular themes?

In this study, Smith uses 'music' as a blanket term to refer to a variety of performance-related expressions. Songs, shouting, prayers and sermons were all investigated as a part of 'music'. In my view, this is unfortunate: 'sound' (or any other, broader denominator) is a concept that would have done more justice to her research object. By not conceiving it in these terms, Smith lost an opportunity to advance the theory of music in worship. Her study thus remains a liturgical-ethnomusicological account of what is at stake in a particular church. Although valuable in itself, it makes little contribution to the development of a

[44] Chapters 1-6: enjoying worship; rhythms of life and worship; musicians and their craft; brother Banks; growing up in church; being home.

[45] Chapters 7-12: singing the gospel; an oral/aural art; mosaics of sound and meaning; being church; spirit-directed worship; movement toward Communion.

[46] Chapters 13-15: singing and dancing as revelatory of divine presence; the distinctive role of women musicians; the incorporating action of the Holy Spirit.

liturgical-musical ethnographic approach of the research domain from the viewpoint of Liturgical Studies.

Om de parochie. Ritueel-muzikale bewegingen in de marge van de parochie. Gregoriaans, Taizé, Jongerenkoren (2006)

The aforementioned PhD dissertation of Martin Hoondert is the fifth and last liturgical ethnography I mention and briefly discuss here. Hoondert investigated and compared Gregorian Chant, Taizé music and the repertoire of Youth Choirs, and their contributions to the inculturation of worship. As I have said, Hoondert principally bases his method on the work of Martin Stringer, using it to describe and analyse ritual-musical movements in the margin of the parish, and to examine their relations to the (worship of the) centre of the parish. While in Stringer's *On the perception of worship* churchgoers are the informants, in Hoondert's research, singers and other people who have an active role in the preparations for and the performance of the worship services are informants. Hoondert borrows Stringer's distinct objects which the ethnographer should investigate and applies them to his own research. The first object ('what a person says they should be doing') in his research regards the official liturgical framework, to which the ritual-musical movements in the margin of the parish, one way or the other, relate. The second object ('what they say they are doing') can mainly be probed by means of 'personal narratives'[47] of participants in ritual-musical movements (obtained through brochures, articles in newspapers and journals, interviews and conversations during participant observations and written reports on ritual-musical events). The third object ('what they are actually doing') is investigated by participant observation (HOONDERT 2006, 81-86).

Hoondert's work – as far as I know – is the first *comparative* liturgical-musical ethnography ever. Although he does not methodologically elaborate on the comparative aspect of his ethnography, he does elucidate how, in the final analysis, he handles the comparison of his three *loci*. In the final chapter of his book, which contains an evaluation of the outcomes of his research, he says he intends to let the discoveries made in the margin of the parish enter into conversation with the worship of the centre of the parish (HOONDERT 2006, 341). In order to do so, Hoondert looks closely at the qualities he has found in the three investigated repertoires. He first examines the distinguishing qualities of each individual locus by concentrating and summarizing them in a motto (Gregorian chant, motto: appropriating tradition; Youth Choirs, motto: inductive worship; Taizé, motto: devotional ritual) and then compares each motto to the other two. Second, he looks for common qualities that occur in the three loci (HOONDERT 2006, 342). Avoiding to do injustice to the individuality of these repertoires, he considers, in this second phase, the repertoires in their combination and discusses the qualities they share. Thus, he seeks to derive qualities that function as a constant in the ritual and ritual-musical repertoire: 1) musicality, 2) prospects for participation and 3) locus where identity can be found. This way, he discusses the common qualities as they relate to each other and is able to derive dominant, recurring tendencies from these qualities.

Since the immigrant churches, whose sound of worship I investigated, were so distinctive (in their ways of worshipping, in their ways of being an immigrant church, in their cultural backgrounds, in their theologies, etcetera), I gathered that a comparison of the sounds of their worship would raise many difficulties and provide few meaningful results. In general, we may say that the liturgical practices of different congregations arise in such different contexts, that their meanings (not to mention the ways in which these meanings come about) are often hard to compare. Since the qualities of sound are partly based on the meanings

[47] 'Personal narratives' are stories of participants by which they attribute meaning to their ritual actions and the related ritual-musical repertoires. In *Deeply into the bone*, Ronald Grimes has abundantly recorded stories of experience, in order to 'open' ritual (HOONDERT 2006, 81-82).

attributed to this sound, I estimate that a comparative liturgical-musical ethnographic study on the qualities of sound in various churches would be very complicated. Therefore, I chose not to do comparative research on the qualities of the sound of worship, but involve the various qualities in the eventual theological reflection on worship's sound (see Section 8.5).

5.4 The Sound of Worship – A Liturgical-musical Ethnographic Study

By now, it will be understood that I consider liturgical-musical ethnography a proper method to investigate the sound of worship. Bearing in mind the critical remarks I made about the above publications – mainly levelled at a lack of transparency and at insufficient detail in describing how the analysis is derived from the data – I will in this section give account of how I used this method for the present empirical research on the sound of worship in two immigrant churches in Amsterdam Southeast.

5.4.1 Elements of the Research Domain: Sound, Performance, Worship

In ethnography, it is common practice to enter the field without a set of predetermined questions to be asked. Although questions can provide a useful framework for systematic observation of liturgical performance, it may for other reasons be wise not to use this approach. McGann lucidly explains why:

> As a framework for research they [the questions, MK] are formulated in the categories of the researcher. For our purposes, intentional and reflective participation seems a better means by which to allow questions, data, and analytical relationships to arise from, be challenged by and remain grounded in the actual situation of the community's experience and performance. (MCGANN 2002, 47)

In line with this, I did not enter upon the field with a predetermined set of questions. Of course I had an idea about the three elements the research domain included – sound, performance and worship (which I explored in the first part of this study) – and had formulated a research question, but these did not function as a framework or as a set of hypotheses that predetermined the nature of the knowledge I wished to acquire from the field. On the contrary: questions primarily arose from the participant observations in the field.

5.4.2 Strategy of Triangulation

The above-mentioned publications in which liturgical ethnography is used, show the application of various qualitative research methods. All authors carried out participant observation, in the sense that they attended worship services in one or more churches, but combined this with other methods. Besides participant observation, Stringer used textual analysis of scripts, as well as surveys; McGann proposed the simultaneous employment of recording, keeping ethnographic field notes (indicating qualities), interviews and conversations, self-reflection and collaboration with insiders, narrative and descriptive musical ethnography and event-centred analysis; Smith used recordings and did interviews; Hoondert investigated brochures, articles in newspapers and journals, included written reports on ritual-musical events and interviews and conversations. This variety of methods was mostly used to obtain information on different levels. Stringer – and Hoondert in his footsteps – specifically distinguished these levels, by indicating three objects of research: 1) what a person says they should be doing, 2) what they say they are doing, 3) what they are actually doing. In my research, I chose to follow Stringer and Hoondert, and investigated the second and third of Stringers distinctive objects, to get an insight into the meanings of the

sound of worship to its performers, and the actual sound as it was performed in the worship of the two investigated churches. In order to investigate these two objects, several methods were required and several sources had to be consulted.

The application and combination of multiple methods to explore one set of research questions is called triangulation. As Jennifer Mason – Director of the ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Node at the Universities of Manchester and Leeds – indicates, the edges between different methods can become 'quite blurred' (MASON 2002, 59-60). For instance, my participant observations in worship services partly involved the generation of data by sound recording and videotaping sound performances. According to Mason, triangulation throws light on different research questions or can provide different 'levels' of answer, by approaching these questions from different angles. It is not possible to get an accurate reading or measurement of one and the same phenomenon by investigating it from different angles or positions, as if methods could be used to demonstrate the validity of other methods used. This is a misconception, because, as Mason states:

> this implies a view of the social world which says that there is one, objective, and knowable social reality, and all that social researchers have to do, is to work out which are the most appropriate triangulation points to measure it by. (MASON 2002, 190)

Mason clearly rejects a one-dimensional perception of reality and encourages researchers to use triangulation in a rounded and multi-faceted way. My view on the field I entered was in agreement with this: the field of research was complex, not unequivocal, multi-layered and marked by diversity. One thing is for sure: the purpose of triangulation is not to discover whether data are valid or not. However, it can help discovering which *interferences of data* are valid. Thereby it can enhance validity, in the sense that it suggests that social phenomena are more than one-dimensional, and emphasize that the research that is carried out has accordingly managed to grasp more than one of those dimensions. For this purpose, I used methodological triangulation in my empirical research.

5.4.3 Research Sources

I now discuss the sources I applied, while using methodological triangulation. Since these sources yielded data on different levels, they were and could be used at the same time.

INTERVIEWS AND CONVERSATIONS

In contrast with the reflective character of texts, interviews and informal conversations are often more spontaneous. These spontaneous reactions can be personal or even emotional, especially when people are asked to tell about what they are doing in worship. In order to probe the meanings of the sound of worship to its performers (becoming clear from 'what they say they are doing'), I involved these performers in the research and gave them the floor, as informants. After all, as performers, *they* were the ones who attributed meanings to the performance of sound in their liturgies. By asking them what they were doing when performing the sound of worship, by collecting their stories, I obtained an insight into the way these people make sense of the ritual sounds and the accompanying ritual actions and movements. Interviews and conversations proved most suitable for this purpose.

The group of informants was mixed and consisted of key figures, such as musicians, choir members and pastoral leaders, as well as 'ordinary' churchgoers, with 'ordinary' knowledge and their common experience. I let this group of informants define what – for me as a researcher – was important to find out. The number of interviews and conversations was not set in advance, but tended to reach a natural saturation point beyond which no more new information was acquired.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

As has been shown, participant observation (or 'intentional participation') is one of the basic methods of ethnography. In my liturgical-musical ethnographic research, I used participant observation to acquire information on the actual sound of the church's worship ('what they are actually doing'). As a researcher, I joined and observed activities in the investigated churches that foster the sound of worship. This provided information on what the churchgoers whom I investigated were actually doing as regards the sound of worship. Besides, participant observation enabled me to acquaint myself with the natives' points of view in these churches, i.e., to 'learn their language'.[48] This was important in relation to the interviews and conversations. Since I wished to obtain answers that made sense, I needed to pose my questions in the 'language' (the system of terms and concepts) of the church concerned.

Participant observation in the preparation of this study consisted, among other things, of attending worship services and choir rehearsals in the two churches, participating in one of the choirs and in choir performances during services, making field notes of all these activities, taking pictures, making sound recordings and, to a moderate extent, videotapes.

5.4.4 From Empirical Data to Analysed Qualities

In order to contribute to the development of the liturgical(-musical) ethnography as a method, and, at the same time, to try and make my empirical research as transparent as possible, I will now in detail report on the way I processed the empirical data and on how I traced the distinctive qualities of the sound of worship in the two investigated churches.

As mentioned above, I entered the field with a research question, a method and three elements of the research domain (sound, performance and worship) in mind. In each church, the empirical data I collected, consisted of field notes, sound recordings, video clips and pictures of worship services, as well as sound recordings of interviews with several churchgoers. I started processing these data at a very early stage of the empirical research: shortly after I had acquired field notes and had done the first interviews, I began working out these notes and made a start with the transcription of interviews. These were in fact the first steps in processing the data I had empirically acquired. It made me familiar with the meanings respondents attributed to the sound of worship, and made me aware of possible gaps, contradictions and indistinctnesses. I used this information during the observations and interviews that followed, thus trying to elucidate ambiguities and acquire deeper insights. Thus, as is usual in ethnographic research, the empirical research was a cyclical process. There was an overlap in the phases of description and analysis: the fieldwork yielded data, which were described and analysed (by grouping and classifying them); this provided new focuses, with which I again entered the field and collected data – this was an ongoing process. After I had finished the empirical research in the two churches, I completed working out the field notes of all services and choir rehearsals, and the transcription of all the interviews. Concurrently, processing the data of the two churches was terminated.

After that, I first made a profound analysis of the data of the Lutheran congregation and wrote the respective chapter. Before I began, I lacked a clear idea of what the analysis should be like. Therefore, since the amount of data on the sound of worship as performed by the Surinamese Lutherans was somewhat easier to survey (simply because the length of their services was only a third of the length of the Ghanaian services and they only celebrated worship every fortnight, instead of weekly) and because of the fact that I was slightly more

[48] The native's point of view, or: inside perspective, on the sound of worship, in the third part of this study is confronted with the 'outside' point of view of scholars in Theology and Liturgical Studies.

familiar with their liturgical practice and context, I decided to 'do' this church first. I reckoned that afterwards, the analysis of the data collected in the Ghanaian Methodist church, which was more voluminous and – to me as a complete outsider – more impervious, would be slightly easier. Having finished the chapter on the Surinamese congregation, I could follow the same procedure in the analysis of data acquired in the Ghanaian Methodist Church and eventually write the respective chapter.

Analysis of Empirical Data

The analysis of the empirical data included several phases. Throughout all these phases, I used ATLAS.ti, a software program for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual, graphic, audio and video data. Although, while collecting (observing and recording) sound, I did not concentrate on any sound in particular, in the analysis, I focused on vocal sounds, more than, for instance, on a musicological analysis of the sounds produced by musical instruments, because the churchgoers themselves were important performers of sound.

Before I continue the detailed report on how I processed the empirical research data, I need to say something about 'codes'. This term is often mentioned in the report, but it is necessary to elaborate on it beforehand, because it refers to different ontological entities: a code may point to a perception of an empirical phenomenon, a reconstruction of a perception of an empirical phenomenon, or an academic construction of (a reconstruction of) a perception of an empirical reality. As I indicate below, these codes all relate to the empirical reality. But they differ in nature, since they are multi-layered.

As a researcher, I investigated an empirical phenomenon, a reality, namely: what was happening in worship on the level of sound (in two churches). I did this, among other things, by participating in worship services. But although the sound of these worship services was a 'reality', I could not grasp it: I could only come close to it, by means of (1) my own perceptions of what was happening there (during participant observations) and by means of (2) informants' and my own reconstructions of perceptions of what was happening at the time (during interviews). My eventual analysis consisted of (3) cultural-anthropological interpretations of (reconstructions of) perceptions of reality.

To give some examples: I observed people singing, I saw someone drumming, I felt someone behind me was jumping while praying (all perceptions of a phenomenon); I spoke with interviewees about their dancing sound performance in church (reconstructions of their and mine perceptions of a phenomenon), of which they said it was done orderly (interpretation of their reconstructed perception of a phenomenon). Eventually four codes (two in each church) appeared to be identity-determining characteristics of the sound of worship. Although in Chapters 6 and 7, I refer to these as 'qualities', they are codes in the sense that they are academic constructions of (reconstructions of) perceptions of empirical realities. The quality 'openness' of the sound of worship, for instance, is my academic construction on the basis of people's interpretations of the empirical phenomenon 'sound' in this congregation, which they point to as 'open' – referring to a reality which could also easily be perceived as 'open' by any passer-by who joins them in the celebration of worship.

In the continuation of this section, codes such as 'dancing', 'drumming', 'jumping' etcetera, refer to (reconstructions of) perceptions of empirical phenomena – these are called 'sound codes' (compare the abovementioned number 1).[49] Codes like 'joyful', 'melancholic', 'neatly', 'orderly', 'ambivalence', 'patchwork' refer to interpretations of (reconstructions of) perceptions of empirical phenomena – I call these 'meaning codes' (compare the abovementioned number 2). Codes like 'definition of Surinamese', 'significance of language',

[49] When the words 'sound code' or 'sound aspect' are used, sound related codes (regarding the performance, for example) are included.

'discontinuity', 'authenticity' etcetera, refer to my constructions of the informants' interpretations of empirical phenomena – these are called 'constructed codes' (compare the abovementioned number 3).

The first stage of processing the data consisted of inductive coding of the interviews (compare number 2). I chose to analyse the interviews before the field notes, because I supposed that this would be the only workable order: if I did not start with the things people said about the sound of worship, I would not have had any other focus but my own interest, while analysing the actual sound of their worship. Since, at the end of the day, the ethnographer is bent on picking up the native's point of view – of course I was not a *tabula rasa*: the theoretical basis of the project was at the back of my mind, but still – in choosing the codes, I tried to stay as close as I could to the text of the interviews. I adopted words and remarks of interviewees as codes ('coding in vivo' – thus labelling their reconstructions of perceptions of empirical phenomena, as well as their interpretations of it – such as 'that is my root!' and 'formerly in Suriname…') and thereby tried to get a picture of the meanings they attributed to the performed sound of worship.

After this 'open coding' of two or three interviews, creating new codes for relevant remarks, I started 'coding by list', using the list of codes that had gradually come to evolve. I only added new codes to the list if the existing collection of codes would not do, and a new code seemed to be entirely unique and essential. Once I had finished coding the last interview, I went through the code list and decided to merge codes (of the same ontological kind) which were hardly distinguishable. With this slightly adapted and condensed code list, I went through all the interviews again for a second round of coding, in which I checked and refined the assigned codes. When two codes (of any kind) often co-occurred, I manually linked them, so that in the end I would easily be able to see which codes were mutually related.

The second stage of the analysis contained the coding of field notes on worship services, supported by video clips and sound recordings. This coding concerned my perceptions of the empirical reality in which I participated during worship (compare number 1). Whereas the interviews had a more inductive focus to lead me to the meanings people attributed to the sound of worship, some guiding structure was required to be able to code the field notes and observations of worship services and choir rehearsals. Therefore I set up a code tree of sound aspects that could serve as parameters (derived from the theoretical part of this study) and encoded all field notes. Sound recordings, video clips and pictures were used as a means of control. The code list that had evolved after the coding of the interviews at the first stage, which only consisted of meaning codes, was now being expanded with sound codes (number 1) like 'performer: congregation', 'volume: loud', 'timbre: harsh', 'form: standing', 'bodily engagement: arms', etcetera. Here too, I inserted a second round of coding of data, to check and refine the first results. Now all data were encoded, and I had to look for themes evolving from these data.

At the third stage, constructing the interpretations of perceptions of reality (compare number 3), I reduced the material by grouping and relating the sound and meaning codes. I started by scrolling the code list and trying to select codes which – on the basis of my knowledge of the data – I considered to be important. I also took into account the codes I had previous linked and the codes that were most 'grounded' (i.e. often assigned to quotations). I thus found several codes that could function as key concepts: most of the Surinamese data could be classified into the groups 'language', 'openness', 'patchwork', 'expressiveness', 'identity', 'religious perception'; most of the Ghanaian data could be grouped along the key concepts 'expressing (oneself/one's faith)', 'relation to God', 'network', 'continuity', 'authenticity', 'responsiveness', 'powerful', 'sharing' and 'dedication'.

At this point, I used the possibility within the software program ATLAS.ti, to create so-called 'network views' (see the end of this section). This enabled me to automatically import into one view all codes that co-occurred with each key concept. For instance, all codes that were assigned to quotations and occurred together with the code 'language', were imported into a network view; all codes that were assigned together with the code 'openness', were imported into another network view, etcetera. Using the mouse, I dragged these co-occurring codes to various sides on the screen and placed them together in groups, depending on their mutual relation.[50] The sound codes I centred in the middle, because they formed an interchange in the network: all meaning codes were related to sound codes, but not all meaning codes were related to other meaning codes. After all, the actual sound was where the process of giving meaning started: sound performance was required in order to be able to attribute meanings to sound. Besides, the meaning codes were many, so I could classify them into several aspects of one key concept and group them around the sound codes.

The result of all this grouping consisted of several overviews, each named after a key concept (i.e. an important meaning code), that each painted a picture of how the codes within one network were related. These overviews were my constructions of (reconstructions of) perceptions of empirical phenomena. They had arisen from my general knowledge of the data, though, and now needed to be checked on a more detailed level. Moreover – as it was my aim to complete the study within the set time – I could not investigate all these key concepts: it was necessary to narrow down the research and focus on two or three key concepts which I could elaborate. Therefore, for each of these key concepts, I manually checked every co-occurring code on the level of the underlying quotations, to determine whether the co-occurrence was accidental or intrinsically meaningful. I reduced, merged and regrouped the key concepts to the point where two strong and dense key concepts were left: 'openness' and 'patchwork' for the sound of the Surinamese worship.

I here illustrate the data reduction procedure I followed on the basis of the six abovementioned Surinamese key concepts ('language', 'openness', 'patchwork', 'expressiveness', 'identity', 'religious perception'), which eventually led to these two qualities. The key concept 'religious perception', compared to the other concepts, appeared to be a category of a completely different kind, extremely dense (i.e. relating to many other codes and key concepts). In fact, it was a basic underlying theme for the meanings of the sound of worship and thus unusable as a key concept that would bring the differentiation that would provide insight into the meanings of the sound of worship. The key concept 'language' did not hold, because it would not lead to an answer to the research question, which inquired about 'qualities': language after all, was a sound (related) code, consisting of only one, limited aspect of sound. The problem was not that language was an unimportant aspect of the sound of worship, but as a key concept it would not lead to a structural insight into an identity-determining characteristic of the sound of worship in this congregation. 'Identity', as such, appeared to be a problematic key concept as well: the quotations that made up this key concept, showed that the co-occurrence of many of their codes was too random. Altogether these codes would not lead to a structural insight into any identity-determining characteristic, probably because they were only indirectly and very loosely related to the sound of worship. Thus, the three key concepts remaining were 'openness', 'patchwork' and 'expressiveness'. I started working these out in this order (the order of density), describing the relations between meanings and sounds, using quotations to illustrate these relations. After I finished openness and patchwork, I came to the conclusion that all data I thought would fill 'expressiveness', were gone: I had already used these data, and it appeared that

[50] For the complete overviews of the eventual 'qualities of sound' see Appendix 2.

expressiveness was part of openness and of patchwork, which were far more cogent qualities. Thus 'openness' and 'patchwork' seemed to be two qualities of the sound of the Surinamese worship. Following the same procedure of data reduction, led to the qualities 'responsiveness' and 'holistic cohesion' for the sound of the Ghanaian worship.[51] For the two churches respectively, 'openness' and 'responsiveness' turned out to be easily *perceivable* qualities (any passer-by attending a service would most likely experience these characteristics of the sound of the worship), whereas 'patchwork' and 'holistic cohesion' rather proved to be *explicative* qualities of the sound of worship: these were less directly perceptible on site, but mainly elucidated the aspects underlying the actual sound and its performance.

After the profound analysis, I integrated the results by writing the respective chapter, elaborating on the qualities and illustrating them with quotations. Then I wrote a thick description of one (or two) of the worship services I attended in each church, in order to draw a picture of the actual sound of worship and its performance.

NETWORKS

The fact that ATLAS.ti offers the opportunity of creating networks, highly contributed to my awareness that the meanings which people ascribe to the sound of worship, are multiple and connected in all different ways. In a network, the elements are not opposed to one another, but together form a 'web' of different relations. The same may be said about the meaning of rituals in general: the ritual is often complex and ambiguous itself (POST 2001, 38), and so are its meanings, which are made up of a number of aspects (associations, connotations, feelings etcetera) that people ascribe to the ritual (KLOMP 2005, 69). Meanings are not set up in a linear way: different aspects of different kinds are mutually related.[52] Likewise, the meanings of the sound of worship are composed of several connotations, associations and sound elements. The sound codes together form a junction in the network, where several meanings make contact. The fact that every element (or code referring to an empirical phenomenon) can be seen as a starting point, is the advantage of a network view in comparison to a more linear scheme and does justice to the dynamic character of meanings.

5.4.5 Course of Research

The empirical research in fact started with the development of a research design, in which I chose the liturgical-musical ethnography as the method to investigate the meanings of sound in the performance of worship. In order to be able to describe and analyse the performed sound in the worship of the Ghanaian *Wesley Methodist Church* and the Surinamese *Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast* (both are further introduced below), I did some nine months of fieldwork in these churches. From October 2006 till July 2007, I conducted research in the *Wesley Methodist Church*. From November 2006 till July 2007, I also did fieldwork in the *Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast*. As I indicated before, I used the research strategy of triangulation and consulted all research sources (interviews and conversations as well as participant observation) during the entire period of fieldwork. I started processing data in an early stage and completed the analysis afterwards.

Now that I have given insight into the methodological framework for the empirical research, it is time to turn to the results from the field. In the following two chapters, I report on the sound of worship, its meanings and its qualities in these two churches.

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[51] For the qualities and their aspects: see Sections 6.4 and 7.4.

[52] Compare my remark on worship in Section 1.4: "worship becomes a meaning network that relates to and intersects with other meaning networks".

6 'WE ARE RICH!'

The Sound of Worship as performed by Surinamese Lutherans

6.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the sound of worship in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast (ELCAS). By rendering this account, I seek to answer the sub-questions of the empirical part of this study, which I repeat once more:

> Which sounds occur in the worship of the respective churches, how are these sounds being performed, which meanings are attributed to these performed sounds and which are the qualities of sound that can be derived from all this?

and

> In what ways do these qualities relate to the contextual background of each of these churches?

This chapter is structured as follows. First, some general information is given on the congregation investigated and the research done (6.2). Then I render two thick descriptions of the sound of worship: one of the celebration of Pentecost and one of the celebration of *Keti Koti* (both in 2007) in this congregation (6.3). Afterwards, I show how two qualities – 'openness' and 'patchwork' – characterize the sound of worship in this congregation (6.4). The last section summarizes this chapter and thus provides an answer to the abovementioned sub-questions for the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast (6.5).

6.2 The Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast

The Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation in the southeast area of Amsterdam is part of the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam. This congregation has several centres that are spread over the capital. On a local level, the Amsterdam congregation is independent. On a national level the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation is part of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands (Protestantse Kerk in Nederland), which came into being in 2004, as a result of a merger of three mainline protestant churches. On an international level, this church takes part in the Lutheran World Federation.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATION

The identity of ELCAS is determined by immigration in two respects. First, the roots of the Lutheran tradition in the Netherlands go back to Germany, in the time of Reformation. In the sixteenth century, the Augustinian monk Martin Luther released a reform movement that spread his ideas across Western Europe. Although in the Northern Netherlands some congregations already sympathized with the Lutheran movement, the first community that clearly presented itself in 1566 as Lutheran was the congregation in Antwerp, in the Southern Netherlands (ZWANEPOL 2002, 17-31, here 17). From there, Lutheranism was brought to the north and was spread, especially via trade centres that attracted merchants from Germany and Scandinavia, and via garrison towns, where German troops were encamped (the services they attended were conducted by Lutheran ministers). From the moment Luther's ideas began to spread in the Netherlands, Amsterdam has had an important role in the foundation of the Lutheran Church in the Netherlands. In 1588, the community had named herself 'a Christian community, dedicated to the Augsburg Confession'. It soon became the largest of all Lutheran congregations, and obtained a strong

position (both in financial and influential respect). To this very day there are ongoing contacts between Dutch and German Lutherans.

Second, the identity of ELCAS is strongly influenced by the recent history of this particular centre of the congregation in Amsterdam. During the 1970s, many Surinamese immigrants came to the Netherlands (this was related to Suriname becoming independent in 1975). A large number of them took up residence in the Southeast part of Amsterdam, that had had a large housing project (known as 'Bijlmer' or 'Bijlmermeer') in the 1960s. Among other religions, they brought their Christian faith: some were Roman-Catholics, others were Reformed or members of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Suriname, and a large number of them belonged to the Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum* or Moravians, in Dutch: Evangelische Broedergemeente, that was and is known for its missionary work in Suriname).[53] Although in general the immigrants, once settled in the Netherlands, did not found their own churches, but became members of the religious denominations they had joined in their homeland (COTTAAR 2004, 61), this was difficult in the southeast part of Amsterdam, because the area had no church buildings. When this part of Amsterdam was built, the church had started to become irrelevant to many Dutch people, and since this tendency was expected to become stronger, the building of churches was considered unnecessary. For that reason, the Surinamese Moravians and the Lutherans started to celebrate worship together in a school building in the southeast part of Amsterdam. They continued to do so until 1993, when they moved to 'De Nieuwe Stad': a new built church – designed by a Surinamese architect's firm in Amsterdam – that was erected and owned by five congregations (the Unity of the Brethren; a Roman-Catholic parish; two Reformed congregations and the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation). In the new building, the Surinamese Lutheran-Moravian congregation continued as one congregation (with three ministers: a Lutheran woman and a Moravian married couple) until 1999, when the Moravians resigned from the cooperation.[54] This decision introduced a crucial period in the history of the Surinamese Lutherans, especially because only a few months before, the Lutheran minister had indicated that she would leave. A new Lutheran minister came (the Reverend Ilona Fritz, a woman of German origin) and started her work in a congregation that was about to split up. Many things were unclear: what would be the outcome of the negotiations concerning properties? Which congregation would get the choir, the organist, the best time of worship and retain the largest number of members (they did not even know how many members were actually Lutheran)? Would the Lutherans, who were likely to turn out to be the smaller partner, financially be able to survive? They decided to chance it, and turned out to be able to build a congregation of their own. From 2002 onwards, Maartje Wildeman joined the Reverend Ilona Fritz as a worker in pastoral care. When the Reverend Fritz left in 2005, Wildeman – a white Dutch female pastor in her thirties – became the succeeding minister and was appointed for 0,5 FTE. She, for her part, left the congregation after five years, in August 2007, one month after I had finished my fieldwork.

FIELDWORK IN THIS CONGREGATION

The fieldwork I undertook in this congregation lasted eight months, from November 2006 until July 2007. At that time, the congregation was (still) small. The average number of people attending on a normal Sunday was between thirty and forty. The congregation still gathered for services in 'De Nieuwe Stad'. This building has two separate sanctuaries for worship services, several conference rooms, a meeting room, a semi-professional kitchen

[53] As we will see in this chapter, this Christian denomination is largely present in Suriname, mainly due to missionaries from the Dutch district.

[54] To date there are several stories about the reason for this decision: the Moravians would have wanted more room for their own tradition, it would have had to do with money, and the Moravian ministers would not have been able to cooperate.

and a central area to meet and greet and share a coffee (on weekdays and in the weekends, the building is intensively used by the owners and sitting tenants). The congregation had its own administrative council, the so-called 'brandpuntraad' (whereas the church council functioned at a local level) and held its worship services every fortnight. During summertime, Advent and Lent, they celebrated together with the (local) Protestant Congregation Bijlmermeer, which was, on a national level, also part of the (united Reformed and Lutheran) Protestant Church in the Netherlands. At the time, the members of the congregation were on average around 55 years old, and the percentage of Surinamese members (mostly women) in the congregation was at least 80% (the others were Dutch Lutherans who lived in the area).

I-2 Church building 'De Nieuwe Stad'. The entrance is situated in the middle. The right part shows the exterior of one of the church rooms, the left part is a meeting room. *June 2007*.

During the period of fieldwork, I attended twenty worship services (with an average duration of 90 minutes) as a participant observer. I recorded the sound of almost every service, made pictures in a few services and made one video recording. I observed one choir rehearsal of 'Elkana' (CD-ROM file 10) and attended a meeting of the congregation's music committee. I also joined the congregation during a part of their meeting at a conference facility in a central area of the country, where some thirty church members spent a weekend reflecting on church life and getting acquainted with one another. I did ten interviews in the congregation, with eleven people. In most cases, I would meet them at their place. I did one interview in the church building 'De Nieuwe Stad', one in a café and one at the secretarial building of the Amsterdam Lutheran Congregation. Choosing my respondents, I tried to see to a variety of people, to get a wide view on the different meanings that are attributed to the sound of worship in this church. I looked for a diversity in age (three people in their thirties, three in their forties, one in her fifties, three in their sixties, one in her seventies), a diversity in involvement and participation in the congregation ('ordinary' church members, choir members, an elder, the (Dutch) minister, her (German) predecessor – unfortunately I failed to persuade the permanent organist to participate in an interview), diversity in sex (which was difficult, since most churchgoers in this congregation were women, but eventually I got two men) and in origin (Dutch and Surinamese). All interviews were done in Dutch.[55]

6.3 The Sound of Worship in ELCAS – Two Thick Descriptions

I attended twenty worship services, two of which I describe here. The first is the celebration of Pentecost 2007. This service can be seen as relatively exemplary for the way worship was

[55] All personal narratives are here reproduced in English. The original Dutch texts of the interviews are obtainable via www.mirellaklomp.nl/contact.html.

being celebrated in this congregation; 'exemplary', in the sense that this service more or less comprised the totality of the various sounds that could generally be perceived in this church. There is much more to say about the worship than I am reporting here, but I limited myself to the main sound aspects of worship. The second service I describe, is the celebration of *Keti Koti* on July 1st, 2007. In this service, the abolition of slavery in Suriname was being commemorated. This was the only service during my research in this congregation that greatly differed from the usual liturgical practice (including the level of sound). Although it concerned a joint celebration of the Lutherans and the (Dutch) Protestant Congregation Bijlmermeer (and although it was conducted by the ministers of both congregations), the service gave much more room to the cultural background of Surinamese church members than was usually the case. For that reason I also included a brief thick description of the sound of this service.

In both thick descriptions, I roughly followed the order of service as presented in the liturgy booklets (reproduced in Appendix 1).

6.3.1 The Celebration of Pentecost, May 27, 2007

BEFORE THE SERVICE

The service in 'De Nieuwe Stad' starts at 10 AM and takes place in a church that – in accordance with the theological tradition of the Lutherans and the Unity of the Brethren, who both use this room for their services – is predominantly decorated in white.[56] A woman welcomes the churchgoers when they arrive and distributes liturgy booklets and hymnbooks.[57] Some 60 people are present, mostly coloured men and women, a few white people. They are sitting scattered over the room that can seat an audience of some 120 people. As usual, the people present are wearing either casual or formal wear. They are chatting while the organist of the day – a man in his eighties, who sometimes stands in for his colleague – is improvising on the first hymn, in a random sequence of melodic and harmonic motives. The church choir 'Elkana' – that consists of some ten (mostly elderly) Surinamese women and is directed by an elderly Surinamese man – gets seated on the left side of the room, at right angles to the congregation. All are in black, wearing a red shawl. The eldest member, who is in her eighties, is also wearing red earrings.

I-3 The choir 'Elkana', singing during a worship service. *December 2006.*

[56] This was stated and explained on the website of the architect of the building, www.lafourenwijk.nl.

[57] The hymnbook that is used in this congregation is called "Liedboek van de kerken in Suriname" (Hymnbook of Churches in Suriname). This book dates from 1999 and is a result of a cooperation between the Reformed Church in Suriname, the Unity of the Brethren in Suriname, and the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Suriname. Therefore, the hymns included originate from various sources.

ENTRY

The minister (wearing a blue gown with a red stole), the catechumens (all dressed in white clothes), and the members of the church council enter from the corner of the room, in procession. The catechumens and the elders take a seat in the front rank, while the minister walks towards the altar table. She has a broad smile on her face and looks around the room while she greets the congregation. This is customary to her liturgical practice: throughout the service, she remains in contact with the congregation in this way, thus making them feel comfortable and at home. She announces the first hymn: "Dank U voor deze nieuwe morgen".[58] This hymn is plain and simple, in words, in melody and in harmony. The organist strikes many wrong keys in the accompaniment and the singing of the congregation is rather out of tune. The song is sung in Dutch, but Surinamese accents are clearly recognizable: a relatively long 'a', a sharp 's', no difference between 'z' and 's', and a round 'w'. From the second stanza till the end, some people are having trouble combining words and melody (only the text is printed on the sheet): they are singing hesitantly. As is usual in this situation, the minister sings into the microphone to be heard more loudly, in order to guide the congregation in the singing. People always remain seated during the first hymn and often sit with their legs crossed, which makes the hymn sound slightly timid and passive.

The first half hour of the service is somewhat noisy, because people keep coming in. As far as the spoken parts are concerned, the service is held in Dutch. The minister only addresses the people in Sranan when she welcomes them as "Brada's en sisa's".[59] After the request to switch off mobile phones and not to walk around while taking pictures, the minister says the invocation that is printed on the sheet: "In de naam van de Vader en de Zoon en de heilige Geest."[60] Meanwhile, she makes the sign of the cross, and so do many Surinamese people. This practice is not very usual in Lutheran congregations and reflects an openness towards other denominations and their rituals.

A prayer is said by minister and congregation in alternation. The next hymn, "Da Gado Jeje moesoe leri"[61] is in Sranan. The organist takes a fluent tempo and the congregation keeps up with him. This hymn sounds far more active, firm, lively and convinced than the first one. Yet, the minister sings as loudly as she did before while guiding the congregation in singing. The timbre of her voice is somewhat shrill, which contrasts the dark and nasal sound of Surinamese voices. Surinamese churchgoers generally sing from their throats, and use the chest registers of their voices: they have a 'folk-like' manner of singing.

In the following Kyrie prayer, the minister mentions the distress of this world (CD-ROM file 1). Doing so, her face clouds over and her voice sounds serious, its timbre is dark and low, the sound level is mezzo piano. Afterwards they sing a *Kyrie eleison* together, on a melody from Paraguay.[62] The organist plays one note to give the pitch, and then starts the accompaniment quite suddenly. As happens quite often, the congregation, unaware of the melody of the song and of the tempo the organist has in mind, joins in hesitantly and uncertainly, singing out of time. Most people take a breath between *Kyrie* and *eleison*, and the organist tends to start each motive slightly ahead of time – both of which are not conducive to a tight rhythm. The melody of the song has large intervals, which makes it rather difficult to sing the song without practice. But once the singing gets going, people begin to recall it

[58] Translation of the title: "Thank you for this new morning". This song is published in the hymnbook of the churches in Suriname as well as in 'Johannes de Heer' – a hymnbook, first published in 1905, that comprises many pietistic texts.

[59] Sranan, or Sranan Tongo is the indigenous Surinamese language. "Brada's en sisa's" means "Brothers and sisters".

[60] "In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

[61] "That God's Spirit should learn [us]." A song originating from the repertoire of the Unity of Brethren.

[62] The song is taken from the Dutch book "Hoop van alle volken", which contains liturgical songs from outside the Netherlands.

from memory. It is repeated twice, which is also helpful. Still the highest note of each melodic line is flat, sounding as if the singers are plodding through a heavy melody.

The Gloria that follows is from Taizé[63]. The organist directly tags this to the Kyrie, playing a long transitional chord. Again, the congregation is not aware of the tempo. The minister starts singing through the microphone, and then the congregation slowly comes in, halfway the second bar. They do not keep up with the tempo. Then, after having been given a short pitch, the minister a cappella sings the liturgical greeting. In contrast to her usual style of performance – and possibly due to the a cappella singing – the minister today does not stretch the vowels or spread the words in time, nor does she sing loud. The congregation sing their response less *parlando*: all syllables are sung with equal length – as is often done in singing parts of the Ordinary, such as Kyrie and Sanctus – and a stress is placed on each individual note. Still, the tempo is fluent.

The Scripture

A Surinamese elder reads from the book of Acts. His Dutch sounds quite melodious.[64] The reading is about the apostles and disciples speaking in their own language. Although this is an immigrant church, the scripture is always read in Dutch, not in Sranan.

The organist plays the introduction to the next hymn[65] in a fast tempo. He strikes many wrong notes, so that the melody comes through in bits and pieces. In the singing the congregation does not keep up with the tempo, and the melodic and harmonic mistakes of the organist complicate this.

The minister takes place behind the lectern to deliver the sermon. Her voice could be characterized as warm and calm, and she speaks in an easy tempo, with a gentle intonation. Her way of preaching sounds and looks comfortable and relaxed. Voice and body are closely connected in her performance; the way she gesticulates with her hands and arms is as gentle as her voice. Turning the upper part of her body, she addresses everybody in the room. Her voice comes across as melodious. Today her performance is less emphatic than at other times. Usually, when she wants to stress her message, she will emphasize the last words of her sentences, slightly increasing her sound volume so that her voice sound becomes sharp and somewhat harsh. Every now and then, her voice breaks because she over-stresses her message and then – since voice and body language are closely related – she also gestures more exuberantly than she normally does.

I-4 The minister of the congregation, delivering the sermon. *Photo by Elsa Aarsen, February 2007.*

[63] Taizé is the name of a small village in France and the international ecumenical community that resides there.
[64] This is often the case when Surinamese people talk in Dutch: they speak with an accent, with a greater ambitus than the Dutch themselves, and emphasize syllables differently.
[65] Both melody and words originate from the Dutch hymnbook that is used in the Protestant Church in the Netherlands.

The congregation sings a children's song (the children themselves hardly sing) about the feast of Pentecost (CD-ROM file 2). As usual, this children's song is accompanied on the piano.[66] The congregation is rather unfamiliar with the melody – which is quite difficult to sing without practice, due to large and varying intervals – but they try as hard as they can to sing along. The minister, using he microphone, clearly leads the congregation in singing. The organist keeps up the tempo, trying not to let his mistakes drag the performance. Since the song is about light, the minister raises a candle during the song, turning her shoulders and face from the left to the right side of the room, thus making sure that everybody sees the light.

CONFIRMATION

Now the confirmation of the five adults will take place. Before the Apostles' Creed is said, the congregation is asked to stand up. An hour after the beginning of the service, this is the first time all rise to their feet. The creed is said in unison and sounds powerfully and convinced. Afterwards, the minister pleads the congregation not to react to the following individual confessions of faith – which will be said by the catechumens – for instance by applauding: "It is not a small matter", she says, "for the catechumens to profess their faith before so many people, and it would be better for their concentration if it is quiet." While the minister is laying on hands, the choir sings several gospel songs; as always a cappella. After an intonation on the piano, they hum their first notes and then start to sing "O Master let me walk with thee". The three verses are in English, Dutch, and Sranan respectively. It is sung in a slow tempo, with big and sudden dynamic differences. At the beginning of each phrase many choir members sing with a slide, stretching the leading note. When they try to sing more piano, they go flat. Some of the younger members – who are in their forties – stress the message of the song by widening their eyes and slightly bending over, moving their heads forward a little, when they sing a word that they like to emphasize. They articulate very well.[67] Another song they sing – and one that is popular among choir members – is "Heer, ik kom tot U".[68]

Now the minister announces – with the same formal intonation as before – the handing over of presents to the catechumens. She makes announcements or gives explanations between the various liturgical elements and during the entire service, thus taking on the role of anchor woman, and she enables everyone to keep up with the service easily. Announcing the next congregational hymn, "Al de weg leidt mij mijn Heiland"[69], the minister jokingly

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[66] Except for the children's song, all singing is accompanied by organ. In this congregation no other musical instruments are used for accompaniment. Sometimes the songs with children are accompanied by piano, as is the case today, but not always. On Christmas night the singing of the congregation was accompanied not only by organ, but also by trumpet. One time, two children played an intermezzo on djembe drums, but this was not used as accompaniment.

[67] This performance was so different from another experience I had in this church. In one of the services there was a gospel choir, called "The New City Voices". This choir, that started as a choir of the Lutheran church, but soon became more famous and ambitious, consists of some ten young women (most of them in their twenties, I guess), all black (with roots in Suriname and the Antilles), except for one. During my research, they took part in two services. They sung with very steady voices and in tune, which made their performance very powerful. Besides they stood up straight, their feet steady on the ground, and used facial expressions (eyes, faces), as well as their hands and arms. They had made up a modest choreography that, in my perception, reinforced the message of their songs. At the end of both services, the congregation applauded to show their appreciation.

[68] "Lord, I come to thee". The text of the third verse, that says: "See me standing before you, I am sinful and unclean" is somewhat inconsistent with the prevailing Lutheran claim that a Christian is *simul iustus ac peccator*. The fact that a Christian is a sinner is clearly expressed in the text of the song, but the fact that he or she is at the same time righteous is left aside.

[69] "All the way my Saviour guides me."

refers to the sermon. The congregation laughs heartily.[70] The organist plays an introduction in unison that consists of half of the first phrase. In the hymnbook, the song starts with two differently punctuated rhythms, but the organist, and the congregation – of which most members do not read music – do not follow the rhythm, nor the notes, as written in the book. The organist is frequently lost and out of meter, which forces the congregation to rely on themselves. Still, he tries to keep the tempo. The congregation, that has a very elementary way of singing (sharply, from the throat and with many slides), is behind. Nevertheless, the song is well-known and – as is the case with all well-known songs – sung rather firmly.

PRAYERS

One of the elders greets the people: "Congregation, good afternoon", but then – realizing that it is only 11.30 AM – she corrects herself, saying "well… good morning." Many people laugh. Then she reads some announcements from a sheet of paper, looses the thread a couple of times, and concludes by announcing the anniversary hymn. But then the minister comes in, and says that she first wants to congratulate some people. She takes up position in front of the altar table and in a soft and friendly voice asks several members of the congregation to come up to her. In the last two weeks, these people have celebrated their birthdays or their wedding anniversary or have experienced other important events. The atmosphere is informal, people comment, laugh, or smile in appreciation. The entire congregation congratulates the people in front by getting on their feet and singing "Welk een vriend is onze Jezus"[71]. The song is sung off-pitch, and the harmonic accompaniment of the organist – that is based on three main chords: tonic, dominant and subdominant – contains many mistakes in the bassline, which results in unintentional dissonant chords. He shortens the final notes and quarter rests, as a result of which he and the congregation are not together. In the last stanza some people spontaneously sing some descant-like responses in the rests between the melodic lines. During this last stanza, the minister personally starts congratulating the people who had their anniversary, kissing some of them, saying a few words and wishing them all the best.

During the offertory, the organist plays a solo piece (using flute stops); meanwhile three women go around with offertory bags. Towards the end of the piece, the collectors come up to the altar table and take position in front, facing the minister, who is behind the table. They remain standing there during the offertory hymn that follows. The organist plays the first note and then starts the harmonization. Taken by surprise – since the organist hardly prepared the beginning of the hymn – the congregation fails to come in. At the same time a two year old child starts screaming. The child is first hushed to keep quiet, but then starts screaming even louder. This is a regular event during worship. The parents – who only remove the child as a last resort – seldom take her outside, in spite of the fact that their child disturbs the service; the minister sometimes has to stop praying or preaching, and wait till silence falls or the child is eventually taken outside. While the singing of the offertory song gets going, some people look in the direction of the child. Near the end of the hymn, the screaming has turned to crying. Afterwards, with her hands (open, palms up), head (nodding) and face (smiling) the minister invites the collectors to lay the offertory bags down on the altar table.

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[70] In general the congregation does not seem to feel ashamed physically uttering their feelings during the service.

[71] "What a friend we have in Jesus", taken from the hymnbook of the churches in Suriname (the hymnbook refers to the publication of the hymn in 'Johannes de Heer').

I-5 The congregation, a mix of Surinamese and Dutch churchgoers. *Photo by Elsa Aarsen, February 2007.*

The minister says a prayer, consisting of four intentions. While praying, she uses the medium register of her voice and a medium volume. She bows her head; her hands are up and somewhat bent. After two prayer intentions the organist lays down a chord and only a fraction of a second later, first the minister and then the congregation join in and acclaim in English "Give me oil in my lamp"[72]. Only the text is printed on the sheet – again: since many people do not read music, printed music would hardly be of any help – and the congregation obviously knows the melody by heart. Here too, some people (including the minister) spontaneously sing a descant. One woman is slightly rocking to the beat, on her seat. Then the third and fourth intention are said, but these are followed by a different acclamation; the minister finishes saying the intentions by speaking the phrase "Zo zingen wij"[73] and hasty and without intonation starts singing: "O let the power fall on me…". Since she switches between speaking and singing rather fast, and does not take the time to find the pitch, the beginning of her singing is off-pitch. She adjusts her pitch after a few notes; the congregation slowly starts joining her. The entire acclamation is sung a cappella, which makes their elementary singing clearly audible: from their throats, rather sharp, using the chest registers of their voices. After the final intentions the congregation concludes – in a direct modulation to one tone above, and without any transition that links the new key to the old one – with the acclamation. Most of the people breathe in the middle of a melodic line, cutting (melodic and textual) phrases in smaller parts. Some women sing very actively, distinctly articulating every word, closing their eyes during the song, slanting their heads, rocking it to and fro.

Blessing

When the minister announces the final hymn, all get on their feet. The organist plays a short introduction in a random sequence of melodic motives and with two harmonic modulations. The tempo of this introduction is much too fast, and only when they start the hymn, he slows down. The entry of the congregation is shaky; they start slowly, but once they get into their stride, they keep the hymn going. The organist plays a lot of whoops in the bass line and in his final two chords. The minister slightly rocks her shoulders and moves her face. Then she blesses the congregation in a fluent tempo and with a firm voice. The congregation responds with a sung threefold 'Amen' that sounds monotonous.

After the blessing, people normally start shaking hands immediately and wish each other a blessed Sunday. Today the minister has asked them to take their seats again. Then she announces her planned resignation. Halfway through the first sentence, when people start to

[72] A gospel song, published in the hymnbook 'Johannes de Heer'.
[73] "So we sing".

realize the message that she is bringing, they gasp in astonishment. The minister's voice is already broken when she starts talking, there is a lump in her voice and soon tears fill her eyes. Members of the congregation also cry; many handkerchiefs are rustling. When the minister has finished, the organist starts playing a solo piece by Johann Sebastian Bach. The congregation slowly moves towards the exit, some 110 minutes after they have entered.

6.3.2 The Celebration of Keti Koti, July 1, 2007

BEFORE THE SERVICE

For the celebration of *Keti Koti* (literally: breaking of chains) – a joint service of ELCAS and the Protestant Congregation Bijlmermeer – most Surinamese people dress differently from the usual: many women are clothed in colourful Surinamese clothes with all kinds of designs, wearing anisa's (Creole headscarves that, depending on the way they are tied up, symbolize a certain message[74]). The two ministers who conduct the service both wear colourful patterned African stoles. The worship room too is specially decorated for the event: through the room, large coloured rectangular pieces of cloth are hung up, with various images of broken chains, words like 'Paramaribo', 'Suriname' and the year '1863' (when slavery was abolished). A liturgy booklet with the order of service (reproduced in Appendix 1) is being distributed at the entrance, together with the Dutch hymnbook.

I-6 Members of the choir Elkana wearing anisa's during the Keti Koti celebration. *July 2007*.

THE SCRIPTURE

In this service there is much room for the cultural background of the Surinamese church members, as appears from the extended use of Sranan. The Bible reading (Psalm 116) was split into two parts: the first part is read in Dutch (it is printed in the liturgy booklet in Sranan), the second part is read in Sranan (printed in Dutch). Moreover, in this service, six hymns are sung in Sranan; after the sermon – which also includes some Sranan words and sentences – a poem is being read in Sranan (CD-ROM file 3); and both the official and unofficial national anthems are sung. The use of this indigenous language highly contributes to the fact that the celebration of *Keti Koti* oozes Surinamese culture[75], more than worship services in this congregation usually do. Then 'Elkana' sings a song in Dutch (CD-ROM file 4).

PRAYERS

The liturgy booklet mentions a Surinamese song (in Sranan) that is inserted between a prayer of thanksgiving and the intercessions. This song is sung a cappella. The minister starts the singing, the congregation hesitantly joins in. By the end of the second stanza the former

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[74] These messages vary from "Go and be hanged!" and "Wait for me at the corner" to "I am in mourning". See CAPRINO, M.H. on http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/binn011sran01_01/binn011sran01_01_0008.htm.

[75] In this chapter, I use the term 'the Surinamese culture', including the enormous diversity of this culture as described in Part I.

minister, who is seated among the church members, starts a rhythmic hand clapping. Soon, most people have joined her and clap enthusiastically. During my empirical research in this congregation, this is the only service in which I hear and see this kind of handclapping.

I-7 Church members singing the Surinamese National Anthem. *July 2007*.

BLESSING

At the end of the celebration, after the blessing, the official Surinamese national anthem is sung standing. This singing is part of the celebration of a national feast such as *Keti Koti*. One woman sings this national anthem with formal solemnity: by heart, looking straight ahead and with the right hand on her chest. Earlier in the service, both the unofficial Surinamese and the Dutch national anthem have been sung. Nobody performed these national anthems with the same solemnity (although people spontaneously stood up to sing the unofficial Suriname anthem). Some of the Dutch people present did not care to join in with even the first stanza of the Dutch national anthem.

6.4 Qualities of the Sound of Worship

From the analysis of the sound of worship and on the basis of the interviews conducted, I was able to indicate two qualities that characterize the sound of worship in this congregation: 'openness' and 'patchwork'. To some extent, these two qualities differ in character: the first one particularly relates to the actual performed sound as it can be perceived, the second one is an explicative and more reflective quality that rather elucidates the underlying aspects of this sound. I will now elucidate these qualities and their various sound and meaning aspects. Personal narratives are indicated by 'N'. For privacy reasons, interviewees are represented with fictitious names (the two ministers excepted). The companion overviews of the specific sound and meaning codes that make up each quality can be found in Appendix 2.

6.4.1 Openness

The quality 'openness' refers to the boundless character of the sound of worship. It is boundless in the sense that sound is seldom limited by strict rules or controlled by all kinds of criteria concerning its performance, but is open to every churchgoer and to every way of performance. On the basis of observations and interviews, it appeared that there are three aspects to this openness: accessibility, freedom, and appearance. All three aspects of this quality are discussed below.

ACCESSIBILITY

Several sound aspects seem to relate to what respondents described as the 'accessibility' of worship in this congregation. From the sound elements that were mentioned in the thick description of the celebration of Pentecost, one might indeed get the impression that the

worship of this congregation is rather easily accessible and that its sound is not intended to meet any 'aesthetic' performance standards: both the congregation in general and the choir often sing off-pitch; rhythms and rests are not performed as printed in the books or on the sheets; the tempo of the congregational singing may change within one and the same hymn (to sing evenly and in time is not required); the organist makes many mistakes; the congregation and the organist are not always together, their performances are uneven; the choir uses only big and sudden dynamic shifts; the instrumental and vocal sounds are performed as individual notes; melodic and textual phrases are cut into smaller parts; the organist improvises with random sequences of melodic and harmonic motives; his introductions are short, and will transition to the beginning of a hymn in unexpected ways; people are chatting; children are chattering and/or screaming. During the celebration of Pentecost I observed that these 'imperfections' seemed not to bother anyone. Besides, I observed – as was the case from the very first service I attended – that the minister would take on the role of anchor woman by introducing the liturgical elements, thus 'hosting' the celebration. She enabled people to keep up with the service, by announcing the next element and explaining its meaning. She thus guided churchgoers through the service and made worship comprehensible.

From interviews I gathered that the accessibility of worship indeed depended more on the *performance* of the sound than on the actual performed sound, and also depended on the extent to which the churchgoers were able/enabled to (actively or more passively) participate in this performance. Respondents, for instance, did not talk about the vocal quality (sweet, loud, delicate) of the minister's voice, but emphasized the fact that she supported them in singing. Surinamese interviewees would praise the choir 'Elkana' for their time spent rehearsing, for their efforts made, and for the inspiration that emanates from their performance. Such were the qualities that the churchgoers highly appreciated concerning the sound of worship, and these were more crucial than the 'imperfections' of pitch, tempo, or timbre that I observed. Surinamese interviewees clearly attach great importance to the intention that informs the performance, as appears from the following quotation:

N-1 *Mirella* How do you feel about the services in which they ['Elkana'] sing?
Sherron It is *always* an enrichment. I think it is wonderful that women of the age of 84 or 85 still sing! (...) And when I see these little old women, and the effort it takes them to get on their feet, and the fact that they practice like this. (...) They sing with such inspiration. (...) Even if they would sing off-pitch, I would not notice, because I simply enjoy the fact that they sing with such great pleasure. (...) Yes, of course, the more they sing in tune, the better it is. Sure. Because I do hear it when they sing off-pitch. But I really do not mind if they sing somewhat out of tune. But their inspiration, yes, that really appeals to me![76]

Clearly, it is not that this Surinamese interviewee did not notice the actual performed sound: she did, but she considers it less important than the intention that informs the performance. The same may be said about the Dutch minister, who is fairly clear about her criteria concerning the sound of worship. It is obvious that both she and the aforementioned Surinamese respondent consider the intention that informs the sound performance most significant:

N-2 *Mirella* It [the singing of 'Elkana'] was rather off-pitch. Does that matter, do they hear that, or not, or it is unimportant?

[76] Interview with Sherron, April 27, 2007.

Maartje Well, their former conductor, Mrs. Z, often accompanied them on the piano, because they always tended to sing out of tune, but also because they have such a sharp way of singing and then they push it even harder. And that way it soon becomes off-pitch. And the trebles, they are just very old. I once joined them in singing to keep the pitch, but I stopped, because I felt that I was wearing two hats during the service. Then it is off-pitch, fair enough.
Mirella Do you find it important, that the sound is in tune?
Maartje No. Look, when it is really too awful to listen to, then I would regret it. But no, I do not think it is the most important thing.
Mirella Are there church members who think it should be more in tune?
Maartje Well, last year at the feast of Pentecost I had one catechumen from outside the congregation (...). Afterwards she said that she found the choir ridiculous and not nice. I was really insulted. I thought: "Of course it was not great, but they sung for you: after each blessing they sung for you catechumens." So you have to be into it, to be able to appreciate it. Because it was far from magnificent, but it was really well-meant.
Mirella So these are the criteria: whether it is well-meant and done with sincere intention?
Maartje Yes. That is it.[77]

One interviewee however, a Dutch man, did not agree with an appreciation of sound performance that was only based on intention. He really seemed to care about the actual sound itself. If it were up to him, the current performance would lead to far-reaching consequences:

N-3 *Mirella* The fact that you are not fond of 'Elkana', is it only related to their repertoire?
Niels No, their age plays a part, and the sound they produce. (...) They do the best they can, but to be honest I think it is a waste of money. (...) If they decided to abolish that [choir], I would not weep over it.[78]

This respondent seemed to be the only one among the respondents who was of a different opinion. Nonetheless, the general appreciation of and focus on the intention that informs the sound performance, evoked the feeling that anyone could participate in the performance of sound and that, in this way, worship was accessible for everyone.

Another thing that seemed to contribute to the accessibility of the worship service was the noisy atmosphere that arose with the audible presence of (chattering or screaming) children. I also elaborate on this subject below (see N-4), but I here mention the children's noisiness. Small children often chattered, meanwhile walking around, and sometimes a child would scream or yell. Nevertheless, the service just continued. At times, the minister had to wait till the sound diminished, but mostly she just increased her speech volume. Children were seldom taken outside the room, nor did anyone try to encourage the parents to do so. This likewise relates to the prevailing view on worship within this congregation: it is not an aesthetics exercise but it is there for everyone to take part in. No one needs to be afraid to sing out of tune, or at the wrong time, or make any other 'mistake', or worry that their child starts screaming, simply because these things are accepted as a fact and are not considered to be undesired sounds or mistakes.

Freedom

Other sound aspects of the worship services in this church that contributed to the quality 'openness', specifically related to people's feeling and experience of being free in worship.

[77] Interview with Reverend Maartje Wildeman, December 5, 2006.
[78] Interview with Niels, March 12, 2007.

This 'being free' turned out to have facets of feeling welcome, feeling at home and being oneself.

During the celebration of Pentecost as described above, several members felt free to spontaneously sing an echo or a descant during the congregational singing. Besides, the congregation itself did not seem at all hesitant to sing *a cappella*. In addition, I observed that people feel free to show their emotions during worship: they laughed when something funny happened; they cried when they were touched or sad; they applauded when they appreciated the singing of a choir or nodded their approval with something that was said.[79] And when they began the service in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, people felt free to involve their bodies (head and torso) as well, and made the sign of the cross. Furthermore, people wished each another a blessed Sunday or (when the Lord's Supper is being celebrated) shared a sign of peace, meanwhile walking around and shaking hands or kissing in addition to their words; they stood up and left their seats, and came up to the front to receive congratulations while other people sang to them (in this service even a guest of one of the catechumens felt free to come up because he had had his birthday). Last but not least, during the eight months of fieldwork, I heard and saw the entire congregation, without any hesitation, sing in all kinds of (familiar or unfamiliar) languages, such as Dutch, Sranan, English, Spanish, Xhosa, Hebrew, and the Greek and Latin that come with the Ordinary. As I demonstrate below, the minister (in cooperation with the music committee) appeared to be relatively free in the choice of music, no matter what the language of the texts might be. In general, one could say that the performance of sound in the worship of this congregation reflects a certain sense of freedom to perform sound and freedom to express themselves (and their faith), in sound as well as bodily.

From interviews it appeared that people closely related this freedom to express to the freedom to be yourself: to be who you are, to move the way you want, to sing the way you feel like, to express the meanings you attribute to things that are said or done. These things all seemed to relate to the acceptation of people's (cultural or personal) identity. In one of the interviews, the respondent stressed the fact that she feels accepted as a person by the worship of this congregation. According to her, the minister plays an important part in the creation of this freedom: the things she says, in combination with her appearance (an aspect I will further go into below), give her the feeling that in worship all, both young and old, are free to be themselves:

N-4 *Thomasina* With her, everyone is welcome, and she radiates that. When a child is walking around, crying, or a child is frolicking about, you sometimes see people looking irritated, but you will never see her do that! (...) Sometimes she is maybe too patient, but she is very patient. And she sometimes waits, patiently, till she can proceed: she is considerate towards them. But she will never say: "Go with your child... go away", whereas somebody else might say that. I find that very nice. (...) God also said: "Let the children come to me." And that is also what she does.[80]

A Dutch interviewee related the freedom for people to be themselves in worship to the openness of Surinamese people in the congregation:

N-5 *Victoria* What strikes me and gives me rest is, for example, that during the service children are easily accepted, even when they are somewhat more boisterous.

[79] The request of the minister in the service on Pentecost not to react on the personal professions of the catechumens, for instance by applauding, might indicate a normal habit to do so. Otherwise her remark would have been useless.

[80] Interview with Thomasina, May 10, 2007.

That is the way it is in our services. I experienced that they [the Surinamese people, MK] have less difficulties with that.

Mirella So in that sense it is very open to everyone?

Victoria Yes, it is. (...) I do not know whether that is typically Surinamese, but compared to other churches I have visited (...) (this congregation) is indeed far more open and free, and that also gives me the feeling of being more welcome.[81]

Although this respondent was not a Surinamese person, she felt welcome and accepted just the way she is. What is more, what she appreciated about the worship of this congregation appeared to be exactly this difference (and the variety that comes with differences), that revealed itself in sound: she attributed meaning to the use of Sranan, *because* she did not speak, nor fully understand this language. It is especially this otherness that was meaningful to her, and she based this meaning on the Bible:

N-6 *Victoria* If they would omit it [the use of Sranan] from the service, I would miss it, yes! (...) I don't know where, but in the Bible, I think in a letter of Paul, it says that various languages are spoken by a variety of people. And I think this fits the identity of people and the openness that one should be able to experience things from various sides. In that way, you experience something you do not have of your own, but that is passed to you.[82]

Another interviewee, a member of the choir 'Elkana', told me that she collects all kinds of songs for the repertoire of the choir, no matter the language: words may either be in Sranan, or in Dutch or in English or in any other language.

One of the Surinamese respondents claimed that the present multicultural society is necessarily being reflected in the church – especially in this part of the city of Amsterdam, where many immigrants live – and thus that any language is welcome:

N-7 *Ricky* By chance we do not have Moroccans or Turkish people in our congregation, but when a Moroccan or a Turk would come to our church, then we should sing a Moroccan hymn! I think that is fantastic! It's just how it should be.

Mirella But you said: it [singing in her own language, Sranan] belongs to the identity.

Ricky Yes, those Surinamese songs, yes: I am a Surinamese, so it is some kind of identification. You recognize your own culture in those songs.[83]

This quotation makes clear that the respondent finds it important to be open towards others, including (or: no matter) their cultural background. According to the former minister, however, this free and open attitude towards the 'otherness' of people was no matter of course when she came to serve the congregation. She really had to discuss the issue with church members:

N-8 *Ilona* They had said to me: Mrs. D. [her predecessor] has really become Surinamese. And then I said: let us start by saying that with my German background I am a Western European, you are Surinamese, so let us try to build an international, intercultural congregation – that we respect each others differences. I said: I find that important. Because I will not assimilate, neither will you, so together we need to learn to manage that. Besides, ten percent [of the congregation] is white![84]

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[81] Interview with Victoria, May 10, 2007.
[82] Interview with Victoria, May 10, 2007.
[83] Interview with Quentin and Ricky, April 17, 2007.
[84] Interview with Reverend Ilona Fritz, June 19, 2007.

Obviously, identity and the recognition of cultural background are significant themes in this mixed congregation. The freedom for everyone to be themselves, and the openness towards each other's differences, asks for and leads to a patchwork sound of worship, in which there is something for everyone. This quality, that perfectly seemed to match the cultural background of the Surinamese people, is discussed in the Section 6.4.2. I here note that it is related to freedom, in all its facets.

Inhibition

The abovementioned freedom, that characterized the performance of sound, had another side as well: the performance of sound also appeared to be attended by a certain inhibition. I consider this a negative aspect of freedom, relating to a feeling of embarrassment or worry that prevented churchgoers from performing sound the way they were inclined to or would like to. Inhibition thus showed a limit to people's experience and to their expression of freedom in the worship of this congregation, which often became evident in a decreased sound performance. Surinamese people in general seemed to be quite expressive, but their performance of sound in worship did not show this. I give two examples of this vocally and bodily inhibited sound performance, on the basis of my observations. First, when the liturgy booklet contained an unfamiliar hymn, the congregation nearly always performed it in an inhibited way. They did not sing freely, but rather hesitantly and in a low voice. Second, the congregation performed sound in a physically rather austere way: the singing of a song that was accompanied by rhythmic handclapping during the Surinamese *Keti Koti* celebration (see the thick description in 6.3.2), was the only physically exuberant expressive movement I noticed during my fieldwork in this congregation. This clapping was not instigated by Surinamese people, but by the former minister of the congregation, who is a Western European. Nevertheless, the moment she started, people immediately joined in and many of them clapped along very enthusiastically.

From interviews I learned that, when a hymn is really unfamiliar, people become frustrated. Singing a song one does not know (or hardly knows), is distracting, respondents said: they are so busy trying to get the melody, that they cannot concentrate on the words and when things sound clumsy, all they think is "Alright, when will this stop?"[85] (Besides, in these cases they do not experience they are singing *together*, which is also considered very important.[86]) Their aversion to unfamiliar songs and their hesitant and low performance of these songs seemed to relate to two things. First, Surinamese people are not familiar with reading music, although European musical notation is the only system used in this congregation.[87] Thus the printed music clearly did not support their singing, but – according to several interviewees – was a barrier to an unimpeded performance of songs.[88] Second, the musical instrument that accompanied the singing was mostly the organ – a melodic and harmonic instrument originating from Europe. Several interviewees appeared not to be fond

[85] Interview with Thomasina, May 10, 2007.

[86] One of the respondents told that in Suriname, her mother in law used to sing a particular hymn as a morning prayer (singing seems an important way of experiencing and expressing one's faith for Surinamese people), and that soon after she started, her neighbour would always start answering the hymn. Another example she mentioned, which shows that singing is a collective activity, is the cleaning of the houses before Christmas: "The moment one person starts singing a Christmas carol – believe me, it is like some kind of starting shot: 'Come on, now is time to clean the house!' And then carols resound everywhere in Suriname, and one starts a carol, and another joins in, and those who do not know the words, they hum along. That is how it works." Interview with Letisha, February 15, 2007.

[87] Several interviewees told me that in Suriname, songs are mostly learned by heart. Musical notation systems are seldom used. This explains why printed notes in the worship booklet are hardly helpful for the performance.

[88] In search for a solution, they pleaded with the minister to leave her microphone switched on during the singing, and also asked her not to include more than one unfamiliar hymn per service. The minister is clearly aware of these difficulties and takes them into account, but still unfamiliar songs remain unpopular.

of the organ, and a Surinamese interviewee explained that, in case of unfamiliar songs, she does not receive any support from the organ: she finds the organ distractive, because it makes it difficult for her to keep her focus on the hymn. The following quotation shows that she considered the accompaniment of a hymn on the organ to be very different and far removed from the way they used to perform the same hymn in Surinamese daily life.

N-9 *Thomasina* Surinamese songs, for instance, I think are more beautiful without the organ.
Mirella Without the organ, or without musical instruments at all?
Thomasina Rather without any instrument at all. Just the people who sing. But that mostly goes for Surinamese songs.
Mirella Why does that go for Surinamese songs more than for Dutch songs?
Thomasina Just because… well, it is the way we are used to sing these songs. Because many songs are sung in church, but also on joyful occasions, or situations of grief or sorrow, or…
Mirella You mean: these songs are sung in daily life?
Thomasina Yeah, certain songs are. And in these cases, there is no accompaniment at all, you always sing together with other people, because someone has died, or because you want to give them strength by singing a song. In these cases, it is always without any accompaniment. And the moment you sing these songs in church and the song is being accompanied by the organ, it actually sounds very strange.
Mirella Is it distractive?
Thomasina Actually it is very distractive. For instance the song "What a friend we have in Jesus": we are used to sing this song on many occasions, so without organ or piano. Just with nothing. And then [when the song is being sung in church and accompanied by the organ, MK] all recognition is gone, because you start to focus on the organ. And at that moment, it is just as if the song does not tally![89]

In the eyes and ears of the respondent, the organ here clearly had an alienating effect on the song: this was not how they used to sing it, it confused her, as a result of which she was no longer able to sing it freely. Her confusion and dislike also might have been related to the fact that the organ, in contrast to Afro-American musical instruments, hardly produces a beat. After a service in which two children shortly played the djembe drums (see note 73), many people reacted very enthusiastically, and the respondent said that she would really appreciate it if such things would occur more often: "I, for my part, find that there is no harm in swinging a little more, really! (…) That wouldn't be amiss!"[90] This reaction reinforces the thought that, from the viewpoint of people's Surinamese cultural background, the organ was a relative 'stranger' in the performance of songs and (unconsciously) caused an inhibited performance of sound. The suspicion that other musical instruments would also evoke an other performance, raises the question whether the sound of worship of ELCAS was actually being performed in a way that bears a relation with the Surinamese background of most of its churchgoers. I will return to this matter below.

The following anecdote illustrates why I – being a participant observer in the worship services of ELCAS – suspected the decreased bodily sound performance to be ascribable to a form of inhibition. After a *Bigi Jari* celebration (a service for people who have their birthday when their age ends on a 0 or a 5) that was held in the church, there was a birthday party in one of the adjacent rooms. The woman whose birthday it was, stood in the middle

[89] Interview with Thomasina, May 10, 2007.
[90] Interview with Thomasina, May 10, 2007.

of the room, surrounded by her husband, children, grandchildren, close friends and others. They drank a toast and sang to her, meanwhile dancing, moving their hips, their feet and their bottoms. All this seemed very natural. Therefore, the absence of these movements during sound performance in worship raised questions about the role of Surinamese bodily configuration and – as a consequence – about the 'naturalness' of their movements in worship. After all, as the thick description of the celebration of Pentecost showed, during worship the congregation sat most of the time: they usually only stood during the reading of the gospel (but not every service contains such a reading), the anniversary song, the final hymn and blessing and – in case the Lord's Supper was celebrated – they walked to share a sign of peace and to receive bread and wine. During the rest of the time, they would sit still. Although people felt free to move in a way, most of the sound was being performed with relatively limited bodily movement. This seems to be entirely contrary to what I observed at the birthday party.

Interestingly enough, in interviews some people claimed they did not experience any limited bodily movement in the performance of sound. When I referred to the aforementioned party after the *Bigi Jari* celebration, where Surinamese people moved freely and expressively (i.e. with fairly large movements that included all parts of the body), many respondents answered that while singing in church, these movements would be inappropriate. At the same time, they stressed the fact that they *do* move. But their examples always referred to facial expressions, which is just one specific aspect of bodily engagement. And it is just a small part of the physical liveliness they have in them, as several respondents proved during interviews: the Surinamese respondents talked very lively, meanwhile bodily illustrating their message. (Dutch respondents, on the other hand, mostly sat still.) It once occurred that a Suriname woman wanted to illustrate something to me by means of a song. She first sang the song in Dutch, and afterwards sang the Sranan version. The melody was exactly the same, only the words were in a different language. The biggest difference, though, was this: while singing the Sranan version, she started to rhythmically move her forearms and her hands up and down, and rocked with her back and her shoulders, closing her eyes a little. When I indicated that I had noticed this difference, she could not explain why she moved during the Sranan version and sat still while singing in Dutch. She simply stated: "In Suriname we move."[91]

Several interviewees though, admitted that their sound performance with limited bodily movements was due to a diffidence 'to abandon yourself to such inclinations'. They agreed that moving – especially in a rhythmical sense – indeed is part of Surinamese culture, and is really something they have in them. But in church this issue seemed to be surrounded by ambivalence, which might relate to the fact that Christianity in Suriname was strongly influenced by Western Europeans and their way of celebrating worship.[92] It is worth quoting one of the interviewees somewhat more extensively, because her words illustrate the internal discussion between herself, the tradition of the (Lutheran) church, and other church members in the congregation (ELCAS):

N-10 *Mirella* At the party after Letisha's *Bigi Jari* celebration, I saw many hips moving and many people dancing, and I thought: why don't they do that during their services?

Sherron Because it is a Lutheran service.

Mirella Yes, but also a Surinamese one, right?

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[91] Interview with Letisha, February 15, 2007.

[92] Christianity was introduced in Suriname when the English colonized it in the 17th century. The Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Suriname was founded in the same century by Lutheran Europeans who wanted to have a congregation in Suriname. Until the sixties of the 20th century, most of the pastors of this church came from the Netherlands and Germany. (GERDING 2002, 8, 19.)

Sherron Yes, but the churches in Suriname: the Catholic, the Reformed service: they all celebrate like we do here. (…) I have the custom to move when I sing, but I do not want to do it with gay abandon, because the rest does not move, you see? But I find it pleasant just to dance a little in the church, but *really not* rhythmically! Just move quietly. (…)

Mirella With your shoulders?

Sherron Yes, and little bit with your hips. But not really… well, I think, it is not common practice to do so in the church, neither in Suriname, really. Only in evangelical services they do it. (…) It is not done in church, dancing.

Mirella And you agree with that?

Sherron It is something you learned. I would like it if we… but on the other hand I also think we should not dance too exuberantly or exaggeratedly. This is my own opinion, really! I find it inappropriate [she laughs]. (…)

Mirella But why not too exuberantly? Indeed that sounds as if you think it is inappropriate.

Sherron Look, of course, you may laud and praise God from your heart, and you may sing and… But some things I find just a little too secular to do. Certain movements and so on. But God created us, so in fact there is nothing that is 'oversecular' of course. But still. (…) I would like to dance, but dance modestly. Maybe it is something that is put into our heads, something you learned in your youth. But I cannot see myself start… you know?

Mirella You would not dance with your bottom touching the bottom of your neighbour?

Sherron No, absolutely not! Absolutely not! I really think that is not done in church. No, I would absolutely not do that. But just to raise your hands for a second and dance, yes, I would do that. Yes. If the rest would also do it!

Mirella Do you ever have that feeling inside, like: I feel like dancing right now, but here I am and nobody is doing it, so neither will I?

Sherron Well, probably I am so pre-programmed that 'on Sunday mornings you sit on your seat, nice and stiff', that I do not have that feeling. No. You know what happened? I went to an evangelical church, because my son, he is a seeker, and we were there and we were standing and now and then they sung in a ¾ meter, the salsa beat – and I like to dance salsa and meringue – and at a certain moment the minister said: 'Come on, guys, you may dance, you may shake!' But I found that very hard, really to…

Mirella But… you do take part in salsa dancing, right?

Sherron Yes, yes, yes, of course, but I stood and I was already dancing and so on, but to actually start… No, I did not do that. But I did dance!

Mirella But rather modestly?

Sherron Yes. Modestly.

Mirella And in front of your chair?

Sherron In front of my chair. No, not in the front [of the room], I find that… That would become a mess! [She laughs loudly.] So I am modern, but I also have some old fashioned ideas! [Laughs again.] Stupid right? But I think everybody is like that![93]

This quotation, as do various other remarks that interviewees made about the acceptability of dancing in church, shows that people distinguish between different degrees of movement (modest movement is acceptable, expressive movement is not). Apparently, bodily movement is related to freedom, but is also bound up with aspects of inhibition. Moreover, the quotation indicates – as I also noticed in other interviews – that whenever someone feels the desire to move, there may be a feeling of inhibition to do so alone. When other churchgoers do not join in, it feels uneasy.

[93] Interview with Sherron, April 27, 2007.

N-11 *Ricky* I think we don't dare. (...) Sometimes there are songs you enjoy, and you might see some people... [she slightly moves her hips, while remaining seated, and makes movements that suggest handclapping, meanwhile carefully watching around], but then they stop because the entire congregation is not joining them.[94]

The fact that several interviewees made similar remarks, raised some caution with me about the extent to which sound performance in the worship of ELCAS really bears a relation to people's Surinamese background.

Appearance

A third aspect of the openness that characterized the sound of worship in this congregation was appearance. Although this also had facets of sound appearance, it mainly came down to the physical appearance of performers supporting the open character of the worship's sound. Appearance seemed to be connected with four (groups of) sound performers: the minister, the congregation as a whole, the choir 'Elkana' and the choir 'The New City Voices'.

According to several interviewees, the minister of the congregation had a very open appearance. She was said to have a friendly voice, a melodious intonation, and a calm and easy mode of speaking and moving. Besides, as is shown by the thick description, she physically kept contact with the congregation, smiling, winking and looking around. Thus using her face, her eyes and her mouth, she appeared to make people feel comfortable and at home. In the thick description I used the word 'emphatic' with regard to her voice and performance, on account of her intonation and the use of great contrasts in timbre and dynamics. Respondents said they did not only like her inviting appearance, but also considered it as crucial. According to them, a great deal of the openness of worship depended on her performance of sound (which is imaginable, given the substantial role she has in worship). The following quotation is just one of many remarks that stressed the importance of the minister's calm, relaxed, comfortable, warm, friendly and pleasant performance. This is what people said keeps them attentive and 'awake': they followed her movements, which made them keep listening. Her appearance gave people the feeling that they really participated in the celebration, as a community:

N-12 *Mirella* What do you think of the way she [the Reverend Maartje Wildeman, MK] performs the worship; does that way appeal to you?

Sherron Yes! Especially Maartje. Things are flowing easily. The way she deals with the service, her use of words, her looking at the people. Yeah, it really gives you the feeling of participating, the feeling that you are really engaged, that you also take part. Her use of words really invites you, I think.

Mirella And the physical aspect? You already mentioned the fact that she looks at the people...

Sherron That she looks at you, she beams! And some things she says, they just radiate from her! Maartje is incredible, in that respect. So when she says something she finds joyful, than she can make everybody feel joyful. Because she starts beaming: her eyes, the way she behaves, her mouth... Yes, Maartje is really... she can very well communicate that with her body language, her use of words, everything.[95]

[94] Interview with Quentin and Ricky, April 17, 2007.
[95] Interview with Sherron, April 27, 2007.

Apart from the above-mentioned qualities, people also stressed the enthusiasm with which the minister performs the worship. They had seen some progression in the last five years, and thought that more experience (in general and more experience of life) would make her performance even better ('better' in this case meaning: 'more expressive'). The respondent of N-11 concluded that, in spite of the minister's small and sometimes modest movements, she was still the one who moved most: when, during a song, she swayed by alternately shifting her weight to her left and right leg, and slightly swung with her shoulders, the congregation hardly followed her example (some tried to, but by the end of the hymn they had stopped because they were only few).

The Surinamese people of the congregation also had a melodious mode of speech (see the thick description). This melodious intonation could be traced back to their Surinamese background; they have kept the indigenous accents in their Dutch, their tone movements occurred in a wider ambitus, they used stress differently and used a different pronunciation of vowels and consonants (a relatively long 'a', a sharp 's', no difference between 'z' and 's', and a 'w' that was pronounced with round lips and a large oral cavity, not with the labio-dental friction, as is usual with most Dutch people). The melodious mode of sound performance of the congregation went together with small movements (often limited to facial expressions). Therefore, their appearance was mainly noticed from the front, by the ministers who usually face the congregation. According to the former minister, the Surinamese congregation in general has a very open look: when she conducted a service in a Dutch church, the appearance of the churchgoers was like 😐. They look reserved, expectantly, as if thinking something like "Well, show me what it is going to be." When conducting a service attended by Surinamese people, she said she met a lot of beaming smiles, as if the Surinamese sun was shining from the people's faces.

N-13 *Ilona* They look invitingly to me. (...) This contrasts sharply with the European aloofness and reservation: we need to warm up first, that is in our culture. The spontaneity of Surinamese people makes more possible in worship. They react more directly, you can see that from their faces."[96]

This 'spontaneity' of Surinamese people also made this minister perform worship differently: in her sermons, for instance, she often sought dialogue, because she knew that Surinamese people are open to that.

A female Dutch respondent also related the appearance of the congregation to a certain form of warmth. This was, among other things, what she experienced most in this congregation and what made her feel at home: a warm contact with people, also in the worship:

N-14 *Victoria* I wouldn't want to claim that all Surinamese people are warmer, but I notice that in the congregation there is often a deeper bond. (...) I think in general Dutch people are a bit more practical, purposive in a way, and with Surinamese people I notice that they are more easy-going in giving a hug.[97]

The former minister claimed this experience goes for many non-Surinamese people who attended the services: they liked the openness, the warmth, the otherness of a different culture and the celebration of worship services in a broader, multicoloured setting. It thus seemed as if the appearance of the congregation had an inviting and attractive effect.

In its sound performance the gospel choir 'The New City Voices' was also said to have an outstanding appearance (for details, see note 74). Their singing (with dark and powerful

[96] Interview with Reverend Ilona Fritz, June 19, 2007.
[97] Interview with Victoria, May 10, 2007.

voices – CD-ROM files 7 and 8) was often accompanied by facial expressions, such as closing their eyes or smiling. Apart from these facial movements, they also used the rest of their bodies: hands and arms (crossing their arms with closed fists before their chests; stretching out their arms – with palms up – before them; raising their arms in the air with outstretched fingers), as well as shoulders, legs and hips (when swaying). Sometimes their performance was attended by a complete choreography, when all made the same movements at the same time. In these cases, the sound was being performed very expressively. Their expressive appearance was also noticed and highly appreciated by churchgoers. According to Victoria, the mere sound that this choir performed and the power of their voices, were not the only things that mattered. She found the appearance of 'The New City Voices' overwhelming: "When they sing, they radiate their consciousness of God, and I feel that this is expressed in everything: in their voices and their expression and so on. And I think that that is what I find overwhelming."[98] From similar remarks by other respondents, it became clear that the appearance of the choir had physical aspects to which – always in close connection with sound aspects – meanings were attributed. It thus seemed to be the combination of both physical and sound aspects that constituted the appearance of the choir and made that their performance was experienced as powerful. This powerful appearance enabled churchgoers to share in the performance together with the choir. People were engaged by the songs of 'The New City Voices' through their powerful and physical performance. Thus 'The New City Voices' – although they might have been unaware of it – had their own way of contributing to the openness of worship.

As is apparent from preceding quotations, some respondents brought up the appearance of the choir 'Elkana'. In interviews choir members themselves too showed that they were consciously engaged in their appearance as a choir. The following quotation reflects the impact of an 'Elkana' member looking at a churchgoer during their performance:

N-15 *Letisha* There is one lady, she does not come to the church very often. And there was a song, and we ['Elkana'] were singing there, and the song was: "Why not today? Give your heart to Jesus now!" [the song was sung in Dutch, MK] And this woman had not attended the services for a long time, and she said: "My God, and you looked at me!" And I did not know her, but I said: "Yes, I looked at you, indeed." And then she said: "From now on, I will come to the church more regularly." I said: "Very well! Because we need it, right?" (...) She said: "Ah, that was what God meant by me: he wanted to give me a message! And it came across very well. It was meant for me, that is how I feel it." And I said: "Yes, we come and do that in the church. Everybody [hears] their own message. And in church you hear God's intention with you: comforting you, giving you strength to go on, giving you a rock to build on. (...) I said: And that is also what I want to give you."[99]

The respondent thought it important to pass on a good message, not only by singing, but also with her face. That is why she encouraged other choir members to likewise radiate their message. The above quotation shows that the appearance of 'Elkana' indeed engaged one of the churchgoers. Although the respondent herself in some degree created a personal fiction out of this interchange, the quotation shows that her intention to radiate a message indeed had a certain effect on the churchgoer. It seems as if the woman was made susceptible to receive a message by the appearance that went with the sound performance of 'Elkana'.

This section has shown that the actual performed sound of worship in this congregation was referred to as open, and was related to three aspects. The first aspect, the accessibility of the

[98] Interview with Victoria, May 10, 2007.
[99] Interview with Letisha, February 15, 2007.

sound of worship, referred to the sounds that made worship accessible and comprehensible, and gave people the feeling that they could easily participate. The second aspect, freedom, referred to the extent to which churchgoers experienced the opportunity to be themselves in the sound performance and to (both literally and figuratively) move freely when performing sound. Freedom also appeared to have a negative side: the boundless character of the sound of worship seemed subject to limitation, as several people appeared unconsciously to feel inhibited in their sound performance. The third aspect of the openness of the sound of worship was appearance. This aspect referred to the sound and physical appearance of performers during the performance of sound. Thus the entire section shows how the sound of worship appeared not to be limited by strict rules or to be controlled by all kinds of criteria concerning its performance, but – although some interviewees also felt a certain inhibition – seemed to be open to every churchgoer and every way of performance.

6.4.2 Patchwork

The second quality of the sound of worship in this congregation, 'patchwork', refers to the way constituent sound elements, of various kinds and of different meaning, are combined into a compound colourful liturgical whole. From the analysis of field notes, sound recordings, pictures and the video recording it appeared that typical 'Surinamese' and 'Dutch' sound elements were juxtaposed in one worship service, but were not meaningfully connected. The meanings which were attributed to these various sound elements were likewise very diverse, and were also juxtaposed. Together, sound elements and meanings were like a patchwork, consisting of different elements – of divergent colours, patterns, shapes, meanings and weight – sewn together to make up one liturgical entity: the worship service.

Observations and interviews showed there are two aspects to this patchwork quality: a cultural aspect and an immigration aspect. The cultural aspect gives an insight into the way the sound of worship is determined by the (Surinamese and Dutch) cultural backgrounds of the churchgoers, and how the meanings that interviewees attribute to sound elements relate to their cultural backgrounds. This aspect of the quality 'patchwork' relates to the sound of worship on three levels: repertoire, language and modes of performance. The immigration aspect illuminates the patchwork quality of sound and its meanings in the context of the congregation – a context strongly determined by the immigration of Surinamese people.[100] This aspect of the 'patchwork' quality of sound mainly became manifest on the level of repertoire. In the following two sections I will discuss the two aspects, which will be shown to be mutually related.

CULTURAL

The sound and meaning aspects that constituted the quality 'patchwork' appeared to be closely related to the (mostly Surinamese and Dutch) cultural backgrounds of the sound performers.

As the thick description showed, the repertoire of psalms, hymns, Christian songs and the sung parts of the Ordinary – all either performed by the congregation or the choir 'Elkana' – was very diverse and stemmed from a variety of sources (ranging from Surinamese and

[100] In this chapter I limit myself to the immigration of Surinamese people and leave the German-Lutheran immigration aside. The immigration of the Surinamese took place in recent history (20th century) and gave me the opportunity to interview the Surinamese church members who today celebrate worship in this congregation, whereas the influence of German-Lutheran immigration could not be investigated by empirical research, but would require historical literature research.

Dutch publications to international publications and unpublished sources[101]). The general repertoire could thus be characterized as a patchwork repertoire. Besides, one of the sources used in ELCAS[102], the Hymnbook for Suriname, was in fact a patchwork hymnbook itself: the publication includes hymns from a variety of denominations (it resulted from a cooperation of several churches in Suriname). From this hymnbook, one could easily conclude that there seem not to be strict dividing lines between the repertoires of various denominations – something which could easily be explained by the patchwork character of Surinamese culture[103]. The following quotation shows that the interviewee – who, during her life, came in touch with several denominations – considered this variety as an enrichment, both to the congregation (in Suriname, in this case) and to her own (religious) identity:

N-16 *Patricia* I always say: I am rich. Because I was baptized in the Reformed church, I went to Sunday school, took confirmation classes and was confirmed there. I went to the Moravian school (...), I am familiar with the Roman-Catholics (...) I worked for the Moravian [Church], I know a lot of Moravians. So I am rich! And I got in touch with the Lutherans, because the Reformed congregation and the Lutheran congregation in Zorg and Hoop [close to Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname] merged. And you would not know who was Reformed and who was Lutheran. They were one![104]

The repertoire of the choir 'Elkana' for the most part seems to have accumulated through an uninhibited pick-and-mix culture within the choir itself, that has a long tradition. It contains a variety of songs, many of unknown origin, that have been preserved in the private collections of individual choir members:

N-17 *Maartje* You know how these things go, Mirella? From their past, these ladies have folders originating from the decades in Suriname where they sung in a choir, and these [folders] almost fall apart and then they are copied and patched up again...[105]

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[101] The sources I descried during the empirical research were the Dutch Lutheran church book (published in 1955); the hymnbook Johannes de Heer (which is very popular in many Surinamese churches); the Dutch hymnbook for the Churches (Liedboek voor de Kerken) as well as its supplements (Zingend Geloven 1-8) and its interim successor (Tussentijds), all widely used in congregations belonging to the Protestant Church in the Netherlands; the hymnbook of the churches in Suriname (Liedboek van de kerken in Suriname); the song book from Taizé; a Dutch hymnbook with songs from all kinds of foreign cultures (Hoop van alle volken); the hymnbook of the Dutch catholic writer Huub Oosterhuis (Verzameld Liedboek); songs for children (released by NZV, which publishes materials for children's faith education); unpublished songs (sometimes jotted down by someone who remembered the words and/or the melody of a song) or frequently published songs, such as 'traditional' gospel music.

[102] During the interview I had with the Reverend Maartje Wildeman, she showed me the collection of hymnbooks she used in this congregation, covering a bookshelf of some 1,5 metres. This contained books of hymns from The Salvation Army, books of Spirituals, hymnbooks published in Suriname, such as "Aria Singhi" and "Glorieklokken", the hymnbook of Johannes de Heer (a Dutch publication of evangelical songs, first edition in 1903), a book of funeral hymns from all kinds of traditions, a Moravian hymnbook of old Dutch hymns, and so on.

[103] Remember that the Surinamese culture itself is a motley collection of various cultures (see Part I of this study).

[104] Interview with Patricia, April 17, 2007.

[105] Interview with the Reverend Maartje Wildeman, December 5, 2006. This quotation also shows that the diversity of the patchwork repertoire is reinforced by the fact that choir members too determine the repertoire. On special occasions, even church members make suggestions on liturgical music, which are often accepted by the minister. With Baptism services, *Bigi Jari* celebrations and so on, people often come to the minister and suggest hymns that they have heard during some home celebration. The minister tries to include these hymns, and says that she can accommodate with these proposals rather easily. Concerning suggestions for Sunday

The specific repertoire of congregational singing in ELCAS, gathered as it is from not only (mixed) Surinamese sources, but also from Dutch and international sources, likewise is a mixed lot. It was the former minister who introduced repertoires from foreign cultures. Her reason for doing so was (as N-8 shows), that she considered it important for the congregation to become an international and intercultural church, where people of different origin (from Suriname, the Netherlands or from elsewhere) would respect each others differences. Although it may not have been her specific aim – her main goal was to create an environment that would enable people to be themselves and feel at home within this congregation (see the quality 'openness') –, what she did was very much in accordance with the mixed characteristic of Surinamese culture: she created a patchwork repertoire. One could say she thus unintentionally reinforced the Surinamese identity of this congregation.

The quality 'patchwork' also becomes manifest in the languages that characterize the sound of worship in ELCAS. During the fieldwork I undertook, I identified several languages during the worship services: Dutch, Sranan, English, Spanish, Xhosa, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Most of these languages were used in the sound of singing[106]: in hymns and songs and the Ordinary that the congregation used to sing, and in the songs performed by the choir. The use of all these languages was in accordance with and inherent in the patchwork character of the repertoire: it was a mix, and one of the languages, Sranan, was in fact a mix of languages itself (compare what was said about the Hymnbook for Suriname above). The Surinamese language Sranan developed from English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and various African languages, and thus reflects the patchwork of cultural influences that has determined the Surinamese culture.

The use of languages (either mastered by churchgoers or not) was closely related to the Surinamese identity of many churchgoers, as has become clear from N-7: the quotation shows that the respondent considered singing in Sranan as a means of identification, it enabled her to recognize her cultural background. Several interviewees admitted that the use of Sranan was especially significant for them because they are Surinamese people who now live outside Suriname. In general, Surinamese respondents said that their 'own' language (referring to Sranan[107]) has become more important to them since they have come to live in the Netherlands. This was even affirmed by a respondent who hardly speaks Sranan because she immigrated into the Netherlands at the age of seven: she considered the use of this language in worship very important. For her, it was related to the acceptance and the recognition of her Surinamese background: there are a lot of hymns and songs in Sranan, and integrating these into worship represents a recognition of the fact that the congregation is populated by many Surinamese people.[108]

According to Surinamese interviewees, Sranan is used in daily life when people express things that are essential to them, when they want to express themselves precisely, and in situations where emotions are involved. In these cases, they easily, and often automatically and unconsciously, seem to switch to Sranan.[109] The fact that Sranan is closely bound up with emotions and feelings, and is used when speaking about the very core of a matter, is

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worship, she says she has in fact become too accommodating, while attempting to meet everyone's wishes. Again we see that 'openness' and 'patchwork' are related.

106 The sound of speech is principally limited to the Dutch language and a few words of Sranan.

107 Formerly, Dutch used to be the official language in Suriname. Children were not allowed to speak Sranan and were punished when addressing an adult in Sranan. When they were children, many of the respondents only spoke Sranan among friends. It is therefore interesting that they consider Sranan as their 'own' language.

108 Interview with Victoria, May 10, 2007.

109 According to interviewees, this often occurs in specific situations: when they make a joke or say funny things, when they are angry, when they swear, when they want to indicate the central point of their message, when they greet somebody they have not seen for a long time, when they make short remarks or use fixed expressions, etcetera.

especially interesting because, all things considered, the worship services in ELCAS were the only occasion where they structurally and repeatedly used Sranan. The following quotation shows the meaning of Surinamese hymns (which interviewees mostly understood to be songs in Sranan that they used to sing back home in Suriname), in a situation where people speak Dutch during most of the day ("80-90% of the time"[110]).

N-18 *Quentin* It is pleasant when you sing a Surinamese song, entirely Surinamese. It comes across nicely when you hear it again: yeah, a Surinamese hymn! And when the words [are] also in Sranan and [when] you sing it, an entirely Surinamese song, four, five stanza's Sranan! While in everyday life you don't speak… well, when do you speak Sranan?
Ricky Not that much. (…)
Quentin The feeling that a song in Sranan gives you, comes across very differently.
Ricky Your emotions…
Quentin Yes!
Mirella Before, you said: more delicately… Does it come closer because it is [sung] in that language?
Ricky Yes, yes! Same here: before he started talking I also thought "If I go to a funeral, and there is a funeral service, I get really emotional when a Suriname song is being sung."
Quentin Sooner emotional…
Ricky …when it is a Suriname song. (…) Look, singing is a way of expressing your religious conviction. And it is in your own language. So that is why the Surinamese songs appeal that much.[111]

Interestingly enough, Surinamese interviewees regarded songs in Sranan as cheerful, exuberant and lively. This cannot be directly explained on the basis of interview data. However, on the basis of the preceding remarks on the meaning of Sranan, one could imagine that this language in worship evoked a particular sound performance. It is true that songs in Sranan generally sounded more firm, more passionate and convinced. Another explanation might be the kind of Sranan songs that were selected for the worship service: these were often songs of praise and/or thanksgiving. The songs are quite frequently written in one of the major keys, which in general are experienced as light and lively (in contrast to melodies in a minor key, which often carry a feeling of dejection and darkness).

One would expect that because the church is the only place where people regularly use Sranan, and because Sranan is so closely bound up with emotions, feelings, and things that matter, the use of Sranan would strongly influence people's religious life. However, the use of Sranan in the services must not be overestimated: in general, this language did not sound except in a few hymns[112], and although the use of Sranan was highly appreciated, it was beyond question that Surinamese church members would not like to entirely abolish the use of the Dutch language. Many of them felt that Dutch is not only the language of the country they immigrated into, but is 'their' language as well:

N-19 *Mirella* You would not want to sing only Surinamese songs?
Letisha No. No, I was raised with the Dutch language: that is just my root! I am both. I would not like it any other way than this. I would feel cut in half. And I don't

[110] Interview with Quentin and Ricky, April 17, 2007.
[111] Interview with Quentin and Ricky, April 17, 2007.
[112] The congregation as a whole does not speak Sranan during worship (there might have been some people who talked Sranan among themselves, which I could not hear), nor does the minister use this language for speech (the only words the minister used from time to time is *Brada's* and *Sisa's*: brothers and sisters). The *Keti Koti* celebration (as the thick description and appendix 1 show), where a poem and a Bible reading were read in Sranan and the sermon contained more Sranan than normally, was a striking exception.

> want that, I need to have both. And when I have a Surinamese song, I really look for the Dutch version. They irrevocably belong to each other.[113]

This Surinamese interviewee was unmistakably positive about the combination of Sranan and Dutch in the services. The fact that she mentioned her 'root' and said she *is* both, shows that the matter was crucial: the mixed use of both languages touched an existential level. This 'mix' is not automatically an equivalent of patchwork, though – a 'mix' in my view does not say anything about the presence or absence of a mutual relation of the elements that make up the mix, whereas patchwork refers to a compound entity, existing of different elements that are not mutually connected, but stand alone, juxtaposed yet forming a whole.[114] So, although the interviewee at home may have looked for a version in the other language as well (because for her the Sranan and Dutch version irrevocably belonged to each other), in worship this hardly occurred: these languages were used in a patchwork way, meaning that Surinamese and Dutch sounds were neither related, nor mutually connected. For example, one hymn might have been in Dutch, the next one in Sranan. In general, the liturgy booklet did not contain translations, nor did the minister (who spoke Dutch) refer to Sranan lyrics. Bilingual performances – either at the same time, or one after another – were a rarity.[115] As a churchgoer who does not speak Sranan, I felt uncomfortable because I did not know how to pronounce the words, let alone understand the meaning of the songs I was supposed to sing. My discomfort was caused precisely by the fact that the elements (the Dutch and Sranan languages, in this particular case) were merely juxtaposed, in a patchwork way, and were connected only by the fact that they belonged to the same liturgical whole.

The modes in which the sound performance took place, form the third aspect of the sound of worship that seemed to relate to the Surinamese and Dutch cultural backgrounds of the congregation. These modes were a patchwork of, for instance, active, passive, firm, lusty, timid, lively, murmuring and dragging performance, randomly performed by different (groups of) performers, such as the minister, the organists and/or other instrumentalists, the choir 'Elkana', the choir 'The New City Voices', children, and the congregation as a whole. I do not discuss each of these modes in detail. Neither will I discuss in detail the question (already treated[116]), whether the Surinamese people in this congregation performed the sound of worship in a way that bears a relation to their Surinamese background,[117] because it is evident that worship in Suriname was strongly influenced by the Western European style of worship (in the 17th century). I here limit myself to one striking difference in the congregation's performance of Geneva Psalms on the one hand, and hymns from the hymnbook of Johannes de Heer on the other hand.

The congregation's performance of Geneva Psalms was often plodding, as if working their way through heavy material. They sang calmly, in a rather static way, and were often behind in tempo. However, in their performance of hymns from the hymnbook of Johannes de Heer, they sang more actively and firm, often kept a fluent tempo, and sang loud and with stretched vowels. It is interesting to learn from interviews that Surinamese people often refer

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113 Interview with Letisha, February 15, 2007.

114 Compare the description of 'Surinamese culture' in Chapter 2: Suriname bears many cultures which have not totally mixed, but co-exist.

115 Again the *Keti Koti* celebration was an exception: during that service, the reading from the book of Psalms was bilingual, as well as the performance of several hymns.

116 See 'Inhibition', under 'Freedom' in Section 6.4.1.

117 Although I saw the churchgoers singing, dancing and clapping at the party right after the Bigi Jari service, they seldom performed sound related movement, such as swaying, with the bodily engagement of their hips and bottom during the service. During the service, most of the sound was performed passively – mainly sitting, seldom rising – and I only once heard a rhythmic handclapping. All this seemed somewhat unnatural to me (in the sense of: not relating to their culture).

to Geneva Psalms as 'boring', marked by heavy melodies that invite melancholy, but that hymns from Johannes de Heer – which are much liked by the Surinamese people, who learned them in school and used to sing them a lot in Suriname – were, almost without exception, referred to as 'cheerful songs'.[118] (The fact that some Surinamese interviewees claimed that often the melodies of Geneva Psalms 'are not going anywhere', might be related to the absence of harmonic progression in these Psalms and might explain their preference for hymns from Johannes de Heer.[119] On the basis of the interview data, this is, however, hard to verify.) Several Dutch interviewees on the other hand, who were used to singing Geneva Psalms but had not much traffic with hymns from Johannes de Heer, did not share these feelings of their Surinamese brothers and sisters, and characterized the songs from the hymnbook Johannes de Heer as rather 'outdated'. In particular, the underlying theology (concerning the image of God, the perception of sin, or a certain pious intimacy) that pervades the texts – a theology which appeared to be quite different from the theology of the Western European Lutherans in the congregation – held little appeal for them. The former minister, for instance, explained she had difficulties in coming to terms with these songs when writing her sermons. And one of the Dutch interviewees admitted: "The words are too big, [these hymns] mean nothing to me."[120] Clearly, these hymns were out of resonance with the way they experienced their faith.

Both Surinamese and Dutch interviewees appeared to have some characteristic thoughts and ideas on what is appropriate or suitable concerning the sound of worship, and what is not. As the preceding section showed, many Surinamese thought it was inappropriate to move expressively in church (they had never done so in Suriname, having no inclination to 'do' Surinamese culture in church[121]), although several people also admitted that this moving is kernel to their Surinamese culture. If the sound of worship would contain other kinds of music, there would be more dancing, they said. But on the other hand, several interviewees indicated that their Surinamese background had more come to the fore since they came to live in the Netherlands: they have come to appreciate Surinamese things more (such as Sranan, Surinamese objects, feasts and habits), which also influenced the sound of worship (compare the thick description of the *Keti Koti* celebration and the Surinamese elements in it). They nevertheless appeared to be faithful to the Dutch aspects that strongly influenced their Surinamese culture, because 'that is the way they were raised'.

All in all, I conclude, the patchwork quality of the sound of worship, seemed to be attended by a certain tension, relating to differences between cultures. This was due to both the patchwork aspect of Surinamese culture itself and to the different cultural (and sometimes theological) backgrounds of the Surinamese and Dutch sound performers. The sound of worship related to Surinamese and Dutch cultural elements, which were appreciated

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118 Note that the same was said about songs in Sranan. There does not seem to be a direct relation though, since the two groups do not fully coincide: hymns from Johannes de Heer were often sung in Dutch, and songs in Sranan were not only taken from the hymnbook of Johannes de Heer.

119 First, melodies from Johannes de Heer often have punctuated rhythms, which in general give the hymns a firm and cheerful sound, whereas Geneva Psalms generally have austere melodies made of halve notes, quarter notes and whole final notes. Second, many hymns from Johannes de Heer have melodies in some sort of triple metre (e.g. 3/4, 3/8, 6/8 and 9/8), which leave a 'round' and *dansant* impression, in contrast to the more 'square' and static character of the duple meter of Geneva Psalms. Third, Geneva Psalms were written in the 16th century, when harmonic progression in melodies was emerging, but had not yet fully developed. These melodies, still being largely modal, do not seek the harmonic resolutions of the diatonic system. However, most melodies that came into being in the 19th and 20th century – such as the hymns from Johannes de Heer – are built on a latent (and often basic) structure of diatonic harmony.

120 Interview with Niels, March 12, 2007.

121 Interview with Thomasina, May 10, 2007. "Surinamese culture? That is something we did when among ourselves."

differently by Surinamese and Dutch interviewees.[122] The difference in the attribution of meanings by Surinamese and Dutch people mainly concerned the repertoire of the congregation, the languages used in worship and the modes of sound performance.

IMMIGRATION

In the preceding section the immigration aspect of the patchwork of the sound of worship in ELCAS has been anticipated. The patchwork quality seemed bound up with a certain degree of tension, which was related to the cultural backgrounds of the sound performers. Meanwhile, the patchwork sound of worship seemed to provide an answer to the prevailing cultural (and theological) differences. As I demonstrate below, this was related to the immigration character of the congregation. The immigration character explains how the sound of worship was on the one hand influenced by the immigration of Surinamese people, and on the other hand by the fact that the congregation is situated in the Netherlands. In other words: the immigration aspect has a facet that relates to the past (people's Surinamese past), and a facet that relates to the present (the congregation's present situation in the Netherlands).

The fact that the past of Surinamese interviewees played an important part in their view on the sound of worship, was obvious. Several of them indicated they liked to see a connection between the sound of worship in ELCAS and their home country (that is, the Suriname of their youth). They frequently started their replies by saying: "Formerly, in Suriname…" and then brought up a particular situation or an example. These examples often concerned a particular repertoire (such as the songs they used to sing during Christmas time when they were children). One of the interviewees, for example, said about the hymns from Johannes de Heer that she has known them ever since she was young: these were 'the songs of old' and that is why she liked to hear them in church. She related her appreciation of the songs both to her age (she is between 50 and 55 years old) and to the fact that she no longer lives in Suriname:

N-20 *Sherron* I think everybody who reaches a certain age, finds that the things of old are especially nice.
Mirella So it also might have to do with age?
Sherron O, I do think so. And I also think that the fact that you are out of the country makes a difference, (…) the fact that it comes from your youth, that matters.[123]

She also mentioned that, according to her, especially elderly people (who had lived in Suriname for a very long time and had immigrated into the Netherlands at a later age) had the right to hold onto their 'things of old' (such as repertoire, language or habits, or whatever). Another interviewee told an anecdote that indicated that she kept the past alive in the present, that she linked the generations and linked Suriname to the Netherlands:

N-21 *Letisha* My parents lived in a village (…) In a village, children had to sing every morning (…) and every evening. And for the evening, there was a special song – I teach that song to my grandchildren too: "I am going to sleep, I am tired." You have to sing that before you go to sleep.

[122] I summarize: the use of Sranan that is not translated for Dutch worshippers; the European music notation system that hampers the participation of Surinamese sound performers; the absence of expressive corporeal sound performance that is a part of Surinamese culture, the repertoire of Johannes de Heer that is considered 'outdated' by some and 'cheerful' by other interviewees; the differences between the Surinamese and the Western European Lutheran experience of faith, etcetera.
[123] Interview with Sherron, April 27, 2007.

Mirella And why is it so important to do so?
Letisha The Lord keeps watch over you. I don't know, I find it right to sing it, because it is a prayer. All my grand children know this song – I taught them. But for us, it was completely normal. "It is time to sleep!", and my father came, we joined hands in prayer... And one should not sing it too fast![124]

However much their appreciation of things from the past, several interviewees also felt the need for renewal of the sound of worship, for instance by means of new (more rhythmic) repertoire, modern genres and the use of other musical instruments (see 'inhibition', under 'freedom' in the preceding section on openness). This need seemed to be partly motivated by their own desires, partly dictated by the fear of a shrinking congregation: like many other mainline churches in the Netherlands, they increasingly saw the youth stay away from worship, and they related this – among other things – to the music in church, which would not appeal to these youngsters. Thus, the fact that the immigration character of the sound of worship was influenced by the past and the present, sometimes caused a certain ambivalence concerning choices and expectations. This ambivalence was not only expressed by groups of people, but also by individuals, as the following example shows. The Surinamese interviewee who did not like the organ, but who was very enthusiastic about the use of the djembe drum and who would have loved to see some more swinging in church (see the quotation after N-9) was also the one who emphasized the importance of the recognition of her cultural background ("I am really integrated into this society, honestly, but I can imagine that it is really important to be allowed to preserve part of your own culture!"). She wanted to pass on the value of Surinamese culture to the next generation, in particular to the children of Surinamese origin who were born here. After all, "the Surinamese culture should not be lost."[125]

The Surinamese past of most churchgoers obviously played a part in the congregation. But in the present, the congregation is home to other people as well – people who likewise bring in their cultural background. As I already indicated, the former minister of the congregation said she wanted the immigration background of the congregation to contribute to its inter- or multicultural character. This implied different criteria concerning the sound of worship (compared to a 'regular' Dutch Lutheran congregation – see, for instance, the quotation below on the use of English), and an openness towards others (i.e. other cultures, other languages, such as Dutch, English and Sranan, other kinds of musical repertoire, other theological ideas, etcetera). After all, she said, without a basic assumption of unity, there could be no congregation. At the same time, according to the former minister, the inter- or multicultural congregation required an acceptance of the (cultural) limitations of each group (she mentioned the fact that Surinamese people were simply unable to sing certain kinds of melody). When the capabilities and preferences of the various sound performers in the congregation differed greatly, she said, it was necessary to steer a middle course and build bridges between the various performers, for instance by adding another kind of repertoire that bore a relation to all groups.[126]

N-22 *Ilona* [I also paid] attention to integration. After all, you do not do away with your own culture – as I know from my personal experience – but then the fact is that you live in an other country. That is why we never sang only Surinamese hymns. People live in the Netherlands, and this creates some kind of

[124] Interview with Letisha, February 15, 2007.
[125] Interview with Thomasina, May 10, 2007.
[126] This is true for both cultural and theological differences. Compare the abovementioned remark on the minister's difficulties in coming to terms with the repertoire of Johannes de Heer when writing her sermons.

> openness towards new or other cultures. Singing songs in English (without translations), for instance, in this congregation was never a problem. (...) But with respect to content, I have always sought for links with Suriname. With children, for example, I read the stories of both Toon Tellegen and Anansi.[127]

The loyalty to both Surinamese and Dutch culture (and thus to the immigration background of the congregation) led to a combination of various sound aspects in worship. As a result, the patchwork quality of the sound of worship was increased. Concurrently – considering the patchwork aspect of Surinamese culture itself – as a side effect, the Surinamese identity of the congregation was reinforced. In addition to the patchwork sound of worship that went hand in hand with a certain degree of tension, I here conclude on the basis of observations and interview data that the patchwork sound of worship in this congregation was also an answer to its immigration character.

6.5 Balance: Sound Qualities in the Contextual Setting of ELCAS

In this empirical chapter I gave an account of the sound of worship in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast, its meanings and its qualities. This last section will answer the sub-questions for this empirical chapter (see 6.1).

The account described my perception of the actual performed sound (an empirical phenomenon) in the thick descriptions of two different services (the celebration of Pentecost and the celebration of *Keti Koti*), which descriptions depicted what the sound of worship in this congregation was like, and how it was performed by churchgoers. In addition, the account showed which meanings were attributed to various elements of the performed sound (the interpretations of perceptions of the sound of worship by informants). I reported on these meanings within the framework of the two qualities of sound in this congregation: 'openness' and 'patchwork' (my academic constructions of the interpretations of perceptions of empirical phenomena). These were the shapes of the local sound of worship, which was typical of this congregation of mostly Surinamese (and some Dutch) churchgoers.

The quality 'openness' demonstrated that the actual performed sound in this congregation was perceived and interpreted as boundless. The sound of worship was not limited by criteria or rules concerning its performance, it was experienced as open to every churchgoer and to every way of performance. The quality 'patchwork' demonstrated how the motley elements of performed sound of worship in this congregation stood juxtaposed, without mutual connection, together forming a colourful liturgical whole. These elements appeared to be related to the (Surinamese and Dutch) cultural and theological backgrounds of the churchgoers and to the immigration character of the congregation. The qualities of sound thus proved to be fully determined by the local, contextual (i.e. comprising its cultural-anthropological and theological backgrounds) setting of this congregation.

Having shown the qualities of the sound of worship in the local setting of ELCAS, I now turn to another local setting in the next chapter: the Ghanaian Methodist church in Amsterdam Southeast.

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[127] Interview with Reverend Ilona Fritz, June 19, 2007. Toon Tellegen is a Dutch author who wrote a lot of stories featuring animals. Anansi is the name of the spider who is the leading character in the tradition of storytelling in Suriname. The stories about Anansi originally come from Ghana (from the Ashanti tribe) and reached the Caribbean, by the enslavement of Ghanaian people to the Antilles and Suriname. Anansi became well-known in the Netherlands by the immigration of Surinamese people.

7 'WHEN PRAISING GOD, YOU CANNOT STAND STILL!'

The Sound of Worship as performed by Ghanaian Methodists

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I give an account of the sound of worship in the Amsterdam Society of the Wesley Methodist Church (WMC). I first provide some background information on the congregation investigated and the research done (7.2). After that, I represent a thick description[128] of the service on January 28, 2007 in this church (7.3). On the basis of elaborated field notes, sound recordings and video clips, I describe both the sounds that occur and the way they are being performed. The next section reveals the qualities of sound and its performance in this church (7.4). The last section summarizes this chapter and answers the sub-questions of Part II (see Section 6.1) for the Wesley Methodist Church (7.5).

7.2 The Amsterdam Society of the Wesley Methodist Church

I chose to investigate worship in the Amsterdam Society of the Wesley Methodist Church. There were a couple of reasons for this choice. First and foremost, this church is one of many African churches in Amsterdam. Considered the large number of African Christians living in the Southeast area of Amsterdam, I was of the opinion that at least one of the churches involved in the project should be of African origin. Second, the story went that the worship services of African churches were fairly rich in (loud) sounds. If this rumour had an element of truth in it, any African church would be interesting to investigate from the viewpoint of sound. Third, the church is a so-called 'mainline church': it belongs to the Methodist denomination. Methodism – in contrast to AIC's – has a relatively deeply-rooted tradition of a few centuries, and has millions of adherents throughout the whole world. Since the other church whose worship I investigated also belongs to a worldwide family (Lutherans), I decided to stay with the mainline churches. Fourth, the Methodist church is a Protestant church – the type of Christianity I am most familiar with. Last but not least, I did not know anything about this Ghanaian congregation beforehand and I considered it would make good sense to start off the project among a group of people I was not familiar with.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

In 2005, the Amsterdam Society of the Wesley Methodist Church celebrated the 170th anniversary of the Methodist Church Ghana. On New Year's Day of the founding year 1835[129], the first missionary from England, the Reverend Joseph Rhodes Dunwell, landed at Cape Coast Castle to work among the Mfantse-speaking people.[130] In the decades that followed, other missionaries carried Methodism to Nigeria and to the Ashanti people. Methodism expanded through the establishment of churches and schools. It would take until 1910 before the Methodist mission began in the Northern part of Ghana. The Methodist Church is not only one of the oldest, but nowadays also one of the largest Protestant denominations in Ghana. In 2005, the Methodist community in Ghana numbered 3,095 societies in 15 dioceses, with about 634,689 members (65% of whom are women), 751

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[128] As has been explained in Chapter 5, a thick description describes not only the human behaviour, but also the context, in such a way that this behaviour becomes meaningful to the outsider.

[129] As will be understood, the roots of Methodism go back to its founder John Wesley (1703-1791) and his brother Charles (1707-1788).

[130] Information from the official website of Methodist Church Ghana http://www.methodistchurch-gh.org/anniversary.html.

ministers, 16,069 so-called 'local preachers' and 13,520 'lay church leaders'[131]. Over the last decades, more attention has been paid to the 'inculturation' or 'indigenization' of the 'orthodox churches' (the established mission churches) in Ghana, including the Methodist Church.

Since 1985, the Methodist Church Ghana has also established churches overseas, in the United States, Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands/Belgium. The latter is known as Holland Mission Circuit, and consists of five 'societies': Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Antwerp and Brussels. The Amsterdam Society of the Wesley Methodist Church is thus part of national and international networks and is related to a Ghanaian established denomination. The society was founded in 1997. Initially, services were held in the Western part of Amsterdam, but these met with little response because 90% of the Ghanaian community were and are resident in Southeast Amsterdam (where, incidentally, most of the African churches are located). Therefore, the initiators decided to relocate to Southeast and planted the church in the loft of a car park at Kralenbeek. They decided that worship services should be bilingual and would be held in the English and Akan languages (with Twi and Fanti as the main dialects). After one year of settling down and initial growth, the need was felt to expand the church, and thus a new society was opened in The Hague in 1998. In 2000, the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah – who had served the Ghanaian congregation of the German United Methodist Church in Hamburg between 1995 and 2000, and had assisted in developing a second Ghanaian congregation in the United Methodist Church in Düsseldorf – was re-posted as a 'pioneer missionary pastor' in the Netherlands. He faced the challenge of pioneer mission work, since hardly any form of Methodism was present. The Mission Circuit has seen a significant expansion under his leadership. In 2001, 2002 and 2006, three new societies have been opened in Rotterdam, Antwerp and Brussels respectively. The Amsterdam Society grew remarkably; it now numbers some 400 members (of which 300 adults and nearly 100 children). Due to this growth, the location at Kralenbeek became too small to gather. Therefore, the congregation decided to look for another church building, that could seat all churchgoers. They found a place of worship in De Bron, a church owned by a congregation that belongs to the Protestant Church in the Netherlands, and that is located in East Amsterdam, not far from the Southeast area. They gather there for worship every Sunday from 12.30 PM to about 4 PM. For gatherings during weekdays (rehearsals of the Wesley Methodist Church Choir Amsterdam, the Singing Band, the Praise and Worship Team, but also Bible teachings, meetings of groups such as Methodist Youth Fellowship, Methodist Women's Fellowship, etcetera) they still use the location at Kralenbeek.[132] The congregation hopes to have its own church in Southeast Amsterdam in the future and seizes every opportunity to raise money for that purpose.

Fieldwork in this Church

The fieldwork I undertook in this congregation lasted nine months, from October 2006 till July 2007. During this period I attended 32 worship services (with an average duration of three hours) as a participant observer. I made sound recordings of most of the services, took pictures during the service several times, and made a few video recordings. In addition, I became a member of the Wesley Methodist Church Choir and attended twelve choir

[131] The Methodist Church Ghana, Strategic Plan 2007-2016, see http://www.methodistchurch-gh.org/MCG%20Strategic%20Plan%20Final%20Distributed%202.doc.

[132] Although the church gathers for worship in the Eastern part of Amsterdam, I define the church as a church in Amsterdam Southeast, because most of their gatherings take place in Southeast, because the Mission House (the parsonage, also used as the minister's office and to host guests) is located there and because many church members live in this area.

rehearsals on Saturday night (CD-ROM file 19) and joined the choir several times during the worship services. Two times, I attended a rehearsal of the Singing Band (CD-ROM file 20), which used to meet around the same time as the church choir. I also tried to be present at one of the meetings of the Praise and Worship team, but I did not succeed: on the first occasion I could not find the right location (they had moved to a different place), on the other occasion they did not show up and eventually it turned out they did not meet that week. I twice joined the choir on a trip to Rotterdam: for the joint celebration of all five Societies of WMC in the Netherlands around Christmas time, and – as a member of the Church Choir – for the 'solemnization of holy matrimony' of two church members of the Rotterdam Society. The Bandsmen turned out not to rehearse at all, otherwise I would have liked to also attend at least one of their meetings.

Before and after the services and choir rehearsals I attended during the fieldwork, I had a good many conversations with the participants. In addition, I conducted eight interviews with twelve people (mostly at their place, sometimes in a café, once in my apartment). Arranging these interviews with church members was far from easy. In the beginning, people were clearly reluctant to make an appointment, probably because I had just started to join them and still was sort of a stranger to them. After a while, when people became familiar with my face, they were willing to speak to me, but then they could not find the time to meet. A few times, it occurred that I had an appointment with an interviewee, but it miscarried. They either did not show up in time, or did not show up at all because they all of a sudden 'had to work'. The fact that these appointments failed probably also had to do with our cultural differences: as a North-western European I am used to show up for appointments at a set time, whereas some of my Ghanaian interviewees took our meeting schedule somewhat loosely. Eventually, however, I managed to see a sufficient diversity of respondents. The diversity concerned their participation and involvement in church (church members, the minister, one of the lay preachers, the choirmaster, a choir member, a member of the singing band), diversity in age (two young women of 19 and 20, a young man in his twenties, three people in their thirties, four people in their forties, one man in his fifties), diversity in sex, as well as the extent of their 'integration' in Dutch society and their knowledge of languages other than Akan (in particular, English and/or Dutch). Most of the interviews were done in English, two were in Dutch.[133] Overall, this variety of respondents turned out to provide a relatively wide view on how people explain the sound of worship in this church, and the meanings they attribute to it.

I-8 The choirmaster of the Wesley Methodist Church Choir, one of the trebles and the researcher joining them.
Photo by one of the choristers, April 2007.

[133] All personal narratives in this doctoral thesis are reproduced in English. The original texts of the interviews that were done in Dutch (with Esaias and with Hannah and Ivie) are obtainable via www.mirellaklomp.nl/contact.html.

7.3 The Sound of Worship in WMC – A Thick Description

In the following thick description I portray one of the worship services in this church (the order of service is reproduced in Appendix 1). The description roughly follows the order of service for Sunday worship, as printed in the "Methodist Worship and Book of Worship (extract)" – the general liturgy booklet of which copies are distributed by ushers at the beginning of the service. The order of service for Sunday worship does not mention any further classification; subdivisions below are mine.

Every first Sunday of the month, in general, the superintendent minister of this church conducts the worship service, which then includes the celebration of The Lord's Supper. On the second and fourth Sundays of the month, one of the local preachers leads the first and third part of the service, whereas in the second part the congregation gathers in classes for Bible study. The third Sunday resembles the second and fourth, except for the Bible studies: the congregation still gathers in groups, but instead of Bible study there is time for sharing and fellowshipping. Below I describe a fairly 'regular' and thus exemplary worship service (on a 'fourth Sunday'), led by the local preacher who most often conducts the worship services.

7.3.1 Service on Sunday January 28, 2007

BEFORE THE SERVICE

The service takes place at 'De Bron' and starts around 12.40 PM. Some 25 to 30 people are present – they are waiting, sitting, chatting, rummaging their purses, or leafing through the liturgy booklet, seated in the middle of the church where 240 chairs are placed in two sections, with an aisle in between. At the front of the church is a raised floor. On the raised floor, an altar table stands in the middle, there is a lectern on the left-hand side, two microphones on stands are placed on the right-hand side. Left of the raised floor there is a black grand piano, closed and covered with a curtain. In the left aisle of the church, there are musical instruments and chairs for the bandsmen, the singing band and the church choir (who have not yet taken their seats). The instruments present are an electronic keyboard, a drum set (consisting of a bass drum, 8-inch and 12-inch toms, a snare drum, a hi-hat and a crash cymbal), a pair of congas (tall, narrow, single-headed Cuban drums of African origin) as well as an electric guitar with a large amplifier, a large maracas (percussion instrument) with shells and no handle and a talking drum with a curved beater. There is a table with a large mixing desk where the volume of the microphones is being regulated. At the back of the room are three tables, where the society steward and the chapel steward have their small office. Papers, a small cashbox and a washing-up bowl have been placed on these tables. Some six or seven empty buggies are parked in a corner. Some people are wearing western casual or informal attire, others are traditionally dressed (women with tops and long skirts of colourful cloth, and a piece of fabric draped around their heads, men dressed in traditional attire).

I-9 The Wesley Methodist Church Choir, lining up halfway the aisle for the procession. *October 2006.*

FIRST PART

The members of the Wesley Methodist Church Choir (wearing black robes with surplices and amices), the members of the singing band (dressed in pink) and the local preacher (wearing a three-piece Western business suit) line up in twos, halfway up the centre aisle for the procession. A male chorister announces the processional hymn, taken from the Methodist Hymn Book (Edition 1933. This hymnbook contains only words, no notes or any other music notation system are included.) The organist (also wearing a black robe), who plays the electronic keyboard in the left aisle, rather than the pipe organ situated high up at the back of the church, strikes a chord of some random keys, stops and then plays the chords by which he introduces the first line of the hymn. The introduction is being played non-legato and with some mistakes in the melody. Meanwhile people continue talking aloud. When the organist begins the hymn (comparable with CD-ROM file 11), the first choristers start the procession, while singing the first stanza. They follow the four-four metre by counting and walking in twos: taking a step on each first and third note. Consequently, they all keep perfect time and the same pace as well. Thus they proceed neatly and in a quite formal style, towards their seats.

During this first stanza, the people rise to their feet one after the other, and when the choir is finished, the congregation begins to sing. Two languages can be heard simultaneously: English (by most people, including the choir) and Akan. Those who sing in Akan, use the hymnbook CAN ('Christian Asore Ndwom': Christian Church Songs). Both the choir and the congregation sing (some circa an octave down and very much out of tune) in four-part harmony, often glissing upward and downward. The organist accompanies by heart (which might explain why some of the chords do not fit the melody). The sound – both the keyboard sounds that come through the speakers and the singing of the congregation – is fairly loud. There is no difference in dynamics, as all sing equally lusty, from the first note till the last. Although the song consists of several stanza's, most people repeat the first stanza three times (not all people do so, some just continue with the other stanza's) and then the hymn is being brought to a close. Meanwhile the bandsmen take position.

During the first hymn, a few latecomers enter the room. (There will be a come and go of people throughout the rest of the service, as is usual.) There are some 70 people in the church now. After the hymn, the choir sings an introit, also taken from the Methodist Hymn Book. Many members of the congregation join in, again in four-part harmony. There is some confusion about whether or not the chorus should be repeated, and the performance reaches a deadlock: the organist continues with the verse but then stops, because the choir is repeating the chorus. Different sounds get mixed up. Towards the end of the hymn, the preacher reads the last stanza before it is being sung. That is a regular item of procedure in this congregation.

Sentences and responses are being read from the liturgy booklet, in alternation, by the officiating local (lay) preacher and the congregation, and another hymn from MHB is performed, both vocally and instrumentally in a staccato mode. The commandments are read by the preacher, who speaks in an exalted mode, stressing some words and stretching many vowels ("You shall love your God with *all* your heart, and with *all* your soul and with *all* your mind."), while the congregation acclaims "Lord, have mercy upon us", speaking slowly, hesitantly, haltingly. They do not follow the rhythm of the text. Then there is a call to confession, first in Akan, then repeated in English. The people confess their sins aloud, in a mezzo piano volume, either in English or in Akan. Some spread out their arms in the air while confessing. The local preacher's own confession takes on a reciting mode. He has springy knees and nods his head when stressing important words. His speech takes on the shape of a sequence: the tempo accelerates, the sequence is repeated several times.

As a flow of concentrated prayer fills the space, the congregation's bodily engagement gets more intense: people rhythmically move their forearms up and down (sometimes with

clenched fists) while they speak, they bend their knees. The preacher now runs up and down the aisle and the volume of his speech has risen to an almost shouting level. Still he uses the microphone. The rhythm of his movements takes over his rhythm of speech. The timbre of his voice is harsh, he sobs between various phrases and shouts himself nearly hoarse. His tempo is at breakneck speed, which makes the words hardly discernable.

I-10 Choristers of the Wesley Methodist Church Choir, dancing and waving with handkerchiefs, during the time for Praise and Worship.
December 2006.

When confessions and prayers have come to an end, the preacher says: "With a clap we invite our Praise and Worship team, to offer to God our sacrifice our praises and adoration." All clap, the bandsmen start to strum the guitar, play the keyboard and hit the drums, by way of intonation for two men and two women who come forward to the microphones on the raised floor, to lead the congregation in singing. Meanwhile many people who have arrived in the last thirty minutes, now enter the church, chatting loudly, just like those already present. The number of churchgoers has risen to around 120.

What follows is a twenty-five minutes chain of singing and dancing, performed in gay abandon and with great dedication (comparable with CD-ROM files 12 and 18). The first two songs are 'praise': upbeat gospel music. One of the men on the podium sings the melody of a song (in Akan) through the microphone, the other three serve as background vocalists who sing a harmony. They all sing loud and just off pitch, which does not seem to matter. Soon the congregation joins in. While singing, they rhythmically clap hands, and go round greeting each other, shaking hands, embracing, chatting. The second song

I-11 The congregation going round in front of the altar table, dancing and singing and clapping. At the right, on the podium, some backup singers; at the far right at the back some choristers, waving.
March 2007.

actually consists of a series of three songs, like a flow. It is an even more upbeat gospel song in a 4/4 metre, with a prototypical Western sound, due to a harmonic pattern that is based on a major triad. The song is sung in English and accompanied by all musical instruments present. The rhythmic sound of the congas is very significant and gives the Western song an African flavour. The drummer drums as if his life depends on it. He uses two hands, both flat and cupped: his left hand always on the left conga, and his right hand alternatively on the left and right conga.) After two lines it has become impossible to distinguish any words: the volume has now reached a level at which the original sound of the singing, the keyboard and the guitar is being distorted. Moreover, the singing is accompanied by loud handclapping: in every bar, starting on the third quarter-note, people clap two times in close succession, which gives the song an energetic and powerful sound and a layered rhythmic pattern. During this chain of songs, the singing band, church choir and other church members (mainly women) move to the open space before the communion table to dance. They dance in a line, one behind the other, but still together and all in the same chain. Everybody sings, and most people, either dancing in front or swaying in front of their seats, are waving white handkerchiefs. Some women are shaking tambourines. Everyone seems to have the flow now, actively expressing themselves. One women is notable because of her highly expressive movements. Compared to the others she bows deeper, turns her body to different sides, fully stretches her arms to the left and to the right, more so than others: all her movements are wider and deeper, compared to the performance of others. Although she looks joyful, she also seems introverted and does not make contact with other people.

I-12 A female church member, praying. *March 2007*.

After this chain of songs, the worship leader starts a worship song (another song in a slow tempo) in Akan. The bandsmen join in, all gradually return to their seats, stop clapping and limit their body movement to swaying. When the song ends, the bandsmen continue playing chords, and the officiating preacher starts praying in a passionate and somewhat aggressive tone. Many people join in, in a so-called mass prayer (all pray aloud, individually; the liturgy booklet mentions 'Prayers of thanksgiving, intercession and petition' – comparable with CD-ROM file 13). They stand, some sit, some fold their hands in prayer, but most of them raise one or both hands into the air, with outstretched or bowed arms. A few people move their hands backwards and forwards and physically emphasize their prayers. Some choristers stand with their face turned away towards the wall. Others sink to their knees and lean with their elbows on their seats while praying. During this time, there is a constant flow of prayers that now becomes more intense and louder and then quieter again. The lay preacher walks back and forth in the open space in front of the communion table; he moves his hands upwards and downwards, so as to reinforce his prayers physically. Again he is shouting, and sobbing, his voice is breaking. Suddenly, he spontaneously starts singing a song in Akan. Many people join him, even before the bandsmen have been able to determine the right pitch. The congregation sings a chorus, the preacher intertwines some verses. Then they continue praying. One woman is stamping her foot, her features and gestures look angry, now and then she loudly claps her hands, as if she wants to chase something or someone away.

As usual, the Praise and Worship part is closed by the so-called 'family song' that is sung twice (in a two-part harmony), by small groups of six or seven people. They are standing close to one another, holding hands: 'We are heirs of the Father, we are joined with the Son, we are children of the Kingdom, we are family, we are one!' At every rest, the male worship leader sings the next phrase to them. During the last three words, people either raise their held hands or throw their arms around one another. The song is repeated, and after the second time, while still holding hands, they share the grace, turning their heads at the other neighbour every other part of the sentence.

I-13 Drummers playing the congas with their hands (middle), the dundun with a curved beater (left) and the Western drums with drumsticks (right). *March 2007*.

After Praise and Worship, two lessons are read (the liturgy booklet mentions: 'Ministry of the Word'). The first one, from the book of Jeremiah, is in English, read by a young lady, wearing jeans and a jacket, who concludes with 'Here ends the first Bible reading, Amen.' All respond with a firm: 'Amen!' Then all rise for the second reading, which is taken from the gospel according to Luke. It is read in Akan, by another woman, wearing traditional African clothes. During the lessons, the room is very noisy. People are talking to their neighbours, not paying attention, and children are yelling, or crying. Afterwards, the affirmation of faith (the Apostles' Creed) is being said, also in Akan. It is said by heart, collectively, aloud, rather slowly and in a rather monotonous way. It sounds somewhat obligatory and differs substantially from the way in which the congregation uses to pray.

Second Part

After almost an hour, some 150 people are present. Now everyone stands up and starts walking to any one corner of the room. Each church member belongs to a specific 'Bible study class' and every class (there are some six or seven) gathers at a fixed place in the church. The appointed class leaders check the presence of the members of their groups and then lead the discussion on a particular Bible text, standing in front of the group. At this point the worship takes on a different character. It is fairly noisy, and informal. People are talking, read scriptural passages and discuss their meanings. They are sharing their own experiences, but some are also distracted, using their mobile phones to make a phone call or to play a game. Bible studies take some fifty to sixty minutes. Afterwards, all return to their seats and the officiating preacher says a plenary prayer. After that, the choir performs a three-part African anthem, accompanied by congas and maracas (comparable with CD-ROM files 16 and 17). Meanwhile, people are chatting, which altogether leads to an 'orderless' sound. Halfway the song, when the rhythm changes, they get lost. Nevertheless, they keep trying. The congregation claps to encourage them, my neighbour shouts 'Amen!' and the choir starts again from the very beginning. This time, they are more successful and when they finish, the people applaud.

THIRD PART

Quite some time is now being spent on announcements concerning meetings of committees, Bible studies, prayer meetings and so on. Then one of the singing band members starts playing a significant rhythm on woodblocks (an after beat after the second, third and fourth beat of a bar), which is the sign for the offertory. The guitarist tries some chords, the drummer and the organist join in and the foundation is being laid for the singing band to sing the offertory. Men and women sing in two-part harmony, the leader sings verses in between, all swaying their hips in line with the rhythm of the song; what comes across is the rhythm, more than any melody or harmony. There is no balance between the volume of the choir and the volume of the accompaniment: the latter is fairly dominant. The drummer uses the crash cymbal, which gives the song a crisp sound. Then, a short Akan verse is being sung, to introduce the 'altar call' (mostly consisting of prayers for those who get pastoral attention, e.g. because of their birthday or the loss of a relative). Two people move forward, followed by some fifteen others who support them. Almost the entire congregation stretches out their arms, while the officiating preacher says a prayer of thanksgiving and blessing for the two people's birthdays. His voice sounds very powerful and energetic: he distinctly articulates the words, the volume of his speech is loud, his bodily expression is as clear as the timbre of his voice. After each intention, the congregation wholeheartedly responds 'Amen!', and immediately, the preacher continues. The flow of prayers thus arising, continues for some five minutes. After the last 'Amen', the preacher starts a slow and weary sounding 'Happy birthday to you, God bless you', meanwhile all return to their seats.

Another Methodist hymn is being sung, the organist starts an introit, but then waits, because the preacher suddenly starts reading the first stanza. Then the organist starts again. His accompaniment is very staccato: every repeating chord is being struck separately. The congregation and the preacher, who loudly sings into the microphone (he easily gets the microphone popping[134]), adopt this staccato performance and sit on every long note at the end of the melodic line. After an almost recitingly performed prayer by the preacher, he spontaneously starts a Ghanaian song ("Speak to us, Lord", my neighbour translates). All join him immediately and sing a multipart harmony.

The last notes have not yet died away, or he has already started his sermon (CD-ROM file 14). The sound of his performance is far from monotonous: he now speaks to the congregation in an easy tone of voice, then seems to be deeply moved by his own words, and goes into a trance. Sometimes, his voice breaks. Every now and then, he jokes and the congregation laughs. The sermon is being performed with a smile and many anecdotes. Besides joking, the preacher often interacts with the congregation – using a call-and-response form that keeps people attentive – by posing questions to which they answer. They respond to what he is saying, either by laughing or uttering other kinds of exclamations ('Hmm!', 'Amen!', 'Yes!' and other signs of approval). During the sermon, several children are chattering, and a mother is changing her baby's nappy. Almost half an hour later, the sermon is brought to a close, with a prayer to the Holy Spirit. People are seated and whisper, their heads bowed in respect. After the final 'Amen', the congregation gives applause for the preacher. The service comes to an end with the singing of a Psalm that is not in the hymnbook. The organist and the other bandsmen object, because they are not too familiar with this song. Then the preacher suggests another hymn, from MHB/CAN. Even before the bandsmen have taken their instruments, he starts humming the melody of the hymn. Halfway his humming, one of the choristers loudly starts from the very beginning, to raise the pitch. After her first line, all rise to their feet and start singing. The bandsmen try to tune in, but finally they drop it. The congregation sings three stanza's a cappella. Since this was

[134] The sound which occurs when a large amount of air is forced into the microphone, for example when someone makes a sudden forceful sound, such as the letter "p". The sound is often heard when the person's mouth is very close to the microphone.

the last song for the bandsmen to accompany, they start packing their instruments and carry them out of the church to the basement, where they store the instruments. During the final (improvised and thus rather informal) announcements, the organist, at a piano volume, rehearses some final chords for the recessional hymn. Then a final prayer (a summary of the sermon), which leads to a blessing, is being said by the preacher. After that he spurs the congregation on to say 'the grace of fellowship'. When they have done so, the choir lines up for the recessional hymn, halfway up the aisle. Together with the congregation they sing a Methodist hymn, and keep singing as long as they are in the room. Again, the first stanza is being repeated over and over again, always followed by a short postlude. As soon as the choir enters the vestry, the singing of the congregation dies down (in the middle of the stanza). The sound engineer puts on an African gospel CD with a Westernized flavour, meanwhile everybody starts talking and packing their things, ushers start clearing out the place; children yell and run around; families leave the church building. The service ends three hours after it started.

7.4 Qualities of the Sound of Worship

Through the analysis of the sound of worship in this congregation and of the interviews conducted, I was able to identify two qualities that characterize the sound of worship in this congregation: 'responsiveness' and 'holistic cohesion'. In a similar way as in Chapter 6, these two qualities differ in character to some extent: 'responsiveness' is particularly relevant to the actual sound performance as could be perceived during worship, while the quality 'holistic cohesion' rather elucidates the aspects underlying the interviewees' explanations of the actual performed sound, and the meanings they attribute to it.[135]

I elaborate on each of these qualities on the basis of the thick description above and quotations from interviews with church members, which conveyed the meanings they attribute to the sound of worship. As in Chapter 6, personal narratives are indicated by 'N'. In this chapter, evident grammatical mistakes in the use of English in the personal narratives were not revised, because these contain information on the speaker's mastery of the English language. This information is relevant because language was an aspect of sound to which respondents often referred. Again, all interviewees are represented with fictitious names (the minister excepted) and overviews of the specific codes that together make up each quality can be found in Appendix 2.

7.4.1 Responsiveness

The quality 'responsiveness' refers to the sonic responses made to what happens in worship. These responses may either be made in reaction to other people, to what performers feel inside while celebrating worship, to what has occurred in their lives during that week, or – as respondents say – to God, to the Spirit, to the Word. One way or the other, 'relatedness' appeared to be a property of both sound and performers.

The term 'responsiveness' occurred to me when I was looking for a word to describe this relatedness as well as the outgoing and sometimes exuberant way of performing sound. I use it in the sense of being 'quick to respond or react appropriately or sympathetically'.[136] The fact that the sound of worship may be claimed to be responsive concurs with the fact that I already identified the activity of 'responding' at an earlier stage of the research.[137]

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[135] See the account of processing data in Section 5.4.4.

[136] 'Responsive', taken from *Merriam Webster Online Dictionary*, see http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary.

[137] In an article on my first observations in this church, I indicated four kinds of sound: the sound of prayer, of singing, of preaching and the sound of responding. I stated that "This kind of sound can be heard throughout

The quality 'responsiveness' had three distinct, but at the same time closely related aspects: 'expressing', 'relation to God' and 'authenticity'. These will be discussed below.

EXPRESSING

Many sound aspects of the worship services in this congregation were (related to) the expressive performance of sound: the thick description showed that people expressed their faith rather exuberantly and intensely. They prayed with outstretched arms, the worship leader walked up and down the aisle with big steps, shouting prayers into the microphone. When the minister preached, he would often walk in the open space in front of the lectern, sometimes making vehement gestures, and while he delivered the sermon, people often loudly interjected or exclaimed. A large part of the congregation danced with abandon and enthusiastically clapped or waved handkerchiefs while singing; they would sometimes actively jump up when they broke into a song; they held hands, while enthusiastically singing the 'family' song, in four-part harmony, clearly not caring about their timbre or whether they sang in tune or not; most of them sang loud to very loud, and as they usually sang by heart, they were free to let their entire body take part in the performance. They expressed their faith with the same dedication in several languages (English and Akan) and musical styles (such as Methodist Hymns, African Highlife, Western gospel music, traditional Ghanaian Methodist 'Ebibindwom'[138]). Thus, all sounds were performed actively, and often also joyfully, lively and happily, and this sound performance went hand in hand with plenty physical gestures and movements.

Above all, many sound aspects followed one another, almost without exception: someone started singing a song, then the bandsmen picked this up and started accompanying one after the other, then the congregation joined the singing and started clapping and swaying. Such sequences occurred throughout the worship of this congregation. The performance of sound was mostly an expressive response to something that had been said or done just or shortly before. This is aptly illustrated by an anecdote about the first time I 'robed' (which means I joined the Church Choir during worship, wearing the customary black robe and black hat). We sang the English hymns during the service and had prepared an anthem in Akan. When the time for the anthem had come, I felt the eyes of the entire congregation (some 200 people) focused on me, and I could feel their curiosity: 'Is this young Dutch woman really going to sing a song in Akan or will she just step aside and wait till this song is over?' I sang the Akan anthem. Before we even finished the song, the congregation had already started roaring loudly, applauding enthusiastically. The moment we sang our last notes, from two sides of the church two women independently run to me, stopped half a metre in front of me (in the mean time they had got out their white handkerchiefs) and while yelling, both started to flutter their handkerchiefs before my face. My singing this Akan anthem was highly appreciated. Had I not sung the anthem in Akan, they would not have responded this way.

From interviews I concluded that this exuberant and outgoing way of performing sound was a manner for people to express themselves and their faith in church. While the entire life of a Christian was supposed to be saturated with worship and praises to God, the church gave people the opportunity to do this in a more 'condensed' way. In daily life, during their normal activities, people worshipped God, but worship in church was considered an

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the worship service from beginning to end. It may take the shape of exclamations and interjections (…) but also that of handclapping and other non-verbal responses. The sound of response is interspersed with the sound I have grouped in other categories." (KLOMP 2008, 155)

138 Traditional Methodist lyrics of the Fanti tribe, beloved and highly prized among non-literate Christians (WILLIAMSON 1958, 126). *Ebibindwom* enables the congregation, especially those who did or do not speak English, to participate more fully in the service.

occasion where people could express themselves and make room to be close to, and fully concentrate on, God.

N-1 *Benjamin* There is a moment that you come to the presence of God and where you worship God with your whole being. From your spirit, everything, you worship God. In our life as Ghanaian, worship in a church service is the time that we express our whole heart through dancing, through singing, and we sort of empty ourselves before God. And that is expressed through the way we dance, through our praises and worship. (...) The Bible says that Jesus emptied himself to the extent that he was able to come down and take the very nature of man to himself, to express how he loved mankind. (...) He emptied himself of authority, power, but his love for man was saved in him. And with that love he was able to come down and die for us. And so that emptiness, we need it, as Christians, in order to be able to draw nearer to God, to be able to speak to God and to be able to listen also unto God. And so dancing and worship is an integral part of our life.[139]

It is remarkable that the respondent mentioned dancing and singing in one and the same breath (in fact he first mentioned the dancing and then the singing). Another interviewee stressed the fact that one has to *do* something when praising God. He mentioned dancing and singing and clapping in relation to praising God, because "when you are praising God (…) you must be happy. Yeah. You do not have to stand still"[140]. Apparently all these forms went hand in hand, where praising God was concerned. The entire body was involved, they fleshly embodied their faith. The remark that one should be happy, referred to the interesting phenomenon that there seemed to be a two-way traffic between feelings and movements: many interviewees indicated that being happy made them dance, and that dancing made them happy. One of them stated that if God has done him good things, or has shown him his mercy, he becomes so grateful that he does not know what to do. The only thing he can do is just respond with singing and dancing "to the glory of the Lord"[141], because he feels he has no choice: these feelings of happiness and cheerfulness inside his body urge him to respond like this. In addition some respondents mentioned the presence of the Holy Spirit that made them happy and led to dancing. Considering the fact that people always danced in church (which made them happy) and considering their 'duty' to be happy when praising God (which made them dance), it is easy to explain the exuberance and enthusiasm, especially during the Praise and Worship part of the service.

This happiness, whether a result or a reason, did not mean that dancing was only related to positive feelings or emotions. Both the Word of God, and praying, singing and dancing – in short: the Ghanaians' expression of their faith – helped to canalize emotions. Thus, any way of performing sound might have been their response to the uplifting Word of God or to their problems or to something that happened, or both. By all means, the expressive response related them and their problems to God, as the following quotation shows:

N-2 *Joy* You know, in this country we foreigners, we have a lot of problems. (...) How can you sleep if they call you [from Ghana, MK] that your mother is sick, or your child is sick, and you don't have even 50 euro to send. How can you eat, how can you sleep? We have a lot of problems. So if you go to church, you have the Word of God, you pray, and we sing and you dance... you relieve!

[139] Interview with Benjamin, November 22, 2006.
[140] Interview with Felicia and Gabriel, May 8, 2007.
[141] Interview with Esaias, March 24, 2007.

> After all you have to be happy, a little bit. You know, and being happy of hearing the gospel is fine![142]

In any case, it turned out that expressive movements did not go without sound: either by singing or by rhythmic handclapping or otherwise, the performance of sound was inextricably bound up with movement, and vice versa. The thick description also showed this, when the congregation held hands while singing the family song 'We are family, we are one'.

Although the entire service could be said to be to the worship of and praise to God, there was a dedicated phase during the service where the congregation expressed their faith exuberantly, going round, singing, clapping, waving, dancing: the 'local choruses of praise and worship' (hereafter in short: Praise and Worship).[143] This part did not belong to the liturgical practice as originally handed down to the Ghanaians by British Methodists. But under the influence of booming Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Ghana – which gave much space to the singing of indigenous gospel music as well as dancing – the so-called 'orthodox' churches (established churches such as the Roman-Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Methodist churches) also came to include more expressive forms of worship. They felt they were urged to do that because they came to understand that the youth preferred the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, exactly because of this emphatic and lively performance of worship. In the end these forms better match with the Ghanaian expressiveness, according to the Ghanaian minister of WMC: he considered that all Ghanaians are religious anyhow, and that they will express their religiousness as soon as they are given the opportunity to do so.

Exuberant though this dedicated phase of Praise and Worship may be, other liturgical elements were likewise performed in an outgoing way. Mass prayer may serve as an example: as the thick description showed, during mass prayer everyone prayed the intercessions simultaneously and aloud, mostly with a powerful voice. The fact that the congregation as a whole performed this sound aloud, was meaningful to them in two ways: the more people prayed together, the more powerful it was, and praying together and aloud kept the worshipper awake: 'When I close my mouth and I stand there, maybe I am praying, [but] maybe I am sleeping! Or I am thinking different thing else! (…) Sometimes I am in bed, I am praying, I close my eyes, because I am tired. Yeah! One minute after, I am gone! You see? That is how it goes!'[144] The sound was often attended by powerful bodily expressions, that were meant to show discipline, obedience, appreciation, thanks and respect to God.[145] Another example were the interjections or exclamations by members of the congregation, during the sermon and the intentions preceding mass prayer. These were responses to what was being said, 'boosting'[146] exclamations that were meant to support the preacher. The minister claimed that both praying aloud and these exclamations are rooted in the African inclination to open up and share what is on your mind.

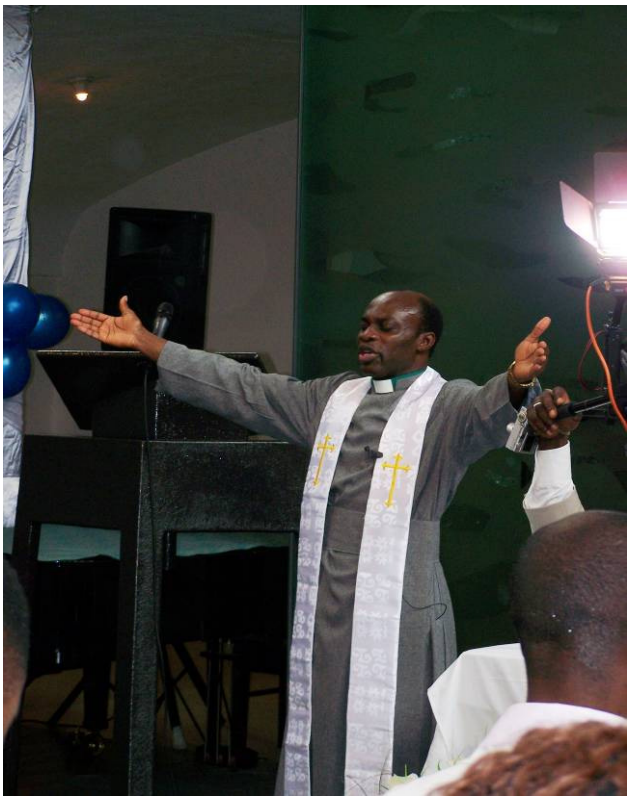
N-3 *Os. Isaac* As much as they want to sing and praise, by the same time they want to talk to God personally. And somehow, in our culture, people are somehow exuberant to some extent. So whilst at worship they want to express themselves and sing aloud and praise God and do that in dancing and

[142] Interview with Joy and Kobbi, June 29, 2007.
[143] See N-1 and the thick description above (under 'first part').
[144] Interview with Joy, June 29, 2007.
[145] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.
[146] Interview with Esaias, March 24, 2007.

> [inarticulate, MK] in the same way in their prayer life too. Intercessory aspect I mean. And petition. They want to talk aloud to God. They don't want the minister to pray for them: they want to talk, participatory prayer. (...) So they know they have audience with God, they know that they have poured out their hearts before God personally and they come out of church relieved, because they have been encouraged by a word of faith which will encourage them to pray and also be assured that God has heard them if they come out of church.[147]

Thus we see that the performance of sound was not something detached, or isolated or independent, but related: people prayed and poured out their hearts as a response to 'a word of faith'. By doing so, they embodied their faith.

The minister himself appeared to be quite fond of sharing his own faith as well. Among other things, this influenced his performance of the sermon. When he was preaching, he often came down from the lectern and entered the open space in front of the raised floor, where he walked back and forth, addressing people, asking questions, using them as examples, sharing true stories and faith experiences. In the interview he linked his performance to the Methodist tradition (saying that John Wesley himself was the one who started reaching out, preaching the Word and sharing his faith), but he also confirmed my impression that this performance was completely natural to him, by passing the remark that he had always been sharing and communicating his faith, from the moment he got his conversion experience. (He admitted that he liked sharing his faith with people even more than preaching in the pulpit.[148]) All the more because, during the interview itself, when he was telling me about one of his favourite hymns, he unintentionally proved on the spot that sharing and expressing go hand in hand:



I-14 The minister of WMC, sharing his faith during the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the church. Note that he is standing in front of the lectern. *June 2007*.

N-4 *Os. Isaac* I myself have some hymns I love when I am singing. [He starts clapping his hands.] I sing them with insisting enthusiasm and I love the words. The words minister to my innermost being and my heart goes with the words and with the meaning and it leans me directly to God.

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147 Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007. Ghanaian church members use to call their ministers 'Osofu'.

148 There is no real pulpit in the Methodist church in Amsterdam, officiating preachers mostly stand behind the lectern, but most of the church buildings in which the Ghanaian societies of the Holland Mission Circuit gather (Rotterdam, The Hague, Antwerp and Brussels) do have pulpits.

Mirella Your face starts expressing, when you…
Os. Isaac Expressing what I mean, for instance [he sings]: "Blessed assurance, Jesus is mine! O, what a foretaste of glory divine! Heir of salvation, purchase of God, born of his Spirit, washed in his blood. [Now he sings the refrain]: This is my story, this is my song, – then we lift up our hands [he lifts up his hands and starts waving] – praising my Saviour all the day long; this is my story, this is my song, praising my Saviour all the day long." You see, this thing, is my story. It is about conversion, this is my testimony: assurance of salvation.
Mirella But why do you use your hands, why do you wave…?
Os. Isaac Yes! Because…
Mirella Where does this come from?
Os. Isaac This comes from – Alleluia! it is the faith within! It expresses my faith.[149]

It occurred to me that 'expressing' also determined the criteria as regards sound. For instance, 'singing well' in this congregation was not about musically accomplished singing, in the sense of 'singing in tune', or 'starting together', or 'singing in an aesthetically faultless way'. 'Singing well' meant that people were "conversant with the hymns"[150], because it enabled them to sing with enthusiasm, to sing expressively and to bodily express their faith. It was all about intention, as I demonstrate below in the part on authenticity.

To the respondents a 'stiff' performance of sound in their service was unthinkable, notwithstanding the fact that the European background of the Methodist tradition had long influenced the way Ghanaians celebrated their worship. On the other hand, they would not abolish the Methodist order of service, despite its 'stiff' aspects. Instead they preferred to maintain this structure – a choice which was also theologically based, since 'Methodism' relates to a 'methodical approach' of the Scriptures and Christian living, including worship; see the quotation below – and add new elements to it. After all, the Christian faith was also seen as dynamic: "as you move with time and people are finding new ways of expressing themselves to God (…), why not move along that?"[151] This is why they inserted new and other musical styles in their worship services, but maintained the Methodist Hymns:

N-5 *Benjamin* There is always a good aspect of everything. Methodism is very good. Why? Because it is methodical. And because it is methodical, there is element of perpetuation, consistency, and orderliness. Which is very good: we serve a God of order. And so, maintaining… to start with: it is a Methodist church and so it has a peculiar identity that enables it to maintain its name. But then, certain things are subjects to *amendments*. (…) And so, this procession singing of Methodist Hymn Book: yeah, powerful! They maintain the atmosphere of the reverential presence of God. They are very good! And so when you add the praise and worship aspect into it, then you meet perfection. (…) The reverential fear of God must prevail when the church meets as a church. But then the freedom to worship God also should not be hindered. And so, since then this praise and worship was admitted into the church.[152]

[149] Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.
[150] Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.
[151] Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.
[152] Interview with Benjamin, November 22, 2006. Empirical data proved that it is incorrect to assume that this 'reverential fear' would coincide with the 'neat', 'orderly' and 'methodical' Methodist practices and that the 'freedom to worship God' would coincide with Ghanaian forms of celebrating worship. Such would not do justice to the complexity of the empirical reality: 'Methodist' and 'Ghanaian' worship should not be opposed like that, all the more because both have aspects of freedom and orderliness.

Thus we see that the room for new forms in worship enabled people to praise God and express themselves in a way that related to their African cultural background. As regards bodily exuberance, not everyone was equally expressive, though. There seemed to be a difference between the sexes: in general women used to dance more than men, and they were always the ones to start. Some respondents claimed this to be due to women's nature (which was said to be more expressive), others tended to think that women's faith is more 'revived' and that they are more responsive and enthusiastic about it, while men are shy and a bit reserved, and some supposed it is because of women's bodily configuration (their curves) and men's stiffness. Two young respondents were convinced that the difference has to do with Ghanaian men's response to their migration to Europe: they have become macho's who would not want to show their faith, and they have become sceptical about God because they see that Europeans (who brought Christianity to Africa) are no longer religious themselves.

There was one style of music that was particularly responsive: the Ebibindwom (comparable with CD-ROM file 15). Its musical pattern is call and response. Ebibindwom was always performed during the sermon, usually by women. The respondents told me that these songs use to be performed when the preacher uses a narrative or a quotation from the Bible and someone is touched by what the preacher says: the sermon might call up the memory of an Ebibindwom about that story or that feeling. In such case, it often occurs that one of the women gets to her feet and, as a response to the sermon, starts singing this song. When she 'calls', the congregation 'responds'. These Ebibindwom seemed to be quite familiar and all respondents highly appreciated them.

N-6 *Gabriel* Sometimes you feel like what he is saying – because if he support the petition from the Bible – you feel guilty. Because we believe in the word of the Bible. We believe in the Bible, so if the preacher preach and he support it, he will say: "Let's open Matthew chapter two, so that we can read it, to support that 'don't have sex with anybody without marriage'" or something. You will be touched. And otherwise he preach something that you feel very sad. You feel very sad. That brings – you know you feel emotional – that brings some song, that Ebibindwom, if either you will be happy or you will be sad, it can bring you songs.

Mirella And the song is about... the song expresses your feeling at that very moment?

Gabriel Yes, it expresses your feeling, either in happiness or sadness.

Mirella And other people, who might not have the same feeling, they still join in?

Gabriel Yeah, they might not have the feeling, but maybe sometimes if you start it is: okay, whoever know how to sing it can join in.

Felicia In Ghana everybody knows how to sing it. When you have started it, it will reach some point, then the congregation must come in. That is the way we use to sing Ebibindwom: you will [have] started it and you will speak some words, then we will join you.[153]

In some cases this spontaneous manifestation of women's expressiveness delayed the service: sometimes there was almost no end to the Ebibindwom. Although Ebibindwom were highly appreciated, the minister considered it desirable that, after the third or fourth song or so, he friendly tried to discourage the singing of another Ebibindwom, saying something like: "O God, it is beautiful, maybe this could be the last one!"[154]

In the first part of this section we have seen how the outgoing performance of sound was related to Ghanaian's expression of their faith and of themselves. Expressive performance of

[153] Interview with Felicia and Gabriel, May 8, 2007.
[154] Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.

sound was used to praise God, to express and empty themselves with their whole being *coram Deo*. It comprised both vocal and instrumental engagement. And it kept the youth in (at least this was aimed for). We saw that expressing was not a matter of choice, but something that happened as a matter of course, which gave worship a spontaneous touch. Expressions had the power to canalize emotions and related people to God. They were often brought about as a response to something else (be it a feeling, an expression by another performer of worship, or a word from the Bible).

Relation to God

From both the thick description on the performance of sound in WMC and the preceding part, one can gather that interviewees considered themselves to have a personal relationship with the God they venerated – a relation which was thought very important. The way the preacher confessed his faith, shouting and sobbing, meanwhile running up and down the aisle; the way in which mass prayer was being performed, aloud and with outstretched arms or uplifted hands; the way in which people sang and danced their praises to God, meanwhile waving their handkerchiefs – all leads one to suspect that they assume God to be actually among them at that very moment, as a person who knows his worshippers and who is right before their eyes.

Two young female respondents (who at the moment of the interview were 19 and 20 years old and came to the Netherlands at the age of 12 and 9 respectively) appeared to be hampered in their relation to God, by the expressive sound performance of Ghanaians. When, for instance, the worship leader during the confession at the beginning of the service, or during mass prayer in the praise and worship part, shouted his personal prayers into the microphone, these young interviewees were no longer able to pray themselves (during the interview their emotion showed when they shared this with me). They were opposed to such performance, because they found that prayer is something between the one who prays and God. What is more, they considered such performance distractive, because it made it difficult for them to concentrate on their own prayers and thus to come into contact with God. In other words: the expressive sound performance of others hampered their own embodiment of faith in the performance of the sound of worship. So, for more than one reason, the worship leader should not communicate his prayers to the other church members by using the microphone, they said. The fact that the entire congregation prayed aloud, was less of a problem to the young ladies. Ivie initially had started praying in silence, but switched to praying aloud to prevent herself from falling asleep while praying. She also seemed to pray aloud because, when the person next to her was shouting his prayers, God might not have heard (and perhaps not answered) hers. Hannah said she could not pray aloud in church: she prayed in silence to better be able to concentrate on her prayer to God, and that was fine with her. Since they were the only respondents who claimed their relation to God to be bothered by the volume and inescapable expressiveness of the sound performed by others, the issue might somehow have been related to their age and the far-reaching extent to which they have settled in Dutch culture. If this was really the case, there seemed to be an interesting ambivalence in the meanings that were ascribed to expressive sound performance: the young ladies here seemed to be bothered by sounds and sound performances that were too expressive, whereas the (performance of) sound in worship had been changed precisely to accommodate (amongst others) younger people, who were said to like to worship their God in a more expressive way (see the preceding part of this section, on expressing oneself and one's faith). However, in the end – and irrespective of age – it was not the sound (performance), but people's personal relation to God that was considered the core motive of worship. I elaborate on this further.

Worship enabled people to experience the presence of God (see N-1, note that on a Sunday afternoon people spent several hours in church for worship)[155]. It seemed that in worship churchgoers wanted to speak to their God individually and wanted to talk aloud to God to pour out their hearts (N-3). One respondent addressed Jesus Christ as 'my Saviour' in a song (see N-4: "this is my story, this is my song, praising my Saviour all the day long"). These attitudes show that people's relationship with God really mattered. Moreover, they show that this relationship is closely associated with its expression in sound. The following quotation illustrates a person's relation with God, and how a particular sound performance may be a response to what God may mean in a person's life:

N-7 *Charity* Because most of the music is about: maybe God has done something for me. And I can stand there and speak about it, but maybe from the music it is like: maybe I was in trouble and now God has… by his mercy I am now out of that trouble. So then they may start some music that is contrary to my problem, so to give me joy and I start jumping and clapping and praying.

Mirella So it is always related to the music?

Charity Yes. Yes, it is always like… We have a music – I don't know if you understand it, but I will say it – called [she mentions the first line in Twi]. It is like: "God is nearer to me than a friend. That is how he is. He is my friend. In everything he is my friend. He is my backbone. He is my Lord, my stronghold and my friend", and that is the meaning of that music. So maybe someone had had a friend who has maybe disappointed him or her, but leaning onto God, God has done wonderful things. So when someone hears this music, it is like it gingers them to see that: "O yeah, in God, there is joy. He didn't disappoint me, but I have some friends, whom I talked, maybe they are going to help me, but when I came to God, everything is nice or good." So when they hear the Praise and Worship team singing this, then oh! the person will start jumping and praying and singing. So it is like: when you see someone dancing, normally [it is] from the music, but maybe something is in the music that… yes… that *goes* with the music, if I may say.[156]

According to some respondents, the performance of sound could strengthen their relation to God. This was particularly the case when the minister of the church, the Very Reverend Isaac Amoah, preached. He acted almost like a mediator who linked the listener to the Word of God, they said. Although the respondents did not really elaborate on it, this designation might be related to the way he performed his sermon, sharing his faith, using examples, stepping down the raised floor (see the previous section): this performance, among other things, distinguished him from other preachers.

N-8 *Hannah* In my opinion, some people preach rather superficially, like, I mean: don't steal, don't lie. We already know these things. But he really tells you… God speaks through him to show you hidden things. Sometimes something is bothering you, and then he preaches, and it is just like the Word is meant for you. And you immediately feel good and you get the feeling that God is after all listening to you too. (…)

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[155] As many respondents emphasized, at any moment during worship their focus should be on God and his Word. After all, the church was considered the house of God: a place where one could come closer to him, through worship. Everything in worship was aimed at God's presence. "During worship you draw the attention of God in church. That is what worship is". According to the minister of the church, it was in the 'reflective' and 'solemn' worship part of Praise and Worship where "you focus more and just experience the awesomeness of God, you focus on God, so that your whole being will somehow be yielded" (interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007).

[156] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

Ivie But when our pastor preaches the Word, he really understands it! He feels it and I can see that he doesn't just move, he doesn't just say: Let's just stand there to preach, no, the Word *moves* him, because the Word of God comes with such power! And that is what moves him when he preaches, he just cannot stand still [meanwhile the respondent has come to speak with a powerful, passionate voice, stressing important words such as 'power']. (…)

Hannah And the feeling you might have as a pastor that you can see that some souls will be lost and you want to convey the Word so that the souls will be saved.

Ivie Like a father… Looks, as a father you want to protect your child and… Suppose your child is running now, and you know your child will fall. As a father you will not say: watch out! If you don't want you child to fall, then you will run after him, to prevent him from falling! So that is how he wants to convey the Word to us.[157]

This is an example of how the performance of sound influenced the respondents' relation to God. But then again, people's relation to God (the perception of who he is, the acceptance of the Bible as his word, and of the way of life he would like his believers to adopt) also clearly influenced the sound performance. Several respondents said they showed obedience to God by praying with outstretched arms and/or uplifted hands. 'We serve a God of order', one of the interviewees declared (N-5), and someone else used the word 'neat': in the presence of God, 'things are to be done neatly, because God is a neat God'. That is why in church the congregation danced in a line, he said: supposed they would mingle in disarray, the place would become congested and look 'like a market place', which would 'not be nice in the sight of God'.[158] Others said that, in general, the way in which people danced was inspired by the music they danced to. In this connection they unanimously referred to the text of the songs, which seemed to be normative in this respect: a Christian text required dancing in 'a Christian way', whereas dancing to music with non-Christian lyrics seemed not to be bound by rules. During one of the interviews I conducted at the respondents' place, some Ghanaian party was being broadcast on television. Upon seeing that broadcast, the respondents rather comprehensively exemplified the difference between dancing at a party and dancing in church. Since this conversation gave an excellent insight in the meanings of various sound performances, I here quote an extensive part of it:

N-9 *Damian* Supposing you are in church and a woman dances with the waist, showing her back, shaking the dust of herself. I mean, it doesn't look nice!

Mirella Is it indecent?

Damian It is indecent! You are doing things to attract people! But when you go to this very place [he points to the party broadcast on television] this is what you see. The women and the people, they do things to show off! Unlike [that], in the premises of God: we don't do things like that. We do things only to praise!

Mirella So in the church you don't dance with your waist and show your back, but [you only dance] with the upper part of your body, or? (…)

Charity The Bible says we can do all things, but all the things that are acceptable as a Christian. I can dress like that, with my back out and everything, yeah! Nothing forces or pushes me not to do that, but if you have the Holy Spirit in you, it will speak to you that: oh, this is not right. You are a child of God, so…

Mirella So you dress properly, and you also dance properly.

Both Yes!

Mirella And how is…

Damian The way you dance properly, that is what you want to understand, I know, I know. Okay, let me illustrate… [he now gets off the couch and moves to the

[157] Interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.

[158] According to Damian in the interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

middle of the living room to show the difference]. Okay, in the presence of God, when I am dancing in the Praise and Worship – I will do something like: when they sing, I will dance something neatly, raising up my arms, taking up steps like I am doing now [he is taking small steps forward]. But in those places, it is not like that. It goes like this: a woman will be here [almost up against his body], while I am here [pointing at himself], touching the woman, those kind of things. (…) And this very way of dancing, we can't take it to church. It becomes very very very unfavourable there. Because we are in the presence of Somebody who is above everything. (…)

Mirella So in the church you dance one after another…

Damian It is in a decent way.

Charity Because the music that they are playing, it is gospel music. So therefore you dance in a decent way. But like I was saying: some of the music that most of the Ghanaian guys or the girls sing, it is like… some are filthy. It is like, someone said: "I have got a girlfriend, so nobody should come and knock at my door, I am busy", something like that. (…) So they dance in tune with the words that are coming out from the music. (…)

Mirella So when you dance in the church, you take small steps. You don't dance with your waist, or…

Charity Oh no, it doesn't matter. You can dance with your head, your waist, your hands, anything.

Mirella I am still looking: what makes it decent or indecent?

Damian Okay, let me put it this way: dancing with women… Women have some body parts, unlike men: men, we have simple body parts. That is why most often, they use women in adverts, in magazines to attract themselves. Why? Because women have some seduced parts that, when portrayed, can attract people to buy their goods. That is why now, in this present world we find ourselves in, women are being used as page covers, etcetera: just to entice people to come and to buy their stuff. That is why now we have this *low* bottom jeans. When you wear them, you have your back [bare]. Because women have this very… You know, God created women differently. So you have this attractive features. So, supposing a woman has a very big shape… and the woman uses the big shape to show off in a church place. You just imagine! Everybody will be like this: trying to stare and look at what the woman has. And what we are doing there will draw the attention on the woman.

Mirella And not onto God?

Damian And that means we are doing different things at the same time. And that is not good. That is why in Ghanaian culture we always tells women… We have women who have this very extravagant shape. They have asses that are very very big. They have very very big asses! And even when they walk, you see their asses tossing. And supposing we have such a woman in the church and wear something which is very very tight and comes in front of the congregation, and tries to use the ass to dance: we just look at it. Every man over there will try to look at this very woman. The way the ass will be tossing. And by the end of the day, everything that is said in the pulpit wouldn't go into the head of that very man. The mind will be on the ass of the woman. And at the end of the day, he has lost everything! I mean: his being there becomes useless! That is why in the presence of God woman of that very nature should know how they should dance. They shouldn't use their waist and (…) expose herself. In the place of God, it is not like that. Yeah, it is not like that. That is why we are more careful about dancing in the church.[159]

[159] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

This quotation clearly shows that particularly the male interviewee held the view that people, in their sound performance, should behave in a way that is responsive to (the presence of) God. This responsiveness was not restricted to worship – according to one of the local preachers it should be the standard for people's entire life – but worship was the last place where performers should give offence and distract other people's attention from God. This appeared to be a gender-related issue: according to the male respondent, women in particular were the ones who could and should not distract the attention of the men with their dancing sound performance. When hearing gospel music, women should know which performance is suitable to the embodiment of faith and which performance is not, he claimed. He – note that he did most of the talking – related women's sound performance to the attention of men (which would be distracted) and the consequences for men's relation with God. His wife related the 'acceptable' sound performance directly to God: you know you are a child of God, so you just do not do perform sound in certain ways. For both of them, embodiment of faith was bound to certain limitations.

The second part of this section showed how interviewees saw their personal relationship to God, and how this determined the sound of worship and particularly the performance of sound. Worshippers spoke to God personally and directly, the lyrics of the songs they sang were 'Christian songs', and were thus 'decent' and 'neat'. The sound should be performed accordingly: singing was not to be attended by a way of dancing that was objectionable (this mainly concerned women) or distractive. People were to perform sound in ways that are responsive to the Bible, to the presence of and their relation to God.

AUTHENTICITY

The third aspect of the quality 'responsiveness' is in fact derived from the previous aspect 'relation to God'. In several interviews, the issues of 'intention' and 'attention' came up. Respondents made abundantly clear that the sound of worship and its performance should not distract other people: everyone was to engage conscientiously in sound performance, and to refrain from drawing attention to themselves and distracting others from God. Interviewees either implicitly or more explicitly (like the two young women) questioned the authenticity of those who attracted too much attention. In general, I concluded from the remarks of several interviewees, authentic performers were considered to be true to God, to their own personality and to their spirituality. The judgement of in-authenticity by the young respondents, for instance, touched on people chatting at the back of the church during the sermon, on some people's dancing (just because of the beat of the conga's and the western drum kit), on people's waving handkerchiefs during the time of praise and worship, and on women's singing of Ebibindwom. As we shall see, these performance aspects led to questions on authenticity, which appeared to be related to drawing and paying attention, exaggerating, and being sincere or acting genuinely.

Many of the respondents' criteria on authenticity had to do with drawing attention: people should not want to be the centre of interest. The minister said that during the praise and worship part he encouraged his church members to focus on God, and tried to set a good example himself:

N-10 *Os Isaac* I want people… that is why I say that: "When it comes to the celebrative aspect [the worship part, as opposed to exuberant praises]: do it and be conscious of the presence of God. That you do not think about how best you can dance, and trying to attract and make this a [inarticulate] attraction." So when I am even able to dance a bit, I don't look at people, my mind and I am

always praising God and focus on him and it is not about them but about God.[160]

In contrast to the minister, who did not openly denounce this behaviour but rather attempted to steer the performance, the two youngest respondents were quite clear about worshippers to whom the focus on God seemed not top priority. They claimed to know some people's motivation to perform the way they did, since they heard them saying about themselves: 'I am really bad, because I just come to church to feel the beat'. This clearly differed from the respondents' own motives:

N-11 *Hannah* I mean, it is for God, that you come [to church]. You would want to hear the words so that you can feel closer to God, you feel that you are in God's house instead of a disco or so.

Ivie The way of worship I really like it, you know, because if I go to a white church, it is all quiet, I find that very boring. So when you come to our church, it is really lively, you know. But some people, they abuse this opportunity, all they do is only merrymaking!

Hannah Because of the beat!

Ivie Yeah, because of the beat. And then I think: No, these people... This person does not take any message home, when he leaves. He just comes to enjoy the beat and the dancing. They only participate when a song is being sung. And the volume of the song is so high that they don't take any message from it. (...)

Mirella Do you dance, Hannah?

Hannah Oh, I do. But I remain in my place, I do not go to dance in front.

Mirella Why don't you?

Hannah I just have my own reasons. It is because of what some people do over there. Some people – you know them, you know how they are. Some people go dancing because of the beat and you know exactly who these people are. For them, it is not about the words, it is only because of the beat, and they go wobbling with their handkerchiefs and so on. And then I feel like I don't want to go there, I don't need to prove myself like that, because I would feel like one of them. (...) God knows from my heart that I have come for him.[161]

This quotation thus shows that the performance of people who were considered inauthentic, influenced the performance of the interviewees: they saw people drawing attention; they heard people saying things about their own motivation to come to church and perform sound; the interviewees did not want to be identified with these people; one of them decided not to dance at the front of the church, but to remain in their own place and dance in front of her chair (which inevitably led to limited freedom of movement, due to the adjacent chairs). This means their performance was responsive to the performance of others.

Going out of your mind while performing expressively at the front of the church, however, was not necessarily equal to drawing attention. The difference appeared to lie in the performer's intention, according to Hannah and Ivie. When I asked about the woman who, as the thick description showed, was notable because of her highly expressive movements, they explained: this woman told them the reason that made her dance the way she did, and they found this 'acceptable'. It had to do with the joy that God had brought this woman to this place. Since the respondents knew about her life story, they even considered it good that she danced like this. Other respondents were more candid and told me that the dancing sound performance of the woman related to an important reversal in her life:

[160] Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.
[161] Interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.

N-12 *Charity* If I may say something about her: she says she was a drunkard, she smoked weed, she smoked cigarettes. She does all some awful things, before. So now when she came to the church and that teaches you not to do this, not to do that… So now she is a really born again. Really, really! Now she has stopped everything. She was like this [she indicates with two fingers that the woman was very skinny], and now look at her: she is gaining weight now. So it is like she sees what God has done for her. So anytime she hears some music about that condition, than it pricks her. She is just praising God for whatever God has done for her. You can see it from her…

Mirella It is different, yes…

Damian She does not care about whoever is in the church, she only wants to please her God. So sometimes she dances off the beat, just swinging her arms and something of that sort around, in appreciation to what God has done to her, like your sister [Charity] was telling you…[162]

This quotation explains why – as I noticed – the woman was moving differently compared to the other people who were dancing, and was performing joyfully. Although her performance was notable, she apparently did not do it to attract attention. This would also explain why I observed she looked introverted and did not make contact with other people. The sound performance of this lady was seen in the context of people who sang and danced because they want to thank God for what he had done in their lives.

Although Hannah and Ivie were aware of the expressive background of their Ghanaian culture, they also seemed to have some reserve towards it: when they were not aware of the reasons that inform other people's (overly) expressive performance, they tended to regard it as exaggerated. Again, this might be related to their age and to the fact that they grew up in Africa, and came to live in Europe when on the brink of adolescence. They seemed to take a middle position between both cultures, which made them at least a little ambivalent towards Ghanaian culture. From N-11 it appeared that they liked the Ghanaian liveliness, but at the same time did not want to be disturbed by the expressiveness of others in their worship. The following underlines this:

N-13 *Ivie* But sometimes people around you in church distract you and you run the risk of missing the message that is meant for you, because you can't even hear it. Because what you see is that some people come to church to show their clothing, or they are standing up to be seen and so on. And then you, as a person, are really prepared to be in church, to listen to the Word… and then this person is distracting you. I easily get annoyed, so when I see you doing such thing, then I really think: what on earth are you doing?! (…)

Hannah Ghanaians have many ways to be conspicuous.

Ivie To make a fool of themselves!

Hannah And then – if they are somewhere and many people are present and he thinks he is looking *so* good – this person does not remain seated: every five minutes he is standing up because people have to see him or her. Ghanaians often do that – I don't know why – isn't it, Ivie?

Ivie Oh yes! (…) I just find that some people sometimes highly exaggerate.[163]

These interviewees told me they were once called to account for themselves, because of their modest and 'cool' expressiveness. A Ghanaian man next to one of them told them to move more freely and shout, so that they could motivate other people to pray: "In the church of

[162] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.
[163] Interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.

God you don't have to act like a lady, just move freely! You two always pray so quietly, with you arms behind your back." Saying this, he also urged them to be themselves: "Don't act like a lady." But his opinion on what 'being themselves' is supposed to look like, clearly differed from the respondents' own view.

The authenticity of the sound performance and/or sound performers also appeared to relate to people's sincerity or genuineness. What people did should correspond with their hearts: they should not raise their hand during prayer when they were not in tune with God, someone said. 'Being in tune with God without raising your hand' during prayer was even considered better than 'raising your hand without being in tune with God'.[164] So the performance was regarded important, but being genuine in sound performance was even more important: the intention had to be sincere. Performers were on the one hand accountable for their sincerity to themselves, on the other hand it was said that God knows the performer's heart and knows what he or she is there for (namely: either to search God or to show off).[165]

One respondent emphatically related authenticity (consisting of sincere performance and genuineness of the performer) to identity, to 'being oneself', both as a person and as a part of a Ghanaian or African group of people. He claimed that boring (meaning 'stiff' or 'wooden') performance of sound did not match with how Ghanaians 'were'.[166] Furthermore he was of the opinion that *coram Deo*, and therefore in worship, everyone should do

N-14 *Kobbi* whatever they, as a person, feel is good. When you are before the face of God, you just have to be yourself. For God there are no rules, like: you have to do this, or that. You wave, you get to your feet to praise God, or go down on your knees, just anything of which you feel that it enables you to bring praises to God, is right. (...) It just happens. Sometimes the Holy Spirit touches you and you feel so excited, you just want to praise God in any way, and then it happens automatically. And sometimes you get the feeling to do it that way.[167]

In relation to authenticity, the Holy Spirit was also mentioned. The young respondents wondered whether the women singing Ebibindwom were pushed 'in the right direction' by the Holy Spirit, or wanted to show that they also knew how sing an Ebibindwom: "Because many Ghanaians think it is really cool when you do it: they [the congregation] go like whoe-oe-oe [she ululates] as soon as someone has sung, and then everybody starts clapping!"[168] Nevertheless, they considered the Ebibindwom as 'pure' and songs 'of old' with 'wise and refined Ghanaian words'. Indeed there seemed to be a large contrast between the different meanings they attributed to the singing of Ebibindwom.

The third part of this section showed how the authentic performance of sound (or performance that goes with sound) is part of the quality 'responsiveness'. In the opinion of interviewees, people's authenticity was related to the intention that informs their performance: do they pay attention to God or do they want to draw attention to themselves? If people focused on God, they were considered authentic. Likewise, when the performance was sincere, when someone acted genuinely and when people performed in accordance with their personal or group identity, they were considered authentic. The so-called in-authenticity

164 Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.
165 Interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.
166 He seemed to refer to 'bodily configuration', which I discuss under 'Cultural' in Section 7.4.2.
167 Interview with Joy and Kobbi, June 29, 2007.
168 Remark by Hannah, from the interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.

of some influenced the performance of two younger sound performers, because the latter did not want to be identified with the former, who were alleged to exaggerate. Thus several interviewees indicated that, and how, in an authentic way, worshippers performed responsively to others, to the Holy Spirit, to God.

7.4.2 Holistic cohesion

Another quality of the sound of worship in this church is 'holistic cohesion'.[169] This refers to the interconnection of several sound aspects of the performed sound of worship that together holistically seemed to cohere (a cohesion on the level of empirical phenomena), as well as to the holistic connection of their meanings, which were given from different backgrounds (a cohesion on the level of interpretations of perceptions of empirical phenomena).

During the analysis of the interview data, I found that nearly all aspects of the performed sound of worship seemed to be related. Moreover, I found out that also the interviewees themselves did indeed interrelate all these sound aspects, by the way they attributed meanings to them. Because of these interrelations of both sound aspects and meanings, it was hardly possible to find key concepts: whichever concept I chose to work out, to see whether it could lead to a quality of sound, I always reached a deadlock, because practically everything seemed to be related. 'Continuity', for instance, appeared to be a concept connected with all different kinds of codes: it was related to 'African culture' and 'form: dancing' (the sound of worship reflected a continuity with the African culture of the congregation since sound was performed dancingly), to 'boring' (the continuity with Methodist tradition resulted in boring services for the youth), to 'identity' (the Methodist identity of the church required a certain continuity with the worship tradition, which was for example reflected in the singing of Methodist hymns), to 'the Bible' (in several respects, the sound performance was considered to be in line with biblical practices), etcetera. These codes were often different ontological entities and, within the one and same ontological category, of variable importance.[170] I could not find an umbrella concept, a leading principle, or a structure that would indicate what mainly characterized the performed sound. Time and again, a key concept I tried to elaborate on, was supplanted by another key concept, which I then started to work out, till much the same happened again. In the end I concluded that the best I could do was to thematize the cohesion of all these codes: it was so abundantly clear that every code was related to so many other codes, which together made up an overall picture of all the implications, that 'holistic cohesion' had to be the leading principle. Thus this 'holistic cohesion' had to be a quality of the sound of worship in this church. As I returned to the codes with this quality in mind, I found out that interviewees, when giving meaning, attributed meanings to perceptions of empirical phenomena from the backgrounds of 'immigration', 'Ghanaian culture' and 'the Bible'. The empirical reality 'dancing', for instance, was explained from both a cultural and a biblical background.

The holistic quality of the sound of worship thus reflects that both on the level of sound and on the level of meanings, everything seemed to cohere. First, it shows that (and how) performed *sound aspects* in worship were mutually related (e.g. *singing* often went together with *handclapping* and *dancing*). Second, it shows that the *meanings* performers attributed to these

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169 Many sound aspects mentioned in the thick description were not only part of 'responsiveness' but contributed to the quality 'holistic cohesion' as well. As I described in the introduction on the qualities of sound in this church (Section 7.4), this is because both qualities provide their own kind of information, on different levels.

170 These different kinds relate to the various connotations of the word 'code'. Compare Chapter 5, where I explained that codes may refer to empirical realities, to constructions of these realities in the reproductions, and to theological concepts.

sound aspects were mutually connected as well (e.g. respondents related the fact that singing went together with dancing both to the *biblical* example of David dancing in front of the Ark of Covenant, praising God, and to the *Ghanaian culture* in which singing an dancing play important parts).[171] In general, meanings were attributed from two or more backgrounds at the same time. In this section I use these backgrounds to illustrate the holistic cohesion of the sound of worship, and the holistic cohesion of its meanings.

The immigration background relates to the fact WMC is a Ghanaian immigrant church in Amsterdam, which irrevocably determined the sound of worship and its meanings. The cultural background gives an insight into the way the sound of worship was determined by Ghanaian culture[172] ('*the* Ghanaian culture' is of course nonexistent: Ghana has many different tribes, which share certain similarities, but also have their own culture and characteristics[173]), and how the meanings interviewees attributed to the sound of worship in WMC related to their Ghanaian culture. The biblical background gives an insight into the way the performed sound of worship and its meanings were determined by the Bible.

There were many sound aspects to which meanings were attributed from various backgrounds. It is impossible to work out here all existing cohesions of meanings, attributed to each and every sound aspect, therefore I will show the holistic cohesion of the meanings of three examples: language, noise and dancing. The meanings respondents attributed to these sound aspects appeared to have immigration, cultural and biblical backgrounds that co-occurred in the following way:

sound aspects → ↓ *backgrounds of meanings*	language	noise	dancing
immigration	x	x	x
cultural	x	x	x
biblical		x	x

I-15 Table showing the holistic cohesion of the meanings that were attributed to three (random) sound aspects.

[171] What is meant is the holistic cohesion of codes *on their own level*. The relation between the different levels of sound and meaning is self-evident: the entire empirical part of this study shows that people attribute meanings to the sound of worship.

[172] I do not distinguish between 'culture' (in the sense of 'nurture') and 'nature' (as referring to natural (bodily) aspects), because I do not intend to determine whether the performed sound in worship is related to physical or behavioural traits of Ghanaians. Apart from the question whether this distinction actually contributes to an explanation of the sound of worship and its meanings, such a distinction would be highly arbitrary. Thus, Ghanaian culture in this section refers to the whole of the characteristics of people (so from physical traits to general habits) insofar as it is influenced by their Ghanaian origin.

[173] The fact that Ghanaian culture includes the cultures of a variety of tribes, was demonstrated to me when I met a group of British and Ghanaian youngsters, who were working as volunteers in basic education in Elmina (in the South of Ghana, along the coast). One day I was invited to one of their group meetings, where they reflected on their work, their individual identities, the group process, each other's behaviour, etcetera. I will never forget the conversation two of the volunteers had during that meeting. One of the British young ladies was talking to a Ghanaian young man about something that had occurred that week. She related the incident to her British background and observed a difference with Ghanaian culture, so she said to him: "But in *your* culture…". The young man, who was from Bolgatanga, in the upper north of Ghana, reacted very irritably to her remark and responded, quite upset: "This place here, the people, the language, the food – it has *nothing* to do with my culture!" Ever since, I have been even more aware of the differences between Ghanaian people, the different tribes they belong to and the part of the country where they live.

IMMIGRATION

"In Ghana, it is the same", I often heard as a reply to my question whether there was a difference between performed sound in WMC and performed sound in churches in Ghana: a mix of musical styles and repertoires (from the singing of Methodist hymns to Western gospel and indigenous Ghanaian Christian songs); the interjections of the churchgoers; the loud, passionate and powerful way of preaching; the static performance of the procession by the choir; churchgoers dancing and clapping while singing, or jumping and raising their arms while praying; the performing singing groups (Church Choir, Singing Band, Praise and Worship team) and their style of dressing; the musical instruments (electric guitar, keyboard, Western drums, maracas, conga's and woodblocks). All these sound and sound related aspects were performed in a way which, according to respondents, was identical to the style of performance in Ghana. This concurred with my own observations of the sound of worship in several Methodist churches in Ghana: during the time I spent there, I perceived the same (as well as other) similarities between these services and those of WMC.

In more than one respect, however, the sound of worship in WMC clearly seemed to differ from the sound of worship in Methodist churches in Ghana. Many of these differences were associated with the immigration background of WMC. I briefly elaborate on seven differences and – as far as the insights I gathered during the interviews will allow – on their attributed meanings.

First, the time for Praise and Worship in WMC was limited to the singing of only four or five songs (some twenty-five minutes), whereas – according to the respondents – in Ghana much more time would be taken for extensive worship. This immigration-associated limitation appeared to have resulted from the fact that WMC did not own a church building: they were dependent on the availability of the place they rented for worship, which in general meant they had to shorten their worship services. Apparently, this came at the expense of the Praise and Worship part of the service, with its specific chain of sounds.

Second, there was one specific part during the service where the sound in WMC took the shape of 'noise': at the Bible study in class meetings. At these moments, sound took the form of a loud and indistinctive murmur of voices. This sound of worship was typical for WMC: in this immigrant church, these classes were inserted in Sunday worship, because at other times, many of the immigrant churchgoers were too busy or too tired to come. In Ghana class meetings normally take place during the course of the week, or on Sundays around 5 AM. But in the Netherlands, according to the minister, people would not come to church that early on Sunday morning (even if they, as a church, did have their own building): church members often come home tired from work late in the evening (many immigrants are shift workers). For this reason class meetings in WMC were inserted into the worship service, because people are already in church at that moment.

Third, the choir and bandsmen of WMC were said to perform less well, compared to churches in Ghana. As an observer, I found this difficult to verify. In my view, the church choir of WMC and the Methodist church choirs I heard in Ghana, always sang loud, and often sang out of tune. But I am very much aware that dynamic differences and singing in tune are Western criteria for the evaluation of choir performances, and differ from the criteria Ghanaians use. From interviews I got the impression that the criteria for singing in the choir of WMC place particular value on matters like enthusiasm and exuberance of the performers. But as far as the respondents were concerned, the choir of WMC performed less well, which might have to do with the way criteria for admittance of members were adapted to the immigration situation in the European context. In Ghana, illiterates could not become choristers, and the voice of every potential choir member was tested in advance. Some interviewees said that, if the church choir kept to the same rules in the Netherlands, they would not get any choir members at all: Ghanaians in the Netherlands were relatively few, and those who had ambition to be a choir member were even fewer. (Finding capable

instrumentalists for the band was no less difficult: respondents said the church was short on bandsmen who are really master of their art.) I here add that the same might be said about the choirmaster: in Ghana, I saw several choirmasters who had greater mastery of the (Western) conducting technique. During the choir rehearsals of the church choir in Amsterdam, I noticed that the choirmaster, although trying to conduct in accordance with this technique, did not really know how to beat time (every hymn or song, for instance, would be conducted in a two-beat pattern, irrespective of the time-signature). Nor did he seem to know how to cue the voice parts or how to bring a song to a close. The choir actually lacked a choirmaster who – whatever his technique – really knew what he was doing.

Fourth, in Ghana I observed that local languages (Twi, Fanti, Ga, etcetera) often dominated the service, whereas in the proportion between English and Akan (the two languages in which the sound of worship was manifested) in WMC, English was dominant. Interviewees affirmed this observation and linked this domination of English to WMC's immigration setting. Several respondents emphasized the fact that WMC intended to mingle with other cultures, that it should be open and outgoing and even 'become an international entity', and that the use of English is best suited to that ambition. The two young respondents, who came to live in the Netherlands on the brink of their adolescence, find that church leaders should include the Dutch language in the services as well. They think the church has to 'integrate' into Dutch society, after all, 'the kingdom of God is not only meant for Ghanaians'.[174] Thus, in their view, the language in which the sound of worship takes shape can contribute to the integration of their immigrant church into the Dutch context. Thus it will be seen that the actual use and the meanings of language in WMC have immigration aspects.

Fifth, compared to worship services in Ghana, the sound of Ebibindwom was said to be less frequently heard in the services in Amsterdam. Respondents suggested a variety of reasons: the Ghanaian immigrants came from different Ghanaian tribes and from different churches, whereas only the Methodist members of the Fanti tribe were familiar with Ebibindwom; one woman said she had given up singing Ebibindwom because she noticed that, when she sang it in this church, people started chatting instead of joining in; others said that people generally took the church less seriously when living in the Netherlands, because they had other things on their minds.[175] Besides, in the Netherlands the men hardly ever started singing Ebibindwom, whereas in Ghana they were said to do so more frequently. This seemed to relate to the following difference.

Sixth, according to several respondents, the mode of the performance of sound in Ghana was more spontaneous, energetic and exuberant, compared to WMC. Besides, some forms in Ghana were said to occur more often. During the sermon, for instance, people seemed to interject more:

N-15 *Esaias* We let him [the pastor] know: "It is true, what you say is in the Bible! Praise the Lord, Alleluia! Amen!" You see? It is a boost!

Mirella And that is what people also do in Ghana?

Esaias Oh yes! Over here they do it less, in Ghana they do it far more! Some people say: "Praise the Lord! Preach on pastor!" and these kinds of things. But here they think: 'We are in a foreign country'. And sometimes they think: 'Hey, take it easy, take it easy'. Time, time, time, we have less time. But in Ghana we own the building, we can stay there all day.

Mirella Are they afraid that it will take too long here, or what?

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[174] Interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.

[175] This might be related to the problems they faced as Ghanaian immigrants in the European context (see the seventh difference mentioned below).

Esaias Maybe. I am not 100% sure, but it might be that they sometimes think: "Oh, just let them talk, let them preach" and then everything is nice and quiet. But in Ghana [it is]: go with the flow! They think differently over there.[176]

The respondent mentioned two possible reasons for this difference in performance. First, he mentioned that time is a limiting factor because WMC does not own a church building and thus needs to shorten the service. This might have led to a performance that was more modest. Second, the respondent implied that Ghanaian immigrants in WMC did not 'go with the flow' and liked things 'nice and quiet' because a pressure of time marked their own lives (see the problems of many immigrants, mentioned below) and stood in the way of 'a sound performance without reservation'. This might be the reason why the 'real' Ghanaian flow was lacking, which made the service less time-consuming.

Another respondent says that people in Ghana perform the sound of worship more exuberantly, because the climate in Ghana is so different from the Netherlands. This appears to influence the way people bodily behave in daily life, and thus also in church:

N-16 *Mirella* I have noticed that the performance in your church is so lively...
Charity O, but in Ghana, it is even more enjoyable, if I may say.
Mirella How come?
Charity The weather, is one. It brings itself. Like, you get up at six o'clock, you see the sun, the wind, a lot of people are outside, moving around, talking, selling, buying. They feel free, you see from their faces.
Mirella So the weather influences the way people feel?
Charity Yes! Over here the weather is always like... cold and we are (she pulls a face and makes a crouching gesture, that evokes the thought of bleak day). But when there is summer, you see the people outside, smiling, "Hello!" "Hello!" Somehow that is how I see it.[177]

The thick description showed that men in this church hardly danced. Two young respondents claimed that here men danced even less than they use to do in the churches in Ghana, and gave two different explanations. It was either because men's bones are stiff, or because – under the influence of immigration to Europe – Ghanaian men had become macho's who felt free, said they did not need a God any longer (see 'expressing' in the preceding section), and as a consequence did not (or hardly) dancingly perform sound in church.[178]

Seventh, in the immigration context of WMC the performance of sound turned out to obtain an extra dimension: for some churchgoers the sound performance sometimes offered relief in a situation of sorrow. During the interviews, several respondents divulged that Ghanaian immigrants in Dutch society face a lot of problems (ranging from the feeling of constant pressure of time and manifestations of xenophobia to the 'immigration stress' many immigrants experience). In the midst of these problems the sound of worship not seldom was a refuge: the performance of sound – by hearing the Word of God (proclaimed in Bible readings and the sermon, and studied in classes), by praying, singing and dancing (see N-2) – was a way to express and deal with the problems immigrants were often confronted with in daily life. Apparently, these sound and performance aspects together could bring comfort and joy, and might canalize the feelings and emotions of immigrants that related to their distress. Thus a specific immigration-related meaning was attributed to the sound performance in worship.

[176] Interview with Esaias, March 24, 2007.
[177] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.
[178] Interview with Hannah and Ivie, June 24, 2007.

CULTURAL

The Ghanaian background of the church (members) has already shone through the previous sections of this chapter, but four culture-related elements, which will be discussed now, strongly determined the sound of worship in WMC: first, the continuity with Ghanaian roots in the sound of worship; second, the relation between Ghanaian culture and Methodist tradition; third, a constant noisiness, attended by an 'orderless' atmosphere; fourth, the physical disposition and build of Ghanaian men and women.

Firstly, as I have demonstrated, the performance of sound was in continuity with Ghanaian culture. The thick description as well as the section on 'responsiveness' showed that emphatic and lively forms of performing sound in worship well matched the expressiveness that characterized Ghanaian culture, and included singing, dancing and drumming. The following quotation illustrates how the interviewees considered this to be part of their culture.

N-17 *Charity* Naturally, I think dancing is part of...
Damian ...part of our culture...
Charity ...part of praises... Because in the Bible you see David: he danced and then even the cloth was just somewhere. So we see that dancing, in a way, is praises to God. That is how we use dancing and the music: to praise God.
Mirella But you say: it is part of our culture?
Damian Yes, it is part of our culture too.
Charity In Ghana, people dance.
Mirella That makes it more natural for you?
Damian Yeah, natural for us! That is why... if you have ever been to a Ghanaian community before, or a group of Ghanaians, or you have lived in a Ghanaian neighbourhood, you see that Ghanaians love, like opening up their stereos a little bit large, a little bit loud, and dancing to the music of their stereos and we like music...
Charity ... it is part of our culture, if I may say so. If you go to Ghana, you will see more of that![179]

It is striking that both interviewees responded differently to the same question: Damian said dancing is part of their culture, Charity claimed that dancing is part of praises. I come back to this point in the section on 'biblical' meanings, but I here stress the holistic cohesion of the various explanations of and meanings attributed to the sound of worship.

The aspect of continuity with their cultural roots in the (performance of) sound in worship turned out to be very important to Ghanaian worshippers. During one of the interviews, I suggested – thinking of some of the Western gospel songs they used to sing in church – that the music of Praise and Worship came from America. The interviewee however strongly rejected that idea, saying that Praise and Worship "is indigenous from Ghana!" and immediately started demonstrating that the Americans adopted it from Africans: after all, the elements of drumming and dancing were already present in the worship of African religions long before Christianity came to Ghana.[180] This fiery reply gave

[179] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

[180] Interview with Benjamin, November 22, 2006. As far as the Ghanaian Christian churches were concerned, the Very Reverend Isaac Amoah (interview on March 1, 2007) stated that the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches were the first to discover the importance of inculturated liturgical performance: they gave full reign to African rhythms, to drumming and dancing, and became successful and booming: "They have adopted Ghanaian culture right from the onset. They were so close to the Ghanaian culture, in the sense that they took the best part of the Ghanaian culture." According to him, this 'best part' consists of the expressiveness and the religiousness of Africans. This makes it likely that the enthusiastic, energetic and loud performance of sound

an interesting insight into the interviewee's perception of the continuity of their current liturgical practice with Ghanaian culture. Whether or not the styles or types of dancing and drumming (movements, rhythms, etcetera) in WMC actually resembled those of Ghanaian cultural dancing and drumming, remained unclear to me. Some interviewees claimed there was no difference, whereas the following quotation (on dancing) leads one to suspect that every occasion or context has its own styles, types and meanings, dependent on the music and/or the rhythm.

N-18 *Joy* There is a lot of African dancing we don't dance there.
Mirella Really, there is a difference?
Joy Very!
Mirella And how would I see the difference? What is different? (...)
Joy The moving and the clothing, it is different.
Mirella What does it express when it is a cultural dance in the disco?
Joy For that cultural, we don't dance it in the disco.
Mirella So you have cultural dancing, disco dancing and church dancing?
Joy Yeah! It depends on the music.
Mirella So what would, according to you, be the difference between the cultural music and, let's say, the highlife in the church?
Joy The cultural music, it is something like celebrating the... you know we have occults, we have fetish, you know, in Ghana. So those kind of things, that is the dance.
Mirella That is the cultural dance, that belongs to the occult religions?
Joy Yeah, it belongs. But now, they modalise it. Even there are some gospel music you can dance with it. It is according to the rhythm, how the rhythm goes.
Mirella So the rhythm of that music is different from the rhythm of the music in the church?
Joy Yes!
Mirella So and because of the rhythm that is different, the dancing is also different?
Joy Yes. The dancing is different. And the meanings are also different. If somebody is dancing the cultural dance, he can greet you by dancing. He can call you to come and dance, by dancing. Without talking to you. And he can insult you during the dancing. (...) For the cultural dance, if you doesn't know how to dance, and you just do [it], when there is a big celebration, maybe the kings are around, or... then maybe they can call to come and explain how you dance like that! Or you pay something! They give you a 'boete'.[181] (...)
Mirella So the dancing means something and you can say things by dancing, without words?
Joy Yeah.
Mirella But in the church it is not?
Joy No. The church it is not. We just wave.[182]

As a Western researcher, I was not able to really understand the intended meanings of various movements in dancing and rhythms in drumming, neither after ten months in this church, nor after a course on dancing and drumming I took in Ghana. My provisional suspicion would be that the ways people danced and drummed in church was a mixture of some basic elements of cultural dancing and drumming, and 'highlife dancing and

during the service, resulted from the combination of the two: expressiveness and religiousness make Africans experience their faith with enthusiasm.

[181] All of a sudden the interviewee used a Dutch word, which means 'a fine'. I noticed people often used simple Dutch words (at least in my presence) when they want to indicate a feeling, or something which caused or resulted in a particular feeling.

[182] Interview with Joy and Kobbi, June 29, 2007.

drumming' (which might be described as 'free style'[183]), but the question would definitely be worth some further investigation.

A sound performance in continuity with Ghanaian culture also seemed to involve language. I already noticed an immigration aspect to language (consisting of the domination of the internationally accepted English over the Ghanaian language used), but there were cultural aspects to the language issue as well. The fact that some 95% of all Ghanaians are said to speak or at least understand Akan, made the domination of English in the service of WMC a matter that was not undisputed. To some, it did not matter. But the choirmaster critically questioned this practice, since he discovered that several of his choir members did not understand what they were singing. And the interviewees who partly grew up in the Netherlands (and who have mastered English more than Akan), highly appreciated Akan, because it reminded them of their Ghanaian background. One of the interviewees, who spoke English relatively well, favoured Akan because it was her mother tongue. To her, the language coincided with her identity as a Ghanaian woman, and in Akan the text of, for instance, the hymns came closer to her:

N-19 *Joy* Of course if you are speaking your own language, you like it, because it is fluent. It flows, you know. I don't hate any language…

Mirella …but you have a slight preference for Twi?

Joy Yes. Because it is *me*! (…)

Mirella Is it in songs also, that Twi songs speak more to you than English ones?

Joy Yeah, of course! They speak more to me, because I understand every word! But the English, I learned it in school. And I am not on a university level, so there are some words even I don't understand. I can pronounce it [i.e. English, MK], maybe I understand it, but not into details. But if I am singing in Twi, I understand every word.

Mirella Would you prefer the CAN songs to the Methodist Hymn Book in English then?

Joy I like the CAN, because even now I can sing the English, but I like to sing in Twi, because, as I am saying: I understand every word. It tells me what I need.[184]

Although people seemed to have various reasons to appreciate the Akan language, they all considered the use of this widely known Ghanaian language in worship very important and wanted to see this link to their cultural background maintained thereby. Thus, the use of and meanings attributed to language, turned out to have both immigration and cultural aspects. The same may be said about dancing in church, which obtained its meanings both against the backdrop of Ghanaian culture and under the influence of the immigration context.

Secondly, a culture-related element that determined the sound of worship was the resemblance between the Ghanaian culture and the Methodist tradition when it came to the expression of faith. As the thick description showed, the sound of worship in this church contained several 'un-Ghanaian' elements, such as the singing of 18th and 19th century British Methodist Hymns, or the static procession at the beginning of the service. These un-Ghanaian elements stemmed from the British (or Anglican) background against which the Methodist tradition originally took shape. Although some elements of the sound of worship might be 'un-Ghanaian' and resulted from European influences, the congregation did not want to abolish them (see N-5 where the interviewee referred to the entire Methodist order

[183] During the course in African dancing I took at the School of Performing Arts of the University of Ghana (Accra, January 7, 2008), one of the Senior Lecturers, Mr. S.A. Newman, defined highlife dancing as "moving towards the music in whichever way".

[184] Interview with Joy and Kobbi, June 29, 2007.

of service, that was extended with amendments fitting the Ghanaian expressiveness), often because these were considered to be Methodist more than British. Nevertheless, over the last decade, Ghanaian Methodists have increasingly become used to (performances of) sound in worship that contains a real mixture of (British) Methodist and Ghanaian elements: the four-four meter of British hymns, next to the complex rhythmic patterns that underlie the indigenous Ghanaian songs, the static procession next to the easy movements of dancing.[185] This mix was both appreciated ("We prefer everything!"[186]) and strived for, as N-5 and the following quotation show.

N-20 *Benjamin* What we received from our European brothers, their orthodox way of worship, is good. But then, it came to a point in time that, because it is not our culture, people were just going there for going's sake, but not going there because we understand and we know what we are going to do there. That is why it is good for us to maintain the Methodism: the roots and, it guides! And when it guides, we can see where you can make amendments and fit the local indigenous things into the way of worship.(...)

Mirella So, in fact you mix the best aspects of all cultures and traditions?

Benjamin Exactly...![187]

The fact that the sound of worship was a mixture of British Methodist elements and elements from the Ghanaian culture, and the fact that these elements did not interfere with each other, might be related to the emphasis that British Methodism and Ghanaian culture place on the expression of faith. As I stated above, the Ghanaian faith expression was connected with the expressiveness and the religiousness that both saturate their culture.[188] The expression of faith was however also inherent in Methodist tradition. It is well-known that John Wesley and his fellows were always 'out', sharing the Word of God, doing outreach and open preaching. This 'taking the Word out' became a crucial element in Methodist tradition. It is not difficult to imagine that this characteristic of Methodism easily went hand in hand with the African's enthusiasm about and inclination to share their faith, and vice versa. In the European context however, the attitude of expressing one's faith is, according to the minister, quite at odds with the habit of Western Europeans who consider faith a private affair and 'think it is an affront to share your faith in public and to let people know that you are a Christian and that is what you believe. You keep it to yourself.'[189] Although this attitude seems to have become subject to change during the last decade, it seems plausible that the Africans' propensity to speak about their faith might be more in line with John Wesley and the Methodist tradition, than with the European attitude towards the expression of faith over the last centuries.

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[185] In the Netherlands, the congregation started to insert dancing and Praise and Worship music in the services around the year 2000. Nowadays, several interviewees appeared to associate the complete absence of dancing, drumming and rhythm with Dutch or European worship, and considered these services 'boring' and alien to their own identity.

[186] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

[187] Interview with Benjamin, November 22, 2006. This mix in fact had its roots in the arrival of British Methodist missionaries in Ghana. Over the last decades, more attention has been paid to the 'inculturation' or 'indigenization' of the 'orthodox churches' (the established mission churches) in Ghana. And apparently this has not been unsuccessful: one of the younger interviewees even appeared to consider the mixture an element of Ghanaian culture itself.

[188] According to the minister of WMC, Africans are indeed enthusiastic about their faith, about matters of religion. "What is in them, they don't want it to be latent. They want to share, to bring it out, and to express it!" (Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.)

[189] Interview with the Very Reverend Isaac S. Amoah, March 1, 2007.

Thirdly, besides the noise during Bible study, the sound of worship in WMC was generally characterized by a noisiness that – as the thick description shows – created or was at least accompanied by an informal and sometimes 'orderless' atmosphere (the latter reinforced by the fact that during the entire service, people came and went and sometimes had to be urged to do so in silence). This noise could have been a hushed background noise, caused by whispering or quiet talking (conceivably under the influence of mass prayer, or the high volume of the sound from the loudspeakers, which is very Ghanaian, see N-17): people often chatted with their neighbours, or talked to their children when they came to their parents to ask for something to eat or drink. I noticed people answering their cell phones during the service several times, occasionally leaving the room (either because they thought they should not make phone calls in the church during the service, or because the sound volume in church was too loud to be able to hear the speaker on the other side). It may also have been a louder noise, for instance during confession or during mass prayer, when the lay preacher prayed through the microphone and most churchgoers prayed individually and aloud. This noise was loud but indistinct, was often performed in different postures (standing, kneeling, sitting or walking back and forth) and was attended by many different forms of body movement (worshippers were stretching out their arms, clapping their hands, stamping their feet, and sometimes jumped – mostly with vigour). People's performance of sound was not seldom influenced by what their neighbours did (see 'relation to God', where Ivie says she also started praying aloud because the person next to her was shouting his prayers). In short, there was an orderless noisiness, that was unpredictable, uneven and unexpected. However, it did not really seem to disturb anyone, or to interfere with the reverence of most worshippers.

As N-16 and N-17 showed, an orderless noisiness is not uncommon in Ghanaian culture. What I observed in Ghana fully concurred with the 'soundscape' of Ghanaian outdoor life as depicted in these personal narratives. My first impression of Ghana the first days after I had arrived there was 'chaos' and 'noise': in addition to loud music coming from stereos, on my round trip of the country I observed rattling cars with chauffeurs continuously sounding their horns; drivers' mates leaning out of the windows of their *trotro's* (mini-busses), shouting the bus's destination to potential passengers who are walking randomly alongside the road; people hissing to others in order to attract attention; men, women and children shouting in the streets to sell their goods; street preachers preaching the gospel through microphones (CD-ROM files 21 and 22); three car drivers driving sides by side on a road with only two traffic lanes, and so on and so forth. This kind of noisiness did not only occur in the streets: in cafes, houses and churches, noise was omnipresent. Being back home in the Netherlands, one month after my first acquaintance with Ghana, I was amazed by the quietude, the tidiness and the orderliness that seemed to characterize our country, even in a city such as Amsterdam. As an observer in WMC, the discovery of the orderless noisiness that was constantly present in the sound of worship, thus did not surprise me in the least: it was largely an extension of the way many Ghanaians behave in their home country. Indeed, the orderless noisiness in the sound of worship in WMC was culturally determined.

Fourthly, the physical disposition and build of Ghanaian women was also said to determine the performed sound of worship. I already showed (in the thick description among other things) that Ghanaians expressively perform sound, in an exuberant, energetic and lively way, with a diversity of body movements. In general there was no significant difference in bodily sound performance between men and women (both clapped and raised their hands, all stretched out their arms, all swayed on their feet, etcetera), with the exception of one thing, dancing: those who performed sound dancingly were mostly women. Men hardly danced. Other than the minister and/or the local preachers and some church members, it was mostly male members of the choir and the singing band that joined the collective of their groups in dancing. As we have seen in the section 'Responsiveness', interviewees had various

explanations, from an immigrant point of view, why men hardly dancingly perform the sound of worship. Several interviewees, however, had cultural explanations: they pointed to men's (alleged) stiffness on the one hand and women's voluptuous bodily configuration on the other. The respondent who claimed that 'God created women differently', referring to their (attractive) physical features (see N-9), was also the one who most clearly stated that it is women's nature to dance. His wife initially did not agree, but eventually admitted that men are not able to dance and go with the rhythm. 'Natural' seemed to be the crucial word, as the following quotation shows:

N-21 *Damian* You know why? You know why? You know why? The men, they don't know how to dance. Women know how to dance - it is nature!
Charity But in Ghana they don't know how to dance, but they dance!
Damian Women know how to dance very very well. In our culture, the women dance.
Charity Even when you go to Pentecost also, the men they dance very well!
Mirella (to Damian:) You say: the women know how to dance (and to Charity): You say the men dance as much as the women?
Charity They dance. They dance, even off the beat they dance!
Damian Back home in our culture, the women they dance naturally.
Charity Naturally women are more danceable than men. Because we go with the rhythm. But most of the men: the rhythm will be here and then they are dancing the other way.[190]

During the participant observation in church, as an observer I also tried to join (the women of) the congregation in dancing, even in front of the altar table (although I had the feeling that every single churchgoer was looking at me, which was probably nonsense, because I was the only white person dancing in front). Although initially I had difficulties moving to the rhythm, I soon found that taking small steps and clapping my hands made it a lot easier. Even so, I felt not quite able to move as easily as the women around me. I felt leanish, as if my body map lacked the curves needed for fluid movement. If God really created women differently, and thus made them more danceable, he surely did a fuller job with Ghanaian women than with the average Western European girl! Nevertheless, it was an unmistakable fact that everyone – including me – moved during most of the singing in church. The sound, especially the beat, made it almost impossible for anyone to keep standing still.

BIBLICAL

'The Bible says' (often shortened to: 'Bible say') was a frequently heard utterance during the worship services of WMC. In interviews too, respondents were also lavish in the use of that remark, which – together with the phrase 'It is in the Bible!' – was often used to express that the sound of worship and its performance in WMC was grounded in practices and prescriptions from (or derived from) the Bible. Without explaining why or how, and often without even mentioning the actual bible place, interviewees linked the sound and sound performances to biblical examples. For instance, forms like kneeling down in prayer ('that is how Jesus prayed'), drumming, singing and clapping ('praise God with drums, with claps and with singing: it is in the Bible!'), but also modes ('the Bible says you have to be happy when

[190] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007. Damian seemed to dislike the remarks on men who hardly danced in church, because he continued: "For women, when you give them the whole day, they will dance and spoil everything! Somebody like this girl (he points to his wife). O, Mirella, they will dance and spoil everything! So women in our society (he refers to the Amsterdam Society of WMC in the Netherlands), in our culture, in our background, women, they have to be restrained from certain things. Like dancing, else… the whole meeting or the whole summit or that very day what your are about to do, the whole thing will just collapse because of the dancing! You just have to restrain them from dancing too much (Charity has started laughing), else… they will dance, dance, dance the whole day!"

you are with God'). Some sounds were explained as a response to Bible quotations, for example during the sermon, when worshippers exclaimed or interjected, to let the pastor know: "It is true! It is in the Bible, what you say! Praise the Lord! Alleluia!"[191] or when someone started singing an Ebibindwom (see the section on Responsiveness). The lyrics of many songs were also said to be literally from the Bible, or by all means to be "in a gospel way".[192]

I here elaborate on three sound aspects that were said to be biblical: loud or noisy sound, the engagement of the body in prayer, and a dancing performance of sound. On my question why the sound of worship in WMC was always performed with such a high volume, one of the interviewees answered, saying: "It is in the Bible. You have to make a noise."[193] Then, when I brought forward a Bible quotation that suggested a contradictory sound performance, namely "The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth be silent before him." (Hab. 2:20), he fully agreed – beyond my expectation – saying: "Yes, and you have to have moments of silence also in the church. So that nothing disturbs you, so that I am not disturbing you and you are not disturbing me. And you have to be able to meditate." In spite of his admitting this, the sound of worship in WMC was characterized by (to my ears extremely) loud sound, and hardly any silence. Interestingly enough though, this interviewee was not the only one who referred to Psalm 100: several other respondents also mentioned the "joyful noise"; none of them referred to the passage in Habakkuk or the like. It has not become clear to me whether biblical quotations in this church were meant and used to justify the actual practice, or really were the foundation of their practices – it would be fascinating, though, to investigate that question. In any case, the biblical resources mentioned, explained a lot about the prevailing view on worship and its sound among worshippers in WMC, and their interpretation of the Bible. Indeed, the explanation of noise in worship had both cultural and biblical aspects.

The engagement of the body in prayer was also related to the Bible. Praying with outstretched arms and using one's hands were both mentioned as ways in which Jesus prayed. I found out that 'the Bible' or 'biblical' did not always refer to the text of the Scripture, when I asked after their postures during prayer:

N-22 *Mirella* And what makes you hold your hands like this, or like this, or like this [I imitate several postures I observed in church]?

Damian Okay, we do everything strictly from the Bible. When Christ was praying to the father, he normally uses [to] open up his hands and pray to him: "Almighty God…" You open up your hands in this way…

Mirella Is it in the Bible that Christ opened up his hands in this way?

Charity It is… when we were in the Sunday school, the book that we are using normally you see – especially when he went to Gethsemane, before going to the cross – you see he was kneeling down, some they were [praying like this, others were praying like that].[194]

The quotation shows that 'biblical' referred to the Bible, but sometimes also to a picture in a Bible, or a picture in a Sunday school book. Although I had the impression that the female respondent felt she had given me a wrong answer, when I asked whether the things they were saying were really in the Bible, the male respondent explained that I had to take 'biblical' in the sense of 'biblical thinking':

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[191] Interview with Esaias, March 24, 2007.
[192] According to Felicia in the interview with Felicia and Gabriel, May 8, 2007.
[193] According to Gabriel in the interview with Felicia and Gabriel, May 8, 2007.
[194] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

N-23 *Damian* It is in the Bible! When we have Christ pictures in the Bible or when we have Christ pictures praying to his father, he raises up his arms praying to God. Even in this very place in the Bible, they say it explicitly clear – that is why we Christians raise up their hands: when he blessed that very pie, the five pie and the five [sic!] meat [sic!]. The Bible stresses that Jesus, after receiving those pie, he raised up his hands into the heavens and he thanked his Father for the pie given to him and he blessed the pie and it became multiple. (...) That is why it has become a natural phenomenon among Christians to raise up your hands in prayers. Because it is something our forerunner did, that is why we are just doing it. So it is biblical thinking.[195]

It is clear (note the word 'forerunner') that the interviewee considered Christ an example for Christians. His relation to the Father, the way he approached God – in prayer or otherwise – they had to (try to) copy. Still, the respondent later emphasized, one's behaviour must be complementary to one's intention. They said: it is better to be in tune with God, without following the 'rules', than to copy Christ with a heart that is not corresponding with what you do (compare what I wrote above on 'authenticity').

Last but not least, the dancing performance of sound was directly traced back to the Bible. More in particular, it was traced back to the biblical David who, in front of the arch, used this form of body language to express his praises to God. "You know: David danced. David danced to praise God. Even his wife said: 'Ha! Why are you dancing, a king like you?' And he cursed the wife. So I think: dancing is part of praising God. (…) So we dance and we go home, and it's 'lekker'!"[196] As this chapter showed, sound in Methodist Churches had not always been performed dancingly: the European background of the missionaries long blocked a more African way of worshipping in church, which – according to the following interviewee – was more in conformity with biblical liturgical practices. In a way one could say there had long been a strange discontinuity between biblical and African liturgical practices.

N-24 *Benjamin* Originally it was in the Bible, but because of the stiff culture of the white who brought the Methodist Church into Ghana, they adopted it. And although it was in Bible, 'worship God', there were the tambourines, there were the drums, and when you read Psalm 150, everything is there clear. But we were not doing it, until the awareness came that we were loosing the youth (...) [because] the service was boring. There was no life in it. (...) And the Bible says "Where the Spirit is, there is freedom and liberty." (...) Then the freedom to worship God should not be hindered.[197]

According to this interviewee, who was one of the lay preachers, it was not until the introduction of charismatic liturgical practices (the local choruses of praise and worship, among other things, see N-5), beside the practices of the 'orthodox' Methodist tradition, that the sound of worship in WMC became more Ghanaian, and at the same time more biblical. (He quoted 2 Cor. 3:17 to justify the freedom to celebrate in a way that well-matches their Ghanaian identity.) Thus, this section showed that the meaning of sound that was performed dancingly, may be said to have immigration, cultural as well as biblical aspects. This also explains why the interviewees in N-17 can give different explanations of their dancing performance of sound in worship (the man said 'dancing is part of our culture', the woman answered 'dancing is part of praises').

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[195] Interview with Charity and Damian, March 10, 2007.

[196] According to Joy, in the interview with Joy and Kobbi, June 29, 2007. The Dutch word 'lekker' here means 'good' or 'pleasant'.

[197] Interview with Benjamin, November 22, 2006.

7.5 Balance: Sound Qualities in the Contextual Setting of WMC

In this second empirical chapter I gave an account of the sound of worship, its meanings and its qualities in the Wesley Methodist Church in Amsterdam Southeast. This last section will answer the sub-questions (see 6.1) for this empirical chapter.

The thick description reported on (my perception of) the actual performed sound of a 'normal' worship service in this church. I described the occurring sounds and how these were performed by churchgoers. I also indicated which meanings interviewees attributed to various elements of the performed sound of worship. These meanings were reported on within the framework of the two qualities of sound I constructed in this congregation: 'responsiveness' and 'holistic cohesion'.

The quality 'responsiveness' showed that the performed sound was often a response to what happened in worship: it was an outgoing sonic reply to what actually occurred, to the sound performed by other people, to what people felt inside, to God or to a word from the Bible. There was hardly any sound that stood on its own, or was not caused by or related to something or someone else. The quality 'holistic cohesion' indicated an interconnection of sound aspects that together holistically cohered, as well as an holistic connection of the meanings attributed to these sounds, which meanings were given from three different backgrounds: immigration, culture and the Bible.

'Responsiveness' and 'holistic cohesion' thus were the shapes the sound of worship took on in this Ghanaian Methodist church. These qualities were typical of this local setting, and clearly differed from the qualities of the sound of worship in, for instance, a congregation like ELCAS. This is true for the actual performed sound as well as for the meanings attributed to it. The qualities of sound thus proved to be fully determined by the local, contextual (comprising the cultural-anthropological and theological backgrounds) setting of this Ghanaian Methodist immigrant church.

So far, it has been shown that both in ELCAS and WMC the sound of worship had its own qualities. Generally, this is true for every church or congregation. Since the general research question is about the relation between the local qualities of sound in the worship of ELCAS and WMC on the one hand, and the incarnational aspect of worship on the other, I will offer a theological reflection and evaluation of these qualities in the last chapter of this study.

PART III THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION AND EVALUATION

8 THE SOUND OF WORSHIP

8.1 Introduction

In the first, theoretical part of this study, I indicated how three elements determine the research domain: worship, performance and sound. Chapters 2-4 elaborated on each of these aspects. The second, empirical part, gave an (academically constructed) account of the sound of worship in two immigrant churches, both on the basis of my own observations and the meanings attributed to the sound of worship by interviewees. The third and final part (this chapter) offers a theological reflection and evaluation of the empirical results in the light of the theoretical aspects mentioned, and answers the research question of this study.

As I indicated in Chapter 1, modern Liturgical Studies have frequently been criticized for a one-sided cultural-anthropological approach of research objects and a lack of theological reflection – a criticism which I wanted to take seriously. For this reason, in this chapter I venture into the field of Systematic Liturgical Studies: the results of the organization of data in this Practical Theological research tempt me to strike up a conversation with Systematic Theology and Dogmatics. As will be understood, I elaborate on a systematic liturgical reflection in close connection with the qualities of the sound of worship in the two churches investigated. Thus the empirical results of the research are worked out systematically.

This concluding chapter proposes in what ways the sound of worship in the investigated churches may be understood as incarnational. It does so by means of a conversation with several participants, who each – one way or the other – have a specific theological view on worship. In the following sections, these conversation partners will be brought into contact with each other.

I will start – as in Chapter 2 – with my own theological view on worship (8.2): worship, in my opinion, is sacramental, in the sense that it enables the encounter of the performers of worship with the living (i.e. the incarnated, resurrected and ascended) Christ in shapes. This encounter has a christological character because in Christ, God first took shape in human reality. Every time worship is being celebrated, the possibility of this encounter is opened in our reality. It is and remains a possibility, since God and worship do not necessarily coincide: the congregation meets Christ, when the Spirit is present in worship. Worship, all elements included, then may obtain a sacramental character. Whenever these sacramental shapes are fleshly embodiments of the performers' faith, worship may become incarnational. Sound is one of the shapes in worship that may fleshly embody faith.

My view will then be confronted with the 'local' theologies of worship in ELCAS and WMC (8.3). As has become clear from the interviews in Chapters 6 and 7, informants had their own theological ideas. They claimed to meet God in the sound of worship, in ways which I described by means of four qualities: in the 'open' and 'patchwork' shapes of sound (ELCAS), and in its 'responsive' and 'holistically cohesive' shapes (WMC). These churches thus fleshed out the sacramentality of worship in very concrete and different ways. The fact that worship in all its local diversity may be considered sacramental, means that the various qualities of worship's sound presuppose a diversity in the way Christ is experienced. The encounter with Christ may take the shape of each of these qualities: as we shall see, he was being encountered in the 'openness' of the sound of worship in ELCAS, as well as in the 'responsiveness' of worship's sound in WMC, and may be encountered in all other kinds of shapes.

Afterwards, the discussion on meeting Christ in the qualities of sound is deepened by bringing four theologians into the conversation (8.4). Each from their own perspective, they see worship as a place where incarnation might occur: Itonde Kakoma, who claims that worship should be regarded as 'incarnation-able', rather than 'inculturated'; Tex Sample, who takes worship as Word; Gerardus van der Leeuw, who stated that – since God revealed

himself in Christ in human shape – believers search for the image of God in shapes, such as in worship, which may be sacramental when it expresses the invisible reality of God in and behind the outward world; and Marcel Barnard, who considers worship as servant of the Word – the latter always referring to Christ.

Eventually, the conversation on the sacramental, even incarnational character of the sound of worship, is evaluated against the backdrop of the central research question of this study (8.5). In the final section, I conclude that the four qualities of performed sound in the worship of ELCAS and WMC prove that every particular worship lays claim to particular aspects of Christ. The encounter of the church with Christ occurs in several shapes, which all may reveal part of him. Christ may include openness, patchwork, responsiveness and holistic cohesion. The sound of worship in a 21st century globalized world thus makes clear that incarnational worship is about the fleshly embodiment of faith in which the living Christ may be encountered.

8.2 Encountering the Living Christ in the Sound of Worship

As mentioned above, I will begin the discussion of a theological understanding of the sound of worship by describing my own view. Below, I elaborate on worship, taken as a ritual that, whenever the Holy Spirit is present, is sacramental and, insofar as the ritual gives fleshly embodiment to faith, is incarnational.

SACRAMENTAL WORSHIP

It has become visible in Part I of this study, that I consider worship as sacramental: it enables the encounter of the celebrating congregation with the living Christ. The symbolizing act of worship, the ritual performance called 'liturgy', is a pattern of shapes in which Christ may be encountered.[198] This encounter may occur in bread and wine at the Eucharist, in Baptism, in a song, in the sermon, in prayer, and so on: every liturgical element, each in its own way, creates a space for a meeting with the living Christ. The actual shapes in which Christ may be encountered, differ from one congregation to another. As the opening anecdote of Chapter 1 showed, I experienced the shapes of the sound of worship in the orthodox congregation (of the former Netherlands Reformed church) my then boyfriend and his family frequented, as heavy. The slow congregational singing, the dejected coughing, the organist playing too loud, the plaintive tone of voice of the elder, the elevated and aggressive tone of voice of the minister – to me, their worship sounded bad; I found it dismall. Although my in-laws did not seem to have any difficulties with the sound of their worship, I never felt I encountered Christ in these services (which does not mean that I did not: the encounter with Christ always is and remains an act of God, and worship may also be sacramental when one does not fully recognize or agree with its shapes). Now, some twelve years later, I tend to think I missed the joyful sound that I – as a Lutheran – consider(ed) an essential part of worship too: the sound of their services lacked the joy of the gospel, a sound I used to hear and perform in my own church. All this may illustrate that the encounter with Christ takes on different shapes in different congregations, and that sacramentality may come in various forms.

WORSHIP AS EMBODIED FAITH

As it is, I think my problem at the time was that the performed sound of worship in the orthodox reformed congregation did not embody my faith, or did so only partly. Their sound of worship made me feel a sinner, and I missed the embodiment of the (Lutheran)

[198] I consider all elements of worship to participate in the qualities of worship. Therefore, all I say about worship also applies to the sound of worship, as one of worship's elements.

belief that I was justified at the same time. The anecdote therefore points to another aspect of worship that, in my opinion, is crucial: the ritual embodies faith. This embodiment – a ritual expression of the bodily avowed faith which at the same time writes faith in the body of the performer, in the concrete existence of people (BARNARD 2008, 34) – is both product and producer of faith. Whenever the performance of worship does not bear a relation to the cultural-anthropological and/or theological background of the performer, the ritual may not embody the performer's faith, and a potential encounter with Christ may be disturbed. Such was probably the case in the anecdote: the ritual sound expression of the orthodox reformed congregation had no resonances with *my* faith. The sound was non-embodied faith: it was not a product (a ritual expression) of my faith, nor did it produce faith (it did not write faith into my body). On the contrary: it had an alienating effect (which, as I said, resulted in me trying to behave the way my in-laws expect me to during these services). Thus a ritual that does not embody faith – and it is important to include both aspects: embodiment as a product and as a producer of faith – may prevent worship from obtaining a possible sacramental character. This may apply to the individual performer of worship as well as to the entire congregation (which is, after all, a group of gathered individuals). If the ritual expression of faith does not relate to the cultural-anthropological and theological background of the performer(s), its shape is not suitable for and may hamper the encounter with Christ.

I here need to indicate the difference between 'embodiment of faith in worship' and 'sacramental worship'. These are concepts of different orders: embodiment of faith is a cultural-anthropological notion – something about which (after due investigation) one could conclude that it actually occurred in a particular case, or not. If a particular ritual expression were a 'product' of someone's faith and if this expression 'produced' faith by writing it into the body of the performer, then one might conclude that it embodied faith. However, it is not possible to actually establish the sacramental character of worship (which is a theological notion), because whether or not worship becomes sacramental, eventually is an act of God (see below under 'the ephapax of Christ'). The sacramentality of worship is a faith assertion.

INCARNATIONAL WORSHIP

The relation between embodied faith and the encounter with God in worship lies in worship's possibility to become incarnational. The sacramental character of worship, the shapes in which the encounter with Christ as the living God take place, can be said to be incarnational when these shapes are fleshly embodiments of faith. For an explanation of the incarnational character of worship (which is a particularization of worship's sacramentality), I turn to the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ.

The encounter with God in our reality became most tangible in the incarnation: in Jesus Christ God took shape in human reality. In the words of the gospel of John (1:14), "the Word became flesh and pitched tent with us". According to New Testament scholar James Dunn, in this gospel

> the Word is not thought of as being other than God, but as God in his self-revelation, God insofar as he may be known by humankind. The Word was not a redemptive "afterthought" but was "in the beginning" (1:12) (…) Jesus Christ is this Word become man, embodying the divine glory (1:14). (DUNN 1998, 24)

Through the incarnation, God became changeable, decay-able, perishable. The Word took on flesh, a particular material shape, in a particular place, at a particular time in history, in short: in a particular context: God became man in Jesus Christ, born in Bethlehem, some two thousand years ago – a person in whom God could be encountered. This incarnation of "something higher and other than flesh, [which] becomes embodied in the lower" (DUNN 1998, 30) opened the possibility to encounter God in materiality. Worship is an example of

such 'materiality': every time the ritual is being performed, the possibility of the encounter with Christ – as the embodiment of God-with-us in concrete shape – in our reality is opened. Because of this, worship may obtain an incarnational character: it becomes incarnational when the performers encounter the living Christ in the fleshly embodiment of their faith. The shapes this embodiment takes, bear a relation to the performers' cultural-anthropological and theological background. By analogy with the incarnation, in which God became man and therefore could be encountered in the shape of humankind, we may say that in worship Christ takes on particular shapes, and therefore the encounter with Christ in worship occurs in particular shapes.

As much as it is impossible to establish the sacramental character of worship, it is impossible to establish worship's incarnational character: this too is a theological notion. To say that worship is incarnational, is a faith assertion: it expresses the hope and the expectation that the embodiment of faith (a cultural-anthropological notion), which takes place in the ritual expression, will become incarnational.

With regard to the qualities of the sound of worship, which vary from one congregation to another, I conclude that these determine some of the local shapes in which the encounter with Christ may take place (note that I do not state that these shapes are only created by churchgoers or the church: God self also gave shapes to the church, in which he could be encountered, such as the Word and the heart of the Eucharist). The sound of worship in a particular congregation, in a particular place and at a particular time, thus also influences part of the shapes of the God they meet: Christ may take on various qualities. This has crucial consequences for the concept of incarnational worship: the relation between Christ and the shapes in which he is being encountered in the sound of worship of local churches, is an open and dynamic one.[199] The shapes Christ takes on, partly differ from one church to another and from one time in history to another, and so do the shapes of sound.

The Ephapax of Christ and the Repetition of Worship

Clearly, the concept of incarnational worship is not about Jesus Christ becoming flesh again. The incarnational character of worship does not deny the *ephapax* (once-for-all) character of God becoming man in Jesus Christ. This was and is a once-only and therefore unique event: Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was born, he lived, was crucified, rose again from the dead, appeared to his disciples, gave and promised them the Spirit (John 16, John 20) and ascended into heaven. Such has never occurred again: all this belongs to history. This does, however, not mean that the incarnation of God in Christ only has an historical meaning. In the historical figure Jesus Christ, God took shape in the visible reality of people. In the ongoing, repeated event called 'worship', the encounter with the living Christ may occur. The incarnational character of worship thus does not deny, but actually *needs* the historical once-only event of the incarnation, as a foundation for the ongoing encounter with God.

In addition, worship needs the Spirit to become incarnational: *pneuma* is required to actually realize the encounter with the living Christ in worship. The celebrating congregation does not have to the encounter with Christ at its disposal, they do not 'own' this meeting. They are dependent on the Spirit. Clearly, christology and pneumatology are mutually related. From incarnation to resurrection and ascension, the Christ event is a pneumatological and therefore eschatological reality. Christ and the Spirit presuppose each other, as Mattijs Ploeger aptly phrased it in his account on the liturgical ecclesiology of John Zizioulas:

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[199] As indicated in Section 6.2, one month after I finished my research in this congregation, the then minister left. As she had considerably influenced the sound by her performance, it seems quite possible that (aspects of) the qualities of the sound of worship may have changed after the congregation received their new minister. This would illustrate the fact that the shapes in which Christ may be encountered in the sound of worship of local churches, are temporary and thus dynamic.

> Everything Jesus Christ has done, and moreover, everything which has taken place in the *oikonomia* – including, for example, the event of Pentecost – belongs to history. And it *must* belong to history, not reluctantly, but because this is the way in which God enters the world: it is the particular task of the *Son* to *become* history. In turn, it is the particular task of the *Spirit* to *transcend* history. If there had been no Spirit, Christ would have been nothing else than an historical figure. It is the Spirit who raised Christ from the dead, it is the Spirit who makes that Christ is not only an historical figure, but an eschatological figure. (…) As long as christology and pneumatology are seen separately, there will be a dichotomy between history and eschatology. But a synthesis of christology and pneumatology will show that 'history is a real bearer of the ultimate', because Christ – as an eschatological figure – has become flesh. (PLOEGER 2008, 57)

These concepts, christology and pneumatology, each have often been championed at the expense of the other, especially in theologies of worship. I am, however, of the opinion that the uniqueness of the historical Christ-event should not be isolated: the Spirit time and again made and makes the encounter of the church with Christ occur. On the other hand, the Spirit does not go its own way: it would be too easy to groundlessly use the Spirit as an umbrella explanation for every single liturgical expression. The story begins with Christ, with the birth of Jesus, with God taking the shape of mankind, with incarnation. And this incarnation has not come to an end when Christ ascended: the Spirit is constantly referring back to (the risen) Christ, who will come again.

In conclusion, we may say that in the ritual performance called 'worship', the congregation creates shapes in which Christ may be encountered. The sound of worship is one of the things that physically shape this encounter. Whether the congregation actually meets Christ, eventually is not up to them, but up to God: the sacramental as well as the incarnational character of worship becomes a reality when the Spirit is involved.

8.3 Local Theologies of Sound in ELCAS and WMC

The qualities of the sound of worship, which influence the shapes in which the encounter with Christ may take place, vary from one congregation to another. The thick descriptions in Sections 6.3 and 7.3 offered an account of the sound of worship in the investigated churches from a cultural-anthropological perspective. In Sections 6.4 and 7.4, it appeared that these churches clearly had their own theological perceptions of how the encounter with God (or sometimes more specifically: with Christ) took place in the sound of their worship services. The meanings respondents attributed to worship's sound often reflected the contents of these local theologies (these meanings, in other words, included the respondents' own theologies and/or the theologies of the congregations they belonged to). Thus the respondents fleshed out the incarnational character of worship in very specific ways: the encounter with God took the shape of each of the qualities of sound. In ELCAS, he was being met in the 'openness' and the 'patchwork' qualities of the sound of worship. In WMC, the respondents claimed they encountered God in the 'responsiveness' of worship's sound, as well as in its 'holistic cohesion'. In this section, I bring each of these four qualities into the conversation on the incarnational sound of worship.

OPENNESS

The performed sound of worship in ELCAS had an open quality, made up of elements such as accessibility, freedom and appearance. Section 7.4 showed that the openness of sound embodied the worshippers' faith: it both ritually expressed their faith and wrote this faith into their bodies. This can be proved on the basis of several quotations from Chapter 6.

In N-1, Sherron said about the elderly choir that – in spite of their age and the efforts it takes them to perform – "they sing with such inspiration". Although they often sang off-pitch, there seemed to be more to their sound than accomplished singing: something happened, something of a wholly different order. During their singing in the service the choir members seemed to be inspired: this was clearly expressed in their sound performance, said the respondent. One would expect that this inspiration is ascribed to the Spirit, or at least relates to an encounter (or some sort of contact) with God. The latter is supported by N-16, where Letisha (who is a choir member herself) said that in a particular service, while singing, she passed on a message from God to one of the female churchgoers. She considered it her role to let this lady know about God's intention with her. In the analysis, I concluded that the respondent used her appearance to pass on the message. I determined this appearance as an aspect of openness, because – by looking at the lady while singing – the respondent in her sound performance physically opened the possibility of an encounter between this churchgoer and God. She thus actively embodied the belief that in worship God has a message for everyone. This open sound performance created a shape for the sound of worship to become incarnational.

Another example of the encounter with Christ, enabled in the openness of the sound of worship, was the minister's attitude when performing sound. In N-4 we saw that Thomasina described the minister's performance as patient and considerate, thus creating a sense of freedom: all may feel welcome to worship, it is open to everyone and in worship all are free to be who they are. The respondent considered this sound performance an equivalent of Jesus' own attitude. She quoted a remark of Jesus from the gospel ("Let the little children come to me", Mark 10:14), saying that he thus showed he wanted to be accessible for everyone. Thomasina considered that the minister gave shape to this 'biblical' attitude by her own sound performance. In the open sound performance of the minister, Christ himself was encountered.

Patchwork

The performed sound of worship in ELCAS appeared to be a whole of motley elements standing juxtaposed, without mutual connection, thus forming a colourful liturgical whole. This whole appeared to have cultural and immigration aspects. From Section 7.4 we may conclude that this patchwork quality of performed sound for many churchgoers embodied their faith. The interview with Victoria may serve as an illustration (see N-6).

During our conversation, the Dutch interviewee Victoria mentioned a Bible quotation which she linked to the open and patchwork sound elements in worship. She referred to a quote on various people speaking various languages (most likely she meant the story of Pentecost, Acts 2:1-41), deducing from this that there should be room for people to speak in a language that fits their identity. Besides, she said, the Bible quotation reflects an openness to experience things from various sides (note that this remark points to the open quality of sound as well). For this reason, Victoria highly appreciated the use of a foreign language during the service. She experienced this 'otherness' (this variety that came with patchwork) as 'being passed onto' her. The patchwork sound of worship thus embodied her faith: it was a ritual expression of her bodily avowed faith, which at the same time wrote this faith into her concrete existence. And she encountered Christ in the variety of languages in which the sound of worship in this congregation occurred. It was the incarnational patchwork shape of sound that enabled this encounter.

Responsiveness

In WMC, the performed sound was often a response to what happened in their worship service: it was an outgoing sonic reply to what actually occurred, to the sound performed by other people, to what people felt inside, to God or 'a word from the Bible'. This responsive quality had three aspects: expressing, relation to God and authenticity. Section 7.4 showed,

among other things, that the responsiveness of sound embodied the congregation's faith: it was both a product and a producer of faith. The shapes of sound this embodied faith took on, can be found in several examples from Chapter 7.[200]

The sound of prayer in this church often came as a response to 'a word of faith' which assured worshippers that God had heard them (N-3). Churchgoers expressed themselves (by singing aloud, praising God in dancing, praying and exclaiming), they poured out their hearts before God aloud, as a response to their belief that they had audience with God. These expressive sounds thus embodied the faith that they would encounter God. Such embodiment also occurred in N-4, where the minister, during the interview, sang a song: when asked why he waved his hands while singing, he explained that his movements actually expressed his faith. The words of his song ministered to his 'innermost being' and leaned him directly to God. His performance of the song was a response to (a product of) the faith within him. At the same time, the performance wrote his belief into his body (it also 'produced' faith). In N-14, Kobbi stated that in worship things sometimes just happen to people, because they are 'before the face of God': as a response to the faith that they encountered God, they may thus express themselves as a matter of course in their performance of sound. He specifically mentioned the role of the Spirit in this matter: the Spirit may touch people and make them feel so excited, that they just want to praise God in any way. In my view, when this occurs, the expressive aspect of the responsive sound of worship may obtain an incarnational character: Christ can be encountered in a responsive shape.

In N-7 the respondent, Charity, made clear that the songs the Praise and Worship team perform in worship 'ginger' people. In these songs, something happens: when people hear about God, in whom all is reconciled and in whom they find joy, they will start jumping and praying and singing. This physical expression is a response to people's relationship with God. The fact that the song is being performed in worship is crucial here: as a rule music makes people dance, but in worship this physically expressive performance of sound might come from 'something in the music, that…yes… that *goes* with the music'. Again, one would expect this 'something' that 'goes with the music' to be ascribed to the Spirit, who is said to make people move. Under the influence of this Spirit, the sound of worship, by being performed in response to their relation with God and thus embodying their faith, would become incarnational. The respondent was not totally clear about this 'something'. However, she indicated that the performance of sound is a response to something that *happens* in worship, and which could not be ascribed to human performance. N-8, in which Hanna and Ivie said that in his delivering of the sermon, their pastor is *moved* by the Word, seems to indicate a comparable 'happening'. According to these respondents, 'the Word of God comes with such power' that the pastor cannot just stand behind the lectern and preach. In response to this 'Word', he performed the sermon. This performance (remember that he often stepped down the raised floor and walked around, sharing his faith and using examples to proclaim the Word) gave them the feeling that God was listening to them. The respondents considered this sound performance incarnational, as the minister seemed to be in touch with God (taken as the Word by which he was moved). The minister, for his part, in his responsiveness to the Word, created a shape in which the respondents could encounter Christ.

All these quotations show that in worship the responsive quality of the performed sound shapes in which the living Christ can be encountered, manifests itself. Under the influence of the Spirit, this encounter obtains a responsive character: the responsiveness of Christ and of the congregation towards each other, is expressed and through the meeting of both comes to light. Then, the sound of worship has become incarnational.

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[200] Compared to ELCAS, the role of the 'body' in the embodied sound becomes even more clear in WMC.

Holistic Cohesion

The performed sound of worship in WMC often showed a holistic cohesion of elements: drumming evoked clapping and moving, clapping evoked singing and dancing, and so on. This cohesion had cultural, biblical and immigration aspects. As we will see, the holistic cohesion of sound offered a shape in which Christ may be encountered.

In N-1 the respondent, Benjamin, (probably without intending so) aptly described the embodiment of faith in this church, by drawing attention to the meaning of physical worship: 'there is a moment that you come to the presence of God and where you worship God with your whole being' and in this worshipping, the entire body is involved. Benjamin drew a parallel (referring to Philippians 2) between God emptying himself and thus taking side with humanity in Jesus Christ, and the performance of sound in worship in this congregation: through dancing and singing and clapping and moving, the worshippers emptied themselves before God and came into his presence. Performing sound thus was a ritual expression of their bodily avowed faith. This expression at the same time wrote this faith into their bodies: since dancing and worship is an integral part of the lives of Ghanaians, the bodily performance of sound in worship brought the faith into their concrete existence. In this embodied faith, elements of (bodily) performed sound were interrelated and showed an holistic cohesion. Given that the sound of worship may become incarnational when it embodies the performer's faith, I conclude that the congregation's encounter with Christ took the shape of interrelatedness.

Non-incarnational Sound?

As I demonstrated in Section 8.2, the sound of worship does not always embody faith. Whenever a ritual sound expression clearly bears no resonance with the faith of the performer, one could speak of sound that does not embody faith: the performed sound does not express the bodily avowed faith of the performer, nor writes the faith into his/her body. This does not necessarily mean that this sound is non-sacramental (remember the aforementioned remark that worship may also be sacramental when one does not fully recognize or agree with its shapes), but sound which does not embody faith impedes its incarnational character.

This raises a question with respect to the embodiment of faith in the sound of worship as performed in the Lutheran congregation ELCAS, namely whether the open and patchwork qualities of sound fully embodied the congregation's faith, and possibly impeded the sound from becoming incarnational for a part of the congregation.

The question is prompted by a certain inhibition that turned out to be the flip side of the freedom with which sound was being performed. This inhibition was particularly related to the sound elements that had no resonances with the performers' cultural-anthropological and theological backgrounds. As we have seen, this occurred in Surinamese and Dutch respondents alike. Surinamese interviewees did not always appreciate Western European sound elements. These elements – such as the important role of the organ in worship, the physically 'static' performance of sound and the singing of Geneva Psalms – could seem alien to them. From N-11, for instance, one might guess that the sacramental character of the sound of worship in this congregation mostly took Western European shapes. The ambivalence of the respondent in N-11 concerning dancing in church, arose from a natural inclination to move, which conflicted with the Western European performance of sound in this congregation, that does not include dancing. As a consequence, she did not feel free to perform sound dancing. The inhibition that to some extent impeded the sound of worship from becoming incarnational for Dutch worshippers arose, among other things, from their uneasiness with the text of the hymns from Johannes de Heer. These texts – although they originated from the Netherlands – no longer bore a relation with their own theology. The

relationship with God and the image of God, as depicted in these hymns that were first published a century ago, clearly did not concur with those of several Western European interviewees. The ritual expression of this sound did not embody their faith, nor did it seem to write faith into their bodies. Another sound element that impeded sound from becoming incarnational for a part of the Dutch churchgoers was the use of the Sranan language, which many of the Dutch did not understand.

The question whether the patchwork quality of sound might likewise impede the sound from becoming incarnational, arose from the research result that this quality appeared to evoke a certain tension. The fact that the former minister observed different prevailing views and expectations among churchgoers, indicated that a possible encounter of all churchgoers with Christ required diverse shapes. Now, the patchwork sound of worship offered diverse embodied shapes. Some of these shapes were specifically Surinamese, some were Dutch, and other shapes were 'multicultural'. Since there was something in it for everyone, the patchwork sound embodied faith for all churchgoers: everyone recognized a shape in which they could encounter Christ. On the other hand, however, most churchgoers also experienced some sound aspects that were not in tune with their cultural-anthropological and/or theological background. Now, as I indicated, worship is not immediately *non*-sacramental when the performer does not recognize or agree with its shapes. Being confronted with the shapes in which other churchgoers encounter Christ, may also yield sacramental worship (compare the abovementioned theological view of Victoria on patchwork sound, made up by foreign languages). But since all worshippers performed sound that did not embody their faith, the Western shape that the qualities of sound took, may indicate non-incarnational sound for Surinamese churchgoers; and vice versa, the Surinamese shape of the performed sound that did not embody the faith of Dutch churchgoers, may indicate non-incarnational sound for them.

Whereas in ELCAS I discerned sounds of worship that were possibly non-incarnational, in WMC the issue of non-incarnational sounds was prompted by two interviewees who – by saying that the way sound was being embodied in their worship services was not random – suggested that some sounds would never become incarnational, because the embodiment of faith in sound is subject to certain rules. The following example shows this on the basis of the responsive quality of the sound of worship.

In N-9, the respondents Charity and Damian indicated that the way people danced during worship was 'decent', because this sound performance was a response to the gospel music. Outside church, people clearly performed sound differently, but 'in the presence of God, women of that very nature [which the respondent before had described as women with an 'extravagant shape', MK] should know how they should dance'. Thus, the congregation's response to 'the presence of somebody who is above everything' was subject to certain limitations, which meant that the possible encounter with Christ in this church could not take shape in whichever physical performance of sound. This indicates that, in the local theological view of WMC, Christ will never be encountered in the tossing bottoms of women: such sound performance, in their opinion, will always be non-incarnational and should be avoided.

Meeting Christ in the Qualities of Sound

On the basis of the qualities of sound in the investigated churches, the above illustrated how the sound of worship was and may be trusted to become incarnational. Christ was and can be encountered in the open, patchwork, responsive and holistically cohesive sound of worship in ELCAS and WMC respectively. In these four qualities of sound shapes occurred for worship to become incarnational.

In the Lutheran congregation with predominantly Surinamese members, we saw the diversity that came with a patchwork sound, and the inviting and accepting attitude towards

each individual that came with the openness of sound. Both were shapes in which the encounter with the living Christ occurred. These open and patchwork shapes partly did, partly did not bear a relation with the contextual backgrounds of the congregation. Thus the sound of worship partially embodied faith, and therefore, under the influence of the Spirit, could have become incarnational sound, and partially was non-embodied faith, which impeded sound from becoming incarnational.

The qualities of the sound in the Ghanaian Methodist church were responsive and holistic shapes by which worship could obtain an incarnational character. The encounter of the congregation with Christ took on a responsive shape, in which the relation between God and man came to light and was expressed. The holistic shape in which the sound could become sacramental, showed that the embodiment of faith had cultural, immigration and biblical aspects, which were mutually related. Under the influence of the Spirit, the encounter with Christ thus comprised and embraced the entirety of a human being, with all its cultural, biblical and immigration 'encodings'. The embodiment of faith therefore was closely related to the cultural-anthropological and theological background of churchgoers. Both qualities of sound were shapes in which the living Christ could be encountered, and – since they fleshly embodied the performers' faith – enabled the sound of worship to become incarnational. In the theological view of this church, undesirable sound performance would never become incarnational.

The fact that Christ was and can be encountered in the open, patchwork, responsive and holistic sound of worship, concurs with my assertion that the relation between Christ and the shapes in which he is being encountered in the sound of worship of local churches, is an open and dynamic one. This open and dynamic relation implies that, whenever the sound of worship obtains a sacramental, incarnational character, Christ takes on different shapes. The particular qualities that worship's sound may obtain, thus appeal to particular qualities of Christ. As a consequence, the incarnational character of worship makes an appeal to a diversity in Christ. I emphasize that this incarnational character refers to an encounter with the living Christ, rather than the historical Jesus: the living Christ is not limited to one of the particular qualities of worship's sound, but takes on the diversity of all these qualities. These qualities all and always participate in the fullness of Christ: in worship, those who seek the communion with the living God, meet the eschatological Christ in shapes, but the eschatological Christ eventually comprises all different shapes, uniting these and welding them together to one whole. Paul refers to this unity, when he says that all believers – in their diversity as Jews, Greek, slaves, free, male and female – through faith in Jesus Christ, have become one in Christ (Galatians 3:27-28. See also Ephesians 1:3-14 and 4:13, Colossians 1:15-20, 17 in particular, and the Nicene Creed which speaks of "one Lord Jesus Christ (…) by whom all things were made". Christ thus represents the richness or fullness of all possible forms of existence.[201]) African theologians have also pointed to this fullness, taking in the 'local' faces of Jesus: "The multiplicity of christological images arising in Africa enhances the discovery of the fullness of Christ, which transcends all cultural constructs of the gospel." (STINTON 2004, 253). As Jean-Marc Ela puts it: "The Risen One exposes faith to an inexhaustible realm of possibilities" (STINTON 2004, 253). All diversities the community of believers shows, are thus joined in Christ. That is why possibly contradicting qualities of sound in Christ will not exclude each other: they never embrace the universal whole of Christ, but are only parts of the eschatological Christ. When the worship of a particular congregation becomes sacramental, the living God is always being encountered in

[201] It thus may be clear that I do not unreservedly agree with the theological view in WMC that excludes sound that is performed by women tossing their bottoms, from the possibility to become incarnational: although I understand the argument, I do not subscribe to this particular view.

a particular shape. But in the end, all these qualities coexist in Christ, who subsumes into himself all differences.

8.4 The Sound of Worship from Other Theological Perspectives

The preceding section showed that in WMC and ELCAS the sacramental and incarnational character of the sound of worship is fleshed out in very specific ways. I will now once more elucidate the qualities of sound in these immigrant churches and shed light on them from the viewpoints of four theologians, thus deepening the discussion on the incarnational sound of worship.

OPENNESS

In ELCAS, the open sound performance of the minister in worship, was linked to the Bible quotation in which, according to the respondent, Jesus showed he wanted to be accessible for everyone (N-4). The relation between this Bible quotation and the open shape of sound, gives rise to portray Marcel Barnard's view on worship and to elaborate on this relation from his perspective.

Barnard takes worship as servant of the Word. This Word is considered dynamic: it comprises the human response to it. Word thus never is 'the naked Word', it is always 'the heard and answered Word'. The congregation, says Barnard, will in her praying service to the Word trust that the human words become part of the Word of God.[202] Word therefore is the celebrated and commemorated Word, that becomes reality (that 'occurs') in the double act of hearing (reading, interpreting and proclaiming) ánd answering (praying, crying, praising, singing, moving and acting). It is a 'double movement.' (BARNARD 2008, 36)

The assertion that worship is a web of elements that may constitute the occurring Word of God and the human response to it (BARNARD 2008, 36), implies that these elements of 'God's Word in motion' in itself have no meaning: they become elements in the dynamics of the Word. They serve the motion of the Word. The Word itself however is not the core of the matter in worship: Christ is the centre. Christians do not live on the authority of the book, they live on the authority of Christ, who is the embodiment of God's love (BARNARD 2008, 37), and – I would say – the embodiment of the Word. To put it another way: Christ is the embodiment of God-with-us, a God who pitches tent with his people, time and again. Christian faith is basically no religion of the book, but a faith that is celebrated and lived in a community which gives meaning to Christ, the incarnate Word. Thus the Christian faith highlights the Word becoming human. Likewise, in worship, the book is opened, and is closed again. The book is a referral to Christ (BARNARD 2008, 38).

Barnard's reasoning provides an excellent explanation of the way in which the open sound in ELCAS may be considered incarnational. In the abovementioned example, 'the Word' was a quotation from the gospel in which Jesus said "Let the little children come to me." The sound performance of the minister, which contributed to the open quality of sound, was said to radiate this biblical attitude. The openness of sound may thus be seen as an answer to the Word. As a matter of fact, the openness of sound *became part* of the actual occurrence of the Word. By analogy of the divine incarnation, taking on the shape of the concrete, fleshly human being Jesus Christ in a particular time and place and in a specific culture and context, the Word in the worship of ELCAS could become incarnate in the openness of its sound.

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[202] I initially objected to Barnard's 'verbalistic restriction' of the human response to the Word, but then found out that he elsewhere claimed it is inadequate to construct a difference between word and rite, gesture and material element: 'language and ritual acting are basically comparable, since both express and produce meanings' (BARNARD 2007, 17). I consider Chapters 6, 7 and 8 to prove that the human answer to the Word may as well take other shapes, one of which is performed sound, and thus take Barnard's 'human words' as just one of the possible shapes of response to the Word.

And since, with Barnard, I take the Word as always referring to Christ, I conclude that in the sound of worship Christ himself took on the shape of openness, and that thus the sound became incarnational. Likewise, the qualities of sound of any Christian worship service may come to participate in the occurrence of the Word. Therefore, incarnational sound of worship takes on different shapes, time and again.

The openness of the sound of worship becoming an incarnational shape in which Christ could be encountered implies a role for the Spirit. As I claimed in Section 8.2, God and worship do not necessarily coincide: worship, the Word occurring time and again, only becomes incarnational provided the Spirit is present. Barnard, in his view on worship as servant of the Word, presupposes some room for the Spirit too, although he does not discuss this in detail. In his elaboration of the Word in worship, several ingredients however indicate where such room may be found: the congregation, 'searching the field of influence of the Spirit', may 'have confidence' that its worship is 'being included' in the 'dynamics of the Word'; the Word is 'not locked up' in worship, but the words in worship 'are taken in' in the actual 'occurrence' of the Word; 'in her praying service to the Word' the congregation 'trusts' that the human words 'become part' of the Word of God (BARNARD 2008, 36). All these words refer to a space in which something is happening. Worship becoming incarnational is no static affair, it is dynamic, it is a result of motion. The space Barnard refers to, is the field of activity of the Spirit. We have seen that such motion was suggested in the openness of sound in ELCAS too: one of the respondents mentioned the 'inspiration' that went along with the singing of the choir. In their singing, something happened, something of another order. The respondent implicitly referred to the activity of the Spirit, for 'inspiration' cannot be commanded: it implies motion that comes with the singing, with the performance of sound. Choir members themselves did not have access to this inspiration, and no more do worshippers have access to incarnational worship. The event of worship becoming incarnational, by intervention of the Spirit, is an act of God.

PATCHWORK

The patchwork sound of worship obtaining an incarnational character may also be an example of Barnard's view on the occurring Word. The variety of languages in worship may be considered as both heard and answered Word: in the opinion of the respondent, the Biblical story of Pentecost (Word) called on churchgoers to be open towards the identities of other people. Therefore she highly appreciated this variety of languages (causing a patchwork sound of worship), which she experienced as 'being passed onto' her. Indeed, she would not want it to be omitted from the services, as it also seemed to constitute the congregation's answer to the Word. In the view of the respondent, by using several languages, they acted in a biblical way: performing worship in various languages, expressed the acceptation of the otherness of people whom together made up the congregation. Word thus was heard and answered Word. In Barnard's view, the dynamics of this Word are concentrated in Christ, who is the central figure of worship. His view could be seen summarized in the words of John 1:14: 'the Word became human'. Christian faith, and thus Christian cult, worship, liturgy, focuses the attention on the Word that became human. Worship may thus obtain an incarnational character. This is in line with my statement in Section 8.2, that the encounter with God in our reality was made possible in the incarnation, in God taking shape in Jesus Christ, thus opening the possibility for every materiality (including worship) to enable such an encounter. Ritual shapes that fleshly embody faith, enable an encounter with the living God and thus become incarnational.

RESPONSIVENESS

In WMC, the responsiveness of the sound of worship becoming incarnational, could be explained and deepened by the theories of Barnard, Sample and Van der Leeuw.

The responsiveness of the sound in this congregation (of worshippers expressing themselves, pouring out their hearts before God as a response to the belief that they have audience with God; N-3) obviously – and at least partly – can be considered as Barnard's "answering to the Word". The call and response-form that informed the performed sound of their worship (in singing, in prayer, in dancing), for instance, had a highly responsive character. For example: several times it occurred that during the sermon, a woman rose to sing an Ebibindwom, as a response to the Word that was being preached. This song itself had a call-and-response form, since the woman performed it in alternation with the congregation. The responsiveness of the sound of worship thus was a condensed answer to the Word, and reflected the dynamics of the Word in more than one way.

The respondents of N-7 and N-8 clearly indicated that the sound of worship appealed to them. Charity (N-7) claimed that in worship the gospel music of the Praise and Worship team 'gingers' people: Ghanaian people use to dance, but in worship, when they hear about God in whom all is reconciled and in whom they find joy, they start jumping and praying and singing. The sound of worship appealed to the youngsters Hannah and Ivie (N-8) too: they clearly felt they were being addressed. The minister, who was 'moved by the Word', delivered the sermon in a way that gave them the feeling that God was listening to them. I reckon that Tex Sample would consider both examples as incarnational worship. Although his view is interesting enough, I do not entirely agree with him as regards his 'criteria' for worship becoming incarnational, because he tends to restrict these mainly to everything that is in keeping with ourselves and our culture – a point I shall return to below. Incarnation, according to Sample, on the basis of John 1:14, involves three things at least (as we have seen in Chapter 2 of this study): the Word, becoming flesh, and pitching tent. Since Sample considers worship as Word, incarnational worship should involve the same three elements: worship lacking one of these elements is non-incarnational. In his view, the 'incarnational extent' of worship is clearly subject to criteria which should be met. Incarnational worship is thus submissive to a normative standard. This is in line with his opinion that "when so-called 'traditional' churches are out of touch with the people who live around them, the problem is not that they are irrelevant, but that they are not Incarnational" (SAMPLE 1998, 105). WMC, in this sense, is in touch with the people 'who live around them', because its worship – and more in particular: its sound – appears to be incarnational. Gospel music and the expressive and 'moved' delivering of the sermon in the worship services of this church, are manifestations of the Word. According to Sample, the Word becomes flesh in taking on the particular (cultural, historical and social) encodings, organization of the senses, content in feelings, forms of reason etcetera of this congregation. In my opinion, his view aptly illustrates the fact that an incarnational sound of worship closely relates to the fleshly encodings which determine the embodiment of faith. In WMC, as I have ascertained, the Word becomes flesh in taking on the form of dancing and praying and jumping, and in delivering the sermon in a very expressive way. It thus pitches tent, which in Sample's view is the Word joining a basic and indigenous practice of the world in a specific time (I would add: in a specific place and a specific context). The Word in WMC made connection with the basic and indigenous Ghanaian practice of dancing, with being expressive and sharing faith, with the immigrant context of this church, in Amsterdam, in the 21st century. In this basic engagement with the world, the Word pitched tent with these people. As the sound of worship thus came up to all three criteria, in Sample's view, it was incarnational.

As I have said, Sample takes worship as Word. He considers worship to be the celebration and dramatization of God's story. It is "a story of a community called out to enact and embody that story, (…) the act of making holy everything that is of the creation." (SAMPLE 1998, 107) From this, I conclude that Sample supposes the act of 'making holy' to be an act of human beings. In this respect, his view concerning the extent to which the incarnational character of worship can be effected by worshippers, is different from the views held by Barnard, Van der Leeuw (as we shall see), and the author of the present study. Following

Barnard and Van der Leeuw, I would suggest that although worshippers may trust worship to be incarnational, the actual encounter with the living Christ in the end is initiated by God and cannot be empirically established by humans. It is and remains a faith assertion. Sample's view on incarnational worship, however, makes a useful contribution to the perception of the Word as being embodied in specific and very concrete (cultural, historical and social) practices that influence a context – an embodiment that may become as specific as the responsiveness of the sound of worship.

The abovementioned examples (quotations from N-7 and N-8) are an invitation to pay attention to the role of the Spirit in the responsiveness of sound. It is useful to elaborate on the pneumatological and eschatological elements within the sacramentality of ritual shapes from the viewpoint of Gerardus van der Leeuw.

As I have said, Van der Leeuw claims that believers search for the image of God in shapes, because God revealed himself in Christ in human shape. In his theology of the sacrament, Van der Leeuw claims that prayer and praise, sermon and creed, singing and benediction are not just pieces of decoration: they carry a sacramental character insofar they give shape to the encounter of the church and the living God (VAN DER LEEUW 1949, 252). As we have seen in Chapter 2, worship may become sacramental in the portrayal, through the human imagination, of God's image, a form in which the encounter with the Eternal One may take shape. Van der Leeuw thus makes the presence of Christ a theme in our reality. This realization is an eschatological event, but 'the eschatological' has already set in in our reality: it is already a sacramental reality (a 'visibly invisible reality', VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 338) that had its beginning in God becoming human in Christ. The eschatological aspect of this sacramentality keeps the forms of worship – which may be seen as 'portrayals' or 'human representations' of the image of God – in suspension between the dangers of completion and erasure (compare Section 2.2). The free space that Van der Leeuw leaves between completion (the autonomy of the made image) and erasure (the made image being wiped out), in my view, suggests that the sacramentality of these forms does not only have an eschatological aspect, but a pneumatological aspect as well. The fact that the portrayal – for instance: the sound of our worship – always *moves on*, suggests a dynamics, which indicates the field of action of the Spirit. The acting of the Spirit cannot be fixed, its movements not determined, but – in Van der Leeuw's view – the Spirit works within the flow of the human representations of the image of God, which may be said to be sacramental. Surely, the Spirit may be present or absent, but even so it does not operate independently: the Spirit works within the framework of God's promise to be present – a promise on which the congregation celebrating worship may rely, because God gave us shapes. The two examples from WMC lead one to suppose the influence of the Spirit in the responsive sound of their worship, since both have these moving and dynamic aspects. In N-7, the respondent mentioned 'something that *goes* with the music', which could not be ascribed to human performance. In N-8 the respondents indicated that they experienced the minister, in his performance of the sermon, to be *moved* and *touched* by the Word. Since the Word itself does not move, it is reasonable to suspect that the Spirit enabled this 'movement'. The pneumatological aspect of the sacramental (even incarnational) shape of the responsiveness of the sound of worship, thus manifested itself in two respects: in the minister's performance of the sermon, and in the performed response which made the respondents encounter God in this sermon.

HOLISTIC COHESION

The last quality of sound that may become incarnational in the worship of WMC, holistic cohesion, is best elaborated on from the viewpoint of Itonde Kakoma. As we saw in Chapter 2, he advocates a perception of worship as 'incarnation-able', in a document of the Lutheran World Federation. Although in this brochure, he does not discuss this issue at great length, it

is worth highlighting his thoughts, as he clearly prefers to speak of 'incarnational worship' rather than 'inculturated worship', which is more frequently used.

Kakoma introduces the incarnational conception of worship as an umbrella term that goes beyond paradigms such as indigenization, contextualization and inculturation. He claims that an incarnational conception of worship is far more dynamic than 'encapsulations of culture':

> Liturgical incarnation, in contrast to inculturation, takes into account more than textual translations, historical traditions, linguistic theories, anthropological studies or such like. Incarnation is the fleshly embodiment of a specific people, in a particular place, within a given experience of time. To consider worship as 'incarnation-able' is to consider the living Word of God, as moving, literally breathing through the very pains and longings of the gathered community. (KAKOMA 2005, 12)

The African context (indeed characterized by pains and longings) is clearly present in this description of liturgical incarnation. The value of the quotation for our discussion lies in its focus on the 'fleshly embodiment' in which Christ can be present in the gathered congregation. The congregation may, in Kakoma's view, become "a sacramental presence of Christ's body in a fragile and broken world" (KAKOMA 2005, 12).[203] I leave the point of the congregation becoming a body aside, but focus on the claim that worship is expressed by way of bodily things, and that the fleshly embodiment in which Christ can be present, embraces all elements that characterize the lives 'of a specific people, in a particular place, within a given experience of time'. This makes sense in view of what I described in Section 8.3: in the embodiment of faith in WMC, people's 'whole being' was involved. The sound of their worshipping involved dancing and singing and clapping – fleshly performed sound elements which obviously were mutually related. But the embodiment of faith in sound, according to the respondent of N-1, was not restricted to the body (although the body was fully involved): it comprised everything people had in them. The fleshly embodiment of faith thus took in the biblical, cultural and immigration aspects that influenced the sound of worship (covering all possible difficulties, pains and problems of the church and its individual church members) and it included the holistic cohesion of these three elements – Christ was present and breathed through the holistic quality of sound.

Kakoma's view on worship becoming incarnational puts the whole liturgical event on a higher plan. It thus becomes something of a different order: a sacramental reality, which does not leave bodily/fleshly things out, but, on the contrary, takes them all in. With respect to the 'availability' of the incarnational character of worship, one last thing should be noted. As is the case with Barnard, Van der Leeuw, the two investigated churches and the present author, Kakoma too seems to imply that there is a role for the Spirit in the realization of the congregation's encounter with Christ: Kakoma does not speak of worship as 'incarnational', but as 'incarnation-able', which emphasizes the fact that something should happen before worship really becomes incarnational. When referring to the living Word of God who is actively present in worship, Kakoma also uses the word 'moving' and says the living Word of God is literally 'breathing through' the very pains and longings of the gathered community. By mentioning features that are mostly related to the Spirit (breath and the dynamics of movement), he suggests that he holds a christological view inclusive of pneumatological aspects.

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[203] This is why he speaks of 'liturgical incarnation'. In this study I do not primarily focus on incarnation, but on worship, therefore I prefer to speak of 'incarnational worship'. Nevertheless, as regards the meaning of worship, our views have a common ground.

NON-INCARNATIONAL SOUND?

So far, I have shed light on the qualities of sound that embodied the faith of worshippers in the investigated churches, from the viewpoints of four theologians. Before I bring this chapter to a close with a concluding section, I briefly discuss the examples of non-embodied faith in the sound of worship (see the last part of Section 8.3) from these broader perspectives on sacramental, incarnational worship.

The open and patchwork sound of worship in ELCAS appeared to have elements that did not bear a relation to the cultural-anthropological and theological backgrounds of the performers. This is true for both Surinamese and Dutch respondents. Tex Sample would probably consider this congregation to be partly out of touch with the people who populate it. Within the framework of his view, one could very briefly say that the Word became flesh, taking on the encodings, organization of the senses, etcetera of the Surinamese part of the congregation, thus not pitching tent with the Dutch part of the congregation – and vice versa. Likewise, Itonde Kakoma in this case probably would not consider the sound of worship to be incarnational: if the sound cannot even be said to be 'indigenized', 'contextualized' or 'inculturated', there will be no incarnational aspect of the sound of worship to take all of this to a higher level.

The view of Van der Leeuw, being applied to the aspects of the sound of worship in ELCAS which did not embody the faith of the performers, raises another question as regards incarnational worship. Van der Leeuw claims that worship does not realize the eschaton in the present: *Gestaltung* (formation or design) is an act of God, while the human representations of God's image are always ambivalent and have a tentative character. The image of God thus is and remains eschatological from beginning to end, in Van der Leeuw's opinion (BARNARD 2004, 77). Taking on the shape of the sound of worship, the human representation of the image of God also has a tentative character. In this view, it is problematic to determine that God is 'like this' or 'not like that': human beings always search for shapes in which they may encounter God. But in the end, I repeat, the *Gestaltung* is an act of God. This makes it hard to say that a particular shape of sound will not obtain a sacramental or incarnational character.[204] Therefore, we should be reluctant in describing the sound of worship as non-sacramental or non-incarnational. With regard to the latter, however, I add that it is possible that a particular shape of sound has no resonances with (part of) a congregation, as in my view was partly the case with the patchwork sound of worship in ELCAS, insofar as it was attended by certain tensions for everyone. An ill-matching shape of sound may cause a disruption in its becoming incarnational, but the only thing one could, after due investigation, assert with any certainty is that the sound of worship may be non-embodied faith.

The fact that in WMC the embodiment of faith in sound was subject to certain rules, and the claim of two respondents that some (namely: indecent) performances of sound would never become incarnational (N-9, compare my elaboration on this quotation in Section 8.3), illustrates Kakoma's opinion that worship is far more dynamic than "encapsulations" of culture (KAKOMA 2005, 11). Dancing, for instance, is part of African culture, but dancing in worship is also subject to 'authorities' other than culture. The local prevailing theology (which I would summarized as: 'God is a God of order in whose presence one behaves decently') here proved to have a stronger influence on the way the sound was being

[204] From Barnard's perspective on Word as 'the heard and answered Word', one may conclude that the answer to the Word cannot be determined as being right or wrong. Answers to the Word are an act of symbolizing. The character of symbolizing lies in the area of meanings and the matters they refer to. "The question is whether or not the expressed and produced meanings are considered to refer to a reality." (BARNARD 2007, 17)

performed than Ghanaian culture. Worship thus is obviously more than inculturated worship.

The sound performances that, according to these respondents, would never become incarnational, would represent a very specific interpretation of Van der Leeuw's idea that worship and the arts may become sacramental. To put it bluntly: the sacramentality of worship in this congregation implies that women are not supposed to toss their bottoms. Although on the basis of my theological ideas on worship, I would claim that it is impossible to describe a particular sound of worship as non-sacramental or non-incarnational, the local theology of WMC proves to be much more specific and determined: in such sound performance as mentioned, in the respondents' view, Christ will never be encountered.

8.5 Evaluation

"Ritual is a unique structure although none of its elements (…) belongs to it alone." anthropologist Roy Rappaport claimed ten years ago, thus saying that the form or structure of every ritual is peculiar because its elements relate in unique ways, and thereby implying that it is impossible to make remarks on ritual/worship in general terms (RAPPAPORT 1999, 26). To an increasing extent, it becomes common practice in several academic disciplines, to do case studies (wherein the investigated population consists of one object; N=1). With regard to theology, we may say that the liturgical practices of different congregations arise in such different contexts, that their meanings (not to mention the ways in which these meanings come about) are often hard to compare. These difficulties are characteristic of immigrant churches in particular: complex and multilayered processes of giving meaning to what happens in worship take place among their churchgoers. This can be traced back to the fact that "context and culture are complexified as people experience belonging in multiple contexts and find themselves struggling to negotiate their place in the world" (SCHREITER 2007, 46).

Because of all this, I chose to organize this last chapter on the basis of a discussion on the incarnational sound of worship, thus linking some theoretical theological viewpoints (including my own) to the local theologies of the two congregations I investigated – congregations that perform the sound of worship time and again. Now, where does this conversation lead us? I turn to the main research question of this study, and on the basis of that question summarize my view on an incarnational sound of worship.

Which are the qualities of sound in the performance of worship as celebrated in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation and the Wesley Methodist Church in Amsterdam Southeast, and in what ways do these qualities relate to worship's incarnational character?

As a researcher, I showed the qualities of sound in the performance of worship as celebrated in ELCAS (openness and patchwork) and in WMC (responsiveness and holistic cohesion), on the basis of the actual performed sound of worship as I observed it, and the meanings attributed to it by respondents in interviews. In this chapter, I have indicated that these qualities of sound are shapes in which the respective churches may encounter the living Christ. This reflects what worship, in my view, is all about: the encounter of the congregation with Christ. Worship is sacramental insofar as it gives shape to this possible encounter, and may be incarnational when these shapes are fleshly embodiments of the performers' faith. Just as the living Christ – the incarnate Word – was the fleshly shape in which God revealed himself, in worship the living Christ may take the shape of sound, which gives fleshly embodiment to the performer's faith. 'Incarnational' thus relates not to fixed material shapes, but rather to the varying embodiments of faith that are determined by peoples' fleshly encodings.

The qualities of sound may serve as striking examples of the varying shapes by which worship may become incarnational. In ELCAS, for instance, worshippers appeared to have encountered Christ in the openness of the sound of worship – a sound which thereby obtained an incarnational character. As we have seen, this 'open' shape of sound was closely related to the contextual background of the congregation, comprising its local, social, cultural, historical, psychological, musical, bodily, performance, immigration and biblical aspects (in short: the cultural-anthropological and theological aspects of the congregation). Likewise, the worshippers of ELCAS also encountered Christ in the patchwork sound of worship, in the compound whole of sounds and its contextual background, that embodied their faith. In WMC, in the same way, Christ was being encountered in the responsive and holistically cohesive qualities of sound, which were closely related to the contextual background of its church members. In all these qualities, the sound of worship was believed to be incarnational – although in both churches sounds were performed that did not embody the faith of the performers, which impeded the sound from becoming incarnational.

The embodiment of faith to which the incarnational character of the sound of worship relates, does not only point to a physical performance. Rather, embodied faith indicates a ritual expression of the bodily avowed faith which at the same time writes faith into the body of the performer – in the concrete existence of people. The embodiment of faith in the sound of worship is thus both a product and a producer of faith. This implies that it comprises more than just those performances of sound which are in keeping with the performers' contextual background, or which the performers already know or are familiar with. The responsiveness of the sound of worship in WMC was an example of embodied faith. It ritually expressed faith and, at the same time, wrote this faith into the body of the performers. The encounter with Christ, in the responsive character of worship's sound was lived, avowed and experienced in the human body. Sound that did not embody faith was also found, as we have seen in both churches investigated. Although I would not judge this as non-sacramental sound, it impeded the incarnational encounter with Christ.

The incarnational character of sound, which is a particularization of worship's sacramental character, always has eschatological and pneumatological elements. The church may trust that the incarnational sounds of its worship realize the encounter with Christ in the present – a realization which is an act of the Spirit. However, this is an 'audibly inaudible reality': churchgoers may already experience shapes of Christ in this reality, but the eventual completion has not taken place yet.

The particular qualities of the sound of worship, giving shape to a possible encounter of a particular congregation with Christ, imply an open and dynamic relation between Christ and the shapes in which he is being encountered in local churches. These shapes in which Christ may be encountered, differ from one church to another and from one time in history to another. Christ thus takes on a diversity of qualities, comprising all these differences, welding them together into a unified whole. These qualities thus all and always participate in the fullness of Christ: in the end, all qualities coexist in Him, who subsumes into himself all differences.

Conclusion

This final section has been an attempt to summarize the theological discussion on how the sound of worship may be considered incarnational. Now that this concluding chapter comes to an end, I will formulate two conclusions of this study on the sound of worship in two immigrant churches in Amsterdam in a late modern 21st century network society.

First, the qualities of the sound of worship in ELCAS and WMC prove – more than the concept church music would have done – that the universalizing dimension of Christ as the incarnate Word, in worship exists in the living Christ whom, in local churches and congregations is being encountered in particular shapes. Every particular worship lays claim to particular aspects of Christ. The fact that people migrate all over the world and settle in

foreign parts, makes these particular shapes of Christ of crucial importance: those are ways in which churchgoers encounter Christ, those are ways in which the congregation embodies its faith, those are ways in which Christ is close to them, in their pains, their longings, their sorrows, their joy – in the fleshly encodings that determine their lives as immigrants.

Second, although the various particular shapes take part in the fullness of Christ, the encounter of churchgoers with Christ in particular shapes thus may have implications for the establishing of interethnic churches, due to different contextual backgrounds. Contextual backgrounds clearly determine the embodiment of faith in worship (among other things: in its sound). Although worship may still become sacramental when it takes unfamiliar shapes, when it does not embody the faith of the performer, or when a performer is being confronted with the shapes in which fellow Christians encounter Christ, the establishment (or creation through mergers) of interethnic churches would in the long term probably lead to serious problems concerning the possibility for worship to become incarnational: too many shapes that do not embody people's faith, will impede the possible encounter with Christ of several groups of performers.

This study thus makes clear that, in a 21st century globalized world, an incarnational sound of worship gives fleshly embodiment to faith, and takes shapes in which the performers may encounter the living Christ. Those are ways in which Christ is close to people. Therefore – to paraphrase Julie Andrews singing "The hills are alive with the sound of music"[205] – I close this study by stating that

"Christ is alive with the sound of worship."

[205] "The Sound of Music" (1965) is an Academy Award-winning film musical, starring Julie Andrews as Maria. It was based on a Broadway musical production (1959) by Richard Rodgers (music) and Oscar Hammerstein (lyrics). The title song, of which the first line is quoted above, is a standard.

SAMENVATTING

De *Sound of Worship* verschilt van gemeente tot gemeente en van kerk tot kerk. Deze studie richt zich op de klank van liturgie zoals die ten tijde van het onderzoek te horen was in twee migrantenkerken in Amsterdam Zuidoost. De onderzoeker beoogt duidelijk te maken hoe de klank van liturgie een vorm kan zijn waarin de ontmoeting met de levende Christus plaatsvindt. Daarbij staat de vraag centraal welke de kwaliteiten (de specifieke eigenschappen of kenmerken) zijn van klank in de performance van liturgie in de Evangelisch-Lutherse Gemeente en de Wesley Methodist Church in Amsterdam Zuidoost, en hoe deze kwaliteiten zich verhouden tot het incarnatorische karakter van liturgie.

Deze studie wil een bijdrage leveren aan de antropologie van klank in de Liturgiewetenschappen. Die heeft tot nog toe weinig aandacht gekregen. Het liturgisch ritueel omvat een caleidoscopisch geheel van klanken, waaraan door kerkgangers tal van betekenissen worden toegekend. De klank zelf en de daaraan toegekende betekenissen bepalen samen de specifieke kwaliteiten van klank in de liturgie van een bepaalde kerk of gemeente.

Dit boek, dat uit drie delen bestaat, belicht het onderzoeksdomein van verschillende zijden. Het eerste deel behelst een theoretische verkenning van drie belangrijke elementen van het onderzoeksdomein: liturgie, performance en klank. Deze verkenning maakt duidelijk hoe de onderzoeker (theologisch en cultureel-antropologisch) aankijkt tegen het veld dat zij betreedt. Het tweede deel is een empirische peiling naar de klank van liturgie in de twee genoemde migrantenkerken in Amsterdam Zuidoost. Het bevat weergaven van de cultureel-antropologische onderzoeksgegevens op grond van de analyse van die gegevens door de onderzoeker. Deel drie bestaat uit een liturgisch-theologische reflectie en evaluatie van de in de eerste twee delen verkregen resultaten. Zo wordt het cultureel-antropologische vertrekpunt uiteindelijk in gesprek gebracht met een systematisch-theologische visie op de klank van liturgie. Deze studie toont daarmee aan dat beide perspectieven elkaar niet uitsluiten, maar complementair zijn en – wanneer ze met elkaar in gesprek worden gebracht – vruchtbaar voor de beoefening en het eigen karakter van de moderne Liturgiewetenschap.

Deel I: Een theoretische verkenning van het veld

De drie elementen van het onderzoeksdomein – liturgie, performance, klank – kunnen (en) worden onderzocht vanuit verschillende terreinen van onderzoek.

In dit onderzoek wordt *liturgie* vanuit antropologisch perspectief opgevat als een 'symbolische en rituele orde' en vanuit theologisch perspectief gezien als sacramenteel en incarnatorisch. In lijn met de theologen Itonde Kakoma, Tex Sample en Gerardus van der Leeuw (die liturgie elk op eigen wijze in verband brengen met het begrip 'incarnatie') wordt liturgie in deze studie gezien als sacramentele realiteit, waarin zich vormen of gestalten voordoen die de ontmoeting met de levende Christus mogelijk maken. Deze ontmoeting draagt een incarnatorisch karakter in zoverre de vormen die zich voordoen een fysieke belichaming zijn van het geloof van de performers – een rituele expressie die het geloof uit en tegelijkertijd 'int' (d.w.z. 'schrijft' in het lichaam van de performer). Het incarnatorische karakter van liturgie heeft in deze studie dus geen betrekking op het dogmatische concept van incarnatie als eenmalige gebeurtenis waarbij God in Jezus Christus de gestalte aanneemt van een mens. Het heeft betrekking op de voortdurende ontmoeting van de levende Christus en de vierende gemeente, die erop mag vertrouwen dat Christus onder hen aanwezig is in (onder andere) de fysieke vormen die zich in liturgie voordoen. Zo verbindt het concept 'incarnatie' het menselijk lichaam – met al zijn culturele, sociale, ecologische, historische, fysieke en eigentijdse manifestaties, dimensies, vormen en aspecten – met de sacramentele presentie van Jezus Christus, het Woord dat vlees is geworden en onder ons heeft gewoond (Johannes 1:14). Kort samengevat toont en beschrijft de cultureel-antropologische

benadering van liturgie als symbolische en rituele orde, de vormen of gestalten waarin liturgie theologisch gesproken incarnatorisch kan worden. Dat deze vormen per tijd, per plaats en per kerk of gemeente verschillen, mag – alle voornoemde elementen die bepalen hoe gelovigen cultureel-antropologisch 'gecodeerd' zijn in aanmerking genomen – voor zich spreken. Met het oog op deel II van de studie zijn om die reden Surinaamse, Afrikaanse en Europese aspecten van wereldbeeld, geloof en leven in kaart gebracht: deze 'coderingen' vormen de achtergronden die in elk van de beide onderzochte migrantenkerken het incarnatorische karakter van liturgie mede vormgeven.

Performance – een complexe term waarvan, vooral in theater en performance studies, veel omschrijvingen bestaan en die een grote reikwijdte heeft – is in dit onderzoek opgevat als de uitvoering of voltooiing van een beweging of daad. Het is de uiteindelijke finale van een (serie) ervaring(en), die wordt doorleefd en betekenis krijgt, en is aldus een creatieve terugblik waarin betekenissen worden toegekend aan de doorgemaakte ervaringen. In liturgie is performance relevant omdat het verbonden is met het anamnetisch karakter van liturgie: in de anamnese, die de symbolische orde bepaalt, worden Gods daden uit het verleden in onze werkelijkheid present gesteld, met het oog op de toekomst. Deze anamnese kan slechts plaatsvinden door te handelen, door performance. Het menselijk lichaam speelt in die performance een belangrijke rol: daarmee wordt de performance, die altijd gepaard gaat met beweging, voltrokken. Aangezien de lichamelijke 'coderingen' van de performers hun performance van klank in de liturgie mede bepalen, is in deze studie aandacht besteed aan het lichaam en aan 'body language' in Afrikaanse en Europese culturen.

Het concept *sound* (klank) is in dit onderzoek gekozen ter verbreding van het 'klassieke' begrip kerkmuziek. Deze verbreding is in lijn met de verbreding in andere (muziekgerelateerde) onderzoeksvelden, waarbij muziek in toenemende mate wordt omschreven als klank met bepaalde (wisselende) kwaliteiten. Hoewel muziek in de liturgie een van de meest duidelijke verschijningsvormen van klank is, bestaat, zoals gezegd, het liturgisch ritueel uit een veel groter geheel aan klanken (van gebed tot het rumoer van aanwezige kinderen en van zang tot het geluid van mobiele telefoons) waaraan betekenissen worden toegekend en waardoor vormen ontstaan waarin de Godsontmoeting gestalte kan krijgen. Daarbij geldt dat klank onlosmakelijk verbonden is met performance: klank is een handeling. Zonder uitvoering, zonder beweging – op welke manier dan ook – is er geen klank. Klank deelt dit performance aspect dus met liturgie. En ook voor klank geldt dat het cultureel-antropologisch bepaald is: elke cultuur heeft zijn eigen omgang met klank, klankaspecten verschillen van de ene culturele setting tot de andere. Vanwege het empirisch onderzoek in twee migrantenkerken in deel II van deze studie, zijn vervolgens belangrijke aspecten van Surinaamse, West Afrikaanse, Afrikaans-Amerikaanse en Europese klank in kaart gebracht.

Met deze drie elementen is het onderzoeksdomein in het eerste deel van de studie theoretisch geëxploreerd. Daarmee is een basis gelegd voor twee case studies naar de klank van liturgie bij Surinaamse Lutheranen en Ghanese Methodisten in Amsterdam Zuidoost.

Deel II: Een empirische peiling in het veld

Het tweede deel van deze studie vangt aan met een uitvoerig methodologisch hoofdstuk, waarin de liturgisch-muzikale ethnografie als gebruikte methodiek wordt gepresenteerd en waarin verantwoording wordt afgelegd van de methode waarmee het verkregen empirisch materiaal is geanalyseerd. De liturgisch-muzikale etnografieën die tot nu toe verschenen, zijn weinig transparant in het verschaffen van inzicht in de manier waarop ze tot stand gekomen zijn. Transparantie is echter essentieel, niet slechts vanwege de controleerbaarheid van het onderzoek, maar vooral omdat de liturgische etnografie als onderzoeksmethode nog in de kinderschoenen staat en verdere ontwikkeling nodig heeft en verdient.

De onderzoeksvraag die in de beide daaropvolgende empirische hoofdstukken aan de orde is, luidt: welke klanken doen zich voor in de liturgie van de betreffende kerken, hoe worden deze klanken uitgevoerd, welke betekenissen worden aan deze *performed sounds* toegekend en welke kwaliteiten van klank kunnen op grond daarvan worden vastgesteld, en vervolgens: hoe verhouden deze kwaliteiten zich tot de contextuele achtergrond van deze kerken?

In het eerste empirische hoofdstuk wordt verslag gedaan van de *sound of worship* in de Evangelisch-Lutherse Gemeente Amsterdam Zuidoost. Op basis van veldnotities, geluids- en filmopnamen en foto's is de perceptie van de onderzoeker van de klank van liturgie weergegeven, in de vorm van twee *thick descriptions* van heel verschillende kerkdiensten (Pinksteren en de viering van *Keti Koti* – afschaffing van de slavernij). Deze beschrijvingen, tezamen met de bij deze publicatie behorende CD-ROM, schetsten een beeld van de klank van liturgie en de manier waarop deze werd 'uitgevoerd' in deze kerk. Interviewmateriaal toont aan welke betekenissen door kerkgangers werden toegekend aan verschillende elementen van de *performed sound*. Op basis van participerende observatie en de interviews met kerkgangers, konden vervolgens twee kwaliteiten van klank van deze gemeente worden vastgesteld: openheid en patchwork – de twee lokale vormen die de *sound of worship* in deze overwegend Surinaamse gemeente karakteriseerden. De kwaliteit 'openheid' toonde aan dat de daadwerkelijke klank van liturgie in deze gemeente werd ervaren en geïnterpreteerd als grenzeloos. Klank was hier niet gebonden aan criteria of regels betreffende de uitvoering, maar werd ervaren als open voor elke kerkganger en elke manier van performance. De kwaliteit 'patchwork' toonde aan dat de bonte elementen van uitgevoerde klank in de liturgie in deze gemeente naast elkaar stonden zonder een onderling verband te vertonen: bij elkaar vormden ze een kleurrijk liturgisch geheel. Deze elementen bleken samen te hangen met Surinaamse en Nederlandse culturele en theologische achtergronden van de kerkgangers en met het migratiekarakter van de gemeente. Zo bleken de kwaliteiten van klank volledig te worden bepaald door de lokale, contextuele (cultureel-antropologische en theologische) setting van de gemeente.

Het tweede empirische hoofdstuk behandelt, op dezelfde wijze als het eerste, de *sound of worship* en de daaraan door respondenten toegekende betekenissen, in de Ghanese Wesley Methodist Church in Amsterdam. Op basis van de gegevens verkregen door participerende observatie en gehouden interviews, zijn twee kwaliteiten van klank in de liturgie van deze migrantenkerk vastgesteld: klank had daar vooral een responsief karakter en vertoonde een holistische samenhang. Het responsieve karakter toont aan dat klank in deze kerk vaak een antwoord was op iets anders dat zich in de liturgie voordeed: het was een 'sonische reactie' op wat er gebeurde, op de klank voortgebracht door andere kerkgangers, op wat mensen van binnen voelden, op God of op een schrifttekst, etcetera. Er deed zich nauwelijks klank voor die op zichzelf stond, die niet veroorzaakt was door of gerelateerd aan iets of iemand anders. De tweede kwaliteit van klank in deze kerk, holistische samenhang, laat zien dat niet alleen de verschillende aspecten van klank onderling samenhingen (bijvoorbeeld: de dansende uitvoering van bepaalde muziek ging altijd gepaard met de ritmische begeleiding van drums), maar toont ook een onderlinge samenhang van de betekenissen die aan die klank werden toegekend, waarvan de elementen meestal samenhingen met migratie, cultuur en de Bijbel (bijvoorbeeld: het dansend zingen in de kerk werd verklaard vanuit de plaats van dans in de Ghanese cultuur, kreeg bijzondere betekenis door aspecten van migratie en werd tegelijkertijd uitgelegd als een praktijk naar het Bijbelse voorbeeld van David die danste voor de Ark). Zo bepaalden het responsieve karakter en holistische samenhang de vormen van klank in de liturgie. Deze kwaliteiten waren kenmerkend voor deze kerk en verschilden duidelijk van de kwaliteiten van klank in de Surinaams-Lutherse gemeente. Dit gold zowel de klank zoals die ter plekke kon worden waargenomen, als de betekenissen die aan die klank werden toegekend. Op deze manier bleek de klank volledig te worden bepaald door de lokale, contextuele setting van deze Ghanese migrantenkerk.

Deel III: Theologische reflectie en evaluatie

Het tweede deel van deze studie toonde aan dat de klank van liturgie in beide onderzochte kerken heel eigen kwaliteiten had. Dit geldt in het algemeen voor elke kerk of gemeente. Aangezien in dit onderzoek de vraag centraal staat naar de relatie tussen de lokale kwaliteiten van klank in de twee onderzochte kerken enerzijds en het incarnatorische karakter van liturgie anderzijds, zijn in het derde deel van deze studie de lokale kwaliteiten theologisch geëvalueerd en bereflecteerd. Dit deel heeft de vorm van een discussie over de incarnatorische klank van liturgie. Teneinde de onderzoeksvraag van deze studie te beantwoorden zijn enkele theoretische theologische gezichtspunten (zowel die van de eerder genoemde Kakoma, Sample en Van der Leeuw, als die van Barnard en de auteur zelf) verbonden met de lokale theologieën van de onderzochte migrantenkerken, die de klank van liturgie steeds op nieuw *performen*.

Met de eigen opvatting van auteur aangaande het sacramentele, incarnatorische karakter van liturgie als vertrekpunt, wordt in het slothoofdstuk duidelijk dat zij de kwaliteiten van klank beschouwt als vormen waarin in de twee onderzochte kerken de ontmoeting met de levende Christus kan plaatsvinden. Liturgie is sacramenteel in zoverre ze een mogelijke ontmoeting vormgeeft en kan incarnatorisch worden wanneer deze vormen (fysieke) belichamingen zijn van het geloof van de performer. Zoals Christus – het vleesgeworden Woord – de fysieke gestalte was waarin God zich in onze werkelijkheid heeft geopenbaard, zo kan Christus in liturgie de gestalte aannemen van klank, waarin de ontmoeting met God plaatsvindt. 'Incarnatorisch' heeft dus geen betrekking op vaste materiële vormen, maar op de variabele belichamingen van geloof die bepaald worden door de manier waarop de performers fysiek 'gecodeerd' zijn.

De kwaliteiten van klank in de liturgie van de twee onderzochte kerken zijn sprekende voorbeelden van de variabele vormen waarin liturgie incarnatorisch kan worden. De Surinaamse Lutheranen bleken Christus te hebben ontmoet in de openheid van de klank van hun liturgie. Deze 'open' vorm van klank was nauw verbonden met de contextuele achtergrond van de gemeente, inclusief zijn lokale, sociale, culturele, historische, psychologische, muzikale, lichamelijke, performance, migratie en Bijbelse aspecten. Zo ontmoetten zij Christus ook in het patchwork karakter van de klank van hun liturgie – in het samengestelde geheel van klanken en hun contextuele achtergronden – dat hun geloof belichaamde. Evenzo ontmoetten de Ghanese Methodisten Christus in het responsieve karakter en de holistische samenhang van klank, kwaliteiten die op hun beurt nauw verbonden waren met de contextuele achtergrond van de kerkgangers. In al deze kwaliteiten werd de klank van liturgie als incarnatorisch ervaren, al waren er in beide kerken ook klankelementen die het geloof van de performers niet belichaamden, hetgeen de klank belemmerde voor deze mensen tot incarnatorische klank te worden. (De cultureel-antropologische aanduiding 'belichaming van geloof' wijst overigens niet alleen op een fysieke performance, maar op het voornoemde 'uiten' en 'innen' van geloof dat met de rituele expressie plaatsvindt. Dit impliceert dat ook onbekende of 'oneigen' vormen van liturgie geloof kunnen belichamen en dus incarnatorisch kunnen worden.)

Het incarnatorische karakter van klank, dat een verbijzondering is van het sacramentele karakter van liturgie, heeft altijd eschatologische en pneumatologische elementen. De gemeente mag erop vertrouwen dat de incarnatorische klank van liturgie de ontmoeting met Christus in het heden gestalte geeft – een realisatie die plaatsvindt door de Geest. Tegelijkertijd is die incarnatorische klank een 'hoorbaar onhoorbare realiteit': kerkgangers mogen in het hier en nu van de liturgie al gestalten van Christus ervaren, maar de uiteindelijke voltooiing ervan vindt nog niet plaats – dat blijft een uitstaande belofte.

De specifieke kwaliteiten van de klank van liturgie, die een mogelijke ontmoeting van een bepaalde gemeente met Christus vormgeven, impliceren een open en dynamische relatie tussen Christus en de gestalten waarin hij wordt ontmoet in lokale kerken en gemeente. Zo

neemt Christus een diversiteit aan kwaliteiten aan, waarvan hij tegelijkertijd alle verschillen omvat en deze samenvoegt tot een geheel. De kwaliteiten van klank hebben dus altijd allemaal deel aan de volheid van Christus: uiteindelijk bestaan alle kwaliteiten in Hem die alle verschillen in zich opneemt.

Deze theologische discussie in aanmerking genomen, zijn er in het slotdeel van deze studie twee conclusies geformuleerd aangaande de klank van liturgie in de twee onderzochte migrantenkerken in Amsterdam Zuidoost in een laat moderne 21-eeuwse netwerksamenleving.

In de eerste plaats bewijzen de kwaliteiten van klank – meer dan het concept 'kerkmuziek' zou hebben gedaan – dat de universele dimensie van Christus als het vleesgeworden Woord, in liturgie betrekking heeft op de levende Christus die in lokale kerken en gemeenten wordt ontmoet in specifieke vormen of gestalten. Het feit dat mensen de hele wereld over migreren en zich vestigen op andere plaatsen dan waar ze vandaan komen, maakt deze specifieke gestalten van cruciaal belang: in die liturgische vormen ontmoeten zij Christus, die gestalten belichamen hun geloof, zó is Christus hen nabij in hun pijn, hun verlangens, hun verdriet, hun zorgen en vreugden – in de lichamelijke 'coderingen' die hun levens als migranten bepalen.

In de tweede plaats kan – hoewel de verschillende vormen deel hebben aan de volheid van Christus – de ontmoeting met Christus in specifieke vormen, vanwege de verschillende contextuele achtergronden, consequenties hebben voor het oprichten (of door fusie tot stand brengen) van interetnische kerken. De belichaming van geloof (onder andere in klank) wordt heel duidelijk bepaald door contextuele achtergronden. Hoewel liturgie nog steeds sacramenteel kan worden wanneer het onbekende of 'oneigen' vormen aanneemt of het geloof van de performer niet belichaamt, kan het oprichten of door fusie tot stand brengen van interetnische kerken op lange termijn leiden tot serieuze problemen met betrekking tot de mogelijkheid van liturgie om incarnatorisch te worden. Teveel vormen of gestalten die het geloof van de performer niet belichamen, zal een mogelijke ontmoeting van verschillende groepen performers met Christus belemmeren.

Zo maakt deze studie tenslotte duidelijk dat een incarnatorische klank van liturgie geloof fysiek belichaamt en vormen aanneemt waarin de performers de levende Christus kunnen ontmoeten. Zó is hij onder de mensen. Daarom besluit de studie met de woorden "Christ is alive with the sound of worship."

APPENDIX 1: ORDERS OF SERVICE

Order of the service on May 27 (Pentecost), 2007 in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast (see Section 6.3.1). The order is taken from the liturgy booklet for this particular Sunday that was distributed in church. Details between brackets are mine.

	TIME	CD-ROM
Organ music (of Dietrich Buxtehude)		
Opening hymn (in Dutch, from the Hymnbook for Suriname)	10 AM	
Welcome		
Preparation (starting with invocation)		
Hymn (in Sranan, taken from the Hymnbook for Suriname)		
Kyrie prayer (answered by a sung 'Kyrie' from Paraguay)		file 1
Song of praise ('Gloria' from Taizé)		
Salutation and collect of the day		
New Testament Lesson: Acts 2:1-11		
Hymn (in Dutch, taken from the Hymnbook for Suriname)		
Sermon		
Hymn (words in Dutch, printed on the sheet)		
Pentecost song of the children		file 2
Confirmation	11 AM	
- Introductory words from Romans 12:1-18		
- Presentation of catechumens		
- Questions and answers		
- The Apostles' Creed		
- Personal profession of faith		
- Blessing (answered by 'Elkana', singing three songs)		
- Welcome (to the new practising church members)		
- Presenting of gifts		
Hymn (in Dutch, from the Hymnbook for Suriname)		
Announcements	11.30 AM	
Birthday hymn (in Dutch, from the Hymnbook for Suriname)		
Offertory (meanwhile organ music of Christian Gottlob Neefe)		
Offertory hymn (words in Dutch, printed on the sheet)		
Intercessions (alternated with two gospel songs in English)		
Silent prayer and The Lord's Prayer		
Closing hymn (in Dutch, from the Hymnbook for Suriname)		
Blessing (answered by a threefold sung 'Amen')		
Organ music (Johann Sebastian Bach)	11.50 AM	

Order of the service on July 1 (Keti Koti), 2007 in the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Amsterdam Southeast (see Section 6.3.2). This order is also taken from the liturgy booklet for this particular Sunday that was distributed in church. On the cover, the text of Galatians 5:1 was printed (For freedom Christ has set us free. Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery.[206]) as well as a drawing of dancing figures around a dove with an olive leaf. Again, details between brackets are mine.

"1. We search God"	TIME	CD-ROM
Organ music (improvisation)	10 AM	
"So you want a day off?" (playful reference to slavery)		
Welcome		
Hymn (in Sranan, text and music printed on the sheet)		
Preparation (including invocation and confession of sins)		
Kyrie prayer (answered by the choir 'Elkana')		
Song of praise (in Dutch, taken from the Dutch Hymn Book)		
Salutation and collect of the day		
"2. God searches us"		
Psalm 116 (partly read in Dutch, partly in Sranan)	10.20 AM	
Hymn (unofficial national anthem, in Sranan, text and music printed on the sheet)		
Hymn (Dutch national anthem, text and music printed on the sheet)		
Sermon		file 3
Hymn (in Sranan, text printed on the sheet)		
Poem (said in Sranan)		
Birthday hymn (text printed on the sheet, first verse in Sranan, second verse in Dutch)		
Offertory (meanwhile organ improvisation)	10.40 AM	
Prayer after offering		
'Elkana' sings ('Vrijheid')		file 4
"3. We search each other and the world"		
Prayer of thanksgiving		
Hymn (in Sranan, text printed on the sheet)		
Intercessions (alternated with a gospel song in English)		
Silent prayer		
Surinamese national anthem (text and music printed on the sheet, first verse in Dutch, second verse in Sranan)		
The Lord's Prayer (sung in Sranan, text printed on the sheet)		
Closing hymn (in Dutch, text printed on the sheet)		
Blessing (answered by a threefold sung 'Amen')	11.20 AM	

[206] The text was printed in Dutch. The English quotation is taken from the New Revised Standard Version (1989).

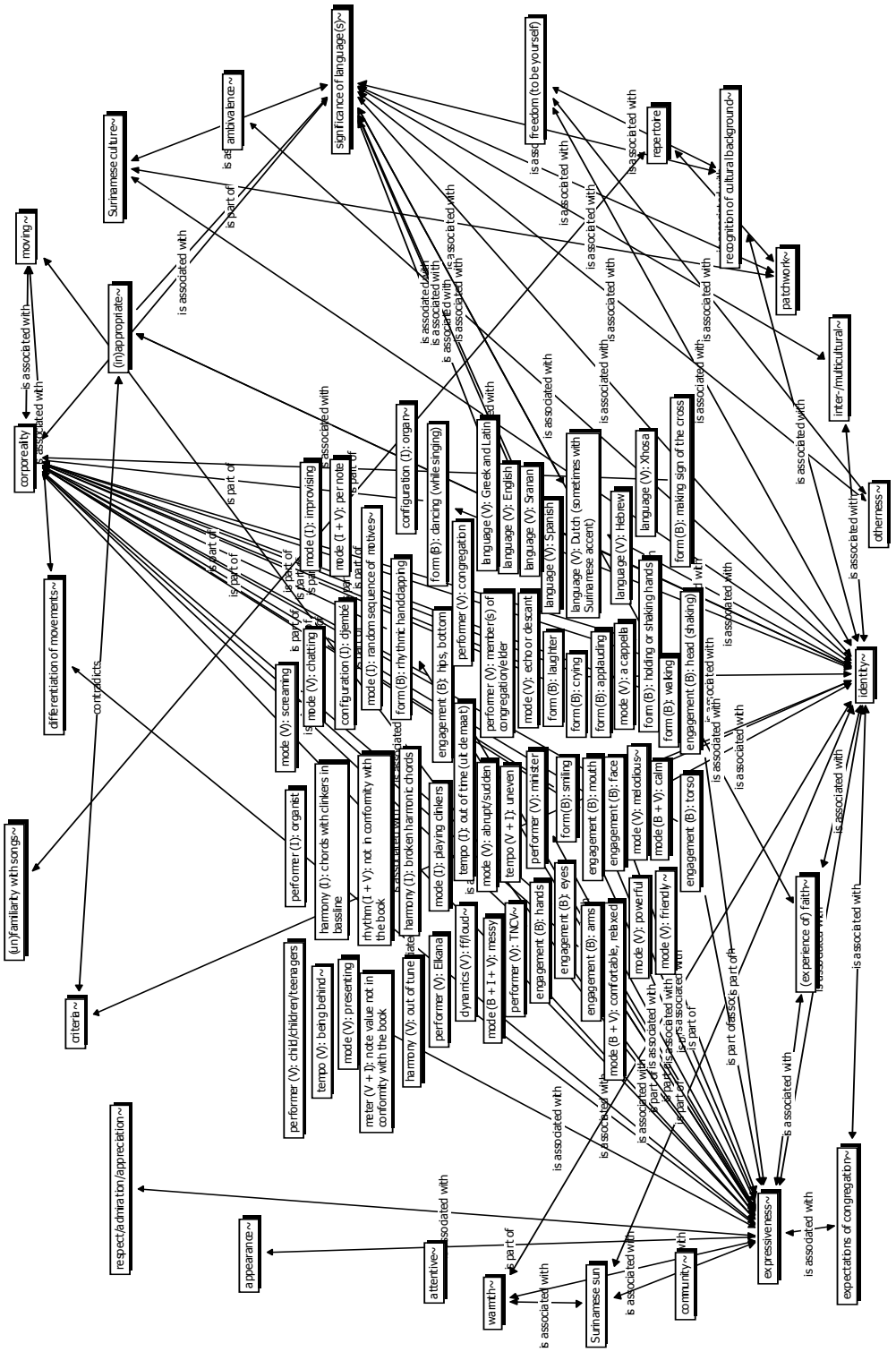
Order of the service on January 28, 2007 in the Wesley Methodist Church (see Section 7.3.1). The order is taken from the liturgy booklet that was weekly being distributed in church, the division in three parts is mine.

FIRST PART	TIME	CD-ROM
Processional Hymn	12.40 PM	file 11
Introit by the Choir		
Greetings and call to worship		
Hymn		
Prayer		
Local Choruses of Praise and Worship		
Prayers of thanksgiving, intercession and petition	1.10 PM	
Ministry of the Word		
Affirmation of Faith		
SECOND PART		
Class Meetings with Bible Study	1.40 PM	
THIRD PART		
Anthem	2.40 PM	
Hymn		
Sermon		
Invitation to Christian Discipleship		
Announcements		
Tithes/pledges and offertory		
Hymn		
Benediction and dismissal		
Recessional hymn	3.45 PM	

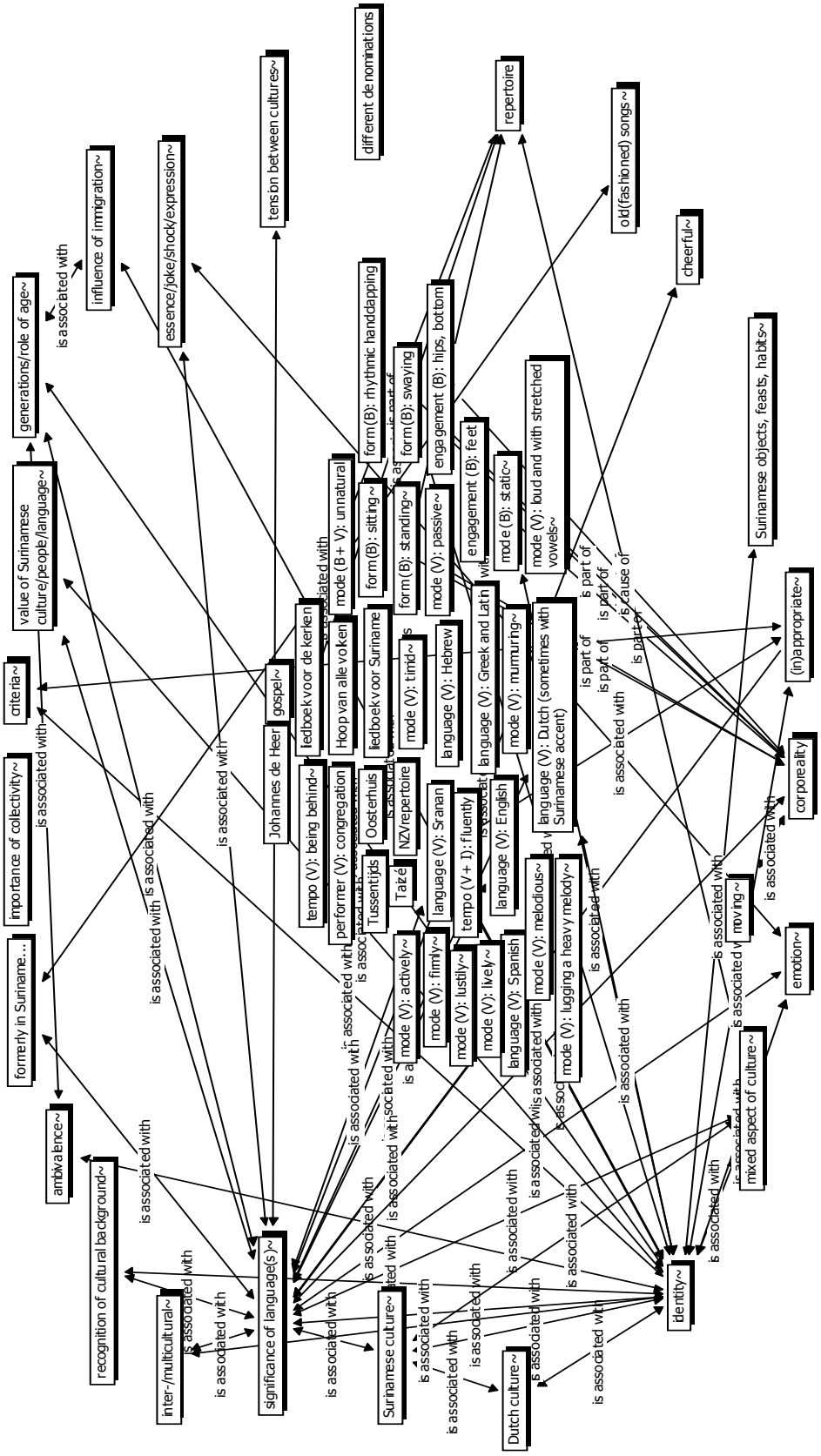
APPENDIX 2: OVERVIEWS OF QUALITIES

The network views in this appendix were created in ATLAS.ti. Sound codes are displayed in the centre, codes on the level of interpretation and construction are put around them. Lines and arrows reflect relations between codes.

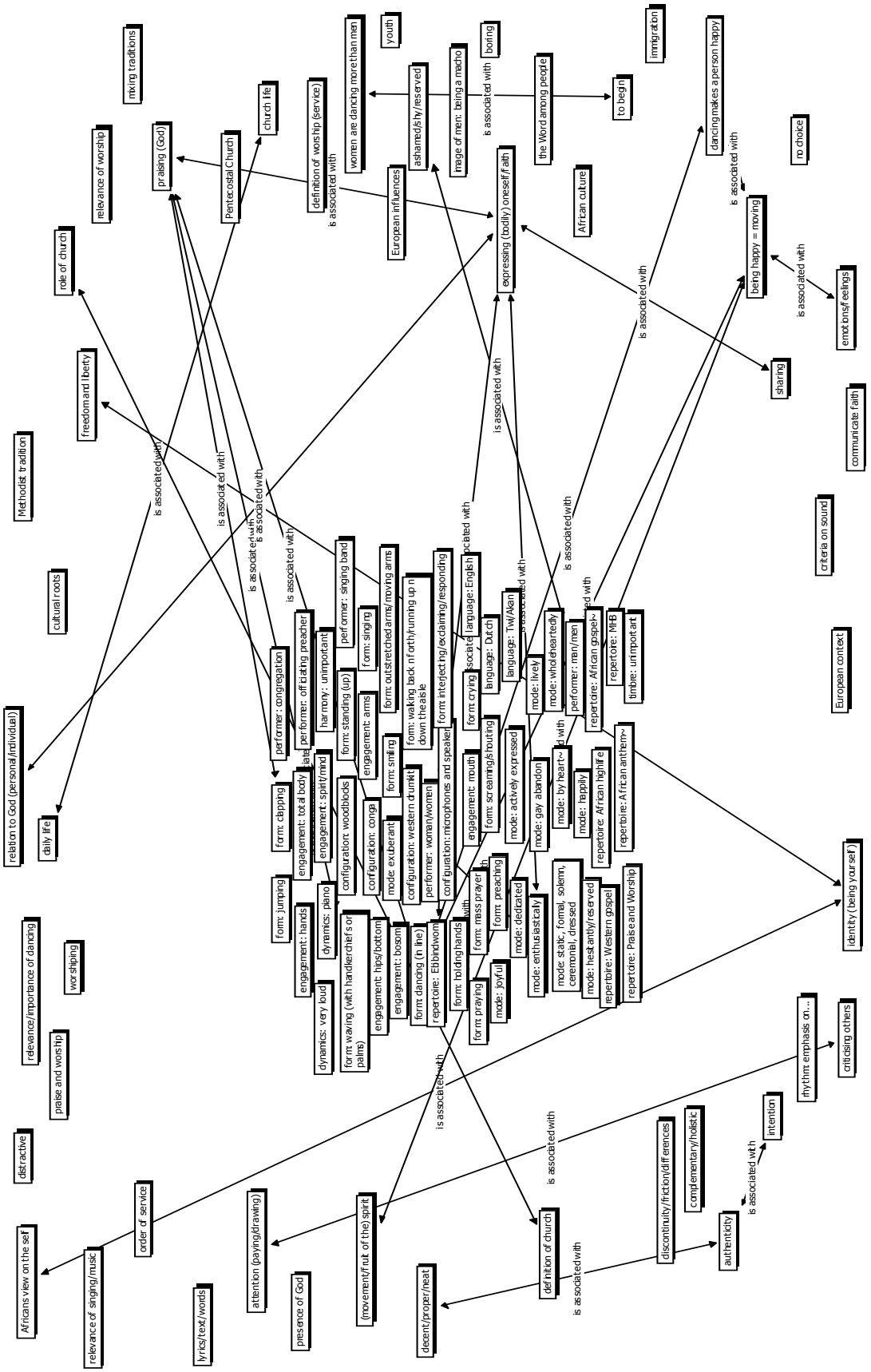
Openness (ELCAS)



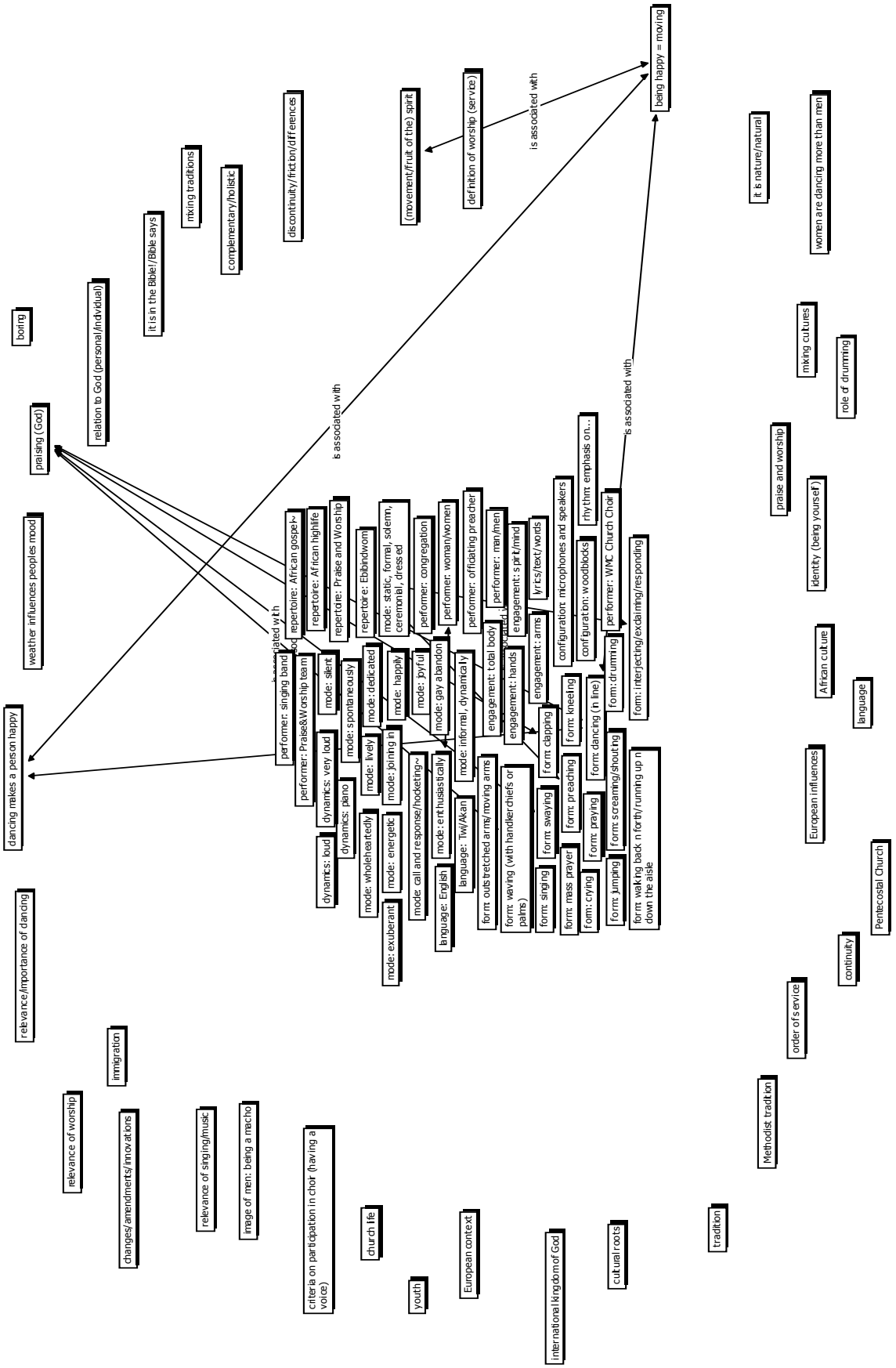
Patchwork (ELCAS)



Responsiveness (WMC)



Holistic cohesion (WMC)



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CURRICULUM VITAE

Mirella Klomp (July 9, 1979) was born in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. She was raised in the central area of the country, attended the *Christelijk Lyceum Veenendaal*, and, with her family, frequented the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation in Ede. She moved to Amsterdam in 1998. She studied theology and was trained for the ministry at the Theological Faculty of VU University, Amsterdam and at the Evangelical-Lutheran Seminary, Utrecht (MA and certificate 2005), where she has specialized in worship and church music. She continued her theological studies at VU University, following a Master's programme in Research in Reformed Theology (MRes 2006, with distinction). During her studies she worked as an assistant secretary for *Redactie Dienstboek*, the committee preparing the publication of the National Book of Worship of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands, and was a member of its editorial board.

In 2006, Mirella Klomp was employed as a full-time research assistant for two years, to write a doctoral thesis in the field of Liturgical Studies at the Protestant Theological University (PThU). As a part of her work, she made a round trip of Ghana in January 2008. This study is an account of her research on the sound of worship as performed by Surinamese Lutherans and as performed by Ghanaian Methodists in Amsterdam Southeast.

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