

- 11 Ed. Kwesi A. Dickson and Paul Ellingworth. London 1969. The French edition is entitled *Pour une théologie africaine*. Editions CLE, Yaounde 1968.
- 12 It is understood that the papers presented at this Consultation will be published under the editorship of Professor John Mbiti of Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.
- 13 This work is in private circulation.
- 14 See n. 4 above.
- 15 *Ganda Art*. Osasa Publication, Kampala 1970.
- 16 E. W. Fasholé-Luke, art. 'An African Indigenous Theology: Fact or Fiction?' in *The Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* (1969), p. 6.
- 17 *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs*, p. 16.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- 19 'What is African Theology?', a paper prepared for a Lay-Leadership Conference at Kitwe, 19-23 May 1970, *Africa Theological Journal* 4 (1971), pp. 7-24.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 21 16 February 1972, p. 185.
- 22 From the paper 'Towards an African Theological Expression', by the present writer; Working Document, All Africa Conference of Churches Second Assembly, Abidjan, 1-21 September 1969.
- 23 For a fuller treatment of this see the present writer's article 'Christian and African Traditional Ceremonies' in *Practical Anthropology*, 18.2 (March-April 1971).
- 24 *Christianity and the New Africa* (London 1967), pp. 106-7.
- 25 See n. 16 above.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Ancestor Veneration and the Communion of Saints

EDWARD W. FASHOLÉ-LUKE

In his classic work, *The Religion of the Semites*, Robertson Smith took Old Testament studies out of the ivory towers of British universities into the fields of Syria, and also made a crucial point which has often been neglected by Western Christian missionaries in Africa, when he wrote:

No positive religion that has moved man has been able to start with a *tabula rasa* and express itself as if religion were beginning for the first time; in form, if not in substance, the new system must be in contact all along the line with the older ideas and practices which it finds in possession. A new scheme of faith can find a hearing only by appealing to religious instincts and susceptibilities that already exist . . . and it cannot reach these without taking account of the traditional forms in which all religious feeling is embodied, and without speaking a language which men accustomed to these old forms can understand.¹

From the outset of Christian missions in Africa, however, Western missionaries unanimously rejected African ancestor cults as pagan superstition, and even the Roman Catholic Church, which has a cult of saints, has forbidden her converts from participating in the rituals of the ancestral cults. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was and still is, at this point, that Christianity has met with the stiffest resistance in Africa, and that several independent African churches are reasserting the ancestral beliefs and practices.²

Fortunately, anthropologists have continued to proclaim the fact that ancestral cults are expressions of the family and tribal solidarity and continuity, and there are signs that African

churches and even foreign missionaries are beginning to take the findings of anthropologists seriously; they are also wrestling with the problem of incorporating these ideas and practices into Christian faith and practice. But we are convinced that this enterprise will be abortive, unless the Churches develop a theology of the Communion of Saints that will satisfy the passionate desire of Africans, Christian and non-Christian alike, to be linked with their dead ancestors. As Professor Baëta has so aptly expressed it, Africans 'live with their dead'.³ Is it at this point that the African churches can make a significant contribution to an aspect of Christian theology which has often been neglected in the past by many theologians? In his book *The Primal Vision*, J. V. Taylor sees the significance of this question and points a way to its solution, when he wrote:

When the gaze of the living and the dead is focused on Christ Himself they have less compulsive need for one another. But need is not the only basis of relationship; and Christ as the second Adam enhances rather than diminishes the intercourse of the whole community from which He can never be separated. Is it not time for the Church to learn to give the Communion of Saints the centrality which the soul of Africa craves? Neither the inhibited silence of the Protestants nor the too-presumptuous ^{announcements} schema of Rome allows African Christians to live with their dead in the way in which they feel profoundly to be true to man's nature.⁴

It is now nearly ten years since Taylor wrote these significant words, but there is little sign that either African churches founded by Western missionaries, or African theologians have given the doctrine of the Communion of Saints the centrality which it deserves, even though we affirm our belief in the Communion of Saints in the Apostles' Creed.⁵ This paper is an attempt to see how this doctrine can be satisfactorily and adequately expressed, so that African Christians can avoid the dangers of syncretism on the one hand, and the ^{part} peril of a double existence (accepting the wholesale rejection of ancestral cults intellectually, whilst participating in them to satisfy the deepest longings of their souls) on the other.

But we must pause at this point to examine briefly the vital and controversial question: Do Africans worship their dead

ancestors or do they venerate them? This is not a merely academic question, since it involves the problem of whether African ancestral cults are merely idolatrous practices, and also the problem of whether the rituals and prayers offered to the ancestors constitute true worship. We must also ask whether the quality of the so-called worship offered to the ancestors is of the same nature as that offered to the Supreme Being. The question 'ancestor worship' or 'ancestor veneration' is also controversial, because Jomo Kenyatta can boldly affirm that 'the words "prayer" and "worship" . . . are never used in dealing with the ancestors' spirits'⁶ among the Kikuyu, but Ulli Beier can also declare with equal certainty that the Yoruba 'worship their ancestors'.⁷

Harry Sawyerr has also made a strong case for the view that ancestral rites, practices, and prayers constitute true worship.⁸ But he fails to prove his case, precisely because he does not consider another basic question: Do Africans attach the same quality to 'worship' of ancestors as they do to the Supreme Being? In other words, are there qualitative levels of worship, and do Africans make a distinction between the worship they offer the Supreme Being and the 'worship' they offer to the ancestors? One suspects that the wholesale rejection of ancestral cults and rituals by Western missionaries in Africa was due to their failure to recognize this distinction. Perhaps this problem can be illuminated by the Christian cult of saints.

The basic axiom of the Christian faith is that worship should be offered to God alone; but throughout the history of the Church there have been rituals and prayers offered to saints which sometimes come very close to worship. Critics of the cult of saints and martyrs have often described these rituals as 'Saint Worship', but their practitioners have replied that it is neither Christian worship in a debased form, nor does it contradict the basic Christian premiss that God alone is worshipful. This reply is grounded on the distinction between various qualities or levels of worship, so that a Christian can honestly say that he worships only the true and living God and venerates the saints. This does not mean that veneration of the saints is not genuine; it is merely an acknowledgment that it is at a lower level than worship of God.

We suggest, therefore, that this distinction is equally valid in

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African religious beliefs and practices concerning the ancestors and provides us with an adequate paradigm for understanding these rituals and practices: worship of the Supreme Being, veneration of the ancestors. This distinction also provides a genuine basis for the development of a doctrine of the Communion of Saints, which will be acceptable to the universal Church and satisfying to African Christians. Furthermore, the phrase 'ancestor worship' is emotionally charged, conjuring up primitive and heathen ideas of idolatry; but the phrase 'ancestor veneration' is neutral, and does not present us with incompatible alternatives, which the phrase 'ancestor worship' seems to do. Hence the title of this paper: 'Ancestor Veneration and the Communion of Saints'.⁹ It would be a distinct gain if African theologians abandoned the phrase 'ancestor worship' and adopted the phrase 'ancestor veneration' in their discussions of the African ancestor cults.

In his excellent book *Oedipus and Job in West African Religion*, Meyer Fortes makes four significant points which must be taken into account in any study of African ancestral cults, even though he deals specifically with the Tallensi. These points are also important for any theology of the Communion of Saints which is to be viable in the African milieu. First, the Tallensi venerate their ancestors, not out of fear, ignorance, or superstition, but 'because ancestry, and more particularly parent-hood, is the critical and irreducible determinant of their whole social structure'.¹⁰ Moreover:

Every important activity and significant social relationship among them is expressed and sanctioned by the ancestor cult. And the pivot of this cult is the key to the relationship in Tale social structure—that is, the relationship between father and son.¹¹

Second, the chief filial obligation of sons is the performance of funeral rites for their parents; this duty is supported and upheld by religious sanctions. Thus:

To fail in it is to incur the everlasting wrath of the ancestors. For the mortuary and funeral rites are the first steps in the transformation of parents into ancestor spirits and the worship of ancestors is in essence the ritualization of filial piety.¹²

Thirdly, the ancestors are the guardians and custodians of the moral values of the Tallensi and Fortes claims that the ancestors

are the jealous guardians of the highest moral values, that is to say, the axiomatic values from which all ideal conduct is deemed to flow. The first is the rule that kinship is binding in an absolute sense. From this follows the second rule, that kinship implies amity in an absolute sense. The third rule is the fundamental one. It postulates that the essential relationship of parent and child, expressed in the parent's devoted care and the child's affectionate dependence, may never be violated and is, in that sense, sacred. It is indeed the source of the other rules. Tallensi believe that anyone who violates the rules is liable to the mystical penalty of death. For though every death has material causes, no death can occur except by the will of the ancestors.¹³

These rules represent the sacralization of Tallensi filial relationship and the third rule raises for the Christian theologian the question: Who is responsible for death?

But Tale morality is not based simply on right conduct; it is based on right relationships and this is Fortes' fourth point; he writes:

What the ancestors demand and enforce on pain of death is conformity with the basic moral axioms in fulfilling the requirements of all social relationships; and these are the counterpart, in the domain of kinship, of the obligations posited between persons and their ancestors in the religious domain.¹⁴

Fortes' points underline two significant truths about ancestral cults in Africa: first, these cults represent the sacralization of family ties, preserve the solidarity between the dead and the living, thus enhancing amity in the community; and second, the cults indicate that the ancestors are the custodians of the morality of the tribe or community; hence ethical conduct is determined by reverence for the ancestors.

The question poses itself: Can some of these ideas be incorporated into Christian theology, and if they can, how can they be validly translated into Christian categories of thought?

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The contention of this article is that if Christian theologians in Africa give the doctrine of the Communion of Saints the centrality which it deserves, it could provide a framework for incorporating African ideas about ancestors into Christian theology. But it must also be emphasized that, though there are points of contact between African and Christian ideas on the subject of the ancestors, nevertheless there are some aspects of African ancestral beliefs which are incompatible with the Christian faith and must be rejected. An obvious example is the belief that no death can take place except by the will of the ancestors. Christian belief states clearly, however, that life and death are in the hands of God and that Christ is the Lord of the dead and the living. In all our theological endeavour, therefore, we must always remember that no people, ancient or modern, have painlessly absorbed Christianity into their systems of thought. Furthermore, the production of culture-bound theologies is a fruitless exercise and would be useless both to the culture for which it is produced and also to the universal Church.

The phrase *Sanctorum Communio*, which is found in the Apostles' Creed, is generally accepted to be a later addition in that Creed and is probably the Western equivalent of the Eastern 'One baptism for the remission of sins'.¹⁵ If this relationship is accepted, then we must also accept the view that *sanctorum* is neuter plural and that the phrase expresses the belief that forgiveness of sins and salvation are dependent upon the sacraments. The phrase should therefore be taken to mean: 'participation in holy things'. But this interpretation of the phrase has not met with universal approval. Kelly, for example, states that the phrase *sanctorum communio* stands 'for that ultimate fellowship with the holy persons in all ages, as well as with the whole company of heaven, which is anticipated and partly realized in the fellowship of the Catholic Church on earth'.¹⁶ This interpretation of the phrase assumes that *sanctorum* is masculine plural. A third suggestion has also been put forward by Karl Barth, though he does not claim to settle the exegetical problems connected with the phrase. He asks 'whether there is not here intended a remarkable ambiguity in a deeper sense', and goes on to suggest that 'only when both

interpretations are retained side by side does the matter receive its full, good meaning'.¹⁷ This suggestion provides a useful basis for the development of a doctrine of the Communion of Saints, since it is through the participation in the holy things (*sancta*) that the Christian enjoys that fellowship with the holy people of all ages and the whole company of heaven in this age. Is it probable that the development of a doctrine of the Communion of Saints has been hindered by the dispute over the interpretation of this phrase?

Now it is clear that the spiritual fellowship which is based upon union with God in Christ through baptism cannot be terminated by physical death. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the fellowship between the living and the dead must be carried on under different conditions from those which attend fellowship between the living. Unfortunately, the New Testament is exceedingly reticent about the state of the faithful departed; it is content to declare that they are with Christ. This simple belief was enough while the early Christians regarded the Parousia as imminent and the apostolic Church dwelt on the glorious end of the world, when Christians will immediately receive their crowns of glory. But the delay of the Parousia and the growing number of the faithful departed brought the problem of the condition of the departed to the forefront of Christian thought. The question which clamoured for an answer was: Were the souls of believers received into heaven immediately after death or did they await the general resurrection in an intermediate state?

Tertullian, an African theologian who often crystallized the beliefs of the second-century Church, gives an answer to this question. He declares that 'heaven is open to none, while the earth still stands', and claims that there is an intermediate state, a place of the dead which is divided into two parts: Hades and the intermediate place of refreshment for the souls of the righteous. Tertullian also speaks of the martyrs being nearer to Christ in Paradise and contends that only martyrs enjoy the privilege of being 'at home with the Lord' immediately they leave the body.¹⁸ Tertullian's distinction between the place where departed martyrs are and the place of other departed Christians raises other questions: Do all the Christian dead enjoy, or enjoy at once, the rest and refreshment of the

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intermediate state? Do they not need further discipline before they can enter into the joy of their Lord? The Greek Fathers of the Church replied that the dead in Christ are in an intermediate state between earth and heaven, expecting the resurrection; some receive discipline, some receive education for the higher life, and others receive further knowledge. As their natures mature and grow under this process, they rise to greater heights and draw nearer to the fullness of their joy. This answer has given rise to the description of the threefold condition of the Church, as the Church militant, the Church expectant, and the Church triumphant. These ideas about the condition of the faithful departed are based on the belief about their relationship with Jesus Christ, who through death has conquered death and provided the link between the living and the dead.

How can these ideas be interpreted in the African situation, especially as many African Christians have ancestors who were not Christians? This question shows that we cannot simply say that the African ancestors can be embraced within the framework of the universal Church and included in the Communion of Saints. We need a more profound appraisal of the situation and a deeper theological interpretation of the beliefs about the fate of the departed, and we would suggest that the interpretation of the phrase *sanctorum communio* to mean fellowship with holy people of all ages and the whole company of heaven through participation in the holy sacraments, gives us a signpost to the road on which our theologizing should travel. At baptism we are made members of the universal Church, and are therefore able to have fellowship with Christians of every age, and are linked with the faithful departed since fellowship within the Church is not limited by time or space and this fellowship is not broken by death. Furthermore, through baptism we are linked with Christ's death, and by our death to sin we begin here and now to enjoy the gifts of eternal life. Death therefore is no longer a dreaded enemy, it is a friend and the gateway to eternal life. But how can those who died without receiving baptism be linked with the living members of the Church?

We must postpone an answer to this question until we have looked at the other sacrament which links us with the departed, namely, the Eucharist. At the Eucharist Christians join with

the whole company of heaven, the faithful departed, the angels and archangels, to praise and glorify God. This link is forged by the perpetual memorial of Christ's death, until he comes again. It is at this service that we can and do live with our dead in a way which is profoundly true to man's nature. It is also at this service, where we show forth Christ's death, that Africans can be linked with their non-Christian ancestors. This is so because we believe that the death of Christ is for the whole world and no one either living or dead is outside the scope of the merits of Christ's death. Thus both Christians and non-Christians receive salvation through Christ's death and are linked with him through the sacrament which he himself instituted. This view is supported by the fact that in his roll of heroes of faith, the author of Hebrews includes non-Christians whose faith was not perfect. We would equally affirm that the African ancestors could also be included in the Communion of Saints in this way, since they had a faith which was not perfect; but the death of Christ can make perfect the feeble faith which they had and thus incorporate them into his Body the Church. Furthermore, if they are in an intermediate state between earth and heaven, where they can receive discipline and a fuller knowledge of Christ's work, then at the Eucharist African Christians can pray for their ancestors and plead that the one, all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ may be effective in their case also.

Is it too presumptuous to suggest that Christ still continues to preach the good news to our African ancestors and that they will respond to his call and receive that salvation which will link them indissolubly to Christ and to us their living relatives? No one can measure the extent of the work of Christ; we must therefore not simply dismiss this suggestion as unbiblical. Perhaps, like St Paul, we should, in the face of this problem, simply say: 'O depth of wealth, wisdom, and knowledge in God! How unsearchable his judgements, how untraceable his ways! Who knows the mind of the Lord? Who has been his counsellor? Who has ever made a gift to him, to receive a gift in return? Source, Guide, and Goal for all that is—to him be glory for ever! Amen.' (Rom. 11. 33-6, NEB).

Now any doctrine of the Communion of Saints must consider the question of whether we can pray for the departed and whether they can pray for us, since prayer is one of the vital

means of fellowship with Christians who are separated from each other. First then, can we pray for the faithful departed? The biblical evidence for this practice is slight and the New Testament has only one prayer for a departed Christian in 2 Tim. 1.18; this prayer is for his acceptance in the Day of Christ, and not for his well-being in the intermediate state. Furthermore, there is no evidence of prayer being offered for the departed until the end of the second century. The major reason for this was because the departed were regarded as being in a superior state to the living; prayers for them were therefore considered to be superfluous. It was also felt that a person after death has already gone to judgement and that the prayers of Christians for him at this point will be ineffective. However, the catacombs in Rome contained such inscriptions as, 'Remember dear Agatha', 'Jesus, Lord, remember our child', and 'God refresh thy spirit'. These were the simple outpourings of Christian hearts for their departed relatives and did not have the sanction of the Church. But Tertullian tells us that in the church of Carthage (c. the late second and early third centuries), a presbyter was called to pray for the soul of the departed between death and burial, and that the Eucharist was offered for the departed on the anniversary of death.¹⁹ Further, in the letters of Cyprian, the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice for the departed is regarded as a common feature of the Christian life.

It is perhaps significant that the North African Church provides us with explicit evidence for the Church praying for the departed and offering the Eucharist on their behalf, an indication of the African concern for the perpetual relationship between the living and the dead. We must note, however, that these prayers were simply meant to commend the departed to God and to request that they be given rest, refreshment, growth in knowledge and holiness. The practice of intercession for the departed continued in the Church until the Reformation, when the use of public prayers for the departed was slowly abandoned by Protestant Churches.

Since the missionary movement to Africa in the nineteenth century was spear-headed by Protestants, prayers for the dead were not encouraged. But this is a necessary Christian duty in Africa and prayers for the dead, that God may grant them rest,

refreshment, or a joyful resurrection and merciful judgement are acknowledgments that these things can be given by God alone. Moreover, these types of prayers have the merit of admitting our ignorance of the conditions of the departed and avoiding the presumption that particular persons are already saved, since some people will succeed in concealing their wickedness from their fellow men. African theologians must therefore recover the practice of the ancient North African Church and pray in faith for the departed, both Christian and non-Christian. This will provide the Africans with that link with their dead which they so much desire.

Second, do the departed pray for the living? It is clear that the departed remember in their prayers those whom they knew on earth and take an interest in their well-being; but here again the biblical evidence is scanty, though the writer of the Apocalypse sees the souls of the martyrs interceding with God for the speedy punishment of the persecutors of the Church (Rev. 3.9ff). Furthermore, in the ancient Church it was widely held that the dead pray for the living. For example, Cyprian asks Cornelius, bishop of Rome, when they were both expecting martyrdom, that: 'if one of us goes before the other, let our love for one another be unbroken, when we are with the Lord; let our prayers for our brethren and sisters be unceasing.'²⁰ If the departed make intercessions for us, can we ask them to pray for us? On this question the Scriptures are silent and the evidence for such practices in the early Church is scanty. But there is no *prima facie* reason why those who believe that their departed brethren are within reach of their words should not ask for the prayers of those who are with the Lord. However, this practice can be abused; the cult of martyrs and the undue veneration of martyrs in the Church of the Fathers is a salutary warning to the modern Church. But we should not discard a useful practice simply because it has been abused and corrupted. For if it does not derogate from the sufficiency of Jesus' intercession to ask a living friend to pray for us, it cannot be wrong for us to request the prayers of a departed member of Christ, who is with him. Indeed, the intercession of the departed who are with Christ is a legitimate consequence of the fellowship in prayer which unites the whole Body of Christ. The invocation of the departed is a practice based upon this truth; it is perhaps

at this point that the dangers of syncretism are most clearly seen in the African situation, but it is also at the flashpoint between syncretism and Christian truth that a genuine Christian theology can be produced.

In conclusion, we would suggest that the veneration of the ancestors in Africa and our passionate desire to be linked with our dead in a real and genuine way can be satisfied by the development of a sound doctrine of the Communion of Saints. This doctrine provides for a fellowship in the Body of Christ, which is the Church, that extends throughout the world and continues throughout all ages. This will raise the sights of African Christians beyond their family and clan and would help to solve the problem of tribalism, which is plaguing the continent today. By participation in the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist Christians are linked with Christ and so are linked with others not only in different parts of the world, but also with the departed. This is so because Christ is the Lord of the living and the dead. Moreover, the merits of Christ's death are immeasurable, so that even non-Christians can be embraced within the Communion of Saints. Finally, we are linked with our departed through the fellowship of reciprocal prayer: we pray for them and they pray for us. It is also legitimate for us to request the saints to pray for us. Thus in the Communion of Saints, the living and the departed are linked together in an indissoluble bond, through participation in the sacraments that unite us with Christ—so that earth and heaven meet together and already in this life we taste the fruits of eternal life.

NOTES

- 1 W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (New York 1957), p. 2.
- 2 Cf. D. B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Movements* (Oxford 1968), pp. 119ff.
- 3 C. G. Baëta in *Christianity and African Culture* (Gold Coast Christian Council, Accra, Ghana, 1955), p. 60.
- 4 J. V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence amid African Religion* (London 1963), p. 106.
- 5 See, however, Harry Sawyerr, *Creative Evangelism: Towards a New Christian Encounter with Africa* (London 1968), pp. 92ff and J. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background: A Study of the Encounter*

- between New Testament Theology and African Traditional Concepts* (Oxford 1971), pp. 147ff.
- 6 Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya* (London 1961), p. 260.
 - 7 U. Beier, *A Year of Sacred Festivals* (Lagos 1959), p. 26. Professor E. B. Idowu disputes the claim that the Yoruba worship their ancestors and argues that 'ancestor worship' is a false definition of the relationship between ancestors and their living relatives. E. B. Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (London 1962), pp. 191f.
 - 8 Harry Sawyerr, 'Ancestor Worship II: The Rationale', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 8.2 (December 1966), pp. 33-9.
 - 9 In a recent article Bishop Peter Sarpong has supported the use of the expression 'ancestor veneration'. P. K. Sarpong, 'A Theology of Ancestors', *Insight and Opinion*, 6.2 (Accra, Ghana 1971), pp. 1-9.
 - 10 Meyer Fortes, *Oedipus and Job in West African Religion* (Cambridge 1959), p. 66.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, p. 53. Cf. Monica Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society: A Study of Social Change in Africa* (Cambridge 1971), pp. 26-75.
 - 15 Cf. S. Benko, *The Meaning of Sanctorum Communio* (Studies in Historical Theology 3) (London 1964), p. 64.
 - 16 J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London 1950), p. 391. Kelly also argues that this interpretation of the phrase is supported by a study of it in its credal setting. He also points out that Nicetas and St Faustus of Riez regarded *sanctorum* as masculine. It will be useful to quote Faustus' comment on the phrase, since it indicates that in the fifth century theologians had seen the difficulty; he writes: 'Let us believe in the Communion of Saints, but let us venerate the saints, not so much in place of God, as for God's honour and glory... Let us worship the merits of the saints, not merits which they have earned for themselves, but which they have earned for their devotion. Thus they deserve to be venerated worthily, forasmuch as they infuse into us, through their contempt of death, the worship of God and the yearning for the life to come.' Quoted from Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 391. This situation should serve as a warning to African theologians in their quest for a theology of the Communion of Saints, since veneration of saints could be debased to such an extent that it becomes a substitute for the worship of the true and living God.
 - 17 Karl Barth, *Dogmatics in Outline* (London 1960), p. 144.
 - 18 Tertullian, *De anima* 55 and 58; *Adv. Marcionem* iv.34; *De resurr. Carnis* 43.
 - 19 Tertullian, *De anima* 15 and *De Corona* 3.
 - 20 Cyprian, *Epistula* 60.5.