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Ecstasy, Holiness and Spiritual Warfare: An Evaluation of Yorùbá Pentecostal Music Experience in South-West Nigeria.

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A Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy



Department of Music
University of Durham

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Statement of Copyright

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Above all, to God be the glory for wisdom, strength and good health.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God who has always been my help and source of inspiration in all life's endeavours. I owe all to Him.

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the musical practices fostered in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, using the 1930 revivals and present-day Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries church as primary case studies. It highlights the history of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement from the advent of Christianity in Yorùbáland and how these have shaped the beliefs, musical activities and repertoires of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. Despite a history of nearly one hundred years, the impact of music receives sparse or no treatment at all in existing literature on Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland. For example, little has been done to investigate the various music genres and styles employed within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity, how they are performed, and the roles that they play in shaping congregants experiences. To fill this lacuna, I examine the broad range of musical forms currently used by Yorùbá Pentecostals, identifying distinguishing stylistic features such as typical melodic patterns, typical rhythms and accenting, textual traits, accompanying clap rhythms; considering how these relate to the ritual objectives, and assessing the theological ideas underpinning their use. Through observations (participatory and non-participatory), scrutinising interviews, historical, online and archival resources gathered during fieldwork, this research also explores Yorùbá Pentecostal church ritual space, rites such as the ecstatic praise and worship singing, worship formats, and the music ministry – the unit which caters for music.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABRSM	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music
AGO	Assistant General Overseer
AIC	African Initiated Churches/African Independent Churches
CAC	Christ Apostolic Church
CMS	Church Missionary Society
C & S	Cherubim and Seraphim Church
DKO	Daniel Kolawole Olukoya
DLBC	Deeper Life Bible Church
DSO	Divine Symphony Orchestra
GO	General Overseer
JABU	Joseph Ayodele Babalola University
LFCW	Living Faith Church Worldwide
MFM	Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries
MIMS	Mountaintop International Music School
MoCADA	Museum of Contemporary African Diasporan Art
MTC	Mountain Top Chorale
MTCM	Mountain Top Conservatory of Music
MUSON	Musical Society of Nigeria
KJV	King James Version
NAC	Nigerian Apostolic Church
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
PMCH	Power Must Change Hands
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
RO	Regional Overseer
SATB	Soprano Alto Tenor Bass
SRO	Senior Regional Overseer
TBS	Tafawa Balewa Square
UNA	The United Native African Church

YGHM

Yorùbá Gospel Highlife Music

INTRODUCTION

Background to Study

Within Christianity, music has often been represented as something that is almost inseparable from the liturgy, highlighting the pivotal role it plays within the Christian church (Kroeker, 2005, p. viii). Following this line of thought, Ingalls et al. (2013) write that ‘in any conversation about Christian religious experience, music is particularly crucial to consider because it is frequently central to worship across a wide spectrum of liturgical forms’ (p. 8). But why is music typically considered to be almost indispensable to Christian worship? Charlotte Kroeker in the introduction to her book, *Music in Christian Worship*, describes music as being powerful, emphasizing that it is vital in Christian worship because ‘it invites our involvement on many levels; it provokes and creates lasting memories; it taps into our emotional being, and it has the capacity to link us with our spiritual core’ (2005, p. viii). From the foregoing, one could say that music within religious contexts, has the capacity to touch on emotions also, serving as a means through which spiritual encounters (for example, the Holy Spirit manifestation among Pentecostals) could be experienced and sustained.

Among Yorùbá¹ Pentecostals of south-west Nigeria, music is viewed as an important element of Christian liturgy. They are known to engage in ecstatic expressions during worship singing. At this time, most Pentecostals are known to shed tears – this they often refer to as ‘tears of joy’. However, the manner through which people reflect on these emotions differs from person to person. While for some it might be through shedding of tears of joy, for others, maybe through lifting their hands towards heaven – a way of demonstrating total surrender to the God who is being worshipped (Carl, 2015, p. 51). There are also those who decide to roll on the

¹ According to Adewale (2010) Yorùbá generally refers to an ethno-linguistic group that originates from the south western part of Nigeria, as well as their language of communication. For more, see *Understanding the Yorùbá: Location, Origin, Language, Religious allegiance and Worldview* in Chapter 1.

floor or kneel². More so, the sight of any of the above-mentioned displays during a Pentecostal service is often perceived as proof of the Holy Spirit presence. Butler (2002) seem to concur as he explained that ecstasy among Pentecostal worshippers in Haiti is attributed to the influence of the Holy Spirit (p. 86).

While expressing these ecstatic feelings and actions, many are known to begin speaking in tongues. This practice supports Albrecht's (1999) claim that glossolalia (speaking in tongues) is expressed in the Pentecostal mode of ecstasy (p. 191). The scholar also seems to suggest the possibility of fake ecstatic expressions when he writes that, 'for Pentecostals, ecstasy is a sign, though not infallible, of the spirit's presence and of interaction with the spirit' (Ibid. p. 186). Notably, I have used the word 'ecstasy' in this work to broadly refer to overwhelming feelings of joy, happiness and, excitement, as typically outwardly expressed via emotional expressions like the shedding of tears, waving of arms in the air, rolling on the floor, and so on, as described in the foregoing paragraphs. As many previous scholars have presented it, this phenomenon of ecstasy is allied to trance (see Goodman 1988, for example); typically, as Harris (2006) succinctly puts it, ecstasy is experienced as 'a state of dissociation where normal consciousness is wholly or partially suspended and the subject experiences disengagement from ordinary reality' (p. 121). On his part, Butler opined that this experienced dissociation is often God's response to the musical offerings of congregants, hence, He blesses them with the ability to 'transcend corporeal bodies and experience the divine power and joy of the Holy Spirit' (Butler, 2002, p. 3). The internal and external phenomenology of ecstasy is a major theme of this dissertation and is discussed throughout, especially in Chapters Four and Five.

² These kinds of expressions and the words often used by congregants to describe them and other liturgies of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church will be explored in Chapter 4.

Holiness is perceived as a necessity for genuine ecstatic expressions among Yorùbá Pentecostals. They believe so much in the concept of holiness that music ministers are usually monitored and guided by codes of conduct which are explicitly related to promoting holy qualities within both themselves and the congregation. Most members of the congregation are quick to relate the absence of genuine ecstatic expression during worship singing to the unholy lifestyle of either the musicians, the leadership or the entire church; as such, they believe the Holy Spirit has refused to partake in the worship. Further to this, the worship arena (also known as the altar) is conceived as a holy ground; only musicians who are deemed as sufficiently holy are able to lead worshippers into the presence of God. This concept of holiness in relation to Yorùbá Pentecostal music will be further assessed in Chapter Seven.

In addition to ecstatic worship singing and holiness, spiritual warfare songs serve as another key element of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. These songs are conceived as a musical form of combative prayer. Considering that Yorùbá Pentecostals prioritise spiritual engagements, they often refer to themselves as ‘soldiers of Christ’ and ‘the end time army of the Lord’, citing Ephesians 6:11, where they are enjoined to ‘put on the whole armour of God’, and II Timothy 6:12, which states that they must ‘fight the good fight of faith’. Notably, singing spiritual warfare songs is a distinctive feature of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity, and the songs are perceived as efficacious weapons to defeat spiritual adversaries. This category of songs will be further assessed and analysed in Chapter Three. My observation of church services has revealed to me that ecstatic worship singing, holy lifestyle and spiritual warfare songs are arguably indispensable elements of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity, and this explains why I have titled this study: *Ecstasy, Holiness and Spiritual Warfare: An Evaluation of Yorùbá Pentecostal Music Experience in South-West Nigeria*.

Music seems to have played a vital role in the traditional religious worship of the Yorùbá, even before the advent of Christianity. In his narrative of how music is used by the Yorùbá in traditional worship, Omojola (1994) writes that:

Music is usually performed to invoke the spirits of deities such as Sàngó (the god of thunder) and Ògún (the god of Iron). Apart from this, musical performances in Yorùbáland are also featured in religious festivals. Such festivals usually follow sacred rites which take place at the shrine of the deity being worshipped. [These] festivals provide opportunity for communal music-making during which people share a satisfying musical experience. Communal music-making [which is linked to the deities] also takes place at...naming, marriage and funeral ceremonies (p. 533).

The foregoing quote emphasises the relevance of music to Yorùbá traditional religion, although upon arrival, Christian missionaries declared these musical practices as acts of paganism³. It is worth noting that this type of prohibition is not peculiar to Nigerian Pentecostalism, a similar narrative exists in other parts of the world. For example, among the Ba'aka people of Central Africa, traditional music and dance were labelled 'satanic' by missionaries, leading many to abandon these local practices (Kisliuk, 1998). In the above examples and as common with cases of prohibitions, there is almost always a kind of response from those affected - this resonates with Engelhardt & Bohlman's (2016) explanation that the response of individuals to proscriptions is far more important than the actual prohibition.

Omojola in his 1998 study suggests that Christianity and colonial rule has had some influence on the musical culture of the Yorùbá. He writes:

The introduction of Christian missionary propaganda in Badagry and Old Calabar in 1842 and 1846 respectively, as well as the establishment of the colonial regime in 1861, were to set in motion a chain of events which have significantly affected the Nigerian musical landscape (p. 455).

³ See Omojola (2012, p. 115) and Vidal (2012a, p. 10).

Although scholars have written on Pentecostal music in North America and the Caribbean⁴, it appears that little has been done to investigate music within the Yorùbá Pentecostal church – the various genres and styles employed, how they are performed, and the roles that they play in shaping congregants’ experiences. It is noteworthy that despite a history of nearly one hundred years⁵, the impact of music receives sparse or no treatment at all in existing literature on Nigerian Pentecostalism. Most of the literature, having been written by theologians and sociologists, has focused only on the religious and societal aspects of the subject matter. As Margaret Poloma rightly puts it in her review of Ingalls et.al’s *The Spirit of Praise*, ‘over the past couple decades, scholars from different disciplines have taken due note of Pentecostalism’s rapid global growth, analysed its structural features, traced its history, and discussed its beliefs and rituals, but they have rarely gone beyond footnoting the important place that music plays in Pentecostal worship⁶’. For instance, the exceptional growth of the Pentecostal movement in Yorùbáland appears to have prompted sociologists to focus their research on the movement. Robbins (2004) suggests that the distinctive approach of Pentecostalism to Christianity, with its strong emphasis on direct personal experience of God is a primary reason for its acceptance (p. 129). My study not only presents an opportunity to explore the roles played by music in evoking the Yorùbá Pentecostal experience, but also an avenue to find out to what extent music-making has been responsible for attracting people to become fervent followers of the Pentecostal churches in Yorùbáland – both historically⁷, during

⁴ Examples include Butler (2000, 2002, 2005 & 2008), Cruz (2003), Boone (2013), Ingalls (2008 & 2012) amongst others.

⁵ It is understood that Pentecostalism was fully established in Nigeria between the 1920s and 1930s. See Idowu (2008 & 2012b), Olofinjana (2011), Fatokun (2009), Peel (1968 & 2000).

⁶ <http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/978-0-271-06662-2.html> (Accessed 15 August 2015).

⁷ See the *Yorùbá Traditional Religion* section in Chapter 1 for a discussion on the number of religious adherents in Yorùbáland (the period up to 1952).

the 1930 revivals⁸, and more recently at churches such as the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM⁹). Guthrie (1992, pp. 77-78) observes that during the early days of Pentecostalism in America, many were attracted to the gatherings because of the music and it seems likely that this has been the case in many other localities around the globe where Pentecostalism has flourished.

Research Questions

The overarching questions for this research are twofold. Firstly, what are the various kinds of musical practice that are fostered within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches? In other words, what particular musical characteristics are favoured within the context of Yorùbá Pentecostal church worship? This question seeks to identify pervasive characteristic stylistic attributes – preferred patterns of rhythm, melody, and sung text. Secondly, this research asks: how is the music experienced and what roles does it play in promoting shared core beliefs amongst the congregants? This question seeks to elucidate the rationale and motivations underlying the identified musical patterns. In order to effectively answer these two intimately intertwined areas of enquiry, the following subsidiary research questions will be addressed.

- (1) Who are the Yorùbá people of Nigeria, and what impact does traditional religion have on their Pentecostal experience?

⁸ In the 1930s, some revivals took place in south-west Nigeria and these are believed to have laid the foundation for Nigerian Pentecostalism (Peel, 2000, p. 314). Òkè Oyè is recognised as the venue for the first of such revivals; it will be further explored in Chapter 2.

⁹ The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM) is one the largest Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. The church serves as one of my case studies for this research. See the Scope of Study section for more on the rationale behind its choice.

- (2) What is the historical background of Yorùbá Pentecostalism, what factors impacted its evolution, and is it a product of Azusa¹⁰?
- (3) What types of music or songs were performed at the early revivals that sparked up the Pentecostal movement in Nigeria; what role did these play in the Pentecostal experience, and what are their stylistic features? Also, are these songs known to present-day Pentecostals?
- (4) How do Yorùbá Pentecostals negotiate between popular music culture and Yorùbá Pentecostal music?

In all, the narrative of this research may be conceptualised as having four close-knit and complementary parts that address key areas in Yorùbá Pentecostal music-making. The first, which examines the historical background of Pentecostalism in Nigeria, can be found in Chapter Two. It attempts to ascertain if the Pentecostal movement as established in Yorùbáland has any connections with the Azusa Street revival. The second part seeks to investigate the types of musical practices exhibited at the 1930 Yorùbá Pentecostal revivals – addressed in Chapter Three. I am interested in finding out the types of songs featured, their performance practices and stylistic features, the roles (if any) played by these songs in the entire Pentecostal experience, if musical instruments were employed, and if so, which types. In the third part, the musical practices of MFM (Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries) are examined to serve as a representative framework for Yorùbá Pentecostal churches in this early twenty-first century. I am especially curious to find out the genres and styles of music employed during services (in Chapters Four and Five). I am also interested in finding out ways in which music

¹⁰ The Azusa Street revival took place in the United States of America during the early twentieth century, and some scholars argue that it should be seen as the origin of Pentecostalism. For more on this debate, see Chapter 2.

functions to facilitate congregational participation during church services, and how the Holy Spirit ‘presence’ is generated with the aid of music. The final part examines key terms used to define Yorùbá Pentecostal church musicians and the music they make (see Chapter Six). It also considers how Yorùbá Pentecostal musical practices relate to the musical culture of Yorùbá people nowadays more generally (as examined in Chapter Seven). I am particularly keen to address the question of appropriateness and also know if any form of interaction exists between Yorùbá Pentecostal songs and Yorùbá popular music culture.

Definitions and Clarifications

For the sake of clarity, I deem it necessary to explain some of the terms that will be frequently employed in this work, to ensure proper understanding of how they have been used.

The term ‘Pentecostal’ is used in this study to refer to those who practice generally recognised Pentecostal praxis, as well as those who self-identify as Pentecostals. I am aware that some scholars relate ‘Pentecostal’ to other terms, although the boundaries between these typologies are not often clear-cut. Guthrie (1992), Butler (2005) and Ojo (2006) maintain that the term could be used interchangeably with ‘Charismatic’. Others such as Klinken (2015) and Meyer (2004) employ terms such as ‘Neo-Pentecostal’ or ‘Pentecostal-Charismatic’. Furthermore, scholars such as Ojo (2006) perceive charismatic churches as Pentecostal-oriented churches that emerged from the late twentieth century onwards. It is evident that a key defining feature of charismatic Christianity is the belief that the spirit offers gifts which are perceivable in the here-and-now in the form of healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues; Pentecostals certainly adhere to this belief, and a desire to facilitate such gifts invariably pervades their ritual practice. Nonetheless, there are some church denominations in Yorùbáland that similarly seek out

directly perceivable experiences of God, believe in the Holy Spirit and the concept of speaking in tongues but do not put emphasis on them as much. Still, it is safe to say that there is no major distinction between the Pentecostal and Charismatic typologies of Yorùbá Christianity, especially as it concerns belief and experience.

I adopt Albrecht's (1999) use of the term 'Pentecostal ritual' to denote any corporate-recognised Pentecostal event. In this interpretation, events such as church services, Bible studies, revival meetings and camp meetings may be conceived of as Pentecostal rituals. Meanwhile, the term 'Pentecostal rite' is used to refer to a portion or a section of the service, such as the opening prayer, praise singing, worship singing, taking of offerings, water baptism and spirit baptism. Hence, a Pentecostal ritual is typically made up of a succession of multiple rites – as detailed in Chapter Four, where I assess the Yorùbá Pentecostal church worship format and ritual space.

In common with scholars such as Olofinjana (2011) and Idowu (2008) and the Nigerian Pentecostals themselves I use the term 'mission churches' to refer to the first set of churches that arrived Nigeria on missionary work, such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Methodist, Baptist and Catholic churches. I am aware that some scholars such as Arnett (2012) and Webster (1964) refer to them as 'mainline churches' or 'historical churches'.

As explained by Burgess (2008a, p. 5), the term 'revival' is commonly employed rather loosely to describe prolonged evangelistic campaigns, renewal within mission churches and extensive church growth. Among the Yorùbá, it is translated as *Ìsojì* and is used to refer to special Pentecostal church services where miracles, healings, Holy Spirit manifestations, signs and wonders are reportedly experienced on a large scale. According to my informants, in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, the term 'crusade' is now often used to mean the same as 'revival'. These individuals claim that revival meetings are almost always followed by a reawakening of

devotion, belief and commitment to the Christian faith. This perhaps explains why most present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches organise at least one revival service weekly. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the 1930 Òke Oyè revival meetings are widely regarded as having laid the foundation for Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity.

I wish to clarify that the term Yorùbá is used in this study to denote all those who live in Yorùbáland – although it is recognised that Yorùbá people sometimes prefer to identify themselves with their ethnic labels. In situations involving a non-Yorùbá, people from Yorùbáland would often use the label Yorùbá to categorise themselves; but when the situation involves fellow Yorùbá, labels such as Òyó, Ìjèsà, Ègbá, Ìjèbú, Ifè, Àkókó, Òndó or Èkìtì which refer to specific Yorùbá ethnic groups may be preferred¹¹. Hence, I have used the term ‘Yorùbá’ in the light of what Kubik (1989, pp. 131-132) calls ‘Standard Yorùbá’, that is, ‘general’ Yorùbá. However, further specific distinctions are made when it is necessary to single out specific ethnic groups. Furthermore, it is important to note that in lieu of ‘pagan worship’ as often used by Yorùbá Christians and Muslims, this study adopts the phrase ‘Yorùbá traditional religion’ to refer to the worship of Yorùbá deities.

In this work, ‘Yorùbá Pentecostalism’ refers to Pentecostalism as practiced in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, that is, those that originated from Yorùbáland. The term is not used to denote churches attended only by Yorùbá people, or where only the Yorùbá language is spoken. In fact, it is important to note that the majority of Yorùbá Pentecostal Churches now conduct their services in the English language with an interpreter to translate into Yorùbá. Nonetheless, Yorùbá songs are still a major part of their musical repertoire, although songs in English and other Nigerian languages are often accommodated. In the same way, the formulation ‘Yorùbá Pentecostal music’ refers to all types of music-making and songs employed in Pentecostal

¹¹ Omojola, 2012, pp. 1-2; Waterman, 1990, p. 12; Thompson, 1992, p. 12.

churches that originated from Yorùbáland. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that I have used ‘Yorùbá Pentecostalism’ and ‘Nigerian Pentecostalism’ interchangeably on many occasions throughout this dissertation because the south-west region is reputed as the birth place for the Pentecostal movement in Nigeria. However, distinctions will be made between the two wherever it is required.

It is important to mention that the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement developed along two paths: The Cherubim and Seraphim Church (C & S) and the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), an offshoot from a group known as the Faith Tabernacle during the formative years in the 1920s (Peel, 1968, pp. 61-91)¹². However, this study focuses exclusively on the CAC path, mainly because the scope of research would become too broad if one was to encompass the points of similarity and difference between both paths. The CAC (Faith Tabernacle) path is an obvious choice of focus because the practices of most present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries can be traced to it. More so, the large turnout of people observed at programmes organised by these types of churches suggests that the CAC path is the most widely adhered-to amongst Nigerian Pentecostals. Nevertheless, it is recognised that the musical practices fostered within the C&S path differ from those of the CAC path in many respects, and merit further research in the future; in particular, the C&S path is more open to adopting practices and paraphernalia from traditional religion.

The term ‘saints’ is used to reference believers who have repented from their supposedly ungodly and sinful past, been baptised in the name of Jesus Christ, and have received the gift of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of speaking in tongues (as discussed in Acts Chapter 2). They are also known as ‘Born Again’ or ‘God’s elect’ and are committed to living a holy life in accordance with the codes prescribed by the church. As I will go on to discuss in Chapter

¹² See Chapter Two for more on the development of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement.

Seven, the behaviours prescribed by the church are conceived of as being diametrically opposed to ‘worldly’ behaviours; within this culture, a clear line is drawn between sacred and profane¹³.

The terms ‘Holy Spirit’ and ‘Holy Ghost’ are used interchangeably, referring to the same entity. The Holy Spirit is thought to enter born again believers¹⁴, at which point various outward manifestations occur, with ‘speaking in tongues’, also known as ‘glossolalia’ being especially central to the Pentecostal experience. Simply put, ‘speaking in tongues’ is a transcendent experience during which a believer makes some unknown utterances, also referred to as a kind of heavenly language, to either communicate with God or ‘serve as an intermediary for divine message transmission’ (Butler, 2005, p. 16).

In spite of the fact that some Pentecostals trace the development of Pentecostalism to events described in Acts, Chapter 2, it is interesting to note that before then, the Jewish people celebrated a festival known as Pentecost. It is understood that the happenings in Acts coincidentally took place on the festival day, hence the adoption of the title ‘Day of Pentecost’. Further to this, the first manifestation of the Holy Spirit as recorded in the aforementioned scripture has ensured that the ‘Day of Pentecost’ is now synonymous with the apostles’ experiencing of the Holy Spirit. More so, amongst Pentecostals, it is often referred to as the birthday of the Christian church¹⁵.

Although scholars such as Fatokun (2009, p. 36) and Harris (2006, pp. 111-138) apply the term ‘possession’ to transcendent experiences in both Pentecostalism and traditional religion, for

¹³ For example, Pentecostals view sexual promiscuity, consumption of alcohol and illicit drugs, gambling, immodest dressing, non-marital sex, and some secular music as ‘worldly’ engagements.

¹⁴ Here, believer is used in the same light as ‘saint’.

¹⁵ After resurrection, Jesus is written to have stayed with his disciples for 40 days before ascending into heaven (Acts 1:3). The events in Acts 2 occurred 10 days after the ascension of Jesus, and this perhaps explains why some Christians annually celebrate the ‘Day of Pentecost’ 50 days after Easter Sunday. Interestingly, Pentecostal churches in Nigeria are not known to celebrate this day.

example, referring to Pentecostals as being possessed with the Holy Spirit, my respondents during fieldwork argue that this is misleading. They claim that the use of ‘possession’ to describe expressions commonly seen during the Holy Spirit manifestations in Pentecostal services is an exaggeration of experiential similarities existing between Yorùbá Pentecostalism and Yorùbá traditional religion when there are some significant points of difference. It is unclear what these differences are but considering that Pentecostals themselves seem to agree to the existence of similarities and are unable to substantiate their claims about differences, then perhaps it is merely a matter of not wanting to use the same language that the Yorùbá traditional religion already uses. Having said that, Yorùbá Pentecostals (like most Pentecostals elsewhere) believe they are ‘filled’ with the Holy Spirit, while practitioners of Yorùbá traditional religion believe they are ‘possessed’ by the spirits¹⁶. Although there are certainly some points of similarity, I agree with Butler’s comment that the common application of the term ‘possession’ ‘attempts to universalise supernatural phenomenon that are enormously diverse, at the expense of illuminating that which is specific to a given religious experience’ (2005, p. 18). This explains my use of ‘filled’ and not ‘possession’ to describe spiritual expressions within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity.

Aims of Research

As mentioned above, this study will investigate the musical activities fostered in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, using the 1930 revivals and present-day MFM as primary case studies¹⁷. It will explore the complex of interactions and relationships existing between music and other aspects of Yorùbá Pentecostal thought and practice, showing how these have developed in the

¹⁶ For more on Spirit possession in Yorùbá traditional religion, see Akinsanya, 2000, pp. 28-34.

¹⁷ The rationale behind this choice is given below, in the ‘scope’ section.

1930s, when Nigerian Pentecostalism was established during the so-called ‘revivals’, and in recent times. More so, the study argues that although musical practices within West African Pentecostal Christianity have received relatively little attention from scholars, this neglect has been wholly unwarranted: in fact, as the study shows, music has always played a highly significant role in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, and a substantial original contribution of this research is the enquiry into the musical activities of pioneering figures and the early church. While the principal aim of this study is to present a detailed exploration of Pentecostal musical practices in Yorùbá churches, it will also shed light on the impact of outside ‘worldly’ forces, in particular by examining the dynamic interplay between Nigerian Pentecostalism, Yorùbá popular music culture, and Yorùbá traditional religious belief and its associated musical forms.

By presenting a richly detailed analysis of Yorùbá Pentecostal Music, this study hopes to contribute substantially to the growing body of ethnomusicological research on Nigerian Gospel Music. Although there have been some studies on gospel music in Nigeria (Adedeji, 2004 and 2005; Ojo, 1998), I am yet to locate any study dedicated to researching how music has been used within the Yorùbá Pentecostal Church, either historically or in the present-day. Hence, this study is arguably the first of its kind. Also, it is important to note that although this work is situated in the field of ethnomusicology, it embraces other fields such as Religious studies, History, Anthropology and most importantly, the developing field of Christian Congregational Music Studies (Porter, 2014), adopting an interdisciplinary approach throughout¹⁸. A final aim of this research is to preserve, in transcribed form, a decent cross-section of Pentecostal music, both historical and contemporary, for use by future researchers.

¹⁸ Kroeker (2005, pp. ix-x) suggests that assessing music linked with the church should employ an interdisciplinary approach, especially since other factors aside from the music itself are involved in the overall make-up. Nevertheless, Heaney (2012) recognises that forging appropriate links is a considerably challenging process when conducting interdisciplinary work: ‘finding the balance between entering into each area sufficiently to do it justice, at the same time avoiding unnecessary or unhelpful detail or complication, is somehow like trying to

Scope of Study

Although a comprehensive study encompassing the full breadth of music-making throughout the history of Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland would be desirable, that would be too extensive an endeavour to be undertaken within the scope of a PhD dissertation. Hence, I have imposed some limits upon the scope of my study. Firstly, I have excluded all Pentecostal music performed outside the church or outside Christian gatherings, either by individuals or groups. Secondly, I have excluded all in-depth analysis of goings-on in the middle period of Nigerian Pentecostalism; it is not the intention of this study to give a general assessment of music in Nigerian Pentecostalism from its inception to date. Instead, I concentrate upon the early days of Nigerian Pentecostalism and present-day practices – the first and third periods of the simplified periodisation of Nigerian Pentecostalism proposed by prominent scholars such as Nimi Wariboko (2014, pp. 1-2). The second period has already been studied extensively by Ojo (2006) who demonstrates that the church's activities during that time were greatly focused on universities; that was the era when 'Campus Christianity' was fervently promoted, within contexts lying beyond those explored in this study. Of course, there are overlaps with these three periods but each one is described by the most evident happenings of the time.

As can be seen in Figure I.1 below, the years up to the 1970s account for the first phase when the Pentecostal movement reportedly emerged in Nigeria. The activities of the Diamond Society prayer group and Joseph Ayodele Babalola, the acclaimed Father of Nigerian Pentecostalism are thought to have been pivotal during this period. The second phase is situated within the late 1970s and 1980s, serving as a bridge to the third which is placed around 1990 to date. Hence, to assess the early periods, this study shall focus on the evolution of the

assemble a jigsaw puzzle without the original picture, or navigate through a jungle (of information) without a compass' (p. 2).

Pentecostal movement in South-West Nigeria during the first few decades of the twentieth century. Noteworthily, Yorùbáland has been selected as the focal point of this research because of its pivotal role in the development of Nigerian Pentecostalism. The region is understood to have served as the site for the establishment of Pentecostalism in Nigeria¹⁹. Also, almost all (if not all) pioneers of the movement were Yorùbá by ethnic designation. Bearing all these in mind, the region provides an optimal research setting and appears to be a justified choice.

¹⁹Peel (1968), Idowu (2008 & 2012b), Olofinjana (2011), Fatokun (2009).

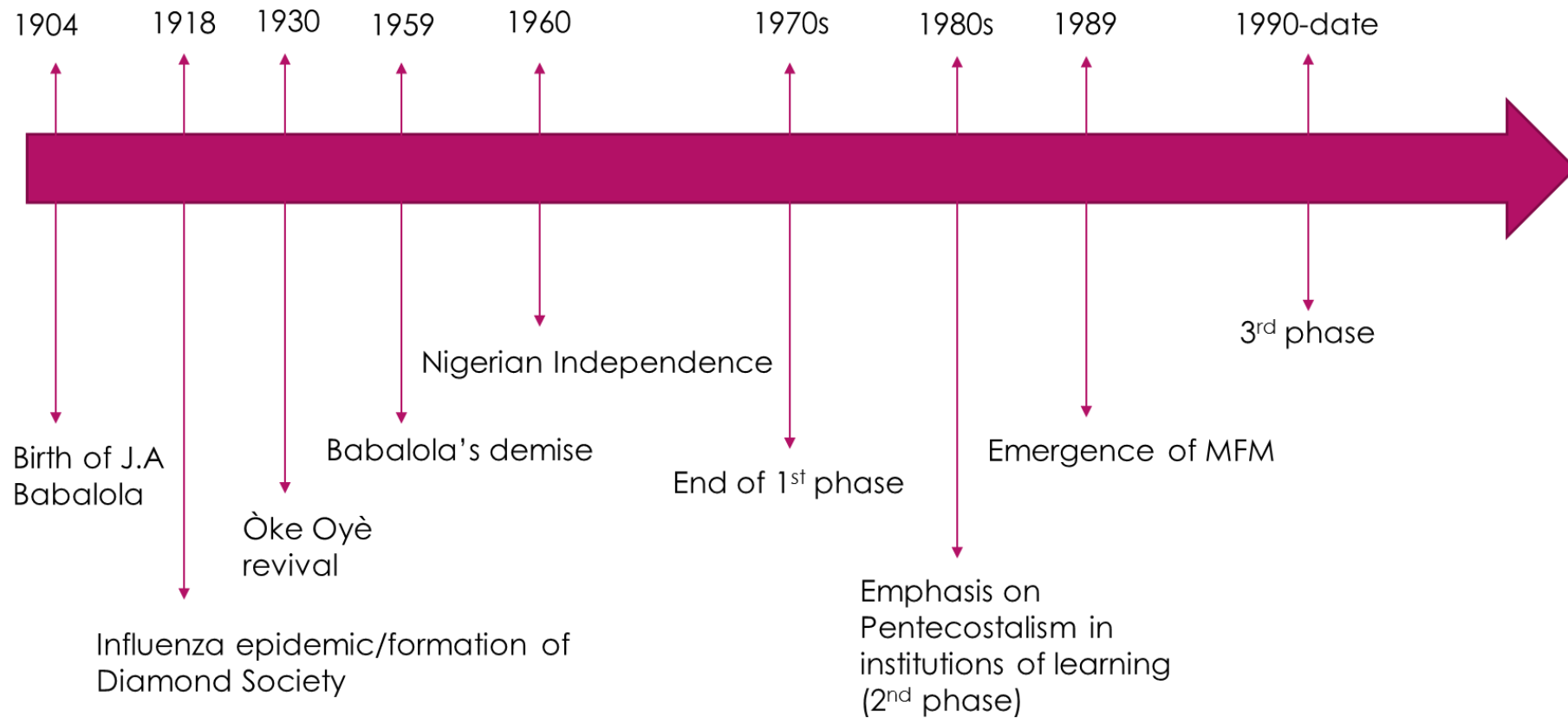


Figure I.1. Timeline showing major events of Nigerian Pentecostalism and the three-phase simplified periodisation of Nigerian Pentecostalism. Source: Author.

Present-day Pentecostalism will be examined by focusing on Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM), which is one of the largest Pentecostal churches in Nigeria today both in geographical spread and number of adherents, alongside the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG)²⁰ and Living Faith Church Worldwide (LFCW)²¹, and also alongside the aforementioned Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), which is discussed by scholars like Oshun and Ogungbile²².

The MFM is a suitable choice of subject, having originated within Yorùbáland, and fostering beliefs and approaches that are wholly representative of Nigerian Pentecostalism in general. As can be seen in Figure I.2 below, the MFM church emphasises key themes of Holiness, Spiritual Warfare prayers, Holy Ghost baptism and Apostolic signs. More so, the prominence of ecstatic praise singing practice at the church makes it a suitable choice for my research.

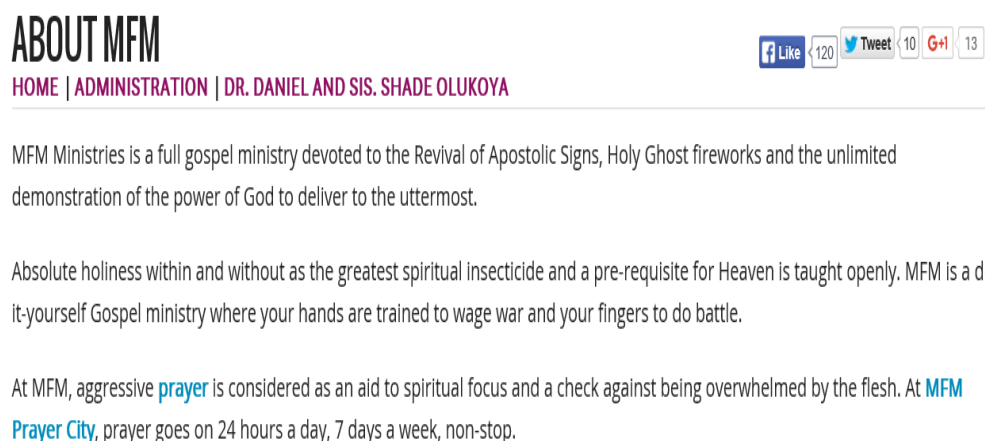


Figure I.2. A description of the MFM church from the church's own website. Source: <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>²³

²⁰ The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) is one of the largest Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. Started by Pa Akindayomi, the pioneering General Overseer in 1952. The church is now led since 1981 by Pastor Enoch Adeboye after the demise of Pa Akindayomi.

²¹ See Osinulu (2011, pp. xii-xiii); Ajani (2013, pp. 2-3); Akinsanya (2000).

²² During personal communications.

²³ Accessed November 11, 2016.

The MFM church was also an obvious choice because I had already established a range of strong contacts there during a previous study²⁴ and I was confident of being granted further access to congregants and members of the music ministry; I found this to be the case when I visited the church during my fieldwork in south-west Nigeria between December 2015 and May 2016, where I was also welcomed to the International headquarters of MFM, located in Lagos, and the church's campground located in Ogun State. A few MFM branches in Lagos²⁵ and some in the United Kingdom²⁶ were also visited in order to gain more in-depth knowledge of the church's activities, especially its Music ministry. Nonetheless, at pertinent points in this dissertation's discussion, mention will be made to the other Pentecostal denominations to support certain arguments.

Overview of Chapters

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following on from this introduction, which has established a solid foundation for the work by laying out the research objectives, research questions, essential definitions and the scope of the study. Chapter One begins with a discourse on the Yorùbá people, presenting essential background assessment of their origins, worldviews, language, religions and musical practices. Discussion then turns to outline the author's fieldwork experiences and research methodology, before concluding with a concise literature review. Chapter Two then investigates the historical development of Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland, tracing its origins and the various factors that informed its initial development, with special focus placed upon exploring the 1930 Òkè Oyè revival and the earliest exponents

²⁴ The researcher's MA dissertation entitled "An Evaluation of the Yorùbá Gospel Highlife Music, focusing on Dr D. K. Olukoya's choral works".

²⁵ Bariga, Ijebu, Ijebu.

²⁶ Manchester, Edmonton, Woolwich and Newcastle.

of Yorùbá Pentecostalism. Chapter Three explores the musical practices thought to have been embraced during those early days of Nigerian Pentecostalism, especially during the 1930 revivals that arguably established the Pentecostal movement. A systematic analysis of selected recorded samples collected during interviews and at church services is included, revealing essential stylistic features that appear to have permeated Yorùbá Pentecostal music throughout the movement's history. In Chapter Four, I assess musical practices and worship formats in the twenty-first century Yorùbá Pentecostal church using MFM as primary case study. Chapter Five evaluates music genres and new trends that are developing within the Yorùbá Pentecostal church music culture. Key term pairings that are frequently used during Yorùbá Pentecostal church services were assessed in Chapter Six. It also pinpoints particularly influential composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal music and widely celebrated choral compositions. In-depth biographical study serves to reveal sociological contexts and inter-personal dynamics that underlie the composers' creativity. Chapter Seven examines how boundaries such as 'holy' and 'worldly' are negotiated among Yorùbá Pentecostals, considering issues such as authoritarian control and discipline and identifying what is considered appropriate and inappropriate. Chapter Eight seeks to summarise the main findings of this research, identify the most valuable contributions it has made to scholarship and provide recommendations on possible research pathways that could develop from my study.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. Introduction

This chapter explores the Yorùbá people and how they engaged with religion and the divine in the periods before the arrival of Christian missionaries. It seeks to answer the question: Who are the Yorùbá people of Nigeria, and what impact does traditional religion have on their Pentecostal experience? The chapter will assess my fieldwork exercise to Yorùbáland between December 2015 – May 2016 and discuss how the sites visited fit into my narrative on the Yorùbá Pentecostal church and its musical practices. Here, I also explain my research methodology which is then followed by a concise literature review.

1.1. Understanding the Yorùbá: Location, Origin, Language, Religious Allegiance and Worldview

As the focus of this research is set in Yorùbáland, it becomes necessary to acquaint the reader with the Yorùbá people, their origin, location, religious allegiance and language. This will provide background knowledge for subsequent discussions in this study. Yorùbáland is located in the south-western part of Nigeria²⁷, a creation of the British colonial system. Located in West Africa, Nigeria has 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory in Abuja. The country occupies a landmass of 356,670 square miles. Officially known as the Federal Republic of Nigeria since 1963, it is the main base of Yorùbá people. The Yorùbá people are also largely based in the

²⁷ Presently, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Based on the recent estimates, the current population of the country is estimated to be 178.5 million as against 45.2 million which it recorded in 1960 (<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/nigeria-population/>) Accessed 15 November, 2016. It is reported that the name 'Nigeria' was suggested by Flora Shaw, a British journalist who later became the wife of Lord Frederick Lugard (Akinsanya, 2000, pp. 36-37). It was coined from the phrase 'Niger Area', especially as River Niger was one of the country's major physical feature at the time (ibid.). The country is bounded on the North by Niger Republic, on the east by the Republic of Cameroon, on the South by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the West by Benin Republic.

Americas and religion account as one of their largest and currently most vibrant legacy (Falola & Childs, 2004, p. 9). Hence, Yorùbáland in south-west Nigeria is the homeland that connects the Yorùbá who are spread throughout the Atlantic world (Ibid., p. 5). In Nigeria, the Yorùbá are perceived as the wealthiest and most educated ethnic group (Peel, 2000, p. 311). Although most people attribute their high level of development and education to Obafemi Awolowo's²⁸ free education programme of 1955, Idowu argues that the enlightenment and growth observed in south-west Nigeria is a result of prophecies made at the Òke Oyè revival (2008, p. 35).

Nigeria gained independence from the British on the 1st of October 1960, with the official celebratory event held in Yorùbáland, perhaps an indication of how important the Yorùbá ethnic group is to the Nigerian state. Interestingly, the majority of Nigerian Pentecostals are known to believe there is a spiritual undertone to the country's violence free progression from colonial government to independence unlike nations such as Kenya, Mozambique, Angola, and Namibia. This is unsurprising, as it is common practice among Pentecostals to attach spiritual and theological interpretations to almost every situation they face. As with most of my respondents during fieldwork in south-west Nigeria, Idowu, a renowned Nigerian Pentecostal scholar argues that the smooth transition was achieved in 1960 because of the Pentecostal revivals of 1930 onwards which 'broke the spiritual power holding Nigeria in bondage', claiming that part of the bondage was 'physically represented by the colonial authority' (2008, p. 36). In fact, many Pentecostals in Nigeria believe in the theory that a certain level of spiritual freedom is necessary before humans can attain independence of any kind. Peel (2000) seems to support this position when he writes that Yorùbá Pentecostals often reinforce the belief that

²⁸ Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of Western Nigeria in the years leading to Nigeria's independence. He is reported to have played a key role in the movement that led to the independence of Nigeria. As premier of the Western region, he is reputed to have implemented many progressive policies. Noteworthy, his administration provided free health care and introduced free education. Also, the first television station in Africa was established by his administration <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Obafemi-Awolowo> Accessed 17 November, 2016.

the redemption of Nigeria from its past history is more than a secular struggle; it is a battle against principalities and powers of darkness (p. 316). The name commonly given to the process of gaining freedom from these perceived evil forces is ‘deliverance’²⁹. As rightly posited by Meyer (1998 and 1999), rituals of deliverance during which demonic entities afflicting believers are exorcised play an important role in Pentecostal Christianity. Almost every challenging situation is viewed as a form of bondage for which deliverance is required. More so, the ritualised practices of singing spiritual warfare songs and praying warfare prayers reportedly take a similar role as explained by Butler (2008).

Prior to the coming of the British, the people of Yorùbáland existed as independent kingdoms with occasional contacts through trade; intense war was however common among these kingdoms (Akinsanya, 2000, p. 37). Nevertheless, the British succeeded in bringing the diverse ethnic groups together under a unified political administration (ibid., Peel, 2000, p. 27). Consequent upon this, ‘Nigeria’ officially came into existence in 1914 when the Northern and Southern Protectorates were combined³⁰ (Gordon, 2003, p. 3). Although the country has over 250 ethnic groups and languages³¹, the Hausa, Yorùbá, and Igbo are known as the major ethnic groups. The Hausa, mostly Muslims, occupy the northern region of the country. The south-west region is occupied by the Yorùbá: they appear to be more diversified when it comes to religion, with a mainly Christian population but also a sizeable number of Muslims and traditional religion worshippers. The Igbo people live in the south-east region, and the majority of them are Christians (Ibid., p. xv-xvi). Movement between these regions is not restricted. Hence, the ethnic locations only confirm the original inhabitants of specific regions. Although

²⁹ See Chapter 2 and 4 for more on deliverance.

³⁰ An elaborate centenary celebration was organised by the government in 2014.

³¹ <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/index.php/2016-04-06-08-38-30/people-of-nigeria> . Accessed 15 November, 2016

it is mostly common for indigenes of an ethnic group to dominate their region in terms of numbers, members of other ethnic groups are also usually present.

Religion is taken seriously in Nigeria. The country has in the past witnessed religious violence between Muslims and Christians, especially those living in the northern region. Hence, being a sensitive subject matter, the topic of religion is often treated cautiously. According to the Federal Government of Nigeria website, ‘about 50 per cent of Nigerians are Muslims and the other 50 per cent are Christians³²’. I argue that the figures provided by the government are the result of a diplomatic choice, made in a bid to minimise the risk of tension between the Muslims and Christians. Crucially, the statement erroneously concludes that all Nigerians are either Christians or Muslims: although the majority of Nigerians practice Islam or Christianity, there are still a substantial number of people who practice traditional religion, a fusion of two or more religions or those with no religion at all.

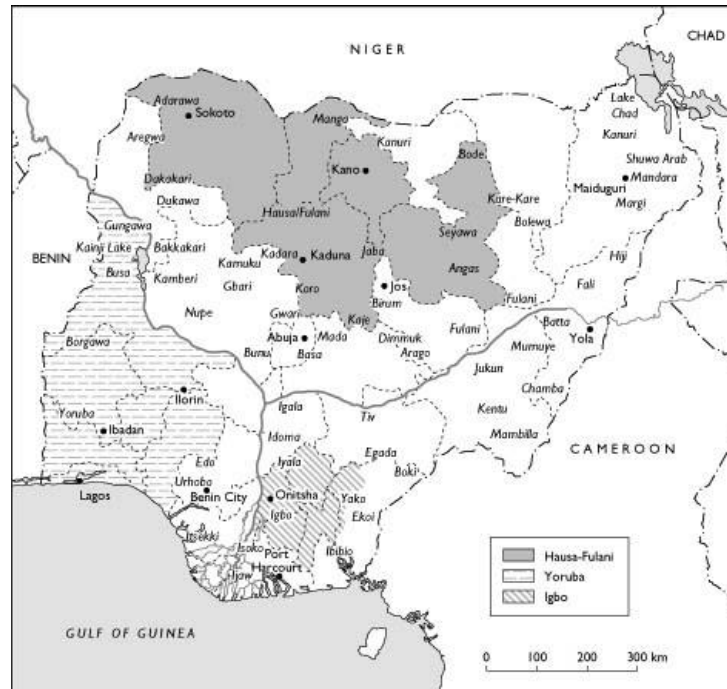


Figure 1.1. Map of Nigeria, showing the major ethnic groups. Source: Gordon (2003, p. 3).

³² <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/index.php/2016-04-06-08-38-30/people-of-nigeria> . Accessed November 15, 2016.

Figure 1.1 above gives a representation of Nigeria's immediate neighbours as well as the primary locations of the major ethnic groups. According to Falola & Heaton (2008), 'the Hausa account for roughly 21 per cent of the population, Yorùbá make up 20 per cent, the Igbo 17 per cent', while other groups such as Efik, Igala, Edo, Kanuri, Tiv, Nupe, and Idoma make up the remaining percentage (p. 4). Of the three major ethnic groups, the Igbo people allegedly have the lowest percentage; this is possibly due to the Nigerian Civil war³³ which claimed the lives of many Igbo as they fought the establishment in a failed secession battle.

With Ilé-Ifè³⁴ generally considered as their ancestral home, the Yorùbá people are made up of 'many semiautonomous ethnic groups³⁵ that occupy south-western Nigeria'; they also have a large settlement in some West African countries³⁶, Americas and the Caribbean, especially in Cuba and Brazil, as a result of slave trade activities between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (Omojola, 2012, p. 2). Scholars such as Lovejoy (2004) describes the movement of Yorùbá into the diaspora between 1780 – 1850 as one of the largest migrations that took place in the Atlantic during that period (p. 40). Interestingly, various names were adopted to refer to Yorùbá people in the diaspora. For example, in Cuba they are known as Lucumí, in Brazil as Nagô (Falola & Childs, 2004, p. 4). However, Lovejoy (2004) posits that those who were identified as Nagô, Lucumí, Aku did not speak Yorùbá as their first language, with some individuals possibly having multiple ethnic identities and spoke more than one language (p. 42).

Before 1700, it is understood that little factual information existed about the Yorùbá, as the oral tradition was the only record of their history and origin and available accounts often

³³ Also known as the Biafran war. See Gordon (2003, pp. 125-150).

³⁴ Located in present-day Osun State, Nigeria.

³⁵ Examples include Èkìtì, Ìjèsà, Ègbádò, Òyó, and Ìjèbú.

³⁶ Especially in Benin Republic, Togo and Ghana.

contradicted each other (Gordon, 2003, p. 11). Nonetheless, historians have since focused on two major accounts: Yorùbá mythology of the creation of man and the narrative of migration by the Yorùbá people³⁷. Even these two categories of accounts do not complement each other except that they seem to agree that the Yorùbá people settled in Ilé-Ifè. Historically, the Yorùbá ‘view Odúduwà³⁸ as their common ancestor and Ilé-Ifè as their source and spiritual center’ (Omojola, 2012, p. 2; Gordon, 2003, p. 11). This belief, however, is now mostly held only among practitioners of traditional religion; Yorùbá indigenes who have embraced Islam and Christianity almost always disagree with traditional stories of their origin, claiming instead that every human being is created by God – a supernatural being that both religions believe in.

There are indications that the term ‘Yorùbá’ is possibly of Hausa origin. Studies by multiple scholars suggest that ‘Yorùbá’ was coined in the nineteenth century by people from northern Nigeria to refer to the then Òyó empire as led by the Alaafin³⁹ (Waterman, 1990, p. 12; Omojola, 2012, p. 3; Adewale, 2010, p. 55; and Gordon, 2003, p. 12). Regardless, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) adopted the name, bringing it into common use as a combined name for people from south-west Nigeria, and others in the diaspora whose ancestry came from there (Peel, 1968, p. 19, Eades, 1980, pp. 2-4). It is noteworthy that established Yorùbá towns are often traditionally headed by a king who is usually chosen from a royal lineage, but when there are several royal houses, a rotational policy is often employed (Peel, 1968, p. 24; DjeDje, 2000, p. 157). Furthermore, unlike pre-colonial times when traditional rulers had supreme control, Yorùbá kings in present times are perceived as ceremonial heads and custodians of tradition.

³⁷ Adewale (2010, p. 56). For more on these accounts, see Adejumo, (2005, pp. 134-136).

³⁸ Odúduwà is believed to be the father of Yorùbáland. His son, Òkànbí, is said to have had ‘seven children [who] eventually became the progenitors of the original seven Yorùbá kingdoms, which are Òyó, Benin, Kétu, Sabe, Pópó, Ilá, and Òwu’ (Adejumo, 2005, p. 136).

³⁹ Alaafin of Òyó is the title used to refer to the emperor of Òyó kingdom.

During colonisation, the British introduced English to Nigeria and it has since been adopted as the country's official language. However, a local form of Pidgin English also exists. Although most commonly used among uneducated or semi-literate members of the society, Pidgin English is also spoken by elites and educated individuals, especially in unofficial settings. As a result of its nationwide appeal, it could be described as Nigeria's unofficial lingua franca. Besides these two languages, about 400 native Nigerian languages are spoken by the various ethnic groups⁴⁰. The most popular however are Hausa, Yorùbá and Igbo, mainly because of their status as the major ethnic groups.

As mentioned earlier, there are many ethnic groups within the Yorùbá; and each group has its own variant⁴¹ of the Yorùbá language⁴². These dialects are often spoken when among members of the group that speak them. In a situation where there is a mixed gathering of Yorùbá people, standard Yorùbá language is employed. Since its introduction in the mid-nineteenth century, when modern linguistic studies had not commenced in Africa⁴³, standard Yorùbá has undergone some evolution and has since been generally embraced. Arguably, it is widely spoken because of its 'uniformity and wide use in schools, textbooks, and the media' as posited by Adewale (2010, p. 58). More so, it was used during the translation of the Bible – from English (Peel, 1968, p.22 & Adewale, 2010, p. 58) by Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther – the first African Bishop⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ See <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/2012-10-29-11-05-46/people> . Accessed 16 June 2014.

⁴¹ Also known as Yorùbá dialect. For example, there is Ijèbù, Òyó, Ijèsà, Òndó, Ègbá, Ifè, Àkókó, Èkìtì among others.

⁴² Isichei (1983, p. 7 cited in Adewale, 2010, p. 57) classifies the Yorùbá language among the Kwa language sub-group of the Niger-Congo family; he argues that 'the Kwa sub-group is distributed within the West African sub-region and it includes languages like Yorùbá, Itshekiri, Igala, Edo, Urhobo, Igbo and Igbira among others'. Furthermore, Adewale's (2010) study demonstrates that the Yorùbá language is spoken in almost every part of Nigeria and the world at large, since the Yorùbá are dispersed across the globe.

⁴³ Kubik, 1989, p. 131.

⁴⁴ He was consecrated in 1864 (Akinsanya, 2000, pp. 52-52 & 60). Crowther also played a significant role in the establishment of written Yorùbá.

Standard Yorùbá has a peculiar orthography with texts studded with diacritical marks. It has 25 letters of which seven (/a/, /e/, /ẹ/, /i/, /o/, /ọ/ and /u/) are vowels. These vowels are more important than the consonants, but the tones are more important than the vowels themselves (Johnson, 2001, p. xxix). This is so because the Yorùbá language is tonal, the ‘relative pitch of syllables helps to determine their meaning’, that is, a change in tonal pitch initiates a change in meaning (Waterman, 1995, p. 38 & Euba, 1990, p. 34). Further to this, the language has three distinctive tonal levels; low, middle and high. An awareness of this is necessary to make meaning while singing or speaking (Kubik, 1989, p. 132). The low tone is marked in writing by a grave accent (`), the high tone by an acute accent (´), while the middle tone has no written markings. It is important to point out that the word ‘tone’ is often used interchangeably with ‘accent’; but this is not used to mean what ‘accent’ is generally known to mean. For example, ‘an accent in the accepted sense of the term denotes the stress laid upon a particular syllable’, but it is utilised differently in Yorùbá language discourse, where ‘what are called accents, and for which the usual symbols are used are really tones’ (Johnson, 2001, p. xxix). Also, syllables are accentuated almost equally, irrespective of their speech tones (Kubik, 1989, p. 133).

The sound of the low, middle and high tones can be respectively likened to the ‘*do re mi*’ sound of tonic sol-fa. For example, the three syllable word ‘Yo/ru/ba’ is pronounced with the tones of *re* (no markings), *do* (`), *mi* (´) and that explains why it is written as ‘Yorùbá’. Interestingly, it is common in Yorùbá language to have words with the same spellings but different meaning. In such situations, the importance of the speech tones becomes evident as it helps to distinguish between words thereby creating meaning. Given below are two examples: the Yorùbá word spelt *eyin* can be pronounced in four ways, having different meanings as dictated by the tone: *eyín* (teeth), *èyìn* (back), *eyin* (egg) and *èyin* (plural form of ‘you’). Also, the word spelt *igba*

can be pronounced in four ways as dictated by the tone: *igba* (two hundred), *igbá* (calabash), *ìgbá* (garden egg), and *ìgbà* (time).

This discourse on the tonality of Yorùbá language suggests that composers of Yorùbá music would have to consider the tones derived from the spoken words while composing their music. Admittedly, this kind of considerations will be required of composers, if listeners, especially those who speak the language, are to make any meaning of their works⁴⁵. I wish to clarify that the Yorùbá speech marks have not been used on the texts of notated music examples in this thesis because it is not standard practice to do so. Having the marks on the music sheets would be irrelevant as most composers consider the language tones while choosing their melodic line which often conforms with how the words are originally pronounced. Nonetheless, the complete texts of all songs referenced in this thesis (with tones indicated) and translations into English is provided in Appendix C.

Interestingly, the tone-based system is not exclusive to vocal music; it is evident in some instrumental music, like drum music. The Yorùbá people have some sets of drums that are perceived as talking drums⁴⁶. The drummers emulate the pitch patterns and rhythms of spoken Yorùbá, enabling the drums to speak proverbs and aphorisms (Thompson, 1992, p. 95). However, an understanding of the speech tones is required to understand what the drummer is saying on his drum (Adegbite, 1988, p. 20; Villepastour, 2010, pp. 13-19).

⁴⁵ In Chapter Six, I discuss the musical background and influence, pre-compositional considerations, doctrinal sentiments and inter-personal dynamics that underlie the creativity of some Yorùbá Pentecostal church music composers.

⁴⁶ The *Dundun* ensemble, the *Gangan* ensemble, the *Bata* ensemble, and so on.

1.1.1. Yorùbá Traditional Religion

Wherever the African is, there is religion: he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to the examination room at school or in the university; if he is a politician he takes it to the house of parliament...it accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death (Mbiti, 1990, p. 2).

The foregoing statement by Mbiti, a renowned Kenyan scholar, somehow highlights the importance that certain scholars attribute to the relationship between African people (including the Yorùbá) and their religion. Mbiti rightly notes that African religions which involve the worship of deities had existed among the people before the likes of Islam and Christianity were introduced (ibid.). In the discussion that follows, I hope to explore religion as a salient cultural element among the Yorùbá people. More so, I perceive the receptive nature of the people to religion, as well as the importance attached to religion, as having a crucial impact in the way Pentecostalism and Christianity⁴⁷ seem to have flourished. Arguably, it is not out of place to describe Yorùbáland as a place of religion.

Odejobi (2014) remarks that ‘religion is the focal point of the Yorùbá culture’ (p. 584). The scholar further observes that there are more than 400 deities in Yorùbáland; interestingly, majority of them are depicted as music lovers – having specific music instruments for their worship (p. 5)⁴⁸. However, as Peel (1968) points out, Yorùbá traditional religion has been on a decline since the coming of world religions such as Islam and Christianity (p. 29), despite it tending to be syncretic in nature and prepared to adopt other deities not known with the Yorùbá people into its system⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ In Chapter 2, I discuss the advent of Christianity and the emergence of Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland.

⁴⁸ This claim that nearly all Yorùbá deities are music lovers having music types that are unique to them is also emphasised by Adegbite (1988, p. 16; 22-23) and Moore (2004, p. 261).

⁴⁹ The Egungun cult which was reportedly brought into Yorùbá traditional religion from Nupe is given as an example of this (Peel, 1968, p. 29).

Before the coming of Islam and Christianity, traditional religion is thought to have been widely adhered to throughout Yorùbáland: almost every town had at least one *òrìṣà*⁵⁰ whom they worshipped (Idowu, 2008, p. 166 & Peel, 1968, p. 31). For example, no individual could be made an *Oba*⁵¹ without the approval of *Ifá*, the Yorùbá deity of divination who adherents perceived as ‘the most important religious guide and counsellor’⁵². Such was the influence of Yorùbá traditional religion at the time. It was also common to have family lineages worship specific deities, mostly different from the communal one (Ibid.). However, while adherents of Yorùbá traditional religion in south-west Nigeria could freely worship their deities during this period, those in the diaspora were persecuted as many perceived Yorùbá traditional religion and other African-derived religion as savage (Moore, 2004, pp. 262-263).

As demonstrated by Table 1.1 below, the reportedly huge followership enjoyed by Yorùbá traditional religion soon began to dwindle following a major shift in religious allegiance among the people.

Year	Christian %	Muslim %	Traditional Religion %
1921	10	16	74
1952	47	47	6

Table 1.1. Showing percentages of religious adherents in south-west Nigeria using figures from the 1921 and 1952 census. Source: Peel (1968, p. 52).

Despite the claims by most Christians that Christianity thrived soon after it was introduced to Yorùbáland, Table 1.1 above suggests otherwise, that significant numerical progress only

⁵⁰ *Òrìṣà* is a Yorùbá word for deity or god.

⁵¹ King.

⁵² Peel (1968, pp. 35-37).

began to be made after the 1920s. The table shows the percentages of different religious adherents in south-west Nigeria, using figures from the 1921 and 1952 census. It reveals that both Islam and Christianity witnessed an increase in the number of adherents between 1921 and 1952. However, considering that Christianity had the lowest figure in 1921, it is seen to have made more numerical progress than Islam in this period. As I discuss in Chapter 2, the massive rise in the number of Christians could be traced to the emergence of the *Aladura* movement and their Pentecostal revivals from 1930 onwards. The above table also shows Islam and Christianity having equal percentage of adherents; this perhaps was the beginning of the rivalry which now exist between these two religions within the Yorùbá society.

Furthermore, the table shows a massive decline in the number of traditional religion worshippers. This religious group moved from having the largest number of adherents in 1921 to having the least in 1952. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the deep entrenchment of traditional religion in the Yorùbá society before the advent of the other two religions, one could argue that perhaps the majority still practiced traditional religion but only decided to register as Christian or Islam adherents during the census as a means of following current trend. As Waterman (1990) writes, the Yorùbá people are known to be ‘willing to adopt new ideas and practices, provided that they prove efficacious’ (p. 15). Hence, the need for a new religious reality is possibly responsible for this seeming shift in religious allegiance. More so, because adherence to traditional religion is often not expressed in public, it is therefore possible for people to show themselves publicly as Christians but then resort to traditional worship in private. After all, as Mossiere (2012) suggested, individuals’ commitment to religions and associated rituals ‘may only display their public allegiance and belong-ing to the group, and not necessarily their private beliefs’ (p. 56). This view is given credence by Peel (1968) who recorded accounts of some individuals who, despite professing Christianity in the open, went

ahead with the use of *jùjú*⁵³ until an Angel of God supposedly appeared to them, admonishing that they desist from such acts (pp. 58-66). Furthermore, Thompson's (1992) discussion of how Yorùbá communities reinvent traditional ritual further evidences their openness to practice more than one religion at a time (pp. 160-169).

The Yorùbá worldview is understood to have accommodated the existential belief in a supreme deity, even before encountering foreign religious cultures. In traditional religion, they maintained a 'strong understanding of God as the Most High: the Supreme Being who is the Head and centre of the African universe' (Akinsanya, 2000, p. 23 & Lawal, 2004, p. 292). This Supreme Being was – and still is amongst believers - referred to as *Olodumare* or *Olorun*. However, the Yorùbá do not appear to have seen themselves as being able to access Him; hence they worshipped the *òrìṣà* who they perceived as messengers of *Olodumare* (Peel, 1968, p. 30). Within traditional religion, God is regarded as being too highly placed to be concerned with certain mundane things, hence He delegates such duties to his subordinates (the deities), even though He cleaves to the overall control of things (ibid. p. 31 & Akinsanya, 2000, p. 24). In fact, Yorùbá traditional religion priests believe that God has handed over the earth to the deities, because He is more concerned with the heavenly realm; and if there is any need for humans to approach him, it should be done through the deities who are seen as intermediaries between God and humans. However, Peel argues that the deities do not merely serve as agents of *Olodumare*, but also as the objects of traditional religion (p. 30-31).

From the foregoing, one could argue that, since Yorùbá people already had belief in a supreme deity and insights into accessing that deity via intermediaries, it was probably not a complex process for them to adapt to Christianity's belief of accessing God through Jesus Christ.

⁵³ Traditional charms and black magic.

Besides, Yorùbá traditional religious concepts of incantation⁵⁴, *Babalawo* (priest of Yorùbá traditional religion)⁵⁵ and *Ifá* appear to be respectively analogous with the Pentecostal Christian concepts of glossolalia (speaking in tongues), Pastor and the Bible. Further to this, the emphasis on a direct experience of supernatural power⁵⁶ account for one of the other major linking points between Pentecostal Christianity and Yorùbá traditional religion. Little wonder, Eades (1980, p. 6) argues that the dividing line between traditional religion, Christianity and Islam is often difficult to draw. Although Yorùbá Christians generally criticise any form of comparison between them and other religious groups, especially Islam and traditional religion, these connections however cannot be overlooked. Indeed, I argue that these noticeable parallels that exist between Yorùbá traditional religion and Pentecostal Christianity could be to some extent responsible for the conversion of many to Pentecostal Christians as witnessed, for example in the period between 1921 and 1952. Notably too, at the time of mass conversion, the same terms were adopted to refer to the new supreme deity – *Olodumare* and *Olorun* – further facilitating adaptation, with some no doubt thinking that they were essentially worshipping the same God as before. Hence, I posit that these similarities which possibly shifted the momentum in favour of Christianity is arguably a major factor in Christianity's current status as the most popular religion in present-day Yorùbáland (Odejebi, 2014, p. 587; Omojola, 2012, p. 115; Simpson & Oyetade, 2008, pp. 173-176).

⁵⁴ A kind of recitation often said by traditional religion priests as a means of invoking or accessing the deities. It is generally not understood by the lay man.

⁵⁵ The Yorùbá term used to denote priests of traditional religion.

⁵⁶ Yorùbá traditional religion adherents refer to this experience as 'possession' while Pentecostal Christians adopt the phrase 'Holy Spirit manifestation'.

1.2. Conducting Fieldwork in South-West Nigeria

In the early hours of 6th December 2015, I arrived at the Murtala Muhammed International Airport, Lagos to begin my research fieldwork in Yorùbáland. Having been away in the United Kingdom for almost three years, the primary agenda on my mind was to secure comfortable accommodation. Considering that the electricity supply could be irregular in Nigeria, I had made plans via the telephone for a close acquaintance to help secure a good place. I was glad to discover on arrival that he had made an excellent arrangement for me, even ensuring there was a power generator for when there was no power supply. These arrangements ensured my first few days were not as unpleasant as I had envisaged.

I was primarily based in the city of Lagos, but in order to gather substantial relevant data for my work, I made several trips to the following South-West States: Ogun, Osun, Ekiti, Ondo and Ibadan. In a bid to understand the nature and impact of Yorùbá Pentecostal music in the contemporary Pentecostal scene, I made regular visits to the International Headquarters of MFM in Lagos and also to the University of Lagos library⁵⁷. On learning about my research interests, the General Overseer of MFM, Dr D.K. Olukoya graciously arranged for me to meet with the erudite scholar Professor Oshun who has done extensive work on the *Aladura* movement and the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), and was also knowledgeable about the revival songs that interested me. Towards the end of my fieldtrip, having made several failed attempts, I eventually managed to meet with Mr Idowu, a researcher who has written extensively on the 1930 Revivals and Pentecostalism in Nigeria (2008, 2012a, 2012b).

⁵⁷ As an Alumnus of the University, I was permitted to access the library free of charge. However, I did not find relevant materials.

Travelling beyond the confines of Lagos, I travelled out to Ogun state, partly to visit the MFM archival centre at the Prayer City⁵⁸ and also to attend editions of the monthly fasting and prayer programme tagged Power Must Change Hands (PMCH)⁵⁹ between January and May 2016 and the 2015/2016 cross over service⁶⁰. My attendance at these services and others provided me with first-hand experience of Yorùbá Pentecostal worship. Travelling still further afield, I visited the National Archive of Nigeria⁶¹ in Ibadan, Oyo State, and also dropped in on the Christ Apostolic Church Secretariat for a chat with their Head of Music. Efòn Alààyè, a town known to be pivotal in the emergence of Pentecostalism in Nigeria was the only site that I visited in Ekiti State. Notably, Joseph Ayodele Babalola, who is widely regarded among Yorùbá Pentecostals as the father of Nigerian Pentecostalism, is buried in this town.

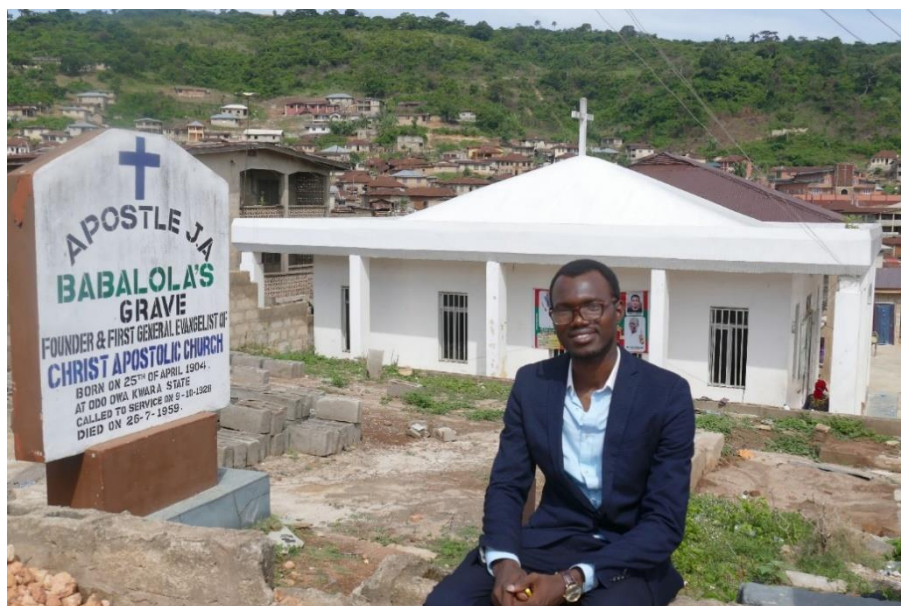


Figure 1.2. The author at the Sacred White House where Joseph Ayodele Babalola is buried, in Efòn Alààyè.
Credit: Olaniran Tosin⁶².

⁵⁸ MFM Campground is known as the Prayer City. It is located on Km 12 Lagos-Ibadan Expressway, Ogun State, Nigeria.

⁵⁹ MFM holds Power Must Change Hands (PMCH) every first Saturday of the month at Prayer City – the church's campground.

⁶⁰ The cross-over service is held by almost all Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. The service holds as a vigil starting on the last day of the year (31st December) and ending in the early hours of the first day of the year (1st January).

⁶¹ It is located within the premises of University of Ibadan.

⁶² He accompanied me on the trip to Efòn Alààyè as a research assistant.

On arrival at the Efòn Alààyè Babalola prayer site, I was informed that the minister in charge had just left for an engagement in another town, and hence I was directed to meet with the secretary – Brother⁶³ Anjorin Kolawole. During my chat with him, he told me that they receive visitors from different parts of the world. He claims that the sacred white house which is also called Power House is a ‘special prayer ground’ and whatever prayer is said there receives answer from God. I was informed that up until some weeks before I arrived, visitors were not allowed into the sacred building which houses Babalola’s tomb, and that of his father. In other words, I could not have visited at a better time.

At the entrance of the sacred white house is a list of ‘do’s and don’ts’ that visitors are meant to adhere to. One of the interesting items on the list is the prohibition of women in their period. It is worth noting that interdictions based on the menstrual cycle is not openly discussed within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity, it is perhaps an unwritten rule. However, speaking on condition of anonymity, two of my respondents mentioned that in some churches women who are in their period are expected to abstain from ministerial work that will require them to access the altar - the most sacred part of the Pentecostal ritual space. Interestingly, there is a similar practice in Yorùbá traditional religion - during the Agẹmọ festival, women must be kept at a distance, and must not dare to look at the Agẹmọ deity because their menstrual cycle is thought to pollute the priests’ powerful medicine, rendering it impotent (Thompson, 1992, pp. 116-117). Although it is unknown if Pentecostals adapted the practice from traditional Yorùbá traditional religion, whatever the case, item 8 on Figure 1.3 below suggests that those in their period are deemed impure and unable to enter the sacred white house. I posit that the

⁶³ The term ‘Brother’ is used to refer to a male Pentecostal. For a female, ‘Sister’ is used. When asked for his name, the secretary replied with ‘my name is Brother Anjorin Kolawole’.

management adopted the unusual open address of the period topic to further emphasise their narrative of not wanting any form of spiritual contamination on the prayer site.

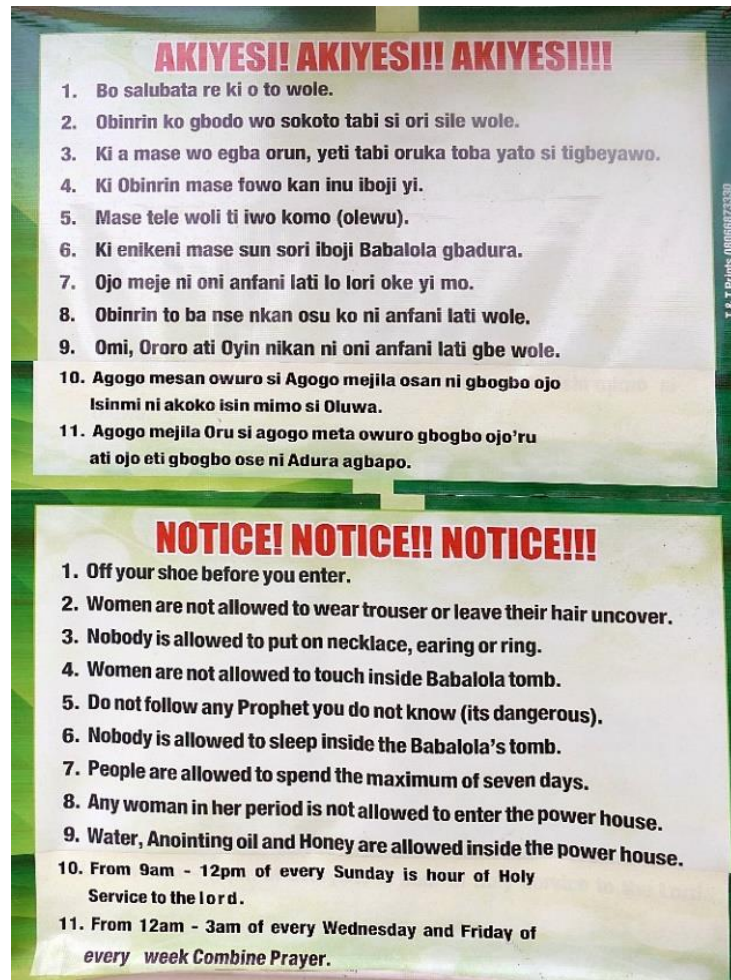


Figure 1.3. The Dos and Don'ts at the entrance of the White sacred prayer house in Efòn Alààyè.

Although this nine-point⁶⁴ code of conduct is written in Yorùbá, an English translation is also provided. It is expected that visitors remove their shoes before entering the sacred building. Women are not allowed to wear trousers or leave their hair uncovered; jewellery is also not permitted. Women are not permitted to touch the tomb of Babalola and those going through their menstrual cycle are not supposed to enter the building at all. I wondered what effect a

⁶⁴ Items 10 and 11 are not part of the code of conduct, they indicate general service times at the prayer house.

woman's touch could possibly have on the tomb. In response to my many questions, the junior ministers on the site explained that the code of conduct had been provided to ensure that holiness was maintained, and any form of spiritual contamination should be avoided on the site. They believe any form of worldliness on the site will make the spirit of God depart. This practice resonates with my observations at the other Pentecostal sites and churches visited. In religious settings, Yorùbá Pentecostals seek to distinguish between 'holy' and 'worldly' objects and actions – favouring the former wherever possible. The choice of white paint for the sacred room was possibly a means of re-emphasising the holiness doctrine of Pentecostals. In Chapter Seven, I will further discuss how Yorùbá Pentecostals engage with the concepts of holiness and worldliness.

On entering the sacred white house, men and women are seen praying either lying on the floor, kneeling or sitting on the floor. There are no chairs in the room, except for the white chair situated in front, between the tombs. Women are not allowed to mix with men; hence, while the women occupy the left side of the room, the men are seen on the right. A particular woman, who I was told had been there for a few days like many others, was heard praying aloud; suddenly she burst into song with '*iyin ye Olorun wa, Oba to ngbo adura*', meaning, 'Praise to my God who hears and answers prayers'. At this point, it occurred to me that the majority were praying quietly, some appearing to be without strength while others seemed to be asleep. This quiet atmosphere is rarely witnessed in Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings, where people are mostly known to pray in a loud and energetic manner. So, I enquired from a minister; he explained that almost everyone praying in the room was on a dry fast⁶⁵, hence their tired disposition. On the other hand, those who were asleep were allegedly said to be dreaming, with God showing

⁶⁵ Dry fasting is the practice of abstaining from all kinds of food or water for a number of days. However, water is taken from the third day. Yorùbá Pentecostals perceive this as one of the ways of achieving consecration for their prayers to be answered.

them secrets that would ensure they were delivered from the problems that had brought them to the site.



Figure 1.4. Babalola's tomb inside the sacred white house.

At the front of the sacred white room there is a white chair and a table covered with white clothing showing the text 'Jesus is coming soon, friends repent'. I was told that the officiating minister uses the table as an altar. While facing the altar, to the right is Babalola's tomb, and on the left, is his father's. Babalola's tomb is seen surrounded by bottles of oil, sheets of paper (prayer requests), jerry cans of water and hand bells. It is believed that once these items are placed on the tomb, the prayer requests are answered and the water and oil cease to be ordinary⁶⁶. The ministers claimed they have recorded many testimonies from the use of the items kept near the tomb. They posited that people come to the site because prayers said at the location are always answered.

⁶⁶ By this, they imply that the water and oil possess healing and miraculous powers.

Efòn Alààyè is known as one of the revival sites where Babalola allegedly performed several mysterious signs and wonders. During my visit, I observed that a road, school, river, prayer mountain (aside the sacred white house) and a motorcycle park (see Figure 1.5) were named after him.



Figure 1.5. Babalola Park in *Efon Alaaye*

These motorcycle riders at the Babalola park re-echoed Brother Anjorin's narrative that the prayer site receives visitors every day of the week; as public buses do not ply the route, it is economically beneficial to them. When asked, most town members ascribed their sentiments towards Babalola to his role in 'delivering them from the grip of idol worship'. It is reported that Babalola visited Efòn Alààyè to preach soon after his ministry started. His sermon is said to have been on the topic, *Agbára Olórun Alààyè*, meaning the mightiness of the living God. The story goes that the *Oba* of the kingdom whose traditional title is Alààyè of Efòn became impressed when he realised that there was a God somewhere bearing the same name as him (Peel, 1968, p. 92). In his joyous mood, he told Babalola to request anything and, as king, he would make sure it was done. Babalola reportedly requested to be given *Igbó Aiwo* (the forbidden forest) so he could build a church (Ibid. p. 95). The forbidden forest at that time was

supposed to be inaccessible to anyone as it was believed to be the abode of the deities. More so, town members claim that those who mistakenly went in never came out; they are believed to have been stricken by the gods.



Figure 1.6. Showing the church (CAC Oke Igballa) built on the forbidden forest in Efòn Alààyè.

To the amazement of the *Oba*, Babalola and his followers entered the forest, cleared it and built a church on that land. Brother Anjorin offered to take me to the location where that church – the Christ Apostolic Church – is situated. He explained that the church has since gone through several renovations and restructuring before arriving at its present state as can be seen in Figure 1.6 above. A banner (see Figure 1.7 below) giving some historical facts about the church is displayed at the entrance of the building.

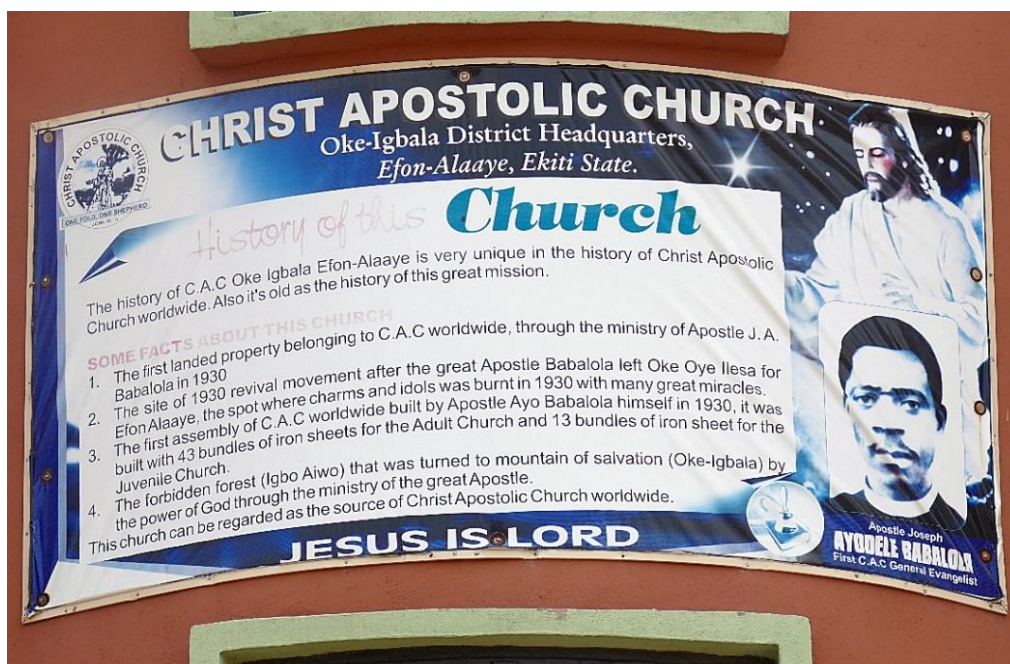


Figure 1.7. The banner in front of the first church started by the CAC strand of the *Aladura* movement

The text reveals that the church is the first landed property to be acquired by the CAC mission and by extension the *Aladura* movement. It is reported to be the acclaimed site where Babalola and his followers are believed to have burnt a huge collection of charms and idols in 1930.

In Osun State, I visited another town that is highly significant regarding the origins of the Pentecostal movement in Nigeria – Okè Oyè, where the first revival is thought to have happened. The state also accommodates the Joseph Ayo Babalola University (JABU) and Ìkejì Arákeji prayer site, where the *Omi Ìyè* ('living water') is located⁶⁷. During a second visit to Osun, I visited the Obafemi Awolowo University to meet up with two erudite scholars, Professor Femi Adedeji⁶⁸ and Professor David Ogungbile⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ The *Omi Ìyè* stream is believed to possess mysterious healing powers; and as such any sick person who drinks from it receives instant healing.

⁶⁸ Professor of Church Music at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State.

⁶⁹ Professor of Religious Studies at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State.

To conclude this section, my fieldtrip to these locations was beneficial to my research work. For example, amongst other things, I was able to gather relevant data, interview practitioners and composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal music, as well as scholars researching Yorùbá Pentecostal church music, clergymen and congregants at Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. In addition to being instrumental to my on-going research, this fieldtrip to south-west Nigeria presented to me, opportunities to develop friendships and research networks that could benefit my future research endeavours.

1.3. Research Methodology

The methodology for this research can be divided into ethnographic and archival components as Dueck & Reily (2016) suggest that studies of Christianity and its music must embrace both the history and ethnographic present of the community under investigation (p. 4). The ethnographic approach served as the main means for obtaining primary data. It was employed through participant observations of church services and prayer meetings, interviews with key informants, and focus group discussions, with many of these being audio-visually documented, thereby facilitating subsequent analysis. Meanwhile, this research's focus on Pentecostal history has entailed the use of library resources, church literature, archival materials, as well as other historical documents. These two approaches have complemented one another, with the historical materials shedding light on the observed present-day practices and vice versa.

1.3.1. *Ethnographic Approach*

1.3.1.1. Participant Observation

As mentioned earlier, the primary field for this study has been the MFM church in Lagos. The participant observation approach presented me with the opportunity to observe, participate and experience church services, deliverance programmes, healing nights, praise nights, musical concerts, choir rehearsals and more. I alternated between being a participant observer and a non-participant observer depending on circumstances and the nature of events I was witnessing. I am aware of the issues that often arises with the participant observation method in connection with objectivity, especially when the researcher is perceived as an insider like myself. Although born and raised by devout Pentecostal Christian parents, I knew little of Pentecostalism and Holy Ghost baptism until my teen years when I became more involved in church activities and my knowledge grew. My yearning to research the field of Pentecostal music in Yorùbáland was inspired by a section of my MA dissertation which attempted a brief survey of the evolution of Christianity, and subsequently Pentecostalism among the Yorùbá people⁷⁰. It was at that point that I discovered that, despite the prominent roles evidently played by music during Pentecostal gatherings in Yorùbáland, there had been little or no inquiry into those musical practices, not only in reference to the 1930 revivals but also in regard to present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. So, I decided to address some of these identified gaps by conducting my own original research on the subject.

In August 2015, I attended a conference about Christian congregational music at Ripon College, Cuddesdon. On one of the conference days, at lunch, after an expository session, some of us engaged in an interesting conversation on why the majority of those who carry out

⁷⁰ Although that research is concerned with the Yorùbá Gospel Highlife Music (YGHM) which it proposed, however it stirred up within me the desire to explore music making among Yorùbá Pentecostals; especially as it concerns the 1930 revivals and contemporary times.

research in the emerging field of Christian congregation music are Christians: keen interest and the privilege of having a deep understanding of some Christian concepts were suggested as reasons. Whatever the case, discussants agreed that it remains essential to strive for objectivity – for example, guarding against portraying beliefs and practices contrary to our own in an unduly negative light. As a Pentecostal music researcher, or better still, a Pentecostal researching Pentecostal music, I am committed to being objective with my findings as I owe that to the academic field. Further to this, I consider my cultural and religious insider⁷¹ status as being beneficial to my work.

Scholars such as Lange seem to believe that Pentecostals often hype the spiritual significance of their experience. She mentions that they ‘attribute much to divine agency that researchers do not’ (2003, p. 13). On the other hand, scholars who do not believe in the actual intervention of God during Pentecostal experiences tend to treat findings from such experiences as ‘artefacts of belief’ which are meaningless. While describing these scholars, Glenn Hinson notes:

Supernatural experience is...consigned to a reality apart, a realm where the “real” is defined only within the narrow parameters of belief. “That’s what they believe,” most ethnographers seem to say, “and thus it’s real *for them*.” What remains unsaid-but certainly not misunderstood—is the concluding codicil “but not for us, for we can see *beyond* the boundaries of their belief.” Thus slips away any guise of ethnographic objectivity, only to be replaced by implicit claims to a fuller knowledge and a more real reality. Accounts of supernatural experience, in turn, get treated as artefacts of belief, interesting for the light they shed on culture, but meaningless as testaments to authentic encounter (Hinson 2000, p. 330).

The foregoing quote highlights the challenge faced by most ‘outsider’ researchers studying Pentecostal practices. Oftentimes, the analyses presented by such scholars are irreconcilable with the actual experience and concepts of the Pentecostal Christian faith. However, in the case

⁷¹ ‘Cultural insider’ is used here to refer to the researcher’s Yorùbá ethnic background while ‘Religious insider’ refers to his Pentecostal Christian background. Nonetheless, I have had to depend on my field research informants for information regarding this work.

of this research, my position gives me a privileged perspective. More so, I am aware that some scholars seem to question the credibility of an ‘insider’ researcher. However, I argue that it is possible for the ‘insider’ to negotiate an adequate level of distancing, and subsequently facilitate a critical and in-depth analysis. Rice (1994) corroborates this in his work when he mentions that:

Even [the]... “insider” ethnomusicologists, those born into the cultures they study, undergo a productive distancing necessary to the explanation and critical understanding of their own cultures...[P]roductive distancing is not only characteristic of outsiders and scholars; individuals operating within tradition continually appropriate their cultural practices [and] give them new meanings (p. 6).

To the best of my knowledge, I have engaged with the adequate level of ‘productive distancing’ needed to carry out an objective study. As I discovered in the field, there might also be times when one will have to engage in what I choose to describe as ‘productive involvement’. While in the field, the researcher is saddled with the responsibility of making the unbiased decision of when and how to activate whichever of ‘productive distancing’ or ‘productive involvement’ is needed. For example, at the MFM church, it was initially a challenge to arrange meetings with relevant informants. However, after managing to conduct the first set of interviews, I discovered that although the music ministry of the church had extensive music resources (instruments and personnel), the inability of the various music units to work as a team seemed to be limiting their productivity. It was evident that cooperation among the groups was limited, and this divisiveness accounted for my inability to meet with some individuals. For my fieldwork exercise to be successful, I needed access to some of these individuals but because they hardly worked together, getting to meet them was a challenge.

Considering that I had limited time to gather data in Nigeria, I knew something had to be done as soon as possible. Interestingly, the head of the church made mention of the same problem when I briefly met him to request an interview. During the conversation, I suggested some

ways that the church could bring the entire music team together, starting with those at the international headquarters. He asked to be given some time to think about it but later agreed that the plan be executed. This process ensured the members of the music ministry worked more together, thereby giving me access to relevant informants. I was pleased when on the 1st of May 2016, a mass music ministration (see Figure 1.8 below) of all music groups in the church was presented – involving all the various choir groups, orchestras, guitar groups and bands. The altar could not accommodate all; some had to stand under the galleries for the presentation. Later in the day, I received a text message from the church leadership thanking me for suggesting the idea. He further mentioned that preparations leading to the performance and the performance itself, which was the first of its kind, had helped encourage unity and collective music making within the music ministry of the church.



Figure 1.8. The MFM International Headquarters Mass Music Ministration⁷².

⁷² See Appendix D (Playlist), Videos 17 and 18 for footage.

As it has been discussed for a long time now in ethnomusicology that a field researcher leaves a trace in the field and can have an impact on his informants, my research interactions with the MFM church community, especially the music ministry positioned me in a place where I had the opportunity to, for example, have some impact on their reach as it concerns online presence. This for me was another way of ensuring a cordial relationship with my fieldwork community. I reckon that getting involved (when necessary) as well as being resourceful could possibly help further integrate me into the community, thereby leading to an even more productive time on the field. Emerson et. al (1995) concurs with this notion that while learning about others through active participation in their lives and activities, the fieldworker cannot and should not attempt to be the fly on the wall (p. 2). In other words, the fieldworker should be ready to alternate between being an ‘observer participant’ and ‘participant observer’ as required (Tanaka and Parkinson, 2018). So, having discovered that the music ministry of MFM was yet to explore opportunities presented by the internet and social media platforms, I perceived the opportunity to make an impact with my research, even though it was still work in progress at the time. I shared some contents (including pictures) from my interviews with the music ministry leadership; this led to the publication of the official MFM Music Ministry Brochure (Figure 1.9) and website⁷³.

⁷³ www.mfmmusicministry.org

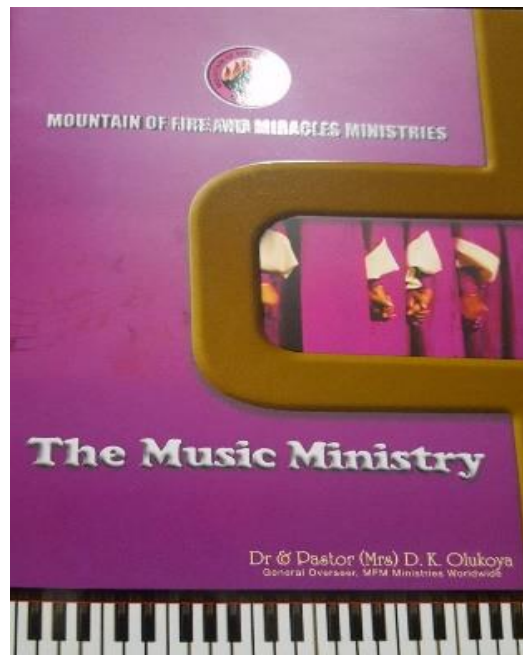


Figure 1.9. The front cover of the MFM Music Ministry official brochure.

Social media platforms for the music ministry, as well as an online registration platform for all members of the MFM Music Ministry were also launched. This meant that the church now had a database for music ministers within the church. Interestingly, prior to my departure, I was pronounced as the honorary Head of Music Research for the church. I believe that the title indicates two things: the impact of my research and how I have come to be accepted as part of the church community.

1.3.1.2. Interviews

The interview method was largely semi-structured because the approach presented me with the opportunity to probe informants' perspectives in order to generate deeper and more detailed sets of analysable data. Idowu Moses, a researcher on the history of early Nigerian Pentecostal revivals, remarks in his work⁷⁴ that there is no available video or audio recording of the 1930 revivals; as such, interview became a necessity to reveal what transpired at the time. Prior to

⁷⁴ See Idowu (2012a, p. 25).

my fieldwork, I had established contact with Idowu and a few acquaintances, and we had discussed the possibility of me meeting some very old individuals who had witnessed the ‘great revivals’⁷⁵. However, those individuals passed on before I had a chance to talk with them. Hence, I had to rely on the testimonies of those who had worked closely with them, and those who had interviewed them previously.

The following groups of persons were interviewed: Pentecostal pastors and workers, music pastors⁷⁶, Pentecostal music ministers, members of the MFM Music Board, congregants at Pentecostal gatherings, scholars of Nigerian Pentecostalism, scholars of Nigerian church music, and other pertinent sources. I was particularly interested in having a balanced sample group, consisting of those whose previous church affiliations were the mission churches, those who were born Pentecostals, and those who had practised traditional religion in the past. On meeting my research participants and informants, they were given the interview consent form, as well as the recording agreement form to sign accordingly⁷⁷.

1.3.2. Archival Research

The use of relevant published historical materials is essential for this study; categories of these are given below.

⁷⁵ This is the phrase used by many Pentecostals to describe the early twentieth century revivals in south-west, Nigeria.

⁷⁶ These are individuals who combine pastoral work with music ministry engagements. They tend to be more knowledgeable about Pentecostal concepts and practices than most music ministers, while also having extensive knowledge about the roles of music.

⁷⁷ Collected data from my fieldtrip is kept safely to ensure compliance with Data protection principles.

1.3.2.1. Books and Journal Articles

In addition to consulting relevant studies by scholars based outside of Nigeria, I have necessarily drawn from numerous studies by Nigerian scholars – particular works focusing on the *Aladura* movement in Nigeria, the Christ Apostolic church, the 1930 revivals and related topics. These materials were not accessible via any bookshop but rather had to be ordered directly from the publishers in Nigeria. Others could only be purchased at the 1930 revival sites such as Efòn Alààyè. I also consulted books published by religious leaders and organisations – for example by Dr D.K. Olukoya, Pastor E.A. Adeboye, and the Christ Apostolic Church.

1.3.2.2. Archival Materials

For this study, archival documents were accessed at the National Archival Centre in Ibadan, Oyo State. Here, visitors are expected to pay for registration to use the facility. Having filled a request form for seven documents, I was informed that only two⁷⁸ of the requested documents were available. As the facility had no power supply at the time of my visit, I had to travel back to Ibadan at a later date to pick up the photocopied documents having paid over a thousand and three hundred percent more than it would cost in the city. Irrespective of the challenges faced, the two archival documents have been useful, helping to contextualise the Pentecostal atmosphere in south-west Nigeria in the early twentieth century.

⁷⁸ Oyo Prof 1, 661 and Oyo Prof 1, 662. Each compilation consists of relevant letters and memoranda.



Figure 1.10. National Archives of Nigeria, Ibadan, Oyo State.

The MFM archival centre located at the MFM Prayer City was also accessed.

1.3.2.3. Magazines, Newspapers and Periodic Publications

Relevant materials in this category were sourced from organisations such as the Battle Cry Christian Ministries, the MFM Bookshop and other Pentecostal establishments that are well known to hold and sell such documents.

1.3.2.4. Online and other electronic resources

My research has also drawn upon various online and electronic resources, including audio and audio-visual recordings both of sermons and interviews by Pentecostal preachers and also of Pentecostal music ministrations (recorded by people other than myself). Also, relevant information has been extracted from websites and internet sources such as YouTube, Vimeo and Facebook pages. I have attempted to approach all sources in a critical manner. While some sources are more credible than others in regard to information, they are all useful when considering opinions and perspectives.

1.4. Literature Review

This research has benefitted from the previous work of many scholars, and their studies have been extensively assessed in the text. However, this section offers a concise review of the most pertinent and helpful sources, presenting a broad picture of the scholastic field encompassing Pentecostalism and its music.

The realm of Christianity has been consciously constructed and reconstructed across time and space, since its emergence in biblical times. As explained by Dueck & Reily (2016), there have since been historical expansions and divisions which are oftentimes a product of schism - for example, the separation of the Eastern and Western churches in 1054; and differences - for example, the fierce differences between Orthodox and Catholic churches during the early period of Christianity (pp. 5-7). These historical divisions and schisms resonate with my discussion of persecution and internal divisions within the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement in Chapter Two. In other words, the fragmentations observed from the early period of Christianity 'has resulted in a highly diverse landscape of Christian groups who are continuously in competition with one another, each with its own set of doctrinal truths, its modes of promoting and conceptualising religiosity, and its musical and expressive forms' (Ibid., p. 8).

The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianity offers a unique in-depth discussion of ethnomusicological perspectives on broader scholarship on world Christianities, especially as it concerns the role of music in Christian worship experience. For example, it highlights the importance of studying Christian repertoires as a means to understanding the diverse groups of Christian movements. The Handbook argues that analysing church music repertoires offers us a way to examine a broad range of modalities of encounter and exchange such as musical imposition, exchange and transformation in Western missions, colonial influences, processes that can take place within a service as well as the demarcation of sacred locations (p. 2).

In this research, I engage with the discourse of ‘music and missions’ - one of the major themes explored in the aforementioned literature as it is essential to understanding the foundation from which Yorùbá Pentecostal music developed. My discussion of how early missionaries in Yorùbáland introduced Western music genres like hymns and the Anglican chant; how the missionaries engaged with the types of music that existed in Yorùbáland pre-Christianity; and approaches adopted by indigenous music composers to ensure a meaningful Christian worship experience are just few examples.

As mentioned earlier in the Introduction Chapter, music is considered pivotal to Christian worship as it features prominently during services. Kroeker (2005) explained that the Christian church and music making endeavours have enjoyed a long-standing connection that is almost inseparable. Scholars such as Nekola et al. (2015) highlight the most obvious functions of music within the Pentecostal church, including its ability to manipulate emotions and evoke a holy atmosphere in which the divine is felt to be present and spiritual encounters can occur and its role of serving as a vehicle for people to praise and worship God through song and dance. Scholars such as Hackett (1998) assert that music serves other diverse roles in the Pentecostal sphere. For example, he posited that music is one of the most important ways in which Pentecostals construct their own identity and ‘invade space’⁷⁹ (p. 263) – in other words, exert a form of spiritual conquest over the surrounding atmosphere in the form of a loud Christian sound. Regarding the establishing of Pentecostal identity, music is indeed a powerful identity definer and marker, especially occurring within the ritual context (see also Hoffman 2012, p. 3). This resonates with Moore’s (2004) suggestion that during rituals, music marks boundaries,

⁷⁹ This reinforces the belief that religious rituals establish identity and a sense of belonging (Hoffmann, 2012, p. 3).

fosters a strong sense of community among participants, evokes powerful emotional responses, and in some cases, contributes to altered states of consciousness (pp. 260-261).

As Guthrie (1992) points out, Pentecostal music is eminently functional, being ‘emotional, simplistic, and with an emphasis on meeting the needs of the people’; it remains steadfastly focused on the core concerns of ‘praise, congregational participation, [and] singing in the spirit’ (p. iv). Other researchers such as Adedeji (2008, pp. 366 - 378) and Carl (2015) explain that music also functions as a powerful attractant – a vital tool within the Pentecostal churches’ marketing strategies to entice new worshippers (p. 48) – thereby suggesting that music serves both spiritual and non-spiritual purposes within Pentecostal Christianity.

The exploration of existing connections between music and religious rituals in Gilbert Rouget’s (1985) *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession* is indeed a comprehensive assessment of music, trance, ecstasy and related religious ritual discourses. However, its omission of Christian communities (p. xviii) demonstrates the need for more research focusing on how ecstasy is experienced in Christian worship spaces. There are several possession cults in different parts of the world and music almost always play a role, either as part of the elements that trigger ecstatic manifestations or helping to calm the ritual space depending on the type of ritual. The reason behind music’s effect on religious rituals has often been debated. While scholars such as Andrew Neher (1962) argue that musical instruments like the drum enable participants reach a trance state because of the neurophysiological action of the sounds of the instrument, others such as Melville J. Herskovits (1938 & 1943) claim it is as a result of conditioned reflex. However, Rouget (1985) attempted to demystify most of the conceptions often adopted during discussions of the role played by music during religious rituals that are aimed at having an ecstatic experience or inducing a trance state as he puts it.

The meaning often assigned to the terms ‘trance’ and ‘ecstasy’ sometimes lack clarity; some scholars (for example, Bastide, 1955) even use them synonymously. In attempting a distinction between both terms, Rouget (1985) commented that ‘trance usually comprises a convulsive stage, accompanied by cries, trembling, loss of consciousness, and falling’ while ‘ecstasy is a keenly memorable experience which one can recall and ponder over at leisure and which does not give rise to the dissociation so characteristic of trance’ (pp. 8-9). He further asserts that trance is closely associated with music, but ecstasy never makes use of music. It is important to point out that during Holy Spirit manifestations which sometimes results in the speaking of tongues, Yorùbá Pentecostals do not describe themselves as being in a trance. The Cherubim & Seraphim (C&S) path of the *Aladura* movement⁸⁰ is arguably the only Christian group in south-west Nigeria to describe their experience as a trance. However, contrary to Rouget’s (1985) explanation of trance, the C&S claim to remember what happened during their trance state. Also, Yorùbá Pentecostals’ use of the word ‘ecstasy’ involves music and is often connected with a feeling of joy, happiness, elation derived from a spiritually fulfilling encounter with the divine. As explained in the Introduction Chapter, I have also used the term ‘ecstasy’ in this research to broadly refer to overwhelming feelings of joy, happiness and, excitement, as typically outwardly expressed through emotional expressions like the shedding of tears, waving of arms in the air, rolling on the floor, and so on.

Melvin Butler’s (2005) study of how Jamaican and Haitian Pentecostals experience music as a means of transcendence and self-identification is one of the most important studies about Pentecostal music, and it resonates with how Yorùbá Pentecostals employ music during their gatherings, identifying a shared focus on the same types of music making – in particular, praise songs, worship songs and spiritual warfare songs. Butler argues that these types of music play

⁸⁰ See Definitions and Clarifications section in the Introduction Chapter.

an integral part in what many refer to as the Pentecostal experience, most crucially enlivening or ‘heating up’ the worship space so that the Holy Spirit will descend (ibid. pp. 11-12). According to him, music helps congregants connect emotionally and spiritually to the service, and this is even more the case when the music (and especially the music’s song texts) directly relates to the preachers’ sermon. Butler, however, recognises that even though music is pivotal to the experience of the Holy Spirit during meetings, it is possible to feel what Pentecostals call the touch of the spirit in other contexts such as ‘silent meditation, prayer, or conversation’ (pp. 113-114). I concur with Butler’s assertion that music ministrations at Pentecostal gatherings could directly complement the preacher’s sermon, but that is not always the case as I discovered during my research.

Despite the multi-functional impacts of music during Pentecostal gatherings, Pentecostal church music has scarcely been commented upon until relatively recently, hence Margaret Poloma’s comments in her review of Monique M. Ingalls and Amos Yong’s *The Spirit of Praise* in 2015: ‘over the past couple decades, scholars from different disciplines have taken due note of Pentecostalism’s rapid global growth, analysed its structural features, traced its history, and discussed its beliefs and rituals, but they have rarely gone beyond footnoting the important place that music plays in Pentecostal worship⁸¹’. Indeed, studies of charismatic congregational church music in all of its various denominational manifestations only appear to have begun proliferating very recently, with the advent of research networks such as the Christian Congregational Music and the Society for Christian Music Scholarship which have stirred up discussions that have resulted in the production of valuable publications for the developing field of Christian Congregational Music Studies⁸². For example, Anna E. Nekola

⁸¹ <http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/978-0-271-06662-2.html> (Accessed 15 August 2015).

⁸² See Porter (2014).

and Tom Wagner's 2015 *Congregational Music-Making and Community in a Mediated Age* which explores congregational music through multidisciplinary approaches, suggesting that it could be an act of praise and means to encounter the divine. The volume also addresses the different ways people live, experience and negotiate their Christian faith through music. Others include Monique Ingalls, Carolyn Landau, and Tom Wagner's 2013 *Christian Congregational Music: Performance, Identity and Experience* which offers another interdisciplinary perspective to the discourse of congregational music, especially as it concerns the themes – performance, identity and experience; and Mark Porter's ethnographic investigation of present-day worship music in his 2017 *Contemporary Worship Music and Everyday Musical Lives*. While Carl (2015) recognises that the body of literature on Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity is gradually growing, he however re-emphasised the need to go beyond footnoting music in Pentecostal studies and begin in-depth analyses of the music and rituals involved, especially since that kind of research has been relatively scarce (p. 49).

While musical practices of Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in North America and the Caribbean have received some attention as evidenced by Butler (2000, 2002, 2005 & 2008), Cruz (2003), Boone (2013), Ingalls (2008 & 2012), there has been little or no such inquiry into the workings of music in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. This is despite a history of one hundred years going right back to the 1920s and 1930s when the aforementioned Joseph Ayodele Babalola's ministry began - a history that has been traced by studies such as Peel (1968 and 2000), Idowu (2008 and 2012b), Olofinjana (2011) and Fatokun (2009).

The Pentecostal movement and its activities feature as one of the focal points of discussion in this research and thus needs an introduction. Allan Anderson's (2004) expository work, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* identifies Pentecostalism as the fastest expanding religious movement in the world. It presents a thorough investigation and

interpretation of the dynamic nature of the Pentecostal phenomenon. This detailed inquiry challenges existing presuppositions and paradigms, while also giving a balanced assessment of the Pentecostal culture in terms of geographical location. Allan rightly observed that revival meetings played a key role in the growth and sustenance of global Pentecostalism. Williams' (2009) *Pentecostalism* and Miller & Yamamori (2007) *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* are examples of other in-depth introduction to Pentecostal Christianity, distinguishing between the several variants of the movement. The latter proposes the term 'Progressive Pentecostalism' - a brand of Pentecostalism that seeks to meet social needs. While most studies on Pentecostal historiography discuss the topic through the lense of American Pentecostal movements, Ogbu Kalu's (2008) *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* tells the story of Pentecostalism in Africa.

The history and workings of Yorùbá Pentecostalism have been studied extensively through the efforts of theologians and sociologists such as Kalu (2008), Peel (1968 and 2000), Idowu (2008 & 2012b), and Ojo (2006) who provide insights into Nigerian (and to some extent African) Pentecostalism, although having a seeming over-concentration on examining the factors responsible for the rapid growth of the Pentecostal phenomenon. Peel (2000) has identified Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity as 'the greatest single force on the Yorùbá religious scene' in present-day Nigeria. Similarly, Burgess (2008a) has described Pentecostalism as 'the fastest-growing sector of world Christianity today' (p. 1); Jennings (2015) also described it as an important religious phenomenon that exists as 'the fastest growing religious movement in recent history'⁸³. In an attempt to understand the origins of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement, Peel (2000) has emphasised the complexities that exist in terms of relations between the two strands of the *Aladura* movement – the Christ Apostolic Church and the 'white garment

⁸³ Jennings (2015). See <http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/978-0-271-06662-2.html> (Accessed 15 August 2015).

churches'. Nonetheless, both sides are believed to share the same worldview with deep Yorùbá roots (ibid. pp. 313-318).

Although Ojo produced a pioneering publication examining the Pentecostal movement in modern Nigeria (2006), Nimi Wariboko's recent work titled *Nigerian Pentecostalism* (2014) provides arguably the most current in-depth exploration of the topic. His focus on issues such as spirituality, identity, theological responses to happenings in the society and his adoption of interview and observation methods are also consistent with my study⁸⁴. Unsurprisingly though, his work, as with the ones before it seems to have ignored the significance of music in the Pentecostal experience – a lacuna that my study will begin to assess and fill.

The 1930 revivals in south-west Nigeria remain a key point of focus in discussions about Yorùbá Pentecostalism, primarily because they are taken by most present-day Pentecostals to mark the foundation of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. Idowu has arguably published the most detailed explorations into the revivals and, crucially, his works often reference interviews with individuals who witnessed the 1930 revivals, and in some cases, their close associates. In Idowu (2008, 2012a, 2012b), he assesses the events that led up to the formation of the *Aladura* movement beginning from the influenza epidemic in 1918 and, later, the foundation of the Diamond Society Prayer Group⁸⁵. The scholar discusses Babalola's theological impact on Yorùbá Pentecostalism and also makes the claim that the clergyman was a music composer who created many compositions during the 1930 revivals, even though this is unknown to most Yorùbá Pentecostals. The same claim was also stated in an earlier publication by Oluwamakin

⁸⁴ The interview and participant observation methods are favoured by scholars carrying out research within Pentecostal churches. A few examples are Wariboko (2014), Omojola (2012), Carl (2015), Ingalls et.al (2015) and Peel (2000). I posit that the choice of these two primary methods is because they ensure researchers not only have first-hand experience of what transpires at gatherings; they also get the opportunity to hear directly from participants. Besides, when effectively analysed, these methods can result in the production of valuable information and data.

⁸⁵ This will be assessed further in Chapter Two.

(2004) who similarly states that he was told of Babalola's spontaneous composing activities by people who were present at the 1930 revivals. Although Oluwamakin (2004) and Idowu (2012a and 2012b) have preserved some of the song texts for these alleged Babalola's works, they have not recorded the music itself; in this study, I have sought to locate the music for these texts, transcribing and analysing some of them in Chapters Three and Six.

The act of creating new religious songs in the moment as mentioned in the foregoing paragraph resonates with accounts of the creation of spirituals in the African American church community. For example, in *The Celebrated Negro Spiritual*, H.T Burleigh wrote that spirituals 'were never "composed", but sprang into life, readymade, from the white heat of religious fervour...'. Similarly, Jon Michael Spencer in his chapter *African American Religious Music from a Theomusicological Perspective* recently explored the possibility of spontaneous music composition by preachers and the role played by members of the congregation (2005, pp. 43-44). Nonetheless, without recorded evidence it is impossible to know how these songs came into being. In the case of Yorùbá Pentecostal music, especially those thought to have been used at the 1930 revivals, discussions in Chapters Three and Six will be based on the evidence provided by the oral tradition and individuals who worked closely with revival exponents.

Olufemi Adedeji⁸⁶ is one of the few other scholars who has researched music making within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. In Adedeji (2007) he identifies praise-and-worship as a major music feature at Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings but suggests that the 'praise' and 'worship' genres could be perceived as one and the same, mirroring an interpretation that is common among most Yorùbá Pentecostal Christians, who sometimes favour the composite term 'praise-worship' instead of the separate categories of 'praise' and 'worship'. Nonetheless, scholars such as Pollard (2013, p. 34) and Carl (2015) emphasise the need for adherents to understand

⁸⁶ One of the foremost Professors of church music in Nigeria.

that both genres are not interchangeable. Carl (2015) argues that the main difference between ‘praise’ and ‘worship’ is the state of mind of the worshipper (p. 51): while praise is ‘more committed to thanksgiving’, in worship there is a direct communication between believers and God (ibid.). He also reports that during worship singing congregants are occasionally filled with the Holy Spirit, and this finds expression through speaking in tongues, prophecy and shedding of tears. Among Yorùbá Pentecostals, these kinds of religious fervour and expressions are considered to be a sign of God’s immediate presence⁸⁷. Other explorations of praise and worship music within Pentecostalism have been conducted by scholars such as Johnson (2011), Ingalls (2012), and Pollard (2013). For example, Johnson examined the integral part of praise and worship music during the services of African-American megachurches and demonstrated how these churches use praise and worship music to achieve efficacy at weekly services. Her main contribution lies in the thorough exploration of the origin of praise and worship music, as well as the characteristic features of this genre of Christian music.

Although the majority of congregants at Yorùbá Pentecostal Churches continue to adopt ‘praise-worship’ in reference to this type of music, there is no denying the fact that these two genres have clear distinctive characteristics. Adedeji (2007) explains that praise singing involves upbeat musical performances which often includes congregational dance while worship singing, on the other hand, features more solemn musical renditions, mostly unmetered or in slow meter. Further to this, Carl (2015) mentions that instead of clapping and dancing, congregants sway their bodies, raise their arms upwards, kneel or lie down on the floor during worship singing. The expressive behaviours exhibited during praise and worship sessions arguably contribute to the ecstatic experience reportedly felt during Pentecostal services. I

⁸⁷ See Chapter Five for more on Praise and Worship Music in the Yorùbá Pentecostal Church.

concur with Mossiere (2012, p. 64) that the lyrics of these songs (both praise and worship) seem carefully composed to complement the music's rhythms and melodies and thereby stimulate this type of emotional response and expression from congregants.

The debate of whether Pentecostalism should be conceived as a phenomenon that developed from a single-source or multiple sources often emerges during discussions relating to Pentecostalism and its origins. In his work, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (2004), Allan Anderson opines that a one-source view of Pentecostalism is inappropriate; instead, he supports the idea of multi-source where regions are believed to have experienced Pentecostalism independent of each other. In other words, Pentecostal experiences and expressions are unique to the people of the region where it occurs. Scholars such as Kalu (2008) and Creech (1996) concur with this stance. On the other hand, scholars like Arnett (2012) and Cecil (2006) argue that Pentecostalism evolved from Azusa Street, and therefore believe claims of multiple sources should be disregarded. In this work⁸⁸, I will explore these two positions to ascertain if the Pentecostal experience witnessed during the first few decades of the twentieth century in Yorùbáland occurred without influence from the Azusa experience.

1.5. Summary

In this chapter, I assessed the broader culture of Yorùbáland to establish a firm foundation upon which to develop an understanding of the activities of Yorùbá Pentecostals. The findings from this assessment of the religious landscape of Yorùbá people (prior to the arrival of missionaries⁸⁹) identify them as having been fervent followers of a traditional religion in which

⁸⁸ See Chapter Two.

⁸⁹ The foundation of music, and the types of music reported as featuring prominently in Yorùbáland during the pre-missionary times will be assessed in Chapter Three.

the concept of a supreme deity was already firmly in place – thereby facilitating a relatively smooth transition from one belief system to Yorùbá Pentecostalism. The discussion in this chapter revealed that the acceptance of Christianity by the Yorùbá was a gradual process as evidenced by Table 1.1. However, the activities of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement from the 1920s onward seem to have influenced the rise in the number of people who started identifying as Christians, with a surge in the number of those who identified as Christians occurring between 1921 and 1952. This chapter also provided a summary of my fieldwork activities in south-west Nigeria between December 2015 and May 2016, discussing the relevance of the visited sites to the overall discussion of Yorùbá Pentecostalism and its music. Having now also detailed my methodological approach and source materials, the groundwork is ready to delve deeper into Yorùbá Pentecostal culture.

CHAPTER TWO

‘Behold, I will do a New Thing’: The Emergence of Yorùbá Pentecostalism

2.0. Introduction

This chapter examines the development of Yorùbá Pentecostal movement from a historical perspective, charting its emergence as a distinctive religious phenomenon in Nigeria, and more specifically within Yorùbáland. It aims to provide answers to questions concerning Yorùbá Pentecostalism’s historical background: did it first appear as a direct response to, or consequence of, the Azusa Street Revival that occurred in the US in 1906⁹⁰? What factors led to its emergence and subsequent reported expansion? Who are its exponents? In approaching these questions and related issues, the chapter will trace the emergence of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement from its prayer group foundation and the 1930 Òkè Oyè revival which arguably established Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland. As a prelude, I shall provide a brief survey of Christianity in Nigeria to reveal the contextual background from which Yorùbá Pentecostalism developed. This kind of historical exploration is necessary to understand Pentecostal practices and experiences, including the musical components.

2.1. Christianity in Nigeria

Christianity was first introduced to Nigeria in the fourteenth century by Portuguese explorers (Olofinjana, 2011, p. xvi). In addition to Christianity, these explorers who were Catholics also brought trade (ibid.). Hence, Catholicism is arguably the first form of Christianity to exist in Nigeria. These pioneers of Catholic presence in Nigeria were primarily based around Benin⁹¹

⁹⁰ Some scholars argue that it should be seen as the origin of Pentecostalism. For more on this subject, see the section titled, *Yorùbá Pentecostalism: Azusa-derived or independently fomented?*

⁹¹ Located in the present Edo State, Southern Nigeria.

and Warri⁹², with the latter proving to be their most successful site (ibid.). However, the missionary effort of these explorers seems to have been inadequate, perhaps because they experimented in blending mission work with trade. Subsequently, the once vibrant Christian mission soon became history in the regions of Benin and Warri (p. xvii).

Although Akinsanya (2000) and Wariboko (2014), like Olofinjana, claim that it was the Portuguese who first attempted introducing Christianity to Nigeria, they argue that this actually took place later, in the fifteenth century. Akinsanya further posits certain factors as being responsible for the failed missionary effort of the Portuguese. First, he suggests that the mission failed because kings and communities who seem to have embraced Roman Catholic missionaries at the time, did so mainly because of possible trade benefits. Additionally, they were possibly impressed by the military power and magnificence of the Portuguese and hoped they would get military help and weapons from them (Akinsanya, 2000, pp. 38-39). Second, it is reported that the lack of resident clergies and shortage of staff led to the collapse of missionary activities. In other words, the people often returned to their traditional religion worship once the missionaries had gone (ibid., p. 41 & Wariboko, 2014, p. 22). Third, Akinsanya suggests that the Portuguese lacked sufficient knowledge of the traditional religious worldview and culture of the people, and hence struggled to communicate the Christian message in context-sensitive ways. It is believed that this challenge led many to perceive Christianity as a ‘western religion which was not suitable to their cultural context’ (Akinsanya, pp. 42-43). Interestingly, subsequent missionaries to Nigeria faced the same challenge; they appear to have been unwilling to relate their Christian message in a manner that resonated with the practices and beliefs of the already existing traditional religion. For example, it is reported

⁹² Located in the present Delta State, South-South Nigeria.

that teachings from these mission churches did not address the ‘reality of evil and malevolent forces as embodied by forces of witchcraft and sorcery’ (Idowu, 2012b, p. 19).

The second coming of Christianity into Nigeria seems to have been aided by the establishment of missionary societies⁹³ across the world in the 1700s and 1800s. Scholars such as Olofinjana (2011, p. xvii), Ajani (2013, p. 64) and Ojo (2006), however, maintain that the migration of returnee slaves from Freetown, Sierra Leone played a vital part in the second coming of Christianity to Nigeria. One such scholar, Olofinjana (2011), mentions that ‘some of the slaves who returned to Lagos, Badagry and Abeokuta were already Christians as a result of the presence of missionaries in Freetown. [So], when they arrived at their destinations and discovered that there was nothing relating to Christianity they sent for help, contacting the missionaries in Sierra Leone’ (p. xvii). Others, like Peel (1968), claim that Christianity easily accessed Yorùbáland because the Yorùbá traditional religion was ‘loosely organised’, teaching that the people should be ‘essentially tolerant towards other religious techniques which they believed promised similar benefits’ (p. 290). There is also the argument that Christianity offered more than mere religion, appearing in conjunction with education, healthcare and trade⁹⁴.

Whatever the factors that motivated the coming of the missionaries, it is on record that several mission societies courted Nigeria from the mid nineteenth century. The first to arrive was the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1842⁹⁵. Thereafter, other foreign mission bodies such as the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern

⁹³ The Baptist Missionary Society, England - 1798; London Missionary Society - 1799; British Foreign Bible Society - 1803; University Missions to Central Africa - 1857. For more, See Olofinjana (2011, p. xvii).

⁹⁴ See Ojo (2006, p. 6) and Peel (1968, p.48).

⁹⁵ This group of missionaries were headed by Reverend Thomas Freeman (Omotoye, 2011 & Olukoya, 2009).

Baptist Convention of the United States, and the Catholic Society of African Missions of France followed⁹⁶. Consequent upon their missionary exploits in Nigeria during this period, the above-mentioned churches and others in their category are often referred to as ‘Mission Churches’ – and my study also adopts this phrase in reference to them.

Around the 1860’s, missionaries in Yorùbáland seem to have been slightly hindered by the Ijaiye war of 1858 – 1862. However, they began to pick up from the mid-1870s (Peel, 1968, p. 49), succeeding in establishing Christianity among the people. Nevertheless, they soon experienced a major crisis towards the end of the nineteenth century with many leaving to form their own churches, and nationalistic spirit building amongst the more educated Yorùbá elites fuelling them to begin fighting colonialism, racial superiority and white leadership (Wariboko, 2014, p. 23, Olofinjana, 2011, p. xvii-xviii & Peel, 1968, p. 50). These tensions led to the secession⁹⁷ of many from the mission churches. Although those who seceded claimed to have done so in order to experience what could best be described as the indigenisation⁹⁸ of Christianity, most of ‘their organisational structures, doctrinal positions, rites and rituals remained identical to [those of] the mission churches’ (Olofinjana, 2011, p. xviii). From the foregoing, it is evident that the seceding factions became uncomfortable with being led by foreigners, probably because they felt these white missionaries did not accommodate their views. Whatever the case, I argue that having practiced Christianity for some time, the seceding groups perceived the blending of Christianity and traditional religion as a viable alternative. For example, their adoption of traditional practices such as divination, polygamy and the use

⁹⁶ Peel (1968); Omotoye (2011, p. 185); Olofinjana (2011, p. xvii).

⁹⁷ The Native Baptist Church seceded from the Lagos Baptist Church in 1888; The United Native African Church (UNA) was formed by members of Anglican and Methodist Churches in 1891; The Bethel African Church seceded from CMS St Paul’s Church, Breadfruit, Lagos in 1901; The United African Methodist Church, Eleja, Lagos seceded from the Methodist Church in 1917. For more see Olofinjana (2011).

⁹⁸ Indigenisation is used here in the manner described by Olofinjana (2011), ‘the process of indigenisation describes the efforts of African churches to accommodate certain African cultural practices such as polygamy, divination and the use of native medicine’ (p. xviii).

of traditional medicine suggests they were not ready to completely abstain from their traditional religious engagements which the missionaries considered to feature particular emphasis on the use of fetishes⁹⁹.

Music seems to have played a role in the secession from mission churches. Language became an issue during church music making as many did not understand English, the language in which songs were sung. Even in the rare instances when songs were translated, they still did not communicate effectively to the people because the melodies' contours did not conform to the tones of the Yorùbá lyrics. In relation to this, Idowu (2012b) writes, 'the hymns and lyrics were foreign and, to a largely illiterate audience, meaningless, leading to alienation and general spiritual dissatisfaction' (p. 19). From the foregoing discourse, I posit that the unfulfilled yearning of some members of the congregation for a more indulgent doctrine and worship experience is primarily responsible for secession at the early stage of the Nigerian Christian church. One gets the feeling that those who seceded at the time had the mind-set that it was impossible to be a Christian and a Yorùbá at the same time, especially as almost every indigenous concept was labelled as pagan, and therefore unacceptable. Nonetheless, as the popular Yorùbá adage goes, *Odò tó bá gbàgbé orísun è, máa gbe*, ('a river that forgets its source will dry up'): many of these 'new' churches failed on account of the absence of support from the mission churches and, in some cases, due to a lack of visionary leadership (see Ojo 2006, p. 7).

⁹⁹ See Peel (1968, p. 55) and Olofinjana (2011, p. xvii-xviii).

2.2. Pentecostalism in Nigeria

Pentecostalism in Nigeria is a movement that encompasses the whole nation. It is not confined to a particular region. However, the pivotal role of Yorùbáland in its emergence and sustenance cannot be over-emphasised. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, I have chosen to use ‘Yorùbá Pentecostalism’ and ‘Nigerian Pentecostalism’ interchangeably throughout this study. More so, the Pentecostal movement is reported to have started in Yorùbáland. In Olofinjana’s book entitled *20 Pentecostal Pioneers in Nigeria: Their lives, Their legacies* (2011), of all the twenty mentioned pioneers of Nigerian Pentecostalism, fifteen were men and women of Yorùbá origin. In present times too, the headquarters of Nigeria’s largest Pentecostal churches are situated in Yorùbáland, even though it comprises of people from different parts of the country.

Various scholars (Peel, 1968; Marshall, 1998; Ojo, 2006; Fatokun, 2009; Idowu, 2012b; Adeboye, 2007; and Wariboko, 2014) have written about the development of Nigerian Pentecostalism. Although these authors agree regarding key dates in Pentecostalism’s early beginnings in Nigeria, they seem to have varying ideas concerning how the Nigerian Pentecostal phenomenon should be periodised. For example, Matthew Ojo (2006) identifies three waves of Pentecostalism in Nigeria: (1) The activities of early twentieth century which led to the Pentecostal movement; (2) The 1952 and 1954 Latter Rain Revivals and (3) The Evangelistic meetings conducted in southern Nigeria by North American evangelists in 1960. Other scholars like Adeboye (2007) and Wariboko (2014) periodise Nigerian Pentecostalism as follows: the first phase started in 1930 with the Pentecostal movement; the second phase covers the period between the late 1970s and 1980s; while the third phase is set at around 1990 to the present¹⁰⁰. The latter periodisation is adopted in this study because it is widely accepted

¹⁰⁰ See the Scope of Study section in the Introduction Chapter for a breakdown of this simplified periodisation of Nigerian Pentecostalism that is adopted in this study.

and well structured to encompass Pentecostal activities from inception to present-day. On the other hand, Ojo's (2006) three waves of Pentecostalism is limited in scope as it only addresses events up until around 1960. The following section seeks to explore the Pentecostal concept of Holy Spirit and its significance among Yorùbá Pentecostals.

2.2.1. Who is the Holy Spirit?

As with most Pentecostalism-related studies, the theme of the Holy Spirit pervades this research, and therefore merits a somewhat comprehensive introduction. During one of his recorded teachings¹⁰¹, Daniel Olukoya, the General Overseer of Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM) mentions that the Holy Spirit¹⁰² is a personality, and that this explains why his sermon was entitled 'Who is the Holy Spirit?' and not, 'What is the Holy Spirit?'¹⁰³. This treatment of the Holy Spirit as a person and not a thing, which is evidently commonplace amongst Pentecostals, explains my use of 'he' and not 'it' in description. Yorùbá Pentecostals perceive the divine as existing in three parts: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit – often referred to as the 'Trinity'. Further to this, Pastor Enoch Adeboye, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) asserts that there is only one God, but this God manifests himself in three dimensions¹⁰⁴. Corroborating this, Olukoya mentions that, although the Godhead is comprised of three different components, it is still one, just as water exists in three forms – that is, liquid, ice and steam¹⁰⁵. He asserts that the Holy Spirit is the third person in the Godhead, citing various passages from the bible:¹⁰⁶ Genesis 1:26, 'And God said, Let *us*

¹⁰¹ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 1.

¹⁰² The "Holy Spirit" and "Holy Ghost" are used interchangeably, referring to the same entity. The Holy Spirit is also known as the Spirit of God.

¹⁰³ (14:10 – 14:19).

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 2 (11:56 – 12:07).

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 1 (31:55 – 32:29).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 29:07 - 31:49.

make man in our image...'¹⁰⁷; Genesis 11:7, 'Go to, let *us* go down and confound their language...'; and Isaiah 6:8, '...and who will go for *us*?'. In this way, Olukoya provides a biblical basis for his interpretation of the trinity, with the word 'us' indicating the concept of division within unity. In furtherance, he refers to Matthew 3:16 where God speaks from Heaven, proclaiming 'this is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased'; in this instance, God was in Heaven, His Son was present on earth, and the Holy Spirit was in-between as a dove. At other times, Adeboye argues that the Holy Spirit can manifest as a mighty rushing wind, as fire or even as oil¹⁰⁸.

In Pentecostal studies, it is commonplace to distinguish between Oneness and Trinitarian churches. The former believe that God is a single entity manifested in three ways, namely the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, while the latter believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are three separate entities that together make up the one God. In Yorùbá Pentecostalism, there is often no clear-cut distinction as to which category churches belong. This is because they often employ narratives that cut across both 'Oneness' and 'Trinitarian'. For example, Olukoya's analogy of the Trinity existing in a similar manner as water in its three forms fits with the Oneness ideology. On the other hand, his Matthew 3:16 explanation appears to support a Trinitarian understanding.

Like Western Pentecostal churches, Yorùbá Pentecostal churches emphasise the centrality of the Holy Spirit. He is seen as the one who initiates and empowers Pentecostal engagements (Titon, 1988, pp. 199-202). For example, he is often credited to be the force behind the growth of the Christian church, as well as the power behind the healings, miracles, signs and wonders witnessed in Pentecostal gatherings. Oftentimes in the churches I have visited, when

¹⁰⁷ Emphasis in these examples are mine.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 2 (14:55 – 36:05).

congregants come forward to share their testimony, the pastor in charge will say things like, ‘that is the work of the Holy Spirit. Only He could have done this...’. These eulogies demonstrate how the Holy Spirit is seen as the initiator of every ‘good’ thing that happens in the midst. Moreover, it is believed that Pentecostals can only access spiritual power after receiving the Holy Ghost. Citing Acts, Chapter 1, Verse 8, ‘Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you...’, Olukoya argues that the Holy Ghost is the only one that can endow Pentecostals with the power to fight spiritual battles. According to him, ‘the gateway to salvation is the cross, while the gateway to spiritual power, as well as the supernatural manifestation of the power of God is the Holy Spirit’¹⁰⁹.

The Holy Spirit is perceived among Yorùbá Pentecostals as the essence of life itself. This belief is further highlighted when they sing songs like, *Àfẹ mí mí mó ló lè so ni da’ là yè* (see transcription below in Example 2.1):



Example 2.1. *Àfẹ mí mí mó ló lè so ni da’ là yè*¹¹⁰.

Here the text may be translated as: ‘*Only the Holy Spirit can revive a person, Only the Holy Spirit can give life, He revives, He revives, Only the Holy Spirit can revive a person. Without the Holy Spirit, man is nothing*’. Significantly, this song is reported to have been widely used

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 1 (20:52 – 21:07).

¹¹⁰ See the texts and English translations of all music examples in this work in Appendix C.

during the early beginnings of Yorùbá Pentecostalism (Kingslake, 1951, p. 7), and it still features prominently today as I discovered during my fieldwork. Most of my respondents seem to suggest that much importance is given to the Holy Spirit because He is thought to be the only member of the Trinity that is ever present among humans. Hence, for them, He is the most important spiritual companion any individual should seek. Little wonder, in a personal communication¹¹¹, Olukoya referred to the lack of the Holy Spirit as a kind of ‘spiritual poverty’. Accordingly, the congregants’ collective recitation of ‘The Grace’ at the end of every Pentecostal service re-emphasises the Holy Spirit as an influential figure among Yorùbá Pentecostals:

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ
The Love of God, and the sweet fellowship of the Holy Spirit,
Be with us now and forevermore (Amen)

This recitation not only portrays the Holy Spirit as some entity believers yearn to have around them always; it also reinforces belief in the concept of Trinity.

There are two major types of baptism among Yorùbá Pentecostals: Water baptism and Holy Ghost or Spirit baptism. According to Harris (2006), these two manifestations, especially in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity have received little academic attention (p. 120). Water baptism takes place after an individual becomes born again¹¹². The Holy Ghost baptism reportedly follows almost immediately as it is courted as the sign of a new, personal relationship with God¹¹³. For example, at MFM, a Holy Ghost baptism session, also known as a ‘tarrying meeting’, is usually organised for those who have recently become born again and desire to be

¹¹¹ Interview via telephone, May 13, 2016.

¹¹² Being born again is to repent and confess past sins to God. Those who want to become born again are required to declare and accept Jesus Christ as their Lord and saviour; they also ask the Holy Spirit to come and inhabit their heart.

¹¹³ In other words, salvation is a prerequisite for either water baptism or Holy Ghost baptism.

filled with the Holy Spirit. As explained by Harris (2006), receiving the Holy Spirit baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues (glossolalia) is perceived as the proof of a true conversion¹¹⁴ (p. 135). The origin of this kind of meetings within Yorùbá Pentecostalism has been assessed by Peel (2000, p. 314). More so, as I observed during fieldwork, these ‘tarrying meetings’ are also attended by those who have since been born again but are yet to speak in tongues¹¹⁵.

During his research among Caribbean Pentecostals, Butler observed that they too ‘usually view speaking in tongues as evidence of Holy Spirit baptism... [although they] often do not believe this experience to be an indispensable component of biblical salvation’ (2005, pp. 14-15). Clearly then, this belief is not specific to Yorùbá Pentecostals. Nonetheless, to claim that all Pentecostal churches in Nigeria believe in the indispensability of Spirit baptism would be inaccurate. According to David Ogunbile¹¹⁶, a Professor of Religion and a practising Pentecostal, although speaking in tongues is widely used in Pentecostal churches, there remains a minority of believers who perceive it as not an indispensable sign of being imbued by the Holy Spirit.

The primary manifestation of Holy Ghost baptism is speaking in tongues: this expression of the Spirit is central to the Pentecostal experience and perceived among a majority as essential to one’s spiritual experience and spiritual identity. Carl (2015) argues that the baptism of the Spirit is the most important spiritual engagement for Pentecostals, and hence it is perceived as the core of their theology (p. 50). Similarly, Robbins (2004) identifies baptism of the Spirit as one of the most distinctive features of Pentecostal Christianity; he refers to it as one of the

¹¹⁴ For more on conversion in a religious context, see Titon (1988, pp. 196-200).

¹¹⁵ Such people are believed to be unserious with their spiritual lives, hence their inability to speak in tongues.

¹¹⁶ In a personal communication, March 31, 2016, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ilé-Ife. This scholar further explained that because tongues speaking is a spiritual exercise, it cannot be taught to a person.

‘rituals of rupture’, that is, a rite that highlights discontinuity with the aim of transforming the congregants (pp. 126-129).

Simply put, speaking in tongues is a transcendent experience during which a born again makes unknown utterances to either communicate with God or ‘serve as an intermediary for divine message transmission’ (Butler, 2005, p. 16). The earliest account of this kind of experience is found in Acts, Chapter 2. Besides, Pentecostals draw much of their doctrines from this book of the Bible. Notably, sometimes when filled with the Holy Spirit, a person could become ‘Slain in the Spirit’: this happens when the Holy Spirit fills a person to such an extent that he or she falls to the ground unconscious and is unable to stand for a period of time.

Interestingly, I was told during fieldwork that some people pretend to have received Spirit baptism by saying nonsensical syllables, or copy what they hear others say, simply because immense importance is attached to speaking in tongues among Pentecostals¹¹⁷. Further to this, speaking in tongues is perceived as a seal of authenticity and, accordingly, it is often regarded as a prerequisite for employment, promotion, or occupying a leadership position within Pentecostal church administration. Pastor Akinselure was keen to stress that individuals who fake Spirit baptism are not genuinely born again¹¹⁸. Interestingly, although mission churches share the belief (with Pentecostals) that Jesus died and was resurrected to become the saviour of the world, they initially did not perceive the act of speaking in tongues as evidence of being filled with the Holy Spirit. However, in recent times, some mission churches are known to have adopted glossolalia as doctrinal practice¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁷ When I asked about how they knew the glossolalia was fake, the clergymen had no clear-cut response but claimed that genuine tongues-speaking comes with spiritual power and authority with an almost instant spirit-filled manifestation.

¹¹⁸ In a personal communication, February 26, 2016, Mountaintop International Music School, Lagos.

¹¹⁹ For more on this subject, see the section titled ‘The Yorùbá Pentecostal Movement: Persecution and Internal Divisions’ later in this chapter.

There is a constant awareness of and belief in the supernatural world among Yorùbá Pentecostals. The spiritual realm is thought to dictate every action that takes place in the lives of people. I argue that this ideology developed from their prior encounter with traditional religion. As Poe (2008) rightly puts it, ‘the concerns over evil spirits and curses that constantly plagued the minds of the people left a void that did not find remedy in Christianity’ (p. 9). Arguably, this void was filled when ‘a source of empowerment by which evil spirits can be fought against and resisted’ became available through the introduction of the Holy Spirit and spiritual warfare by Pentecostalism (ibid.).

Yorùbá Pentecostals believe that evil spirits often attempt to take control of the human mind, but when someone is filled with the Holy Spirit, the supposedly bad spirits are unable to enter. Consequently, Spirit baptism is seen as a necessity to empower those who have the desire to resist and confront dark powers. According to Pastor Oloyede, ‘the Holy Spirit is stronger than evil forces, hence upon entering a person’s soul, He takes sole occupancy’¹²⁰. He traces this belief to the bible, citing 2 Corinthians 6:14 where Apostle Paul asked, ‘...what fellowship has light with darkness?’. Such discourse seems to suggest that a person’s soul is always occupied by some kind of spirits, either good or bad. In other words, an individual’s mind can never be empty, neither can it be inhabited by both good and evil spirits at any given time.

In continuation of my assessment of the historical background of Nigerian Pentecostalism, the following section discusses prominent figures and groups in the emergence of Pentecostalism in Nigeria.

¹²⁰ In a personal communication, May 6, 2016, MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

2.2.2. Garrick Sokari Braide

Garrick Sokari Braide, a former adherent of traditional religion, became a member of the Niger-Delta Anglican church in 1906 and was baptised in 1910 (Idowu, 2012b, p. 21). The Niger-Delta region is recognised as comprising Bayelsa, Delta and River States in present-day Nigeria. Despite being an Ijaw¹²¹, Braide had to learn the Anglican church catechism in Igbo language as that was the language of instruction in the Anglican Niger-Delta pastorate during the early twentieth century (Olofinjana, 2011, p.2). As Igbo language was not the official language of the Niger-Delta, the challenge of having to learn Christian practices in a different language arguably discouraged many Niger-Delta indigenes from becoming Christians (Ibid. p. 5). However, in following years, Braide reportedly introduced the use of indigenous language in lieu of Igbo within the Anglican Niger-Delta church (Ibid.).

In 1912, having noticed Braide's enthusiasm for religious exercises, the Anglican church pastorate accepted him as a lay preacher (Odey, 2013, p. 287). Olofinjana reported that despite serving within the Anglican church, Braide believed that the approach of the mission church did not proffer solution to the physical and spiritual challenges of the Niger-Delta people; hence he organised revival meetings where he taught indigenes to renounce their deities, destroy their fetishes and accept Jesus Christ (2011, p. 4). These evangelistic outreaches reportedly caused a significant increase in the number of Niger-Delta Christians, reduced the patronage of witch doctors, and effected a drastic fall in the sale of alcohol (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 6)¹²².

Furthermore, Braide's preaching style is believed to have contextualised the Bible, relating biblical examples with circumstances faced by the people, and this allegedly attracted many

¹²¹ Ijaw is one of the many tribes in the Niger-Delta region.

¹²² It is reported that up until around 1916, the British administration faced a deficit of £576,000 as a result of Garrick Sokari Braide's teachings against alcohol consumption (Ibid.).

followers (Odey, 2013, p. 288). It is understood that he and his followers emphasised holiness, purity in Christian living and belief in the Holy Spirit while reportedly recording tremendous successes in prophetic healing and accurate revelation (Ojo, 2006, p. 31; Ayegboyin & Ishola, 1997, p. 30). These doctrines are common with present-day Pentecostals. More so, scholars such as Olofinjana (2011, p. xix), Idowu (2012b, p. 21) and Odey (2013, p. 286) reveal that the prophetic ministry and revivals of Braide arguably laid the foundation for Pentecostalism in Nigeria.

In later years, the relationship between Braide and the Anglican church became sour due to a series of accusations. The mission church became suspicious and critical of Braide's evangelical activities claiming he did not apply the discipline of the Anglican church (Ayegboyin & Ishola, 1997, p. 31). He was accused of tolerating polygyny, encouraging personality worship by calling himself 'the second Elijah', and also instigating his followers to demand that the Anglican church creates the office of a prophet for him (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 8). The refusal of the church to accept this proposal reportedly led to a schism within the Niger-Delta Anglican church (Ibid.). More so, the colonial administration perceived Braide as a political instigator as some enigmatic statements were credited to him. (Ibid. p. 9). Hence, in March 1916, the Anglican-cum-prophet was arrested and imprisoned on charges of insurrection, blasphemy and schism (Odey, 2013, p. 288). He was released from prison in January 1918, a few days before his demise (Ibid.).

Despite Braide's pioneering work, little is known about him. Many present-day Christians in Nigeria are not familiar with his name. This is possibly because his life and activities have received little or no attention by academics (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 1; Odey 2013, p. 286). Also, pastors rarely refer to him when discussing the history of Nigerian Pentecostalism. His short life span and the series of controversies which reportedly plagued his life and ministry could

also be considered major factors contributing to his marginal significance within many circles. Regardless of his reported shortcomings, the preacher's impact on Nigerian Christianity, especially within the Niger-Delta region is significant. Moreover, Ojo in his study on Nigerian Pentecostalism, cites persecution as a hindrance to the sustenance of Braide's movement. In his words, 'the movement could have had a much wider impact if not for the opposition and the persecution by white missionaries and the colonial administration' (2006, p. 31).

After Braide's demise in 1918, his followers started the Christ Army Church under the leadership of a certain Rev. S.A. Coker¹²³. The church's name reflects the spiritual warfare consciousness of present-day Pentecostals, perhaps giving an indication of how deeply rooted spiritual warfare is in Nigerian Christianity. The Christ Army Church later began to face challenging situations such as a lack of funds and a poor organisational structure from 1939 onwards (Ojo, 2006, p. 31). The church recently celebrated its centenary¹²⁴.

Garrick Sokari Braide's continual stay in the mission church, his personal confinement to the Niger-Delta, as well as his non-affiliation to Yorùbáland means he does not fit within the scope of this study. Nevertheless, he deserves a mention because of his pioneering work as Nigeria's first indigenous revivalist.

2.2.3. Prayer groups

Prayer groups played an important role in the emergence and sustenance of Pentecostalism in south-west Nigeria. The first group during the period starting from 1918 was initially named the Diamond Society or Precious Stone (originally known in Yorùbá as *Egbé Òkuta Iyebíye*), and was formally inaugurated in July 1920 (Peel, 1968, p. 62). It was established by indigene

¹²³ Idowu (2012b, pp. 21-23); Olofinjana (2011, p. 9), Ojo (2006, p. 31).

¹²⁴ <http://www.nationalnetworkonline.com/vol13no4/ChristArmy.html>

members of the Anglican Church and other mission churches who desired to experience Christianity as recorded in Acts Chapter 2 (Idowu, 2008, p. 24). Prior to the great revivals of the 1930s and 1940s which are believed to have served as catalysts for the Pentecostal experience among Nigerian Christians, there existed a period which the Christ Apostolic Church¹²⁵ (CAC) constitution¹²⁶ refers to as the 1918-1928 Faith Tabernacle era, and the activities of the prayer groups were fundamental at that time. Notably, Pentecostal researchers such as Olofinjana (2011), Turner (1967), Peel (1968) and Omoyajowo (1982) refer to groups originating from 1918 onwards as African Initiated Churches (AIC)¹²⁷ or *Aladura* movement ('aladura' meaning 'praying people')¹²⁸. More so, the phrase 'Yorùbá Pentecostal movement' is occasionally used in lieu of the 'Aladura movement'.

These Prayer groups were set up across Nigeria by individuals such as Joseph Sadare, D.O. Odubanjo, I.B. Akinyele and Miss Sophia Odunlami – all Yorùbá people¹²⁹. Sadare served as the people's warden at St. Saviours Anglican church, Ijebu-Ode¹³⁰. He was a goldsmith, a prominent man in Ijebu, and 'a lay member of the Diocesan Synod since 1906' (Peel, 1968, p. 62). He was one of the earliest converts to Christianity and, in 1913, he founded a grammar school with the first series of classes held in the church compounds (Ibid.). Another pioneering member of the Diamond Society was Odubanjo, one of the few literate church leaders of the time. He was responsible for establishing contact with the Faith Tabernacle (USA) in later years. Akinyele, meanwhile, achieved the feat of becoming a royal father when sworn in as the Olúbàdàn of Ibàdàn in the mid-Twentieth Century. Arguably, his ascent to the throne as the paramount ruler of Ibadan, the largest city in Yorùbáland, would have been of immense help

¹²⁵ One of the pioneering Pentecostal churches in Nigeria.

¹²⁶ See <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>.

¹²⁷ They are also known as Africa Independent Churches.

¹²⁸ Olofinjana, 2011, p. xviii.

¹²⁹ <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>.

¹³⁰ Ojo (2006, p. 32).

to the Pentecostal movement. Odunlami, one of the most influential women in the Diamond Society at the time, was a young school mistress who saw visions that God would send rain that would cure people of their sicknesses. After this reportedly happened, she gained a following and became a travelling preacher (Peel, 1968, p. 62). This episode is recorded as the only account of water cure prior to 1930 when Joseph Ayodele Babalola, the acclaimed father of Nigerian Pentecostalism¹³¹, emerged with the doctrine of divine water healings. As will be discussed later in this chapter, water cure has since become a major Yorùbá Pentecostal practice.

The Diamond Society seems to have benefitted from the influenza outbreak of 1918¹³², when churches and other religious houses were ordered by government decree to close (Peel, 1968, pp. 60-62). As Peel argues, Yorùbá people ‘demanded a religious interpretation’ for their troubles and, in addition, they sought divine solutions; apparently, the prayer groups could provide more convincing answers, thereby attracting people away from traditional religion and the mission churches. Wariboko (2014) attests that people were particularly drawn to the group’s visionary experiences, supernatural healing, promises of deliverance, and its emphasis on the efficacy of prayer (p. 18). The Anglican Church and other mission churches soon became uncomfortable with the regular prayer meetings of the Diamond Society, perhaps because they thought it could lead to the creation of a new Church. Peel reveals that the crisis between the group and the Anglican church initially started ‘after some [church] members’ young children had died’, and the Diamond Society members claimed that the deaths were due to their having been baptised; God had revealed in ‘a vision that infant baptism was wrong’ (1968, p. 63). Meanwhile, the Anglican authority as with other mission churches objected to the Society’s

¹³¹ For more on Babalola, see the section titled ‘Joseph Ayodele Babalola’ below.

¹³² It was reported that about 250,000 people died in south-west Nigeria alone during the influenza epidemic of 1918 (Idowu, 2012a, p. 15). Famine and depression were also reported during this period (Peel, 1968, p. 292).

‘use of faith healing’, and ‘reliance on dreams and visions for guidance’ (ibid.). Corroborating this, the CAC constitution asserts that:

...tension rose between the group [Diamond Society] and the Anglican Church over practices of divine healings; opposition to infant baptism, reliance on dreams and visions, abstention from dancing, drumming, debt-owing, drinking of alcohol, gambling and mixing with non-Christians¹³³.

Diamond Society members and their followers subsequently left the mission churches and withdrew their children from mission schools. This period is said to have been challenging for mission churches, especially since the Diamond Society attracted some Yorùbá elites and also established prayer groups in places such as Lagos, Ijebu-Ode, Ibadan, Ilesha, and Zaria (Idowu, 2008, p. 24).

While working as a clerk with the Nigeria Police in 1917 at Warri in mid-west Nigeria, Odubanjo had been impressed by an article titled, ‘The Seven Principles of Prevailing Prayer’ from *The Sword of the Spirit* publication of Faith Tabernacle, Philadelphia, USA; and since he had previously exchanged mail with Pastor A. Clark, leader of the Faith Tabernacle, he helped the Diamond Society establish contact with the American group (Idowu, 2012b, p. 24). Pastor Clark is reported to have advised and encouraged the Diamond Society through sharing correspondence and sending tracts and magazines (Peel, 1968, p. 64). The American preacher was later accused of adultery and expelled by the Faith Tabernacle¹³⁴ (Ibid. p. 69). This development and others meant the Diamond Society opted out of their affiliations with the Faith Tabernacle group in following years.

The foregoing discourse on the Diamond Society prayer group is necessary because of its importance in understanding the foundation and activities of the early Yorùbá Pentecostal

¹³³ <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp> (Accessed 17 August 2015).

¹³⁴ He however went ahead to form another Church – First Century Gospel Church (Peel, 1968, p. 69).

movement. The discussion also serves as introduction for the assessment of the life and ministry of Joseph Ayodele Babalola, the acclaimed father of Nigerian Pentecostalism.

2.2.4. Joseph Ayodele Babalola

Most passages of the Bible, especially the Old Testament describe God as the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. In a similar manner, most Pentecostals in Nigeria often refer to God as ‘the God of Babalola’¹³⁵ during prayers and songs of praise and worship. This perhaps shows how important the man –Joseph Ayodele Babalola – is in the annals of Nigerian Pentecostalism. Due to his reported pivotal role in the formation of the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), it is unsurprising that the church decided to name their university after him – Joseph Ayo Babalola University (JABU).



Figure 2.1: The front gate of the Joseph Ayo Babalola University, Osun State, Nigeria.

¹³⁵ *Olorun Babalola.*

Babalola was born on April 25, 1904 in Odo-Owa, Ilofa¹³⁶ to Christian parents¹³⁷. In 1918, he left Ilofa and travelled to Lagos with his uncle, Moses Oni Rotimi whose job involved frequently moving from one city to another (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 12). As a result of the many transfers, it is reported that Babalola found it difficult to settle down in school, leaving primary education at Standard four¹³⁸, and having a limited command of English language (Idowu, 2008, p. 20; Olofinjana, 2011, p. 12). This explains why his sermons were in Yorùbá. At a focused group discussion organised during my fieldwork, attendees (clergymen and music ministers) argued whether education played any significant role in Babalola's ministry; although Pentecostal preachers often attest that education has little or no bearing upon a minister's 'anointing'¹³⁹, the majority of contributors at the discussion seemed to concur that further education could have enhanced Babalola's ministerial reach, perhaps even making him known worldwide in the manner of John Wesley and George Whitefield.

After leaving school, Babalola first trained to be a blacksmith and mechanic but lacked adequate funds to set-up business upon completion (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 13). This led him to learn how to drive a steamroller at the Public Works Department in Osogbo, becoming a certified driver, operator and supervisor in the year 1928 (Idowu, 2008, p. 20). In June of 1928, Babalola was contracted to perform repair works on the Ilesa-Akure road. Whilst on the project, the engine of his steamroller stopped working on a fateful day in September. With the knowledge he had acquired from his mechanic training, Babalola attempted to repair the steamroller but discovered to his amazement that it had no mechanical fault (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 13). Nonetheless, he continued in his attempt to discover what could be wrong with the

¹³⁶ This location is presently known as Ekiti Local Government Area in Kwara State, Nigeria (Idowu, 2008, p. 19).

¹³⁷ His father, David Rotimi; and his mother, Martha Talabi Rotimi (Idowu, 2008, p. 19).

¹³⁸ Standard four was used at the time to refer to class four in the Primary Education System.

¹³⁹ The term 'anointing' is often used among Pentecostals to mean a measure of spiritual gift an individual possesses. This spiritual endowment is understood to ensure ministerial success. At other times, it is used to refer to the power of God. For more on the topic of Anointing, see Chapter Six.

machine. Interestingly, reports claim that like the Biblical Moses and Samuel, God called out to Babalola by name. In D. O. Babajide (1975, p. 4 as cited by Idowu, 2008, pp. 20-21), Babalola recounts the events that led to him becoming a Pentecostal gospel preacher.

On a certain day in October 1928 as I was about to leave my work at about 12:30 pm, I heard a loud voice calling me from above saying, 'Joseph Babalola, leave this job you are doing, if you don't leave this year, you shall be cut off from the earth'. I ask[ed] the workers under me (there were 50 of them) whether they heard the voice, but they said no. At exactly this time the second day, the voice called to me likewise. The voice shouted at me, telling me to leave that place but I ignored it...

I find it interesting that this story about Babalola is recounted among present-day Pentecostals with a strong parallel to the biblical figure of Jonah who initially ignored the call of God. Hence, I argue that this comparison to Jonah is an attempt to legitimise Babalola's call to ministry. As highlighted in the above text, Babalola ignored the voice that spoke to him and continued in his attempt to fix the steamroller. However, in the following days, the voice reportedly kept on calling out to him, even louder with no one else able to hear it except him. Eventually, the voice added that the steamroller would only work if Babalola quit the job and did as he was being instructed. According to Olofinjana (2011, p. 14), it was at this point that Babalola asked '*Iwo talo npe mi, ati pe ise kini ofe kin se?*' meaning, 'Who exactly are you that is calling me, and what job do you want me to do?' The voice then replied:

If you leave your present job, I will lead you into the work you are to do for me. I will send you a message to the world. If you deliver this message, I will make you a great and powerful man. But if you refuse to deliver it, I will cut you off from the face of the earth.

Subsequently, Babalola mysteriously saw three palm leaves stuck to the steamroller; the first was dead and dry, the second was becoming dry, while the third was fresh and green. Following this, the voice allegedly told him that towns and villages which accepted the gospel of Jesus

Christ as preached by him would be like the third palm leaf (Peel, 1968, p. 70). Presumably, those who refused the gospel would face difficult times.



Figure 2.2: Ikeji Arakeji, Osun State, Nigeria. The site where the voice called out to Babalola in the present-day (April 8, 2016). The site has since been converted into a prayer altar where people come to pray, believing that God will hear and answer them. As can be seen, water and oil are placed on the altar by visitors. They believe the power of God (anointing) will flow into them.

The above-described encounters eventually led to Babalola's resignation on October 12, 1928. Although uncertain of what lay ahead, he obeyed the persistent call of the voice believing it to be the voice of God (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 24).

At the time of his resignation, Babalola lived (with the family of a friend he knew from school) in Ipetu Ijesa town, located near the spot where the steamroller broke down. This friend introduced him to a house fellowship¹⁴⁰ led by a certain Joseph Fapohunda¹⁴¹. During this period, Babalola joined the group whenever he was available, while concentrating his efforts on discovering what exactly God wanted him to do. Subsequently, he embarked on several

¹⁴⁰ House fellowship is a weekly prayer and bible study meeting held at the home of a believer. This practice is common among Yorùbá Pentecostals till date.

¹⁴¹ Fapohunda was a native of Ipetu Ijesa who worked as a cocoa produce merchant before he claimed God called him to serve (Idowu, 2008, p. 78).

periods of prayer and fasting¹⁴² in the mountains – a fairly common approach to concentrating the mind and body within Yorùbá Pentecostalism, with various well-recognised prayer mountains scattered across the country. This kind of practice is what Nelson (2012) described as ‘ritual of observance’ – that is ‘events framed in terms of obedience to spiritual directives’ (p. 23).

On a certain day, Babalola attended the fellowship as usual but, this time, he had the Pentecostal experience. In a personal communication with Idowu (2008), Madam Deborah, one of Joseph Fapohunda’s (the fellowship leader) daughters recounts what happened during prayers:

Usually Babalola wouldn’t talk to people, he was the quiet type. He was there as a stranger and nobody knew him or where he came from. He was a naturally quiet person. But on that day something came upon him in prayer and he shouted. As he prayed, his voice grew louder and he roared like a lion and people far and near outside the house could hear his voice. The whole house shook as he prayed... We knew then that a power, the Holy Spirit had come upon him. He began to prophesy. He told my Father that he was going to have a male child (which came to pass shortly thereafter). He said also that God has sent him to his home town to go and warn the people. We knew then that the Holy Ghost had come upon him (p. 79).

Although Babalola could possibly have had other Pentecostal experiences during his many personal prayers and retreats, this account constitutes the first to have been witnessed by other people. Madam Deborah further revealed that soon after the experience, Babalola left Ipetu Ijesa town, and they did not hear of him again until the news of his Òke Oyè¹⁴³ revival broke out. She mentioned that before leaving, Babalola gave all his savings from driving the steamroller to the fellowship, asking that they use it to build a place of worship (Idowu, 2008, p. 79).

¹⁴² *Fast* or *fasting* is used to mean abstinence from any kind of food or drink.

¹⁴³ Òke Oyè literally means Oyè hill. Located in Osun State, Nigeria, Òke Oyè is the name of the town where Pentecostalism reportedly started in Yorùbáland. For more, see the section titled *The 1930 Òke Oyè Revival* later in this chapter.

Following these developments, Babalola reportedly received more instructions through the Holy Spirit to undergo further periods of fasting and praying¹⁴⁴, during which he had different visions and revelations from God. During these same periods, he began to visit towns and villages in accordance with the instructions he had received, ‘to warn and preach the message of deliverance to the people – a people that had been enmeshed in total darkness’ (Idowu, 2008, p. 79). The narrative implies therefore that, even though Christianity had been introduced to the people and many already identified themselves as Christians, the worship of traditional deities was still widely practised, thereby suggesting a syncretic religious outlook - the fusion of traditional religion with Christianity. It is noteworthy that, despite Babalola’s acceptance in the majority of the places he visited, he was initially refused to preach and teach in his home town. Present-day Pentecostal preachers such as Olukoya often connects this to Jesus’ comment in Matthew 13:57 (NLT¹⁴⁵) and Mark 6:4, ‘*A prophet is honoured everywhere except in his own hometown*’.

Most accounts of Babalola’s life claim that the preacher saw Jesus Christ in a vision¹⁴⁶, who anointed him, adorned him with flowers, gave him oil to anoint the sick, a rod to serve as a sign of authority wherever he went, a sanctified bottle of water for healing, and a bell to ring before and after prayers. The events in this alleged vision would later become part of Babalola’s doctrinal practices, and by extension Yorùbá Pentecostal Churches. He is widely reputed to have introduced and emphasised the two fundamental practices of water cure and anointing oil in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. For example, many churches are known to use ‘oil’ as a means of healing the sick. They often ask their congregation to bring at least a bottle of olive

¹⁴⁴ Perhaps it is important to mention that the length of days Babalola engaged in fasting and prayer before the commencement of his ministry has often been disputed. While some claim he fasted for forty days, there seem to be more evidence supporting that his first fast lasted for seven days. Perhaps, the claim of a forty days fast among some believers is aimed at constructing some kind of resemblance with Jesus’ forty days fast.

¹⁴⁵ *New Living Translation* of the Bible.

¹⁴⁶ Fatokun (2009); Idowu (2008 & 2012b); Olofinjana (2012).

oil to meetings which they often tag as ‘Anointing Service’. At some points during the service, songs and prayers are said over the olive oil and, thereafter, the presiding Pastor says to the congregants that the oil in their hands can no longer be referred to as ‘ordinary olive oil’ but ‘Anointing oil’. They often charge members to develop strong faith when applying the oil on their bodies, stating that if congregants adhere to this, healing will take place. As observed during fieldwork, preachers often use James 5:14-15 to support the ‘anointing oil’ practice:

Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him¹⁴⁷ (James 5:14-15).

Arguably, the practice of using olive oil or anointing oil in a Christian context dates back to the Old Testament Bible days when God instructed prophets to anoint certain people with olive oil as a symbol of setting them apart for service in the capacity of prophets, priests and kings¹⁴⁸. At other times, the olive oil was used to anoint the tabernacle of the Lord in order to make it qualify as holy¹⁴⁹. Interestingly too, many Pentecostals perceive ‘oil’ as one of the symbols of the Holy Spirit.

Further to this, the concept of water cure¹⁵⁰ as supposedly given to Babalola by God is commonplace in Yorùbá Pentecostal Churches such as the CAC, MFM and RCCG. For example, the MFM church which seems to adopt most of Babalola’s and the early CAC church’s rituals, organises an annual event tagged as the ‘Water of Fire programme’, from which many have professed being healed from mysterious diseases and sicknesses after using or drinking the water¹⁵¹. Dr Daniel Olukoya, the General Overseer of MFM, a self-proclaimed

¹⁴⁷ Mark 6:13 is another supporting scripture that is often quoted.

¹⁴⁸ See Exodus 40:15, 1 Samuel 10:1, 1 Samuel 16:1-13.

¹⁴⁹ See Exodus 30:22-29, Exodus 40:9-11.

¹⁵⁰ That is, water that has been prayed over, a similar concept as that of the anointing oil.

¹⁵¹ See sample testimony video in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 3 (1:37:07 - 1:47:34).

disciple of Babalola refers to the act of praying over the water or reading scriptures over the water as ‘troubling the water’¹⁵². In the prayer excerpt below, Olukoya references the event in John 5:4¹⁵³ where the Angel of God is reported to have troubled the water.

Father in the name of Jesus! Father in the name of Jesus! Father in the name of Jesus! According to your commandment, we lift this water of fire unto you. Fire consumes things, [so] as we drink this water, let it consume every infirmity, let it consume every bad luck. Let it consume every power of darkness. Let it become the water of deliverance, the water of power, the water of fire, the water of strength. The Angel that troubled the water of Bethesda, let that Angel trouble this water now in the name of Jesus. Thank you heavenly Father, in Jesus name we pray (Amen) – Olukoya, 2016¹⁵⁴.

This prayer excerpt reveals some intrinsic and commonplace features. It starts with a threefold, ‘father in the name of Jesus’, reinforcing the concept of trinity. For the same reason, at the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) which Babalola led (post-1930) with the support of other exponents like Odubanjo and Akinyele, before congregants begin to pray, they always say, *Ní orúko Jésù* (meaning, in the name of Jesus) three times. This practice and others like the water cure is reputed to have developed from Babalola and his cohorts¹⁵⁵. In the prayer text above, the preacher seems to suggest that such practices are divinely commissioned. Unsurprisingly, the text recognises the existence of ‘powers of darkness’ and the conflict between these supposed dark forces and Pentecostal Christians. It also highlights the functions of what Yorùbá Pentecostals call water of fire.

¹⁵² See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 3 (6:05:18 – 6:12:37).

¹⁵³ Here, the angel of God often go down and trouble a particular river at specific times, and whosoever is first to enter the pool thereafter is healed of any disease or sickness he or she may have.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 4 (1:48:29 – 1:49:40).

¹⁵⁵ In addition to establishing these key Pentecostal practices, Idowu told me during interview (9 May 2016) that Babalola was also ‘a great composer and singer’. These claims are also documented in his study, Idowu, 2012a, p. 39. He mentioned further that some of the song texts have been preserved, but no academic study has yet been done on them. Accordingly, I will investigate the subject by assessing some of these alleged Babalola works in Chapters Three and Six of this dissertation.

The water cure doctrine allegedly introduced by Babalola has since become commonplace among present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal Christians. Oftentimes, as witnessed at the MFM church, congregants are asked to bring three bottles of water to the water of fire programme, and different sets of prayers are said over each bottle by the presiding pastor. However, before commencing he is known to inform the congregation on the type of prayer he is about to say, presumably to ensure the bottles are appropriately labelled.



Figure 2.3: MFM International Headquarters. Congregants lifting their bottle of water for prayers.

The entire content of the first water bottle is to be consumed on the prayer ground. It is widely believed that this water serves as spiritual immunity. The excerpt earlier provided is an example of the type of prayer often said on the first bottle of water. The second bottle is expected to serve as a tool for territorial deliverance. After the prayers for this have been said, congregants are instructed to pour its content around the perimeter of their homes and the lintels of their doors and windows. It is believed that this water will spiritually cleanse their house and its surroundings, protecting them from evil. After prayer has been said on the third bottle, congregants are advised to take the bottle home and use it whenever unpleasant situations such as sicknesses or spiritual attacks arise. They are advised to ensure it is not used up until the

next edition of the programme. In addition to the Water of Fire, the MFM church organises a water-based revival service tagged ‘Manna Water programme’. In this case congregants are told to bring just one bottle of water, which is then ‘troubled’, and drunk in its entirety in the ritual space¹⁵⁶.

Moving on from Babalola’s supposed doctrinal influence on present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, the following paragraph will assess events in his ministry from around 1929 leading up to the 1930 Òke Oyè revival.

Having been praying for a pivotal ministerial leader, in 1929 the Diamond Society reportedly heard of exploits by a young man, Babalola, who they invited to come and address them (Idowu, 2012b, pp. 48-49). He honoured the invitation, and the meeting took place in a filled-to-capacity hall at Èbúté-Eléfun, Lagos State, with many travelling from afar to hear his testimony (Idowu, 2008, p. 25)¹⁵⁷. Babajide, one of the witnesses at the meeting (cited by Idowu, 2008, p. 25), recounts what happened:

The whole of Lagos and Ebute Metta shook when he came. He preached a wonderful sermon that touched [our heart]. The Holy Spirit told him to join the fellowship...and he did that. Several works of healing were brought to him when he was here and the Lord stretched forth his hand to heal many people from various churches. Since the days of the apostles we have not seen such a manifestation full of great wonders of the power of God like this in any land.

After the meeting, Joseph Babalola was baptised¹⁵⁸ at Èbúté Metta, Lagos on December 9, 1929. Accounts like the one above suggests that the Diamond Society leaders regarded

¹⁵⁶ I was told that this is done with reference to the Biblical Manna which must be completely consumed without left overs.

¹⁵⁷ Babalola spoke for several hours recounting his call to ministry and the miracles God had performed through him. Idowu, 2008, p. 25.

¹⁵⁸ Although he had been baptised as an infant based on the practice of the mission churches, it was imperative for him to be baptised to signify new birth as preached by the Diamond Society at the time. It is now standard practice in Yorùbá Pentecostal Churches for new converts to be baptised once they become born again. Till date, infant baptism is not practiced among Nigerian Pentecostals. Peel (1968, p. 70) believes Babalola was baptised

Babalola as a timely answer to their prayers for an Apostle who would demonstrate the power of God as they had read about in the Bible but not experienced in the mission churches. Before committing to follow him, however, they asked a certain J.A. Medaiyese to accompany Babalola to his hometown and verify Babalola's claims (Idowu, 2008, p. 25). Medaiyese's positive feedback confirmed to the group that Babalola's ministry was genuine.

In July 1930, the Diamond Society members met in Iléshà. The meeting was aimed at addressing some salient doctrinal issues (Peel, 1968, p. 91). However, compared to the Lagos meeting, the Ilesha assembly had more people in attendance as delegates were sent from almost every state of the federation (Idowu, 2008, pp. 26-27). Again, Babalola was invited to share his testimony with this much bigger audience. The meeting commenced but he was reportedly kept in a separate room to await being summoned to address the delegates. While in this room, a procession of weeping mourners caught his attention; a young child, the only son of his parents, had died and they were heading out to bury him (Fatokun, 2009, p. 41). Interview respondents and recorded accounts¹⁵⁹ claim that, being moved by God, Babalola came out, halted the procession, and prayed for the child who afterwards came back to life. Idowu recounts that Babalola felt compassion for the mourners, asked them to lay the child down, 'rang his bell and prayed for the spirit of the dead child to return to his body, and the miracle happened as the child revived and rose up from the dead' (2008, p. 28). It is reported that the celebratory shouts of those who witnessed the revival of the child drew the attention of Diamond Society delegates from their meeting. Many who had had doubts about the concept of divine healing were reportedly converted, thereby addressing one of the meeting's major concerns.

by Odubango while Akinsanya (2000, p. 96) and Idowu (2012b, p. 49) argue that Babalola's baptism was conducted by Shadare.

¹⁵⁹ Fatokun (2009); Idowu (2008).

In a personal communication with Idowu in 2009, Niran Ogundipe, the son of the child who had been raised in 1930, John Obi Ogundipe¹⁶⁰, revealed his family's own version of the story, which differs in various respects (Idowu, 2012a, p. 20). He claims that seven herbalists were consulted to resuscitate his father at the time, but to no avail. Hence the dead child was purposefully brought to Babalola the next day as they had heard he would be in town; so it was no coincidence that the two came into contact.

During his 80th birthday celebration in 2000, John Obi Ogundipe recounted how onlookers at his 1930 resurrection erupted into spontaneous singing of *Omi lo fi se' wò sàṅ*¹⁶¹ (Idowu, 2012a, p. 20). Idowu (2012a) only provides the text of the song and during my interview¹⁶² he was unable to recall the melody. However, it seems likely that the tune is the same as that which is used today and which I documented during visits to the MFM church and the Divine Rain of Fire Ministries, a Pentecostal church in the suburb of Lagos. My suggestion that the song could be the same is based on observations of it being frequently linked to the 1930 revivals during services. Notwithstanding, a new melody could have been adopted to the text in Idowu (2012a) by present-day Pentecostals, in a bid to sustain the alleged link it has with the 1930 revival.



Example 2.2: *Omi lo fi se' wò sàṅ*¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ John Obi Ogundipe later died in 2002 at the age of 82 (Idowu 2012a, p. 20).

¹⁶¹ See Example 2.2.

¹⁶² May 9, 2016.

¹⁶³ Transcription by researcher.

He used water to heal (2ce)

Yester night's corpse has come back to life

He used water to heal

The account given by the raised child and the song text above not only provides the narrative for Babalola's first miracle in Ilesha, it further reveals that in addition to prayers and the ringing of his bell, water was used by the Apostle in the course of prayers for the supposedly dead child. More so, to have singing as the immediate response of the eyewitnesses highlight music, especially singing as an intrinsic element of the Yorùbá culture. The topic of the place of music among the general Yorùbá population and Yorùbá Pentecostals, and songs thought to have been used at the beginning of the Pentecostal movement in Yorùbáland will be further assessed in Chapter Three.

Unsurprisingly, immediately after the miracle took place, news spread of a prayerful man in Ilesha who could raise the dead and perform other miracles. Idowu (2008) writes:

News began to travel far and near and before long, people from across the nation began to troop to Ilesa. People of different tribes, shades and colours with diverse ailments and incurable diseases from various towns were loaded into vehicles and brought to Ilesa and they returned home healed (p. 28).

2.2.5. The 1930 Òke Oyè Revival

The miracle of the raised child at Ilesa paved the way for the 1930 Òke Oyè Revival which subsequently established Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland. There were four major Pentecostal revival centres in 1930, namely: Òke Oyè, Ibadan, Efon Alaaye and Ikare (Idowu, 2012a, p. 2 & Fatokun, 2009, p. 43). Of these, Òke Oyè was the first to become prominent and it is therefore commonly understood as Yorùbá Pentecostalism's foundation place, especially amongst Pentecostals from MFM, CAC and RCCG. According to Ojo (2006), 'the revival

centred on absolute faith in God, renunciation of idolatry and witchcraft, and faith in prayers to God to heal all kinds of diseases' (p. 7).

Attendance at the Òke Oyè revival appears to have been massive. Peel describes it as 'the largest mass movement Yorùbáland has seen', stating that 'there were hundreds of people at the hill¹⁶⁴', with 'huge numbers of people [coming] from as far away as Ilorin, Ijebu or even across the Niger', causing 'serious disruption of transport and food supplies' (1968 p. 91). It is noteworthy that Pentecostal meetings have continued to be amongst the largest gatherings in Yorùbáland and Nigeria in general, for example at the Redemption Camp of RCCG, the Prayer City of MFM, the Camp Ground of Deeper Life Bible Church (DLBC), and the Canaanland Camp ground of the Living Faith Church Worldwide.

In a letter dated 13th August 1930 and addressed to the District Officer at Ife,¹⁶⁵ the assistant District Officer at Ilesha, H. Childs describes what he encountered at the Okè Oyè meeting when he went there in a monitoring capacity: apparently, it was 'purely religious and of inoffensive character, not dramatic or exciting', but he 'was most impressed when the people raised the water-vessels on their heads for Babalola to bless them', noting that the water was 'reputed to have marvellous healing qualities and a few remarkable cures are reported' (Oyo Prof 1, 662) . Childs also recounted that the preacher did not request monetary rewards for the miracles from the orderly crowd. Child's account clearly demonstrates that the water-based programmes of the MFM and other Yorùbá Pentecostal churches closely maintain the practices of Babalola's revival.

¹⁶⁴ Here, it is apparent Peel (1968) uses 'hill' in reference to the literal meaning of Òke Oyè.

¹⁶⁵ This letter is part of the compilations of letters, memo and documents exchanged by government officials at the time. The compilation is labelled *Oyo Prof 1, 662* and was accessed at the National Archival Centre, Ibadan, Oyo State.

Concerning the revival meeting in Efon in 1930, the Yorùbá newspaper *Akede Eko* includes a report by George Hemmant Esq which similarly captures the expansive scale, peaceful mood, and non-economic motives of the occasion (May 30, 1931, p. 13; cited by Idowu, 2012a, p. 21).

During October, the Aladura (a prophet from Ilesha) came to Efon in the Ekiti Division where he was believed to have raised people from the dead and cured many of blindness and lameness. He appears to be a religious revivalist who preaches the advent and has done nothing so far to disturb the people of the countryside. Joseph Babalola (an ex-PWD steamroller driver) a faith healer announced his revival at Ife in July since when he has visited Ilesha, Awe (near Oyo) and Osogbo. He is reputed to effect wonderful cures and the people, especially women have flocked to him. He accepts no money and appears perfectly sincere in his intentions (George Hemmant, 1930).

The primary language used at the revivals was Yorùbá. However, interpreters were reportedly on hand to translate into English and other languages if necessary, since the revival attracted people from diverse regions and classes – ‘the literate and illiterate alike, as well as people of different religious convictions – Christians, Muslims and traditional worshippers’ (Fatokun, 2009, p. 49). Confirming that there may well have been a need for translators, in another correspondence with his superiors, District Officer H. Childs notes that the ‘very large crowd of people [came] not only from Ilesha but also from all surrounding countries’¹⁶⁶.

In addition to healing, the revivals were reportedly geared towards conversion – dramatic declarations of being born again. Fatokun notes: ‘the revival witnessed a massive conversion of pagans [traditional religion worshippers] and Muslims as well as the rededication of nominal Christians and backsliders to the Lord Jesus’ (2009, p. 49). Accordingly, Fatokun reports that the sermons mostly centred on ‘salvation, holiness, and experiencing God’s Pentecostal touch’

¹⁶⁶ See, *Oyo Prof 1*, 662.

(Ibid. p. 45). These sermons were preceded by spiritual choruses accompanied with heavy hand clapping¹⁶⁷ and followed by deliverance prayers and healing sessions.

There are reports of mission churches becoming empty during the 1930 revival (Peel, 1968, p. 101; Fatokun, 2009, p. 50), however, Babalola was said to have advised Muslims and pagans who attended the revivals to join their nearest neighbouring church, while those who were already Christians were encouraged to return to their churches (Idowu, 2008, p. 42). This directive seems to have served as a major factor in the noticed rise of mission church attendance soon after the 1930 revivals, as mentioned by Olofinjana (2011) and Idowu (2008). Regardless of this, to assume that all the supposed new converts started attending church straight away would be misguided, especially since Pentecostal churches had not existed then, and most of the mission churches were not in sync with the revivalists.

2.2.6. The Yorùbá Pentecostal Movement: Persecution and Internal Divisions

Persecution features as a recurrent theme in the discourse of Yorùbá Pentecostalism, therefore necessitating exploration. The leaders and members of the developing Nigerian Pentecostal movement were allegedly subjected to persecution soon after the 1930 revivals. Idowu (2008) asserts that the primary actors in this development were, ‘the combined power[s] of the Colonial government, the traditional religious adherents (and some traditional rulers) and the existing mission churches’ (p. 43). Coincidentally, around the same period, practitioners of Yorùbá traditional religion were persecuted in the Caribbean especially Cuba. For example, a certain police inspector José Claro directed his officers to jail and confiscate belongings of Yorùbá traditional religion (Moore, 2004, p. 262).

¹⁶⁷ The types of music thought to have been done at the revivals will be assessed in Chapter Three.

As opined by Idowu (2012b), the priests of traditional religion in Yorùbáland were concerned about the rate at which their followers were ceasing to consult the *Ifa* deities of divination and turning to Babalola's God instead (p. 71). The government too was probably concerned that the gathered people could develop into an uncontrollable movement with political inclination as reported in the case of William Wade Harris¹⁶⁸ in neighbouring Liberia and Ivory Coast (Olofinjana, 2011, p. 8). In 1915, his prophetic movement was accused of having political interests and several arrests were made (Ibid.). Hence, the British colonial government in Nigeria possibly thought it wise to follow suit and strictly monitor the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. Furthermore, as in the times of Garrick Sokari Braide, the government still relied heavily on income from the sale of imported alcohol, but the Pentecostal movement taught against the consumption of alcohol. Archival materials¹⁶⁹ show that the Pentecostal movement was strictly surveilled by the government. According to a memorandum dated August 14, 1931, the Senior Resident Officer of the British colonial government in south-west Nigeria writes to his Assistant District Officers:

...please watch most carefully the activities of the ALADURA...warn the chiefs that there is great danger to the peace of the country and to their authority in allowing these small people to get established and get power. They should forbid them to work in any of their towns and they should deal with them very severely...and they should be regarded as enemies¹⁷⁰.

Hence, government officers were deployed to revival cities to investigate happenings and thereafter give succinct reports and it seems they were also expected to discourage community leaders from supporting the group. Notably too, the Pentecostal movement seems not to have

¹⁶⁸ William Wade Harris (1865-1929) founded the Harris prophetic movement in Liberia and Ivory Coast.

¹⁶⁹ See, *Oyo Prof 1*, 661, and *Oyo Prof 1*, 662.

¹⁷⁰ *Oyo Prof 1*, 661.

been considered a Christian organisation, rather a new religion altogether. In a letter dated March 30, 1931 and tagged 1141/op539, a government officer reports:

I have already told Childs to discuss the matter with you and to advise the Owa and Chiefs to give no encouragement to this new movement which may have a very bad effect amongst the Mohammedan and Christian communities not only in Ilesha but elsewhere¹⁷¹.

In a similar report dated April 20, 1931 and tagged 404/30/1930, a government officer gave a succinct account of his conversation with a traditional ruler who had granted permission for the building of an *Aladura* church in his province, he writes, 'I told the Bale [traditional ruler] he ought not to have allowed this church to be built, but he is a very old man. I explained the way in which they should go to work to get permission but did all I could to ridicule the movement'¹⁷².

The mission churches also perceived the evolving Pentecostal movement as a threat, considering the Pentecostal interpretation and experience of the Holy Spirit as contrary to their doctrine (Akinsanya, 2000, p. 9). In a communication dated 25th March 1931, the Assistant District Officer of Ilesha writes that because of the Pentecostal movement, 'the Wesleyan Mission feels their continued presence here [South-West Nigeria] is seriously threatened and there is no doubt that considerable defections have already taken place both from them and from the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.)'¹⁷³. Arguably, existing mission churches did not choose the path of pentecostalization, that is, 'assimilating and incorporating Pentecostal beliefs and practices, individually or collectively' (Arnett, 2012, p. 28). Therefore, in line with Arnett's reasoning, the mission churches were subject to the risk of losing congregants and even fading out of existence.

¹⁷¹ *Oyo Prof 1*, 662.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *C/3/21 (Oyo Prof 1*, 662).

Although mission churches of the twentieth century were opposed to Pentecostal beliefs and practices, present-day mission churches like the Anglican church have since adopted practices that are present in Pentecostal worship, including glossolalia. In September 2016, I attended a memorial service in London to which the Primate of the Nigerian Anglican Communion in the United Kingdom was invited. During his sermon, he argued that the Anglican church is also Pentecostal, in fact, ‘the first Pentecostal’. He added, ‘we also speak in tongues’. Further to this, in a personal communication, Oluleye Akinlabi, an Anglican until recently (now a Pentecostal church organist), revealed the type of prayer, doctrine and musical practices that are now common in Anglican churches in Yorùbáland. In his words, ‘the prayer has changed from the gentleman style to a more Pentecostal style. Even now, there are vigils, revivals, and singing of praise and worship’¹⁷⁴. This kind of interesting turn-around, as witnessed among most mission churches, is what Zink (2012) refers to as Anglocostalism.

In continuation of the preceding discussion on the close monitoring of the Pentecostal movement by government officials, it is important to mention that adherents of the movement were reportedly victimised and molested (Fatokun, 2009, p. 45). According to Idowu (2012a), the movement and its members were prohibited from owning land¹⁷⁵, their children were refused school admittance, and certain leaders were threatened and imprisoned (pp. 22-23). The archival documents, *Oyo Prof I, 662* provides evidence of letters opposed to land ownership by the Pentecostal movement. Excerpts include, ‘...it will be a very great mistake to grant leases of land to the movement’ and ‘...they applied for a site but the Bale and council

¹⁷⁴ March 11, 2016.

¹⁷⁵ The Pentecostal movement later went on to own several plots of land and schools. The pioneering Pentecostal Church in Yorùbáland – the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) led the way. As of 1965, the church had ‘110 primary schools, 22 secondary-modern schools, 4 grammar schools, and a teacher training college’ (Peel, 1968, p. 113).

refused to grant one'. In another letter, Assistant District Officer, H. Childs relates the outcome of a meeting between Babatope (Babalola's associate) and traditional rulers, he writes:

In accordance with their promise, the Owa and Council have called Mr Babatope of the Faith Tabernacle before them and warned him...They have said that they will not have irresponsible 'aladuras' wandering about the District...Nor will they permit the building or use of Churches in the villages...Babatope was informed that failure on his part to see that these conditions were observed would make him liable to ejection from the town.

Following these alleged denials and threats, the Diamond Society sought to improve their position with the government by requesting a visitation from the Faith Tabernacle group in USA. They had thought that the presence of whites among them would ease their struggles. To their amazement, the Faith Tabernacle reportedly ignored the invitation. The reason for this is debated among scholars: while some believe the Faith Tabernacle was never at any time a Pentecostal group¹⁷⁶, others believe it was against their practice to travel abroad on missions and that they only engaged in sending literature abroad¹⁷⁷. Not long after this setback, leaders of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement invited the Apostolic Church of Great Britain to send representatives¹⁷⁸. A small group arrived from Bradford in 1931 with a letter of authority with which they visited both colonial government officials and traditional rulers (Ojo, 2006, p. 34). This supposedly brought about a drastic reduction to the persecution faced by members of the Diamond Society (Idowu, 2008, p. 43, Peel, 1968, p. 105, Fatokun, 2009, p. 47).

The arrest and subsequent imprisonment of Babalola for six months in 1932 suggests a stepping-up of anti-Pentecostal policy by the government. This incarceration was reportedly because of some witchcraft deliverance sessions he conducted at a revival in Otuo town, located in the then Benin Province, now Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria (Peel, 1968, p. 100; Idowu,

¹⁷⁶ Akinsanya (2000, p. 83); Fatokun (2009, p. 46).

¹⁷⁷ See Peel (1968, p. 144); Akinsanya (2000, p. 83); Fatokun (2009, p. 46-47).

¹⁷⁸ <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>.

2008, pp. 44-45). One of the missionaries sent by the Apostolic group from United Kingdom is reported to have later discovered from a Resident Officer that Babalola had not committed any offence, but was in prison because the government wanted to stamp out the Pentecostal movement with the fear that it could lead to unrest or even instigate revolution against the government (Idowu, 2012a, p. 23)¹⁷⁹.

In later years, an internal crisis developed within the movement itself, between 1939 and 1940¹⁸⁰. The United Kingdom delegates believed it is right to use medicine, especially since many missionaries had died in Africa because of their refusal to use anti-malarial medication. Some members of the Nigerian Pentecostal movement shared this opinion, but Babalola and others believed in divine healing without the use of medication, either orthodox or traditional¹⁸¹. This disagreement led to division within the group and the emergence of two Apostolic churches in Nigeria which exist till date (Idowu, 2008, pp. 43-44; Fatokun, 2009, p. 48; Peel, 1968, pp. 105-112): Babalola and his group (those who believed in divine healing) formed the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC)¹⁸², while the missionaries and their supporters were to be known as The Apostolic Church (Idowu, 2008, p. 44). Moreover, scholars such as Idowu (2008) claim that Babalola and his associates originally had no plan to start a church but had to change their mind when God instructed them to do so, in order to avoid ending up like a fisherman who labours to catch fishes with one hand, and thereafter throws them back into the river with the other (p. 42).

¹⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that the two women who served as prosecution witnesses later confessed to have been paid to give false witness against Babalola in court and the man who paid them cash to be prosecution witnesses later joined the Pentecostal movement (Idowu 2008 p. 45).

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>.

¹⁸¹ Although present-day Pentecostals believe in the concept of divine healing, they are not opposed to the use of orthodox medication. They are however opposed to the use of traditional medicine and consultation.

¹⁸² It is reported that God revealed the name 'Apostolic Church' to Babalola. However, around 1939, the church changed its name to *Nigerian Apostolic Church (NAC)*. Subsequently, the name was changed to *United Apostolic Church* – the name it retained till 1942 when the name *Christ Apostolic Church (CAC)* as still known today was finally adopted (<http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>). Also See Peel (1968, p. 111-112).

2.2.7. Yorùbá Pentecostalism: Azusa-derived or independently fomented?

Arguably, the demise of Odubanjo, Babalola and Akinyele in 1959, 1959 and 1964 respectively signified the end of an era for the Nigerian Pentecostal movement (Peel, 1968, p. 113). These individuals played vital roles in the foundation laying of Pentecostalism as practiced in Yorùbáland and Nigeria today. The origin of most (if not all) present-day Pentecostal Churches in Nigeria today is arguably connected with the Pentecostal movement of the 1930s onward. Following is an attempt to answer this question: To what extent was the genesis of Yorùbá Pentecostalism informed by the Azusa Street revival? The Azusa Street revival took place in the United States of America during the early twentieth century, and some scholars argue that it should be considered as the origin of Pentecostalism.

Almost all of my respondents opined that the appearance of Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland in the early twentieth century was entirely due to the pioneers' divine inspiration. While some scholars (Olofinjana, 2011; Idowu, 2008; Ojo, 2006; and Wariboko, 2014) concur, pointing out that external Pentecostal establishments only started to visit Yorùbáland after the initial revelatory visions had taken place and after key Pentecostal practices had already become imbedded in religious experience. Other scholars (Akinsanya, 2000; Cecil, 2006; and Arnett, 2012) maintain that the movement's pioneers were initially inspired by the Azusa street revival. Supporting the former argument, there are accounts such as that of C.R. Myers, an early missionary who witnessed Babalola's early ministerial life:

It is remarkable to see that God revealed to this man the ministry of healing without ever having heard it from anyone before (cit. Idowu, 2012a, p. 11).

As with the above quote, Ojo (2006) seems to support the position that there was little or no influence from external bodies when he mentions that the Nigerian Pentecostal movement had no link to Azusa street even though there had been contacts between leaders of the Nigerian

movements and the Faith Tabernacle group in USA (p.11). Admittedly, the Nigerian Pentecostal movement sought affiliations with Faith Tabernacle and, later on, the Apostolic group. However, I argue based on the evidence provided by assessed texts such as Peel, 1968, p. 64; Idowu, 2012b, p. 24; and Ojo, 2006, p. 11, that this was a bid for protection and validation rather than an effort to tap the external factions' doctrines. In other words, although there are clear parallels between the Nigerian phenomenon and the Azusa street revival, it seems both events are independent of each other. Following this line of thought, Allan Anderson, in his work, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, observes that a one-source view of Pentecostalism is inappropriate. Rather, he supports the idea that the Pentecostal phenomenon is unique to each and every region that experienced it. He writes:

Despite the significance of the Azusa Street revival as an African American centre of Pentecostalism that profoundly affected its nature, when this is assumed to be "Jerusalem" from which the "full gospel" reaches out to the nations of earth, the truth is distorted and smacks of cultural imperialism. We have seen in the previous chapters that *there were several centres of Pentecostalism* [emphasis is mine] from which great expansion took place, even in North America. There were many "Jeruselems" (2004, p. 171).

In the case of Nigerian Pentecostalism, Òkè Oyè could be referred to as the 'Jerusalem' from where Pentecostalism spread across the nation. Hence, to posit the Azusa street revival or any other western Pentecostal meeting as representing the beginning of modern Pentecostalism all around the globe is probably too subjective. Moreover, Ogbu Kalu in his ground-breaking work, *African Pentecostalism* states that:

Undoubtedly, the Azusa Street revival is very important, but it is a North America event, and a certain movement that first called itself Pentecostal, and whose genealogy may be traced to a host of religious antecedents such as holiness movements. But other regions experienced the move of the Spirit independently; therefore, there is need to reconstruct the historiography of the movement worldwide, and to interrogate the extant literature (2008, p. 13).

The foregoing discussion shows that the claim of Azusa as the birth place of modern Pentecostalism is not generally accepted. Rather, it can be said that Òkè Oyè is to Nigerian Pentecostalism, what Azusa Street revival is to American Pentecostalism. I therefore argue that if at all Pentecostalism is to be restrictively traced to one source, then that should be the book of Acts, Chapter 2.

2.3. Summary

This chapter has traced the early development of Yorùbá Pentecostalism. It shows that Pentecostalism in Nigeria started as a prayer movement amongst mission church members who desired greater emphasis on direct experience of the Holy Spirit, conceiving of this as a return to the ways of the original New Testament Church. Akinsanya (2000) refers to this when he writes that, ‘Pentecostals self-consciously understand themselves to be recovering the Christianity of the early church as it was established on the day of Pentecost in the Acts of Apostles’ (p. 5). In other words, present-day Pentecostal churches believe they are part of a movement to restore Christianity to its fullness and power (ibid.). The 1930 revivals, especially that at Òkè Oyè, served as pivotal events. Assessed materials suggest that only after the 1930 revivals did the Pentecostal movement become fully established with wider public acceptance, as many Nigerian Christians changed their perception of Christianity; beforehand, based on what they experienced in mission churches, they had regarded Christianity as a white man’s religion (Idowu, 2012a, p. 53). Happenings from the revival times onwards reportedly made Christianity appear practical to the people. Besides, having allegedly witnessed some of the kinds of miracles they had read about in the Bible, it is perhaps not surprising that many chose Pentecostal Christianity as practiced by the *Aladura* movement.

From the discussion in this chapter, it can be deduced that in addition to recorded miracles, the emphasis on spiritual empowerment through prayer account for the reported massive followership which has become synonymous with Yorùbá Pentecostalism. Following this line of thought, Ojo (2006) suggests four major factors responsible for the spread of the Pentecostal movement: doctrinal emphases and practices; organisational structures; religious style; and character of the religious communities constituted¹⁸³ (pp. 87-88). The pivotal roles played by exponents such as Sadare, Odubanjo, Akinyele, Babatope, Odunlami, Orimolade, and of course, Babalola could be pointed to as another reason for the sustenance of Yorùbá Pentecostalism. These individuals reportedly ‘emphasised a holiness ethic, healed sickness[es] and asserted the supremacy of Christianity over traditional religions’ (Arnett, 2012, p. 101). Interestingly, during my fieldwork interview, all but two of my respondents referred to Joseph Ayodele Babalola as the Father of Nigerian Pentecostalism. Professor Christopher Oshun argues in favour of David Odubanjo, one of the pioneers of the Pentecostal movement, while Pastor Pius Oragwu, the other fellow explained that he declined selecting any individual because to him, Pentecostalism is a spiritual experience, hence it should not be ascribed to any individual. In all, Pentecostalism in Nigeria continues to be centred on the efficacy of prayers, prophetic visions, divine healing, and baptism of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of speaking in tongues. However, as music features prominently at these Pentecostal gatherings, in the following chapter, I will investigate the types of music thought to have been used at the 1930 Òke Oyè revival and also in Yorùbáland pre-Christianity.

¹⁸³ These factors will be explored for the assessment of the MFM church in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER THREE

Music in Yorùbá Pentecostal Revivals: Òke Oyè and Beyond

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is structured into three sections. The first section focuses on the types of music reported to have been employed in Yorùbáland prior to the arrival of missionaries, presenting the opportunity for a better understanding of the foundations from which Yorùbá Pentecostal music developed. The second section investigates the beginnings of music within the Yorùbá Christian church, seeking to reveal the changes and new approaches employed by the mission church and emerging Yorùbá church musicians at the time. The final section is dedicated to the analysis and classification of collected samples of songs reputed to have been used at the 1930 revivals. It addresses questions such as: What kind of songs featured at the revivals? Who composed them? Were musical instruments employed at the revivals? If so, which types? This chapter (especially the third section) relies heavily on the interview materials that I collected in the field, since – as mentioned earlier in the Introduction chapter – there is almost no coverage of early Yorùbá Pentecostal music in the extant studies. While the principal exponents of the 1930 revivals all died quite long ago, it is very fortunate that individuals such as Dayo Oluwamakin, Christopher Oshun, Idowu Oludele and Femi Adedeji worked closely with some of them – and my interviews with these latter figures have elicited much of the research material presented in this chapter. All musical examples, figures, tables and charts in this chapter have been prepared by this researcher unless otherwise indicated.

3.1 The Foundation of Music in Yorùbáland

Of course, the Yorùbá have been involved in music-making prior to the coming of Islam and Christianity; for them, music has always formed an integral part of their social and religious

life (Omojola, 1994, p. 533; DjeDje, 2000, p. 158). Just like in other African societies, aside from the aesthetic value that it represents, ‘music has always been a strong medium of expression’ which serves purposes such as entertainment, ritual accompaniment, communication and communal sharing (Adewale, 2010, p. 48). Following this line of thought, Omojola (1989) asserts that Yorùbá musical expressions are often intertwined with extra-musical activities, as ‘the association of music with language (words), dance, religious, social and other extra-musical ideas and activities is a common feature of musical performance’ (p. 111). Similarly, Christopher Waterman stated that ‘music [to the Yorùbá people] is closely bound up with kinship, religion...it is used to celebrate stages in the human life course, and it is inter-twined with other genres of expressive behaviour, including dance, visual and plastic arts, and poetic speech’ (Waterman, 1995, p. 38).

However, it is important to mention that there is no word in Yorùbá language that is parallel to the western understanding of ‘music’. Rather, *orin* which literally means ‘singing’ is used to refer to all forms of music-making. This suggests that most Yorùbá music making expressions are vocal. More so, even some Yorùbá drums are reputed to imitate the vocal human tones involved in verbal communication. Concerning the unavailability of a word that means ‘music’ in Yorùbá language, Stone (2005) observes that this situation is not unique to Yorùbáland, as ‘it is, in fact, difficult to find a word in any of the West African languages that is equivalent to the western idea of ‘music’. Instead, there are terms for more specific actions like singing, drumming or dancing as well as broader terms such as performance, which encompass song as well as dance, oration as well as instrumental playing’ (p. 15).

Further to this, Franknel (2006, p. 289, cited in Adewale, 2010, pp. 51-52) rightly highlights the significance of sung or spoken music in Yorùbá musical expression when he writes that ‘the heart of Yorùbá music is the spoken language, [hence] elaborate language, formulaic

speech (metaphor, proverbs, and poetry) and a deep tradition of oral history are central to traditional Yorùbá cultural identity'. In other words, Yorùbá music is heavily dependent on the voice, although musical instruments, especially percussion are perceived as equally important. Vidal (2012b) seems to corroborate this when he mentions that singing and drumming constitute the two principal media of music expression among Yorùbá people (p. 43).

Notably too, prior to the coming of missionaries, singing in Yorùbáland is known to have been performed in monophonic unison, excepting the Ijesha and Ekiti people who employed a form of polyphony emphasising parallel seconds with sporadic thirds and fifths – quite different from the western conception of harmony (Vidal, 2012a, p. 30). Functional harmony (in the Western sense) was introduced by Christian missionaries (Ibid.). The pentatonic and diatonic scales were (and are still) widely used in Yorùbá music (Akpabot, 1986, p. 10). Nonetheless, as rightly pointed out by Akpabot, 'the melody leap or descent in a speech melody is not limited to points on the scale where the notes of the pentatonic scale occur; rather, they can fall anywhere depending on the inflectionary curve of the spoken word' (1986, p. 81). Similarly, DjeDje (2000) asserted that 'because Yorùbá is a tonal language, Yorùbá music depends for its melodic shape on textual tones' (p. 159). In other words, the tone of song texts often determines melodies and the kind of musical scale employed. Euba (1990) seem to concur when he writes that 'any music that uses a text which is in a tone language is to a large extent governed by the intonational requirements of that text and the melodic contours of that music usually take cognisance of the movement of the speech tones of the text' (p. 451).

Among the Yorùbá, traditional music is broadly categorised into two distinct forms, religious and secular (Omojola, 1995, ch.1, p. 6). In religious contexts, music is used to worship and appease deities during rituals and festivals, while it mainly serves entertainment and educative purposes in secular contexts (Ibid.). However, I contend with this representation of secular

music because music done within religious settings can also be educative and entertaining. An example of this has been evidenced by Euba (1990, pp. 64-65) in his discussion of Yorùbá traditional ritual music. On his part, Vidal (2012b) asserts that musical expressions among the Yorùbá are often classified in two primary ways: first, according to the medium of expression, second, according to the function and context of the performed music (p. 75). Classification based on the medium of expression is further divided into three categories, namely: instrumental, vocal, and mixed, that is, vocal and instrumental combined (Ibid. & Omojola, 1995, ch.1, p. 7).

3.2. Types of Music in Pre-Christian Yorùbáland

Historical and oral sources point to the existence of music in Yorùbáland pre-Christianity. The discussion (in this section) of the types of music thought to have been practiced before the arrival of Christian missionaries in Yorùbáland is based on evidence from the works of scholars such as Vidal (1989 & 2012a), Omojola (1995) and Waterman (2000). The documented use of music at ancient festivals such as the *Olojo* which celebrates the *Ogun* deity; the narrative of how Yorùbá deities such as *Sango*, *Obatala* and *Osun* made music a prominent feature for their worship, and the reported use of palace and work music in Yorùbáland since pre-1840 are a few examples. Some of the musical practices highlighted by these studies are still in evidence in present times. Therefore, the classifications below are based on documentations about the past and what is observable nowadays.

3.2.1. Traditional religious ritual music: Religious music featured significantly before the arrival of missionaries (Thompson, 1992, pp. 41-42); it is evidenced by the documentation of

Yorùbá traditional religion rituals and deity worship which are reputed to feature music. This type of music was (and still is) performed by priests and initiates during situations such as festivals, traditional religion worship, and ritual observances, with each event having its own corpus of songs and instrumentations which may not be used for any other occasion (Vidal, 2012b, pp. 76-77; Eades, 1980, p. 119, Euba, 1990, pp. 64-65). For example, *Igbìn* drum music was only played at *Obatala* rituals; *Ipese* drum music, only during *Ifa* rituals (Villepastour, 2010, p. 23). Similarly, as mentioned by Vidal (2012a), ‘each [Yorùbá] deity has its own form of music which varies in terms of rhythm, tempo, intonation, melodic materials, texts and modes of performances’ (p. 196). For example, the music for volatile deities such as *Ogun* and *Sango* is known to have intricate rhythms with a fast tempo, in contrast to that of more subtle deities like *Obatala* and *Osun* which has simple rhythms with moderate tempo (Ibid.). From the foregoing, I posit that the nature and temperament of some Yorùbá deities could be accessed through the music used in their worship.

Further to this, commenting on how the Yorùbá engaged in music for religious worship before the introduction of Christianity, Omojola (1994) writes that:

Music is usually performed to invoke the spirits of deities such as Sàngó (the god of thunder) and Ògún (the god of Iron). Apart from this, musical performances in Yorùbáland are also featured in religious festivals. Such festivals usually follow sacred rites which take place at the shrine of the deity being worshipped. [These] festivals provide opportunity for communal music-making during which people share a satisfying musical experience. Communal music-making [which is linked to the deities] also takes place at...naming, marriage and funeral ceremonies (p. 533).

Considering the reported centrality of traditional religion in Yorùbá culture before the proliferation of Pentecostalism (as discussed in Chapter One), one could argue that much Yorùbá music during that period would have been rooted in traditional religious worship, with drums playing particularly significant roles as mentioned earlier. In addition, in the present-

day also, music serves as one of the primary ways through which followers communicate with their *òrìsà* (Adegbite, 1991, p. 50; Vidal, 2012b, p. 77). It is worth noting that Yorùbá traditional ritual music was also performed in the diaspora - it has featured in the diaspora for centuries, although often not in public because of the persecution of adherents (Moore, 2004, p. 267).

3.2.2. Royal music: Scholars such as Vidal (2012a & 2012b), Adegbite (1989) and DjeDje (2000, p. 158) refer to this kind of music as ‘court music’ but I have adopted ‘royal music’ for clarity. Simply put, the term ‘royal music’ is used to refer to music performed inside Yorùbá Royal palaces, or that performed for royalties when outside the palace. This type of music consists of both vocal and instrumental repertoires; examples include *Ogidigbo*, *Kotso* and *Gbedu* music of the *Alaafin* (Vidal, 2012b, p. 76). Noteworthy, Yorùbá cities were solely governed during pre-missionary times by a traditional system headed by the king, with the palace being the seat of power, and music making reportedly having been an important element of palace activities (Eades, 1980, pp. 5-6). Musicians performing this kind of music were (and are still in some cases) often employed as part of the palace workforce, their daily functions including, among other things, waking the king with music in the morning, serenading him to sleep at night, singing his praises at several times of the day, and welcoming palace visitors with music (Omojola, 2009, p. 48; Vidal, 2012b, p. 76).

In 2011, as an undergraduate at the University of Lagos, I remember making a field trip with some course mates to the palace of the Olowu of Owu, one of the paramount rulers of Yorùbáland. As soon as we entered the palace gate, palace musicians welcomed us with singing and drumming. We danced with them and were soon led by the steward to a large room on the first floor of the building where the king receives guests. King Dosunmu would later tell us of

how solo drum music had been played to notify him of our presence when we arrived at the palace:

‘[T]he hourglass drum is extensively used in the courts of Yorùbá chiefs to announce a visitor to the royal household or warn the populace of any impending royal occasion or danger to the community’ (Akpabot 1986, p. 23).

The king further mentioned that only those who understand the language of the talking drum would be able to interpret such coded message. This experience suggests that music still plays an important role in Yorùbá palaces today.

In addition to their musical roles, palace musicians seem to have served other purposes. For example, Stone (2005) observes that, prior to the arrival of the missionaries, kings and other traditional rulers used palace musicians to flaunt their affluence. She remarks that ‘these musicians served as agents of the rulers’ power and through sound enhanced the Kings’ prestige in processions and performances’ (p. 12). It appears this tradition is still practised among present Yorùbá kings. I recently watched a video¹⁸⁴ of the Ooni of Ile-Ife’s visit to the Museum of Contemporary African Diasporan Art (MoCADA) in Brooklyn, United States of America: it was fascinating to discover that the king travels with his palace musicians dressed in white attire. These musicians are seen beating metallic clappers, dancing and making music. Although the entire display appears to be portrayed as a religious ritual procedure, I argue that the seemingly elaborate procession somehow emphasises the Ooni’s affluence, especially as the display attracted the attention of passers-by. In other contexts, such as when the Ooni visits other traditional rulers or when he attends an event, the bugle, and more drums are added to the above-mentioned ensemble of metallic clappers and drum.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 5 (2:30 – 4:30). Other examples can be found in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 6 (1:35 – 1:14).

3.2.3. Ceremonial music: In Yorùbá culture, music features during most life-cycle events (DjeDje, 2000, p. 158). For example, the arrival of a baby is often celebrated during a naming ceremony which is held eight days after birth: at this event, there is always music making, lots of drinks and food to eat. As only the *Àyán* (professional traditional drummers) and their families had the license to beat drums in pre-missionary times, they were often invited to entertain attendees (Adegbite, 1988, p. 18). However, in present times, traditions such as the *Àyán* can be found only in rural areas and among traditional religion worshippers in urban areas. Music performed at funerals also falls into this category of ceremonial music.

3.2.4. Work music: This category of music referenced by DjeDje (2000, p. 158) consists of music performed by individuals such as artisans, farmers, and hawkers during their work. According to Vidal who prefers ‘occupational music’ in reference to this category, the music in this class either acts as rhythmical support, a distraction from the tiring routine involved or as an identification marker for members of a work group (Vidal, 2012b, p. 77). For example, *Ijala* music is synonymous with Yorùbá hunters and the *Ogun* deity (Babalola, 1964, pp. 3-4; Euba, 1990, p. 408). Similarly, hawkers in Yorùbá communities have specific songs which consist of certain melodic formulae with which they advertise their products and attract buyers.

3.2.5. Recreational music: It is asserted by Akanbi (2014) that moonlight games and folk-stories constituted an important form of recreation for the early Yorùbá, and these were accompanied by singing (p. 481). At night when the moon is out, children usually gathered to listen to folk-tales and folk-stories (known as *Àlò* in Yorùbá¹⁸⁵) narrated by elders of the

¹⁸⁵ An example of these Yorùbá *àlò* is depicted in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 7 (4:42 - 5:25) by Tunde Kelani in his ‘*Agogo Eewo*’ movie. See Kubik (2010, pp. 151-209) for a comprehensive discussion of the Yorùbá *Àlò*.

community (Ibid. pp. 481-482). These folk-tales were accompanied with songs at designated points, perhaps to create a lively atmosphere and engage audience participation. The story teller would normally introduce and lead the songs, while the sitting audience members would sway their bodies to the song, also joining in the singing when a response was required (Vidal, 2012b, p. 78). These folk-tale events reportedly served also as a platform where community history and beliefs were passed on to the young members (Akanbi, 2014, p. 482). More so, it is thought that these young individuals learned ethics such as discipline, respect for elders, and personal hygiene through the songs which accompanied the events. In a personal communication, Christopher Oshun sang *Wè kí omó* (example 3.1 below), identifying it as one of the songs used to accompany stories on personal hygiene.

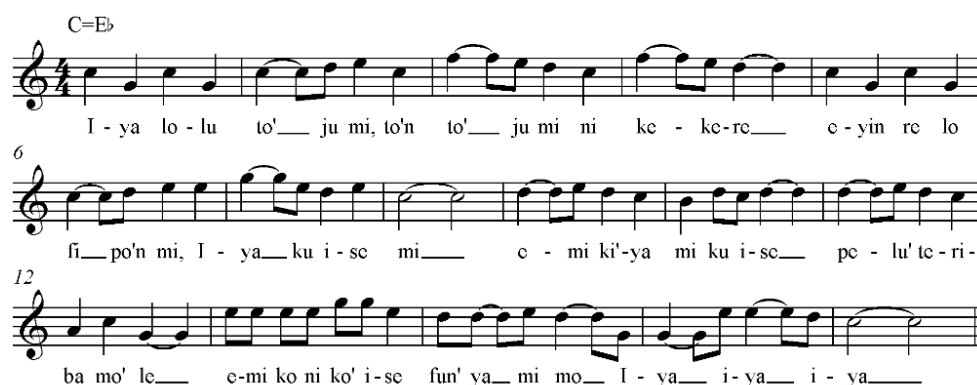


Example 3.1. A Yorùbá song titled *Wè kí omó*, often used to accompany folk-tales on personal hygiene¹⁸⁶.

The text of example 3.1 above is interpreted thus: ‘Bath regularly so you will be clean, trim your nails, eat well at the appropriate time but do not eat more than necessary’. As can be seen, the song is based on the major pentatonic scale; the melodic line also conforms to the tonal structure of the set Yorùbá text when spoken.

Another song which Oshun claimed was taught to children and often sung at moonlight gatherings is given below:

¹⁸⁶ A key signature has not been used in this transcription because the Western concept of key and notation would have been absent when this folk song was first sung in Yorùbáland. Hence, I have transcribed it based on the individual notes when it was sung to me by Christopher Oshun.



Example 3.2. A Yorùbá song titled, *Ìyá kú isé mi*, often sung at moonlight gatherings¹⁸⁷.

Unlike the previous example, *Ìyá kú isé mi* is based on the diatonic scale with the melody having some syncopated rhythms. The song is said to have been taught to children to imbibe respect and appreciation of parents, especially mothers. Its text is interpreted thus: ‘My mother cares for me from childhood; With her back, she carried me; Mother, I appreciate you - well done; With a bowed head, I offer my salute; I shall never be disobedient to my mother; mother, mother, mother’. Bearing in mind that there was no formal education in pre-missionary times, it is understood that children followed their parents to the farm where every member of the family worked. Hence, the type of music given in Examples 3.1 and 3.2 above arguably served as one of the provisions for the informal education of young people. Notably, in present times, the tradition of moonlight games, folk-tales and music have become less prominent among the Yorùbá despite efforts made by the government during my secondary school days in the late 1990s and early 2000s to prevent them from extinction. At that time, children’s television programmes such as *tales by moonlight* and *feyikogbon* (meaning, learn from these examples) which were modelled after the tradition of moonlight games and folk-tales were frequently aired on mainstream media, but this is no longer the case.

¹⁸⁷ This song was originally sung to me in E-flat major, but I have transcribed it in the key of C major to ensure the notes are clearly placed on the staff.

Of course, recreational music is not limited to children. Music used to accompany, for example, traditional wrestling contests and other adult games (Vidal, 2012b, p. 78); as well as the repertoires classified by Akpabot (1986, p. 95) as songs of insult among peers fall into this category of recreational music.

3.2.6. Panegyric music: This category refers to music performed to praise individuals, cities, objects, royalties, belief systems, and deities. Yorùbá panegyric music has ‘served as a resource for history through oral poetry being passed down from generation to generation’, hence, it is another means of preserving socio-cultural values (Adewale, 2010, p. 49). An example is found in *Oriki music*, one of the oldest traditions in Yorùbá music. *Oriki* is a special descriptive praise song for deities, royal personalities, members of a Yorùbá family, descendants of a lineage, or members of a clan (Euba, 1990, pp. 66 & 451; Vidal, 1969, p. 56). Interestingly too, the Yorùbá have *oriki* for cities, animals, and even food. *Oriki* music performance was (and is still) usually led by professional traditional musicians except in situations where the music is used for deity worship, when priests tend to function as lead vocalists. According to Vidal who has done extensive research on *Oriki* music, it is structured in two parts: a poetic recitative and a sung section. The former is generally perceived as the primary section because of its descriptive nature and it starts off every presentation, while the latter helps to create a climactic end to the performance. This is so because drum accompaniment, dancing and vocal responses by the audience are introduced during the sung section (Vidal, 2012a, p. 154). Notably, as *oriki* music does not generally extend beyond an octave, it is occasionally played on specific talking drums, exactly as it would be sung (Ibid. p. 156; Welch, 1973, p. 158). Examples include, the *Iya-Ilu* (mother drum) of the *dundun* ensemble, used to play the *oriki* of the *Ogun* deity, the *bata* drum, used to play the *oriki* of *Sango* (Villepastour, 2010, p. 23) , and the *kanangu*, used for playing

the *oriki* of special children such as *dada* (children born with dreads) and twins (Vidal, 2012a, p. 157).

The foregoing section has served as an introduction to the kinds of music highlighted by scholars of Yorùbá music as having been practised in Yorùbáland in the pre-Christian era. Interestingly, as mentioned earlier, some of these musical forms still feature in present-day Yorùbá communities. How these types of music have been integrated into present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal church music will be examined in Chapter Five.

3.3. Musical Instruments in Pre-Christian Yorùbáland

The classification of Sachs-Hornbostel (2006 [1914]) has often been adopted by scholars such as Nketia (1974) and Agordoh (1994) in the description of African musical instruments including those of the Yorùbá. In this system, musical instruments are designated as membranophones, chordophones, aerophones, idiophones, and electrophones (not present in Yorùbá traditional music). For membranophones, popularly known as drums, sound originates from a stretched membrane. Since this class of musical instruments feature prominently in Yorùbá music, it will be discussed in detail in this section. In his assessment of Yorùbá music, Akin Euba states that:

Drumming is an important feature of Yorùbá music. Although Yorùbá musical instruments also include chordophones, aerophones, and idiophones, membranophones are used more often than the other classes of instruments, and drumming constitutes the principal medium of instrumental music' (Euba, 1990, p. 27).

Similarly, Waterman (1995) mentions that 'the musical repertoire that many Yorùbá take to be emblematic of their culture is that of the *dùndún* or talking drum' (p. 38). The *dùndún* is an

hourglass-shaped wooden body traditional Yorùbá drum. It is characterised by two drumheads connected by a series of leather cords. The tension on the drumheads increases when the thongs are squeezed, and this allows the drummer to alternate pitch.



Figure 3.1. *Dùndún* (The talking drum). Credit: Bridgeman Education¹⁸⁸.

This drum has a range of an octave and can generate an exact imitation of the Yorùbá linguistic tones and glides (Vidal, 1969, p. 58). Hence, it was (and is still) used to articulate various types of Yorùbá poetic speech such as *oriki* and proverbs (Waterman, 1995, p. 38). Notwithstanding, as mentioned earlier, not everyone can immediately grasp what the *dùndún* is saying and ‘only those who have been educated in the language of the talking drum can understand’. Nevertheless, some drum tones are easily understood by all (Vidal, 1969, p. 58). Although Omojola (1989, p. 3) asserts that other Yorùbá drums like the *bata* can imitate Yorùbá language tones, the *dùndún* is arguably the most popular.

¹⁸⁸ Accessed June 1, 2017 through Durham University library
(<http://www.bridgemanimages.com/api/1.0/image/400wm.XIR.0920120.7055475/207111.JPG>).

Most Yorùbá drums are associated with at least one deity of which they are sometimes perceived as symbols (Adegbite, 1991, p. 50), and it is commonly thought that drummers in pre-missionary times were expected to be devotees of the deities linked to the drum they played (Omojola, 1989, p. 4). It is not known for certain whether devotion was requested in secular contexts too but, in present times, devotion is generally not considered as a pre-requisite to play Yorùbá drums, except in the ritual contexts of traditional religion. More so, the strong connection that exists between Yorùbá deities and drums is indicative of why Pentecostal churches such as MFM omit drums from their services, claiming that the origin of drums among the Yorùbá is rooted in idolatry. Remarkably, only wood from *oma* and *apa* trees are used in the construction of Yorùbá drums, as it is believed that any other wood would not produce the correct tones (Akpabot, 1986, p. 97): a Yorùbá myth explains how these two trees are more suited because they grow near the roadside, where they can hear humans converse while they pass by, and as such, these trees can produce human tones.

An example of a Yorùbá chordophone is the *Goje*, a fiddle-like instrument with one or two strings and a resonator made from a calabash or a gourd. The three-stringed version known as *Molo* is also common (Vidal, 2012b, p. 64).

As for wind instruments, the *kakaki* is a prominent member of the aerophone family in Yorùbáland, although it is believed to have originated from Hausaland, northern Nigeria (DjeDje, 2000, p. 158). This instrument is only played by men and is primarily used to announce the arrival or departure of royalty (Akpabot, 1986, p. 20). An example of this can be seen in a video performance by the Ooni's palace musicians¹⁸⁹, who are seen heralding the arrival of the monarch with the *kakaki* and supported by the bugle.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix D (Playlist), Video 8 (0:20 - 0:50).



Figure 3.2. The twin-*agogo*. Credit: The British Museum¹⁹⁰.

The *agogo* (hand-held metal bell) and the *sekere* (rattle) are arguably the most widely used idiophones in Yorùbáland. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the *agogo* is reputed to be the first traditional musical instrument to be employed in the Yorùbá Christian church. There are basically two variants of the *agogo*: the large conical one which produces only one tone and the twin-*agogo*, often smaller in size, which produces two tones tuned to the interval of a major second, minor third or perfect fifth (Akpabot, 1986, p. 32). On the other hand, the *sekere* is constructed from a dried-out gourd covered with netting to which beads or cowries have been attached. To produce sound, the beads or cowries are struck with the hand, providing rhythmic accompaniment. Another variety of the *sekere* has stones, fine sand, pebbles or seeds put inside a gourd and then shaken to produce a rattling sound. This variety is known to be a major item of the paraphernalia of *Ifa* priests, used during invocation (Vidal, 2012b, p. 49). Interestingly, a modern design of this kind of rattle is now commonly used by some congregants at Yorùbá

¹⁹⁰ Accessed June 1, 2017

(http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=619626&partId=1&searchText=bell&images=true&page=4).

Pentecostal gatherings, especially during praise and worship sessions. Wooden clappers are also common among Yorùbá people.

So far I have categorised Yorùbá musical instruments according to Sachs-Hornbostels' (2006 [1914]) classification. However, I wonder if the systems of classification suggested by Akpabot (1986) and Stone (2005) would be more appropriate. Akpabot asserts that these musical instruments are best classified as blowing instruments, percussion instruments and string instruments (1986, p. 2). Similarly, Stone suggests two categories, namely: blown and struck musical instruments (2005, p. 19-20). The argument of these two scholars appears valid, for example, when one considers that the slit drum (also known as the wooden drum) is in Sach's classification an idiophone with the function of a membranophone (Akpabot, 1986, p. 20). This type of description is problematic as it does not present a distinct categorisation. More so, the drum and hand-bell which are generally regarded as percussive instruments in Yorùbáland are classified by Sachs-Hornbostel (2006 [1914]) as membranophone and idiophone respectively. Based on these examples, it is evident that the proposed categorisations by Akpabot and Stone deserve to be considered, although further sub-categorisations can be pursued to achieve clarity. For example, percussion instruments could be further sub-divided based on the materials used in their production (that is, wood or metal) or how sound is produced (that is, whether the instrument is played with the hand, a piece of wood or metal). My interactions with some Yorùbá musicians (secular and church) suggests that in everyday life the issue of categorisation is not considered to be important as many perceive it to be an academic matter. However, most of them simply described instruments that make sound when struck (for example, the drum) as hitting instruments, and those that produce sound when blown as blowing instruments.

3.4. Christian Missionary Influence on Yorùbá Music Making

Unsurprisingly, there is general agreement on the fact that the musical culture of the Yorùbá people has been influenced by the coming of Christianity and of colonial rule. Omojola (1998) in his study asserts that:

The introduction of Christian missionary propaganda in Badagry [in Yorùbáland] and Old Calabar in 1842 and 1846 respectively, as well as the establishment of the colonial regime in 1861, were to set in motion a chain of events which have significantly affected the Nigerian musical landscape (p. 455).

These events reportedly influenced the musical landscape of Yorùbá people, and arguably marked the beginning of Christian music in Yorùbáland. Changes were introduced through mission churches and mission schools, as community members were discouraged from participating in traditional religious worship and its music.

As discussed in Chapter Two, besides from preaching the Christian message of salvation, missionaries established free health care centres and mission schools; these initiatives supposedly attracted converts to Christianity (Omotoye, 2011, p. 186). At mission schools, such as the Lagos Anglican Grammar School (established in 1859) and the Lagos CMS¹⁹¹ Female Institute (established in 1872), students were exposed to Western music tradition (Omojola, 2012, p. 115): they were taught Western music theory, trained to sing in a choir, and some were taught to play the harmonium (Vidal, 2012a, p. 10; Omojola, 2012, p. 115). In other words, Western music education formed part of the curriculum. School officers such as priests, headmasters, and teachers were also trained in Western music and were able to cover various roles, as accompanists, conductors and choir masters (Omojola, 2012, p. 115). Robert Coker, the music tutor at CMS Female Institute later became the first Nigerian to professionally study

¹⁹¹ Church Mission Society.

Western music: he initially trained at the CMS Institute in Abeokuta before proceeding to England in 1880 (Ibid; Omojola, 1995, ch.2, p. 15). Notably too, prior to the introduction of Western music education by missionaries, the ‘rote system’ had been employed to teach traditional forms of music. Using this system, emphasis is placed on the development of a ‘good musical ear, excellent musical memory, keen sense of aural perception, creative impetus and improvisation skills’ (Ibid. p. 19).

At the mission churches, converts were introduced to hymn singing, while the chanting of psalms and canticles during services was entrusted to a group of trained singers, often boys from the mission schools (Vidal, 2012a, p. 25). These boys were assigned to sing the higher voice parts while the lower voice parts were sung by a few professionals who had received some western musical training (Ibid.). Hence, hymns and chants served as the primary music endeavours for mission churches upon arrival in Yorùbáland (Vidal, 2012a, p. 10). However, unlike the Christian chant which shares stylistic characteristics¹⁹² with a similar practice in the traditional Yorùbá musical system, hymn singing supposedly constituted a new musical experience for Yorùbá Christian converts. The hymns were initially sung in English, thereby making the largely illiterate audience feel detached from services (Idowu, 2012b, p. 19). Despite this literacy challenge, the singing of hymns seemed to have been embraced by Yorùbá Christians as it arguably served as the only opportunity for congregational music participation (Vidal, 2012a, p. 26).

With the help of some natives, the mission church leadership reportedly translated the Western hymns to Yorùbá but the superimposition of the hymn tunes to Yorùbá text resulted in ‘tonal distortions, wrong pronunciations, and wrong meanings’ (Omojola, 2012, p. 116), because the contours of the tunes did not match the inflections of Yorùbá speech (Ibid. p. 227). As Vidal

¹⁹² Rather slow and free-flowing.

(2012b) puts it, the missionaries were unaware that in Yorùbá songs, melodic structures often reflect tonemic structures to avoid loss of meaning or intended meaning (p. 92). On a close assessment of Yorùbá hymn texts sung to Western hymn tunes, I discovered few samples that seem to portray the kind of situation discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. For example, the hymn *Let us with a gladsome mind* has the following text:

Let us with a gladsome mind, Praise the Lord for He is kind

The Yorùbá translation of the above-given text is found on Yorùbá hymn books as:

Ejé ká fi'nú dídùn, Yin Olúwa, Olóore

However, when sung to the Monkland tune, what is heard translates as:

Blood, let us use our noisy stomach, To scratch God, the owner of goodness¹⁹³.

This kind of miscommunication was not limited to the Yorùbá church, as, for example, Ekwueme (1973/74) reported similar experiences amongst Igboland missionaries. Despite the cases of altered meaning, some hymns of Western origin are still sung to Yorùbá text among present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Vidal (2012a) seems to have highlighted the rationale behind the continued singing of Yorùbá hymn texts to the original Western melodies when he writes that ‘the indigenous principles of versification, which place emphasis on syntactic repetition and contrasts, tonal repetition and tonal contrasts, as well as lexical substitution, could not be accommodated in the translated Yorùbá versions of the English hymns’ (p. 29).

¹⁹³ The hymn *Come All Ye Faithful* when sung to the popular *Adeste Fideles* in Yorùbá is another example of translated hymns with unintended meanings .

The earliest known Yorùbá hymn book is titled *Iwe Orin Mimo* (Holy Hymn Book). It was published by the Church Mission Society (CMS) in 1863. An excerpt from this compilation of translated texts is given below:

1. JẸ KA YIN OLORUN WA.

L. M.

**Jẹ ka yin Olurun awa,
Eni to wà loke orun,
To fi onjẹ fun enia,
Ti o si fi fun ẹranko.**

**2 O si tẹ oju orun lọ,
O da orun on oşupa,
Işẹ ọwọ rẹ niràwọ;
Iyẹ nwọn awa ko le kà.**

**3 Işẹ ti ọwọ rẹ si şe,
O nşo awọn nighàgbogbo,
Lọsan, loru lo npa nwọn mọ,
Kurò ninu ibi gbogbo.**

Figure 3.3. Excerpt from *Iwe Orin Mimo* (1863). Credit: Church Mission Society.

As can be seen from Figure 3.3 above, the Yorùbá hymn text is presented in verses; the title (*Jé ká yin Olórun wa*), hymn number (1) and meter (L.M, meaning Long Meter) are displayed. As used in Christian hymns, meter simply shows the pattern of syllable counts in the lines of a verse. The pattern for L.M is generally known as 8.8.8.8 indicating that each of the verse lines would have eight syllables as demonstrated below with the *Jé ká yin Olórun wa* excerpt:

Jé / ká / yin / O/ló/run / à/wa

E/ni / tó / wà / ló/kè / ò/run

Tó / fi / ón/je / fún / è/nì/à

Tí / ó / sì / fi / fún / e/ran/ko

Other frequently encountered meters are C.M (Common Meter - 8,6,8,6) and S.M (Short Meter – 6,6,8,6). Further to this, the early Yorùbá church is reported to have embraced a practice known as ‘lining out’ during hymn singing. This involves an individual – in most cases, the song leader – reciting each line of text for the congregation to then sing. Noteworthy, Pollard (2013, p. 37) traces this style to early colonists from North America, revealing that it soon became a trademark style of hymn singing in Black churches, probably because of its similarities with the call and response style of the African Diaspora. Further to this, perhaps, the lining out style was prevalent in the early periods because a lot of the congregation could not read, and then the matter of insufficient song books at the time; interestingly, though, this tradition is still employed in some present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches (such as the CAC) where there are sufficient texts.

Upon arrival, the Christian missionaries banned congregants from engaging with Yorùbá traditional musical practices, claiming them to be rooted in idol worship; hence traditional Yorùbá musical instruments like the drum, as well as dance were not permitted within the church (Omojola, 2012, p. 115). The ban of dance is probably connected with the vigorous style exhibited by traditional religion worshippers during rituals and festivals (Vidal, 2012a, p. 13). Because of these proscriptions, some individuals seceded to start their own church where they would be free to sing, play the drum and dance without inhibition (Akpabot, 1986, p.87). As newly converted mission church members craved for the adaptation of Yorùbá traditional tunes into Christian worship, it was granted, but the use of traditional musical instruments remained banned from worship (ibid. p. 116). The harmonium¹⁹⁴ became the primary musical instrument of the church and, when it was unavailable, songs were performed a cappella (Vidal, 2012a, p. 10; 32). However, as more songs were composed in the vernacular idiom, harmonium

¹⁹⁴ As early as 1853, harmoniums were imported into Yorùbáland en masse to provide musical accompaniment within the church (Vidal, 2012b, p. 87).

and organ accompaniment became inadequate; so gradually and almost unnoticeably, percussive instruments like the *agogo* were introduced as accompaniment (Akpabot, 1986, p. 87). Prior to the establishment of the Christian church, only the Ibibios used the *agogo* in the ritual music of their Obon and Ekpe societies (Ibid. p. 15). Herein lies the basis for my earlier claim that the *agogo* was arguably the first traditional musical instrument to be employed by the mission church. Notably, however, the *agogo* has since been replaced by a different kind of handbell (with a clapper inside) in Yorùbá Christian worship.

The mission church later relaxed its ban on the use of drums and other traditional musical instruments: although the reason for this change of mind is unclear, I reckon that they presumed that the introduction of these musical instruments would boost the acceptance of Christianity among the people. Idowu (2012a) remarks that many had perceived Christianity as a white men's religion not suitable for the Yorùbá people (p. 53), hence it is possible that the mission church hoped to indigenise Christianity by permitting the introduction of traditional musical instruments. Later, the mission church leadership also lifted the ban on dance. It is noteworthy that, prior to the arrival of the missionaries, instrumental accompaniment to songs and dance generated an atmosphere of ecstasy during the worship of deities. For example, Adegbite reported that during traditional religion worship singing, 'as the tempo increases, the atmosphere becomes charged and this often gives both concrete and mystical shape and form to such ceremonies' (1988, p. 23). A similar dynamic is noticeable among Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings.

Interestingly, it seems that some Yorùbá Christian elders were opposed to the adoption of Yorùbá traditional musical instruments, since, following the missionaries' initial thoughts, they believed that indulgence in drumming would be a continuation of pagan practices (Vidal, 2012a, p. 13). In later years, around 1930-1940, it is reported that Joseph Babalola and other

exponents were also opposed to the use of drums¹⁹⁵: this bias against drums persists into the present among certain Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Although most of these churches use drums in their services, there remain a few like MFM who are opposed to the use of drums in Christian worship. On why MFM does not use traditional musical instruments (especially drums) during worship, Daniel Olukoya explained:

We cannot find scriptural backings for it, if you find any, kindly let me know. When a person beats a stretched animal skin, spiritually, it attracts discomfort to the person's life. It was banned by the early Pentecostal fathers because it attracts poverty - the Àyán families can be used as an illustration of this...A lot of people do not understand when we explain these things to them, those who have experienced it understand better. For instance, one of Felá's drummers came to us and said, he saw another hand [invisible to others] beating the drum with him during performance, this made him run away from drumming. Also, beating of drums is deeply rooted in traditional idol worship (personal communication, June 30, 2014).

While the controversy around the use of drums is ongoing, there is more agreement about the positive developments of new musical works. There are claims that a few musically talented Yorùbá Christians were inspired to create new forms of musical repertoire due to concerns about the suitability of direct adaptation of western hymn tunes to Yorùbá texts (Vidal, 2012a, p. 12). These new musical works were reportedly employed alongside the earlier translated Western hymns (Omojola, 2012, p. 116; 227). The attempt made by this set of individuals has been categorised into three approaches. For the first approach, new melodies which fit the original Yorùbá tonal structure of liturgical text used in the church were composed. An example of this is T.K.E Philips (1884-1969)¹⁹⁶ *Orin Ni Ohun Ile wa fun Awon Adura Kukuru ati Idahun won ati fun Litani* (songs in our native language, short prayers and responses for devotion).

¹⁹⁵ <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>.

¹⁹⁶ T.K.E. Philips became the second Nigerian (after Robert Coker) to study music outside the country when he left to study piano, organ and violin at the Trinity College of Music, London in 1911 (Omojola, 1995, ch.2, p.61). He is reported to have trained prominent composers of modern African Art Music such as Fela Sowande, Ayo Bankole and Samuel Akpabot (Ibid.).

The eighteen-page booklet contains newly composed melodies set to translated Yorùbá texts of the Anglican Versicles and Responses and the Litany (Vidal, 2012a, p. 33). This compilation is still used in the Yorùbá Anglican church.

The second approach was to adapt existing Yorùbá indigenous melodies to newly composed Yorùbá lyrics with subject matters centring around biblical stories and religious philosophy (Vidal, 2012a, p. 12). Interestingly, Yorùbá folksongs which were earlier banned because of their connection with traditional Yorùbá religious practices were adapted for use in the church (Omojola, 2012, p. 116; 227). The folksong *Epo n'be èwà n'be o* in Example 3.3 below is an example¹⁹⁷.

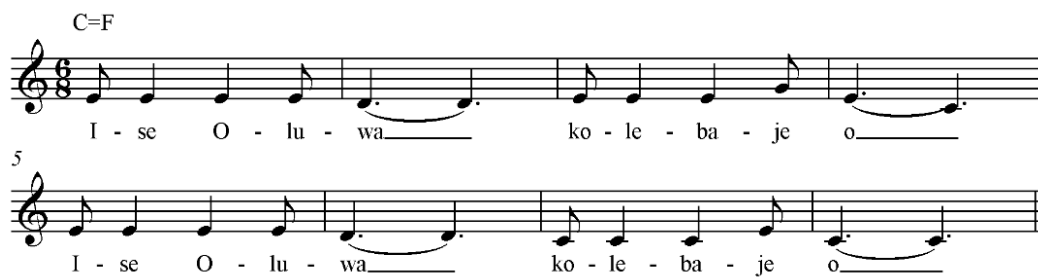


Example 3.3. *Epo n'be èwà n'be o*. A Yorùbá folksong.

This folksong was (and is still) sung during twin birth rituals where beans and palm oil is regarded as ritual food (Vidal, 2012a, p. 31). The parents of newly born twins are known to perform the song during rituals as a way of emphasising their preparedness to cater for the children. In non-ritual contexts, the song is sung by community members for parents expecting the birth of a twin. However, the song was adapted for use in the church with texts such as

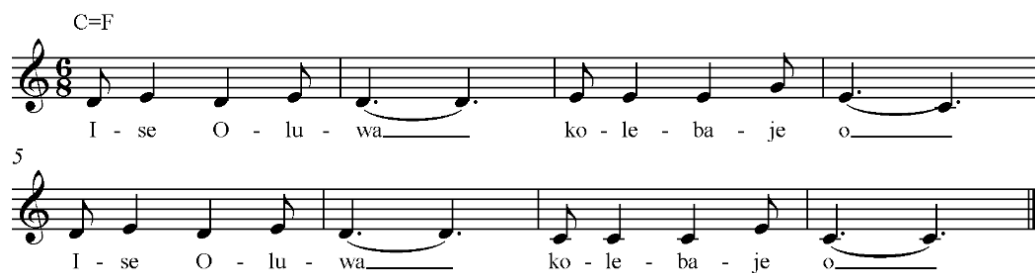
¹⁹⁷ It was sung to me by an elderly Pentecostal preacher, Pastor Abiodun Stephen (Head of Divine Rain of Fire Ministries) on April 23, 2016 in Lagos.

Eto'luwa la wa o se o, esu nse sa, Oluwa, esu nse sa, ko ri pa kan sa, eto'luwa lawa o se o ('We will do what God wants us to do, the devil cannot hinder us'). Two points are worth noting about Example 3.3 above: first, it is based on the pentatonic scale and, second, the contour of the melody conforms to that of the text when it is spoken. However, to claim that all Yorùbá folksongs are constructed in this manner would be stretching a valid point rather too far, especially when one considers that in *Isé Olúwa*, another Yorùbá folksong, the speech, and music tones are not entirely the same. It is presently sung among the Yorùbá people as:



Example 3.4. *Isé Olúwa* 1. A Yorùbá folksong¹⁹⁸.

Here, if the music is to fit perfectly into the speech tone, it should be sung thus:



Example 3.5. *Isé Olúwa* 2.

¹⁹⁸ *Isé Olúwa* is popular in Yorùbáland. It is the signature tune of Channels Television, the largest private media house in south-west Nigeria. As with the previous example, this tune was sung to me by Pastor Abiodun Stephen. It was originally sung to me in F major, but I have transcribed it in the key of C major to ensure the notes are clearly placed on the staff.

Although there is no evidence that this melody was previously sung as written in Example 3.5, nonetheless, I argue that the melodies of these folksongs could have been altered over many years of oral transmission. More so, the reportedly enormous influence of Western music theory on early Western music trained Yorùbá musicians such as Robert Coker and T.K.E. Philips could have made them alter the melody, for example, to ensure *Ise* started on the mediant and not the supertonic, as a way of conforming to western music norms regarding how to start a musical melody.

The third approach is reportedly centred on the creation of original musical composition, having new melodies and Bible-related texts. This category of music is known as ‘Native Airs’. Examples include *Emi o ogbe oju mi soke wonni*¹⁹⁹ (‘I will lift up my eyes to the hills’), an adaptation of Psalm 121, and *Ninu Agbala Olorun wa* (‘We gather in the courts of our Lord’) by T.K.E. Philips. Rev. J.J. Ransome Kuti’s compilation of 57 Yorùbá sacred songs, published in 1923 as appendix to the Yorùbá hymn book *Iwe Orin Mimo fun Ijo Enia Olorun ni ile Yorùbá* is another example (Vidal, 2012a, p. 31). Notably, already existing structures of Yorùbá vocal music such as the call and response, through-composed, strophic, and strophic responsorial forms were adopted in this category of songs²⁰⁰.

Having discussed music making among the Yorùbá both before and after missionary and colonial times, the following section focuses on the analysis of collected samples of songs attributed to Joseph Babalola and considered (by Yorùbá Pentecostal church leaders who worked closely with the exponents of Yorùbá Pentecostal movement) to have been used during

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix A1.

²⁰⁰ The call and response form involves alternation between the solo part and the chorus. It is also known as the antiphonal form. The through-composed form can be simply described as a long-verse form with no verse repeats. The strophic form involves singing of stanzas (verses) to the same melody as commonly found in western church hymns, while the strophic responsorial could be described as a hybrid of the call and response form and the strophic form. It entails repetition (by the chorus) of each verse sung by the solo part.

the 1930 revivals in Yorùbáland. The section will also seek to explore musical practices within the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement, especially from the time of the 1930 revivals onward.

3.5. Analysis: Music from the 1930 revivals

As mentioned earlier, the Yorùbá Pentecostal group moved away from the musical liturgy of the early mission churches such as chants, developing new forms of their own. The creation of new types of music by the Pentecostal movement highlights the significance of music during Christian worship, irrespective of denomination. The more than six hundred references to music in the Bible lends credence to the belief that music is an important element of Christian worship (Jones, 2006, p. 5). Although scholars such as Cooke (2010) assert that music is one of the elements in a Christian gathering that influences membership and attendance decisions (p. 6), it is unknown if music played any significant role in the reported large attendance at the 1930 revivals. Archival materials at the National Archive Centre in Ibadan and the studies by Wariboko (2014, p. 18) and Ojo (2006, p. 31) highlight deliverance, miracles and mysterious healings resulting from visionary experiences and fervent prayers as major factors responsible for the reported massive attendance – but they do not mention music in this light.

Based on evidence from assessed archival materials such as Oyo Prof 1, 662, interviews conducted with key informants during my fieldwork, and the assessment of works such as Peel (1968), Adedeji (2010) and Idowu (2012b), I suggest that the types of music thought to have been used by the Pentecostal movement from the revival times onwards can be categorised into four distinct music types: praise songs, the hymn tradition of the mission church, evangelistic songs and spiritual warfare songs. Interestingly, these music types still feature in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches.

The following is an analysis of these music types; I will discuss when and how each song type were (and are still) used, those who composed them, and the musical instruments used to accompany them (if any). This analysis will also show stylistic features such as melodic structure, rhythm, musical form amongst others. However, textual analysis will be given priority as suggested by Adedeji (2012, pp. 411-412): these early Yorùbá revival songs do not offer opportunities for extensive musical analysis (for instance, harmony was not employed at the time), but the song texts reveal much, as they present the opportunity to further trace and understand the belief system and values of the early Yorùbá Pentecostal church.

3.5.1. Praise songs

It is reported that praise songs (initially referred to as ‘choruses’ among Yorùbá Pentecostals) were used as curtain raisers during the 1930 revivals, and this tradition is still practised among present-day Yorùbá Pentecostals. Based on his encounters with individuals who worked closely with exponents of the 1930 revivals, as well as aged Yorùbá Pentecostals who witnessed the revivals themselves, Idowu (2012b) asserts that the revival meetings commenced with the singing of choruses and revival songs (p. 91). Similarly, Adedeji (2010) concurs that ‘choruses’ originated from the *Aladura* movement and are sung at the beginning of the service and other sections when necessary (p. 232). Furthermore, Peel (1968) reports that the Yorùbá Pentecostal church services he attended during fieldwork started at about 8:30am with members being ‘occupied in singing choruses, led by young men dressed in white European suits, who pace up and down the space at the front of the seats [altar area], beating or stamping time, singing the words to which the congregation will respond with the choruses, and generally exhorting them to be enthusiastic and to sing louder’ (p. 159). Little wonder, most of my elderly

interviewees like Christopher Oshun²⁰¹ and Dayo Oluwamakin²⁰² frequently referred to praise songs as ‘choruses’ but clarified at my request that the term is used to mean the same as praise songs.

According to several of my informants, starting a Pentecostal gathering with this type of song is perceived as an appropriate choice, consistent with the recommendations in Psalm 100:4: ‘Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise: be thankful unto him, and bless his name’. Pastor Oloyede²⁰³ interprets the text to mean that when Christians attend a service, they must come with a grateful heart, thanking God for what He has done for them, and then, praise Him for who He is. In his explanation²⁰⁴, Pius Oragwu (Pastor-in-charge of Praise and Worship groups in MFM) draws a parallel with Yorùbá traditional set-up where indigenes are expected to proclaim ‘*Kabiesi oh*’, a shout of obeisance before entering the palace gates, or when passing in front of royal palaces. As with Olaniran Tosin²⁰⁵ (Head, Groups and Solos Department, MFM Music Ministry), Oragwu argues that praise singing serves two primary purposes, to pay obeisance, and to show appreciation.

Consuella Smith, an Evangelist and Praise and Worship leader in a personal communication with Pollard (2013) suggests that praise and worship music is mostly scheduled for the beginning of the service ‘so that the spirit of the Lord can be ushered in,’ even as worshippers also use the first music session to ‘prepare themselves to experience the presence of God’ (p. 34). This corroborates Oloyede’s assertion²⁰⁶ that ‘praises bring God down into the midst, not prayers’. However, aside from believers praising God in appreciation of what He has done for them, or as a means of ushering Him down into their midst, it can also be said that praise

²⁰¹ In a personal communication. March 15, 2016. Lagos State University Staff Quarters.

²⁰² In a telephone interview. March 28, 2017.

²⁰³ In a personal communication. May 6, 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.

²⁰⁴ In a personal communication. February 27, 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

²⁰⁵ In a personal communication. February 19, 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.

²⁰⁶ In a personal communication. May 6, 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.

singing is strategically placed at the beginning of Pentecostal services to enact a kind of unity among believers through a shared activity. Hinson suggests that ‘by drawing voices together in an outpouring of praise, Pentecostals audibly affirm a sense of congregational unity’ (2000, p. 39). Hence, bearing in mind that the pre-requisite for the Holy Spirit manifestation in Acts, Chapter 2, verse 1 was unity, as ‘they were gathered in one accord’, it seems present-day Yorùbá Pentecostals aim to enact the feeling of ‘one accord’ through the shared activity of collective singing. Hinson further highlights the supposed function of these songs:

For the individual saint, song serves as a vehicle of focus, a means of achieving an internal accord that sets all thoughts on parallel path of praise. For the sanctified congregation, song serves as a vehicle of communion, a means of achieving an external accord that draws all minds to devotional congruence – Both forms of accord prepare the way for the Spirit, clearing away worldly concerns and inviting the Spirit’s touch. Hinson (2000, p. 93).

Nonetheless, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, this process is not achieved with every congregant as there are occasions when there is a disconnection between the song leader and some congregants.

From my discussions with Oluwamakin, Idowu and Oshun, I understand that most of the songs claimed to have been sung at the 1930 revivals were spontaneously composed by Babalola and the other revivalists present. The evidence I have is what these scholars have told me. Although they seem convinced about the claims made, especially about the composers and the songs having been used since the 1930s, their assertions cannot be considered to be a hundred percent accurate because of the paucity of detailed background information on these songs, and their initial oral tradition preservation method. Notwithstanding, this oral tradition and a few publications by the above-mentioned individuals arguably remains the only accessible evidence. For example, while some of the songs have allegedly been preserved through oral

tradition, writers such as Oluwamakin (2004) and Idowu (2012b) claim to have preserved some of the texts. The following paragraphs will assess some of these praise songs.

Clap rhythm 12/8

I - ba__ re__ Je - su__ o__ I - ba__ re__

Clap rhythm 4

o-mo O-lo - run__ E-le - ru-ni - yin mo ju - ba re o ma se - un

Example 3.6. *Ìbà re, Jèsù oh*. Yorùbá praise song²⁰⁷.

The praise song titled *Ìbà re, Jèsù oh* in Example 3.6 above was sung to me by Femi Adedeji during an interview²⁰⁸. He mentioned that the song was sung to him by a very old Yorùbá Pentecostal church clergyman several years ago, and that the old man argued that it was one of the most-used praise songs during the 1930 revivals. With the text meaning ‘We hail you Jesus, we hail you, son of God, we bow before the one who is fearful in praises - thank you’, the song suggests that congregants engaged in praise singing, and that they perceive praise songs as a means of thanksgiving. Further to this, by recognising Jesus as the Son of God, the song text seems to validate the concept of trinity as discussed in Chapter Two.

Having worked closely with some exponents of the 1930 revivals, in a personal communication²⁰⁹, Christopher Oshun argued that *Apá ’ńlá tó s’ayé ró* (Example 3.7 below) was another popular praise song employed during the revivals.

²⁰⁷ Sung to me by Femi Adedeji.

²⁰⁸ March 31, 2016. Music Department, Obafemi Awolowo University.

²⁰⁹ March 15, 2016. Lagos State University Staff Quarters.

Clap rhythm

12/8

A - pa' nla to s'a - ye - ro___ A - ja - ka - ri - a - ye gbo- gbo___

3

Clap rhythm

12/8

Ki - ni - un o E - ya ju - daa i - wo lo' - pe - ye ba - ba___

Example 3.7. *Apá 'ńlá tó s'ayé ró*. Yorùbá praise song²¹⁰.

This song eulogises God as the mighty one who has the whole universe under His control. Through the song, congregants collectively declare that God deserves their praise because He is an undefeated warlord, and the lion of the tribe of Judah, making reference to the old testament account where God is described in this manner. I argue that referring to God in a battle-like context even during praise songs suggests that warfare is a major theme among Yorùbá Pentecostals.

Oluwamakin (2004, p. 49) claims that the text of *Bàbá Mímó tire làse* (Holy Father, you are the one with supreme authority) was one of Joseph Babalola's compositions and featured during the 1930 revivals. According to him, the sources for this claim are individuals who witnessed the 1930 revivals (Ibid. p. iv). In a personal communication²¹¹ with me, he affirmed what he had written in his book (2004), *Àwọn Àṣọtélé àti Àwọn Orin Èmí Láti Ẹnu Ènìyàn Ọlọrun Nàà Apostle Joseph Ayo Babalola* (The Prophecies and Spiritual Songs composed by Joseph Ayo Babalola) that the song titles and texts listed therein were original compositions

²¹⁰ Sung to me by Christopher Oshun.

²¹¹ Telephone conversation. March 28, 2017.

by Joseph Babalola and that most of them were employed at the 1930 revivals²¹². On the origin of the melody with which the song is presently sung in churches (see Example 3.8), I argue that this could have been composed by someone else, or even altered as common with the oral tradition preservation method but Oluwamakin asserted during our chat that the tune was composed by Babalola, as it was the same tune sung by his informants who witnessed the 1930 revivals.

With songs such as *Bàbá Mímó tire làse*, congregants at the revivals could be said to have praised God because they believed He was in-charge of their lives and situations. Hence, they eulogised Him, calling Him *Bàbá Mímó tire làse* ('Holy Father').

Clap rhythm 12/8

(Call): Ba ba Mí-mo ti-re la - a - - - se

(Response) A - se o, O - ba o -

Clap rhythm 3/8

Me-ta - lo-kan ti-re la - a - se

lu- gba - la A - se o, O - ba o - lu - gba - la

Example 3.8. *Bàbá Mímó tire làse*. Yorùbá praise song²¹³.

By referring to God as a Holy Father, the song reinforces the Pentecostal teaching of holiness. It also highlights Yorùbá Pentecostal belief in the concept of trinity when it referred to God as *Meta lokan* ('three in one').

²¹² More songs allegedly composed by Babalola will be assessed in Chapter Five.

²¹³ Sung to me by Dayo Oluwamakin.

The song *Kì'ńgbe'bo* (Example 3.9) suggests that congregants sang praises to God because He would not request anything tangible from them. The song text translates thus: 'He does not demand sacrifice, meat, money or bribe. Jesus deserves much praise; He is the free giver'.

Clap rhythm

12

Kì' - n' - gbe' bo__ kì' - n' - gbe' ran__ kì' - n' - gbo' wo__ kì' n'-gba-be-

4

Clap rhythm

te - le__ O - pe' - n' - la lo ye o,

6

Clap rhythm

o__ Je - su o - lo - o - re__

Example 3.9. *Kì'ńgbe'bo*. Yorùbá praise song²¹⁴.

Apart from serving as a tool to praise God, I posit that this song was used to advertise Yorùbá Pentecostal operations at the time, and to ridicule Yorùbá traditional religion where adherents were reportedly asked to bring money and animals for ritual sacrifice. The archival document (Oyo Prof 1, 662, p. 3) reveals that unlike present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, collections were not taken during the 1930 revivals.

Bearing in mind that the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement prohibited the use of drums in Christian worship, the hand bell and clapping served as accompaniment (Fatokun, 2009, p. 45). I am aware scholars such as Stone (2005) use the TUBS²¹⁵ notation which was developed by Philip Harland (Kubik, 2010, p. 33) to depict drum or bell patterns, however I have chosen to

²¹⁴ Sung to me by Christopher Oshun.

²¹⁵ Time Unit Box System.

employ the traditional music notation as it presents me with the opportunity to explicitly show the meter implied by the response of my interviewees. For example, they strongly accent the first beat of the pattern given in Example 3.10 below, thereby suggesting a 12/8 time signature. J.H. Kwabena Nketia is reputed to have coined the expression ‘time-line pattern’ around the 1960s (Kubik, 2010, pp. 52-54), however discussions about the concept seem to have existed pre-1960 (Arom, 2004, pp. 182-183). It is worth noting that Arthur M Jones’ (1937) work, *The Study of African Musical Rhythms* is one of the pioneering works that attempted a description and analysis of African music patterns. In this study, bell patterns and clap rhythms are considered as time-line patterns. After all, Kubik (2010) explained that time-line patterns are ‘percussive patterns produced either by hand-clapping or by striking a musical instrument with penetrating sound such as a bell...’ (p. 57). Simply put, African music time-line patterns serve as a guide to performers and dancers. Notably, besides its time-related function, hand clapping sometimes play an experiential role as it helps maintain intensity especially during spiritual warfare singing which will be discussed later in this Chapter.

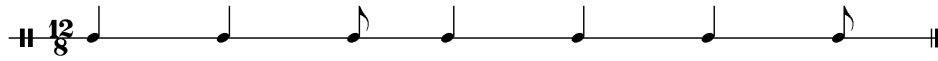


Example 3.10. Bell pattern.

The bell pattern in Example 3.10 above was demonstrated by Oshun²¹⁶, who claimed that it was the primary rhythm played to accompany 1930 revival praise songs. According to him, his sources witnessed the 1930 revivals and were interviewed in the 1970s during fieldwork for his doctoral work which assessed Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity (1918 – 1975) through the lens of the Christ Apostolic Church (see Oshun, 1981). This pattern in Example 3.10 reportedly featured as a cyclical pattern throughout praise songs such as the ones mentioned earlier in this

²¹⁶ In a personal communication. March 15, 2016.

section. Scholars such as Vidal (2012a, p. 134) and Stone (2005, p. 80) also referred to this rhythm and assert that it originated from traditional Yorùbá music. Interestingly, as Adedeji revealed during an interview²¹⁷ with me, another variant of the bell pattern exists. This can be seen in Example 3.11 below.



Example 3.11. Bell pattern.

As both bell patterns are identical except for the last two strikes, it remains unclear when the latter (Example 3.11) was adapted to accompany Yorùbá Pentecostal church songs. Although the pattern in Example 3.10 is considered as the original pattern, Example 3.11 appears to be more popular among present-day Pentecostals²¹⁸; it is also reported to be commonly used among the Ewe people of Ghana (Stone, 2005, pp. 80-81). Hence, it could well have been a conscious adaptation from neighbouring Ghana, or vice versa. These cyclical bell patterns are supported with ‘heavy hand clapping’ as described by Fatokun (2009, p. 45) and are thought to help congregants maintain a steady clapping tempo, as well as motivate them to dance. As mentioned by Oshun, the dance steps employed are simple and sometimes encourage a shared experience during service as congregants dance facing each other.

It is important to mention here that most of the other alleged 1930s songs, collected during fieldwork can be sung to either the bell pattern in Example 3.10 or Example 3.11. In other words, the rhythmic framework of these other songs are similar to those found in Examples 3.6 to 3.9. Hence, these samples are probably representative of how most of the 1930 revival praise songs were constructed. Nonetheless, there are a few other songs such as *Olóore*, *Olóore*, *Jésù*

²¹⁷ March 31, 2016.

²¹⁸ This is evidenced by the demonstrations of my other informants and observations at the churches I visited.

Olóore (Example 3.12) which employ a different accompanying bell pattern. The text of the song references Jesus as the giver of good things who deserves to be praised. Furthermore, it reveals dance, ecstasy and smiling as primary activities during praise singing at the revivals.

Clap rhythm

Call: O-lo-o-re, o-lo-o-re

Je-su o-lo-o-re o

(Resp) O-lo-o-re, o-lo-o-re

o-lo-o-

5

Clap rhythm

ma fí-jo san di-e fun

ma fà-yo san di-e fun

re

ma fí-jo san di-e fun

ma fà-yo san di-e

9

Clap rhythm

ma fè-rin san di-e fun

fun

ma fè-rin san di-e

11

Clap rhythm

Je-su o-lo-o-re o

fun

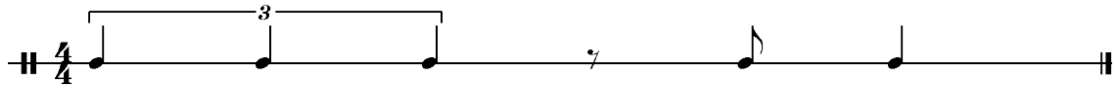
o-lo-o-re

Example 3.12. *Olóore, Olóore, Jèsù Olóore*. Yorùbá praise song²¹⁹.

Interestingly, the few songs which fall into the same category as *Olóore, Olóore, Jèsù Olóore* have similar dance movements, themes, and clapping patterns to the praise songs discussed above, even though the time signature and bell pattern differs. The songs in this category are

²¹⁹ Sung to me by Oshun. The song text is recorded in Oluwamakin (2004, p. 48).

known to employ the pattern shown in Example 3.13 below. Hence, the distinctive difference between both set of praise songs²²⁰ is found in the accompaniment provided by the bell.



Example 3.13. Bell pattern.

This bell pattern is like the rhythm played by the clave in *highlife*, the West African popular music genre. It is not known if *highlife* adapted it from the church or vice versa. However, considering that Yorùbá Pentecostals were known to oppose popular music traditions in the 1930s, it probably was an adaptation from the church. Whatever the case, it is evident that a kind of connection exists between *highlife* and the Yorùbá Pentecostal church. Moreover, Omojola (2012) seem to agree when he suggests that the genre is Christianity-affiliated (pp. 205 & 226).

Generally, the rhythmic flow of the praise songs claimed to have been employed at the revivals are syncopated within a framework of four beats per bar. As can be seen from the assessed music examples, the compound quadruple time signature framework is mostly used, as only a few are constructed in simple quadruple time signature. The melody of these praise songs is mainly based on the major pentatonic scale. However, as can be seen in Examples 3.7 and 3.9, the diatonic scale is occasionally used. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the development of Yorùbá song melody often considers the speech melody for meaning to be achieved and this appears to be the case with the examples assessed in this section. In other words, the scale on which these praise songs are constructed appear to be determined by the speech melody. A

²²⁰ That is, Examples 3.6-3.9 and Example 3.12.

point also worth noting is that these melodies are short; as such, they are repeated several times, after which another song is started.

The call and response musical form is a common feature within praise songs, which are always led by an individual. For example, in songs such as Examples 3.6, 3.7 and 3.9 above, the lead voice sings through the song, after which congregants repeat the same. In the case of Example 3.12, the repetition occurs after each phrase. Vidal (2012a) refers to this kind of variant (where both the call and response are the same) as A-A antiphonal form. Others such as Example 3.8 are known as A-B antiphonal form, because the call and response parts are different from each other.

3.5.2. Hymn singing

Hymn singing constitutes another musical practice mentioned to have featured at the 1930 revivals. H. Childs, the Assistant District Officer assigned by the colonial government to monitor the 1930 revivals reported that ‘there was a certain amount of hymn singing’ at the meetings (Oyo Prof 1, 662, p. 3). Peel (1968, p. 160) and Adedeji (2010, p. 232) also reported hymn singing among the early *Aladura* movement. Despite having a mission church origin, my informants in the field asserted that hymns were often sung during the 1930 revivals, specifically after the praise singing had been concluded. ‘The God of Abram praise’ is reported by Idowu as having been one of the frequently-sung hymns during the revivals, probably because it is known to have been Joseph Babalola’s favourite (Idowu, 2012a, p. 40). The practice of having the hymn singing session follow the praise singing seem to have remained the same in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches as observed at the MFM church²²¹.

²²¹ See Chapter Four for an assessment of present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal church rituals and rites.

3.5.3. Evangelistic songs

Many Pentecostals opine that evangelistic songs are the most important type of Christian music because they emphasise salvation, which is perceived as the primary message of the Christian faith. During an interview with me, Oshun claimed that songs in this category were (as they are still) performed during evangelistic parades to villages and during altar call at the revival ground²²². Adedeji (2012) refers to them as songs that lead to paths of spiritual salvation and conversion (pp. 413; 420) and conversion in Pentecostal Christianity could be simply described as a type of Pentecostal rite of passage (Albrecht, 1999, p. 125-126). It is regarded as a spiritual process that must be taken before an individual can profess to be a born-again Christian. Hence, pre-conversion time is believed to be time spent in sin, while the post-conversion state is understood to be filled with spiritual enlightenment and benefits. During personal communication²²³ with me, Adedeji mentioned that from his previous research, he discovered that songs such as *Oh pè ó* (Example 3.14) were used to admonish people to convert to Christianity during the 1930 revivals.

Clap rhythm 12/8

On - pe o bo' - ti - se' - pe mi wa

Clap rhythm 12/8

o so' - mi da' - la - du - ra mo do' - lo - ri - i - re'

Example 3.14. *Oh pè ó*. Yorùbá evangelistic song²²⁴.

²²² Oshun, in a personal communication. March 15, 2016.

²²³ March 31, 2016.

²²⁴ Sung to me by Adedeji, March 31, 2016.

The text of this song can be translated as: ‘He [Jesus] is calling you, just as He once called me, He has made me an Aladura [a member of the praying Yorùbá Pentecostal movement], I am blessed’; it highlights the call made to people, requesting they embrace the conversion rite of passage. It also claims that there are spiritual benefits attached to becoming a member of the Pentecostal movement. Following this line of thought, scholars such as Osbeck (1961) argue that ‘the ultimate objectives of any church music program must always be to attract individuals to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ and then to lead them to the fuller, more spirit filled Christian life’ (p. 32). Again, the next example, *Jésù nìkan* reinforces the focus of evangelistic songs which is to direct non-Christians to Jesus, the acclaimed saviour.

Clap rhythm 12/8

Je - su ni - kan lo - le - gba - ni - la_____

3 Clap rhythm 12/8

Je - su ni - kan lo - le - gba - ni - la_____ A - lle - lu - ya

Example 3.15. *Jésù nìkan*. Yorùbá evangelistic song.

Here, Jesus is portrayed as the only one who can save people from their problems. In further personal communication, Adedeji told me that evangelistic parades where these songs were often used are believed to have motivated many to attend Pentecostal crusades and open-air revival meetings. The last sample of Yorùbá evangelistic song to be considered in this section is *Esáré wá* (Example 3.16), believed to be one of the few Yorùbá evangelistic songs that survived extinction as it is popular among present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. According to Adedeji, the aged informants he interviewed at the time of his research in the 1980s and

early 1990s claimed that there were a lot of evangelistic songs in the 1930s but many of these have been lost and only a few which some individuals could recollect have survived and are still sung in Yorùbá Pentecostal church gatherings. This again points to the limitations of preservation by oral tradition as mentioned earlier. In fact, I contend that even the samples that have supposedly been passed on through the years are possibly not the exact versions performed in the 1930s.

Clap rhythm

12/8

E - sa - re wa e - wa - wo o

3

Clap rhythm

12/8

e - wa - wo' - lu - gba - la to so a - ye a - wa di re - re

Example 3.16. *Esaré wá*. Yorùbá evangelistic song.

As the text can be translated as ‘run quickly, come and see the Saviour who has turned my life around for good’, the theme of salvation stands out as with the other examples. With the use of phrases such as ‘come and see’ and ‘He is calling you’, these songs can be said to function as vehicles of spiritual invitation (Hinson, 2000, p. 93). Notably, for evangelistic songs, dance is said to have been omitted. In the context of evangelistic parades, where these songs seem to function as awareness tools, participants reportedly made their clap accompaniment louder while they hoped to create the kind of spectacle that would attract attention.

Clap rhythm

12/8

Example 3.17. Clap rhythm.

In such instances, it is understood that the tempo of the songs accelerates and the clapping accompaniment also changes to the rhythm shown in Example 3.17 above. However, the bell patterns shown in Examples 3.10 and 3.11 are retained (Adedeji, personal communication, March 31, 2016).

3.5.4. Spiritual warfare songs

Spiritual warfare songs are songs used to engage in spiritual combat with the forces of evil. These songs and related prayers are perceived as the bedrock of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. As discussed in Chapter Two, the yearning for spiritual discoveries such as healing and spiritual warfare among some Yorùbá Christians is regarded as the primary reason for mission church secession which later resulted in the formation of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement around 1918. Since their formation, first as the Diamond Society, and later as the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement (*Aladura*), they are known to prioritise spiritual warfare. Yorùbá Pentecostal Christians refer to themselves as ‘soldiers of Christ’ and the ‘endtime army of the Lord’. Examples of scriptures often cited in support of this ‘soldier’ status include Ephesians 6:11, ‘...put on the whole armour of God...’, and II Timothy 6:12, ‘...fight the good fight of faith...’. In addition, they attach spiritual meaning to physical occurrences. For example, demons are thought to be responsible for sicknesses and this is connected to a belief in an ever-present struggle between the forces of good and evil, and the immense possibilities of its influence on human activity. Olukoya succinctly summarises this as follows:

There is a raging battle going on. This battle is between right and the wrong, between light and darkness, real and counterfeit, evil and good, negative and positive. It is a battle in which no one can be neutral.

We are born into it and we've got no choice. You cannot opt out. There is nowhere to go... (Olukoya 2004, p. 15).

Hence, to survive in this highly contested dualistic world, it is important to align with the side that has the supreme power (Wariboko, 2014, pp. 34-35). Yorùbá Pentecostals believe spiritual warfare songs and deliverance prayers offer them the required ammunition to defeat these evil forces. During fieldwork, my respondents presented several descriptions of what they think spiritual warfare songs are. For example, in a personal communication²²⁵, Akinlabi Olaleye described them as ‘warfare songs, to be sung with violence. Not in a gentleman style...there are some battles in one’s life that will not go until when you are violent with them... you need to sing those warfare songs violently so that you can fight those battles successfully and win’. Similarly, Femi Adedeji²²⁶ asserted that they are songs that protect from the attacks of spiritual enemies like witches, sorcerers, charms and others. Likewise, Akinselure²²⁷ perceived them as ‘songs with words that fight the enemy, words that curse the works of the enemy... Words that say no to things that are not going right in the lives of people...’

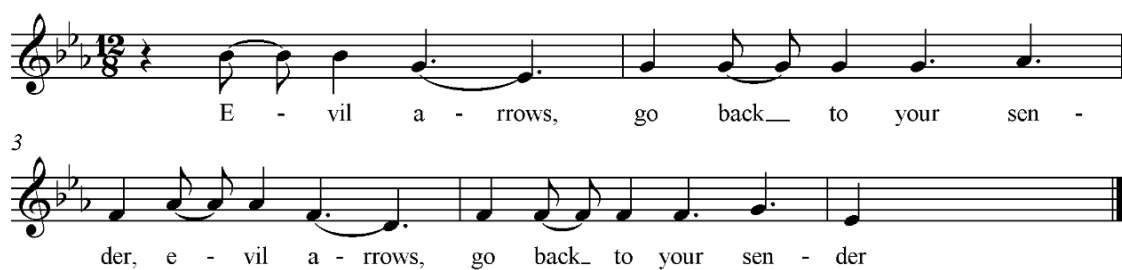
These responses provide revealing descriptions of spiritual warfare songs, highlighting the way in which they should be rendered, clarifying how vital they are to the Yorùbá Pentecostal liturgy, and why they are typically driven by fierce lyrics. These accounts emphasise how important it is for the songs to be performed with so much intensity. Notably, Yorùbá Pentecostals speak of musical intensity in terms of ‘hot’ and ‘cold’: it is believed that ‘hot’ musical participation is a highly effective means of accessing the supernatural realm; to this end, preachers encourage congregants to keep up the intensity and not get tired. More so, as

²²⁵ March 11, 2016.

²²⁶ In a personal communication. March 31, 2016.

²²⁷ In a personal communication. February 26, 2016.

Yorùbá Pentecostals are known to construct meaning for their actions, they make extra effort to interpret these actions as an attack on the forces of darkness. I argue that the intense singing and clapping during spiritual warfare songs, for example, is one of the ritual techniques used to create an atmosphere that participants believe leads to the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. It is common to hear preachers admonish congregants to clap their hands hard and make it sound like thunder, so it can terrify the enemy; similarly, when they stamp their feet on the ground, it is believed that the devil and the dark forces are at the receiving end of the aggression they exert.



Example 3.18. *Evil arrows go back to your sender*. Spiritual warfare song

More so, when singing songs like *Evil arrows go back to your sender* (Example 3.18), they are seen to throw imaginary arrows into space believing that their actions ensure speedy results in the spiritual realm. Yorùbá Pentecostals like Adedeji claim these engagements are effective. In a personal communication²²⁸, he relates this account:

A certain man attended our vigil prayer meeting where a Yorùbá spiritual warfare song with the meaning, ‘*My oppressors receive the slap of God*’ was sung. On arriving home in the morning, his mother-in-law queried him saying she had a dream where he slapped her continuously. To the surprise of the man, he could see finger prints on his mother-in-law’s cheeks – evidence that she was slapped. The woman later confessed to being the source of his problems... (Adedeji, Personal communication 31 March 2016).

²²⁸ March 31, 2016.

Adedeji concluded that the woman was a witch and therefore a representative of demonic forces, and that the active participation of the man ensured he received his deliverance. This interpretation is consistent with that provided by my Pentecostal respondents. To a person unfamiliar with the Yorùbá traditional culture, this account would be considered a fable. However, Adedeji emphasizes the veracity of the story and its grounding in reality.

3.5.4.1. Thematic Categorisation: Fire, Power and Deliverance

The following section discusses examples of spiritual warfare songs which are claimed to have been used at the 1930 revivals, dividing them up according to the main themes common with Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs, namely, fire, power and deliverance.

Fire

Ina [Fire] serves as one of the main themes of Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs. From its inception, the Pentecostal movement is understood to have attributed two meanings to the term ‘fire’: firstly, it is used in discourses on the spiritual-self or inner man; secondly, it can refer to God’s act of divine judgement. In the first case, fire is perceived as the agent that quickens and purifies the soul of believers as revealed in *Ro iná re o, ro iná re wá* (Example 3.19)²²⁹.

²²⁹ Oshun (personal communication, March 15, 2016). *Iná wo nú mi lo* in Appendix A2 is also in this category.

Clap rhythm

12/8

Ro i - na re o ro i - na re wa ro i - na re o

4

Clap rhythm

ro i - na re wa O - lo-run E-li - jah ro i - na re o

Example 3.19. *Ro iná re o, ro iná re wá*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

As the text indicates (‘rain your fire, rain down your fire oh God of Elijah’), this song requests God to send down His purifying fire on congregants and, as with all spiritual warfare songs, it is repeated several times as a way of building musical intensity. The so-called ‘machine gun technique’ which is an emphatic coda is used to emphasise the meaning and action intended by the song. As such, it helps to sustain intensity. In the case of Example 3.19, the last phrase ‘*ro iná re o*’ would be repeated with much more intensity and vigour. What this does is create a charged and frenzied atmosphere, with some falling to the ground under the supposed influence of the Holy Spirit. A similar practice of repetitive vocalisation aimed at creating an ecstatic trance-like experience is common in the Arabic dervish brotherhoods (Rouget, 1985, pp. 263, 300-301).

In present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, songs such as *Holy Ghost and fire* and *I need the fire that is fresh* (Examples 3.20 and 3.21) also refer to fire as a purifying element that should be received by Pentecostal Christians.

Clap rhythm

12/8

Ho - ly Ghost and fi - re fill my spi - rit

3/8

fill my soul fill my life

Example 3.20. Holy Ghost and fire.

It is believed among Pentecostals that this kind of fire was responsible for the first account of tongues speaking as recorded in Acts, Chapter Two. Many respondents argue that even though the disciples of Jesus had been Christians all along, they were only able to embark on spiritual exercises such as preaching and healing after they had received ‘fresh fire’, the purifying fire of the Holy Ghost. Songs such as Example 3.21 below are often used to reinforce this belief. The placement of the word ‘fire’ on the strongest beat of the bar is possibly a conscious effort to ensure the fire theme is further emphasised.

Clap rhythm

4/4

I need the fi - re that is fresh I need the fi - re that is fresh

5/4

old fi - re can - not do it I need the

8/4

fi - re that is fresh

Example 3.21. I need the fire that is fresh

Citing Jeremiah 5:4, '...behold, I will make my words in thy mouth fire', Pastor Oragwu claims that when the Holy Ghost fire quickens the spirit man [inner-man] of a believer, he or she receives boldness to preach the gospel of Jesus wherever and whenever. He further asserts that the word of God is a refiner's fire which exposes and removes the imperfection of man.

When referring to God's act of divine judgement, 'fire' is called upon as a tool which is capable of destroying whatever is perceived as evil or responsible for the oppression of believers as revealed in *Iná wá wá wá wá jó won run* (Example 3.22). Here, as will be seen in subsequent examples, the action or command word is often carefully placed on the strongest beat of the bar as a means of accentuating the focal point of each song. The evidence of this is expressed in Example 3.22 with the words, 'wá' (come) and 'jà' (fight).

Clap rhythm 12 8 I - na__ wa wa wa - jo__ won run i - na__

3 Clap rhythm wa wa wa wa - jo__ won run, o-gun ti mo ja ja ja ti__ ko__

6 Clap rhythm se__ i - na__ wa wa wa wa - jo__ won run

Example 3.22. *Iná wá wá wá wá jó won run*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

This belief in destructive fire from God is often backed up with biblical references where God himself is described as a consuming fire (Deuteronomy 4:24; Hebrews 12:29). Another sample

song in this category is *Fire oh, fire, iná Olórun mà ló' njó o fire*²³⁰. As a further matter, Yorùbá Pentecostals as with other Christians believe that fire will be used to assess their life on the day of judgement: 'every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's works of what sort it is' (1 Corinthians 1:13).

Power

Agbara [Power] is another common theme with Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs. The message of Nigerian Pentecostals is predominantly about spiritual empowerment, or access to the divine power to meet human needs amid daily agonistic and antagonistic struggles of power (Wariboko, 2014, p. 34). As mentioned earlier in this section, Yorùbá Pentecostals believe in a Manichean world of good and evil where humans are unavoidably caught in the epic struggles between godly and demonic forces. Thus, power becomes a major topic for them because those 'who survive and flourish in this highly contested dualistic world are those who align with the side that has the supremacy of power' (Ibid.). Current practitioners such as Stephen Abiodun and Christopher Oshun, citing their previous contacts with aged Pentecostals who witnessed the 1930 revivals, claimed that *Ilè lanu ká'gbára èsù wolè* (Example 3.23) was used at the 1930 revivals to reinforce the contest between these battling forces.

²³⁰ See Appendix A3.

Clap rhythm

12/8

(I - le la - nu) I - le la - nu ka' - gba - ra e - su

3

Clap rhythm

wo-le ka' - gba-rao - lo-run du ro ha-lle - lu - yah

Example 3.23. *Ilè lanu ká'gbára èsù wolè*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

This song is an address to the ground, commanding it to open and swallow the power of demonic forces, while the power of God remains. As can be seen, the action words ‘*lanu*’ (open) and ‘*wole*’ (sink) are strategically placed on the strongest beat. The song addresses the ground as though it has ears to listen: this is common among Yorùbá Pentecostals who believe everything has the capacity to hear and can be spiritually addressed. With the phrase, ‘*k’agabara esu*’ [Satan’s power], the song highlights another popular Yorùbá Pentecostal theology that the devil has powers of his own, but the power of God is supreme. However, with songs like this, Pentecostals accentuate their readiness to engage and dislocate the forces of evil.

Clap rhythm

12/8

Gbe wo mi o a -

3

Clap rhythm

gba - ra bi ti ya - ra o - ke gbe wo mi o

Example 3.24. *Gbe wò mí o*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

Similarly, the song *Gbe wò mí o* (Example 3.24) is sung by present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches to request spiritual empowerment to gain victory over dark forces²³¹. Here, reference is again made to the upper room (*yàrá òkè*) in Acts, Chapter Two where spiritual Pentecostal empowerment is thought to have first occurred. This repeated reference affirms that the mentioned scripture is pivotal to Yorùbá Pentecostal beliefs and practices.

Deliverance

The final major theme of Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs to be considered in this chapter is deliverance. Songs in this category encompass those used for exorcism of evil spirits and those used for the liberation of spiritually oppressed individuals. These kinds of songs form the core of Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs because they are used to launch offensive attack on dark forces. In his book, *How to Obtain Personal Deliverance*, Olukoya (2004) defines deliverance as the release from captivity, expulsion of evil spirits, losing bounds of chains of wickedness, spiritual cleansing, uprooting evil seeds, destruction of the works of Satan, removal of satanic embargo amongst other things (pp. 28-36).

Clap rhythm

Ba mi ja o ba mi ja Ba mi ja o ba mi

4

Clap rhythm

ja A - ga-da - go-do ta' ye fi de mi o ba mi ja

Example 3.25. *Bá mi ja*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

²³¹ Other song examples which emphasise the theme of power include: *Agbára Olórun pò*, *Agbára n'be nínú èjè Jésù*, and *Agbára èsù dà níbi tí Jésù n'gbé jo'ba* (See Appendix A4-A6).

On the evidence of oral tradition, most of the current practitioners of Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs with whom I interacted believed that *Bá mi ja* (Example 3.25) featured at the 1930 revivals. With the text interpreted as ‘help me break the chains and padlocks with which the devil has tied me down oh Lord’, the song is used to achieve freedom from the bondage of demonic forces. The careful placement of ‘ja’ (meaning, break) on the strongest beat of the bar helps to accentuate the intended effect of ‘break’. Notably, these so-called chains and padlocks are not physically seen, but are often used to represent what is thought to be evils happening in the spiritual realm. For example, situations such as unexplainable sicknesses, overdue pregnancy, eating in the dream, demon possession, sleepless nights and the likes are considered manifestations of demonic influences for which deliverance is necessary. During personal communication, Oluwamakin²³² claimed that *Àjé tí kò j’ómo sùn* (Example 3.26) was another prominent song used during the 1930 revivals.

Clap rhythm 12/8

A - je ti ko j'o - mo__ sun Ba - ba ta lo__ fa

3

Clap rhythm 12/8

o - lo - ro, ta' - lo - fa Ba - ba ta lo__ fa o - lo - ro

Example 3.26. *Àjé tí kò j’ómo sùn*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

With this song, the revivalists are thought to request God to send the arrow of destruction to the camp of witches or wizards responsible for sleepless nights and dream attacks. It is important to point out that witchcraft is perceived in Yorùbáland as an evil secret society and

²³² March 28, 2017.

there have been reported instances of people stoning witches to death. In a similar manner to Example 3.18, while singing this song, congregants are said to gesture throwing arrows at imagined witches and wizards. At other times, as portrayed in *Ón ró ke kè ke* (Example 3.27), an imaginary gun is adopted as a weapon for spiritual warfare.

Example 3.27. *Ón ró ke kè ke*. Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

While singing this song, participants invoke the gun of the Almighty, asking that it kills their spiritual oppressors, so they can be free: interestingly, the sound of the gun is imitated with the words ‘ke ke ke’. Also, with the song titled, *Ala pa nla*²³³, the hand of God is envisioned as weapon of spiritual war and deliverance²³⁴.

The spiritual warfare songs supposedly employed at the 1930 revivals are thought to have been accompanied with vigorous hand clapping, and the bell (*agogo*) rhythm in Examples 3.10 and 3.11 (Adedeji, personal communication, March 31, 2016). However, as the tempo of the song

²³³ See Appendix A7.

²³⁴ Other song examples which emphasise the theme of deliverance include: *Irúgbìn òtá ò jáde kúrò lára mi*; and *Ja ja ja ja kúrò lára mi* (See Appendix A8 and A9).

accelerates, congregants adjust their clapping accordingly (Oshun, personal communication, March 15, 2016). This resonates with Rouget's (1985) explanation that the acceleration of tempo is a means through which ecstatic expressions are triggered (p. 81).

More so, as participants are often asked to concentrate while singing these songs, I posit that concentration and tempo are arguably the most important non-spiritual elements of spiritual warfare songs.

3.5.4.2. Spiritual Warfare Songs: Categorisation by function

Aside from the foregoing thematic categorisation, I propose that Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs can also be categorised based on their specific functions (see Figure 3.4 below).

Admittedly, spiritual warfare songs are used in spiritual combat; however, it would be naive to assume that all of these songs serve the same purpose as opined by most practitioners.

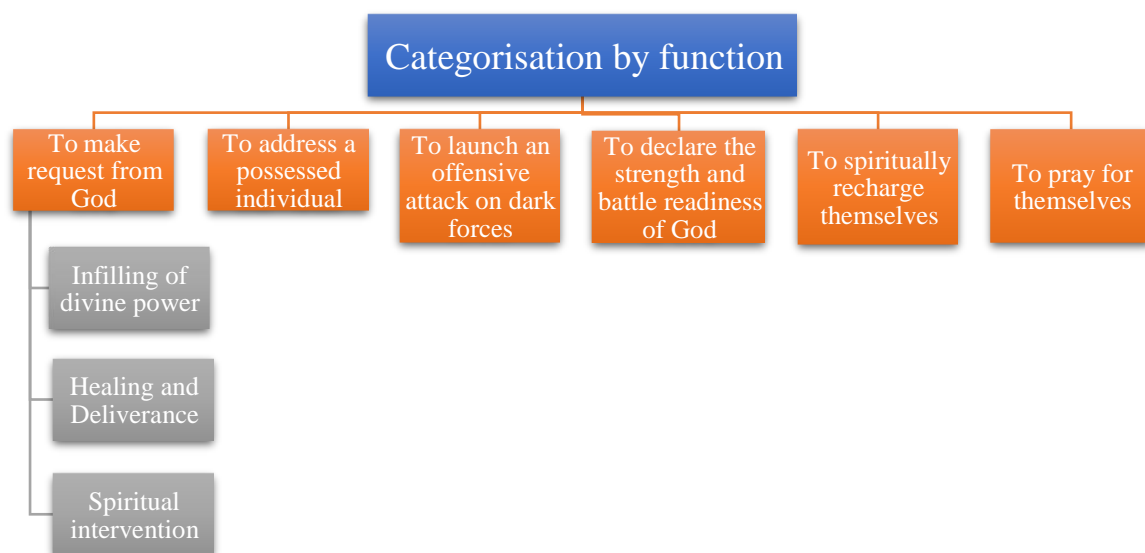


Figure 3.4. Functional categorisation of Yorùbá spiritual warfare songs.

The chart in Figure 3.4 will serve as a guide for the following discussion on the functional classification of Yorùbá spiritual warfare songs. The first classification are spiritual warfare songs that are used to make requests from God. This class of songs are further divided into three sub-categories. First, there are those songs which are used to ask for the infilling of divine power with which to defeat evil forces; an example of this is *Gbe wò mí o* (Example 3.24). Second, there are those used to request healing and deliverance; *Bá mi ja* (Example 3.25) is an example for this. Third, there are songs used to solicit spiritual intervention; an example is *Alápá ñlá* (Appendix A7).

The next classification focuses on songs used to address a possessed individual. When these kinds of songs are sung, they are believed to spiritually challenge demons in the possessed person. As witnessed at the MFM church headquarters deliverance ground, such persons often somersault, roll on the floor, sometimes making strange sounds. An example of a song used for this purpose is *Eje to ju eje lo, ko wa tu e sile* (The all-powerful blood of Jesus, come and deliver me). There are also songs used to attack dark forces, as well as proclaim spiritual freedom from their grip. These songs are arguably the most popular of Yorùbá Pentecostal spiritual warfare songs. Examples include, *On ro k eke ke* (The gun of the Almighty is being fired against my enemies); *Biribiri gbe oyi gbe* (Let my spiritual enemies become confused and dizzy); *Aje ti o je omo sun* (Father, attack witches with your deadly arrows), *Ogun oso gbogbo atepa* (The conspiracies of witches and wizards are under my feet), *Idemi ja Halleluyah mo de'le ayo* (My bondages are broken and I am free, Hallelujah). and *Evil arrows go back to your sender*.

Yorùbá Pentecostals also engage in spiritual warfare songs that emphasise how powerful and battle-ready their God is. Examples include *Ologun lo'luwa* (Our God is a man of war); *Oni se ara* (The wonder working God); *Bi e ba n'gbo wo wo* (God's power is crushing my

enemies); *Alápá ñlá* (The one with the mighty arm); *Agbára Olórun pò* (God's power is unlimited). In addition, there are spiritual warfare songs that Yorùbá Pentecostals use to spiritually recharge themselves. Examples include, *Holy Ghost and fire, fill my spirit, fill my soul, fill my life; Holy Ghost fire fall on me; I need the fire that is fresh*; and *Gbe wò mí o*. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Yorùbá Pentecostal church emerged from a prayer group with prayer featuring prominently in their liturgy. Little wonder they often use spiritual warfare songs as instruments of prayer, especially for themselves. The text of songs in this category are reported to be prophetic in nature. Examples include *Ogun aye mi da 'gbara ko 'ma a san lo* (Spiritual problems in my life, become like flood and flow out); *By fire by force I'm moving forward*; *Gba mi la mo fe igbala re oh* (Save me Lord, I want to be saved).

3.6. Summary

In this chapter, I have traced musical practices common with Yorùbá people before and after missionary presence. The chapter started with a discussion about the types of music and musical instruments evidenced to have been employed in Yorùbáland before the arrival of Christian missionaries. Following was an assessment of the foundation and development of music within the Yorùbá Christian church. This chapter provides insight into the musical practices alleged to have been adopted at the 1930 revivals led by Joseph Babalola and other revivalists. For example, it identifies praise songs, hymn singing, evangelistic songs and spiritual warfare songs as the principal categories of music thought to have been employed at the revivals. Interestingly, some of these musical practices feature in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal church²³⁵.

²³⁵ See Chapter Five for the discourse on prominent music genres in the present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal church.

The discussions in this chapter have also highlighted one of the main challenges of researching pre-1960 Yorùbá music²³⁶ as explicitly discussed by Euba (1990, p. 37) who argues that the difficulties faced by such research endeavours are enormous because available materials rely heavily on the oral tradition which is oftentimes unreliable. Euba rightly asserts that ‘it is true that the same documentary sources available to the general historian are sometimes useful to the music historian, but these sources contain no more than incidental references to music, since they are concerned principally with social life in general and not specifically with musical practice’ (pp. 37-38). Similarly, the discourse of the origin of certain songs, especially those attributed to Joseph Babalola, and the general musical practices thought to have been employed at the 1930 revivals have relied on fieldwork interviews, and the meagre literature that exists on the subject. Of course, this kind of situations are bound to bring up questions such as, how possible is it for the song melodies to have remained unchanged since the 1930s, especially since they were not documented. Furthermore, how certain is it that the songs attributed to Babalola were actually composed by him? These and similar questions addressed in Chapter Six (section titled, J. A. Babalola: The Unknown Composer) and Chapter Eight indicate the need for adequate documentation of Yorùbá Pentecostal church music. Nevertheless, considering that these songs (reportedly passed on orally since the revival times) have never been assessed in an academic study, their transcription and analysis in this chapter serve as original contributions to the study of Yorùbá Pentecostal music. The following chapter will now seek to explore the present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal church beliefs, music ministry, worship format and ritual space using the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministry as primary case study.

²³⁶ According to Euba (1990), post-1960 appears to be the period when some studies on Yorùbá music started to emerge, and even the studies done since then have been ‘insufficient for a detailed and authoritative history of Yorùbá music’ (p. 38).

CHAPTER FOUR

Music, Beliefs and Service Formats in a Pentecostal Ritual Space: Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries

4.0. Introduction

The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM), the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), and the Living Faith Church Worldwide (LFCW) are regarded as the three largest Pentecostal churches in Yorùbáland (Osinulu, 2011, pp. xii-xiii; Ajani, 2013, pp. 2-3; Akinsanya, 2000). However, for this research, MFM has been chosen as the primary case study for present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, even though reference will be made to the others where applicable. The rationale behind this choice was detailed in the Introduction chapter of this study.

This chapter begins with an exploration of the history, structure, beliefs and practices of MFM as I consider this to be representative of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Following is an assessment of the Pentecostal ritual space (Albretch, 1999), worship formats and the music ministry. In all, Chapter Four aims to understand the operational framework of present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches and their music ministries through the lens of the MFM church. Although my discussion in this chapter focuses on data gathered during fieldwork in south-west Nigeria between December 2015 and May 2016, it also draws on my previous experience studying and interacting with members of the MFM church, as well as several years of participating in, and observing the services and liturgy of the church. All musical examples, figures, tables and charts in this chapter are prepared by this researcher except otherwise mentioned.

4.1. Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries: History

Dr D. K. Olukoya is the founder and General Overseer of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM). The church started as a prayer group in October 1989 and the first meeting was reportedly held at Olukoya's apartment with twenty-four people in attendance²³⁷. With more people subsequently attending the prayer meetings, the group moved to a hall at 60, Old Yaba Road, Lagos before relocating to the present international headquarters site at 13 Olasimbo Street, Onike, Lagos on April 24th, 1994. As the church website puts it, 'the power of God began to evangelise the prayer meetings and a spiritual explosion began with people coming from far and wide to seek the face of God²³⁸'. Scholars such as Ojo (2006, p. 81) and Aigbadumah (2011, p. 87) claim that with the emergence of MFM, spiritual warfare and deliverance have become even more emphasised among Yorùbá Pentecostals as it was the case during the first phase of Nigerian Pentecostalism²³⁹. In other words, these scholars perceive MFM as re-enacting the core features of the *Aladura* movement.

Secession, which played a major role in the narrative of Christianity in Yorùbáland and the commencement of the Pentecostal movement, is reported to have led to the establishment of the MFM church. Ajani (2013, p. 79) revealed how Olukoya seceded from the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), although his secession is thought to have had limited impact on the CAC. In addition to secession, the prayer group origin of MFM and their decision to acquire a rejected piece of land is analogous to the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement led by Joseph Babalola. It is understood that the procured undeveloped *Olasimbo* land was a place many people in the vicinity had dreaded and avoided (Ajani, 2013, p. 82); hence, it was believed that the deities in-charge of the forest and river on the piece of land would not allow the Church to settle in its

²³⁷ <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>. Accessed 13 June 2016.

²³⁸ See <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>. Accessed April 13, 2017.

²³⁹ See Introduction chapter and Chapter Two.

new location. The church has since acquired more lands in the area to expand its auditorium from the initial plot to several plots. In its almost three decades of existence, the MFM church - which is reputed for its distinctively combative prayer style - has also developed in size with branches in several parts of the world²⁴⁰: as with other prominent Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, MFM continues to traverse continents, countries and cities (Ibid. pp. 84-85). For example, the church claims to have about 100 branches in the United Kingdom²⁴¹ alone. Like many other Pentecostal groups, the membership of MFM includes those who had attended mission churches in the past. Hence, many of their members were already Christians before joining MFM. Nonetheless, some are known to have become converted within the church.

The evident connection between the MFM church and the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement could be arguably traced to Olukoya's CAC background as both churches seem to share similar doctrinal beliefs, especially about healing and the efficacy of prayer. Joseph Ayo Babalola, the acclaimed Father of Nigerian Pentecostalism who also served as one of the founding fathers of CAC, is highly revered by Daniel Olukoya as his mentor²⁴². More so, many of Olukoya's publications are dedicated to the late Babalola. Olukoya writes of Babalola (referred to in the following text as Brother J.A):

Brother J.A and his team of aggressive evangelist and prayer warriors entered forbidden forests, silenced demons that demanded worship, paralysed deeply-rooted anti-gospel activities, emptied hospitals by the healing power of the LORD Jesus Christ, rendered witchdoctors jobless and started the first indigenous Holy-Ghost filled church in Nigeria. So far - and we stand to be corrected - none has equalled, let alone surpassed this humble Brother in the field of aggressive evangelism in the country (Olukoya, 2008, pp. v).

²⁴⁰ <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>. Accessed August 30, 2017.

²⁴¹ <http://www.mountainoffire.org.uk/index.php/branches>. Accessed April 13, 2017. Similarly, RCCG claims to have over seven hundred places of worship in the UK (<http://www.rccguk.church/church-locator/>).

²⁴² In a personal communication. May 13, 2016.

The foregoing text and the earlier reference to Ojo (2006, p. 81) and Aigbadumah (2011, p. 87) seem to provide even more evidence to affirm the assertion that MFM's emphasis on practices like spiritual warfare was inspired by the works of the pioneers of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. Hence, it is perhaps safe to assume that Olukoya modelled MFM after events of the 1930 revivals which he is believed to have studied while at CAC. Besides, the MFM's seeming re-enactment of some practices which are attributed to the 1930 revivals during her weekly 'Manna Water' service (these will be further discussed later in this chapter) lends credence to this assertion.

4.2. Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries: Beliefs and Practices

The MFM church describes itself as 'a full gospel ministry devoted to the Revival of Apostolic Signs, Holy Ghost fireworks and the unlimited demonstration of the power of God to deliver to the uttermost'²⁴³.

In his narrative on the Nigeran Pentecostal scene, Ojo (2006) notes that in the early 1990s, a doctrinal emphasis called 'deliverance' re-emerged having featured prominently during the early period of Pentecostalism in Nigeria (p. 2). In present-day Nigeria, the mention of the name MFM is often synonymous with deliverance prayers. The logo of the church (Figure 4.1) and their statement of belief highlighted in the following paragraphs supports the church's belief in Pentecostalism and Holy Ghost fire as demonstrated in Acts, Chapter Two.

²⁴³ See <http://mountainoffire.org/about>. Accessed April 13, 2017.



Figure 4.1. Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries logo. Image Credit: Google images.

It appears the MFM church uses its logo to reinforce their belief system. The mountain primarily symbolises two things: a ‘mountain top life’ which is presumed to be beyond the reach of spiritual attacks and problems; and the MFM church itself, as its name - ‘mountain of fire’ - implies, thereby positioning MFM worship centres as locations where attendees are supposedly unreachable by forces of darkness²⁴⁴. The term used to describe these forces of darkness in Yorùbá is *Ayé*: it is also used to refer to ‘the world’. As explained by Omojola, *Ayé* is a multivocal word, which in one sense refers to a vast humanity that is often evil, negative, and potentially destructive’ (2012, p. 153). It also refers to the anonymous enemy that lives within the physical and social environment of the victim, and the MFM church is one of the few Yorùbá Pentecostal churches that emphasise teachings that connect physical and spiritual problems to the activities of *Ayé*. As a deliverance ministry, the church has constituted itself into a significant force that preaches liberation from spiritual and socio-economic struggles.

The colours of the MFM logo are deemed symbolic: purple is believed to represent the royalty of God; white stands for holiness, black for mountain top life, red for Holy Ghost fire which symbolises God’s presence and power to consume evil forces²⁴⁵. The circular shape of the logo is seen to represent the spherical shape of the world where the church operates. The church

²⁴⁴ Source: <http://www.mfmdenver.org/aboutus.html>. Accessed April 12, 2017.

²⁴⁵ <http://www.mfm.org.uk/meaning-of-mfm-logo/>. Accessed August 31, 2017.

asserts that it teaches absolute holiness as the greatest spiritual endowment and a pre-requisite for becoming a Heaven-bound Christian²⁴⁶. Many Yorùbá Pentecostal churches are guided by a set of beliefs; the text below reveals the statement of belief operational at the MFM church, presented here exactly as posted on the church's website²⁴⁷:

- The Scriptures are the inspired Word of God; the only basis for our faith and fellowship.
- The One True God Eternal, EXISTENT in three Persons - God The Father, God The Son and The Holy Spirit.
- The fall and deprivation of mankind, necessitating redemption through the Blood of Jesus Christ.
- The Salvation of Mankind is through the Redeeming Work of Jesus Christ and the Regenerative Work of the Holy Spirit. Sanctification is seen as an act of separation from that which is evil.
- The Baptism of the Holy Spirit - Acts 2:4; 10:44 and 19:1-6.
- Restitution for past wrongs where possible.
- The Ordinance of the Church, the Lord's Supper and Water Baptism.
- The Church Universal, both visible and invisible.
- The Ministry, divinely called and scripturally ordained as that approved of Almighty God.
- Divine healing as provided by the Lord Jesus Christ.
- The Rapture ushering all believers into the Marriage Supper of the Lamb, and the second advent of the Lord Jesus Christ when He will physically land on the earth.

²⁴⁶ See <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>. Accessed April 13, 2017.

²⁴⁷ <http://www.mountainoffire.org.uk/index.php/about-mfm/statement-of-belief>. Accessed April 18, 2017. Some of these points are clear statements but others might not be for a non-Christian. For example, such people might struggle with understanding what exactly is meant by 'New Heaven and Earth' or 'Restitution for past wrongs where possible'. New Heaven and Earth is a biblical explanation (Revelations Chapter 21) of where the saints will live with God at the end of the world. On the other hand, restitution is a widely preached teaching among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. It simply involves having to return to the rightful owners whatever has been falsely, immorally or illegally acquired pre-conversion (that is, before becoming born-again) or after conversion in some cases.

- The Millennial Reign of Christ.
- The Final Judgment
- The New Heaven and Earth

The above statement of belief is similar to those given by other Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as the RCCG²⁴⁸ and DLBC²⁴⁹. In fact, belief in the concepts of trinity, spirit and water baptism, divine healing, prayer and salvation as explained in Chapters Two and Three and holiness, which will be further assessed in Chapter Seven, are clearly apparent in almost all Yorùbá Pentecostal denominations. However, these beliefs are emphasised in varying degrees: for example, it is common to have denominations place emphasis on a selection of these beliefs, which subsequently serves as an identity marker for the church denominations. In MFM, prayer, deliverance and holiness are highly emphasised.

4.3. Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries: Mission and Vision

Often, Yorùbá Pentecostal churches set themselves operational goals and objectives, generally known as ‘mission and vision’. This ‘mission and vision’ statement is sometimes believed to have been revealed to the church leader during a spiritual exercise such as prayer. For example, in one of his sermons at the MFM international headquarters, Olukoya asserted that the MFM mission and vision statement below were revealed to him by God; this is common among Pentecostals because they are known to associate almost all their content and decisions with a divine origin.

²⁴⁸ <http://rccg.org/who-we-are/our-beliefs/?v=79cba1185463>. Accessed April 18, 2017.

²⁴⁹ <https://dclm.org/about/what-we-believe/>. Accessed August 30, 2017.

The MFM mission and vision statements are as follows, presented here exactly as on the website²⁵⁰:

- To propagate the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ all over the world.
- To promote the revival of Apostolic signs, wonders and miracles²⁵¹.
- To bring together children of God who are lost in dead churches.
- To train believers in the art and science of spiritual warfare; thus, making them an aggressive and victorious army for the Lord.
- To train believers to receive Holy Ghost baptism and fire as well as a daily walk and relationship with the Holy Spirit.
- To turn the joy of our enemies to sorrow. That is why we would always have a Deliverance ministry wherever we are. If you do not believe in deliverance, you are not supposed to be in MFM.
- To build an aggressive end-time army for the Lord. MFM is an end-time church where we build an aggressive end-time army for the Lord. **What is an end-time church?** An end-time church is a church where a sinner enters with two options: he either repents or does not come back, contrary to the present-day church where sinners are comfortable and find things so easy and convenient.
- To deliver those who have become slaves to pastors, prophets and apostles.
- To build up heavenly-bound and aggressive Christians. The priority in MFM is for people to make heaven. It is not a worldly Church.
- To build up prayer eagles.
- To purify the Pentecostal dirtiness of this age.

²⁵⁰ <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>. Accessed April 18, 2017.

²⁵¹ Perhaps, this further explains why some practices of the church are like those employed by Joseph Babalola during the 1930 revivals.

As can be seen from the above statement and that of RCCG²⁵², spreading the salvation message of Jesus Christ, developing heaven-bound Christians, apostolic revivals and miracles, vigorous evangelism, spiritual warfare, spiritual independence, Holy Ghost baptism and prayer arguably remain major themes in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches as it supposedly was the case in the 1930s. The reference to ‘dead churches’ in the ‘mission and vision’ text above is similar to the description given to the early mission churches by first generation Yorùbá Pentecostals. As explained in Chapter Two, they referred to mission churches such as Anglican and Catholic as nominal and dead churches believing that these institutions lacked the spiritual depth and strength required to spiritually assist many people at that time.

As a further matter, the mission and vision statements could be perceived as ways through which Yorùbá Pentecostal churches advertise the movement to those who might be willing to join them. For example, as I just pointed out, the MFM mission and vision statements makes mention of ‘dead churches’; this is probably a conscious attempt to make readers reconsider whether they should continue at their place of worship or move on to a ‘living church’ as implied by the statement.

4.4. Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries: Structure

At the top of the hierarchical structure of most Yorùbá Pentecostal churches is the position of ‘General Overseer’, while denominations such as the Deeper Life Bible Church (DLBC) use the term ‘General Superintendent’ to refer to their leader. These principal spiritual leaders work closely with deputies to ensure administrative effectiveness. For example, at MFM, Dr Olukoya has five Assistant General Overseers (AGO) who are saddled with the responsibility of

²⁵² <http://rccg.org/who-we-are/mission-and-vision/?v=79cba1185463>. Accessed April 18, 2017.

overseeing specific sections of the church. These include: Missions and Evangelism, Administration, Research and Training, Finance, and Special Duties²⁵³. Following are Senior Regional Overseers (SRO), Senior Pastors, Pastors, Group heads and House fellowship leaders. Similarly, at RCCG, the General Overseer, Pastor E. A. Adeboye works with deputies who assist with the administration and spiritual needs of the church²⁵⁴.

These spiritual leaders are often perceived as distinguished personalities. Members and social media platforms of the churches play vital roles in building up this revered identity. Hence, because these groups of people are highly revered, congregants use endearing terms such as ‘Daddy, Daddy G.O, Baba (meaning Father), Father-in-the-Lord’ to refer to them (Osinulu, 2011, p. 259). Furthermore, as pointed out by Burgess (2008b), the opinion of these lead pastors is rarely challenged publicly, presumably in recognition of their status and their role as power brokers (p. 33). An equally important office in the hierarchical ladder of a Yorùbá Pentecostal church is that of the leader’s wife, who is thought to occupy the same level as the church leader. Pastor Shade Olukoya, wife of the MFM General Overseer, is fondly called ‘Mummy G.O’ (Mummy General Overseer). At RCCG, Pastor Folu Adeboye (wife of RCCG General Overseer) is fondly referred to as ‘Mother-In-Israel’ or sometimes as ‘Mummy G.O’. Perhaps the veneration given to these sets of people could be linked to the Yorùbá culture of respectful greetings. In Yorùbáland, males prostrate, and females kneel to greet elders, and this tradition appears to have found its way into the Yorùbá Pentecostal scene. Irrespective of age difference, Yorùbá Pentecostal church members are reputed to demonstrate so much respect while greeting their Pastors because they view them as representatives of God on earth.

²⁵³ <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about/administration>. Accessed April 18, 2017.

²⁵⁴ <http://rccg.org/who-we-are/leadership-of-the-rccg/?v=79cba1185463>. Accessed April 18, 2017.

Citing the examples of a fake Pastor who would use a whip on his church members when he believed they have erred, and another from the southern part of Africa who ordered his church members to eat grass like goats, Pastor Abiodun Stephen²⁵⁵ believes that the reverential greeting style could be exploited by those who ‘pretend to be genuine men of God’; they could knowingly capitalize on the respect accorded to them as authority to manipulate, control and abuse unsuspecting church members. He however claimed that such cases are rare among ‘genuine Yorùbá Pentecostal churches like DRFM²⁵⁶, MFM, RCCG, DLBC, LFCW’. Perhaps the reason for this is because there seems to be some level of accountability: in fact, although General Overseers function as the church heads, oftentimes, there are boards of trustees or councils of elders whose responsibility it is, among other things, to ensure that the church leadership conforms to biblical principles and the original statement of belief, mission and vision of the church. This lends credence to Ojo’s submission that organisational structure is necessary to determine how the leadership operates, to ensure a stable pattern of procedure, to protect the members and to ensure the continuity of the religious organisation (2006, p. 87).

Above all, as with other types of organisation, the hierarchical structure in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches appears to serve the primary purpose of responsibility and ensuring decorum. Similarly, Ojo (2006) argues that ‘the adoption of formal organisational structure ensures role differentiation between the laity and the clergy, a distinction, which is crucial for the survival of charisma, and the delineation of power, privileges and status’ (p. 87). In addition, based on my observations of how Yorùbá Pentecostal churches operate, I argue that the hierarchical structure also seems to serve as a reward system where officers are promoted when the church leadership supposedly feels led by the Holy Spirit. After all, as mentioned earlier, there is

²⁵⁵ In a personal communication. April 23, 2016.

²⁵⁶ Divine Rain of Fire Ministries.

almost always a spiritual or divine narrative to every occurrence in the Yorùbá Pentecostal church.

The following section will assess Yorùbá Pentecostal Ritual space and the worship formats embraced during the rituals themselves. As a prelude to discussions here, the first paragraph presents a brief background to religious ritual discourses.

4.5. Assessing the Yorùbá Pentecostal Ritual Space and its Function

Studies aimed at enhancing the understanding of what religious rituals are, and how they operate continue to draw significant attention from scholars. The scope of these works often spans across several religions and associated practices such as the Catholic mass, Evangelical spirituality, Pentecostal glossolalia, Muslim purification practices, Buddhist healing ceremonies and many other ritual behaviours (Hoffmann, 2012, p.1). As a pioneering work, Durkheim (1925) suggested that ritual gatherings produce emotional intensity that gives participants the impression that they have been transformed. In his chapter, *The Social construction of religious ritual*, Nelson (2012) assessed the several definitions of ritual that exist. He asserted that most definitions tend to rely on the concepts of '*formality* and *expressivity*' which are the primary criteria often used to distinguish ritual behaviours from other types of social action (ibid. p. 10). While scholars such as Nadel (1954) and Rappaport (1979) seem to support the concept of *formality* which addresses the repetitive nature of ritual. Others such as Bocock (1974) focus on the expressive nature of ritual, nonetheless, most scholars are known to combine both concepts as definitive of ritual²⁵⁷. Nelson's (2012) assessment suggests that to define ritual as either formal or expressive behaviour will

²⁵⁷ Nelson, 2012, p. 11.

eventually become problematic; he however offered an alternative approach to ritual by drawing on the works of Smith (1987) and Bell (1992). This approach is one that does not rely on the concepts of formality, expressivity or on the observer's evaluation of actions, rather it defines ritual in terms of '*privileged* behaviour, that is, action differentiated or set apart from ordinary action by the actors themselves' (Nelson, 2012, p. 12)²⁵⁸. For example, as Pastor Oloyede explained to me during fieldwork, Pentecostals are known to attribute the status of a sacred space to a regular community hall when it is being used for church service. In this work, I have adopted all three approaches as necessary.

Among Yorùbá Pentecostals, the term 'ritual' is believed to be widely associated with pagan worship... As Thompson (1992) rightly puts it, in Yorùbáland, rituals (etutu in Yorùbá) are propitiatory performances for the deities, ancestors, spirits, and human beings – these often entail the offering of sacrifice (ẹbọ) and are believed to be socially and spiritually efficacious (p. 19). It is also reported that the Yorùbá offered human sacrifice prior to the arrival of the British but this practice was stopped by the colonial government in 1892 (p. 125). This kind of history probably explains why Yorùbá Pentecostals, especially the uneducated ones, argue that it is inappropriate to discuss Pentecostal Christianity in this manner as it is meant to be a free-flowing experience led by the Holy Spirit. During one of my interviews, I asked my interviewee about Yorùbá Pentecostal rituals, but he was quick to inform me that 'Pentecostals don't do rituals, only traditional religious worshippers do'²⁵⁹. Responses such as this reinforce the sensitive nature of the term 'ritual' among Pentecostals in Yorùbáland. As I later realised, in a bid to avoid misunderstanding, even educated clergymen abstain from its use when possible.

²⁵⁸ He further suggested means through which this approach can be extended using the work of Erving Goffman (Nelson, 2012, pp. 15-28).

²⁵⁹ Oluwatosin Olaniran, Lagos, February 2016.

The notion that ‘ritual’ is alien to Pentecostalism is however not peculiar to Yorùbá Pentecostals. Albrecht in his book *Rites in the Spirit* which explores Ritual within Pentecostal Spirituality reveals that words such as ‘ritual’ and ‘rites’ are not indigenous to the shared Pentecostal vocabulary (1999, p. 9). He rightly asserts that Pentecostals often engage in rituals, though they refer to it with terms such as ‘worship services’ and ‘spiritual practices’ among others (ibid. p. 21-22). In this section, I adopt Albrecht’s use of the term ‘ritual’. Hence for the purpose of this research, ‘Pentecostal Ritual’ is used here to mean corporate-recognised Pentecostal events such as Sunday services, Bible studies, Retreats, Revival meetings, Camp meetings and others, while ‘Pentecostal Ritual Space’ is used to refer to the location where these events take place. On the other hand, the term ‘Pentecostal Rite’ is applied here to refer to the procedural system of church services in a Pentecostal setting as it concerns various sections of the service, examples of which include opening prayer, praise, worship among others²⁶⁰.

Based on historical evidence²⁶¹ where early Yorùbá Pentecostals are reported to have used locations such as residential buildings and town halls for meetings, they are known to adapt to whatever space is available to them. Until recently when most churches began to acquire buildings of their own, Pentecostals gathered in schools, open fields, abandoned buildings, private apartments and stores. For example, I illustrated above how the MFM church headquarters had two locations prior to the current one. To my mind, this example and the earlier suggested approach by Nelson (2012) provides a backdrop to Yorùbá Pentecostal belief that church transcends building, and that anywhere Pentecostals gather to worship qualifies to be called a church because they believe God will be present. However, in recent times Yorùbá Pentecostal churches seem to have taken seriously the size and aesthetics of their ritual space.

²⁶⁰ For more discussion on rituals and rites in the Christian church, see Gelineau (1964, pp. 29-45).

²⁶¹ See *Oyo Prof 1*, 662.

For example, the RCCG had recently relocated its camp meetings to a location it claims can accommodate more than a million congregants. Similarly, the MFM church is presently constructing a deliverance stadium inside its Prayer City camp ground while the Living Faith Church (also known as Winners' Chapel) headed by a former architect, Bishop David Oyedepo claims to have the largest church auditorium in the world (Burgess, 2008a, p. 2).

Figure 4.2 shows an illustration of the main auditorium of MFM international headquarters. Here the front of the ritual space which houses pulpits A and B is referred to as the 'altar'. The General Overseer, his wife and the Assistant General Overseers use Pulpit A which is situated on a raised platform, while pulpit B is used by other pastors and for activities such as testimonies, announcements, solo music presentations among others. This practice of some individuals using pulpit A while others use pulpit B reflects the hierarchical order within the church as discussed earlier. During choir ministrations, choristers leave their seats to arrange themselves in front of pulpit A, facing the congregation.

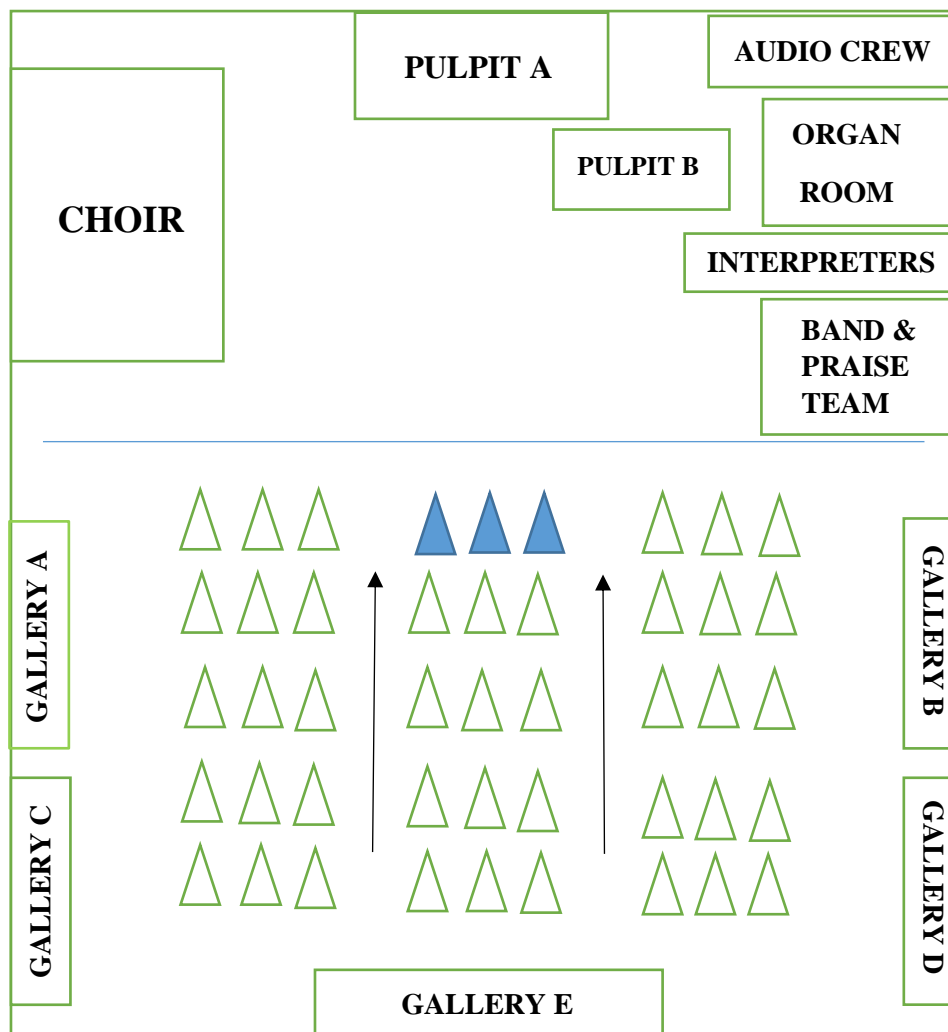


Figure 4.2. Chart showing the main ritual space of MFM Headquarters²⁶².

From the preacher's view on pulpit A or B, the choir sits to the right, while the interpreters (also known as translators), members of the praise team and band sit on the left. However, from observations at the other branches visited, there seems to be no compulsion as to where the choir should sit, either on the left or right. The most important consideration as I was informed by Pastor Oloyede²⁶³ is that the choir are close enough to the altar to ease movement for their ministrations. The shaded cones in Figure 4.2 represent the first few rows of the central

²⁶² Besides the main auditorium, there are several halls around the main auditorium. Those in these halls follow the service via the screens and audio speakers provided.

²⁶³ In a personal communication. May 6, 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.

congregational space and are occupied by Pastors, especially those who would be officiating in the service except for the General Overseer and his wife. They follow proceedings via a TV monitor from their office and access the altar area through a door situated behind pulpit A.

The altar area is treated as a sacred location and, as observed above, the main pulpit is often centrally placed in the altar space. Yorùbá Pentecostals often profess their meeting space to be a holy ground, but the altar area is arguably the ‘most sacred’ place in Pentecostal ritual spaces. The symbolic and spiritual relevance of the altar in the overall ritual space is reinforced by the barrier used to demarcate the altar area from the first row of congregational space as shown in Figure 4.3. This is what Hoffmann (2012) refers to as the creation of sacred spheres (p. 3).



Figure 4.3. The Altar area and front congregation rows at the MFM headquarters.

On service-free days and other times when there is no activity on the altar, some people can be seen praying on the altar, behind the barrier. This is connected to the belief that angels of God

are always present on the altar to give answers to prayers. Similarly, on my visits to the church campground in the outskirts of Lagos, the altar area was occupied by many people praying loudly. At the close of services, while the majority approach the exit doors, some congregants are seen rushing towards the altar to pray. On a certain day, I got the opportunity to ask one of those who had knelt to pray at the altar why she did so, even after several prayers had been said during the service. She replied that the altar is a special place where she comes to present her request to God. This sort of response suggests that some Yorùbá Pentecostals believe prayers said on the altar are more efficacious perhaps because they feel it presents a more direct access to God whom they believe can answer their prayers. On the other hand, as suggested by Albrecht (1999), it could be that these sets of people are attracted to the altar because of displayed ritual objects such as the pulpit, the Bible, musical and technical instruments and others. He argues that 'the sight and presence of these ritual objects with their symbolic overtones help to create the ritual field in general and to act as sights that stimulate' (Ibid. p. 144).

One of the things that would probably strike a first-time visitor to a Yorùbá Pentecostal church space during service is the conspicuousness of sounds. The ecstatic shouts during praise sessions, very loud communal clapping and prayers amplified with microphones, and transmitted over speakers appears to be an integral element of their services. I argue that these are intended to lead congregants into 'collective effervescence', an altered state of consciousness as suggested by Durkheim (1965, p. 247; 258). What an outsider may describe as sonic dissonance is to these Pentecostals a 'sound of joy', 'symphony of holy sounds' or as in the case of loud prayers, a 'holy cry'. In a personal communication, some congregants at the MFM headquarters opined that the 'cacophony' contributes to the 'intense atmosphere' experienced at Pentecostal gatherings. In as much as the 'symphony of holy sounds' assumes a pivotal role in the Pentecostal experience, perhaps adjustments could be made to ensure a

balanced sound levels, especially to prevent damage to the ear drums of congregants. Most of the churches visited seem to struggle with audio set-up as there are piles of speakers blaring loudly.

4.6. Worship Formats in the Yorùbá Pentecostal Church

The three primary services organised weekly by Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as MFM include: the Sunday service, Bible study on Mondays or Tuesdays, and a Revival service on Wednesday or Thursday. I posit that these services could be described as an ‘effervescent assembly’ because they are intentional gatherings where collective effervescence is bound to happen (Pickering²⁶⁴, 1984, p. 385). The Sunday service could be described as a combination of the other two services: it accommodates a kind of Bible study popularly known as Search the scriptures or Sunday school, and some deliverance teachings and prayers. Although these services are believed to have distinct aims, yet the Pentecostal rites are almost the same. For the sake of clarity, I have divided the Pentecostal worship rites at Yorùbá Pentecostal churches (Sunday Service) into five sections.

(A) Opening rites: Opening prayer

Praise/Worship singing

Opening hymns

(B) Search the scripture

(C) Testimony, Announcements and Bible reading

(D) Ministrations: Music ministrations (Solo, Groups, Choir)

²⁶⁴ Pickering is a prominent scholar of Durkheim who coined the term ‘effervescent assembly’ as a more precise term to capture Durkheim’s concept of collective effervescence. For more on his ‘effervescent assembly’, see Pickering (1984, pp. 380-417).

Sermon

(E) Closing: Prayers

Offertory

Closing prayers

Given below is a sample Sunday Service ritual as experienced at the MFM Church. On May 1, 2016, the Sunday service at the MFM headquarters church started at exactly 7:00 am²⁶⁵. The phrase ‘African time’ is used in Yorùbáland as with other parts of Nigeria to mean lateness or better still, a lack of punctuality. The ‘African time’ syndrome appears to have become deeply rooted into the Nigerian system. Interestingly though, since I have been assessing church services in the area, I am yet to see a service start behind schedule, and this suggests how serious the issue of religion is taken by Nigerians. This is not to say that congregants do not come late, but the point here is that church services are known to start at the pre-determined time.

The Pastor who led the opening prayer made his way to pulpit B with an interpreter to translate from English to Yorùbá. With a loud voice, he said ‘shout hallelujah’, and the congregation responded ‘hallelujah’. The Hebrew word hallelujah (*alleluia* in Latin) is an exclamation often made to praise God. Literally, it means ‘praise ye the Lord’ or ‘God be praised’, and it is always proclaimed at the beginning and end of Yorùbá Pentecostal church services. During the shouts of hallelujah, Yorùbá Pentecostals often wave both hands above their head to demonstrate reverence and absolute surrender towards God. Oshun (1981) remarks that the term ‘hallelujah’ serves as a useful and effective liturgical signal which has become an acceptable mode of

²⁶⁵ The average duration of Sunday service is four hours. The interpretation from English to Yorùbá appears to be a factor in the service length.

salutation for God among Yorùbá Pentecostals (p. 388). Following the ‘hallelujah’ response by congregants, the Pastor went on to sing some songs before calling out some prayers to commence the service.



Figure 4.4. The MFM Eagle Gospel band leading Praise and Worship singing.

Praise and Worship singing are two distinct genres; however, they often complement each other, as will be explained in detail in Chapter Five. The ecstatic praise and worship singing at the service was led by members of the MFM Eagle Gospel band (see Figure 4.4)²⁶⁶, and it presented an opportunity for collective singing. Besides, Pentecostal gatherings are often characterised by ‘a state of deep individual emotion and collective excitement’ (Mossiere, 2012, p. 54). These expressions of ‘individual emotion’ and ‘collective excitement’ are respectively evident during worship singing and praise singing in Yorùbá Pentecostal church services.

The praise and worship section of the service was accompanied by musical instruments such as keyboards, lead guitar, bass guitar, tambourines and claves. It also featured vigorous

²⁶⁶ The MFM headquarters church has several praise groups who minister at services following a rota.

dancing, clapping and singing. To conclude the opening rites, Dr D.K. Olukoya mounts pulpit A to lead the opening hymns: two of the most popular (*Let the fire fall* and *The God of Abram Praise*) often sung at the MFM were sung alongside two others. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, *The God of Abram Praise* is reputed to have been Joseph Babalola's favourite hymn. Perhaps that is why it is common at MFM services. The hymn singing section also presented the opportunity for collective singing: although not everyone had a hymn-book to sing from, the texts were projected on the screens located across the auditorium. This probably explains why the 'lining out' tradition, a practice where the song leader recites the words and the congregation sings the words to music, was absent. More so, there is less illiteracy nowadays and people seem to now know the words better through repeated exposure.

The next rite in the service, 'Search the scriptures' is arguably the most intellectual part of the service as congregants are expected to study the Bible with the aid of a manual. This section is anchored by a Pastor. I observed that the search the scripture rite is a dispensable part of the Sunday service: on several occasions, it was skipped to create time for other activities such as the inauguration of new church groups and graduation from spiritual schools within the church. At other times, some music ministrations were moved to after the sermon. Practices such as this seem to lend credence to the argument of Akinlabi Olaleye²⁶⁷, a Pentecostal with mission church background, who asserts that, besides the style of prayer, one of the major differences between Pentecostal churches and mission churches is that Pentecostal services tend to be less rigid as they do not always follow the structured order of service. Pentecostals like Pastor Samuel Oloyede justify these less rigid tendencies by stating that they follow the 'leading of the Holy Spirit'²⁶⁸, hence pre-determined rites could be altered. However, despite these

²⁶⁷ 11 March 2016, Lagos.

²⁶⁸ Pastor Samuel Oloyede, Lagos, 6 May 2016.

occasional alterations, a structured pattern remains visible as seen in almost all Pentecostal services.

The testimony rite is that part of the Pentecostal Ritual where some congregants who had earlier been interviewed come forward to testify to what they believe is the goodness of God towards them. Unlike other Yorùbá Pentecostal church denominations, the moderator of testimony sessions at MFM does not hand microphones over to testifiers; instead he puts the microphone to their mouth. As I later realised when I asked Pastor Oloyede, this is to ensure testifiers do not get carried away thinking they have sufficient time to say what they had not mentioned during interview²⁶⁹. When Pentecostals share their testimony among fellow believers, they do so to recount a burdensome situation from which God has delivered them, thereby building up the faith of other congregants. It is believed that many congregants draw strength from hearing other people's testimonies, while hoping that they also would soon receive their own 'divine visitation'. Almost always, testifiers mention that they have come out to thank God for bringing them out of their challenging situation. Taking into consideration that all testifiers, after saying their names, say 'I have come to thank God...bless God...appreciate God...', I posit that the testimony session is primarily for thanksgiving.

The announcement rite provides members of the congregation with information concerning church programmes and commitments; newcomers are also welcomed at this time. Following this is the 'Bible reading', which was led by the General Overseer's wife, Pastor Shade Olukoya. Thereafter, it was time for music ministrations. As illustrated earlier in Chapter One, the headquarters mass choir and orchestra combined to minister the songs: *Answer by Fire* and

²⁶⁹ The testifiers are vetted before being allowed to share their testimony in front of the church. Perhaps, this is a means through which the church controls what is to be said. For example, the moderator often stops testifiers from saying what he thinks they had not mentioned during vetting. During my fieldwork, I heard phrases like 'you did not tell us that during your interview, please go straight to your testimony...what you told us'.

One way to God, an original composition by the General Overseer, Dr D. K. Olukoya. These two songs ministration can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 17 and 18 respectively. Events leading to this music ministration had been mentioned earlier in Chapter One, and I believe the question, *why do music ministrations always precede sermons in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches?* is an important one to explore at this point.

Scholars such as Butler (2005) assert that pre-sermon music²⁷⁰ helps to ‘prepare the hearts and minds of congregants to receive the word of God, which comes by the way of the sermon’ (p. 124). Similarly, most of my respondents believe music has been consciously itemised before the sermon for specific reasons. Citing the story of Elisha, the prophet who requested for a musician to play before he begins to minister in II Kings 3:15²⁷¹, Pastor Oloyede²⁷² argues that music ministrations brings down the presence of God, thereby ensuring the work of the preacher is easily accomplished. Pastor Akinselure²⁷³ appears to concur with Oloyede’s theory, as she claims that ‘Pentecostal preachers are very smart, they know music invites the presence of God and once God is in the midst, the work is done. So, they allow musicians sing and play for some time before they come on to preach’. Others such as Oluwatosin Olaniran²⁷⁴ believe that music precedes the sermon because church music is itself perceived as a ‘message’ or ‘ministration’. It is probably for all these reasons that Yorùbá Pentecostals decided to have it precede the sermon which is the only other rite in the service considered to be a message from God. More so, it is a widely held belief among Pentecostals that during the sermon, God literally speaks to the congregation through the preacher (Smith, 2016, p. 260).

²⁷⁰ At the MFM church and other Yorùbá Pentecostal church denominations such as RCCG, CAC and DLBC, pre-sermon music is simply music ministrations featured before the sermon. The music used at this point is not limited to any specific genre or tempo.

²⁷¹ ‘But now bring me a musician. Then it happened, when the musician played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him’ (NKJV).

²⁷² In a personal communication. May 6, 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.

²⁷³ In a personal communication. February 26, 2016. Mountaintop International Music School, Lagos.

²⁷⁴ In a personal communication. February 19, 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.

Notably too, when Pastors get on the pulpit to preach, the first thing they do is engage the congregation in singing of worship, praise or spiritual warfare songs (depending on the sermon topic) before going into prayers. After the music ministrations, the General Overseer, Dr. D.K. Olukoya mounted the pulpit again, and led the congregation in a short singing session, followed by prayers. Apart from singing, prayers account for another major activity at Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. As explained in Chapter Two, the praying style of Yorùbá Pentecostals and the importance they attached to fervent prayer resulted in them being called *Aladura* (the praying people). Their praying formulae involves the calling of ‘prayer points’ by the anchor Pastor and these are then fervently repeated by congregants. In other words, prayer among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches often take a call and response format.

After the prayers, Dr D. K. Olukoya proceeded to deliver his sermon titled, *Provoking God Into Action*. Citing biblical examples, he highlighted the following as keys that could induce God into action to answer the prayers of saints: humility, brokenness and obedience, desperation, violent faith, praying for long and often in tongues, worship, praises, and thanksgiving. Notably, Pentecostal sermons are sometimes interspersed with prayer points. Olukoya’s preaching style does not appear to be overly theoretical, as it seems direct, easy to understand, and sometimes employ the use of stories to reinforce the points being made. This preaching style is common among most Yorùbá Pentecostal preachers including Pastor E. A. Adeboye of RCCG. Its origin is traced back to the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. Peel (1968) mentions of early Yorùbá Pentecostal churches that ‘most often the sermon is practical rather than theoretical, with many exemplary stories and illustrative anecdotes’ (p. 161). Although described as simple, this style of preaching appears to be effective, especially as some respondents argue that irrespective of educational background, members understand the message that is being communicated. It is important to mention that, among other rites, this section of the service is allocated the longest time.

In line with standard practice among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, after the sermon, Olukoya made an ‘altar call’. Simply put, the ‘altar call’ is that part of the service when the preacher asks those who would like to surrender their lives to Jesus to raise their hands to signify their intention to do so. Afterwards they are asked to stand up and make their way to the altar where the preacher would request that they repeat some prayers after him or her. This whole process signals what is known as conversion (a kind of Pentecostal rite of passage), and only after this can they refer to themselves as born again Christians. The altar call is advertised to congregants as a process that would guarantee their eternal reign with Jesus in heaven. The pentatonic scale-based song, *I have decided to follow Jesus* in Example 4.1 is one of the most popular songs used to accompany this section of the service, as new converts use it to affirm their commitment to identify with Jesus abandoning whatever they had previously believed in. It is often sung to the traditional Indian tune known as ASSAM²⁷⁵. Although the name of the author is unknown, it is widely claimed that he was a Christian convert in north-east India facing persecution and possibly death for this commitment to the Christian faith²⁷⁶.



Example 4.1. I have decided to follow Jesus.

The threefold declaration of the phrase ‘I have decided to follow Jesus’ is possibly a conscious attempt to highlight belief in the biblical trinity. There are other songs such as *All the way to*

²⁷⁵ https://hymnary.org/text/i_have_decided_to_follow_jesus

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

Calvary He went for me, and Oh the blood of Jesus, it washes white as snow which reinforce the concepts of rebirth, conversion, dedication, sacrifice and the decision to follow a new path. While the altar call is on-going, congregants who had surrendered their lives to Jesus in the past are admonished to rededicate themselves to God in a silent personal prayer. Once this solemn phase was concluded, the service proceeded with the preacher leading the congregation in series of prayers which are dependent on the sermon that had been preached. These prayers were followed by the offertory, popularly known as ‘tithe and offering’ in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. It is common to have the presiding Pastor pray over the offering before it is collected by the ushers. This offertory rite is almost always accompanied by singing praise songs and, at other times, by other music ministrations.

Once the collection was concluded, the Pastor then led the congregation in the closing prayers, after which congregants were asked to shout either three, seven or twenty-one hallelujahs to signal the end of the service. The reason for these specific numbers of hallelujahs is not clear but the general assumption among Yorùbá Pentecostals is that three stands for trinity, seven for perfection, while twenty-one is for triple perfection. In Yorùbá-only speaking churches, the hallelujahs are immediately followed by a call of *eyin Oluwa logo* (meaning ‘give glory to God’), and the response *ogo* (meaning glory) is chorused by the congregation. As mentioned earlier, hands are waved while shouting ‘hallelujah’, but formed into a fist and raised during the response of *ogo*.

The Bible study and revival service formats are almost the same as the Sunday service. The absence of ‘Search the scriptures’ and ‘Bible reading’, and the occurrence of ‘Announcements’ rites during offering collection at weekly services account for the major changes. The Bible study is the least attended of these three services. A member of the congregation who asked to remain anonymous attributed the low turnout at Bible study services to congregants’ preference

for prayers, and not the study of the Bible. He further claimed that attendance had improved since the church introduced a thirty-minute corporate prayer section to the Bible study format. On the other hand, the revival service, popularly known as the ‘Manna Water Service’, is well attended: this service is arguably a re-enactment of Babalola’s 1930 revivals in south-west Nigeria²⁷⁷. At these meetings, congregants are told to bring one bottle of water. In a similar manner with the Water of Fire programme described in Chapter Two, these bottles of water are raised up for prayers, after which congregants are told to ensure they drink up the content of their water bottle before leaving the ritual space. It is believed that this is in connection to the Biblical Manna²⁷⁸ which had to be completely consumed without left overs.

Spiritual warfare singing is another major feature of revival services. As explained in Chapter Three, spiritual warfare songs are songs used to engage in spiritual combat with the forces of evil. While engaging in some energetic clapping and singing, it is common to see members of the congregation either form a circle or face the person standing beside them. These actions appear to be spontaneous as announcements are not made to request the formation. Professor Oshun, in a personal conversation²⁷⁹, suggested that this tradition is as old as the Yorùbá Pentecostal church; conceivably, its primary aim is to encourage corporate prayers, and to ensure almost everyone is spiritually charged during prayers.

In his discussion of Pentecostal ritual roles and identities, Albrecht (1999) classifies attendees of Pentecostal services into two broad categories: members of the congregation and the church leadership (p. 136). However, almost all my respondents seem to believe that the Holy Spirit is a necessary attendee at Pentecostal gatherings. For example, Oragwu²⁸⁰ argues that ‘without

²⁷⁷ For more on this subject, See Chapter Two.

²⁷⁸ Exodus Chapter 16.

²⁷⁹ March 15, 2016. Lagos State University Staff Quarters.

²⁸⁰ In a personal communication. February 27, 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

the Holy Spirit, there is no church'. They claim that although the Holy Spirit cannot be seen with the physical eye, the glossolalia, words of knowledge, prophesy and miracles witnessed at meetings are some of the manifestations of His presence. Hence, based on this belief, I argue that there are three primary actors in a Yorùbá Pentecostal service: the congregation, church leadership and the Holy Spirit.

The congregation almost always assumes new roles at different sections of the service. For example, during prayer sessions, members of the congregation could take on the roles of listener, doer and minister. They assume the role of *listener* when the prayer points are called by the leader, the role of *doer* when they begin to pray as instructed, and the role of *minister* when instructed to pray for the fellow sitting next to them as common with Pentecostal gatherings. During praise and worship singing, they assume the identity of co-worshipper, and for the other rites in the service, they take up the roles of either *listener* or *doer*. Similarly, the leadership could also take up roles such as ritual leadership as facilitator/coordinator, ritual leadership as authority, or ritual leadership as expert/specialist (Albrecht, 1999, p. 138). For example, praise leaders can be said to always assume the role of ritual leadership as expert since they are trained music ministers. Therefore, I argue that it is almost impossible to maintain a single identity during a Yorùbá Pentecostal church service.

Having highlighted and assessed the format of major Yorùbá Pentecostal services, I believe this provides the opportunity to attempt a discussion of the emotional elements present at Pentecostal services. In other words, the following paragraphs will seek to explore what scholars like Nelson (2012) refer to as 'emotional transformation', as well as the levels of participants' involvement during the rites and rituals of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Other scholars, for example Richard K Wolf have alternative terms. He uses the concept of 'emotional contour' and 'emotional texture' where both terms are used to describe the way in

which the affective character of a ceremony, in this case, the Yorùbá Pentecostal service changes as its constituent rites unfold (Wolf, 2001, p. 381).

According to Hoffmann (2012), religious rituals such as Pentecostal services promote emotional energy (p. 3), and worship singing is arguably the most emotional rite during a Yorùbá Pentecostal church service. However, a variety of factors seem to have the potential to intensify or subdue shades of emotion and the loudness of responses received from the congregation during the service. The most visible one is the temperament of each rite. For example, praise singing is one of the rites with the loudest volume because of its generally lively and energetic nature, and not necessarily because it involves everyone and is labelled as level 4 on Figure 4.5 which features a graph where I indicate the overall sequence of ritual events within the service. The graph shows the different levels of participants' involvement during a Yorùbá Pentecostal church service. It is important to point out that based on the interviews conducted with long-standing Pentecostals during fieldwork, it appears that the overall goal during services is for everyone to follow almost the same involvement pattern, but that is not always the case. This is evidenced by the noticeable different responses and expressions – with patches of less intense behaviour dotted around the space. In the *Worship* section in Chapter Five, I further discuss the multiplicity of responses and forms of expression during a Yorùbá Pentecostal church service. However, Figure 4.5 is a representation of the response and expression of the majority of congregants.

The graph also provides evidence for the indispensability of music to Yorùbá Pentecostal church ritual. For each rite, I indicate some of the words used by my respondents to describe emotional response. For example, my respondents used words such as 'ecstatic, joyful, happy, thankful, celebrational, and active' to describe how they felt during praise singing sessions. Little wonder, there are instances where congregants do some strange things during praise

singing – for example, raise chairs above their heads and jumping at the same time. An example of these kind of expressions during praise singing can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 15. This is perhaps best understood using Durkheim's explanation of the collective effervescence experience: 'when one arrives at this state of exaltation, a man does not recognise himself any longer...carried away by some sort of an external power which makes him think and act differently than at normal times' (1965, p. 249).

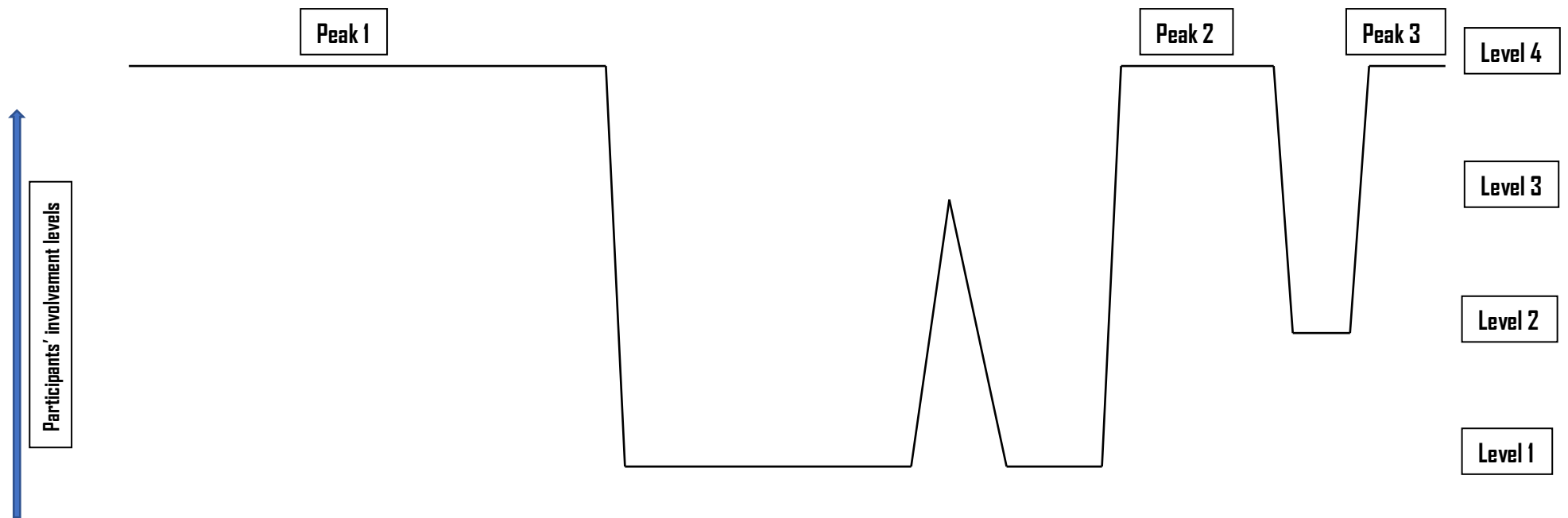
On the other hand, for worship singing sessions, congregants described their feelings with words such as 'devotion, heartfelt, concentrated, sincere and spirit-filled'. From my observation of the worship singing rite, participants shed tears while singing with their hands raised and face looking upwards. Again, drawing from Durkheim's thoughts, they express their sentiments with cries, gestures, and their general attitude; in fact, everything is as though they were transported into another realm (1965, p. 250). Although Pentecostals seem to primarily think that the apparent function of these collective rites such as praise and worship singing is to strengthen the bonds that exist between them and God. Nonetheless, from Durkheim's theory, one could infer that participants at the same time strengthen the bonds that connect them to the society, in this case, the church community (Durkheim, 1965, pp. 257-258).

As can be seen on the graph, there are four levels of involvement. In level 1, one person sings or talks, and others listen. Level 2 signifies a situation where one person sings or talks with others responding afterwards. I have used level 3 to indicate the point where the choir sings or instrumentalists play with others listening while level 4 marks the point where everyone sings or prays. This level also corresponds as the highest level of physical involvement of the congregation.

The three points labelled as Peak 1, Peak 2 and Peak 3 are not necessarily the loudest sections of the service. The loudness of each section is dependent on the requirements for each rite. For

example, although the opening prayer and praise singing both have the Peak 1 label, they often do not have the same volume level in terms of congregational response. The former is often not as loud as the latter, possibly because members are either trying to settle into the service while others are still arriving, and this means the church is yet to be filled to capacity. Whatever the case, as mentioned earlier, volume (loudness) during these Pentecostal services is not dependent only on the level of physical involvement but on the nature of each rite.

The first of the three points identified as *Peak 1* in Figure 4.5 begins from the opening prayer when a Pastor leads everyone in collective prayers. This level 4 involvement is maintained through to the call to worship (first worship session), and then to the ecstatic praise singing rite during which some congregants claim to feel a sense of happiness, thankfulness and joy. These emotions are displayed through dancing, clapping, ecstatic singing, and even sometimes jumping. As observed on the field, the slow tempo of songs sung during worship sessions, and the often-emotional nature of the rite appears to be responsible for its firm but moderately loud volume.



Sequence of ritual events →	Opening prayer	Call to Worship	Praise	Worship Proper	Hymn Singing	Search the scriptures	Testimony/Announcement	Bible Reading	Music	Sermon	Prayer	Offering	Closing Prayer	Benediction
	Awakened	Togetherness	Ecstatic	Devotion	Inspired	Studious	Awe-inspiring	Admonished	Inspired	Admonished	Charged	Appreciation	Same as in prayer	The End
	Ready	Sincere	Joyful	Heartfelt	Uplifted	Enlightened	Encouraged	Edified	Refreshed	Revived	Combative	Gratitude		
		Calm	Happy	Concentrated	Encouraged		Thankful		Encouraged	Imparted	Serious	Committed		
		Heartfelt	Thankful	Sincere	Devotion		Informed		Prepared	Exhorted	Active			
		Grateful	Celebrational	Spirit-filled										
		Adoration	Active											

Figure 4.5. The levels of involvement during a Yorùbá Pentecostal church service. Level 1: one-person sings/talks, others listen. Level 2: one-person sings/talks, others respond. Level 3: Choir sings, others listen. Level 4: All sings/pray. The graph also captures words used by some of my respondents to describe their emotional response to each rite of the Sunday service ritual.

Despite this limited volume, the atmosphere at the ritual site often remains charged, though in a different manner when compared to the praise session. While a celebratory mood is common during praise singing, the atmosphere becomes sombre, devotional and expressive during worship singing as congregants raise their hands to worship, sometimes bursting into tears as mentioned earlier. As explained by Pastor Pius Oragwu²⁸¹, the shedding of tears is perceived as either tears of joy to appreciate God for His faithfulness or as tears of conviction and total surrender to God. Based on the explanation given by members of the congregation, as well as my observation of congregational response to individual rites, I posit that worship singing is the most emotional rite during services. This is further evidenced by the words used by some congregants to describe the worship rite in Figure 4.5. Hymn singing which is again participated in by the entire congregation concludes the opening rites.

The intense feeling experienced during the opening rites often drops to its lowest during search the scriptures, testimony, announcements and Bible reading²⁸² as can be seen in Figure 4.5. Interestingly, the pattern begins to rise again once music ministrations begins. Although the music ministration rite is identified as level 3 in Figure 4.5, there are rare instances when the entire congregation joins in the singing. Despite the sermon rite beginning with a somewhat level 4 engagement (pre-sermon rite), it has been classified in Figure 4.5 as level 1 because for most part of the sermon section, the preacher addresses members of the congregation who listen attentively. It is important to note that the level 4 pre-sermon rite is crucial to this part of the ritual, even though it has been collapsed into the sermon rite for the sake of clarity. It almost always starts with the preacher singing some slow songs which then gradually dovetail into spiritual warfare songs and prayers to create a ‘heated atmosphere’ accompanied with glossolalia. In this respect, Durkheim (1965) posits that the human voice is often not sufficient

²⁸¹ 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

²⁸² On some occasions, level 4 applies to the Bible reading rite.

for the task of religious rituals, hence the incorporation of external sounds to strengthen the ritual experience and in some cases, this leads to impetuous manifestations (p. 247). Similarly, I argue that the spiritual effervescence generated during spiritual warfare singing, especially in terms of how it is experienced by participants is aided by the use of musical instruments which are often played loudly²⁸³.

Moving on, regardless of its level 1 classification on the graph, the sermon rite is perceived as the most serious part of the service. Perhaps, the belief that preachers always have a message to deliver from God is responsible for this perception. Moreover, the church auditorium only becomes filled up near sermon time. This kind of observation is probably the reason why Olukoya often mentioned at services that members of the congregation who intentionally arrive to church just before the sermon should desist from such practice. According to him, ‘a lot of people don’t come to witness praises and worship in church. Some will even say, “Service has not started, they are still doing praise worship, they have not started”, this is wrong’²⁸⁴. Olukoya claimed that this category of people is either selfish or merely ignorant of the fact that from everything done within the Yorùbá Pentecostal church service, only praise and worship singing, and testimony are solely centred on giving to God, as other rites such as ‘prayer’ are requests made to God.

Following the sermon is a prayer session participated in by the entire congregation and the offering collection accompanied by praise singing; these two are marked as *Peak 2* in Figure 4.5. The closing rite is split into two: the closing prayer and benediction. For the closing prayer, the pastor blesses the congregation who respond with a series of ‘Amen’s. During benediction,

²⁸³ This is in addition to the other energetic engagements required from participants, and capable of altering their consciousness. These include, demonstration of the songs, intense clapping, vigorous movements, fasting and so on.

²⁸⁴ 1 May 2016. MFM headquarters church, Lagos.

marked as *Peak 3*, congregants collectively recite the grace (see *Who is the Holy Spirit?* section in Chapter Two), and this is closely followed by shouts of ‘hallelujah’ to mark the end of service.

In addition to ensuring a proper understanding of the rituals, rites and worship formats of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church, the foregoing section has also revealed music as a major element in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. The evidence for this can be found in Figure 4.5: the rites that always involve music are highlighted in red while those that only occasionally employ music are highlighted in blue. Together, these two categories of rite account for about eighty five percent of the service’s total duration. In other words, eighty five percent of Yorùbá Pentecostal church rites involve music.

In the Yorùbá Pentecostal church, the ‘Music Ministry’ tends to be responsible for all music related engagements. Hence, the following section will assess the music unit (popularly referred to as the ‘Music Ministry’) of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministry as a means of discovering how music departments of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches operate.

4.7. The Music Ministry of MFM

The music ministry of MFM will presently be discussed under the following headings: history, structure, departments and groups.

4.7.1. History

The MFM music ministry is one of several ministries within the church. It fully evolved at the Old Yaba Road former location of the church in 1990. In a personal communication with Dr

D.K. Olukoya²⁸⁵, he mentioned that the music ministry started with a choir of about 20 members. Some of these pioneering members are still members of the church to date. For example, Pastor Timothy Akano (Assistant General Overseer, Special Duties) and his wife, Pastor Samuel Oloyede (the first choir master in MFM, now the Regional Overseer of Music, MFM Worldwide), Sister Grace Okuribido (one of the senior members of the music ministry) and even Pastor Shade Olukoya (wife of the General Overseer) were members of the first MFM choir. Although the church had no skilled organist at the time, Olukoya revealed how a certain Kunle Bada would accompany music on the guitar.

The shortage of music accompanists accounted for one of the major challenges faced by the MFM music ministry at inception. Olukoya recounted how on a service day, the person who was to accompany Pastor Shade (his wife) for a solo music ministration decided to walk out of the service unannounced, believing that he would be begged to return. Olukoya revealed that the accompanist ran back into the church when he heard the keyboard's sound being amplified into the street through loud speakers. According to Olukoya, the man was even more surprised when he discovered it was the General Overseer himself on the keyboard accompanying his wife. The first MFM choir, which laid the foundation for what is today known as the MFM Music ministry, gradually developed under the baton of Pastor Samuel Oloyede, staging a concert of Negro Spirituals to the amazement of the congregation.

At its inception, members of the MFM music ministry are reported to have had no professional musical assistance; hence they relied on the skills of individuals who had some musical training from their previous churches. The arrival of Pastor Oyinkansola Akinselure, Princess Banke Ademola²⁸⁶ and others in later years is believed to have further improved the standard of the

²⁸⁵ May 13 2016.

²⁸⁶ Long-time MFM Director of Music who after recent retirement at the age of 71, became emeritus Music Director in 2017.

choir. The Regional Overseer of Music, Pastor Samuel Oloyede claims that the MFM music ministry is presently of commensurate standard with other world class music ministries both in terms of spiritual, human and material resources – having expanded from a twenty-man set up to over 20,000 singers and instrumentalists worldwide, comprising violin players as young as 5 years of age to singers as old as 90 years of age.

Oloyede further revealed that, over the years, many members of the MFM music ministry have received professional music training at the Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON) and more recently at the Mountaintop International Music School (MIMS), now known as the Mountaintop Conservatory of Music (MTCM) (discussed in more detail later in this chapter)²⁸⁷. Nowadays, the church trains and pays the fees of music ministry members who intend to sit for theory and practical examinations set by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM). Princess Banke attributed the development noticed within the MFM music ministry to the grace of God and the eclectic musical taste of the General Overseer and his wife. According to Oloyede, having been an organist, choir master and composer of music himself, Dr Olukoya understands how important it is to adequately fund the music ministry and support the leadership to function effectively.

4.7.2. Structure

Figure 4.6 shows the MFM music ministry organogram. It shows the hierarchical structure and departments that operate within the MFM music ministry. The revered position of Regional Overseer for Music (R.O Music) is presently held by Pastor Samuel Oloyede. In a chat with me, the R.O Music revealed that his primary task is to coordinate the music ministry in MFM churches worldwide. He is supported in this role by Princess Banke Ademola, the Director of

²⁸⁷ MTCM is owned by the MFM church.

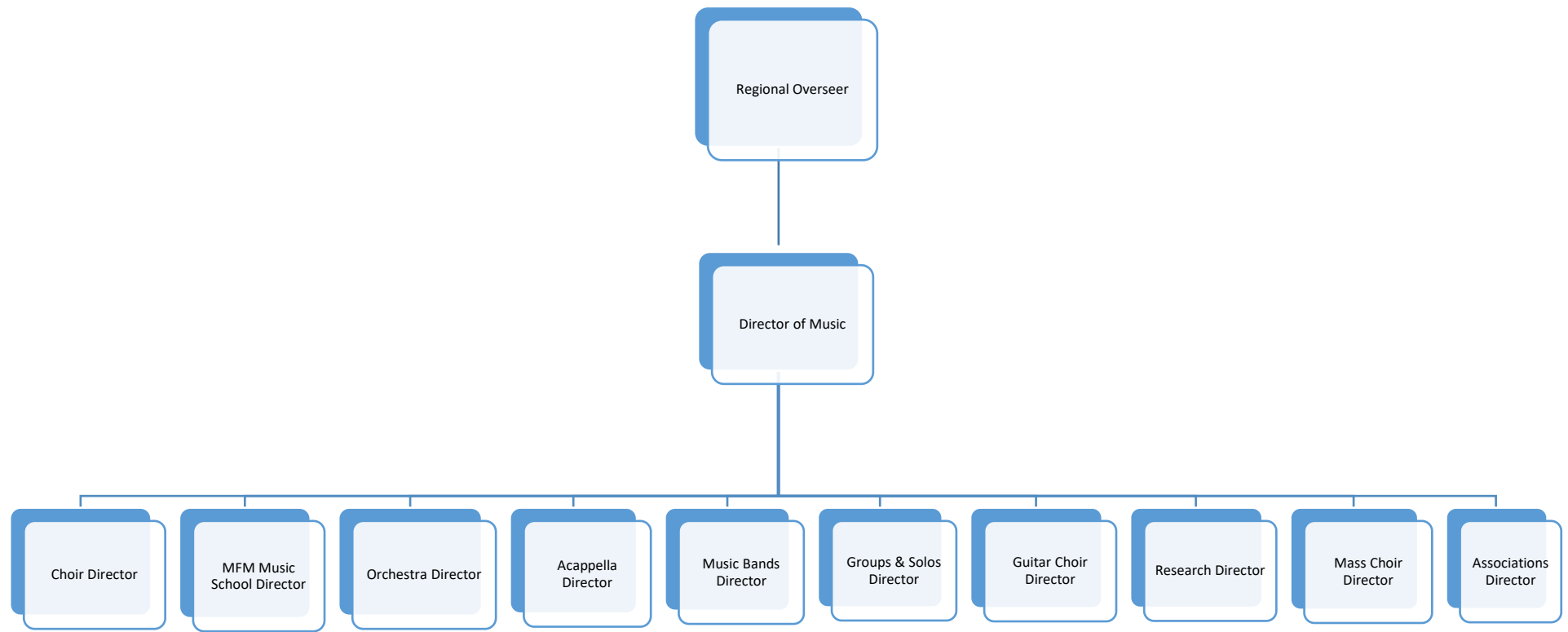


Figure 4.6. The MFM Music Ministry Organogram.

Music who plans, directs and supervises musical engagements. The next level of leadership comprises the ten departmental heads – and these departments will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

In a personal communication, Princess Banke Ademola told me that the leaders of the music ministry as seen in Figure 4.6 are chosen by the church authorities based on their musical knowledge, upright characters and above all spiritual maturity. Notably, not all Yorùbá Pentecostal churches operate such elaborate organisational structures as MFM. In most of these other churches, the music ministry is led by the Music Director who is often supported by one or two deputies.

4.7.3. Departments

As mentioned earlier, there are ten departments within the MFM music ministry. These departments and the music groups that operate within them will be discussed in this section.

4.7.3.1. Choir

The choir department consists of several choral groups ranging from the senior choir to the children choir. The director of this department doubles as the head of the Senior Choir, the main ministering choir of the church and a direct offshoot of the first choir in MFM. This choir comprises about 200 singers who are mostly amateurs. Their repertoire spans gospel songs, hymns, oratorios, chants, anthems, opera excerpts, contemporary songs, negro spirituals, native airs among others. Princess Banke Ademola revealed that entry into the Senior Choir is by application; an audition follows to assess the ability of the applicants to read music and sing

with good intonation; their spiritual and moral lives are also assessed through interview and observation during the probationary period. According to Pastor Akinselure²⁸⁸, the continual numerical increase of the church and the insistence of the General Overseer for a high musical standard led to the creation of a school of choral music, located within the church premises, with classes scheduled twice weekly. Here new senior choir members are taught the theory of music, sight singing and the basic rules and regulations of the choir and the church. The Senior Choir ministers on Sundays, Wednesdays, Power Must Change Hands, wedding ceremonies and other special programmes. A video sample of the MFM Senior Choir ministering at the church campground can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 19.



Figure 4.7. MFM Senior Choir ministering at the Prayer City (MFM campground).

The Youth choir is another group under the choir department. Presently directed by Brother Bankole Stephen, the choir ministers songs in various idioms with a lean towards recorded music by gospel artistes such as Donnie McClurkin and Tye Tribbett²⁸⁹. Although based in the Youth church, this choir occasionally visits the adult church to sing. There is also the Teenage Choir which was set up to meet the musical needs of the Teenage church. Presently led by

²⁸⁸ In a personal communication. February 26, 2016. Mountaintop International Music School, Lagos.

²⁸⁹ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 20 for a sample music ministration by the Youth Choir.

Brother Daniel Etim, the Teenage choir is also found ministering occasionally at the adult church.



Figure 4.8. MFM Teenage Choir in Concert²⁹⁰.

The Children Choir is a crucial part of the choir department as it introduces children to choral singing from an early age. Pastor Akinselure explained that when the choir was formed in the mid-1990s, it was known to sing and play the recorder in four parts. However, the group has since focused on singing after the creation of children orchestra groups in the early 2000s.



Figure 4.9. MFM HQ Children choir conducted by Sister Bimpe Egbeneye.

²⁹⁰ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 21 for a sample music ministration by the Teenage Choir.

According to Pastor Samuel Oloyede, most of these children progress into the teenage choir and youth choir. The Senior Citizens Choir is another ministering choir at the MFM church.



Figure 4.10. MFM Senior Citizens Choir conducted by Pastor Solomon Akinade.

The group was established to accommodate elderly members of the church who would like to sing in a choir. According to the conductor, the age range of members in this choir is between sixty and eighty-nine years. Pastor Oloyede mentioned that although this group only features twice or three times annually, they remain a major music group within the church. As I witnessed during their ministration in April 2016, despite the slow tempo of their songs and the typical slurred diction associated with their age, the congregation responded with the loudest cheer and clap for them. The response by the congregants seems to have encouraged these old singers as most of them were seen grinning while they filed out from the altar area to their seats. Similarly, at RCCG there is an elders choir. Pastor E.A. Adeboye, the General Overseer sings with the elders' choir at the annual church convention.

It is important to mention at this point that these choirs (Senior, Youth, Teenage, Children and Senior Citizen) are commonly found in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as the CAC and

RCCG. However, the MFM church fosters other types of choirs which are not necessarily found in other churches. These choral groups will be briefly assessed in the following paragraphs.

The Gospel Choir of MFM was set up in 2010 with a five-man leadership team²⁹¹ at the helm. It is a group of about 300 singers, mostly career professionals and business men and women in the church who like to sing in the choir but because of time constraints are unable to commit themselves to the required musical training and rehearsal commitments. The leaders of the group informed me of how they started by rendering simple songs such as hymns; however, their attempt at complicated negro spiritual arrangements by Moses Hogan and some oratorios from Handel's Messiah suggests that the group intends to gradually upgrade the difficulty level of its repertoire. A video sample of the MFM Gospel Choir ministration can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 22.



Figure 4.11. MFM Gospel Choir at the Prayer City during the 2015/2016 crossover service. In addition to showing the Gospel choir, this picture reaffirms that the altar area is the most sacred place in Pentecostal spaces. It reveals barriers used to demarcate the altar space from congregational space situated behind the conductor.

²⁹¹ The team comprises of the following individuals: Brother Oluwatosin Olaniran, Brother Noah Olugbami, Sister Seun Agbelusi, Brother Olalekan Eniagbagbe and Sister Folaranmi Oluwaloju.

Except for the Senior Choir, the Gospel Choir and other choral groups within the church only feature at two or three services monthly. However, the Semi-choir of the Gospel Choir²⁹² is responsible for wake keeps, burial services and other assignments as given by the church authorities.

In July 2009, the Male Choir of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries was rebranded and enlarged to include individuals who had not been members of any other choir (Olukoya, 2010, p. 11).



Figure 4.12. MFM Male Choir singing at the MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

The group sings in TTBB²⁹³ and is presently conducted by Dr Olayemi Olumakinwa²⁹⁴. They function as the music arm of the MFM Men's fellowship known as the 'Men of Valour'. There is also the MFM Female Choir which sings in SSAA²⁹⁵. As with the Male Choir, most of its members do not belong to other choir groups within the church. One striking feature of this group is their bright costumes, one of which can be seen in Figure 4.13.

²⁹² A selected group of singers from within the Gospel Choir.

²⁹³ Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1 and Bass 2.

²⁹⁴ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 23 for a sample ministration of the MFM Male Choir.

²⁹⁵ Soprano 1, Soprano 2, Alto 1 and Alto 2.



Figure 4.13. MFM Female Choir singing at the MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

The picture in Figure 4.13 was taken at the first-year anniversary concert of the MFM Female choir. Interestingly, the concert was merged into the Sunday service of May 8, 2016 with the choir singing hymns, anthems, negro spirituals and South African gospels such as *Siyabonga Jesu* which can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 24.

The MFM music ministry has a boys' choir of about 100 singers. A rendition of the *Hallelujah Chorus* by a select group from the boys' choir can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 25. Bearing in mind that the church already has a children choir, I was keen to seek justification for the need of a boys' choir. From my observations of the MFM music ministry, groups which could possibly be merged because of their similar make-up sometimes operate separately. As claimed by some music ministry leaders who requested anonymity, the situation could be attributed to the absence of solidarity within the body. However, they view the approach adopted by the church leadership in allowing the creation of these comparable groups as justifiable because it ensures there is no clash of interests among tutors. The availability of many musical personnel at MFM is arguably another reason for this modus operandi. After all,

that way, everyone gets the opportunity to head a group. It is also worth noting that this open-ended style is capable of creating a competitive environment which could in turn motivate members' desires to improve.

The Eagles choir and the Mountain Top Chorale (MTC) are the two most professional choirs in MFM. They are comprised of professional and semi-professional singers; although their membership is limited they are known to sing challenging works across musical periods and genres.



Figure 4.14. Mountain Top Chorale at the 2016 World Choir Games²⁹⁶. Photo Credit: MTC.

The Mountain Top Chorale conducted by Brother Oyegbade Aderayo participated in the 2018 and 2016 World Choir Games in South Africa and Russia respectively, winning gold and silver medals. In July 2015, the choir competed at the 9th International Johannes Brahms Choir Festival, winning their category. The funding of endeavors such as these by the MFM church is perhaps an indication of how supportive the church is to its music ministry. Other choirs

²⁹⁶ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 26 for a sample video of MTC at the 2016 World Choir Games.

within the MFM church include the Charioteers, French Choir, Pastors' wives choir, Ekiti choir²⁹⁷, Akwa Ibom choir, and Italian choir.

4.7.3.2. Music Schools

The Music school department coordinates music education and examinations within the MFM Music ministry. Pastor Akinselure, the departmental head asserts that the MFM church has been at the forefront of building God-fearing musicians that will use music as a tool to promote the worship of God. According to her, the church had been involved in music education in Nigeria since its inception but, in August 2011, it established the Mountaintop International Music School (MIMS) to provide quality music education to members of the MFM music ministry and those from outside the church. After relocating to its permanent site in 2016, the music school was upgraded to a conservatory of music, the Mountain Top Conservatory of Music (MTCM). The conservatory plays continual host to visiting music scholars, performers and examiners from distinguished organisations such as the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM). These individuals perform and give Master Classes at the conservatory and its host Church – Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, as well as the Mountaintop University²⁹⁸.

This department organises its own graded music examinations, the Mountaintop Music Examinations which is often used as a qualifying examination for members of the MFM music ministry who intend to sit for the ABRSM examination. Pastor Akinselure mentioned that

²⁹⁷ A video sample of the MFM Ekiti Choir ministering at the church campground can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 27.

²⁹⁸ <https://mtcm.ng/about/>. Accessed October 4, 2017.

candidates pay a small fee for the Mountaintop Music examinations while the church pays the ABRSM exam fee for those who achieve a qualifying grade.

4.7.3.3. Orchestra

The MFM Orchestra department coordinates Orchestra music within the Music ministry. As I observed during my fieldwork, the hymn singing rites at ‘Power Must Change Hands’ and Sunday services are accompanied by members of the various orchestral groups within the church with the inclusion of five-year olds. Pastor Akinselure maintains that the church encourages children to pick up a musical instrument from an early age, thereby ensuring continuity. Interestingly, the children orchestra at MFM is called the ‘Catch Them Young Orchestra’. Akinselure stated that members of the orchestra department are given personal instruments to aid their development.



Figure 4.15. The MFM Catch Them Young Orchestra.

In a personal communication, Brother Oluleye Akinlabi, head of the orchestra department revealed that aside from the ‘Catch Them Young Orchestra’, there are eight other orchestra

groups at the international headquarters of the church: Divine Symphony Orchestra (DSO)²⁹⁹, Mountaintop Orchestra, Heavenly Strings Orchestra, Children Orchestra, Angelic Horns, Angelic Brass, MFM Brass and the Holy Ghost Orchestra.



Figure 4.16. Divine Symphony Orchestra (DSO) in concert.

Based on the difficulty of their repertoires, the Divine Symphony Orchestra is arguably the most professional of all the orchestra groups in the MFM Music ministry with most members being music graduates. In addition, the church annually sponsors selected members of the group to participate in the Stellenbosch chamber music festival in South Africa. In May 2016, towards the end of my fieldwork, the DSO held its annual concert³⁰⁰ themed ‘Symphonies of Praise III’ performing works by Shostakovich, Carl Stamitz, Seun Owoaje, Daniel Olukoya amongst others. I was invited to perform with the orchestra a tenor solo Yorùbá art song titled ‘Ole Olojukokoro’ by Seun Owoaje and ‘Òkè òlá’, a Yorùbá Gospel Highlife song for solo and chorus by Daniel Olukoya³⁰¹. A video excerpt of the former can be seen in Appendix D

²⁹⁹ Formerly known as the DKO (Daniel Kolawole Olukoya) Orchestra.

³⁰⁰ This also served as the ninth anniversary of the group.

³⁰¹ Prior to my trip to England in 2013, I had performed ‘i’ and the satirical but educative ‘Ole Olojukokoro’ in concerts across Lagos. This perhaps explains why I was approached.

(Playlist), Video 28. I accepted the invitation as I perceived the offer as an excellent way to round off my fieldwork. However, on Thursday at the dress rehearsal before the concert on Sunday, one of the DSO officers approached me and narrated how the anchor for the concert had disappointed them and would not be present at the concert. Hence, he pleaded with me to kindly anchor the event, in addition to delivering my solo performances. Although I initially hesitated, I later accepted, considering it an effective way of showing gratitude to the church for granting me the opportunity to conduct interviews and giving access to valuable first-hand resources for my research work. Besides, access to the congregation might be needed in the future for further research and, it seemed clear that maintaining a good rapport with the church community would prove beneficial towards this end. My role as the concert anchor included amongst other things, the acknowledgment of special guests, introduction of the orchestra and other invited musicians.



Figure 4.17. The Author singing ‘Ole Olojukokoro’, accompanied by the Divine Symphony Orchestra (DSO).

The concert was divided into two sections with Western compositions performed in the first and African compositions in the second. The split into two sections was to enable orchestra members change after the first half from the traditional black and white suit and tie for men and formal gowns for ladies into the traditional Yorùbá white top as can be seen in Figure 4.17. However, music continued during the ten-minute intermission as the five-man Mezzo Streams a cappella singers thrilled the audience. As mentioned earlier, the musical standard of DSO is high when compared to the other orchestra groups in MFM; however, these other groups seem capable of musical excellence themselves. For example, the Mountaintop Orchestra is known to re-arrange popular energetic contemporary gospel songs to the amazement of the congregation, as I witnessed during my visit.

It is noteworthy that Pentecostal churches such as the Redeemed Christian Church of God and Daystar Christian Centre seem to be paying more attention to orchestral music. Unlike in the past, major programmes at these churches now include orchestral music. Considering that it is often implied in Nigeria that Yorùbá Pentecostal churches subtly compete with each other, one wonders if the developments of the orchestral music programmes at MFM is in any way responsible for the orchestral music making in these churches.

4.7.3.4. Acappella groups³⁰²

The MFM Acappella Music department, which is steered by a committee, comprises groups such as Inner Vision Acappella singers³⁰³, Fire voices, Zion Dwellers Acappella singers³⁰⁴,

³⁰² At the MFM church, acappella groups are ensembles of singers who sing without instrumental accompaniment. These groups who often consists of between 4 to 8 members sing different genres of music but most of their frequently featured song style include negro spirituals and native airs.

³⁰³ Pioneer Acappella group in MFM.

³⁰⁴ Winners of the second MFM International Acappella competition in August 2016.

Heavenly Voices, Beulah Quartet, and Mezzo Streams Acappella³⁰⁵, amongst others. In 2010, the Acappella department hosted what it claims to be the first a cappella music concert in Nigeria. Following in 2012 was the first edition of the MFM International Acappella Music Competition with huge cash prizes for the finalists³⁰⁶. Interestingly, preparations were on-going for the 2016 MFM International Acappella competition while I arrived for fieldwork. Although I had returned to the United Kingdom before the finals, as a lover of a cappella music myself, I monitored the competition via the live audio-visual broadcast of the proceedings. One of the features that attracted me to this style of music, as displayed during the concert, is the level of creativity involved: the ability to imitate percussive instruments for rhythmic support when needed, ad-lib singing, choreography, as well as the ability to sing in polyphony.

4.7.3.5. Music Bands

According to Brother Gbenga Babalola³⁰⁷, head of the MFM Music Bands department, this unit was set up to discover instrumental and vocal talents for praise and worship groups in MFM churches. Hence, senior officers of the department often visit branches of the church to train praise instrumentalists and singers, as well as search for those that could be invited to minister in selected programmes at the head church. He further asserted that the visits organised by the department to other branches of the MFM church have since eradicated the erroneous view that only instrumentalists from the international headquarters could play at special church programmes, especially those held at Prayer City, the church's campground.

³⁰⁵ Winners of the first MFM International Acappella competition in April 2012.

³⁰⁶ In a personal communication, Pastor Akinselure revealed that the winner, first runner-up and second runner-up received one million naira, seven hundred and fifty thousand naira and five hundred thousand naira respectively, while other finalists received one hundred thousand naira each.

³⁰⁷ In a personal communication at the MFM International headquarters, April 30, 2016.

Simply put, this department is responsible for the training and organisation of instrumentalists to accompany praise and worship singing during church services. Bearing in mind that praise and worship singing is a prominent component within Yorùbá Pentecostal rituals, I posit that the music bands department is one of the principal units in the music ministry of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches.

4.7.3.6. Groups and Solos

As the name implies, this arm of the MFM Music ministry comprises members of the music ministry that minister either as individuals or as small groups. In other words, the groups and solos department coordinates music ministrations in the form of solo, duet, trio, quartet, quintet and any other small ensemble presentations. Besides catering for the music ministry members, Brother Oluwatosin Olaniran, head of the department, revealed that the unit also accommodates musically skilled members of the congregation who have special presentations, although they will have to pass through an audition. When asked how the department manages to ensure fairness, he stated that the department releases a quarterly roster which soloists and ensemble members adhere to. It is therefore safe to argue that apart from ensuring fairness, the roster seems to serve the purpose of ensuring there is at least one music ministration during each service. Hence, a situation where there is no musician to minister will be unlikely.

4.7.3.7. Guitar Choir

The Guitar Choir department was established September 3, 2006 and has since been led by Pastor Joseph Olubukola. In a personal communication, he narrated how the department has developed to have five units: Junior, Intermediate, Teenage, Senior and Adult Sections. He

revealed that the department has members within the age range of two and seventy-three, with every one of them participating in the department's annual concert. Samples of Guitar Choir ministrations can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), videos 29, 30, 31 and 32.



Figure 4.18. Showing the Mass Guitar Choir ministering at the MFM Prayer City.

Unsurprisingly, guitar choir ministrations are strictly accompanied with the guitar. Pastor Joseph argued that the department is the most well-equipped guitar department in West Africa claiming that they have different types of guitars including the following: Acoustic Guitar, Electric Guitar, Electro Acoustic, Semi-hollow body Guitar, Mandolin, Mandola, Soprano Ukulele, Concert Ukulele, Tenor Ukulele, Banjo, Lap Steel Hawaiian Guitar, Flamenco Guitar and Classical Guitar.



Figure 4.19. A Quartet ministration showing four instruments in the guitar family. Photo Credit: MFM Guitar Choir.

The MFM Guitar choir is known to employ well-planned choreography, and sometimes drama skits to reinforce the message of their songs during ministrations. This oftentimes draws the attention of the congregation, with some congregants deciding to join in the dance. Speaking on condition of anonymity, some members of the congregation told me that in addition to the guitar choirs' music and skits, they believe the group's choice of colourful costumes and rendition of simple and commonly known songs has in a way endeared them to the congregation. Since the guitar choir accepts members without audition, their rendition of simple songs is probably to serve two purposes: to ensure it remains within the musical ability of majority of its members, as well as to encourage audience participation.



Figure 4.20. A sub-section of the MFM Guitar Choir, showing their colourful costumes. Photo Credit: MFM Guitar Choir.

4.7.3.8. Research

This department is assigned to coordinate the research arm of the MFM music ministry. Activities include, but are not limited to sourcing music sheets, organising music symposiums, and suggesting progressive paths for the music ministry. According to Pastor Oloyede, the department was commissioned by the General Overseer, Dr. D.K. Olukoya at the 2014 Music ministry solemn assembly but it was yet to begin full operation. As mentioned earlier, my fieldtrip to the MFM church was primarily to conduct interviews and assess Yorùbá Pentecostal church service rites and rituals, and once I started to gather data, it became mutually obligatory to share some of these research materials such as pictures taken during services with the music ministry. It is important to note that some of these materials account for a large proportion of content used in the Music ministry brochure published in February 2016 (Figure 4.21), as well as the recently launched website of the MFM Music ministry³⁰⁸ and social media platforms.

³⁰⁸ <http://www.mfmmusicministry.org/>.

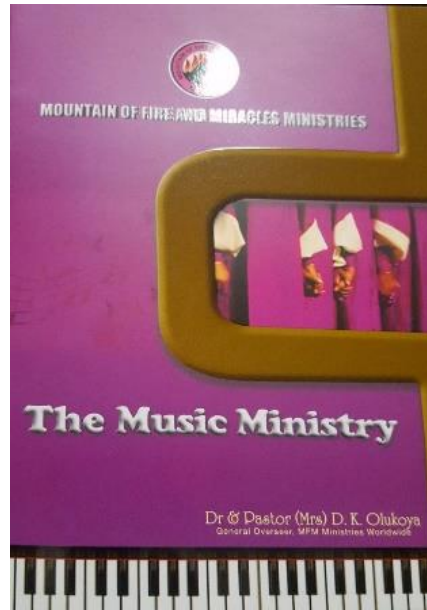


Figure 4.21. Picture of MFM Music ministry brochure front cover.

My keen interest to research music within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, and contributions made towards the setting up of the above-mentioned endeavours seemed to have made the church interested in having me Head its Music Research department. There is also the possibility that this comes with an expectation of giving the church first-hand access to the recommendations and conclusions of this study.

4.7.3.9. Mass Choir

This department coordinates and supervises the logistics required for the MFM Mass Choir. During the Monthly MFM camp programme tagged ‘Power Must Change Hands’ (PMCH), the Mass Choir ministers before the General Overseer mounts the pulpit to preach. A sample video of such ministration can be seen in Appendix D (Playlist), Video 33. Pastor Femi Ashekun³⁰⁹ revealed that the Mass Choir comprises of choir representatives from MFM

³⁰⁹ The immediate past Head, MFM Mass Choir Department. In a personal communication. December 27, 2015.

branches in Lagos state, and its environs. He further stated that the choir has since been nicknamed ‘massive choir’ by some members of the congregation.



Figure 4.22. Showing the Mass Choir and a cross section of congregants at the Prayer City.

4.7.3.10. Associations

This department was formed to coordinate the various associations within the MFM music ministry. These include, but are not limited to, the Praise and Worship Association and the Organists’ Association, amongst others. Pastor Pius Oragwu³¹⁰, head of the department, believes the primary aim is to encourage musicians within the MFM church, foster unity and seek ways to address challenges facing the groups that constitute the association department.

4.8. Summary

This chapter addressed the belief system and practices of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches using the MFM church as case study. It explored the ritual space, worship formats, rites and rituals of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. The chapter also provided evidence to support the claim that music is an indispensable element of present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal church ritual.

³¹⁰ 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

Furthermore, in this chapter, I revealed and assessed the keywords often used by congregants to describe their emotional response to certain rites within the liturgy. The foregoing section on the MFM music ministry is an indication of the large size of music units within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, and the importance attached to their activities.

The MFM music ministry has a scope for everyone to perform: from professional to non-professional. It operates a completely inclusive system which acknowledges different degrees of expertise, but which also places different values for different groups. It seems to me that the aesthetics schemata that are at play here vary depending on the music group. So, the professional will be assessed against the professional aesthetics, the elderly will have another function, the children will have another function. Nevertheless, the proliferation of groups does lead to problematic issues such as replication and inter-group friction, deriving in part from unhealthy competition – as I was told by a few respondents.

The type of conscious duplication illustrated earlier in the latter part of the section on MFM choir department seems to have yet again influenced the departmental structure of the MFM music ministry in Figure 4.6. As mentioned earlier, some individuals in the field complained about the overlapping structure but then, when I questioned the system and asked why they would not simplify - for example, by adopting a simplified structure of four departments: Singing, Instrumental, Music Literacy and Research departments with each having sub-units within them³¹¹, the suggested structure was politely dismissed as undoable. This kind of response depicts unwillingness to adopt a new departmental structure and suggests that the replication either serves an important social role within the church community or it serves the

³¹¹ The proposed singing department would accommodate choral groups, a cappella groups, soloists, mass choir, praise singers amongst others. Similarly, the instrumental department would cater for instrumental music players which includes the praise band. It would be the responsibility of the Music Literacy department to coordinate trainings and music examinations such as the ABRSM while the Research department would ensure the music ministry is up-to-date with church music practices, even as it sources materials that would benefit the entire music ministry.

purposes of the church to self-promote or demonstrate musical affluence. I argue that the replication of choirs, orchestras, bands and other music groups of varying sizes, demographics and specialism is further sustained by some pivotal leaders of the music ministry who claim to be dissatisfied with the present structure but are at the same time unwilling to make their disapproval public. As suggested earlier, one of the reasons for this duplication of music groups is to enable participation for all members. However, I contend that there are probably other reasons. For example, creating new groups because of those jostling for places in the limelight. This assertion lends some credence to the reported history of unhealthy competition within the music ministry, hence the church has kept its large structure in order to ensure everyone is happy. In addition, the observed replication could be a conscious attempt by the church authorities to cultivate an impressive outward display of power, wealth, inclusivity, and so on. In other words, the large music resources at the MFM church and others like the RCCG who have similar set-up could simply be a carefully hidden attempt to show off these resources. The following chapter will explore the various music genres, praise song styles and new music-related trends that are common among present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal Churches.

CHAPTER FIVE

Music Genres, Praise song styles and New Trends in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches

5.0. Introduction

This chapter evaluates the musical practices of present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. It begins with an exposition of the music genres commonly used during gatherings while also investigating the praise song styles that feature most during ecstatic praise singing sessions. The chapter concludes with an assessment of new trends emerging in Yorùbá Pentecostal church music. All musical examples, table and figures in this chapter are prepared by the author except when otherwise mentioned.

5.1. Music Genres in Present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches

This section focuses on the musical practices of present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches through an assessment of the music genres that are mostly used in their gatherings.

5.1.1. Praise

Praise is one of the genres of music practised in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Although the terms ‘praise’ and ‘worship’ are often combined to be used as ‘praise worship’ or sometimes ‘praise and worship’ among Yorùbá Pentecostals, scholars such as Pollard (2013, p. 34) and Carl (2015) rightly argue that both terms be considered to represent two contrasting genres of Yorùbá Pentecostal music making. Each exists on its own, even though they complement each other, as they occur in a successive manner during services. Pollard (2013) seems to corroborate this point when she mentions that, ‘although the individual words ‘praise’ and

‘worship’ are spoken as if they are interchangeable, many who teach it or who are acknowledged worship leaders differentiate between them’ (p. 34). Hence, like most Pentecostal movements around the world, Yorùbá Pentecostals draw some distinctions between praise (*iyin*) and worship (*ijosin*). Notably, one of the primary characteristics of praise which distinguishes it from worship is its exuberance.

In a Yorùbá Pentecostal church setting, praise is generally known to be lively and energetic, involving bodily activities such as handclapping and dancing to the accompaniment provided by musical instruments. A video sample of an ecstatic praise singing session can be seen on Appendix D (Playlist), Video 16. My respondents at Yorùbá Pentecostal services consider words such as ecstatic, joyful, happy, thankful, celebrational and active, as indicated in Figure 4.5, to serve as the best emotional qualifiers for the praise rite during services. The feeling of ecstasy³¹² during these praise engagements is probably the reason some Pentecostals refer to this genre as ‘high praise’. Orakwe (2015) suggests that this kind of exuberance develops from a strong desire or yearning to offer musical praise to God as a means of communicating with Him or appreciating Him for His numerous blessings. As I observed, the ecstatic experience is often temporary, only lasting as long as the musical engagement, although in some cases, the ecstatic feeling remains for some minutes after the music has stopped.

Considering that the congregants are known to sing to a divine personality who is not seen with the physical eyes, praise singing, and worship could be described as an act of faith – here using the word in its biblical sense³¹³. Perhaps the reason most congregants crave ecstatic experience during praise and worship singing is to emotionally make up for the physical absence of the

³¹² Here, the term ecstasy is used to signify an overwhelming feeling of intense excitement, joy and happiness that is almost always evident during praise singing sessions, as was previously mentioned in the Introduction chapter.

³¹³ Here is the biblical definition of faith: ‘Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen’ (Hebrew 11, verse 1).

‘unseen’ God. Commenting on this line of thought, Adnams Gordon suggests that the physical absence of God who also ‘offers no voiced or embodied response to their adoration’ appears to account for the great importance attached to ‘achieving a feelingful response in and to worship singing’ (2013, p. 198). He further reveals that these feelings are often recognised by worshippers as ‘a response that encompasses a “reply” from God who therefore must be near’ (ibid.). Therefore, it can be argued that congregants sometimes view the feelings generated as a proof that they were in communion with God during worship singing. It is evident thus that a lot of importance is attached to a somewhat transcendental feeling in the worship experience among congregants, as without this, they seem not to perceive that they have praised God or ‘really worshipped’ as Gordon (2013) puts it.

The use of praise singing as a curtain raiser for Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings and the frequent enthusiastic call of ‘Praise the Lord’ which is always met with the response ‘Hallelujah’³¹⁴ appears to highlight praise as an integral element of the liturgy. Butler’s (2005) assertion that ‘Praise the Lord’ is ‘a standard salutation among apostolic Pentecostals all over the world’ (p. 112) suggests that ‘Praise the Lord: Hallelujah’ is not unique to Yorùbá Pentecostals. In a personal communication³¹⁵, Dr. D.K. Olukoya argued that praise singing is one of the compulsory elements of Christianity: citing some chapters from the Biblical book of Revelations³¹⁶ he asserted that the praise of God by the saints will continue in heaven after their death. The preacher further claimed that of all the rites done in the church, only praise and worship is solely centred on thanksgiving to God, while others, such as prayer, are mostly requests made to God. The use of the phrase ‘sacrifice of praise’ in praise songs such as *Ewá bá mi gbé gbá opé* (Example 5.1) references praise singing among Yorùbá Pentecostals as an

³¹⁴ As explained in Chapter Four, Hallelujah is an exclamation often made to praise God. It literally means ‘praise ye the Lord’ or ‘God be praised’.

³¹⁵ 13 May 2016.

³¹⁶ Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15 and 19.

act of sacrifice to God: translated as ‘come and join me in lifting the sacrifice of praise’, the title suggests that Yorùbá Pentecostals perceive praise singing as a collective endeavour.



Example 5.1. *Ewá bá mi gbé gbá opé* (worror style³¹⁷ praise song).

We bring the sacrifice of praise (Example 5.2) is another song that highlights a connection between praise and sacrifice. Such narratives of ‘sacrifice to praise’ could be interpreted as an attempt by Pentecostals to enlighten new converts who were previously adherents of the traditional religion which predated the spread of Christianity among Yorùbá people, that physical presentation of sacrifices to deities is no longer necessary but a sacrifice of praise singing and thanksgiving to the Christian God.

Example 5.2. *We bring the sacrifice of praise* (calypso style³¹⁸ praise song).

³¹⁷ The *worror* style is one of the popular praise styles in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. It will be discussed in the following section.

³¹⁸ This is one of the styles adopted for praise singing among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. It will be discussed in the following section.

Furthermore, since praise is portrayed as a sacrifice in these songs, I argue that praise is a spiritual activity, which requires the active involvement of both the mind and the body. Besides, Butler (2005) views the human body as a ‘primary mechanism for enlivening or heating up the atmosphere and evoking a response from God’ (p. 117). Nonetheless, in as much as I concur that the body plays a vital role during ecstatic praise sessions, based on my observation of gestures made by congregants during praise and worship singing at the MFM church, I contend that bodily actions should not simply be perceived as a mechanism of ‘heating up the atmosphere’, but also as a means of devotion, surrender, appreciation, and celebration as once demonstrated by the biblical David and the Israelites in 2 Samuel, Chapter 6 and 1 Chronicles 15, Verse 28-29³¹⁹.

Interestingly, Yorùbá Pentecostals emphasise that praise can be used as a tool for deliverance from oppression. In other words, they perceive praise as having the ability to inspire some powerful divine manifestations. For example, in a welcome address to thousands of believers at the annual praise concert ‘The Experience’³²⁰, Pastor Paul Adefarasin, a popular preacher in Nigeria and abroad stated:

As we praise and worship, it is my heart-felt prayer that every Pharaoh you saw before you congregated here today will be swallowed up by God’s Shekinah glory. I know that beginning tonight, sickness and disease will be healed, and age-old battles will cease as our Healer – Jehovah Rapha, the Mighty Warrior – Jehovah Sabaoth rides upon the wings of our praises and soars on the wind of our worship (The Experience, 2015, p. 3).

The above text reaffirms the belief among Pentecostals that singing praise to God has the ability to inspire divine intervention or, better still, ‘move the hand of God’ as some of my respondents put it. Oragwu explained that songs such as *I will call upon the Lord who is worthy to be*

³¹⁹ See Appendix B1 and B2.

³²⁰ ‘The Experience’ is an annual event convened by Pastor Paul Adefarasin, Pastor-in-charge of the House of the Rock Church, Lagos. The concert features both local and international gospel artistes.

*praised*³²¹ demonstrates how praise songs could be used to request supernatural assistance when challenged by spiritual enemies. As common with Pentecostals, the term ‘Pharaoh’ is used to depict physical and spiritual oppression as analogous to the biblical Pharaoh who increased the hardship of the Israeli nation, refused them freedom but eventually let them go after a series of plagues. In the field, I observed how most Pentecostal preachers reinforced the notion of deliverance through praise citing the scripture below where apostles Paul and Silas were freed from prison.

And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God: and the prisoners heard them. And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one’s bands were loosed. (Acts 16:25-26).

These preachers and my respondents who drew a connection between deliverance and praise ascribed the freedom of the two apostles to praise singing alone despite the evidence in the above text that Paul and Silas did not just sing; their singing was accompanied with prayers. As a result, I argue that perhaps for praise to be efficacious in deliverance, there is the need to have it performed alongside prayers.

The following section assesses the praise styles common among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches.

5.1.1.1. Praise song styles: Calypso, Worrer and Reggae

There are mainly three praise singing styles in the Yorùbá Pentecostal church, each having distinct rhythmic patterns. Pastor Pius Oragwu³²², a veteran praise leader from the MFM church, corroborated my observations when he mentioned during an interview that ‘for the

³²¹ See Appendix A10.

³²² In a personal communication. 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

praise section of the service, music ministers are generally advised to choose a particular rhythmic style from either *calypso*, *worror* or *reggae*'. Although I have witnessed a few occasions at MFM youth churches when smooth transition between styles has been achieved, it is uncommon to combine these styles during a praise singing session. Oragwu argued that a situation where styles are combined could 'disrupt the move of the spirit': according to him, those who have gone high in the spirit are often brought back to this earthly realm by distractions resulting from a clumsy style transition. One could therefore argue that the practice of adhering to one style (which appears to have become an unwritten rule in most Yorùbá Pentecostal churches) during a praise session probably exists because previous attempts were not skilfully carried out, thereby creating a significant break in the flow of praise sessions. Interestingly, though, transition between praise styles is becoming an emerging trend among youth churches, and in churches like the RCCG where the use of drums is permitted the drummers are known to cover-up rhythmic gaps during the transition.

It is worth pointing out that in addition to the three primary styles - *calypso*, *worror* and *reggae* which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, a style referred to as 'contemporary' has been garnering popularity. Recent praise songs by popular African, African-American and other Western gospel artistes fall into this category. Well-known examples are Hezekiah Walker's *Every Praise* (2013), Don Moen's *Arise* (2004), Sinach's *I know who I am* (2012), Israel Houghton's *Lord You are good* (2001), and Women of Faith Singers' *I'm Trading My Sorrows* (1998).

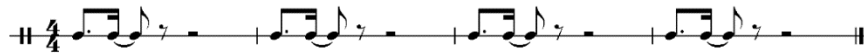
Calypso

Although it is believed to have existed as a music tradition before the twentieth century, evidence by scholars such as Hill (1967, p. 359 - 360) reveal that the earliest use of the word *calypso* to describe a song type in print appeared in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* of January 20, 1900. *Calypso* is generally understood to be a type of folk song tradition with witty and satirical text, originally from Trinidad but now sung elsewhere in the southern and eastern Caribbean islands³²³. Scholars such as Espinet and Pitts (1944), Warner (1982) and Hill (1997) claim that *calypso* music originated from slaves³²⁴ brought from West Africa to work on sugar plantations in Trinidad. On the other hand, a few authors such as Roaring Lion (1986) challenge the view of an African origin for *calypso* songs, arguing that it developed in France and was later taken to Trinidad and Tobago. Stratton & Zuberi (2014) seem to suggest a non-African origin for calypso, claiming that musicians from Britain brought it into West Africa (p. 7). Whatever the circumstances of its origin, there is a consensus among the aforementioned scholars that the music itself developed from Trinidad and Tobago's multi-colonial past. Furthermore, it is worth noting that how the term *calypso* became introduced to the Yorùbá Pentecostal church remains unknown. However, Omojola (1995, Ch.2, p.41) explained that slaves arriving on the West African coast from Brazil in the 1930s brought with them *rhumba* and *calypso* styles of music. This probably accounts for how the Yorùbá church encountered *calypso*, although it is uncertain if the *calypso* style that features in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches is similar to the Caribbean one.

³²³ <https://www.britannica.com/art/calypso-music>.

³²⁴ These slaves were forbidden to talk with each other in their indigenous language, so they began to sing songs that voiced their disaffection with separation from their families. In addition, these scholars argue that aside from using *calypso* songs to communicate among themselves, the slaves used the songs to mock their masters. This narrative suggests that *calypso* music developed in a similar manner to negro spiritual songs, which are believed to have also developed as the oral literature of an oppressed people who sung of their difficult situation and challenges in a way that they believed only they could understand.

Among praise and worship singers in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, *calypso* is used to refer to a praise singing rhythmic style. The *calypso* praise style exists as a rhythm of four beats per bar in simple time with a unique clap rhythm as demonstrated in Example 5.3.



Example 5.3. *Calypso* Praise style clap rhythm³²⁵.

During praise sessions where the *calypso* rhythm is employed, congregants are known to sway their body from side to side and sometimes jump, especially when the intensity begins to develop. The song titled *Thank you so much Lord Jesus* (Example 5.4) is an example of a *calypso* style praise song.

The image shows three systems of musical notation for the song 'Thank you so much Lord Jesus'. Each system consists of a 'Clap rhythm' staff and a melody staff. The melody is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are written below the melody staff.

System 1: Clap rhythm (4/4) with a repeating eighth-note pattern. Melody: Thank you so much Lord Je- sus_____ Thank you so much Lord

System 2: Clap rhythm (4/4) with a repeating eighth-note pattern. Melody: Je - sus_____ Thank you_ so much Lord

System 3: Clap rhythm (4/4) with a repeating eighth-note pattern. Melody: Je - sus_____ We thank you_ we thank you_ we thank you_____

Example 5.4. Thank you so much Lord Jesus (*calypso* style praise song).

As with most praise songs, it reinforces the theme of thanksgiving. The clap rhythm is arguably the most distinctive representative feature for the *calypso* style. *We bring the sacrifice of praise*

³²⁵ This is the same clap rhythm as the one used to accompany the song in Example 3.12 (Chapter Three). I did not associate Example 3.12 with *calypso* because my respondents argued that the early Pentecostal movement and its followers did not adopt the term in reference to this rhythm. This is probably because *calypso* is associated with the popular culture which Pentecostals often preach against.

(Example 5.2) is another example of this style. In most present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches³²⁶, drums³²⁷ and piano keyboard beats and handclapping seem to have replaced the hand bell as rhythmic guide while other instruments such as piano keyboards, saxophone, trumpet, lead and bass guitars serve melodic and harmonic purposes.

Worror

The second praise singing rhythmic style to be assessed in this section is known as *worror*. The origin of the term is unknown, but several of my informants claimed that it was sung at the 1930 revivals (see Examples 3.6 – 3.9 in Chapter Three), suggesting that this style existed prior to the early twentieth century revivals in Yorùbáland. A point also worth noting is that apart from the church, the *worror* rhythm is a common feature in traditional *pokripo* music of Igboland and the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria. One wonders if it was adapted from these regions or vice versa. The *worror* praise style exists as a framework of compound quadruple time signature with a unique clap rhythm as demonstrated in Example 5.5



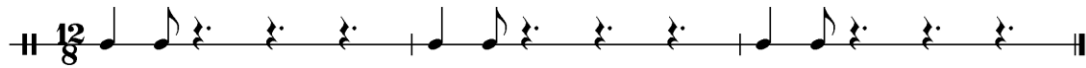
Example 5.5. *Worror* praise style clap rhythm.

Unlike the *calypso* style, the rhythmic construction of the *worror* style accommodates more expressive dancing involving bent knees, angular arms, twisting of the waist, and other movements. Further to this, as I observed during my fieldwork, congregants who employed the

³²⁶ The exception is represented by a few churches located in rural areas.

³²⁷ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 9 for an example of a drummer accompanying *calypso* praise songs played by a keyboard in the background.

simplified *worror* clap rhythm as demonstrated in Example 5.6 engaged in more expressive dancing, benefitting from the space created by the three beat rests.



Example 5.6. A simplified *worror* praise style clap rhythm.

As mentioned earlier, in place of the hand bell, other instruments are now used for rhythmic support³²⁸. Nonetheless it is important to mention that the instrumental accompaniment for *worror* style praise session is built on the hand bell pattern in Examples 3.10 and 3.11 (Chapter Three).

Example 5.7. *Oba iyè ògó ye ó* (*worror* style praise song).

Oba iyè ògó ye ó (Example 5.7) is an example of a *worror* style praise song. The text can be translated as ‘*King of life you are worthy of all glory, the mighty one who took away my sorrow*’. The song therefore seems to lend credence to the belief that one of the reasons Yorùbá Pentecostals praise God is because of what they claim He has done for them. Similarly, Pastor

³²⁸ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 10 for an example of the drums playing the *worror* style.

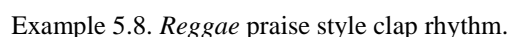
Oragwu in a personal communication³²⁹ opined that ‘God created humans to glorify Him for who He is, thank Him for what He has done and what He is yet to do’. Statements such as this, as well as texts like the one just discussed, confirm that praise singing is seen as an action that is solely centred on God.

Reggae

Reggae is another common praise singing rhythmic style in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Originally *reggae* is a Jamaican popular music style that evolved in the 1960s from *Ska* and *Rocksteady* (Chang & Chen, 1998, p. x). It arrived in Nigeria in the late sixties through exponents like Jimmy Cliff, Mighty Diamonds and Desmond Decker, but in the seventies, the country experienced a *reggae* deluge with the release of works by emerging exponents such as Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and I-Roy (Ajirire & Alabi, 1992, pp. 54-55). From 1973 when the first Nigerian *reggae* record titled *Help* was released by Sony Okosun, other indigenous *reggae* artistes such as Perry Ernest, Tera Kota, Majek Fashek, Ras Kimono and Orits Wiliki entered the *reggae* music scene thereby enhancing its acceptance as a popular music style in Nigeria (ibid. pp. 55-61). Nevertheless, the exact period when *reggae* music became introduced to the Christian church in Nigeria remains unknown.

The *reggae* style of music usually has a 4/4-time signature and the normally unaccented second and fourth beats of each bar are accented to give the style what is arguably its most unique feature. In Yorùbá Pentecostal church context, the keyboard, lead and bass guitars appear to serve as the core musical instruments when the *reggae* style is used.

³²⁹ 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.



We are on the mountain Zion (Example 5.9) is an example of a reggae style praise song. The strongly accentuated off-beat clap rhythm, as well as the staccato chords played by the keyboard complement the songs and also serve as distinctive feature for the *reggae* praise style.

Example 5.9. We are on the mountain Zion (*reggae* style praise song).

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5.1.2. Worship

The music genre known as ‘worship’ among Yorùbá Pentecostals encompasses slow tempo and expressive songs used to demonstrate devotion to God. It is often sung to what could be described as a steady slow beat, although at other times it is done in freestyle (that is, no regular tempo). During services, especially for the opening rites, these worship songs are sung before and after praise singing (see Figure 4.5). Notably, these songs are also employed by preachers prior to the commencement of their sermon. The worship session which precedes praise singing in the opening rites is referred to as ‘call to worship’. Pastor Oragwu described it as ‘a wakeup call to awaken the spirit and souls of the people’³³¹. He further explained that the call to worship is always intended to stir the spirit of God and make congregants attuned to the worship experience. One such song is *To rí náà le se’ń jé Olúwa*, the text of which can be translated as ‘You will do what you say, what you say you always do, and that is why you are called Lord’ (Example 5.10).

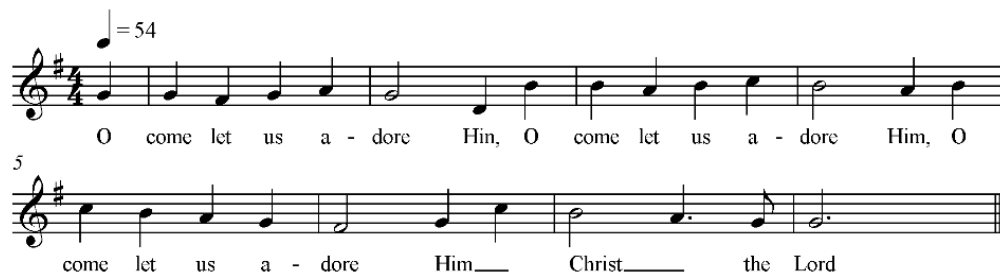


Example 5.10. *To rí náà le se’ń jé Olúwa*.

Arguably, pre-praise songs like this one are meant to shift the focus of the congregation towards God, thereby inspiring an atmosphere of devotion, commitment and dedication. For instance, the song in Example 5.10 highlights the infallibility of God, thereby strengthening the belief of congregants in this dependable and all-powerful God. At other times, hymns such as ‘O

³³¹ 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

come let us adore Him' (Example 5.11) are sung during the call to worship. As seen from the text, the song invokes the collective '*us*', thereby highlighting Pentecostal belief in oneness and collective singing. As discussed in Chapter Three, based on the scriptures in Acts 2:1 'they were gathered in one accord...', clergymen such as Pius Oragwu argue that unity is a prerequisite for the Holy Spirit's presence. It is interesting to note that there is a strong consistency between Oragwu's assertion and how present-day Pentecostals use songs such as Examples 5.11 and 5.12 to enact the feeling of 'one accord' through the shared activity of collective singing. Moreover, Hinson (2000) suggested that singing could be used as an effective vehicle of spiritual invitation (p. 93).

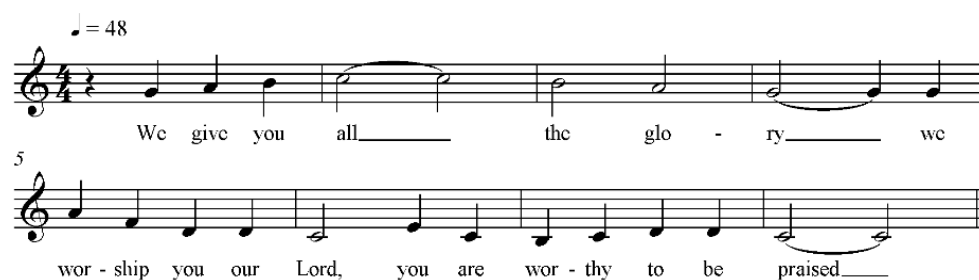


Example 5.11. O come let us adore Him.

The occasional use of hymns as worship songs could probably be the reason why Orakwe (2015) classified worship songs and hymns as belonging to the same category. However, I argue that the adoption of some hymns into worship singing rites does not justify classifying them together, as these music types have different origins: hymn singing from the mission churches, worship singing from Pentecostals.

The worship session which follows praise singing, as demonstrated in Figure 4.5, is referred to as 'worship proper' or 'deep worship': this is arguably one of (if not) the most emotive sections of the service. As mentioned earlier, in contrast to praise, worship singing is calm, slow, reflective and involves no clapping; these qualities suggest that the expression of ecstasy in

worship singing can be found in the contemplative mood it exudes. Some congregants shed tears during worship, others kneel or roll on the floor, but the majority often remain standing with their eyes closed and hands raised as music ministers urge them to ‘lift up holy hands to the Lord’. The slow but steady tempo with which these worship songs are performed seem to enhance the feeling of devotion and reverence. Since worship singing requires some level of focus, congregants at Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings are known to close their eyes to avoid distractions. The closing of eyes is perhaps to ensure congregants become fully engrossed in the worship singing rite. Little wonder, my respondents believe that the words ‘devotion, heartfelt, concentrated, sincere and spirit-filled’ (shown in Figure 4.5) best describe the worship singing rite during services.



Example 5.12. We give you all the glory.

The song *We give you all the glory* (Example 5.12) is popular amongst Yorùbá Pentecostals, especially for ‘worship proper’. Often beginning with the verse, ‘you are Alpha and Omega, we worship you our Lord, you are worthy to be praised’, this song is one of those that seem to reinforce collective worship as explained in the preceding paragraph. Israel Houghton the American gospel music artiste who made the song popular by recording it at one of his worship concerts claimed that it originated from Zimbabwe³³². Worshippers on the video can be seen kneeling, crying, and raising their hands while singing. Albrecht (1999) rightly pointed out that

³³² See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 11.

the hand-raising deed common with Pentecostals during worship singing could have varied meanings – openness to God, expression of ecstasy, or even total surrender (p. 190). Following this line of thought, Sorge (2001) described worship songs as the outpouring in songs of ‘one’s heart expression of love, adoration and praise to God with an attitude and acknowledgement of his supremacy and lordship’ (p. 64).

Since the ‘call to worship’, ‘praise’ and ‘worship proper’ occur in succession, it is important for the singers to adequately manage allocated time. For example, Pastor Oragwu suggested the following breakdown for a praise and worship minister who has been given, as it often is the case, thirty minutes to minister: call to worship (5 minutes), praise (15 minutes), and deep worship (10 minutes). Although this time slot is consistent with the ones used at most of the daily services I observed³³³, there are times when these rites take more time than allocated, for example due to unexpected contingencies. During a service I observed, some technical issues suddenly developed and this resulted in an unbalanced set up for musical instruments and microphones for singers; while the audio team sought ways to resolve the issue, the lead singer who should have moved on to praise singing, continued with the call to worship to ensure the issue was resolved before proceeding to the next stage. When I asked him afterwards, the lead vocalist – who preferred to remain anonymous – told me that ‘common sense had to prevail’ to guarantee the best transition to praise singing. On another occasion, the call to worship exceeded the allotted time-frame because the lead singer closed her eyes, supposedly got ‘carried away’, and attempts by the band leader to signal her were unsuccessful; when it became overly long, the band leader asked another singer to gently tap her, take over and lead the congregation in praise singing. These two examples, highlight how time slots for the praise and worship rites, as with other rites within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, are merely guidelines

³³³ Except praise nights where ample time (more than the usual 30 minutes) is given to praise and worship.

which could be exceeded, although wilfully going beyond is believed to be ‘punishable’ under the movements disciplinary measures³³⁴.

Despite the fact that Yorùbá Pentecostals believe praise and worship singing sessions should be accompanied by a certain degree of Holy Spirit manifestation, it would be naive to assume everyone present participate wholeheartedly, or that all those who seem to be immersed in the worship experience are responding to the presence of the Holy Spirit. Hinson (2000) reminds us that:

Beneath this apparent collectivity [exhibited during praise and worship sessions] lurks a miscellany of thoughts and motives and degrees of engagements. Not everyone joins in the singing. Of those who do, not everyone sings with a mind toward worship. And of those who, in their own way, do seek this end, not everyone treats song as a means toward accord, or as a vehicle of reflection. Appearances, simply put, are deceptive. The outward evidences of collectivity in no way prove its actual presence (p. 96).

Among Yorùbá Pentecostal church congregations, those who apparently find it difficult to connect to the supposedly charged atmosphere during praise and worship singing rites are either labelled as being ‘spiritually cold’ or accused of having a ‘wandering heart’ which makes it almost impossible for them to concentrate. It is therefore possible for congregants to act up being ‘spiritually connected’ to avoid being perceived as spiritually cold or unresponsive. Further to this, in my view, it is worth exploring other factors that could make congregants feel disconnected during praise and worship singing. Pastor Oloyede in a personal communication cited as a factor the lack of ministerial oil from the Holy Spirit (also known as anointing³³⁵) in the lives of music ministers. The clergyman seemed to suggest that music ministers who are yet to receive the Holy Spirit baptism would struggle to lead congregants into the ‘holies of

³³⁴ Issues related to discipline and control within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches and their music ministries will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

³³⁵ See the section on *gift or anointing* in Chapter Six.

holies'³³⁶. Similarly, most of my respondents claim that they find it difficult to participate fully in a praise and worship singing session when they observe that music ministers are either not fully immersed in the worship experience themselves or they appear to overly force the issue of congregational participation. Whatever the case, I concur with Adnams Gordon's assertion that 'leaders of congregational singing in the contemporary worship tradition are often under great pressure to generate the environment that will foster really worshipping' (2013, p. 199). Therefore, since the success of a music minister's rendition is determined by his or her ability to create an atmosphere capable of motivating congregants to become engaged, I will address the fundamental question later in Chapter Six: which is more important in the music ministry of a Yorùbá Pentecostal church – gift or anointing? I will also consider the interesting debate of performance versus ministration, especially since from my observation during fieldwork, the discussion of these subjects is considered important among Yorùbá Pentecostals.

5.1.3. Spiritual warfare music

Spiritual warfare music comprises songs used to engage in spiritual combat against forces of evil. They are accompanied with fierce clapping and 'invoke the power, strength and glory of God as a way of putting the devil and evil forces to flight' (Orakwe, 2015, p. 236). I argue that these songs not only 'fight the enemy' but also request divine assistance and spiritual power as highlighted in Figure 3.4 (Chapter Three). In addition to having been extensively discussed in Chapter Three, the evidence for the use of spiritual warfare songs among present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches has been given in Chapter Four. However, I have included this section titled 'Spiritual Warfare music' here not only to re-emphasise the point that spiritual warfare

³³⁶ The phrase 'holies of holies' is used here to mean the presence of God but its origin is traced to the Old testament era of the Bible, when it referred to the innermost and most sacred area of the ancient tabernacle which contained the Ark of the Covenant of God.

music is a major musical practice for present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, but also, crucially that these songs are often sung to what I suggest could be described as fast tempo *worror*.

5.1.4. Native airs

Among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, the genre known as ‘native air’ encompasses vocal music compositions by indigenous composers for either solo, ensemble or choir. Occasionally, these native airs are referred to as traditional art music. Little wonder, Stone (2005) asserted that ‘the idioms which are known in the west as “folk”, “popular”, “religious” and “art” are closely bound together for the most part in West Africa’ (p. 17).

This music type arguably originated from second generation Yorùbá church musicians such as T.K.E. Philips, and Rev. J.J. Ransome Kuti who were displeased with the direct translation of Western hymns into Yorùbá without consideration for the tonal inflection of the Yorùbá language³³⁷. In present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, composers such as Bidemi Oyesanya, Seun Owoaje, Daniel Olukoya, Oluwatosin Olaniran and Ayo Ajayi are prominent figures within the elite group of composers that have preserved the native air tradition. Some of these composers and their works will be assessed in Chapter Six. Although native airs are composed in various traditional Nigerian languages, only those in Yorùbá language will be examined in this thesis.

³³⁷ See Chapter Three.

5.1.5. Classical music

The term ‘classical music’ is commonly used among Yorùbá Pentecostals, specifically to refer to Western Christian art music other than hymns. Based on responses received from my respondents, the Hallelujah Chorus from the *Messiah* by George Frederick Handel is arguably the most popular ‘classical music’ known to Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Anglican chants, which are occasionally sung by some Pentecostal churches, are also categorised as ‘classical music’.

As a summary to this section, Table 5.1 shows the main music genres that feature at Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. It presents a concise description of each genre, specific events where the genres are used, common rhythmic styles, the musical instruments used to accompany each genre as well as the kind of bodily movements that are common with each kind of music.

Comparative table of Genres in Present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches

Genres	Description	Events/where used	Examples	Rhythmic styles	Musical Instruments	Choreography
Praise	Song of thanksgiving, adulation and appreciation	All services	<i>Thank you so much Lord Jesus, Oba iyè ògó ye ó, and We are on the mountain Zion</i>	<i>Calypso, worror, reggae, and contemporary</i>	Keyboard, lead guitar, bass guitar, trumpet, saxophone, tambourine, drums	Dancing
Worship	Songs of devotion, adoration, expression of deep love and reverence for God	All services	<i>To rí náà le se'ń jé Olúwa, O come let us adore Him, and We give you all the glory</i>	Steady slow beat and occasional freestyle	Keyboard, guitars, trumpet, saxophone, tambourine, drums.	No dancing
Spiritual warfare	Songs that engage forces of darkness in combat, address deliverance from oppression, and used to seek divine assistance	Revival services, deliverance sessions, prayer sessions. Omitted from services such as praise nights.	<i>Evil arrows go back to your sender, Holy Ghost and fire, and I need the fire that is fresh.</i>	Fast tempo worror and steady fast beat.	Keyboard, keyboard beats, drums, lead guitar, bass guitar.	Stamping of feet, vigorous shaking of body and intense synchronised handclapping.
Native airs	Vocal music with biblical themes written by indigenous composer in traditional language	Choir ministration at selected services.	<i>Emi o ogbe oju mi soke wonni, and Ninu Agbala Olorun wa.</i>	Varied	Keyboard, organ, guitars, drums and others as required	Dancing
Classical music	Western music compositions except hymns	Choir ministration at selected services.	<i>Hallelujah Chorus</i>	N/A	As indicated by music sheet.	N/A

Table 5.1. Comparative schema of primary genres used in present-day Pentecostal churches.

The song examples provided in the table are those which have already been discussed in previous sections of this study. While the genres highlighted in Table 5.1 are considered as fundamental among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, there are others such as hymns, negro spirituals, orchestra music and contemporary music by gospel artistes.

5.2. New Trends

In furtherance to the foregoing discussion on music genres, I believe it is important to assess some of the new trends that are beginning to emerge in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, especially in relation to music – a potentially fruitful area for further research. I argue that the new trends discussed in the following sections were adopted to ensure an all-inclusive outlook for the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement.

5.2.1. Reviving the Hymn Singing Tradition

As discussed in Chapter Three, the coming of missionaries to Yorùbáland saw the advent of Christianity, and this exposed new converts (in mission churches) to hymn singing as practised by the missionaries. However, with the rise of Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland and its prayer-focused liturgy, although the hymn singing tradition managed to thrive in the early Yorùbá Pentecostal church services, music genres such as spiritual warfare songs began to feature more prominently. In separate interviews, Oshun³³⁸ and Oluwamakin³³⁹ asserted that in the 1990s, Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) continued to employ hymns during services, although allegedly not as frequently as in mission churches. These two

³³⁸ March 15, 2016. Lagos State University Staff Quarters.

³³⁹ In a telephone interview. 28 March 2017.

individuals explained to me how (between 1980s and early 2000s) some churches extended praise and worship sessions in lieu of the opening and closing hymns commonly done in mission churches, while others completely omitted hymn singing from their service. However, during my fieldtrip to south-west Nigeria, I witnessed a revival of the hymn singing tradition in the Yorùbá Pentecostal church settings, particularly at the MFM church where an annual programme tagged *Name the Hymn* was organised. This event was highly participatory as it involved everyone in the church, the church leaders, music ministers and the congregation. The event featured communal hymn singing, personal testimonies from church leaders regarding hymns that resonated specially with their spiritual experience, and a quiz. As I was informed by Pastors Oloyede and Akinselure during our interview, the quiz was aimed at inspiring interest in hymn singing among congregants with musical motifs from different hymns being played on the organ and the congregants being given the opportunity to name the hymn and sing a verse from the same hymn. The church leadership informed me that they feared all the prizes would be won by music ministers should they participate, especially since the hymn tunes are simple and popular – and so music ministers were excluded from this component of the ‘*Name the Hymn*’ event.

During the quiz, I witnessed congregants running out to the altar, trying to be the first to get there and answer the question. Those who answered correctly received gift items such as cash in dollars, musical instruments, Bibles, Christian books, kitchen and home appliances. As I discovered from my informants during fieldwork, many of the congregants (including church leaders and musicians) in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches used to attend mission churches such as the Catholic church and the Anglican church before joining the Pentecostal movement. The revival of hymn singing in the Pentecostal church seemed to have gained favourable acceptance amongst congregants as observed during personal testimonies of some

members where they referred to reminiscent memories of hymn singing at their former church of worship.

A few weeks after the *Name the Hymn* service, Princess Banke Ademola³⁴⁰ told me that a special edition of the same event was to be organised for members of the music ministry who had expressed disappointment at being unable to attempt answering questions during the general edition. It was an interesting episode as the church General Overseer himself was on the keyboard, playing the tunes for music ministers to try to name them correctly, although this time, the tunes were not as popular as the ones played during the general edition.



Figure 5.1 Olukoya playing the hymn tunes on a keyboard piano.

Also, the gift reward items at the event were different from the regular ones: this time there were more musical instruments and music materials, in addition to monetary rewards and home appliances.

³⁴⁰ MFM Director of Music during my fieldwork but now Music Director Emeritus.



Figure 5.2. Prizes – violins, kitchen and home appliances – lined up at the quiz event for music ministers.

Although the MFM church claims that their *Name the Hymn* service and congregational hymn services are aimed at basically reviving the hymn tradition, I argue that these events have other underlying objectives that are rarely projected. For example, in recent times, religious commentators in Nigeria have highlighted how religious organisations (churches and mosques) receive tax-free donations but seem to be doing little as a way of giving back to the society. One wonders if these criticisms have in any way influenced the offering of prizes during these special services. Furthermore, the act of rewarding members who identify and sing tunes correctly with prizes is possibly a means through which the church establishes and displays power relations. After all, it is possible to secure people's loyalty when they are offered the possibility of winning material goods. Therefore, I contend that this engagement could be perceived as a carefully thought process where the church tries to gain or solidify the loyalty of its congregation. Considering that church services are often considered as serious spiritual gatherings, services such as the *Name the Hymn* seem to serve as an avenue for the church to introduce and create a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. I have observed several MFM services, but something was different about this service: the congregation looked particularly cheerful

and the structure of the service was not as rigid as other Sunday services I had attended. This is evidenced by the fact that both the General Overseer and his wife shared personal stories that revealed certain things that were previously unknown to the congregation. Simply put, it was an unusual service which, judging by the disposition of the congregation, was well received. Apart from the MFM church, the revival of hymn singing was noticed in other Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. For example, in the past, the hymn tradition did not feature at the Redeemed Christian Church of God but as observed during fieldwork, hymn singing is now a major part of their services, especially the Holy Ghost service.

5.2.2. Incorporation of Socio-political Themes

Another trend noticeably present in modern-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches is the incorporation of socio-political themes in songs presented during services. Unlike in the initial stage of Yorùbá Pentecostalism, church music and sermons now run critical commentary on the ills of society and the inadequacies of the government. Some of my elderly respondents such as Oshun, explained how the Yorùbá Pentecostal church since its early days has deliberately separated itself from the state, as it believed that the two should exist as independent organisations. This stance is perhaps because of the lessons learned from the tense relationship that existed between the government and members of the Diamond Society during the earliest period of Yorùbá Pentecostalism³⁴¹. Nonetheless, I argue that the set border line between the church and state should not mean one cannot be critical of the other, but as explained by Oshun, Oluwamakin and Stephen Abiodun during interviews, this had since been

³⁴¹ See Chapter Two.

the case until recent times (specifically from the 2000s³⁴²) when the Christian church seemed to have broken through its previous avoidance of issues outside theology.

Despite the Pentecostal church mentality of us/them, insider/outsider, saved/damned which suggests that the church might have previously engaged in critical commentary, my respondents argued that this is not the case as the church primarily focused on spiritual matters thereby neglecting its social responsibility. During our conversation, Pastor Abiodun Stephen while drawing on how Fela Anikulapo Kuti used his Afrobeat genre to address social issues suggested that the church possibly refused to engage in social matters such as bad governance, corruption and military oppression because of the belief that its primary responsibility was spiritual, hence engaging with such matters could be perceived as out of scope for the church. Whatever the case, based on my observations during fieldwork and the assessment of responses from informants, Yorùbá Pentecostal churches appear to be more involved in social matters that are not necessarily spiritual. This is further evidenced by the renditions of songs that centred on embezzlement of public funds, corruption and the likes within the service. I was told by these informants that this is an emerging trend within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. Similarly, Adedeji mentioned that Yorùbá Pentecostal music now prominently features extra-theological texts, covering various aspects such as the social, political, educational and economic lives of the society (2008, p. 380).

At the MFM church, I witnessed several performances³⁴³ of songs that engage with the above-mentioned themes. Examples include *Ole* (translated to mean thief – the song addressed the problem of misappropriation of public funds), *Abetele* (translated to mean bribery – the song addresses the problem of corruption), and *Abanije* (this song addresses the rising problem of

³⁴² Perhaps this relates to the change from Military dictatorship rule to Democracy in May 1999.

³⁴³ In Chapter Six, I will discuss the term pairings of 'performance' and 'ministration' because it is considered important in discourses of music within the church.

defamation of character) amongst others. This current practice is in consonance with Ojo's (1998) suggestion that in addition to preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, church music should be utilised to achieve social decorum in Nigerian Society. The scholar further highlighted three ways in which this can be done: address economic and political crisis; articulate socio-economic concerns; and engage with cultural and domestic issues (ibid., p. 226). Little wonder, Olaniran³⁴⁴ informed me that music groups from the church now receive invitations to perform at corporate events which are non-religious in nature. While some of my respondents believe that this is a good thing as they believe it gives the church the opportunity to fulfil part of its social responsibilities, others argue that church music ministers should be confined to religious settings. To my mind, there are probably other benefits being gained mutually from the coming together of the church and outside forces such as corporate and political organisations. For example, could these interactions be tied to economic benefits? Or is it an avenue to secure loyalty, power and votes? The possibilities are varied but, as one would imagine, religious bodies do not promote such discourses.

5.2.3. Mass Choirs

As a church grows, so does the number of people serving voluntarily in the church and a good number of these church workers are found in the music ministry, and most especially, the choir. In recent times (from around the 2000s), Yorùbá Pentecostal churches have embraced the Mass Choir phenomenon, and it is now considered a must-have at major church events. A Mass Choir comprises of many singers from various church branches. They come together to minister as a single unit and this produces an enormous gathering of people with closely coordinated clothing, singing and behaviour; examples can be seen in Figures 1.8 and 4.22. The comments

³⁴⁴ One of my informants at the MFM church.

of Princess Banke Ademola that the mass choir illustrates how the collaborative nature of singing together is not merely a ministerial exercise is a position taken by my other informants. They concurred that the mass choir offers numerous benefits and opportunities such as bonding, collective music making, working in a team, increasing self-confidence and self-esteem of singers. The collective energy generated when these large groups of church musicians sing together in a shared purpose is a part of what sociologist Emile Durkheim referred to as ‘collective effervescence’³⁴⁵.

As discussed in Chapter Four, one of the departments of the music ministry at the MFM church is called Mass Choir. Alongside MFM, other Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as RCCG³⁴⁶ and DLBC³⁴⁷ have thousands of branches in Nigeria, as well as hundreds in the diaspora, and they too are known to have a Mass Choir minister at major programmes. For example, the MFM Mass Choir features at the monthly *Power Must Change Hands* flagship programme of the church while RCCG Mass Choir ministers at RCCG’s version, the *Holy Ghost Night*.

This newly favoured mass choir tradition can perhaps be viewed as a means through which churches showcase the strength of their music ministry (both musically and in terms of resources), and sometimes too, serve as a yardstick to determine which church has the best Mass Choir. In fact, I recently came across one of such debates on social media. Competitive arguments between members from different churches as to who has the best this or that are not new among Yorùbá Pentecostals. Noteworthy, these mass choirs do not take on complex repertoires; rather, they perform repertoires that can be easily learnt, especially since such groups mainly comprise amateur musicians.

³⁴⁵ For more on collective effervescence, see Chapter Four.

³⁴⁶ Redeemed Christian Church of God.

³⁴⁷ Deeper Life Bible Church.

5.2.4. Collaborations Between Local and International Gospel Artistes

The view that the music ministry of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches had always launched the careers of many gospel music artistes is widely shared among my respondents who claimed that such information is general knowledge among the people. As explained by Esther Ayomide³⁴⁸, this is further evidenced by the fact that majority of these gospel artistes including the very popular ones such as Nathaniel Bassey and Tope Alabi, and even the older generation like Bola Are have repeatedly referenced how they started music from the music ministry of their local churches before starting their own music ministry. For example, Nathaniel Bassey³⁴⁹ started out from (and is still part of) the RCCG, Tope Alabi³⁵⁰ from CAC, while both Frank Edwards³⁵¹ and Sinach³⁵² started from (and are still with) the Christ Embassy Church. In addition to singing at Christian events, these individuals, like their colleagues, tour churches to minister and produce high quality recordings that are made available for sale. The songs produced by them are reported to now dominate the praise and worship scene in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches and have also found their way into mainstream American Gospel Music. A good example is the song *Imela* from the album ‘The Son of God (& Imela)’ produced by Nathaniel Bassey in late 2014. As I was told by informants (and noticed myself during fieldwork), the song has since become a regular worship song in Yorùbá Pentecostal church services and has also had several covers uploaded on YouTube from Christians in America and other parts of the world. During my fieldwork, I observed that these musical productions by gospel artistes in the Nigerian community are sung in a variety of Nigerian languages, including English, the lingua-franca of the country. It is also common to find songs that make use of a

³⁴⁸ Personal communication. 15 January 2016, Lagos.

³⁴⁹ <https://nathanielbassey.net/> (Accessed 27 June 2018).

³⁵⁰ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 12.

³⁵¹ <http://frankincense.world/> (Accessed 27 June 2018).

³⁵² See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 13.

combination of English and more than one indigenous language: this perhaps explains the nationwide acceptance of these songs, as well as their appeal to the international community who seem open to exploring the language and expression of the Nigerian people through Gospel music. As discussed in Chapter One, the Nigerian community in the diaspora is often large and organised, hence they arguably play an important role in how worshippers from other countries seem to have embraced these local songs.

As mentioned earlier, these musicians, through modern-day media (YouTube, Spotify, Deezer, Apple Music) and international tours, have established a well-known presence in the international gospel music scene, most especially in America. In addition to the widespread reach presented through the above-mentioned platforms, one could also trace the new trend of collaborations (examples are given below) between Nigerian gospel music artistes and their American counterparts to the opportunities presented by *The Experience*, the acclaimed biggest gospel music concert in Africa. This is an annual interdenominational gospel music concert organised by the House on The Rock Church³⁵³ in Lagos, Nigeria. This massive musical concert, which is held every December at the Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos, has now been running for twelve years since it first started in 2006 with an audience growing by 1000% from 70,000 to 700,000³⁵⁴. One interesting feature of this concert is that it regularly features a balanced mixture of Nigerian and American gospel music artistes. Also, new sets of musicians are featured every year, although there are a few regulars like Don Moen, Donnie McClurkin, Nathaniel Bassey and Midnight Crew. These artistes perform independently of each other at the concert, but in recent years, it has been observed that the American gospel ones now sometimes include Nigerian praise songs and native language in their performances. As suggested earlier, this coming together of Gospel artistes under one umbrella has been seen to

³⁵³ This church, with its headquarters in Lekki, Lagos, is headed by Pastor Paul Adefarasin.

³⁵⁴ <http://theexperiencelagos.com/1G1V/#aboutte>. Accessed January 23, 2018.

foster collaborations between Nigerian and American gospel artistes. There are many examples but these three are the most cited by my informants: Tye Tribbett and Uche Agu on the popular *African Medley* track, Nathaniel Bassey's *Imela*³⁵⁵ which features Micah Stampley, and a joint EP album *Grace* by Don Moen and Frank Edwards, which includes a track mostly sung in the Nigerian *Igbo* language by both artistes. In the *Grace* - EP, Don Moen and Frank Edwards also sing songs together in the English language. These collaborations are indeed a new trend that seems positioned to have continuous exploration by practitioners.

5.3. Summary

This chapter presented an in-depth discussion of praise singing and worship singing, especially as it concerns present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Here, I identified Praise, Worship, Spiritual warfare music, Native airs and Classical music as primary music genres in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. Hymn singing, negro spirituals, orchestral music and contemporary music by gospel artistes account for the other types of music that feature in these services. Discussions in this chapter revealed inherent features of the praise rite during a church service. Examples include its use to offer thanksgiving to God, demonstrate faith in God, as well as communicate with the divine.

In this chapter, I revealed *calypso*, *worror* and *reggae* as prominent praise song styles of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church. Each of these were assessed using music examples that demonstrated their distinct rhythmic patterns. As I was told during fieldwork, the standard practice in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity has been for singers to strictly adhere to the use of one style while leading a praise singing session. However, as I observed in the field, transitions

³⁵⁵ Sung in a mixture of both English and Nigerian *Igbo* language. This song has now become a household praise song both in Nigeria and America.

between styles is popular in some churches but my respondents claimed that this is an emerging trend, some even opined that the trend might soon fade away. Based on the evidence that this developing practice of style transition is common in Youth churches, and Yorùbá Pentecostal churches are known to be ready to adopt practices previously considered as unacceptable, in a bid to keep the youths in church³⁵⁶, I argue that these foregoing examples suggest that the style transition practice will probably spread across churches and then become standard practice for praise singing sessions.

In addition to serving as a musical offering to God, I discussed how Yorùbá Pentecostals use the shared collective singing during worship sessions to enact a feeling of oneness among participants. I posit that worship songs are carefully composed and selected to emphasise a sense of togetherness and community. For example, most of these songs use the pronoun ‘we’, and scholars such as Hinson (2000) suggest this to be a vehicle of spiritual invitation. Noteworthy, the opening rite of a Yorùbá Pentecostal church service features two worship sessions, namely: call to worship and deep worship (also known as proper worship). While the former is aimed at ushering congregants into a worship mood that will position and acquaint them with the service environment, the latter primarily focuses on worshipping and communicating with the divine.

Following the discussion of music genres and praise song styles was a review of recently developing musical trends within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. These include but are not limited to the revival of the hymn singing tradition, incorporation of socio-political themes into music done in the church, mass choirs and the rise in the number of collaborations between local and international gospel artistes. In the next chapter, I will explore key term pairings

³⁵⁶ See Chapter Seven for more on this type of adaptation.

commonly used among Pentecostals during church music discourse, as well as some Yorùbá Pentecostal Church music compositions.

CHAPTER SIX

Key Term Pairings and Music Compositions in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches

6.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the key term pairings ‘gift/anointing’ and ‘performance/ministration’ will be discussed as criteria for judging and categorising music ministers and their musical endeavours, as well as how these terms relate to the experience of sacred presence in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. Amongst Pentecostals, these four terms permeate discourse relating to music and liturgical rites, with the following questions often arising: Is it better to be led by a gifted or anointed music minister? And should music within the church be conceived as performance or ministration? These debates directly reflect upon the importance Pentecostals attach to spirituality. The chapter concludes with an assessment of notable choral music compositions by some composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal church background. I will draw from interviews that I made during fieldwork to reveal doctrinal sentiments that underlie the creativity of these composers whose works feature prominently in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. All musical examples and figures in this chapter are prepared by the author except where otherwise mentioned.

6.1. Gift versus Anointing

Discourse on concepts such as ‘gift’ and ‘anointing’ is prevalent in discussions about Yorùbá Pentecostal church music ministers: the questions ‘which is preferable between a gifted or anointed music minister?’ or ‘what is the difference between gift and anointing?’ and ‘which of the two motivates a spirit-filled experience?’ often arise. Simply put, a gifted musician is believed to be a highly skilled individual, but most Yorùbá Pentecostals seem to believe that

‘the anointing’ transcends musical proficiency. Interestingly, the distinction between these two concepts is often blurred: for example, Adediji (2015) seems to agree with the sentiment that the anointing relates to the divine when he stated that ‘the anointing’ (*ifororoyan* in Yorùbá language, meaning ‘selected with oil’) is a release of divine enablement to perform certain tasks’ (p. 14); however, the scholar seems to contradict himself almost immediately when he states that ‘anointing is gift’ and ‘anointing is talent’. On the contrary, Oragwu remarks that ‘anointing is not the same as Gift’³⁵⁷. Although the theologian-cum-music minister concurs that anointing is divine, he posits that Gift is the same as talent, and the quality can be acquired naturally or through consistent practice and effort.

Although, among Yorùbá Pentecostals, the concept of ‘anointing’ is often synonymous with oil, the term’s use is not restricted to a physical anointing with oil, but also alludes to spiritual gifts and endowments in a believer, thereby evidencing the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Hence, one frequently encounters phrases such as ‘anointed music’, ‘anointed sermon’, and ‘anointed man of God’ amongst others.

In a sermon recorded by Butler, the Pentecostal preacher Elder Delton McDonald captures the full meaning of ‘anointing’ as Pentecostals typically understand it and I believe that the following quotation, although admittedly long, is worth reporting here. Elder Delton remarks:

...When we look at it from the Old Testament, the word, “anointing” simply meant to smear or put something on somebody... It was also considered a sign or an act of consecration, which simply means that God was setting apart lives to be used in his service. And so throughout the Old Testament, anointing referred to the pouring on of oil over the heads of individuals that were consecrated for the service of God... when we speak in the New Testament of anointing, it was more than just a pouring on, because it was not just pouring *oil* on somebody, but it was now God pouring *himself* into the lives of human beings. In the Old Testament, they poured oil *onto*, but in the New Testament when Jesus came, he poured himself *into*. And so when that Holy Spirit of God gets into the life of a man or woman, it was that anointing of God himself (cit. Butler, 2005, p. 121).

³⁵⁷ 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

‘Anointing’ is therefore a biblical trope which symbolises the manifestation and power of the Holy Spirit. In a personal communication³⁵⁸, Oluwatosin Olaniran told me that every born-again Christian is anointed by God, but there are different levels of anointing depending on the consecration of the individual. In the context of music, Pentecostal church musicians are expected to be anointed by God: to achieve this anointing, music ministers are encouraged to live a consecrated and holy life, it being believed that this qualifies them for the outpouring of God’s power into their lives³⁵⁹. In a chat,³⁶⁰ Esther Ayomide, a Pentecostal with Baptist church background cited the Saxophonist Pastor Kunle Ajayi of the Redeemed Christian Church of God to support her stance that ‘although musical skill is necessary, the anointing is paramount for a spiritually impactful experience’ during Pentecostal gatherings. She posited that ‘there are arguably more musically gifted saxophonists than Kunle Ajayi in Lagos but the move of God when he begins to play is proof that he is highly anointed by God’.

Pentecostals believe that an anointed music minister would be able to lead participants into a transcendental state where they reach the presence of God through powerful manifestations of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of healing, prophesying, glossolalia and other displays of supernatural power (Butler, 2005, p. 138). Nevertheless, Pastor Akinselure³⁶¹ argued that the anointing should not be misunderstood as a substitute for musical skill: according to her, a music minister needs to (1) be calm, (2) have carefully studied the intended music piece and (3) have prayed about it for his or her anointing to have any reasonable impact on the overall outcome. In other words, irrespective of how ‘highly’ anointed a person claims to be, refusing to practice would probably result in a chaotic music ministration. Furthermore, Oragwu³⁶²

³⁵⁸ 19 February 2016. Organ Room, MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

³⁵⁹ Pastor Pius Oragwu. In a personal communication – 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

³⁶⁰ 15 January 2016 in Lagos.

³⁶¹ 26 February 2016. Mountaintop International Music School, Lagos.

³⁶² 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

identified anxiety and sin as probable hindrances to the moving of the spirit of God during what should be an anointed ministration by a music minister. He even suggested that it is possible for a music minister to sing or play under the anointing of the devil, so church leaders need to be spiritually alert to discern between ‘positive and negative anointing’.

Pastor Akinselure told me rather pointedly that both musical gift (skills) and God’s anointing are required for a successful music ministry, suggesting that the gift without anointing will be spiritually unproductive and could even lead to pride, identified as the cause of the ‘fall’ of most music ministers. While practice and developmental programmes could be said to improve the musical gift of an individual, Adedeji (2015) suggests that persistent prayer to God is needed for an increase in the measure of anointing (p. 15). In the following paragraphs, I will assess a similar discourse between performance and ministration, revealing how these two terms are used to weigh music presentations by Yorùbá Pentecostal church music ministers.

6.2. Performance versus Ministration

Although scholars such as McGann (2004) and Titon (1988) employ the term ‘performance’ to describe musical activities within a church setting, the suitability of this term is often questioned by Yorùbá Pentecostals. They prefer to use the term ‘ministration’, and this is evident in their use of phrases such as ‘music ministration’ and ‘choir ministration’. This preference explains why I have (wherever possible) avoided the use of the word ‘performance’ to describe musical activities in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. In separate interviews, Pastor Oloyede and Oragwu revealed that when used in Yorùbá Pentecostal church setting, ‘performance’ is perceived as implying entertainment music or a show off of musical skill devoid of any spiritual impact or anointing.

In a bid to establish a distinction between both terms, Oragwu remarked:

In church, you find some music ministers who will come and excite people, make a lot of noise, carry the crowd along – you see the crowd responding with excitement, but there are others who when they begin to sing, you feel things going over you, you feel spiritually moved, you find yourself broken down and yearning for the presence of God, you find yourself needing a change to be more serious with God. In fact, you find yourself praying even before they finish singing – that is called ministration – and that is what it should be. (Pius Oragwu, personal communication³⁶³).

This submission by Oragwu illustrates what is considered as the experiential feeling during church music ‘performance’ and ‘ministration’. It shows that both types of renditions are permitted during services, although one (ministration) appears to be sought after more than the other. During our conversation³⁶⁴, Esther Ayomide seemed to have reinforced Oragwu’s point. Citing the example of Tim Godfrey and Nathaniel Bassey, she argued that although both gospel artistes are reputed music ministers, most renditions by the former could be considered as ‘performance’ since they appear to be aimed at exciting the congregation; in contrast, the latter is widely recognised to lead congregants to spiritually connect with the Holy Spirit. Although Esther explained that music ministers such as Tim Godfrey who lean towards ‘performance’-type renditions are not necessarily less spiritual, notwithstanding; in common with Oragwu, she asserted that ‘the Christian church requires more spirit filled music that would lead to spiritual encounter’. To my mind, the fact that both types of rendition are allowed during Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings suggests that both are indispensable.

For Pastor Akinselure, a veteran church musician at MFM, the balance between musical ‘performance’ or ‘ministration’ in a church meeting is determined by the type of service: she explained that while the list of musical items for a revival meeting would probably consist of

³⁶³ 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

³⁶⁴ 15 January 2016, Lagos.

items believed to have spiritual and ministerial value, the list for a church concert would normally comprise fast tempo and catchy items, mostly to ‘show case the musicians’ gift to the glory of God’. The loud cheers and clapping that follow these ‘performance’-type presentations suggests acceptance by the congregation. More so, the church leadership continually approves these renditions, so long as their texts are religious. One could then infer that the issue seems to be with the use of the term ‘performance’ to describe renditions, and not the music itself.

According to Jones (2006), church music becomes a mere performance when ‘it is objectified as “an event”, when it turns into something to watch, a spectacle’ (p. 10). This suggests that in a ‘performance’ musical presentation, the congregation takes on the role of an observer rather than being actively involved in the music-making which positions them for spiritual experiences. The intention here is not to argue that church music must directly involve the congregation before it can be perceived as ministration; rather, the point is that since Pentecostals believe that every activity, including music, within the church is meant to have a spiritual impact on congregants (McGann 2004, p. 146), one then wonders if the congregation feels any spiritual connection by watching a spectacular music performance.

The need for an encounter is often emphasised in Yorùbá Pentecostal services. Notably, scholars such as Albrecht (1999) revealed that Pentecostals generally believe their main purpose for attending church is to have an encounter with God (p. 142). This belief is visibly projected in the services I observed at the MFM church. For example, pastors often say phrases such as ‘you must not go back home the same way you came, you must have an encounter with God’. This experience of encountering God is often symbolised as a felt presence of the divine which is believed to be synonymous with ministrations, and not performance. Following this line of thought, Pastor Oloyede cited the example of two soloists who were invited to sing a song titled *The Lord is my shepherd* at a Christian convention. According to him, ‘one came to

sing in the morning and everyone applauded him, the other came later in the day to sing the same song after which people started to weep³⁶⁵. When asked about the difference between the two singers, Oloyede asserted that despite singing the same song to the same audience, different results were achieved because the second singer was anointed and could minister to the audience, convincing them of their sins.

In line with Oloyede and Bearden (1980) who suggest that good church music is that music which produces the greatest spiritual results, many Yorùbá Pentecostals believe that a musical ministration would win souls for Christ, edify both congregants and the music minister, reveal a genuine worship of God, and contribute to the spiritual development of the church (p. 8). More so, from my interactions with Pentecostals during fieldwork, I understand that a church singer or instrumentalist who is more concerned with congregational affirmation, stardom, stage presence, virtuosity and remuneration³⁶⁶ than the main task of ministering to the souls of the congregation, is a performer and not a music minister. Jones (2006) refers to this category of people as ‘inauthentic worshippers’.

In an interview, Olaleye Akinlabi³⁶⁷ rightly suggested that the dichotomy between ‘performance’ and ‘ministration’ appears to have been carefully constructed by Yorùbá Pentecostals in a similar manner to the concepts of good and evil, right and wrong. For example, the phrase ‘we are not performing, we are ministering’ is common among Yorùbá Pentecostal groups, and Akinlabi believes such statements are often made to ensure Pentecostal

³⁶⁵ 6 May 2016. Organ Room, MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

³⁶⁶ The issue of remuneration and virtuosity between church musicians and church leadership is a contentious one in most Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. Church musicians often claim that the church leadership expect them to commit themselves without sufficient financial support or guarantee; on the other hand, church authorities assert that the service being rendered by church musicians is unto God and that therefore musicians should be content with the stipend offered by the church and be rest assured that God will reward them for their service. A music minister speaking on condition of anonymity told me that ‘most of these churches want good music but are unwilling to pay, and when you complain they will say you are not a spirit filled music minister’.

³⁶⁷ In an interview. 11 March 2016, Lagos.

Christianity is not perceived as unspiritual. Although the preference of the term ‘ministration’ to ‘performance’ would probably remain unchanged among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, I argue that it is possible for a church music presentation to have both ‘performance’ and ‘ministration’ elements. For example, the audition for music ministers³⁶⁸ to ascertain whether their presentation meets certain artistic standards before they are allowed to feature in a service is evidence that non-spiritual considerations are involved in the preparation for ministrations. Further to this, I suggest that the rendition of compositions such as the *Hallelujah Chorus*, is a good example to demonstrate the possibility of a church music presentation having both ‘performance’ and ‘ministration’ attributes. This is especially so because the famous choral music piece requires a choir with a certain level of proficiency to be performed, even as the sacred texts and emotive sequential motifs culminate into a heightened sense of adoration as seen in the latter part of the music, ‘*King of Kings, Forever and ever...*’.

The foregoing discussion on key term pairings ‘gift/anointing’ and ‘performance/ministration’ has not only explored the participants perspectives, it has also revealed the dynamics involved in the evolution of the sacred presence in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. For example, as discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, participants at Pentecostal gatherings have expectations from services (see Figure 6.1), and based on my findings, having an encounter with God is arguably the main one that is visibly projected during services. In other words, there is the expectation that every element of the service, including music must lead the spiritual self to have a sacred experience. In this respect, music ministers are expected to maintain certain spiritual standards and adhere to certain codes of conduct because it is believed that these will ensure that they (music ministers) are well positioned to invite and generate the sacred presence through music³⁶⁹. This process is described as ‘the rejection of certain forms of materiality’ in

³⁶⁸ This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

³⁶⁹ See Chapter Seven for more on this subject.

Figure 6.1. For example, at conservative Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as MFM and DLBC, the wearing of jewellery, make-up, and hair attachments by music ministers (and clergymen) is believed to represent forms of materiality which contaminate the spiritual experience. Apart from these objects, the adoption of music genres and dance movements from popular music culture are also perceived as elements of materiality and, as such, they are often discouraged.

My informants during fieldwork claimed that while a gifted music minister might embrace so-called worldly practices, an anointed music minister will most likely focus on leading congregants to having a spiritual encounter. In other words, it is believed that rejecting these so-called worldly practices prepares a music minister to become anointed (see Figure 6.1).

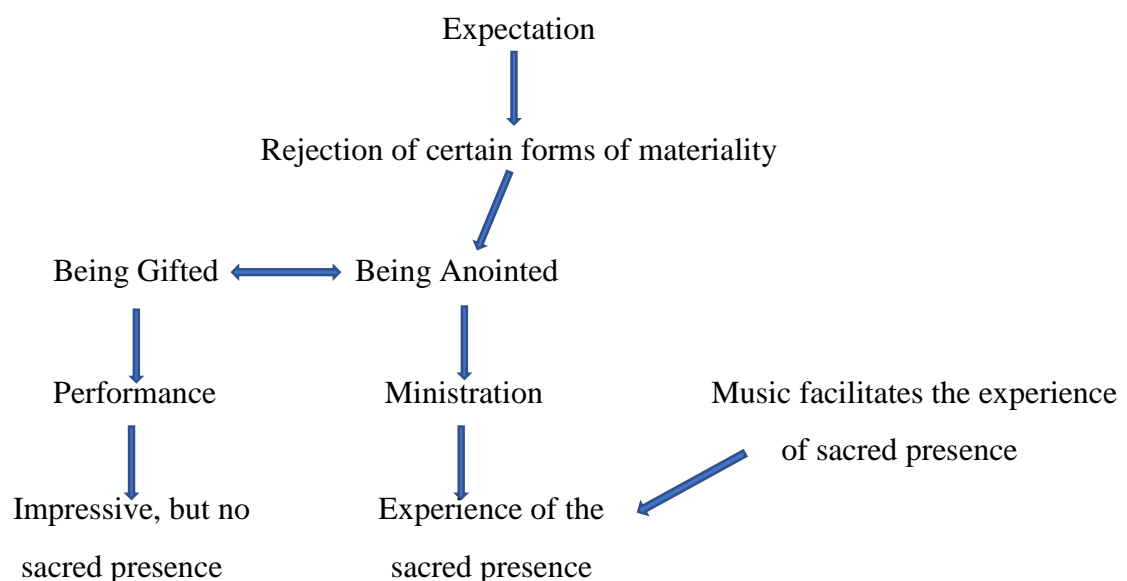


Figure 6.1. Chart: Towards understanding the dynamics of gift/anointing, performance/ministration, and experiencing the sacred presence at Yorùbá Pentecostal church services in the context of a music minister.

The chart in Figure 6.1 draws a connection between ‘anointing and ministration’ and ‘gift and performance’. As can be seen, being gifted alone will produce a ‘performance’ which as

mentioned earlier is often interpreted along the lines of being impressive but with no sacred presence. On the other hand, being anointed (even when the individual lacks adequate musical skills/gift) is widely believed to generate a ministration which then leads to the experience of the sacred presence. As indicated on Figure 6.1, music facilitates the experience of this sacred presence. The arrow pointing in two directions (between Being Gifted and Being Anointed) represents the claim that it is possible for a music minister to be gifted and anointed at the same time.

6.3. Music Compositions and Composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal Music

As mentioned in Chapter Five, the native air tradition has been preserved by the effort of composers with a Yorùbá Pentecostal church background. This section will focus in particular on the works of Daniel Olukoya and Oluwatosin Olaniran whose works feature prominently in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. I will draw on my ethnographic findings to discuss the musical background and influence, pre-compositional considerations, doctrinal sentiments and interpersonal dynamics that underlie the creativity of these composers. However, as deemed well-suited to this discourse, this section will begin with an exposition on Babalola, as ‘the unknown composer’. It is important to mention that the claim that Babalola is a music composer could be a presupposition, especially given the nature of evidence. Nonetheless, considering his revered place among Yorùbá Pentecostals, the following section will discuss some of the songs that have been attributed to him.

6.3.1. J. A. Babalola: The Unknown Composer

In Chapter Two, Joseph Ayodele Babalola was introduced as the acclaimed father of Nigerian Pentecostalism. Although most present-day Christians recognise him as one of the major characters of the revivals in south-west Nigeria during the 1930s, they do not regard him to have been a music composer. During my fieldwork I posed the question ‘was Joseph Babalola a music composer?’ to almost every Christian I met and none of them gave an affirmative response. Prior to my departure to south-west Nigeria for fieldwork, I exchanged emails with Moses Oludele Idowu on the possibility of conducting an interview with him since he had written extensively on the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. I was particularly interested in having a chat with Idowu because of his claim that Babalola was ‘a great composer and singer’³⁷⁰. When we met in Lagos, Nigeria, Idowu asserted that Babalola wrote over ninety songs and that although the texts have been preserved, there has been no academic assessment of the songs. He was however only in possession of texts for twelve of those songs. In search for the other compositions that might not even exist, I visited the Christ Apostolic Church Secretariat in Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria.



Figure 6.2. Christ Apostolic Church Missionary Headquarters and National Secretariat.

³⁷⁰ May 9, 2016. These claims are documented in his study, Idowu, 2012a, p. 39.

Surprisingly, the long-term serving music director at this site, Pastor Olakunle was unaware of the songs supposedly composed by Babalola. Determined in my quest to locate the other song texts, if at all they existed, a few weeks later, I visited the sacred white house prayer site in *Efòn Alààyè*, Ekiti State (discussed in Chapter One; see Figure 1.4). My visit to the site was primarily to investigate Babalola's life and ministry since he reportedly considered the town as his ministerial home. Besides, he was buried there. This visit to *Efòn Alààyè* also presented me with the opportunity to ask questions from those who could possibly know about the texts of the songs that have been attributed to Babalola. While on the site, I purchased some books including Oluwamakin's (2004) publication, *Àwọn Àsọtélé àti Àwọn Orin Èmí Láti Ènu Eniyan Qlọrun Náà Apostle Joseph Ayo Babalola*, (The prophecies and spiritual songs of Apostle Joseph Ayo Babalola) which claims to contain the texts for ninety-eight compositions attributed to Babalola. I later spoke to the author, Pastor Dayo Oluwamakin, an elderly Pentecostal preacher who had worked with some of the early pioneers of the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement and he remarked that the songs in the book had been spontaneously composed and sung at the revival grounds. I wondered: Did Babalola really create these songs himself on-the-spot during revival meetings exactly as they appeared in the book? If so, how had they not been forgotten on the spot also, making way for the next extemporised creations? Or had the songs, in fact, been put together afterwards by another individual or individuals, who perhaps based the contents on material that Babalola had said or sung (or was reputed to have said or sung) at the revivals, attributing the product to him possibly out of reverence and humility? In truth, it is impossible to tell given the paucity of detailed background information regarding the text and music's journey from creation to publication. However, the latter interpretation seems distinctly possible as it is common for historical fact to become altered and semi-mythologised over long periods of time, especially in relation to enormously

influential religious figures when detailed written sources from the period are lacking, various chains of transmission are involved, and the memory is highly fallible.

In a bid to better understand if these songs were improvised into existence or systematically composed, I decided to examine the song texts in further detail. In other words, do the song texts present any insight into how they were composed?



Example 6.1. *Eyìn ín lógo yin baba*.

Unfortunately, analysis of the song texts does not (and possibly cannot) shed light on how the works were composed – whether it was quickly at the time of the revivals exclusively by Babalola or subsequently by Babalola with varying degrees of input from others. For example, songs like *Eyìn ín lógo yin baba* (Example 6.1) do not demystify the matter, although one can certainly make inferences from examining the text about how the song would have been employed long ago; with its praise-like text meaning ‘give glory to the father for He opened the eyes of the blind and raised the dead’ and the drum-like rhythms, the song can clearly be categorised as a danceable thanksgiving song.

During an interview³⁷¹ with Olukoya, I asked if he could mention some Yorùbá Pentecostal songs that had developed from the *aladura* movement. He responded with the words, ‘Were you in the service yesterday? I sang a few of such songs before the sermon’. This response by Olukoya suggests that pre-sermon singing is often pre-meditated, and Babalola possibly

³⁷¹ 13 May 2016.

engaged in the same process himself. After all, Olukoya has severally cited Babalola as his mentor, even as he often re-enacts some of Babalola's procedures including the water-based services discussed in Chapter Two. Accordingly, I argue that Babalola probably almost always decided on which songs to sing before he mounted the pulpit to minister. However, this is not denying the possibility of instances where his singing could have been spontaneously inspired by the Holy Spirit as is often reported among Pentecostals.

While Oluwamakin (2004) and Idowu (2012b) have made efforts to compile and preserve the texts of the songs alleged by them and their informants to have been by Babalola, the rhythms and melodies of these songs were not found to be written down in any source dating before recent times but rather have been transmitted orally. Also, one cannot be sure that the melodies sung today are the same as those sung long ago in the past or that they were created by Babalola as discussed earlier. It is possible that these was the case but then the opposite is also plausible as the songs could have been introduced later. My work involved making audio recordings of performances of these songs and, subsequently, transcriptions in staff notation. In this manner I have collected melodies and texts for twenty-three of the ninety-eight songs. A few of these are discussed in this section; meanwhile, other examples have already been discussed previously in Chapter Three (Examples 3.8, 3.12 and 3.27). My collection and transcription of this under-researched repertoire – said by some key authority figures to be attributable to Babalola himself – has constituted a significant contribution of my work to Yorùbá Pentecostal church music.

♩ = 96

Clap rhythm

A gbo o Ba - ba_____ A gbo o Ba - ba_____

5

Clap rhythm

Bi a ba gba-du - ra so ke A gbo o Ba - ba_____

Example 6.2. *Á gbó o Baba.*

The song *Á gbó o Baba* (‘Our father will hear us if we pray out loud’), is based on the pentatonic scale and has an interesting rhythm similar to the pattern of Yorùbá drum as can be seen in Example 6.2. It was sung to me by Idowu during an interview³⁷². Its reference to loud prayers points directly towards the loud and aggressive prayer style of present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches; it seems likely that the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement perceived loud prayers as a pre-requisite to be heard by God, thereby leading to answered prayers. Here lies one of the major differences between Pentecostal and orthodox churches in Nigeria till date: while Pentecostals argue that both aggressive and calm prayers are appropriate, traditional mission churches believe prayer should almost always be solemn.

As mentioned in previous chapters, prayer has always been a primary element of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity; tellingly, the adherents were originally known as the *aladura* (that is, praying people). This perhaps explains why most of the songs attributed to Babalola are centred on the theme of prayer. *Ejé ká fà’dùrà ka* (‘Let us use prayer to reap the grace that God has

³⁷² 9 May 2016.

sent unto us', Example 6.3) highlights the importance and usefulness of prayers in a Yorùbá Pentecostal gathering.



Example 6.3. *Ejé ká fà'dùrà ka.*

Oluwamakin told me that the song was often sung when revivalists believed they felt a massive presence of the divine during a service. Hence, they urge congregants to pray fervently so they can attract divine attention and then instantly reap the benefits of their prayers while the divine presence is being felt.

Pè é pè é Jèsù o ('Call him, call him, call him Jesus', Example 6.4) is another song that focuses on prayer.



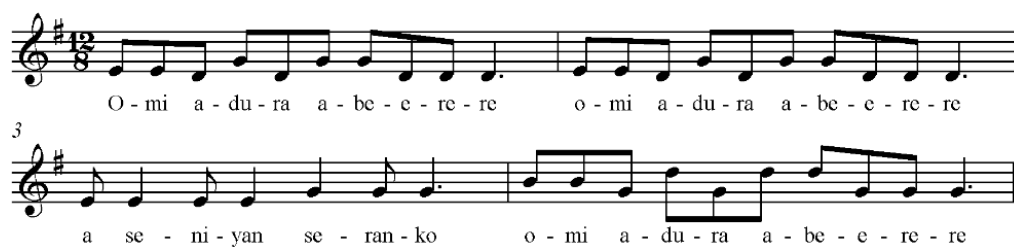
Example 6.4. *Pè é pè é Jèsù o.*

To my mind, the three-fold *pè é* ('call him') in this song is significant, as it is similar to the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement pre-prayer ritual of a three-fold '*ni oruko Jesu*'³⁷³ (meaning, 'in the name of Jesus') before beginning to pray: this tradition has since been

³⁷³ Professor Christopher Oshun. 15 March 2016. Lagos State University Staff Quarters.

preserved and can be seen in Christ Apostolic church (CAC) services. The three-fold *pè é* could also be a means to depict biblical trinity as practised by Pentecostals.

As discussed in Chapter Two, exponents of Yorùbá Pentecostalism, including Babalola, believed in ‘water cure’; congregants are often asked to bring a bottle of water to revival grounds and, after prayers have been said, it is believed that the water possesses supernatural powers. As narrated to Idowu during an interview with Babalola’s sister, Idowu told me the story of a Yorùbá king who attended Babalola’s revival. The monarch reportedly refused to denounce his involvement in traditional deity worship and sorcery but drank the revival water that had been prayed on; this, unfortunately, led to his demise. Pentecostals such as Idowu, Adedeji and Oluwamakin claim there are also other instances where the prayer water troubled those involved in sorcery. According to Oluwamakin³⁷⁴, Babalola composed the song *Omi àdùrà á bé è rè rè* (‘The prayer water would trouble evil doers and sorcerers’, Example 6.5) after situations such as the one described earlier, where bewitched individuals attended the revivals to ‘test the power of God’.



Example 6.5. *Omi àdùrà á bé è rè rè*.

Omi àdùrà á bé è rè rè was reportedly sung ‘to warn witches or wizards not to drink the water’³⁷⁵. This song and the story surrounding it again highlights prayer water and water cure as a tradition that developed from the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. Notably, water cure

³⁷⁴ In a telephone interview. 28 March 2017.

³⁷⁵ Oluwamakin. 28 March 2017.

has since become standard practice in present-day Pentecostal churches such as the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM)³⁷⁶ where the manna water and water of fire programmes are held (see Chapter Two).



Example 6.6. *Kí ló n dún*

Ki lo n dun (Example 6.6) is another composition alleged to be by Babalola. The text in the first phrase *Kí ló n dún owó lo n dún* translates as ‘what sound is that? It is the sound of thunderous handclapping’. This suggests that vigorous handclapping has been a prominent practice in Yorùbá Pentecostalism since the *aladura* movement and remained a conspicuous feature today also. The text in the second phrase (*ki lo n sa, iku lo n sa*) asserts that death runs away from Pentecostals and their gatherings, while the text in the last phrase (*igbala n ku bi ojo* meaning ‘salvation trickles down like rain’) focuses on redemption. Oluwamakin asserted that when sung at revivals, the song was accompanied by the bodily action of intense handclapping to confront the devil which many Yorùbá Pentecostals believe is symbolised by death, and it highlights the alleged high number of souls that are saved at Pentecostal gatherings.

³⁷⁶ See Chapter One.

6.3.2. D. K. Olukoya

D. K. Olukoya (1957 -) is the founder of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM), and a music composer. The preacher-cum-composer has a first-class honours bachelor's degree in Microbiology from the University of Lagos, and a PhD in Molecular Genetics from the University of Reading, United Kingdom (Aigbadumah, 2011, p. 82). He first joined a church choir in 1974 at Christ Apostolic Church, 26A Adekunle Street, Lagos³⁷⁷ but his musical background can be traced to his primary school days. According to him:

My music life actually started in my former village primary school [that is, St John's Christ Apostolic Church primary school in Àkúré] ... Then, I went to St Jude's primary School, it was the largest primary school in Nigeria in those days because we had primary 1a, 1b, 1c...up till 1v. Once in a year, they divide the whole school into four, they ask some to sing treble, another group – alto, another group to sing tenor, and another – bass. After they have taught us all what to sing, they now combine all of us into a large auditorium, that kind of music we used to produce, I have never heard it before in my life. Then, at the Methodist Boys High School... we also had a choir that sings all kinds of music. [In fact,] our music teacher taught us a definition of music, which I will never forget, he said. 'Music is the language of the soul and the outlet of our feelings' ... Then, I joined a church, a Pentecostal church, and in that church, we sing [revival] songs with messages, not the kind of songs Christian churches sing nowadays³⁷⁸.

When I interviewed him³⁷⁹, Olukoya mentioned that his musical involvement in school had exposed him to Yorùbá folksongs, Christian hymns and simple arrangements of negro spirituals. He mentioned that this previous choral music participation had prepared him for his first role as choir master at Christ Apostolic Church located at 36A Oloto Street, Oyingbo, Lagos. However, negro spirituals seem to have caught his attention more than the other music types. In a broadcast available via the MFM WebTV³⁸⁰, Olukoya mentioned that he enjoys

³⁷⁷ During an interview. 13 May 2016.

³⁷⁸ See Appendix D (Playlist), Video 14.

³⁷⁹ 13 May 2016.

³⁸⁰ The repeat broadcast of MFM 2012 Acappella competition. The star price of ₦1,000,000 was contested for between several groups. Olukoya and his wife were special guests. The event was accessed via the MFM WebTV (<http://webtv.mountainoffire.org/>). Accessed 27 September 2016.

collecting negro spirituals of which he claimed to have the largest collection in Africa. In his words, ‘my collection starts from 1904 to present-day; from the very popular Fisk Jubilee Singers³⁸¹ [see Figure 6.3] of those days...I consider their music as serious music and not the lazy kind of music where the instrument and the noise covers up everything’.



Figure 6.3. The Fisk Jubilee Singers³⁸².

When asked about his favourite composers, Olukoya responded, ‘in the Western scene, it is Handel because of his lyrics and harmony. In Nigeria, there are three names competing in my brain but I will go for Pa Oyesanya’³⁸³. Notably, Caleb Oyesanya attended the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) where Olukoya served as a choirboy. Popularly known as ‘Bàbá Mímó’, Oyesanya (1932-2012) was instrumental to the development of Yorùbá Gospel Music and ‘composed over one hundred songs which are sung by choirs all over Christendom today’ (Christ Apostolic Church, 2012, p. 18). According to Olukoya:

³⁸¹ The group consisted of young black singers. Alongside emerging groups of the 1920s, they brought the world’s attention to choral renditions of Negro spirituals, thereby in the process, establishing what is today considered as the traditional settings of spirituals (Hogan, 2003, p. 7).

³⁸² Source: <http://www.fisk.edu/about/history>. Accessed 15 November 2017.

³⁸³ The term ‘Pa’ is used in Nigeria (except in the North) to refer to a respectable elderly man. He revealed the other composers as Pope Dopemu and Ayo Oluranti.

Pa Oyesanya was an institution on his own... He carved a niche for himself in the world of indigenous [Yorùbá] Christian music. The spiritual content, originality, simplicity and melody of his compositions are unparalleled in the annals of Yorùbá [gospel] choral music (Christ Apostolic Church, 2012, p. 33).

Although Olukoya identified Oyesanya as his favourite indigenous composer and one who influenced him musically, my inability to access Oyesanya's compositional works, due to the issue of inadequate documentation common with most early twentieth century Yorùbá Pentecostal church compositions means that I am unable to verify the acclaimed influence and similarities between the works of these two composers. The above-referenced qualities of spiritual content and simplicity of melodic lines, equally evident in Olukoya's compositions is the only available evidence.

The inadequate documentation of compositions by church musicians is a major challenge in present-times and this appears to be an extension of the overarching challenge with music publishing in the country. Only a few music publishing companies remain, and their services often attract what many consider to be high fees: as a consequence of this, most composers now print their music from music transcription software such as Finale and Sibelius and then pass it on by hand to choirs who perform such music. As head of the MFM church, Olukoya's composition are regularly performed by his church choirs at services; these services which are broadcast live to local and international audience seem to present him with the opportunity of having his works reach a wider audience. Nonetheless, one of the few existing music publishing companies in Lagos, Refunda Music Company Limited, has in the past published some of Olukoya's compositions under the titles *Solos that lift the spirit* and *D.K.O's Choral library* (see Figure 6.4 below).

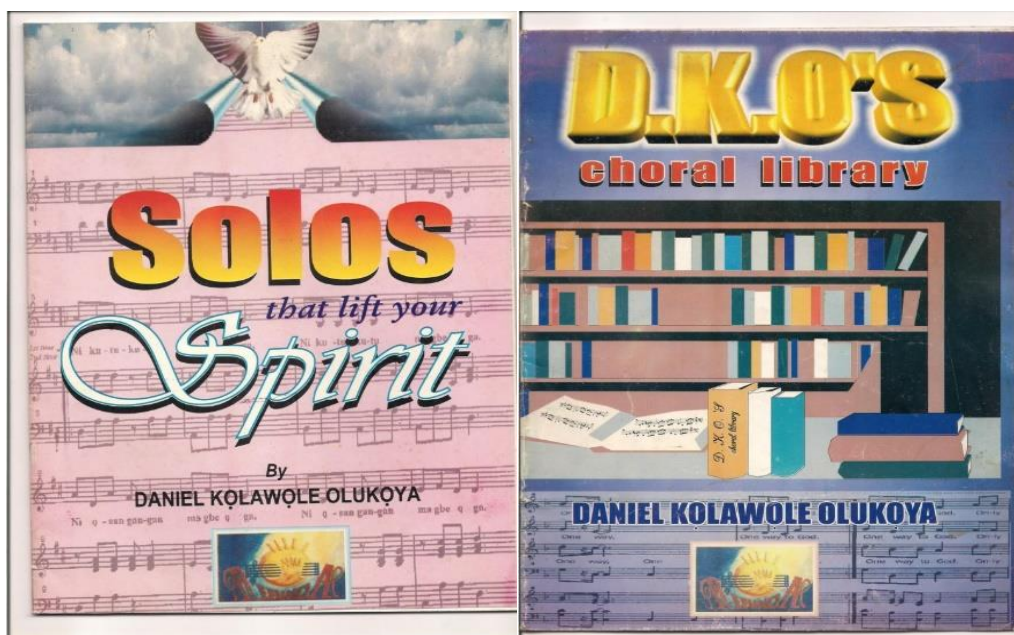


Figure 6.4. Solos that lift your Spirit and D.K.O's Choral library by D.K. Olukoya.

In a personal communication, Olukoya revealed how he had received proposals for the compilation of his works to become available online. This kind of development appears to be a positive one as it could to some extent help address the issue of inaccessibility to some of these music compositions.

Olukoya claims to have written over eighty works of which he says *Nípa èso won* (see Example 6.7) was the first in 1978 and *Òkè ñlá* (Example 6.8) is his favourite. The preacher-cum-composer however attributes his compositional inspiration to the Holy Spirit.

Solo

Ni - pa e - so won Ni - pa e - so won o

SOPRANO
ALTO

E - so, E - so, E - so, E - so, E - so, E - so,

TENOR
BASS

5

Ni - pa e - so won o l'e-yin o fi mo won o, A - ni o

E - so, E - so, E - so, E - so l'e-yin o fi mo won o.

Example 6.7. Chorus section of *Nípa èso won*³⁸⁴.

Nípa èso won ('By their fruits you shall know them') could be described as a through-composed verse song with a chorus section (repeated after each verse). The melodic line of the chorus section (Example 6.7) is written for a solo voice, while the SATB parts serve as vocal accompaniment, thereby making the texture of the music heavier at this point than at any other time in the music. In spite of this, as common with similar choral music compositions, during performance, prominence is expected to be given to the solo part, which is the melody, to ensure it is not overshadowed by the vocal accompaniment. Although normally unaccented in Yorùbá language, here the word *eso* is constructed in a manner that gives a syncopated effect: possibly, Olukoya was influenced by the syncopated rhythms of his favourite music type, negro spirituals.

³⁸⁴ Reproduced with permission from D.K. Olukoya. See Appendix A11 for full score.

The composer, through the song, expresses a theology of living an exemplary Christian lifestyle. Drawing from the narrative in Matthew Chapter 7, Verses 15-20 from which the song derives its theme, the composer relates Christians to trees, arguing that whichever tree is unable to bring forth good fruits would be cut down by God. The fourth solo verse specifically admonishes slanderers, liars, covetous fellows, alcoholics, fornicators and the likes to turn from their ways and embrace the salvation message of Jesus Christ to enter the kingdom of heaven. In all, salvation through genuine repentance – which Pentecostals consider as the most important rite of passage, because they believe it offers them eternal life, even after death – is at the centre of *Nípa èso won*.

On the other hand, *Òkè ñlá* (Example 6.8), composed in 2004, is centred on spiritual authority to address the ‘mountain’, used in this context to represent spiritual problems or any form of bondage. The composer told me how the song theme developed from the biblical account of Jesus and His disciples in Mark 11:23 where Jesus said, ‘Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith’ (NKJ). This perhaps explains why the first verse of the song when translated means ‘be removed and become a plain, thou great mountain, shame on you great mountain, be removed and become a plain in Jesus name’.



Example 6.8. Excerpt from *Òkè ñlá* ³⁸⁵.

³⁸⁵ Reproduced with permission from D.K. Olukoya. See Appendix A12 for full score.

Òkè ñlá could be described as having a strophic-responsorial form – a hybrid of call and response, and strophic forms. This form consists of repetition (by the choir) of each verse sung by the soloist. Notably too, the raised fourth and the flattened seventh commonly used by the composer suggests an adaptation from *highlife* music. According to Olukoya, *Òkè ñlá* was created during one of the most difficult periods of his life: ‘several challenges turned up at the time, both in ministry and in my personal life but to the glory of God, I overcame them all... Elijah, our son was born that year’. This narrative by Olukoya suggests that aside from the Holy Spirit, often claimed by most church composers as inspiration for their works, there are other instances where non-spiritual occurrences such as personal experiences could inspire a music composition.

The composer seems to consciously employ certain rhythms to accentuate the authoritative tone depicted by the texts. For example, the third beat as seen in Example 6.8 is displaced to ensure the word ‘*sidi*’ which literally means ‘be removed’ becomes accented. Considering Olukoya’s musical background and preference mentioned earlier, this song appears to also adapt elements from both negro spirituals and Western church hymns: the syncopated rhythms described earlier, the solo voice part common with negro spirituals, the versified structure of the song, especially the rhythmic unison of the SATB layer, otherwise known as block-style pattern synonymous with the hymn tradition are clear examples. From these assessed examples, one could argue that Olukoya’s compositional style heavily employs parallel harmonic movement, as well as the interplay between solo voices and the SATB chorus, thereby creating a blend between light and heavier vocal textures. A point also worth noting is that the melody of his songs is often simple, catchy and easy to remember.

6.3.3. Oluwatosin Olaniran

Oluwatosin Olaniran (1982 -) is widely known for his choral music arrangements of Yorùbá Pentecostal song melodies, especially those affiliated with the early Yorùbá Pentecostal movement. He attended Apelehin Primary School, Gbagada, Lagos; Gbagada Grammar School and later the University of Winneba in Ghana where he studied for a bachelor's degree in Music Education. Olaniran grew up attending the Christ Apostolic Church, Oke Anu [Mountain of Mercy], Oworoshoki, Lagos where he was first introduced to music, and had his first composition³⁸⁶ performed. However, his first contact with the rudiments of music, sight singing, and piano playing was at MFM, the church he joined in year 2000. According to him, music was a key factor in his decision to change church: having attended a choir concert at MFM, Olaniran was fascinated that the music presentation portrayed an intricate rhythmic feel despite the exclusion of drums. In his words, 'I attended one of their [MFM] concerts before becoming a member myself. There was a contemporary music that was done. I didn't realise there was no drums until the end, peeped at the stage and couldn't see a drum'³⁸⁷. He explained to me that his discovery at the concert made him develop a keen interest to inquire how the musicians achieved such rhythms without the use of drums; this curiosity eventually led to him joining the MFM church.

Prior to the experience at the MFM concert, Olaniran's church music experience had been limited to the local CAC assembly where he played the drums and sang in a choir reputed for singing almost exclusively danceable songs, from Yorùbá native airs to Pentecostal revival songs. This arguably exposed him to the ancient Yorùbá Pentecostal church melodies, some of which he has now arranged for the SATB chorus. These include *Agbára Jèsù wà síbè* (The

³⁸⁶ Titled 'I will worship you O Lord'.

³⁸⁷ During an interview. 19 February 2016. Organ Room, MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

power of Jesus is forever potent), *Omi Ìyè* (Living water), *Idemija* (My bondage is broken), *Were lo bami se* (He has done it for me easily) and other more recent Yorùbá Pentecostal church songs such as *Ayo ni mo fi bere* (I have started with joy) and *Odun lo sopin* (The year is coming to an end). In this section, I will discuss two of the arrangements mentioned above. Describing himself as a ‘selective composer’ and his music compositions as ‘functional music’, Olaniran explained how before composing or arranging any music, he would ask himself questions such as: ‘what is the purpose of this music? For whom is it composed? Is it needed?’. According to him, he would only begin to compose or arrange a music when sufficiently convinced by his self-provided answers. In other words, Olaniran is arguably not a spontaneous composer and that perhaps explains why his oeuvre is incomparable to other composers’, for example, Olukoya who has more compositions. Nonetheless, his choral arrangements of Yorùbá Pentecostal songs, as previously mentioned, and the prominent feature of his works by Yorùbá Pentecostal church choirs is the reason for his selection in this research.

About musical influences, Olaniran identified the *Messiah* by George Frederick Handel as his first encounter with polyphonic music and claimed his endearment for this kind of music texture is the reason why it features in sections of his works – for example, the ‘*ó ti dé*’ section in *Omi Ìyè*³⁸⁸. He further mentioned a certain Muiyiwa Akintola, a church musician from his childhood church (CAC), as another individual that influenced his music composition mind. However, Akintola’s compositions are inaccessible because they were ill-preserved. Despite these highlighted influences, Olaniran revealed that the ultimate desire for him is to ensure his works remain distinct and not sound like someone else’s. Presently at MFM, he heads the Groups and Solos Department; he serves as an Assistant Director of Music, assisting with music transcriptions, preparing and conducting the choir for mid-week services, organising part

³⁸⁸ See Appendix A13 for full score.

practices, facilitating training workshops, as well as working with the children choir. In addition to his engagements at MFM, he has been a primary and secondary school music teacher since 2004. Performing some of his arrangements, his students have won gold and silver medals at national competitions such as the annual Shell competition in Lagos.

Worror ♩ = 120

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Worror' with a tempo of 120 beats per minute. It is written in 12/8 time and features four vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: A-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be, a-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be, A-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be. (O wa si be) Je - su mi ko re bi - kan. The score is arranged in a through-composed form with occasional variation of the original melody and polyphonic movements between the upper and lower voices.

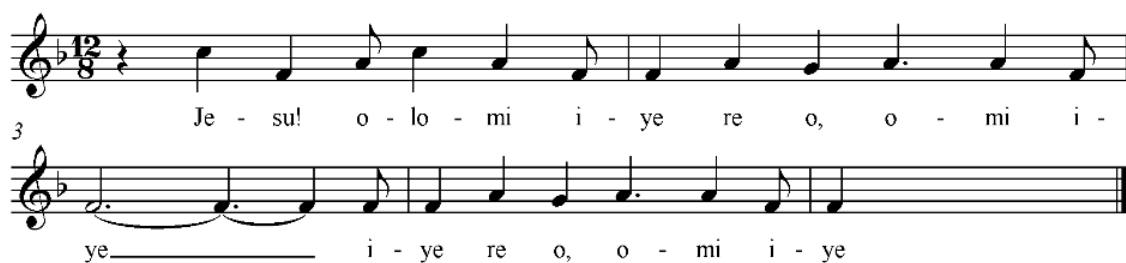
Example 6.9. Excerpt from *Agbára Jèsù wà síbè*³⁸⁹.

Agbára Jèsù wà síbè ('The power of Jesus is ever potent') was arranged in 2010. The song engages with the concept of 'power', one of the principal themes of Yorùbá Pentecostal theology discussed in Chapter Three. It expresses the idea that Jesus possesses a certain authority that is capable to deliver from oppression while making references to biblical episodes such as the account of the Israelites' release from Egypt and their crossing of the red sea. Olaniran claimed that the original melody of the song (that is, the soprano part of the excerpt in Example 6.9) is believed to have been sung by early Yorùbá Pentecostals at revivals and prayer meetings. In this arrangement, Olaniran constructed the song in a through-composed form with occasional variation of the original melody, as well as polyphonic movements between the upper voices and the lower voices (See Appendix A14). Notably, his interest in

³⁸⁹ Reproduced with permission from Oluwatosin Olaniran. See Appendix A14 for full score.

rhythms and background as a drummer seem to have informed his visibly rhythmic arrangement in the *worror* style. More so, the decision to give the main melodic line to the lower voices is probably a deliberate attempt at emphasising the power theme of the song while the upper voices respond with an independent, yet complimentary melody as can be seen on the score. The robust and assured declaration of the main phrase (*Agbára Jèsù wà síbè*) by the lower voices resonates with the ‘power’ theme of the song. The parallel harmonic movement of the voice layers is another point worth noting. As mentioned previously, this type of movement appears to have been adopted from the Western hymn singing tradition and is common in most Yorùbá Pentecostal church music compositions.

In another arrangement titled *Omi Ìyè*³⁹⁰ (2013 ‘Living water’), Olaniran again employed the through-composed form and rhythmic unison for the SATB layer. The use of a solo voice and the SATB singing at intervals to create a variation between light and heavy vocal textures is similar to his other works and is – I suggest – one of the features of his compositional style.



Example 6.10. *Omi Ìyè*.

The transcription in Example 6.10 was sung to me by Oshun³⁹¹ who claimed this was the original melody of *Omi Ìyè* sung at the early Pentecostal gatherings. Similarly, Idowu (2012b) and Oluwamakin (2004) attribute the text to Joseph Ayo Babalola. Notably, the melody in Example 6.10 still features in present-day Pentecostal services, especially those by the Christ

³⁹⁰ See Appendix A13 for full score.

³⁹¹ 15 March 2016, Lagos.

Apostolic Church, and the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries. According to Olaniran, the melody is one of the most popular songs preserved from the early Yorùbá Pentecostal revivals. Like Oshun, Adedeji, Ogundipe and others, Olaniran told me that the song is widely reported to have been sung before and after miracles of water cure with the text '*Jésù! Olómi iyè ré o*' (Jesus the giver of living water), although the text '*Babalola Olómi iyè ré o* (Babalola the water cure prophet) is sometimes used perhaps to reference the acclaimed pioneer of Pentecostal water cure in Yorùbáland.

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, the concepts of Gift, Anointing, Performance and Ministration within the context of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church were explored, as most of my respondents argued that any inquiry into Pentecostal church music should engage with these often-temperamental terms. Admittedly, the assessment of how Yorùbá Pentecostals perceive and use these key term pairings 'gift/anointing' and 'performance/ministration' is necessary to establish the meanings, limits and expressions intended by their use. I argue that my evaluation of this sometime blurry subject within Yorùbá Pentecostal church music promotes a fuller understanding of the perspectives fostered within Yorùbá Pentecostalism, particularly in relation to participants' understanding of these terms. The chapter also drew upon the discourse of participants (that is, Yorùbá Pentecostal church goers) on the significance of these terms and how each of them relate with the experience of the sacred presence.

In the latter part of this chapter, music compositions and arrangements by composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal church background were assessed to reveal how these works engage with Yorùbá Pentecostal beliefs, practices and history. The doctrinal sentiments, musical background and

influences of these composers were explored to assess and where possible discuss the motives behind their compositional decisions. The fact that the selected compositions assessed in this chapter reflect major Yorùbá Pentecostal church themes such as prayer, deliverance, fire, spiritual warfare and power suggests the significance of these themes (discussed earlier in Chapter Three) within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. The following chapter will explore how the issue of appropriateness is addressed within the music ministry of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, and the Yorùbá Pentecostal church at large.

CHAPTER SEVEN

‘We do all kinds of music except...’: Negotiating between ‘holy’ and ‘worldly’ music in a Yorùbá Pentecostal Church

7.0. Introduction

This chapter addresses issues relating to how Pentecostals negotiate between activities and thoughts deemed acceptable and non-acceptable, which are often classified as ‘holy’ and ‘worldly’ respectively. For example, during my fieldwork, I asked one of my informants to tell me about the styles of music that are permitted within the church. She replied, ‘we do all kinds of music except...’. This response is an example of how Yorùbá Pentecostals articulate their conception of a dichotomy between good and evil, holy and worldly, in addition to the key term pairings ‘gift/anointing’ and ‘performance/ministration’ discussed in Chapter Six. In the music ministry of Pentecostal churches, issues relating to the concepts of holiness and worldliness are considered very important, hence, they will be addressed in this chapter. I will begin with a broad exploration of the two terms as I believe this will help the reader understand the background from which they developed and how Pentecostals generally conceive them. The meeting point between popular music culture and that of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches will also be assessed because it is a topic that is frequently debated among Yorùbá Pentecostals. Thereafter, there will be a discussion on the common challenges reportedly encountered within the music ministry, and the control measures instituted by the church to maintain decorum. I will draw on interviews and participant-observation ethnography to discuss the dynamics that underlie these dichotomies in Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. In order to contextualise the responses of my informants, this chapter will draw on theological explanations and biblical references to further explain concepts that might otherwise be ambiguous.

7.1. 'Holiness' and 'Worldliness'

In Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, holiness is emphasised during services and on church websites³⁹² as a pre-requisite for having an eternal relationship with God. Citing Hebrews 12:14³⁹³, popular preacher Pastor E.A. Adeboye in one of his sermons³⁹⁴ explained that the concept of holy living is accentuated among Pentecostals because it is the key to eternal life. Similarly, Dr. D.K. Olukoya of MFM, in his book *Holiness unto the Lord*, described holiness as spiritual purity which is expected from believers (2006, p. 17). The emphasis placed on holiness by these preachers and Pentecostal churches in general leads to further exploration of the subject matter. In other words, asides from the reasons given above by Adeboye and Olukoya, one becomes inquisitive, probing further and asking the question, why is holiness perceived as a necessity among Pentecostals? In an attempt to answer the question, Pastor Samuel Oloyede³⁹⁵ cited 1 Thessalonians 4:7, 'For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness', arguing that holiness is an instruction to every Christian. He further explained with reference to Exodus 15:11, 'Who *is* like You, O Lord, among the gods? Who *is* like You, glorious in holiness, Fearful in praises, doing wonders? (NKJV)' that holiness is the key to experiencing the glory of God during Pentecostal gatherings. Figure 7.1 highlights some of the things that Yorùbá Pentecostal churches like MFM believe to constitute a display of unholy lifestyle. Among worshippers at MFM, it is generally believed that these kinds of things have the capacity to hinder or limit the manifestation of the glory of God which is often accompanied by the presence of the Holy Spirit.

³⁹² <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>. <http://rccg.org/who-we-are/our-beliefs/>. <https://dclm.org/about/what-we-believe/> (Accessed 18 April, 2018).

³⁹³ Pursue peace with all people, and holiness, without which no one will see the Lord (NKJV).

³⁹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjN8PyMoFgk> (11:50-13:25).

³⁹⁵ In a personal communication. 6 May 2016. Organ Room, MFM Headquarters, Lagos.



Figure 7.1. Banner showing prohibited ‘worldly materials’ at the MFM Prayer City campground.

I noticed the display of this banner during one of my many visits to the MFM Prayer City campground. With the caption ‘From Church to Hell Fire’, the notice enjoined congregants with these words, ‘Pls don’t join the many BELIEVERS that end up in HELL FIRE due to WORLDLINESS. ROM 12:1-2 counsels you to keep your BODY as a living sacrifice. GOD is interested in your heart as well as your physical BODY. 1 COR. 6:15-20 says your BODY is the Temple of GOD. And 1 COR. 3:16-17 warns that many BELIEVERS will be destroyed and go to HELL FIRE for defiling their BODIES THROUGH WORLDLY MATERIALS’. With biblical reference, the banner highlights hair attachments, make-up, incisions, jewellery, body piercing, tattoos and more as worldly items and practices capable of sending believers to hell fire.

Similarly, Figure 7.2, with the caption ‘War Against Worldliness’, highlights the things that are not allowed during MFM services.



Figure 7.2. Banner with the caption ‘War Against Worldliness’.

This banner reveals additional things that the MFM church considers as forms of worldliness, listing females wearing trousers instead of skirts, uncovered hair for women during services, wearing of short skirts or sleeveless clothes, nail painting and the use of lipstick. The banner claims that the use of these materials ‘dilutes the power of God’ during services, thereby making it difficult for miracles to occur. Interestingly, as it emerges from the examples at Figures 7.1 and 7.2, women and their practices seem to be the focus of concerns in the discourse on “worldliness”. Later in this chapter, I will discuss what Pentecostals think of the role of gender on this subject.

One of the most referenced scriptures during sermons on holiness is Romans 12:1-2, and many of my respondents concurred that the verse puts into context the reason why Pentecostals consciously draw a line to distinguish between what is considered holy and what is perceived as worldly:

I beseech you therefore, brethren by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service. And do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God (Romans 12:1-2).

Pastor Pius Oragwu³⁹⁶ explained to me in consonance with Oloyede that holiness is an instruction to believers and as such there is an expectation that they see themselves as vessels made specifically to offer sacrifices of service to God and should therefore not be contaminated by sin. He posited that the above scripture affirms the belief among conservative Pentecostal churches such as MFM that discussions of holiness concern both human thoughts and physical appearance. In other words, these conservative churches contend that the concept of holiness should not be limited to the inward spiritual self as often argued by liberal-minded Pentecostal churches. The conservative Pentecostals maintain that there is nothing wrong with a Pentecostal being well dressed, but such attire should be modest. Citing scriptures like II Corinthians 6:14-17³⁹⁷ and Matthew 5:14-16³⁹⁸, Pastor Akinselure³⁹⁹, a former Catholic but presently a conservative Pentecostal, strongly argued that there should be a distinct difference

³⁹⁶ In a personal communication. 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

³⁹⁷ Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you (NKJV).

³⁹⁸ You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden. Neither do people light a lamp and put it under a bowl. Instead they put it on its stand, and it gives light to everyone in the house. In the same way, let your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven.

³⁹⁹ Personal communication. February 26, 2016. Mountaintop International Music School, Lagos.

between the appearance of a believer and that of a non-believer, because physical appearance is equally important as the inner self.

As discussed in Chapter Four, when individuals become ‘born again’, they are considered ‘saved’ and free from the bondage of sin, and consequently, welcomed into a global community of believers. Water baptism and the filling of the Holy Spirit are two other processes that establish their new status as a ‘new creature’⁴⁰⁰. However, as pointed out to me by Oragwu⁴⁰¹, holiness as conceived by Christians does not mean being perfect and without blemish. Adedeji (2015, p. 87) puts it this way, ‘Should a Christian sin? No! But can a Christian Sin? Yes!’. During our conversation Adedeji explained that holiness does not mean being flawless; rather, it is a decision for a consecrated walk on the pathway of Christianity, with the resolve to do all it takes to maintain a healthy and growing relationship with God by committing not to wilfully sin.

Based on my observations, Yorùbá Pentecostals almost always see the need to define or identify themselves. As explained to me by Oragwu, they believe this consistent self-identification serves as a reminder of who they are, and what they are not permitted to do. For example, the phrase, ‘we are in the world, but not of the world’ came up severally during my discussions with Pentecostals on the subject of holiness and worldliness. It was interpreted to mean that although Pentecostals live in this present world, they are not citizens of the world, but heaven. Hence, while still sojourning on earth, they are expected to demonstrate holy living until they return to their heavenly home.

⁴⁰⁰ See 2 Corinthians 5:17 – ‘Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new’.

⁴⁰¹ In a personal communication. 27 February 2016. MFM House, Lagos.

It is important to point out that Yorùbá Pentecostals most often use songs to reinforce their belief in the concept of holiness. For example, they sing songs such as *I have decided to follow Jesus* to reaffirm their decision to abide by godly principles.

I have decided to follow Jesus (3 times)

No turning back, no turning back

The world behind me, the cross before me (3 times)

No turning back, no turning back

Though none go with me, still I will follow (3 times)

No turning back, no turning back

While singing this song, frequently during the altar call, congregants appear to express total resolution to follow Jesus, without looking back at worldly pleasures. Notwithstanding, as Oragwu explained to me, ‘the resolution to follow Jesus does not necessarily mean believers would be exempted from the troubles and trials of this world; rather, when challenges come, they have a friend in Jesus who is always ready to help them out’. Following this line of thought, Pastor Akinselure⁴⁰² cited Isaiah 43:2⁴⁰³ and asserted that believers who live a holy life would face challenges, but these would not overcome them because their lifestyle is godly, and as such, God would deliver them. She further referred to Revelation 18:4, ‘come out of her [the world], my people, so that you will not share in her sins, so that you will not receive of her plagues’, suggesting that worldly individuals will be punished, and that there is a promised

⁴⁰² In a personal communication. 26 February 2016.

⁴⁰³ When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; And through the rivers, they will not overflow you. When you walk through the fire; you shall not be burned; Neither shall the flame scorch you (Isaiah 43:2).

land prepared for those who are willing to adhere to a holy lifestyle, leaving behind all that is worldly.

One of the most popular hymns that engages the concept of holy lifestyle in Yorùbá Pentecostal services is titled *Called unto Holiness*. When sung, congregants are often seen to be in a sombre reflective mood, perhaps indicative of how serious they consider the subject matter to be.

Called unto holiness, church of our God
Purchase of Jesus, redeemed by His blood,
Called from the world and its idols to flee
Called from the bondage of sin to be free
CHORUS: Holiness unto the Lord is our watchword and song
Holiness unto the Lord as we're matching along
Sing it, shout it, loud and long
Holiness unto the Lord, now and forever

This song reinforces the earlier explanations by Oloyede and Oragwu that holiness is a calling, an instruction to every Pentecostal Christian. It also seems to promote the Yorùbá Pentecostal belief that the blood of Jesus has the capacity to cleanse and redeem people from any form of spiritual uncleanness. Notably too, the text identifies idol worship as a form of worldliness, even as it suggests that believers should publicly declare their stance on holiness.

Simply put, worldliness is regarded as the opposite of holiness, or better still, godliness. For example, Pentecostals view sexual promiscuity, consumption of alcohol and illicit drugs, gambling, immodest dressing, non-marital sex, secular music amongst others as 'worldly' engagements. Dr Olukoya cited 1 John 2:15-17: 'Love not the world, neither the things that are

in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever' (KJV). In this way, Olukova argued that the Bible explicitly condemns any form of worldliness, and that those who claim to be believers must ensure they avoid worldly engagements such as the ones mentioned earlier to prove their love for God.

Although conservative Pentecostal churches preach against the use of make-up, hair attachments, jewellery, wearing of trousers by women, and so on, some people still dress in this manner to their services. However, unlike regular church services, the MFM church prohibits the use of these materials at deliverance sessions. The church runs a weekly deliverance programme which attracts participants from within the church itself, other churches, as well as other religions. Here participants are requested to remove their jewellery, make-up, trousers (for women) and such before they can be allowed to participate. I understand this procedure had existed since inception for deliverance sessions, but it seems it will soon be extended to regular church services. Recently, the church issued a warning that women wearing short skirts, trousers, jewellery, and so on would not be allowed into its prayer camp ground, mentioning that it is a holy ground which needs to be kept as such for miracles to continually happen on the site.

From my several years of interaction with Pentecostals, I have witnessed discussions where members of churches that allow the use of the so-called 'worldly' materials label churches that do not permit them as being rigid and old fashioned. Clearly, there is some disagreement within the Nigerian Pentecostal scene regarding where the boundary between 'worldly' and 'godly' lies. This debate on the lack of uniformity among Yorùbá Pentecostal churches has been going on for a long time and is still very much the same at present.

7.2. The Question of Appropriateness

During my fieldwork, I observed that the question of appropriateness appears to be a key subject within the music ministry, and the entire Pentecostal church set-up. Similar to what I discussed above about the dichotomy ‘holiness/worldliness’, there is a difference in the way appropriateness is conceived among liberal and conservative minded Yorùbá Pentecostal churches. In this section, I will discuss how the MFM music ministry addresses this question in terms of their selection of music, the types of music that are permitted, and the regulations put in place for music ministers.

7.2.1. Fitting-ness

The concept of ‘fitting-ness’ as coined by Wolterstorff Nicholas in his article ‘Thinking about Church Music’ suggests that the character of any performed music should fit the liturgical action it serves – that is, it should fit the section of the service it is meant for (2005, pp. 13-14). The scholar further remarks that the question of fitting-ness should be asked before decisions are made on the type of music to be used in support of any part of the service (p. 14). Following this line of thought, I asked Brother Oluwatosin Olaniran, one of the MFM music ministry leaders, how music is selected for services. He stressed the importance of the choir or music group leader being prayerful, spirit filled and anointed⁴⁰⁴. In his view, when this is the case, the Holy Spirit will direct the leaders on which songs to select, and the selection will complement the service. Olaniran’s sentiments are shared by all my respondents, even as they also concurred that confluence will not always be achieved between music choice and the preacher’s sermon. According to them, what matters is whether the music is godly and if it leads people

⁴⁰⁴ The concept of anointing in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches has been addressed in Chapter Six.

to Christ. This response seems to lend credence to Jones' (2006) suggestion that music used within the church should 'deliver Christian doctrine, quote scriptures, or offer a message of challenge or encouragement to fellow believers while pointing all to Christ' (p. 43). On the other hand, some members of the congregation at the MFM international headquarters explained to me that it is important for the music to connect with the entire service. One of them, Sister Judith, told me that they use such confluence to assess the spirituality of the choir: in other words, she suggested that when the song relates to the sermon, then the selection has been made with a high level of spiritual consciousness – and that is believed to be a good thing.

The tradition of tagging programmes with special titles and themes among Pentecostal churches in Nigeria is another element that influences the decision of which music is selected for service. Examples of such titles are 'Prosperity Night, Enough is Enough, Attack the Attackers', the latter suggesting a spiritual warfare-themed service. This practice gives music directors insight into the theme of services, and songs are selected accordingly without necessarily having to consult with the pastor or pray for direction. Further to this, there are reported instances where church leaders give music to their choirs to learn so it can be ministered at a specific church programme. At other times, these church leaders suggest songs that they want to be ministered⁴⁰⁵ during some services. Obviously, when songs are handed out by the Senior Pastor towards a programme or service, it is extremely likely that such music would complement the sermon for the day. Perhaps this type of involvement explains why most of the Pentecostal church music heads I have encountered maintain that their Senior Pastor or General Overseer is the head of the music department. One of those who share this view is Princess Banke Ademola, the Music Director of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries

⁴⁰⁵ Many leaders have musical backgrounds. Popular Pentecostal preachers such as Dr D. K. Olukoya of MFM, Pastor E. A. Adeboye of RCCG, and Pastor W. F. Kumuyi of DLBC (Deeper Life Bible Church) are music enthusiasts, having been involved in church music since their youth.

at the time of my fieldwork⁴⁰⁶. In her words, ‘Daddy G.O. is the head of the choir and all music groups in this church; as the Director of Music, I am only representing his interest’⁴⁰⁷. This statement again reaffirms the narrative of most Yorùbá Pentecostal church musicians according to whom church leaders are immensely involved in the music ministry. During our chat⁴⁰⁸, Femi Adedeji, who is a professor of church music, a clergyman and a practicing musician, argued that it is impossible for the ministry of the prophet (that is, clergymen) and music to exist without each other, because they are meant to complement one another. Adedeji further explained that any serious-minded pastor would be involved in the running of the music ministry, as music is one of the engagements that brings down the presence of God during services, and, as such, it requires some level of monitoring – both physically and spiritually. However, any kind of pastoral involvement should not in any way hinder the operations of the music ministry. He asserted that the role of the pastor should be to provide spiritual guidance, support and monitoring to music ministers especially as it is very important for them (music ministers) to live holy lifestyles and be spiritually strong.

The series of auditions organised for individuals who intend to minister through music is another way the MFM church ensures musical ministrations fit into the service. As I was told, in addition to assessing fitting-ness, these auditions ascertain whether the musician is adequately prepared to minister to the best of their ability. Considering that it is impossible for everyone to exhibit the same level of musical proficiency, up-coming church musicians are occasionally given slots to minister at the Monday Bible study. As mentioned in Chapter Four, based on my observation, this is arguably the least attended service. The Wednesday Revival services, Sunday Worship Service and other special programmes such as the Power Must

⁴⁰⁶ She has since become Music Director Emeritus of MFM.

⁴⁰⁷ Personal communication, 3 March 2016.

⁴⁰⁸ 31 March 2016.

Change Hands (PMCH)⁴⁰⁹ mainly feature experienced musicians who go through a less rigorous audition process. The audition sessions also serve as an opportunity to reemphasise what is expected from the musicians in terms of dressing and the duration of their ministration. On service days, an internal memo containing the list of music ministrations for the service is submitted to the office of the church leadership for final confirmation and approval.

7.2.2. Popular Music and Dance Adaptation in Church?

As Christianity spread across the globe, Christian repertoires moved as well, adapting and changing in response to local circumstances and agencies (Dueck & Reily, 2016, p. 11). While some Christians argue that singing songs that borrow from the popular culture is necessary to attract young people into the church, others believe these types of songs should not be permitted within the Christian church because they sound ‘worldly’ rather than religious and worshipful (Ibid.). Most Yorùbá Pentecostals believe that not all types of music should be allowed in church, since the use of these supposedly unaccepted musics could lead to spiritual contamination⁴¹⁰ of the sacred space. However, there are those who permit the adoption of these popular music genres in the twenty first century Yorùbá Pentecostal church. Adedeji (2015) affirmed this debate on popular music adoption within the Yorùbá Pentecostal church when he explained that there are those who perceive the use of secular styles in church as profaning while others believe there is nothing wrong with such practice. The scholar however suggested that the latter has since become increasingly popular, especially among youths (p. 85). Noteworthy, this type of narrative is common in other parts of the world. For example, Smith (2016) discovered a similar belief among the African American Baptist church

⁴⁰⁹ PMCH is a monthly service held by MFM on the first Saturday of each month at their campground, the Prayer City.

⁴¹⁰ At other times, my respondents used ‘spiritual pollution’ in lieu of ‘spiritual contamination’.

musicians who argue that since church music can serve to facilitate the entry of the Holy Spirit into the church, so too can blues music (which they consider to be music of the devil) facilitate the entry of the devil into the lives of those who engage with it (p. 259).

The adaptation of popular music styles into Yorùbá Pentecostal church music can be traced to around the mid-twentieth century when the case of *highlife* was reported. Ever since then there has been a debate on whether it is right to do so or not. Although early Yorùbá Pentecostal churches were opposed to the adoption of secular practices, the movement embraced the popular music genre of *highlife*⁴¹¹ by creating what is referred to as ‘gospel highlife’⁴¹². This adoption is possibly related to the assertion made by Waterman (1990, pp. 27-54) that there is a strong connection between *highlife* and Yorùbá Christians, because the Yorùbá elites who supported *highlife* music during its creation were predominantly Christians. Similarly, Omojola (2012) perceives *highlife* as Christianity-affiliated (pp. 205 & 226). However, the theologian Christopher Oshun explained to me that the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement believed the adaptation of the popular music genre would serve a greater purpose, attracting new members into Yorùbá Pentecostal churches and catering for young Christians who were becoming drawn towards the increasingly popular *highlife* music genre. The Yorùbá Gospel Highlife Music (YGHM) genre was then developed in the 1960s and indicative of the success and continuity of the genre is the fact that many Yorùbá Pentecostal churches still feature this kind of music.

Although *highlife* remained relevant, its wide acceptance was challenged by genres like *Jùjú* from the 1970s onward. Hence, in later years, other supposedly church-friendly syncretic genres such as ‘juju-gospel’, ‘gospel-waka’, ‘gospel-fuji’ and ‘gospel-reggae’ emerged

⁴¹¹ Originating from West Africa, *highlife* features an extensive application of syncopated rhythms, a 4-beat meter, as well as a harmonic pattern often based on the Western tonic, subdominant and dominant chords.

⁴¹² Adedeji (2004, p. 239), argues that the term ‘gospel highlife’ was first used by Collins (1997) to describe one of the revolutions in Ghanaian church music; it portrays the adaptation of *highlife* music in the liturgies of Christian churches in Ghana.

(Adediji, 2015, p. 85). One of the arguments in favour of these syncretic genres is that they serve as a tool to preach the gospel to non-believers. For example, liberal Pentecostals claim that when converted (that is, recently become born again) popular music singers create these new genres, they often draw on some elements of their previous ('worldly') genre which possibly means that majority of their fans will continue to follow them, thereby becoming exposed to the gospel message (Adediji, 2008, p. 377). Ebenezer Obey and Sonny Okosun are two of the names often cited to support the foregoing stance. The former was a successful juju musician who, after conversion to Christianity, began to sing what he called gospel-juju; the latter was a popular reggae musician who on conversion began to sing gospel-reggae (ibid. p. 378). In other words, liberal Pentecostals perceive endeavours that utilise secular music elements in church music as acceptable if the lyrics remain godly. Conservative Pentecostals on the other hand argue that, even if some elements such as texts are adjusted to suit the church, the origin of these music styles is worldly and is therefore unacceptable. To them, any form of secular music in church is sponsored by Satan to lure Christians and thereby spiritually pollute the church (ibid. p. 388). This group of people believe there are other means to attract new members into the church. The MFM church used to be one of the few conservative Pentecostal churches when it comes to the adaptation of popular music genres into church music; however recent events suggest that the church has embraced a more open approach to the subject matter. On a visit to the MFM Headquarters Youth Church in 2012, for example, I witnessed the ministration of an invited group of young men known as Zion Dwellers Acappella Singers⁴¹³. They presented three songs: the first was a negro spiritual titled 'Dry Bones', and the second was a Southern African chorus. Even though these first two numbers were well-appreciated by the youthful congregation with thunderous applause accompanied with shouts of 'Yes oh', their

⁴¹³ One of the Acappella groups within the MFM Acappella Music department.

third piece got almost all the congregation standing and dancing happily: this song, titled ‘Ejé ká yin Jésù’ (‘Let us praise Jesus’) was performed in the popular music style of *apala*⁴¹⁴. The musical ministration perfectly imitated musical instruments on an *apala* instrumental music band. Each member of the group vocally reproduced the sound and rhythm made by the *sekere* (beaded rattle), *agidigbo* (thumb piano), *agogo* (bell) and *talking drum* in an *apala* music performance. This served as accompaniment to some intermittent singing in the unique *apala* vocal style. During a chat with Pelumi, a member of the group, he told me how they often reserve the item to be performed last in most of their ministrations, because everyone, young and old, likes the groove of the music despite it having been adopted from popular music culture. Further to this, the same song (now titled ‘Apalappella’, coined from the words ‘apala’ and ‘a cappella’) stood out as a unique presentation at the 2016 MFM International Acappella Competition, which the group won. Further to this, a senior member of the MFM Music ministry – who preferred to remain anonymous – told me that such music would not have been permitted a few years ago despite its religious text; he mentioned that its connection with a popular music genre of Islamic origin would have made it unfit as a church music ministration.

The MFM’s now receptive approach seems to transcend the popular music adaptations discussed in the foregoing paragraph. Evidenced by the 2014 edition of the MFM Music ministry code of conduct (discussed below in the ‘Code of Conduct’ section, with Figure 7.3), the use of electronic drums which was prohibited in previous editions of the document is now allowed. The adaptation of *oriki*, a praise chant style used by traditional Yorùbá people to praise deities, ancient kings and clans (Vidal, 2012a, p.151) is another example. It features during the

⁴¹⁴ *Apala* is a percussion based popular music genre that developed in the late 1930s having exponents such as Haruna Ishola Bello, Ayinla Omowura (Ajirire & Alabi, pp. 46-52, 1992). Having evolved from a musical tradition commonly practised during the Ramadan fast, *apala* is known to have its roots in Islam, even as all its exponents were Muslims (ibid. p.47-48). The genre is yet to regain its prominence in Yorùbá popular music since the demise of its most popular exponent, Haruna Ishola in 1983 (ibid. p.50).

praise and worship sessions at Yorùbá Pentecostal gatherings. Initially disallowed at the MFM church, it has since become one of the tools used by worship leaders to stir the congregation into a kind of transcendental state.

Dance plays a major role in Nigerian popular music culture as artistes often develop new moves to accompany their hit tracks. Examples include *alanta*, *azonto*, *shoki*, *skelewu* amongst others. These dance styles have found their way into the Yorùbá Pentecostal church and are often engaged in during praise singing or other danceable music. However, from my observations during fieldwork, the conservative nature of MFM appears unwavering on the adaptation of these dance styles. The church perceives these dance styles as worldly, and as a result, strictly prohibits its music ministers from doing the dances, although I noticed some members of the congregation do them. Also, on a few occasions, some young back-up singers were seen dancing the *shoki* dance during praise singing sessions. As I knew that popular music dances such as this was prohibited at the church, this propelled my curiosity after which I found out that they were reprimanded by the church leadership. This example appears to support Akinselure's claim that young music ministers are oftentimes 'primary offenders' because they find it difficult to ignore some of the unacceptable elements of popular culture such as popular music dance styles.

Interestingly, in recent times, Yorùbá Pentecostal churches are known to have embraced structured and routinized contemporary dance during services. This is perhaps to serve as an alternative to the so-called worldly popular music dances. At the MFM church, I observed that unlike in the past, dance is formalised as a ministry. According to Pastor Akinselure⁴¹⁵, the dance ministry which is related to the music ministry is used to reach out and demonstrate to young people that the church caters for their interest. The Holy Flames and Dancing Levites

⁴¹⁵ 26 February 2016.

are some of the dance groups at the MFM international headquarters church. They dance to Christian music soundtrack creating a spectacle through their skilled dance routines, acrobatics and drama skits. I was told by Dr Olukoya during our chat⁴¹⁶ that the formation of these groups is one of the MFM church's seventy-point agenda to ensure youths continue to attend church.

7.3. The Church, Music and Young Yorùbá Pentecostals

In this section I will discuss how music seems to have been used to inspire young Pentecostals to remain in church despite restrictions resulting from questions relating to appropriateness. Considering that youths are more familiar with what is available on the popular music scene, Pentecostal pastors and leaders obviously have a huge task to relate the boundaries between worldliness and holiness to this group of young believers. According to Dr Olukoya, the MFM church recognises it must play a unique role to ensure young people maintain godliness. Hence the establishment of a Youth Church in 2008 – a place he claims many youths say they feel more comfortable to attend. He further explained that the Christian church risks losing its young people to the world if they are not catered for early on and made to understand why some things are acceptable and others unacceptable.

It is general knowledge in Nigeria that in the past, young people (except those whose parents already attend the church) avoided churches like MFM and DLBC because they were seen as very strict in their code of conduct and rejection of 'worldliness'. Nonetheless, Pastor Akinselure posited that music has served as a major tool for the continuous involvement of youths within the church, even though the motivation for each young person varies. According to her,

⁴¹⁶ 13 May 2016.

We discovered some came in just because of their friends, some came in because they saw instruments on stage and they would like to play... and some came in primarily because they realised that the opportunity to learn and possess an instrument and to perform from time to time was possible in the church. So, they came along and they have been able to do it. In MFM that is more possible, unlike in some other churches. You could learn an instrument and not be able to buy one. But in MFM even if you can't afford to buy one, the church is willing to buy for you. The General Overseer has constantly purchased instruments for interested choristers. So, this has made many of them want to learn not just one instrument but multi-instruments.

During fieldwork, I witnessed children from the age of five upwards learning to play musical instruments and sing in a choir at the MFM church. This made me ponder what could be the other reasons why the church seems to prioritise music education, besides from the most generalised response of 'we just like music or it is because the General Overseer likes music'. My interactions with the General Overseer and Pastor Akinselure (referenced above) provided some answers as they suggested that the church perceives music as one of the most effective ways to keep the youths engaged.

Similarly, Adedeji (2007) argued that praise and worship genres of music have helped to stabilise youths in Yorùbá Pentecostal churches (p. 210). He opined that the Western nuances often exhibited by worship leaders during praise and worship singing sessions, as well as the upbeat tempo of the praise genre which most young people perceive as an alternative to night clubs and parties have become one of the reasons they want to continually attend church. Furthermore, Adedeji explained that since most young adults crave fun-filled and lively events, in addition to collective music making, praise and worship sessions present them with opportunities to become ecstatic, jump, clap and thereby gaining emotional satisfaction and psychological relief.

In the broader scope of Yorùbá Pentecostal youth, especially youths living in Lagos, ‘the Experience Concert’⁴¹⁷ as discussed in Chapter Five is arguably the biggest musical event that connects young Pentecostals with the Christian church. The annual concert features local Nigerian gospel musicians, as well as those from outside the country like Donnie McClurkin, Kirk Franklin, Don Meon, and Deitrick Haddon. Although primarily organised by the House on the Rock church, the event is supported by other churches. Esther Ayomide in a personal communication⁴¹⁸ asserted that the ‘experience concert’ presents youths like herself with the opportunity to experience the move of the Holy Spirit in an open-air concert-style setting – a tradition that was previously synonymous with popular music concerts alone. Perhaps, the open-air model of the concert is a conscious effort to upstage popular music concerts which Pentecostals believe pollute the spiritual lives of their youths, thereby making them become worldly. Esther further explained that in addition to having a platform to interact and socialise with youths from other churches, the concert provides both young and old Christians with the rare opportunity of obtaining ‘clean’ music outside the four walls of a church building.

In December 2012, I managed to enter the Tafawa Balewa Square (TBS)⁴¹⁹ to witness the ‘Experience Concert’. Getting in was indeed a struggle as attendees rushed to enter the over 500,000 capacity venue before it filled up. In spite of the size of the venue, in fact, thousands of people still had to watch the concert on big screens stationed outside the TBS from 7pm till dawn. One of the high points of the night occurred during the ministration of Deitrick Haddon, when some worshippers around where I was seated, mostly young adults, suddenly burst into loud tongue-speaking and shouts, with the atmosphere charged up in an extraordinary manner.

⁴¹⁷ ‘This is an annual event convened by Pastor Paul Adefarasin of the House of the Rock Church, Lagos. It is advertised as the biggest gospel concert in the Africa.

⁴¹⁸ 15 January 2016.

⁴¹⁹ Named after Nigeria’s first Prime Minister – Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa who served between 1960 and 1966. The site hosted Nigeria’s official Independence Ceremony in 1960. Lagos was the Capital city of the country at the time.

Towards the end of his ministration slot, a woman ran to the podium, lifting high her clutches: she recounted how she came to the venue unable to walk but felt a sensation on her legs during Deitrick Haddon's ministration of his 'God is Able' track. According to her, the sensation brought some unexplainable strength to her legs, and then she jumped up and realised she was now able to walk. As this case suggests, in addition to having the opportunity to listen to, and worship alongside popular gospel artistes, events such as the 'experience concert' presents the youths with the opportunity to witness other Pentecostal theologies such as miracles.

7.4. Code of Conduct: Towards raising 'holy' music ministers

At the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, there are guidelines that members of the music ministry are expected to follow. These guidelines are highlighted in a document titled *The Ten Commandments of the Music Ministry (Code of Conduct)*⁴²⁰ – see Figure 7.3. The code of conduct not only addresses the issue of appropriateness but also highlights what is expected from every member of the music ministry. Hence, members are encouraged to adhere to these regulations as well as live a holy and consecrated lifestyle so that they would be fit to minister. As mentioned earlier, to live a holy lifestyle is to act in accordance with biblical teachings, rejecting activities perceived as leading to the ways of 'the world' – including adultery, fornication, alcohol consumption, and drug use, amongst other things.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the altar is considered to be the most sacred space in a church setting. More so, since members of the music ministry (choir, instrumentalists, praise team) are situated on the altar (see Figure 4.2), it is pertinent that they live a consecrated lifestyle. This

⁴²⁰ The first draft was developed in 1995 as a 25-point document. In later years, it was compressed to 10 so it can adopt the biblical ten commandment phrase (Pastor Akinselure, personal communication). Other Yorùbá Pentecostal churches have similar documents as well.

point was buttressed by Dr Olukoya when he said that ‘since musicians and pastors are the closest to the altar, their spiritual sensitivity must be very high, and they must exhibit godly traits’⁴²¹.

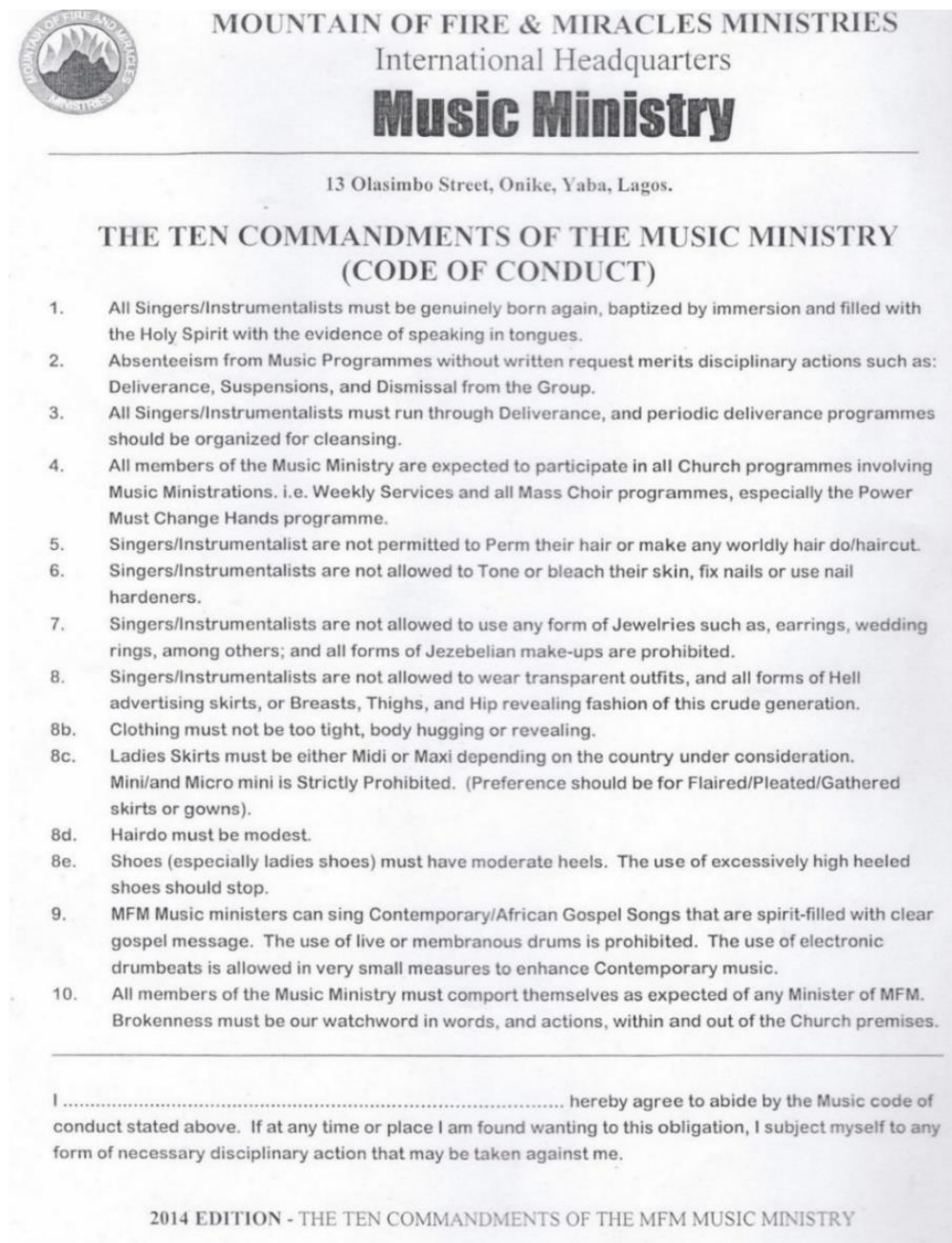


Figure 7.3. MFM Music Ministry Code of conduct.

⁴²¹ Personal communication. 13 May 2016.

The code of conduct document addresses the question of appropriateness on three levels: spiritual, physical and musical. On the spiritual level, it highlights Pentecostal concepts of being born-again, speaking in tongues, water and spirit baptism, and the practice of regular deliverance sessions as being pre-requisites for being an active member of the music ministry. On the physical level, it engages issues relating to punctuality, hair style, dressing and accessories such as make up and jewellery which are deemed unacceptable. On the musical level, the document affirms that the MFM church prohibits the use of drum sets during services. It also states that the kinds of music permitted at MFM are those that are spirit-filled with clear gospel messages. This statement concurs with Akinselure's narrative that 'we do all kinds of music except those that depict any form of ungodliness. We strive to ensure that the message passed through our music has biblical support'⁴²². Accordingly, the vocal music I heard at MFM during my visit was almost always accompanied by a biblical passage indicating from where the text or theme originate. At other times, when the songs did not necessarily relate with biblical concepts, moral justification for their inclusion was provided. However, the same cannot be said for instrumental music, especially since it is without words.

Primarily, the music at Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as MFM can be broadly split into vocal and instrumental music. While the former has words that can be used to ascertain its meaning, the latter does not, hence it is difficult to determine its meaning. The category of instrumental music could be further divided into four sub-categories: instrumental renditions of sacred vocal music; orchestral works; accompaniment of choral groups and other singing groups; and accompaniment of praise and worship sessions. While the first three scenarios do not necessarily suggest influence from the local popular music culture, accompaniment to praise and worship songs usually adapts motifs from popular music tracks. The main motif of

⁴²² 26 February 2016.

Dbanj's⁴²³ 'Gbono felí felí' hit track was one of the most frequently adapted materials. When I asked one of the senior members of the music ministry if such adaptations were permitted, his responses revealed he had no idea that had been happening. It is probably safe to posit that instrumental music is less monitored in conservative-minded Yorùbá Pentecostal churches.

In addition to circulating the code of conduct documents, the MFM music ministry organises periodic meetings tagged as 'solemn assembly'⁴²⁴ for its music ministers. At such meetings, senior members of the church reportedly come to address and pray with music ministers. Brother Olaniran⁴²⁵ explained that the church also uses the solemn assembly meetings to encourage music ministers to maintain their sanctity. Despite the music ministry's continuous engagement with issues relating to holiness and worldliness, Pastor Akinselure told me during a chat that they sometimes discover individuals who appear 'holy' in church (in terms of dressing, that is, dressed modestly) but look like 'Jezebel'⁴²⁶ when met outside the church. According to her, the culprits are primarily young adults who find it difficult to cope with peer pressure and seek 'clever' ways to blend 'worldly' acts into the church system. For example, she recounted how she had, on several occasions discovered and disciplined female music ministers who tried to hide hair attachments under their hat. This category of people she said are often corrected in love and made to pass through some disciplinary actions. On most occasions, such people are asked to go for a deliverance session⁴²⁷ – which is aimed at cleansing them from any form of spiritual contamination⁴²⁸.

⁴²³ Dbanj is a Nigerian Afropop musician.

⁴²⁴ This meeting is often perceived as a kind of spiritual retreat. Most Yorùbá Pentecostal church organise such meetings for their pastors and other ministers.

⁴²⁵ 19 February 2016. Organ Room, MFM International headquarters, Lagos.

⁴²⁶ Jezebel is a character in the Bible. She was known to paint her face and adorn her hair and body with jewelleries and other attachments, hence some Pentecostals use the name to refer to those who appear in a similar manner.

⁴²⁷ A deliverance session is an intense prayer service. See Chapter Two and Four for more on the subject.

⁴²⁸ For more on the discussion on the blurring line between the Sacred and Secular as it relates to Pentecostal church musicians, see Ryan (2016).

Further to this, an exercise that Akinselure tagged ‘operation opendential’ is used to monitor the dressing of music members, especially females. It simply refers to an unannounced inspection of ladies’ hair. Pastor Akinselure explained that, during the exercise, female music ministers are asked to remove their hat, scarf or cap to reveal their hair. It is important to note that this exercise takes place during rehearsals, music ministry meetings, but never during church service. Based on my observation, women seem to be more strictly monitored than men. So, I asked Pastor Akinselure why this was the case. She smiled and then responded, ‘the standard is the same for men and women, however, there are several things to be monitored from a female perspective’⁴²⁹. For instance, she explained men are not expected to plait their hair, and since their hair is always uncovered, inspection is not required: nonetheless, she mentioned that there are occasional issues of fornication and adultery among the men, and these had to be monitored and discouraged.

Issues relating to gender are indeed complex and sensitive, and hence they need to be addressed. Although Pastor Akinselure clearly made her case for why women are more strictly monitored than men, the issue is probably deeper than she explained. Among Pentecostals, there are claims that men and women are equal, but in the context of marriage, they often teach with biblical reference that the man is the head while the woman is a supporter who should submit to the leadership of the man. Perhaps the strict monitoring of female music ministers is a carefully thought-through process to ensure women are disciplined and instructed to fit a certain model as well. Interestingly, those who drafted the code of conduct at MFM were women⁴³⁰; they had presumably internalised the dominant patriarchal discourse, coming to agree with the overarching principle that women need to be more disciplined.

⁴²⁹ Personal communication. 26 February 2016.

⁴³⁰ Akinselure. 26 February 2016.

There is a massive gap in leadership roles between men and women as the former lead service rites most of the time; this is despite women accounting for the majority of church members. One cannot but wonder whether women are simply not motivated to participate, or the lack of opportunities discourage them from doing so, or could this be as a result of the points discussed earlier in the preceding paragraph? A close examination of position holders at churches such as RCCG, MFM, DLBC and many others suggest that Yorùbá Pentecostal churches are male-dominated spaces. I argue that the lack of evidence to support the repeated narrative of gender equality by these churches, and the absence of women (despite being in the majority) in top leadership positions are probably deliberate and aimed at further emphasising the belief that men are somewhat superior.

7.5. Challenges Faced in a Pentecostal Music Ministry

Despite the regulations in place, the music ministry of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches is not without its own challenges. The sensitiveness of this topic is reflected in the fact that some of my respondents asked to speak on condition of anonymity – the only exceptions being Dr Olukoya, Pastor Pius Oragwu, Pastor Akinselure and Brother Oluleye Akinlabi. Hence the discussion in this section will rely heavily on the combination of the thoughts of my respondents, and my personal observation of proceedings at the churches visited.

Among Nigerian Christians, the narrative that Lucifer was the first chief musician in heaven before pride led to his demotion, after which he was sent to earth, is a very popularly referenced story, especially when it comes to discussions on the subject of ‘pride’. Hence, I was not overly surprised when my informants mentioned pride as the number one challenge facing church music ministries. This is what Adedeji (2015) referred to as ‘ego’ in his discussion of the ethics of a gospel musician and the temptations of a gospel musician (p. 74). Commenting on the

issue of pride among church musicians, Pastor Oragwu explained that proud music ministers tend to believe they are better than every other person, and hence they either speak to other musicians in a rude manner or make unreasonable demands from their church. Citing James 4:6, where the Bible mentions that God opposes the proud but favours the humble, Oragwu argued that although such individuals might claim to lead other worshippers to God through music but they themselves are far from God. Furthermore, Dr Olukoya, the General overseer of MFM, identified pride as one of the highest forms of indiscipline and spiritual misconduct which can make the musical offering of church musicians an abomination before God.

Based on the responses received from my respondents and some members of the congregation, adultery and fornication are arguably the second biggest challenge faced by church music ministries. Little wonder the General Overseer of MFM, Dr Olukoya mentioned to me during our conversation that the situation has reached an excessively high level where more spiritual and advisory responses are required. According to Brother Oluleye Akinlabi, ‘music ministers who engage in immorality are not genuinely born again, they do not have the Holy spirit in them’⁴³¹. He explained how reports of sexual misconduct are common among Pentecostal church music ministers, and how he had in his previous churches encountered situations where music ministers secretly had sexual relationships with each other, and other times where male choir leaders lured and preyed on young female singers. This then leads to the question of how the church becomes aware of occurrences of immorality. Pastor Oragwu explained to me that the Holy Spirit is ‘the revealer of all secrets’⁴³², and hence when such sins are committed, the Spirit of God oftentimes reveals it to the leaders who will then act accordingly. As though he knew I was not satisfied with his spiritual response, Oragwu further pointed out that at other times, one of the two individuals involved would come forward and report what they had done.

⁴³¹ Personal communication.11 March 2016.

⁴³² 27 February 2016.

Although the discourse among my informants is that the Holy Spirit and personal confession are the two ways through which the church discovers the inappropriate acts of its members, there are possibly other scenarios. For example, it would be naive to assume that gossip does not play any role in the entire discovery process. Whatever the case, at the MFM church, individuals that err are asked to repent and confess their actions to God. Thereafter, they are required to embark on a spiritual retreat involving prayers and fasting. Pastor Akinselure explained that the spiritual exercise is necessary before these individuals are reintegrated back into the system.

Olukoya argued that any form of sexual immorality is a sin against the body, against God and the Holy Spirit, and hence it must be spiritually addressed. In this regard, he cited 1 Corinthians 6:18-19: 'Run from sexual sin! No other sin so clearly affects the body as this one does. For sexual immorality is a sin against your own body. Don't you realize that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, who lives in you and was given to you by God? You do not belong to yourself, for God bought you with a high price. So, you must honor God with your body' (NLT). He posited that immediate atonement and repentance is required especially since the Bible enjoined believers not to grieve the Holy Spirit by their lifestyle as stated in Ephesians 4:30: '[...] do not bring sorrow to God's Holy Spirit by the way you live. Remember, he has identified you as his own, guaranteeing that you will be saved on the day of redemption' (NLT). Olukoya seemed to have presented further justification for why a spiritual response is required for the sin of immorality when he asserted that every sexual contact activates a blood covenant in the spiritual realm and as such, 'serious prayers accompanied with fasting' are required for such covenants to be broken. Only after this is done will the individuals become spiritually free and fit to return to their duties. This kind of measure reinforces the importance attached to issues relating to holiness and worldliness among Pentecostal Christians.

Love of money is another point that many consider to be a major problem within the Christian music ministry. Brother Oluleye explained that it is simply a situation where music ministers become overly concerned with money matters rather than their calling to minister to the congregation. He explained that there is nothing wrong for music ministers to be paid for their services; after all they contribute to the lively nature of the entire worship experience. Nonetheless, Oluleye believes that situations where music ministers hold the church to ransom is unacceptable. He recounted past experiences where some music ministers suddenly demanded an impossible salary increment on the day of an important church service or decide not to show up for service without prior notice because a better offer had been made somewhere else. On his part, Olukoya opined that such music ministers are being controlled by ‘the spirit of mammon which is the spirit of money’⁴³³. According to him, this spirit ensures music ministers ignore the biblical call for them to seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and then other things shall be added (Matthew 6:33). Citing himself as an example, he stated that those who commit themselves wholeheartedly to the things of God will be divinely rewarded both physically and spiritually.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the music ministry consists of a large set up of departments and units, but as revealed by my respondents, these units oftentimes operate independent of each other and mostly because of subtle infighting. Oragwu explained to me that the problem of infighting within the music ministry comes in shades such as quarrels amongst members, in-house politics by some of the leaders, and then factionalism. During my chat with Olukoya, he seemed to concur with Oragwu that Christian music ministries often face the problem of ‘strife and disunity’. He revealed how the MFM church intends to deal with the issue: ‘We are aware that there are cases of disunity, and we need to quickly find a way to be united – that is why

⁴³³ 13 May 2016.

we hold solemn assembly gatherings and other similar meetings’. Citing Mark 3:25, ‘And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand’ (KJV), he further explained that ‘if anyone refuses to connect with the unity agenda, we ask such people to go so that the rest of us can be united’.

Based on my observations at the MFM church, competition appears to be one of the reasons for the somewhat subtle disunity within the music ministry. As some of my informants suggested, since church activities are often presented as highly spiritual engagements, then maybe the strong desire of some departments or individuals to be more successful than the others needs fixing because it breeds envy and strife. Following this line of thought, Olukoya, during our chat identified ‘needless competition’ as being one of the main factors behind disunity within most music ministries, including MFM. In his words, ‘I don’t understand why people compete in the house of God. Sometimes you hear, I am the best this, the best that, I can do this, I can do that. There is really no basis for competition especially since everyone should be working for the same master – Jesus Christ’⁴³⁴. Similarly, Pastor Oragwu attributed the presence of disunity to a lack of understanding on the part of music ministers. He claimed that most music ministers are yet to fully comprehend the fact that their service within the church should be to the glory of God and not for personal gratification. Hence, he posited that until this mind-set becomes imbibed in music ministers, there might be no decline in reported cases of disharmony.

There is no doubt that some of the challenges of the music ministry discussed in the foregoing paragraphs are commonly found in secular organisations as well. So, the question ‘why do church musicians exhibit similar traits as these other musicians?’ arises, especially when one considers the consistent emphasis placed on holy living by Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such

⁴³⁴ 13 May 2016.

as MFM, RCCG and DLBC, and the control measures put in place to guide their music ministers. One would think that since spirituality is often emphasised, then church music ministers would collectively operate on a more spiritual level which could subsequently lead to reduced cases of ‘worldliness’ and disharmony. Olukoya attempted to answer the question; he identified several reasons for the observed problems within the music ministry (which will be discussed in the following paragraphs) but maintained that the chief reason is that the music ministry often comprises superficial Christians. Citing Psalm 42:7, ‘Deep calls unto deep...’ (NKJV), he argued that only a spiritually deep music minister can relate with, and lead others to worship a deep God.

In consonance with Olukoya’s assertion that shallow Christian life is the primary cause of challenges within the music ministry, Oragwu, Oluleye and Akinselure suggested that although music ministers are often actively engaged in church activities, many of them seem not to have a relationship with God. Olukoya posited that ‘working for God is not the same as knowing God’⁴³⁵. This concept of having a relationship with God is perceived as the bedrock of Pentecostal Christianity and hence it is used as yardstick to determine the spiritual level of believers, especially church ministers who are expected to live a highly spiritual life; after all, they are positioned closest to the most sacred space in the church. The first step to developing a relationship with God, according to Olukoya, is to become born again, be filled with the Holy Spirit and then frequently read the Bible to understand the mind of God. The clergyman further mentioned that reading the Bible is one of the keys to spiritual power but lamented the fact that, as with a lot of young Christians, many music ministers do not study the Bible: ‘many can recite all the names of football players but find it difficult to recite the names of the twelve apostles’.

⁴³⁵ 13 May 2016.

Based on the responses received during fieldwork, the most common sin committed by male music ministers is pornography. Interestingly, Olukoya attributed this ‘cleverly concealed sin’ of pornography to prayerlessness which makes it impossible for them to operate at the required spiritual level. The consensus among my respondents was that most music ministers do not prioritise prayers, but rather believe that their music is the most important thing. It is believed that when this happens, the spirit of God departs, and different issues could arise. According to Pastor Oragwu, in a place where there is limited prayer, there would certainly be massive challenges. He cited the example of those who arrive at rehearsals after opening prayers had been concluded. Speaking to some members of the choir who came very late to the rehearsals I observed, a few people told me they showed up late because the opening prayers and praise singing were too long. The responses I received from the musicians seemed to lend credence to the assertion made by my respondents that most music ministers do not necessarily like to pray. Olukoya also narrated how some members decide not to show up for ‘choir retreat’ or ‘choir vigil’ primarily because they know quality time would be dedicated to prayers. The situation seems to have been addressed by the church as I later found during a chat with Princess Banke Ademola⁴³⁶. From my findings, the church leadership has since taken steps to sanction those who fail to attend these kinds of meetings without prior approval to do so. My interactions with some members of the music ministry suggested that there is also the matter of those who do not attend music ministry prayer meetings because they feel indispensable. When asked about this, leaders such as Pastor Oloyede maintained that no member of the music ministry is irreplaceable, but also went on to elucidate that although such behaviours are displayed by some individuals, they are promptly cautioned.

⁴³⁶ March 3, 2016.

Furthermore, a lack of spiritual brokenness was pinpointed as a major factor underlying the challenges faced in the music ministry. According to Olukoya, spiritual brokenness involves demonstrating a willingness to obey God whether it is convenient or not, being immune to gossip and slander, not reacting angrily when faced with insult, and remaining upright and not two-faced. Similarly, Pastor Oragwu highlighted ‘hypocrisy’ as being indicative of spiritual unbrokenness, wherein music ministers exhibit different dispositions inside and outside church. In his words, ‘some will dress like angels in church, but when you meet them outside church, at the mall or at other places, they are dressed provocatively. That is deception. It shows that they are not spiritually broken’.

7.6. Summary

In this chapter, I discussed how Pentecostals negotiate between ‘holy’ and ‘worldly’ endeavours. These two terms are accentuated among Yorùbá Pentecostals who believe it will determine where Christians end up in the eternal afterlife – heaven or hell. More so, this ‘holiness’ and ‘worldliness’ narrative is emphasised through church music, sermons, banners and church websites. Examples of songs used to reinforce these two concepts during services have been explored to demonstrate the role of music. The questions of appropriateness which supposedly seeks to establish boundary lines of what is ‘acceptable’ or ‘unacceptable’ for music ministers has also been examined. Similarly, the concept of ‘fitting-ness’ has been used to assess how decisions on song selection for church services are made. More so, interaction with some members of the congregation revealed how they engage with and interpret the connection (or lack of connection) between song choice and the preacher’s sermon.

I have discussed how the audition process at Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as MFM serves as an avenue to determine fitting-ness, as well as ensure quality control. Further music control

is often achieved through the submission of an internal memo containing the full list of music ministrations to the church leadership before the commencement of each service. Also, in this chapter, I explored the interesting debate of whether it is appropriate to adopt popular music styles for church music. As with other issues of appropriateness discussed here, there are two sides, those in support and others against. The former has arguably caught the attention of young adults, reportedly ensuring they remain in church.

The decision on what kinds of music are appropriate or inappropriate is not straightforward. Sometimes the designation is dependent on associations; hence, for example, drums are banned at the MFM church on account of their use in traditional religion. At other times, it depends on the perceived origins of a musical genre; hence, *fuji* and *apala* are not permitted in some churches because of their Islamic origin. It is noteworthy that the music ministry of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches such as MFM and RCCG are guided by a set of codes of conduct. These guidelines provide a blue print of musical, behavioural and spiritual expectations from music ministers. Despite the supposedly strict control measures at MFM, there seems to be an awareness that issues pertaining to discipline require some level of emotional sensitivity. I remember hearing the phrase ‘correction in love’ on several occasions when issues relating to discipline were discussed with respondents.

Concerning the challenges faced within the music ministry of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, my respondents tended to highlight pride, adultery, fornication, love of money, in-fighting and disunity as common problems. Unsurprisingly, since Pentecostals seek spiritual justifications for issues, the lack of sufficient spiritual strength and conviction is considered as the primary cause of these challenges. Although teachings against sexual sins and others are openly taught in Pentecostal churches, it appears they are more emphasised to music ministers and church officials. To my mind, I believe this does not necessarily mean that music ministers are more

prone to immorality than non-musicians. Perhaps, evidenced by the popularity of music ministers and the fact that they are positioned on the most sacred space (the altar), churches focus on them to ensure congregants see them as an example of what is expected, and then do likewise. The following chapter will conclude this dissertation highlighting key summaries, contributions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Summary, Contributions, Recommendations and Concluding Remarks

8.0. Introduction

This final chapter will present a summary of the main findings articulated in the previous chapters, highlight the original contributions to research, offer suggestions of new pathways that future research works could take, and then conclude with some final remarks. Having drawn extensively from participant observation, interviews, archival and historical materials, existing scholarship, and online resources, and having explored theological, historical and musicological perspectives in my discussions throughout this work, the final product has emerged as a thorough and original investigation into the musical practices of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church from its evolution in the early twentieth century to the present.

8.1. Summary

As discussed in the Introduction chapter, this work is founded on my own detailed observations of Yorùbá Pentecostal church services, where I identified ecstatic praise singing, spirit-filled worship singing, spiritual warfare praying, and emphasis on the concept of holiness as primary elements of their form of Christianity.

Prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries, music played essential roles in Yorùbá traditional religious practices, as explained by Omojola (1994, p. 533). Christianity introduced them to new musical forms such as hymn singing and chants and, later, Pentecostals developed praise singing, worship singing, and spiritual warfare songs. Interestingly, even after renouncing the so-called pagan traditional worship, early Yorùbá Christians still employed some musical instruments used in traditional Yorùbá settings like the *agogo* (bell) and drums. As discussed

in Chapter Three, there was also the matter of adapting Yorùbá traditional tunes often linked with deities in Church worship. Although the Yorùbá Pentecostal movement in its formative years opposed the use of drums during services, a lot has changed since then as only a few present-day churches such as the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM) do not employ drums at their services.

The overarching two-fold research questions for this work sought to identify the defining characteristics of the musical practices of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches and clarify the rationale and motivations underlying them, paying close attention to how the Yorùbá Pentecostal church evolved and the theologies that either support or query their general beliefs and musical endeavours. Hence, through scrutinising interviews and historical and archival resources gathered during fieldwork, my research has traced the development of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church and its concomitant musical practices.

As a religious movement, the Yorùbá Pentecostal church has a history of almost one hundred years. However, despite the obvious relevance of music during their gatherings, the churches' musical activities over the years have either been sparsely assessed or omitted entirely from discourses on Nigerian or Yorùbá Pentecostalism. As explained in the Introduction chapter and Chapter One, most of the existing literature is written by theologians and sociologists who are less interested in the musical perspective. Furthermore, I discovered that text-based documentation and assessment of the musical practices of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church is almost (if not) non-existent; only a small number of individuals have previously begun to explore what they consider to be its repertoires, notably concentrating on the older repertoire alleged to be associated with the 1930 revivals and Babalola (Idowu 2008 & 2012b and Oluwamakin 2004). To fill this gap, my study has examined the broad range of musical forms currently employed by Yorùbá Pentecostals, identifying their distinguishing features,

considering how they are incorporated within Pentecostal rituals, and assessing the theological ideas underpinning their use. My investigations have also exposed how the various units within the Yorùbá Pentecostal music ministry operate and what precisely they contribute to the ministry as a whole.

My research questions, the scope of the study, and the aims of my research were highlighted in the Introduction chapter, where I also acquainted the reader with key terms and concepts that recurred throughout the dissertation. In Chapter One, I discussed the origin, location, religious allegiance and language of Yorùbáland to provide a contextualisation of the ideologies and worldview of my research and fieldwork. Thereafter, I discussed my fieldwork experience, some of the challenges I had to face, and my research methodology – noting specifically how the paucity of existing research on Nigerian Pentecostal music has necessitated a somewhat heavy reliance on original ethnographic enquiry. This was then followed by a concise literature review.

Chapter Two assessed the historical background of Pentecostalism in Nigeria and Yorùbáland, clarifying how the Pentecostal movement, also known as the *Aladura* movement, was formed. It traced the early history from the Diamond Society prayer group, and then the emergence of the 1930 revivals led by Joseph Ayodele Babalola, which many regard as the foundation of Pentecostalism in south-west Nigeria. These events became the reference points for Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland. The materials accessed at the zonal office of the National Archives of Nigeria in Ibadan presented concise information regarding the nature of typical musical practices at the 1930 revivals. In addition, the chapter identified and discussed other pioneer exponents of Yorùbá Pentecostalism and events that launched the movement, including Babalola's supernatural encounters and the musical response of community members to his first miracle. Notably, the practice of praying on water, handkerchief or oil for healing among

present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches was traced back to the 1930 revivals. Interestingly, although mission churches were initially opposed to Pentecostal beliefs and practices such as spiritual warfare prayers and songs, praise and worship singing, and speaking in tongues, these are now common features in mission churches such as the Anglican church. Concerning the hot debate regarding whether or not Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland is an offshoot of the Azusa street revival, I have argued in line with scholars such as Ojo (2006), Wariboko (2014), Ogbu (2008), Idowu (2008 & 2012b) that, although there are, as expected, experiential and doctrinal similarities, nonetheless the Pentecostal movement in Yorùbáland and in certain other nations of the world should be conceived as independent from Azusa; the evidence suggests that there were only very weak links between the Nigerian adherents and their American counterparts, and rather the activities in Nigeria stemmed from the independent spiritual yearning of the people in that location.

Chapter Three sought to identify the types of music that featured at the 1930 revivals in Yorùbáland, as well as their performance practices, stylistic and musical features. As a prelude to the discussion, I examined the types of music the Yorùbá people are thought to have engaged in during pre-missionary times, as suggested by pre-Christian missionary encounters and modern-day practice. Although no longer as prominent as before, most of these music types still feature in Yorùbá communities, and I believe their assessment enhances one's understanding of how the Yorùbá originally conceived music. In pre-Christian and pre-Islam times, the Yorùbá people had a rich musical tradition (Adedeji, 2005, p. 71) which was intertwined with extra-musical engagements such as religion, dance, poetry, entertainment, and folktales. Examples include: traditional religious music, royal music, ceremonial music, work music, recreational music, and panegyric music. Nonetheless, drum music is regarded as having been the most popular kind of instrumental music that existed during the pre-missionary period (Euba, 1990, p. 451). It was indispensable as it accompanied almost all types of events,

including the birth of a child, the coronation of a king, the demise of an individual, and the worship of deities (Vidal, 2012a, p. 228). The indispensability of drum music and the drum itself is further evidenced by its use as a medium of communication. Examples of this include situations when it is used to signal a warning or recite the *oriki* of individuals (ibid.). Also, in the third chapter, I investigated the beginnings of music within the Yorùbá church and the several approaches that were adopted both by the missionaries and local Christians to ensure that almost everyone participated in music engagements during services. For example, Western hymns were translated into Yorùbá. Although the hymn translation solved the problem of congregants who were unable to sing along because of language barrier, it created a new issue as congregants soon began to complain because the translated texts were imbued with unintended meanings or no meanings at all when sung to the original Western tunes, owing to the tonal nature of Yorùbá language. Interestingly, Yorùbá church musicians at the time developed a three-phase approach to address the foregoing problem. First, new melodies which fit the original Yorùbá tonal structure of liturgical text used in church were composed. This was followed by the adaptation of existing Yorùbá indigenous melodies to newly composed bible-based lyrics. The final approach was centred on the creation of original musical compositions with new melodies and new bible-related texts.

Furthermore, the discussion in Chapter Three explored a collection of songs that were considered by some informants (Oluwamakin, Oshun, Idowu, Adedeji, and Olukoya) to date from the 1930 revivals and to represent the kinds of music that the early Yorùbá Pentecostal church embraced. The fact that the above-mentioned individuals are themselves Pentecostal Christians raises questions regarding whether their submission is being influenced by the evident allegiance they have towards the Pentecostal church. In situations such as this, when there is only one widely publicised narrative for a story that could possibly have several angles, there is the possibility that those concerned (in this case, the Pentecostal church community)

have an agenda, or some sort of vested interest. This is not to say that was what happened in this instance, however, the paucity of documented evidence to validate these potentially sentimental positions and the fact that the memory can be fallible considering the events being referred to happened in the 1930s makes it difficult to ascertain the exact origin of these songs. Based on my findings from interviews and personal evaluation of collated song materials, I posited in Chapter Three that perhaps the alleged music of the early Yorùbá Pentecostal church (from the 1930 revivals) be classified into these four categories: the hymn singing tradition of the mission church, and then, praise songs, evangelistic songs and spiritual warfare songs which are thought to have developed from the Pentecostal movement⁴³⁷. For my assessment of collected spiritual warfare songs, I proposed thematic categorisation and categorisation by function. I utilised these two types of classifications because it reveals the underlying elements present in spiritual warfare songs.

According to my informants, handclapping and hand bell arguably served as the primary forms of musical accompaniment during the 1930 revivals – and the patterns that were supposedly adopted for these as demonstrated to me by practitioners such as Oshun and Adedeji have been discussed in the same chapter. Also, I argue that the music transcriptions and analysis of these alleged 1930 revival songs attributed to Joseph Ayo Babalola is being put together for the first time in an academic dissertation, as previous mention of a few of them in written form has rarely gone beyond footnoting of titles and mere indication of song texts without analysis. My contribution in this area includes an analysis of the songs and a discussion of the role they played (and still play) during services and outreach events. I also engaged with the theological support often presented for these assessed songs. After all, scholars of church music such as Adedeji (2001) often argue that biblical support is considered by Pentecostals as one of (if not)

⁴³⁷These music types still feature in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches.

the most important element for any kind of church music. Similarly, Spencer (2005) highlights the importance of integrating theology into musicology when researching black sacred music (p. 46).

In Chapter Four, I explored the worship formats, ritual space and the music ministry organisational structure at the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM) Church as a representative framework for Yorùbá Pentecostal churches in the early twenty-first century. Although I have had previous participant-observation experience at MFM, my many visits during fieldwork between December 2015 and May 2016 enabled me to gather many analysable resources via interviews, literature acquired at field sites, and further observation (both participatory and non-participatory). The assessment of the church's organisational structure, as well as their mission statement provided me with a contextual understanding of the musical and non-musical practices observed during church services.

The music-providing component of Pentecostal churches is known as the 'the music ministry', and churches such as MFM, RCCG, DLBC, LFWC are known to have massive musical set-ups. For example, the MFM music ministry is reputed to have developed from a 20-member group to now over 20,000 members having 10 departments. Each of these departments incorporates various sub-groups. For example, there are no less than 11 choral groups in the Choir department, and 9 orchestra groups in the Orchestra department. I should mention that there are similarities between the MFM music ministry and the ministries of other present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, although the former appears to have more varieties in terms of music types and groups; for example, I have not observed a Guitar Choir at any other church.

The commitment of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches to music, and the large number of music ministry members is probably due to the significant role music plays within services, and the fact that most of these church leaders have served as music directors or choir members as young

adults in their previous churches or fellowships, thereby developing a particular enthusiasm for music. From my findings, Olukoya, Adeboye and Kumuyi⁴³⁸ still compose music till date despite their busy schedules as church leaders. The ongoing personal involvement of these individuals in music making endeavours is perhaps another explanation as to why their churches consider music as an important element for services. The reasons given by my respondents for music featuring so prominently in the Christian church mainly include the belief that music connects congregants with the divine, thereby giving them access to God. Psalm 100:4, 'I will enter His gates with thanksgiving and into His courts with praise' was often used to support this claim. Others explained that music is simply inseparable from practices of Christianity because it is central to Christian worship.

The ritual space chart in Figure 4.2 illustrated that the altar which is considered as the most sacred and most important space in a Yorùbá Pentecostal church setting is primarily occupied by music ministers. Furthermore, Chapter Four also demonstrated how music is incorporated within Yorùbá Pentecostal church services, as a truly indispensable element within proceedings. After a thorough observation and analysis of service rites, I discovered that music features in about eighty five percent of rites during Yorùbá Pentecostal church services, as evidenced in the graph, Figure 4.5. This graph also revealed the terms used by congregants to describe how they feel during service rites. These responses from members of the congregation give an insight into the kind of emotions generated by music and other rites within Yorùbá Pentecostal churches.

In Chapter Five, the music genres typically used at present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches were identified as Praise, Worship, Spiritual Warfare Music, Native Airs and Classical music. Others are hymns, negro spirituals, orchestra music and contemporary gospel music. Song

⁴³⁸ Leaders of MFM, RCCG and DLBC respectively.

samples from these genres were transcribed and analysed. Furthermore, as I discovered during this research, the Praise genre could be sung in four different praise singing styles: *calypso*, *worror*, *reggae* and *contemporary*. More so, each of these praise styles have their unique clap patterns which have been demonstrated in this thesis. My assessment of the genres and praise styles is important, especially since previous attempts by scholars to discuss these praise styles have been misleading. For example, Adedeji (2007) identified *highlife*, *calypso* and *makossa* as distinct styles when in practice, *highlife* and *makossa* are considered as variants of the *calypso* and not entirely independent styles. Hence, Table 5.1 highlighted clear-cut descriptions of each genre, including sample songs, events where they are used, rhythmic styles, and accompanying musical instruments. The discussion in this chapter was concluded by an assessment of music related new trends developing within Pentecostal churches.

In Chapter Six, the exposition of the key term pairings ‘gift/anointing’ and ‘performance/ministration’ became necessary because they permeate discussions relating to music and liturgical rites in Yorùbá Pentecostalism. More so, it helps us understand how Pentecostals perceive and categorise musical endeavours. The consensus among my respondents is that a ‘gifted’ (in other words, highly skilled) church musician might have a musically impeccable presentation but, without the ‘anointing’, the congregation will not be spiritually moved. Although the musician would most likely receive the regular applause as appreciation, it is believed that such presentations have no spiritual impact or relevance. On the other hand, an ‘anointed’ (in other words, filled with the Holy Spirit) but not ‘gifted’ church musician might not catch the attention of the congregants at first because of a poor display of musical skills, but is sure to stir up spiritual responses from congregants who are open to receiving from God regardless of the skill set of the musician. However, a church musician who is both ‘gifted’ and ‘anointed’ will be able to reach out to everyone in the congregation regardless of their musical taste or level of spirituality. Further to this discourse, I noticed that

Yorùbá Pentecostals prefer to refer to musical presentations in the church as ‘ministrations’ and not ‘performances’, as the former is perceived to be inclined towards a more spiritual goal than the latter. Based on the responses received from informants, and my personal observations, I argue that although ‘anointing’ and ‘ministration’ are considered to be more spiritual qualifiers, it would be naive to assume that the other two attributes (gift and performance) are not required for a spiritually satisfying worship experience.

The final part of Chapter Six assessed and analysed the works of two prominent music composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal church background, namely, D.K. Olukoya, and Oluwatosin Olaniran. It also considered the interesting case of Joseph Ayodele Babalola – and the fascinating claims made by certain key informants that this founding figure of Pentecostalism in Yorùbáland was a composer of songs. While sourcing for relevant literatures at the start of my PhD, I came across a claim by Moses Oludele Idowu that Babalola was a great composer and singer. This caught my attention and I made sure to get in touch with him and eventually conducted an interview where he again mentioned that Babalola wrote over ninety songs, even though Idowu had only documented the text of twelve of them in his publication (2012b). Idowu informed me that his informants (now deceased) who worked directly with Babalola (from the 1930 revivals until his demise in 1959) sang all the songs to him and these were recorded on a cassette recorder whose present location he could not specifically say. He explained that his research interest was not with the music but the text - hence the reason why only the text is readily accessible to him⁴³⁹. If Idowu can find these tapes and they reveal crystal-clear detailed recollections given by multiple parties who were there when Babalola

⁴³⁹ He however stated his readiness to work with me in the future on a theological-musical assessment of all the songs, of course, after he might have been able to locate the recordings and the remaining text.

supposedly composed these songs, then these presently unsubstantiated claims would to some extent become verified.

Interestingly, the well-respected Pentecostal preachers and church musicians, including the long-term serving music director of the Christ Apostolic Church Secretariat in Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria whom I thought would know about Babalola's composer status were not under the impression that he had been a composer. This made me ponder that if Babalola had composed all those songs, why did no one else seem to know about it? If composing music was a major part of his life and he did compose that many songs, it is probably the kind of thing that would have been celebrated, along with his other contributions to Pentecostal Christianity in Yorùbáland. As Idowu could only present twelve song texts, I embarked on an extensive search for the other song texts that might not even exist. I eventually discovered a book (*Awon Asotele ati Awon orin emi lati enu eniyan Olorun naa Joseph Ayo Babalola*⁴⁴⁰) written by Dayo Oluwamakin at the book stand of the *Efòn Alààyè* sacred site where Babalola is buried. It contained ninety-eight song texts which the author credited to Babalola. The writer who as I mentioned earlier worked as an assistant to Babalola's close associates attested to me during interview that the songs in his book were indeed original compositions by Babalola. Of course, making such big statements without concrete evidence does little to confirm the origin of the songs. As mentioned earlier, more evidence will be required to assert that the songs are indeed Babalola's compositions. Oluwamakin (2004) has not informed us about the processes involved in the composition. More so, were both the texts and music composed by Babalola or was it a combined effort between the clergymen and members of the congregation? These questions and the others raised in Chapter Six if answered will ensure we are better informed on the origin of these alleged Babalola songs, but insufficient evidence has made that

⁴⁴⁰ Translates as 'The prophecies and spiritual songs composed by the man of God Joseph Ayo Babalola'.

unattainable at this time. Nevertheless, as some of these songs are sung in present-day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, I believe their assessment is a contribution to the growing body of research on Yorùbá Pentecostal church music. Of the ninety-eight songs in Oluwamakin's book, I was able to retrieve music for twenty-three through making audio recordings of performances during interviews and observatory activities at the visited churches and prayer sites.

In Chapter Seven, I addressed how Yorùbá Pentecostals engage with and interpret the concepts of holiness and worldliness, especially as they concern appropriateness. Also, I explored the well-suitedness of particular musical practices to Pentecostal values and how Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, through their music ministries, insist that music ministers adhere to ministerial ethics by following certain guidelines. I argue that over the years, Yorùbá Pentecostalism has been carefully positioned in a space it built for itself and is flanked on one side by proscriptions (which are aimed at demonstrating holiness); on the other side by ecstatic worship and prayer, but still encompassed by a secular world. The processes taken prior to music selection for services, the interesting matter of whether it is appropriate to adopt popular music styles during service and the common challenges faced within the music ministry, were also examined in the chapter.

The following section will outline how my research has contributed new knowledge to the study of Yorùbá Pentecostal church music and the broader field of Christian music in Yorùbáland. Thereafter, it will offer recommendations on how my research could be built upon.

8.2. Contributions and Recommendations

As mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, this research draws on fields such as Ethnomusicology, Religious studies, History, as well as the developing field of Christian Congregational Music Studies. The following paragraphs will highlight its contribution to the wider academic field, especially as it concerns the above-mentioned fields.

This research contributes to the wider discourse of African Pentecostal Christianity through its exploration of the historiography of the Pentecostal phenomenon. As explained in the Introduction Chapter, up until now, most of the research on Christian communities in Africa has been conducted by scholars with sociology and religious studies background - with music rarely assessed. Scholars such as Anderson (2004), Peel (1968 and 2000), Kalu (2008) and Fatokun (2009) have since discussed the nature and history of African Pentecostalism but music remains side-lined. However, my research contributes to the ongoing effort to explore and analyse music making within African Pentecostalism. In other word, it fills the gap associated with the paucity of investigations into music as it concerns African Pentecostal studies.

As a pioneering work dedicated to exploring the musical activities of Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, this research has laid a solid foundation for future ethnomusicological research on the subject, building upon the scant existing scholarship on Yorùbá Pentecostal music, thereby providing a more detailed inquiry. One of the major contributions of this research to scholarship is the discovery of songs thought to have been sung at the 1930 revivals. These songs are being put together in an academic dissertation for the first time and this presents opportunities for further exploration. For example, the text of these songs highlights themes that would help scholars in the fields of sociology and religious studies gain more insight and perhaps a better understanding of some of the distinct practices of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. The

discovery of these new songs would also benefit Christian worship experiences as it presents the opportunity for new repertoires for choir ministration during church services.

In addition to contributing to the anthology of Pentecostal music, this research proposes an analytical framework with which the discovered songs can be analysed. For example, with spiritual warfare songs: thematic categorisation and categorisation by function has been proposed. This would be beneficial to scholars who are interested in analysing Pentecostal church music. The study also presented a systematic assessment and classification of music genres and styles that were (and are still) adopted within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity, thereby making an original contribution to the wider discourse on church music.

Over the centuries, Christian groups have developed a wide range of musical traditions. For example, the early Roman church sang its mass in unison chants. On the other hand, Protestants contributed a broad set of religious poetry that are sung as hymns. The spiritual warfare songs of Yorùbá Pentecostalism assessed in this study contributes to the wider discussion of music types among world Christian groups. This contribution is particularly important as the spiritual warfare songs are unknown in many other Christian churches. Furthermore, from the findings of my research, about 85% of rites performed in Yorùbá Pentecostal church services involve music – this discovery provides evidence for claims that music plays a vital role within the Christian church. In the broader context, such findings contribute to the studies of scholars such as Moore (2004) and Hoffman (2012) who have addressed the role of music in religious ritual context. The assessment of the Pentecostal ritual space in this work is an original contribution to the field of ritual studies. This is particularly important as only a few scholars (for example, Albrecht, 1999) analyse Pentecostal services using the ritual framework.

This research has presented compelling evidence to contest earlier observations on the music of Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. For example, Adedeji (2007) argues that praise and

worship music started in Nigeria in the 1980s (p. 204). My research, however, based on interviews with Oshun, Oluwamakin and the evidence given by scholars such as Peel (1968, p. 159), Adedeji (2010, p. 232) and Idowu (2012b, p. 91) presents the case that praise and worship music predates the 1980s and it seemed to have originated from the *Aladura* movement who referred to it as ‘choruses’. Adedeji (2007) also asserts that churches such as the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, the Apostolic church, Deeper Life Bible church and Apostolic Faith do not engage in praise nights (p. 211), but my research has shown that they do. Also, the claim that *highlife* and *makossa* are individually distinct styles (when they actually are variants of the *calypso* style) has been rightly discredited by this work.

The assessment of music making among Yorùbá Pentecostals in this research contributes to the ever-growing body of work on Christian congregational music. It is worth noting that most of the studies that have since been carried out in this emerging field has focused on Western Christianity. Hence, the discussions and findings of this research presents new material towards exploring and understanding the experience of African Pentecostalism and its music.

Having highlighted some of the main contributions of this research, the following paragraphs presents some recommendations.

Looking forward, I hope the transcriptions and analysis of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church music samples in this dissertation will inspire further intensive research into the musical practices of these Pentecostal churches. As mentioned earlier, I was able to retrieve melodies for twenty-three of the ninety-eight songs attributed to Babalola. Irrespective of their contentious origin, these melodies can be developed into choral pieces with the addition of Alto, Tenor and Bass parts, thereby presenting new repertoires to be sung by choirs during church services.

Although the above-mentioned challenge of inability to access some materials from the early period of Yorùbá Pentecostalism might linger, I suggest that researchers in the field of Nigerian

Gospel music and related areas should make more effort to advocate, as well as engage in documenting and analysing current practices⁴⁴¹ within Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity. I believe this will to some extent ensure that these practices are preserved and therefore available to be accessed for possible research in the future. In addition to promoting a culture of adequate documentation and preservation of musical practices, more focused research on Yorùbá Pentecostal church music (both past and present) could be the key to sustaining the momentum of the present-day Pentecostal movement in Nigeria, especially since music is reportedly a primary element in their liturgy. Beyond Yorùbá Pentecostal Christianity, there is need for more research focusing on how ecstasy is experienced in Christian worship spaces, especially in areas such as African Pentecostal communities where such inquiry seems to have been neglected. As mentioned in Chapter One, most of the main materials on religious experience have neglected this geographical location.

My research work has not only highlighted how Yorùbá Pentecostals engage with music, it also explored the works of two prominent composers – Olukoya and Olaniran. I opine that this path could be developed into an extensive research of its own. For example, the collation and analysis of repertoires composed by other music composers of Yorùbá Pentecostal church background, especially those by prominent clergymen in the Nigerian Pentecostal scene, such as Adeboye of RCCG and Kumuyi of DLBC is possibly an area for future research.

On the wider perspective, my research opens up possibilities to develop the inquiry that I have carried out on the new trends and developments (see Chapter Five) which were not the main focus of my work but will likely become natural objects of future research enquiry. In addition, the questions that have emerged from my work provide possible avenues for future research.

⁴⁴¹ For example, in Chapter Five I briefly explored some of the new trends that are beginning to develop in present day Yorùbá Pentecostal churches, especially those related to music making.

For example, questions such as – to what extent do the very loud sound levels observed at Yorùbá Pentecostal church services have any effect on the service ritual? What type of music do members of the congregation prefer among the different ones available to them? Do these music types inform congregants’ decision to attend church? What kind of musical experiences do members of the congregation have outside the church and how do these inform their experiences within the church? How do congregants and people in the music ministry teach and learn new repertoire? Are the methodologies for teaching music within the church the same as those used at other music schools in the city? – amongst others could form the basis for detailed enquiries in the future. Furthermore, what effect does tempo have on service rites? For instance, someone could undertake an empirical study of how carefully controlled pace, repetition of sound and movement, and hyper-stimulation evinces cognitive transformation – for example in respect to spiritual warfare singing and praise singing. There is also the opportunity to undertake a similar thorough investigation into the musical activities of other Pentecostal churches and compare them with the MFM practices I have revealed in this work.

My inquiry into the musical practices of the Yorùbá Pentecostal church has considered music types pre-Christianity, music genres thought to have been adopted at the 1930 revivals and those that are currently in use among Yorùbá Pentecostals, together with clapping patterns amongst others. However, I have not assessed the dance movements that often accompany some of these music types, and this offers an opening for future study. The same can be said for the styles of vocalisation that are commonly used for genres such as worship, praise and spiritual warfare. I consider these and related topics as worth analysing in future research endeavours. In all, this research has demonstrated that all aspects of Yorùbá Pentecostal church services, including music, are designed to promote the need for the spiritual self to have a sacred experience, or better still, a spiritual encounter.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

1.

The musical score is for a piece titled "Emi o gbe oju mi so-ke won-ni: ni-boni iranlowe mi gio ha ti wa." It features two vocal parts: "Boys" and "Men". The Boys part is in the treble clef, and the Men part is in the bass clef. The piano accompaniment is in the right and left hands. The score includes lyrics in Yoruba and English. The Boys part has lyrics: "Emi o gbe oju mi so-ke won-ni: ni-boni iranlowe mi gio ha ti wa." The Men part has lyrics: "Iranlowe mi ti o-wo Oluwa wato da orun on-ai-ye." The piano part includes a section marked "Manual colla voce ad lib. cresc." and "Ped." (Pedal). The score is in 4/4 time and G major.

Excerpt of *Èmi ó gbé ojú mi sókè wonni* (I will lift up my eyes to the hills) by T.K.E. Phillips.

2.

The musical score is for a piece titled "Iná wo nú mi lo" (Holy Ghost fire enter into me). It is a Yorùbá spiritual warfare song. The score is in 12/8 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are: "I - na wo nu mi lo i - na n - la wo nu mi lo i - na n - la". The score is written on two staves, with the first staff starting with a treble clef and the second staff starting with a bass clef. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Iná wo nú mi lo (Holy Ghost fire enter into me). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

3.

Fire_____ oh fire_____ fire_____ oh fire____

4
_____ i - na O - lo - run ma lo - njo o fire_____

Fire oh, ina Olorun ma lo' njo o fire (Fire, the Holy Ghost fire is burning). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

4.

A - gba - ra O - lo - run po_____ A - gba - ra O - lo - run

3
po_____ o la naa so - ri o-kun o wo di Je - ri - ko_____

Agbára Olórun pò (The power of God is great, it parted the sea and brought down the wall of Jericho). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

5.

A-gba - ra nbe_ ni-nu e-je Je-su_____ A-gba - ra nbe_ ni-nu e-je re A-gba

5
ra nbe_ ni-nu e-je Je-su_____ A-gba - ra nbe_ ni-nu e-je re

Agbára ñbe nínú èjẹ̀ Jẹ́sù (There is power in the blood of Jesus). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

6.

A - gba - ra e - su da ni - bi ti Je - su n'gbe jo' ba____

3
A - gba - ra e - su da ko si o, o ti wo____

Agbára èsù dà (The power of Satan cannot operate where Jesus reigns, Satan has lost his power). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

7.

A - la - pa n - la____ a - la - pa n - la Ba - ba

3
no - wo____ re o a - la - pa n - la____

Alápá ñlá (Lord stretch out your mighty hand of deliverance). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

8.

I - ru gbin o - ta o ja - de ku ro la ra mi____ i - ru gbin o - ta o ja - de ku ro la ra mi____

5
lo - ru - ko Je - su o ja - de ku ro la ra mi____ ja - de____ ja - de____ ja - de____

Irúgbìn òtá ò jáde kúrò lára mi (Every plantation of the enemy in my body, come out in Jesus name). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

9.

Ja ja ja_____ ja ku-ro la-ra mi_____ tu tu tu_____ tu

4

ku-ro la-ra mi_____ i - de a - won o - ta_____ ja ku-ro la-ra mi_____

Ja ja ja ja kúrò lára mi (Lord break every bondage and chain of the enemy from my life). Yorùbá spiritual warfare song.

10.

I will call u-pon the Lord_____ who is wor-ty to be praised_____ so shall I be

6

saved from my e - ne-mies, the Lord_____ reign- eth_____ bless-ed be the Lord, let the

9

rock of my sal - va - tion be ex - al - ted_____ the Lord_____ reign- eth_____

12

bless-ed be the Lord, let the rock of my sal - va - tion be ex - al - ted

I will call upon the Lord. Yorùbá Pentecostal church praise song.

11.

B. PERER
Nípa Èsò Wòn 1

Arr: Emmanuel Biamah DANIEL K. OLUKOYA

Solo: *CHORUS*
Ní-pa-è-sò wòn Ní-pa-è-sò wòn

SOPRANO
ALTO
TENOR
BASS
Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso,
Ní-pa-è-sò wòn, I-ye-yin-o ti-mo-won, A-hi, o,
Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, I-ye-yin-o ti-mo-won, o,
Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, I-ye-yin-o ti-mo-won, o,

III Back to Chorus after each verse

Ax.1 - Men *3/4 5/4 3/4 5/4 3/4 5/4* Soprano
Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, Eso, o. Sugbon

Ax.2 - Soprano solo

Rall.
I-esu Olona lo wipe Igi re re o Igi re re o, ko le so e-so
bu-hu-ru, Sugbon.

Nípa èsò won (By their fruits you shall know them) by D.K. Olukoya (1 of 2).

2

Vs.3 - Soprano solo

Ejẹ ka so eso to jẹ fun conu - piwada, tori gbogbo igi ti koba so eso

eso'rere, A o o kee lu-le, a o wọ xinu i-na Nto-ri.

Vs.4 - Soprano solo

Onikupani, Oni-rẹ, Oloju-kokoro, ẹlẹ-mu, Pan-saga,

Angbere, A - iagidi, Abani-jẹ, ẹ jẹka conu pi-wa-da

ka le wọ i-jẹ - ba_Qlọ- run.Amọ.

998 D.K. OLUKOYA MUSIC SCORE SETTING: REFUNDA MUSIC COMPANY LIMITED

Nípa èso won (By their fruits you shall know them) by D.K. Olukoya (2 of 2).

12.

OKE NLA SIDI

Daniel K. Olukoya $J = 94$ Arr: 'Seun Owojé

Lead voice

Sop/Alt

Ten/Bass

Piano

Bass Gtr

5

O ke n la si di, o ke n la. O ke n la si di, di pe te le.

O ke n la si di, o ke n la. o ke n la. O ju ti o

9

L'oruko Jesu, si di o ke n la. O ke n la si di, di pe te le.

Òkè ñlá sídì (Be removed, thou great mountain) by D.K. Olukoya (1 of 4).

13

O ke n la si di, O ke n la O ke n la si di, di pe te le

17

Sop/Ten: o ju ti o
O ke n la si di, O ke n la O ke n la Alt/Ten/Bss: ti o

21

L'oruko Je su, si di O ke n la O ke n la si di, di pe te le.

OKE NLA SIDI. - P. 2

Òkè òlá sídì (Be removed, thou great mountain) by D.K. Olukoya (2 of 4).

Wa gb'o hun mi fo ni. Wa gb'o hun mi fo ni.

29 O ke ton gb'o gun pa nu mo lo ni. Gbo o hun Je su o

33 O ken la si di, O ken la si di, di pe te le. O ken la si di, O ken la di pe te le.

1. Oke nla sidi oke nla
Oke nla sidi di petele
Oke nla sidi oke nla
Oke nla oju ti o
Loruko Jesu sidi oke nla
Oke nla sidi di petele

REFRAIN
Wa gb'o hun mi loni 2x
Oke to ngbogun panumo loni
Gbo ohun Jesu o

Halleluyah Jesu se 'leri
Se 'leri lati gbo adura
Halleluyah Jesu se leri
Se 'leri lati gbo adura
Gbera nile ko si tesiwaju
Oke nla sidi di petele

Òkè nlá sídì (Be removed, thou great mountain) by D.K. Olukoya (3 of 4).

37 O ke n la si di, O ke n la O ke n la o ju ti o

O ke n la o ju ti o o

41 L'oruko Je su, si di O ke n la. O ke n la si di di pe te le.

c. L'oruko Je su, si di o. O ke n la di pe te le.

3. Oke nla sidi oke nla
Oke nla oju ti o o
Oke nla sidi oke nla
Oke nla oju ti o
Mura sile lati se'gbe pata
Oke nla sidi di petele

4. Oke nla sidi oke nla
Oke nla sidi di petele
Oke nla sidi oke nla
Oke nla oju ti o
Bi o fe o, bi o kò, oke nla
Oke nla sidi di petele

OKE NLA SIDI. - P. 4

Òkè nlá sídì (Be removed, thou great mountain) by D.K. Olukoya (4 of 4).

13.

Omi Iye

Christ Apostolic Church's
Traditional melody

Solo or unison
♩ = 100
Arr by: Olaniran, S.O
January 2013.

Larghetto

SOPRANO
ALTO
TENOR
BASS

Piano

O - mi i - ye ti de. I - gba - la - yi ti de.
O - mi i - ye ti de. I - wo - san yi ti de. E - ni - ke - ni to ba mu ni - nu o - mi,

5

S.
A.

Pno.

o - mi i - ye, o - mi i - gba - la, o - ru - gbe ki yo gbe - mo lai. Je - su kris - ti o - lo - mi 'ye,

8

S.
A.

Pno.

o - ru - gbe ki yo gbe - mo lai. Je - su kris - ti o - lo - mi 'ye, ai - ni ko tun je ti - won mo.

11

S.
A.

Pno.

Je - su kris - ti o - lo - mi 'ye, i - le - ra pi - pe ti - ti ai - ye. Ti - ti ai - ye, ti - ti ai - ye.

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Omi Ìyè (Living Water) by Oluwatosin Olaniran (1 of 3).

14

S. A. O-mi i-ye o-mi, o-mi i-ye o-mi. O-lo-mi i-ye yi ma tun de o, o-mi i-ye yi ma de o.

Pno.

17

S. A. Je - su o-lo-mi i-ye, Je - su o-lo-mi i-ye. o ti de, o ti de, de o.

T. B.

Pno.

SATB, Attacca

20

S. A. o - ti de, o - ti de, de o. O ti de, o ti de, de o o ti de, O ti de, de o. I -

T. B. O ti de o. O ti de o, O ti de o.

23

S. A. Soloist ye de. Je - su! o-lo-mi i - ye re o. O - mi i - ye i - ye, i - ye re o, o - mi i

T. B. Choir SATB

27

S. A. Soloist E - mi mi-mo o - lo - mi i - ye re o. O - mi i - ye! i - ye! i - ye! i - ye! i -

T. B. Choir SATB

Omi Ìyè (Living Water) by Oluwatosin Olaniran (2 of 3).

30

S.
A.
T.
B.

ye re o, o - mi i Je - su o - lo - mi i - ye.

V.1 uni. 33

S.
A.

E-ni-ke-ni to ba fe 'ye, k'o wa mu'mi i - gba-la. I-gba-la o-fe, i-wo-san o-fe, a - yo ai - ni - pe - kun.

37

S.
A.

Je - su fun wa lo - mi i - ye ka - wa ko la - yo, I - ye, a - yo a - ye - ra - ye

40

S.
A.

ka - wa ko la - yo ai - ni - pe kun. Je - su o - lo - mi (chrs)

V. 2 uni. 42

S.
A.

Mo fe m'o-mi, mo fe m'o-mi mo fe m'o mi i ye. mo fe m'o-mi, mo fe m'o-mi mo fe m'o-mi i - gba-la,

46

S.
A.

mo fe m'o - mi, mo fe m'o - mi mo fe m'o - mi i - tu - si - le.

48

S.
A.

O - mi ti yio da kan - ga i - ye ai - ni - pe - kun s'i - nu wa. Je - su o - lo - mi (Chrs)

Omi Ìyè (Living Water) by Oluwatosin Olaniran (3 of 3).

AGBARA JESU WA SIBE

Arr: Olaniran, S.O
July 2010

Worror ♩ = 120

SOPRANO
ALTO

TENOR
BASS

A-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be, a-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be,

A-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be. (O wa si be) Je - su mi ko re bi - kan.

O gb'o-mo Is-re - li, ni - le I-jip - ti, o ja-won lo-wo gba, lo-wo Fa-ra -

o, O-gun Fa-ra - o lo-kun pu-pa ti ru-lo. O wa si-be si-be ko re 'bi - kan.

kan. A-gba-ra Je - su (etc....chorus) O wa si - be, O wa si -

A-gba-ra Je - su wa si be.

be a - gba-ra to wo le i-ku to wo le a-run o, Je-su wa si - be. O wa si -

A-gba ra Je-su wa si be, A-gba-ra Je-su wa si be.

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Agbára Jèsù wà síbè (The power of Jesus is forever potent) by Oluwatosin Olaniran (1 of 2).

25

1. 2.

be, Je - su mi ko re bi kan. kan. Ko re 'bi-kan o wa si-
Ko re bi kan o wa si - be.

be. O wa si - be si - be. O wa si-be si - be. O wa si - be si - be, O wa si-be si -
A-gba-ra Je - su wa si be, a-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be,

be, O wa si - be si - be, O wa si - be si - be. Je - su mi ko re bi
A-gba-ra Je - su wa si - be.

kan, Je - su mi ko re bi kan, Je - su mi ko re bi kan, Je - su mi ko re bi
O wa si be si be, O wa si be si be, O wa si be si be
Ko re bi kan ko re bi kan, ko re bi

kan, Je - su mi ko re bi kan. A-gba-ra Je - su wa si be, a-gba-ra Je - su wa si
be, o wa si be si be
kan, ko re bi

be, a-gba-ra Je - su wa si be. Je - su mi ko re bi kan.
O wa si be

Agbára Jèsù wà síbè (The power of Jesus is forever potent) by Oluwatosin Olaniran (2 of 2).

Appendix B

1. 2 Samuel Chapter 6 (KJV)

Again, David gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand.

² And David arose, and went with all the people that were with him from Baale of Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God, whose name is called by the name of the Lord of hosts that dwelleth between the cherubims.

³ And they set the ark of God upon a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibeah: and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drave the new cart.

⁴ And they brought it out of the house of Abinadab which was at Gibeah, accompanying the ark of God: and Ahio went before the ark.

⁵ And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instruments made of fir wood, even on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.

⁶ And when they came to Nachon's threshingfloor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it.

⁷ And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God.

⁸ And David was displeased, because the Lord had made a breach upon Uzzah: and he called the name of the place Perezuzzah to this day.

⁹ And David was afraid of the Lord that day, and said, How shall the ark of the Lord come to me?

¹⁰ So David would not remove the ark of the Lord unto him into the city of David: but David carried it aside into the house of Obededom the Gittite.

¹¹ And the ark of the Lord continued in the house of Obededom the Gittite three months: and the Lord blessed Obededom, and all his household.

¹² And it was told king David, saying, The Lord hath blessed the house of Obededom, and all that pertaineth unto him, because of the ark of God. So David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obededom into the city of David with gladness.

¹³ And it was so, that when they that bare the ark of the Lord had gone six paces, he sacrificed oxen and fatlings.

¹⁴ And David danced before the Lord with all his might; and David was girded with a linen ephod.

¹⁵ So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet.

¹⁶ And as the ark of the Lord came into the city of David, Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart.

¹⁷ And they brought in the ark of the Lord, and set it in his place, in the midst of the tabernacle that David had pitched for it: and David offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord.

¹⁸ And as soon as David had made an end of offering burnt offerings and peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts.

¹⁹ And he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon of wine. So all the people departed every one to his house.

²⁰ Then David returned to bless his household. And Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said, How glorious was the king of Israel to day, who uncovered himself to day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!

²¹ And David said unto Michal, It was before the Lord, which chose me before thy father, and before all his house, to appoint me ruler over the people of the Lord, over Israel: therefore will I play before the Lord.

²² And I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight: and of the maidservants which thou hast spoken of, of them shall I be had in honour.

²³ Therefore Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death.

2. 1 Chronicles Chapter 15, verses 28 and 29 (KJV)

²⁸ Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord with shouting, and with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps.

²⁹ And it came to pass, as the ark of the covenant of the Lord came to the city of David, that Michal, the daughter of Saul looking out at a window saw king David dancing and playing: and she despised him in her heart.

Appendix C (Songs text and English translation)

Example 2.1: *Àfè mí Mímó ló lè so ni da' là yè*

Àfè mí mímó ló lè so ni da' là yè	Only the Holy Spirit can revive a person
Àfè mí mímó ló lè so ni da' là yè	Only the Holy Spirit can revive a person
So ni da' là yè	He revives
So ni da' là yè	He revives
Àfè mí mímó ló lè so ni da' là yè	Only the Holy Spirit can revive a person
Lá'ì sí èmí ò fo lè nì yàn	Without the Holy Spirit, man is nothing
Àfè mí mímó ló lè so ni da' là yè	Only the Holy Spirit can revive a person

Example 2.2: *Omi lo fí sè' wò sà*

Omi lo fí sè' wò sà	He used water to heal
Omi lo fí sè' wò sà	He used water to heal
Ò kú a lé àná da' là yè	Yester night's corpse has come back to life
Omi lo fí sè' wò sà	He used water to heal

Example 3.1: *Wè kí omó*

Wè kí omó	Bath regularly so you will be clean
Gé èkáná re	Trim your nails
J'eun tó dára lá sì kò	Eat well at the appropriate time
Má j'eun jù	But do not eat more than necessary

Example 3.2: *Ìyá kú isé mi*

Ìyá lolù tó'jú mi	Mother is my carer
Tó'n tó'jú mi ní kékeré	The one who cares for me from childhood
Èyin rè ló fí pò'n mí	With her back, she carried me
Ìyá kú isé mi	Mother, well done for taking care of me
Èmi kí'yá mi kú isé	I greet my mother, well done
Pèlú' teríbè mó'lè	With a bowed head, I offer my salute
Èmi kò ní ko'isé fún'yá mi mó	I shall never be disobedient to my mother
Ìyá, ìyá, ìyá	Mother, mother, mother

Example 3.3: *Epo n'be èwà n'be o*

Epo n'be èwà n'be o	There's enough palm oil and beans
Epo n'be èwà n'be o	There's enough palm oil and beans
Epo n'be èwà n'be o	There's enough palm oil and beans
Epo n'be èwà n'be o	There's enough palm oil and beans
Èrù ò bà wá	We are not afraid
Rára o	Not at all
Èrù ò bà wá láti bí'bejì	We are not afraid to bear twins
Epo n'be èwà n'be o	There's enough palm oil and beans

Example 3.4 & 3.5: *Isé Olúwa*

Isé Olúwa	What God has done
Kò lè bà jé o	Cannot be destroyed

Isé Olúwa	What God has done
Kò lè bà jé o	Cannot be destroyed

Example 3.6: *Ìbà re, Jèsù oh*

Ìbà re, Jèsù oh	We hail you, Jesus
Ìbà re, Omo Olórun	We hail you, Son of God
Elérùníyìn mo júbà re	We bow before the One who is fearful in praises
O mà seun	Thank you

Example 3.7: *Apá 'ńlá tó s'ayé ró*

Apá 'ńlá tó s'ayé ró	The great arm on which the earth's pillars stand
Àjàkárí ayé gbogbo	Undefeated warlord of the whole universe
Kìniún o, Èya Júdáà	Lion of the tribe of Judah
Ìwo lo'pé ye baba	The one who deserves our praise

Example 3.8: *Bàbá Mímó tìre làse*

(Call) Bàbá Mímó tìre làse	Holy Father, you are the one with supreme authority
(Response) Àse o, Oba Olùgbàlà	Supreme authority, Our Deliverer & King
(Call) Méta lókan tìre làse	Three in one, you are the one with supreme authority
(Response) Àse o, Oba Olùgbàlà	Supreme authority, Our Deliverer & King

Example 3.9: *Kì'ńgbe'bo*

Kì'ńgbe'bo	He does not demand sacrifice
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Kì'ngbe'ran	He does not demand meat
Kì'ngbo'wó	He does not demand money
Kì'ngbàbètelè	He does not demand bribe
Opé'ń'lá ló ye ó o	You deserve much praise
Jésù Olóore	Jesus, the free giver

Example 3.12: *Olóore, Olóore, Jésù Olóore*

(Call) Olóore, olóore	The giver
(Response) Olóore, olóore	The giver
(Call) Jésù olóore o	Jesus the giver of all good things
(Response) Olóore	The giver
(Call) Ma fì'jó san diè fun	I'll pay Him a little with dance
(Response) Ma fì'jó san diè fun	I'll pay Him a little with dance
(Call) Ma fa'yò san diè fun	I'll pay Him a little with joy
(Response) Ma fa'yò san diè fun	I'll pay Him a little with joy
(Call) Ma fè'rín san diè fun	I'll pay Him a little with laughter
(Response) Ma fè'rín san diè fun	I'll pay Him a little with laughter
(Call) Jésù olóore o	Jesus the giver of all good things
(Response) Olóore	The giver

Example 3.14: *On pè ó*

On pè ó, bó' ti se'pè mí wá	He (Jesus) is calling you, just as He once called me
Ó so'mí da'ládùrà Pentecostal movement)	He has made me an Aladura (a member of the praying

Mo do'lorí ire

I am blessed

Example 3.15: *Jésù nìkan*

Jésù nìkan ló lè gba ni là

Only Jesus can save

Jésù nìkan ló lè gba ni là

Only Jesus can save

Allelúyà

Hallelujah

Example 3.16: *Esáré wá*

Esáré wá, e wá wò ó

Run quickly, come and see Him

E wá wo'lùgbàlà tó so ayé àwa di rere Come and see the Saviour who has turned my life
around for good

Example 3.18: *Evil arrows go back to your sender*

Evil arrows go back to your sender

Evil arrows go back to your sender

Example 3.19: *Ro iná re o, ro iná re wá*

Ro iná re o, ro iná re wá

Rain your fire, rain down your fire

Ro iná re o, ro iná re wá

Rain your fire, rain down your fire

Olórun Èlìjàh, ro iná re o

God of Elijah, rain your fire

Example 3.20: *Holy Ghost and fire*

Holy Ghost and fire

Fill my spirit, fill my soul, fill my life

Example 3.21: *I need the fire that is fresh*

I need the fire that is fresh

I need the fire that is fresh

Old fire cannot do it

I need the fire that is fresh

Example 3.22: *Iná wá wá wá wá jó won run*

Iná wá wá wá wá jó won run	Fire come come come come destroy them
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Iná wá wá wá wá jó won run	Fire come come come come destroy them
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Ogun tí mo jà jà jà tí kò sé	The battles I fought endlessly without victory
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Iná wá wá wá wá jó won run	Fire come come come come destroy them
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Example 3.23: *Ilè lanu ká'gbára èsù wolè*

Ilè lanu	Ground open
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Ká'gbára èsù wolè	Swallow the power of demonic forces
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Ká'gbára Olórun dúró	While the power of God remains
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Allelúyà	Hallelujah
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Example 3.24: *Gbe wò mí o*

Gbe wò mí o	Possess me
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Gbe wò mí o	Possess me
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Agbára bí ti yàrá òkè Power of the upper room

Gbe wò mí o Possess me

Example 3.25: *Bà mi ja*

Bà mi ja ò Break me free oh

Bà mi ja Break me free

Bà mi ja ò Break me free oh

Bà mi ja Break me free

Àgádágodo tá'yé fí dè mí o From the padlocks with which demonic forces
have bound me

Bà mi ja Break me free

Example 3.26: *Àjé tí kò j'ómo sùn*

Àjé tí kò j'ómo sùn The witch who will not allow us sleep

Baba tá'lófà olóró Father, fire at them the arrow of destruction

Tá'lófà Fire at them

Baba tá'lófà olóró Father, fire at them the arrow of destruction

Example 3.27: *Ón ró ke kè ke*

Ón ró ke kè ke ón'ró *Ke kè ke*, it sounds

Ón ró ke kè ke ón'ró *Ke kè ke*, it sounds

Ìbon Èlédùmarè The gun of the Almighty

Ón ró ke kè ke It sounds, *ke kè ke*

Ìbon Èlédùmarè

The gun of the Almighty

Ón ró ke kè ke

It sounds, *ke kè ke*

Example 4.1: *I have decided to follow Jesus*

I have decided to follow Jesus

I have decided to follow Jesus

I have decided to follow Jesus

Not turning back, no turning back

Example 5.1: *Ewá bá mi gbé gbá opé*

Ewá bá mi gbé gbá opé o

Come and join me in lifting the sacrifice of praise

Yé yè ye

(Vocal expression denoting flamboyance)

Example 5.2: *We bring the sacrifice of praise*

We bring the sacrifice of praise

Into the house of the Lord

We bring the sacrifice of praise

Into the house of the Lord

As we offer unto thee

The sacrifices of thanksgiving

As we offer unto thee

The sacrifices of praise

Example 5.4: *Thank you so much Lord Jesus*

Thank you so much Lord Jesus

Thank you so much Lord Jesus

Thank you so much Lord Jesus

We thank you, We thank you, We thank you

Example 5.7: *Oba iyè ògó ye ó*

Oba iyè	King of life
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Ògó ye ó	You are worthy of all glory
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Alágbára	The mighty one
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Tó'rù 'bànújé mi lo	Who took away my sorrow
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Example 5.9: *We are on the mountain Zion*

We are on the mountain Zion

We are on the mountain Zion

We are on the mountain Zion

Are here to praise the Lord

Example 5.10: *To rí náà le se'ń jé Olúwa*

To rí náà le se'ń jé Olúwa	That is why you are called Lord
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To rí náà le se'ń jé Olúwa	That is why you are called Lord
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Elèse elèwí	You will do what you say
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Elèwí elèse	What you say you always do
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To rí náà le se'ń jé Olúwa

That is why you are called Lord

Example 5.11: *O come let us adore Him*

O come let us adore Him

O come let us adore Him

O come let us adore Him

Christ the Lord

Example 5.12: *We give you all the glory*

We give you all the glory

We worship You our Lord

You are worthy to be praised

Example 6.1: *Eyìn ín lógo yin baba*

Eyìn ín lógo

Give Him glory

Yin Baba

Praise to the Father

Eyìn ín lógo

Give Him glory

Yin Baba

Praise to the Father

Ó la'jú afóju

For He opened the eyes of the blind

Yin Baba

Praise to the Father

Ó jí òkú dìde

And He raised the dead

Yin Baba

Praise to the Father

Example 6.2: *Á gbó o Baba*

Á gbó o Baba	Our father will hear us
Á gbó o Baba	Our father will hear us
Bí a bá gbàdúrà sókè	If we pray out loud
Á gbó o Baba	Our father will hear us

Example 6.3: *Ejé ká fà 'dúrà ka*

Ejé ká fà 'dúrà ka	Let us use prayer to harvest
Ejé ká fà 'dúrà ka	Let us use prayer to harvest
Ore òfé sòkalè	The grace of God coming down
Ejé ká fà 'dúrà ka	Let us use prayer to harvest

Example 6.4: *Pè é pè é Jèsù o*

Pè é pè é Jèsù o	Call him, call him, call him Jesus
Pè é pè é Jèsù o	Call him, call him, call him Jesus

Example 6.5: *Omi àdúrà á bé è rè rè*

Omi àdúrà á bé è rè rè	The prayer water would trouble them
Omi àdúrà á bé è rè rè	The prayer water would trouble them
Àsèniyàn seranko	Evil doers and sorcerers
Omi àdúrà á bé è rè rè	The prayer water would trouble them

Example 6.6: *Kí ló n dúm*

Kí ló n dún	What is that sound?
Owó lo n dún	It's the sound of thunderous clapping
Kí ló n sá	What is running?
Ikú ló n sá	It's death
Kí ló n kù	What is gathering in the clouds?
Ìgbàlà n kù bí òjò	It's salvation trickling down like rain

Example 6.7: *Nípa èso won*

Nípa èso won	By their fruits
Nípa èso won o	Oh, by their fruits
Nípa èso won o	Oh, by their fruits
L'èyin ó fí mò wón o	You shall know them

Example 6.8: *Òkè nílá*

Òkè nílá	Thou great mountain
Sídíí	Be removed
Òkè nílá	Thou great mountain

Example 6.9: *Agbára Jèsù wà síbè*

Agbára Jèsù wà síbè	The power of Jesus is ever potent
Agbára Jèsù wà síbè	The power of Jesus is ever potent
Agbára Jèsù wà síbè	The power of Jesus is ever potent
Jèsù mi kòrè bikan	My Jesus remains the same

Example 6.10: *Omi Ìyè*

Jésù! Olómi ìyè ré o	Jesus! The giver of living water
Omi ìyè	The living water
Ìyè ré o	Full of life
Omi ìyè	The living water

Figure 3.3: *Jé ká yin Olórun wa*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Jé ká yin Olórun wa,
Eni tí ó wà lókè òrun,
Tó fi ónje fún ènìà,
Tí ó sì fi fún eranko. | Let us praise our God,
The One in the highest heavens,
Who provides food to man,
And animals alike. |
| 2. Ó sì té ojú òrun lo,
Ó dá òrun òn òsùpá,
Isé owó re nìràwò,
Iye nwon àwa kò lè ká. | He who rides on the heavens,
He created the heavens and the moon,
The stars are his handiwork,
They are innumerable, |
| 3. Isé tí owó re sì se,
Ó nsó àwon onígàgbò,
Lósàn, lóru ló ñpa ñwón mó,
Kúrò nínú ibi gbogbo. | The works of His hands,
Watches over them all the time,
Protecting them day and night,
From all harm. |

Appendix A1: *Èmi ó gbé ojú mi sókè wonnì*

Èmi ó gbé ojú mi sókè wonnì	I will lift up my eyes to the hills
Níbo ni ìrànlowó mi yío ha ti wá	From where comes my help
Ìrànlowó mi ti owó Olúwa wá	My help comes from the Lord
Tí ó dá òrun òn aiyé	Who made heaven and earth
Ìrànlowó mi	My help
Ìrànlowó mi ti owó...	My help comes from...

Appendix A2: *Iná wo nú mi lo*

Iná wo nú mi lo	Holy Ghost fire, enter into me
Iná nla, wo nú mi lo	Mighty fire, enter into me
Iná nla	Mighty fire

Appendix A3: *Fire oh, fire, iná Olórun mà ló' njó o fire*

Fire oh, fire	Fire oh, fire
Fire oh, fire	Fire oh, fire
Iná Olórun mà ló' njó, fire	The Holy Ghost fire is burning, fire

Appendix A4: *Agbára Olórun pò*

Agbára Olórun pò	The power of God is great
Agbára Olórun pò	The power of God is great
Ó lànàà sórí òkun	It parted the sea
Ó wó di Jérikò	And brought down the wall of Jericho

Appendix A5: *Agbára nbe nínú èje Jèsù*

Agbára nbe nínú èje Jèsù	There is power in the blood of Jesus
Agbára nbe nínú èje rè	There is power in His blood
Agbára nbe nínú èje Jèsù	There is power in the blood of Jesus
Agbára nbe nínú èje rè	There is power in His blood

Appendix A6: *Agbára èsù dà*

Agbára èsù dà	Where is the power of Satan?
Níbi tí Jèsù n'gbé jo'ba	Where Jesus reigns
Agbára èsù dà	Where is the power of Satan?
Kò sí o, ó ti wó	It's nowhere to be found, it has collapsed

Appendix A7: *Alápá nílá*

Alápá nílá	The One with the mighty hand
Alápá nílá	The One with the mighty hand
Bàbá naa wóò re ò	Lord stretch out your mighty hand of deliverance
Alápá nílá	The One with the mighty hand

Appendix A8: *Irúgbìn òtá ò jáde kúrò lára mi*

Irúgbìn òtá ò	Every plantation of the enemy in my body
Jáde kúrò lára mi	Come out in Jesus name
Irúgbìn òtá ò	Every plantation of the enemy in my body
Jáde kúrò lára mi	Come out in Jesus name

Irúgbìn òtá ò	Every plantation of the enemy in my body
Jáde kúrò lára mi	Come out in Jesus name
Jáde, Jáde, Jáde	Come out, come out, come out

Appendix A9: *Ja ja ja ja kúrò lára mi*

Ja ja ja ja kúrò lára mi	Break, break, break, break them off my body
Tú tú tú tú kúrò lára mi	Loose, loose, loose, loose away from my body
Ìdè àwon òtá	Every bondage and chain of the enemy
Já kúrò lára mi	Break them off my body

Appendix A10: *I will call upon the Lord*

I will call upon the Lord

Who is worthy to be praised

So shall I be saved from my enemies

The Lord reigneth blessed be the Lord

Let the rock of my salvation be exalted

The Lord reigneth blessed be the Lord

Let the rock of my salvation be exalted

Appendix A11: *Nípa èso won*

Nípa èso won	By their fruits
Nípa èso won	By their fruits
Nípa èso won	By their fruits

L'èyin ó fi mò wón o You shall know them

Èso Fruit

Jèsù Olúwa ló wípé It was the Lord Jesus who said

Igi rere ò, igi rere ò A good tree, a good tree

Kò lè so èso búburú Cannot bear bad fruits

Sùgbón, Nípa èso won... But, By their fruits...

E jé ká so èso tó ye fún rònú pìwàdà Let us bear good fruits worthy of repentance

Torí gbogbo igi tí kò bá so èso Because every tree that does do bear fruits

Èso rere Good fruits

A ó ò geé lulè Will be cut down

A ó wo sínú iná Will be thrown into fire

Nítorí, Nípa èso won... Because, By their fruits

Oníkúpani, Oníró Murderer, Liar

Olójúkókòrò, Elému Covetous, Drunkard

Panságà, Alágbèrè Promiscuous, Fornicator

Alágídí, Abanije Stubborn, Traitor

Ejé ká ronú pìwàdà Let us repent

Ká lè wo ijoba Olórun So we can enter God's kingdom

Àmó, Nípa èso won... Although, By their fruits...

Appendix A12: *Òkè nílá sídì*

Òkè nílá sídì, òkè nílá	Thou great mountain be removed, thou great mountain
Òkè nílá sídì, dì pè te lè	Thou great mountain be removed, and become a plain
Òkè nílá sídì, òkè nílá	Thou great mountain be removed, thou great mountain
Òkè nílá, O jú tì ó	Thou great mountain, you are put to shame
L'órúko Jésù,	In the name of Jesus
Sídì òkè nílá	Be removed, thou great mountain
Òkè nílá sídì, dì pè te lè	Thou great mountain be removed, and become a plain
Wá gb'òhùn mi lò ní	Hear my voice today
Wá gb'òhùn mi lò ní	Hear my voice today
Ò kè tón gb'ògun	Thou troubling mountain
Pa'nu mó l'ó nìí	Be silenced today
Gbó ohùn Jésù o	Hear the voice of Jesus

Appendix A13: *Omi Ìyè*

Omi ìyè ti dé	The Living Water is here
Ìgbàlà yí ti dé	Salvation is here
Omi ìyè ti dé	The Living Water is here
Ìwòsàn yí ti dé	Healing is here
Enikéni tó bá mu nínú omi	Whoever drinks from this water
Omi ìyè, omi ìgbàlà	The Living Water, the water of salvation
Òrùgbe kì yó gbe mó láí	Will never ever thirst

Jésù Kristì olómi'yè	Jesus Christ, the Living Water
Òrùgbe kì yó gbe mó láí	You will never ever thirst
Jésù Kristì olómi'yè	Jesus Christ, the Living Water
Àíní kò tún jé ti won mó	You will never lack again
Jésù Kristì olómi'yè	Jesus Christ, the Living Water
Ìlera pípé títí aiyé	Gives good health forevermore
Títí aiyé, títí aiyé	Forever, and ever more
Omi iyè omi, Omi iyè omi	Living water, Living Water
Olómi iyè yí mà tún dé o	The Living Water is here again
Omi iyé yí mà dé o	The Living Water has come
Jésù olómi'yè	Jesus, the Living Water
Jésù olómi'yè	Jesus, the Living Water
Ó ti dé, ó ti dé, ó ti dé o (4x)	He has arrived, He has arrived, He has arrived

Jésù olómi'yè...	Jesus, the Living Water...
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Enikéni tó bá fẹ'yè	Whosoever wants life
K'ó wá mu'mi ìgbàlà	Should come drink the water of salvation
Ìgbàlà òfẹ́, ìwòsàn òfẹ́	Free salvation, free healing
Ayò àìnípèkùn	Everlasting joy
Jésù fún wa lómi iyè	Jesus gave us the living water
Káwa kó láyò	So that we can have joy
Iyè ayò, iyè ayérayé	Life-giving joy, joy forevermore
Káwa kó láyò àìnípèkùn	So that we can have everlasting joy

Jésù olómi'yè ...

Jesus, the Living Water...

Mo fé m'omi (3x) iyè

I want to drink the water (3x) of life

Mo fé m'omi (3x) ìgbàlà

I want to drink the water (3x) of salvation

Mo fé m'omi (3x) itúsílè

I want to drink the water (3x) of deliverance

Omi ti yò da kànga iyè àinípèkun The water that will pour out a well of everlasting life

sínú wa

sinto us

Jésù olómi'yè ...

Jesus, the Living Water

Appendix A14: *Agbára Jésu wà síbè*

Agbára Jésu wà síbè (3x)

The power of Jesus is forever potent (3x)

Jésù mi kò re bì kan

My Jesus is never changing

Ó gbomo Ísrèlì nílè Íjìptì

He delivered the Israelites from the Egyptians

Ó já won lówó gbà lówó Fàráò

He brought them out from the hands of Pharaoh

Ogun Fàráò lòkun pupá ti rù lo

The Red Sea has now conquered Pharaoh

Ó wà sí bè sí bè kò re bì kan

This power remains potent, never changing

Agbára Jésù...

The power of Jesus...

Agbára Jésú wà síbè

The power of Jesus is forever potent

Agbára tó wó lé ikú tó wó lé àrùn o The power that destroys death and sickness

Agbára Jésu wà síbè

The power of Jesus is forever potent

Ó wà sí bè

Ever potent

Jésù mi kò re bì kan

My Jesus is never changing

Kò re bì kan ó wà síbè ...

Never changing, ever potent

Agbára Jésu...

The power of Jesus...

Appendix D (Playlist)

https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLld07wXL2GIWeaeoxjiUvthSMmf_Da0IC&disable_polymer=true

Video 1: Dr D. K. Olukoya – Who is Holy Spirit.

Video 2: The Holy Spirit – Pastor E. A. Adeboye.

Video 3: MFM July 2018 PMCH (Water of Fire Service).

Video 4: PMCH July 2016 – Water of Fire Service.

Video 5: Ooni of Ife Visits MoCADA Museum in Brooklyn.

Video 6: Americans file out to catch a glimpse of visiting Ooni of Ife.

Video 7: Agogo Eewo #1 Tunde Kelani Yoruba Nollywood Movies.

Video 8: Watch the Ooni of Ife Entertainers.

Video 9: How to play Hilife [Highlife], Calypso and Makossa drum mix.

Video 10: Woro [Worror] beat on Acoustic Drum kits.

Video 11: Alpha and Omega – Israel and New Breed.

Video 12: Logan ti ode New Song by Tope Alabi.

Video 13: Sinach – Way Maker.

Video 14: Dr D. K. Olukoya (GO MFM Worldwide) at Africa Sings IV.

Video 15: Congregants raising chairs during praise singing.

Video 16: Sample of ecstatic praise singing.

Video 17: Answer by Fire MFM HQ Music Ministry Ministration 1 May 2016.

Video 18: One Way MFM HQ Music Ministry Ministration 1 May 2016.

Video 19: MFM Senior Choir.

Video 20: MFM Youth Choir Ministration – What a mighty God we Serve.

Video 21: Bigiman by MFM Teenage Choir.

Video 22: MFM Gospel Choir.

Video 23: Iyato Da – MFM Men's [Male] Choir.

Video 24: MFM Female Choir.

Video 25: MFM Boys Choir.

Video 26: Mountain Top Chorale.

Video 27: This is so unique - MFM Ekiti Choir Singing 1930 Revival/Spiritual Warfare Songs.

Video 28: Ole Olojukokoro.

Video 29: MFM Guitar Choir Selected.

Video 30: MFM Guitar Choir All.

Video 31: MFM Guitar Choir Praise Song – Ibinabo.

Video 32: MFM August PMCH 2017: Guitar Choir ministrations.

Video 33: Mass Choir.

Appendix E (Representative lists of published music)

Akinselure, O. (Composer). (2014) *Bábílónì wó lulè* (Babylon has fallen) [Sheet music].

Lagos: Refunda Music Company.

Olaniran, O. (Composer). (2013) *Omi Ìyè* (Living Water) [Sheet music]. Lagos: O. Olaniran.

_____ (2010) *Agbára Jésu wà síbè* (The power of Jesus is forever potent) [Sheet music]. Lagos: O. Olaniran.

Olukoya, D. K. (Composer). (2008). *Dá ké jé* (Be Still) [Sheet music]. Lagos: D.K. Olukoya.

_____ (2004). *Òkè ñlá sídì* (Be removed, thou great mountain) [Sheet music]. Lagos: D.K. Olukoya.

_____ (N.d). *Nípa èso won* (By their fruits) [Sheet music]. Lagos: Refunda Music Company.

Olusoji, S. (Composer). (2014) *Òyígíyìgì* (My God is great). Lagos: Refunda Music Company.

Oyesanya, Y. (Composer). (2001) *E gbe l'aruge* (Lift Him up) [D.K.O's Choral Library]. Lagos: Refunda Music Company.

Phillips, T.K.E. (Composer). (N.d). *Èmi ó gbé ojú mi sókè wonnì* (I will lift up my eyes to the hills) [Sheet music]. Lagos: Unknown.

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