UNIVERSITYOF BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

3rd of 3 files Appendix and References

Spirit, Desire and the World: Roho Churches of Western Kenya in the Era of Globalization

> by Timothy John Padwick

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Theology School of Historical Studies The University of Birmingham March 2003

Appendix 1. Note on the Roho Practice of Baptism

In most Vihiga Roho churches, water baptism is seen as the baptism of John – the baptism of repentance – and as something that has been superseded by the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This is true also for African Israel, which in this shows a reversion from the PAOC practice of water baptism to that of Roho churches of the first generation, which in turn was influenced by the Quaker rejection of the sacraments. The general Roho understanding of water baptism is supported by the Maragoli custom ikinduramili, a ritual cleansing in running water from impurity. 1 Christian baptism is seen as distinct from this, and is of the Holy Spirit, without water. (It is assumed that repentance has already taken place, and opportunities for this are given frequently in baptismal prepration, not least during the night of fasting and prayer before baptism.) Significant biblical texts for this teaching are Acts 1: 4-5, Acts 19: 1-7, Luke 3: 15-16, Mark 1: 4-8, John 1: 19-34. In many respects the general Roho understanding is similar also to the Akurinu understanding of baptism – which appears to have developed independently - except that Akurinu churches of central Kenya wait for the revelation of a candidate's new baptismal name in a dream, vision, or prophecy.² Generally in the Roho churches of Vihiga baptism takes place 'under the flag' – a practice probably influenced by the Salvation Army's rite of commissioning of a new member. Baptism is understood as full entry into the church, and is preceded by the learning of biblical texts, and sometimes a formal catechism. (The rite itself often involves the issue of a membership card – see Plate 10.3). As an initiation into a new status, it is a rite of passage which makes the candidate vulnerable to malicious spiritual forces, and a degree of seclusion immediately before and after the ceremony is normally enjoined on candidates. Being filled with the Spirit is not directly related to the ceremony, and may precede or follow the rite. Baptism is fully trinitarian

Divine - unusually for Roho churches - baptises by immersion, and where it can manage to do so, builds an external baptismal tank, and sees baptism in a more 'orthodox' way, as to be buried with Jesus and to rise again with Jesus. In a Divine congregational catechism prepared in Nairobi, the question 'Where does the Spirit of the Lord live?' requires the answer, 'The Spirit of the Lord lives near water.' This is no doubt by way of defending the church's position that water baptism is for the reception of the Holy Spirit.³

¹ OI, J.Mwangi 14.9.00 (Doc.15) p. 4. See Appendix 5.7.3. ² Mwaura, 'The Akurinu Churches', pp. 160-187.

³ OI, ADC Baptism Catechism, Kenya High Assembly, *Maswali kwa Wanajordani*, (Doc. 95), 5.10.01.

Appendix 2. Notes on the Roho Churches' Use of Flags

Biblical references

Num. 2: 6, 17, 34. V. 34 reads: 'So the Israelites did everything the Lord commanded Moses; that is the way they encamped under their standards, and that is the way they set out, each with his clan and family.' See also Isaiah 18: 3, 13: 2; Ps. 20: 5, 60: 4.

Divine Authority

The colour of flags is usually given in dreams or visions. The history of a Luo Roho church, Roho Revelation, or *Roho Fweny*, gives an interesting example of the 'marks' of a Roho church being given at once. '[On] 1/1/1968, Nabi had a voice from God telling him how he should be and what he should have. From the Voice of God, he was told he will be having a cross, showing that Jesus Christ has cleansed his sins. Secondly he was told he'll be having a white *kanzu*. Thirdly to make a white piece of cloth with a sign of the cross and a dove on it. That was to be the flag of the church.' ⁴

Legal Usage

Because the display of flags is a claim to legal authority, they are often referred to in church constitutions. E.g., in the constitution of the God of Israel Zion Church, (c. 1972), one of the 'Objects' is 'The church has its flag'. The 'Manifesto' attached to the constitution specifies the colours of the flag and of the robes of church officers. At OAIC we have been under pressure to include the design of flags in the revisions of the church constitutions that we have been facilitating (especially for *Holy Spirit* and *Zion*).

Interpretation of colours

'ADC Catechism' (Doc. 95) gives a local congregation's original interpretation of the *Divine* hat, which has the same colours as the flag: 'White: Now I am walking in the Light of Jesus Christ. Red: I was washed with the Blood of Jesus Christ. White: When I repented of my sins, I came to know the Word of God. Green: When I was in darkness, I did not know the word. White: Before I repented I knew God a little.' (Translation from Swahili.) This is basically the same as the account given to McDowell, except she starts from the hat: white at the bottom (she says top): people are born free of sin; green, the land with all its worldliness; white again, repentance through confession of sins; red, purification through the blood of Christ; white again, purity and eternal life in the Spirit.

⁴ 'Roho Revelation Church: How Nabi Samson Owiti Got Saved', Ms. 6.9.93 (Translation from Luo.)

⁵ McDowell, 'Attached and Bearing Fruit', p. 6,

In *Zion*, the original flag was of three horizontal bars of white, yellow, and white: 'White – indicates to be with a white as snow heart without any sin. Yellow – indicates the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which cleanses all our iniquities. It was seen in a vision and interpreted by the one who saw the vision.' A revised *Zion* church constitution proposed in 2001 identifies the meaning of the colours of the new flag as follows: 'Red – blood of Jesus Christ. White - indicates the holiness of God. Yellow – indicates the Holy Spirit.' The revised interpretation of colours (and the addition of red) is closer to the usage of the Salvation Army, of which the founder of *Zion* was a member.

For *African Israel*, 'The African Israel Church History', prepared for presentation at the Mindolo Consultation in 1962, states: 'Immediately this church was founded, a Flag was formed. The flag indicates that the Soldiers of the cross must have a national flag to show their regiment wherever they may be. The colours of the flag are three, Green, White and Red, to represent the three major races of the world, Africans, Whites, and Asians. It also represents the Three God-head [sic], God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.'⁷

For *Roho Israel*, Archbishop Kisibo quotes in a small handbook of the church's doctrine, under the heading 'Flag', a reference to I Jn. 5:7-9: 'For there are three that testify: the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and the three are in agreement.' From which the reader is expected to work out the meaning of the three colours of the flag, green, white and red.⁸

For *Lyahuka*, M. Lumwagi describes how in the early days a white flag was used for burials and a red flag for crusades and meetings. In the new flag, red stands for Christ's blood, white for peace, and yellow for freedom of worship – a typically 'modern' interpretation from the church's second Archbishop.⁹

Usage beyond western Kenya

A number of contemporary Akurinu churches use flags. Although in some cases this seems to be have been borrowed from the practice in Vihiga, there is a longer tradition in Central Kenya. In 1947, the refusal of a tailor to make a banner for the *Ndi ya Jeshi Kristo* (sic) and

_

⁶ 'Zioni Takatifu (Holy Zion) Kegomoli Church', Isaac Ajega, Ms. n.d. but c. 1962 (Doc. 94).

⁷ For another interpretation of the *African Israel* colours, see Welbourn, *Place to Feel at Home*, p. 84, f.n. 27.

⁸ Kisibo, 'Our Faith is in the Book of Joel Chapter 2:28 and Acts Chapter 1: 6-8', p. 5.

⁹ See Lumwagi, 'The Separated Ones', p. 4.

his subsequent beating by the group led to a conflict in which three policemen died. 10

Appendix 3. Alternative spiritualities: options at the grassroots Three spiritualities, and a contemporary commercial promotion of individual desire

We conducted an interview with the Mother of the Holy Spirit Mission, Mama Irene Maleya (Plate 13.1). Mama Irene is the wife of the former Priest Isaiah Maleya, one of the Holy Spirit founders who was deeply committed to the laws of the Spirit and whose lifestyle was exceptionally ascetic. At his death in 1984, he had never eaten bread or drunk coca-cola, preferring *ugali* and *uji* (stiff and thin maize porridge), since he believed that anything less pure and simple would reduce the power of the Spirit. 11 Mama Irene is not as rigid as her husband (and has no need to be, since she is not exercising a priestly ministry), but she respects her husband's vision and faithfulness. It was with great interest then that on the walls of her house I found two printed cards of Christian sayings, and a Coca-cola



13.1 *Holy Spirit* Mama Mission, Irene Maleya, at home

calendar, that illustrate alternative options in spirituality. 12

The first item (Plate 13.2) is a placard of the type sold in market-places, in Christian bookshops, and on the streets, and extremely common in the houses of Protestant Christians. In this placard the reminder of the unseen presence of Christ induces Protestant Christians to

CHRIST IS THE HEAD
OF THIS HOUSE, THE
UNSEEN GUEST AT
EVERY MEAL, THE
SILENT LISTENER AT
EVERY CONVERSATION

Plate 13.2

behave correctly, through the creation of a personal individual sense of responsibility and consequent guilt (Behrend's process of culpabilization). Among the Roho Christians this placard is much less common – probably because the Spirit himself acts through the

¹⁰ KNA KBU/38 AR No. 320 for 1947.

¹¹ OI, Irene Maleya, 20.8.02, (Doc. 137) Bukoyani, p.15

¹² There is no reason to think that Mama Irene herself (who does not understand English) put these items there – most likely they were hung on the wall by her children or grand-children. Photos of the objects and of Mama Irene herself can be seen in Plate

¹³ For Behrend, see chapter three, p. 164.

community in dreams, visions, and prophecies in a similar (but communal) way.



Plate 13.3

The second placard (Plate 13.3) is an adaptation from Phil. 4: 19. The original, biblical, text is 'your', second-person plural. In the adaptation the communal injunction to trust God for all the needs of the Christian community has become an individual claim upon God for personal needs. The individualization has been taken still further by the attachment of a sticker in the left-hand corner: 'As long as I don't

depend on you leave me alone'. The whole effect is of a profound rejection of communal responsibilities and obligations (not to mention the duties of hospitality), and a determined defence of personal privacy. In short, it reflects the inner desires and frustrations of a modern individual who cannot bear the burdens and obligations of the extended family.

The third object shows the commercial exploitation of such individualization through the stimulation of desire (Plate 13.4). It is a Coca-Cola calendar, open to a four-month spread

advertising the soft drink 'Sprite' (the advertisement forms part of a campaign in Kenya to re-market Sprite as a drink for young men). Over a background of two pictures of a fashionably dressed young man breaking through a wire-mesh fence, the slogan reads: 'I make my own rules. Obey your Thirst.' This is precisely the commercial stimulation of desire as the guiding principle of life that - under different forms - some Roho founders detected in the original European colonial venture, and which they intuitively realized was a challenge to communality. The choice of three spiritualities and a commercially promoted individualism is the context of Roho life today.

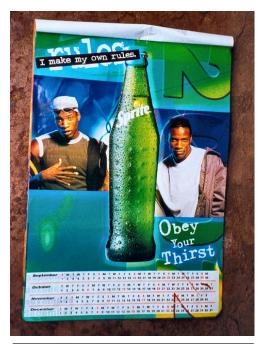


Plate 13.4

Appendix 4. The African Israel Church History

[This document was presented by High Priest Zakayo Kivuli and General Secretary Isaac Ajega at the Mindolo Consultation on African Independent Churches in 1962 under the above heading.]

THE AFRICAN: As the word indicates an African Race it does not actually mean that the church forgets other races. The real meaning is that this church has been founded by an African, led and sanctioned by the Africans for the first time to show that God's power of evangelism does not look on any race in particular, and that any one race can lead God's people provided that he is spiritually functioned. In this case any race of the world can join this church provided he is aware that the church was first founded, performed, ministered in Africa!

ISRAEL: Its first meaning is "THE SOLDIER OF GOD", to this the Israel adherent struggles throughout the day and night in the strife against the devil and his plans. Everywhere the Israel member is heard saying boldly and without fear "Gitulizwe" or "Ogol Saitain" – meaning "Get thee hence, Satan," when he is inclined with any evil thought, speech or deeds.

The second meaning is: God's plan for salvation. In 1941 when this church began it was for the first time known as HURU ISRAEL NINEVE. That was to indicate that Free Israel Nineve – the Christians who were free from Sins of Nineve. When a convert repents and agrees to join the church it is identified spiritually that he is absolutely free from his previous sins, when he accepts the rules and Israel Constitutions, wears the uniform and asks for Baptism, which is followed by the spiritual (pouring) Baptism, where all his hidden sins are revealed, when he speaks in tongues to interpret his wickedness without fear or he is faced by prophecy, from other old members telling him the exact sins or evils he did, even if the prophet or prophetess be a stranger to him he/she gets spiritual mirror to read and interpret the sins to the new member; if this new member repents bitterly he is forgiven by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to receive the remission of his sins, and he is baptized in the Holy Spirit.

THE CHURCH: This is a Christian body grouped together for worship honour and respect of God's Plan for Salvation believing in God Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the three-Godhead. The church affiliates with other churches and missions throughout the Continent of Africa and to the uttermost part of the world.

NINEVEH: As the people of Nineveh repented, putting on sackcloth and ashes, even so, the Israel adherents or converts teach the world to repent and flee from the wickedness and

evils of this world. Today the sins of the world have multiplied, the whole world has become wicked and full of numerous and unnumbered sins; is it not likened to the wickedness of the past Nineveh! Therefore the Israel teaches the world that

- (1) This world is Nineveh.
- (2) The Christian Church is the prophet Jonah.
- (3) If we repent sincerely crying deep tears for the forgiveness of our sins, we are made free from sins and become the Soldiers of Christ fighting against the devil until we are called in the higher service in glory with God in Paradise.

THE UNIFORM: The practice of wearing long garments or gowns with headkerchiefs and turbans on the heads of all, both females and males, is the indication that in Heaven we do not have sexual differences or physical bodies but we are all in the form of spiritual body, that Immortal body of God; And as the Old Testament was the picture or shadow of the New Testament, so the wearing by Israel adherents of almost the same and undistinguished dresses of both the body and the head is the shadow or the picture of the heavenly uniform.

THE PROPHECY: The church believes strongly that all the people of God are spiritually inspired and that there are prophets, who can directly communicate with God in Spirit and to interpret the visions to the people. That this is the true means, God approaches or sends his wonderful message to his people, to reform his relationship of his glory to men of the world. This church was founded by the High Priest, rev. M.P.D. Zakayo Kivuli, who has been in his youth a corruptible chap, but when he received God's blessings in 1932 while in the PAEA (PAOC) he really acted, as Paul, to turn right (about turn) and to serve the Lord from that end preaching and evangelizing for the Lord within the PAEA church.

It was his service of the Lord that he contradicted with other African ministers of the church, who had the fear that he may take over the responsibilities of the whole Church, that he asked the missionary-in-charge by then known as Rev. Otto Caris Keller and his wife Mrs. Marian Keller (a spiritual servant of God) to separate and form his own church. He was allowed to carry on his proposal and in January 1942 he founded the present AFRICAN ISRAEL CHURCH, NINEVEH at his own little farm he built a small church to act as a Church Headquarters.

THE FLAG: Immediately this church was founded a Flag was formed. The flag indicates that the Soldiers of the Cross must have a national flag to show their regiment wherever they may be. The colours of the flag are three, Green, White and Red, to represent the three major races of the world, Africans, Whites, and Asians. It also represents the Three God-head, God

the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. This flag is used on parades outside the Church, at the funerals, and on the roads byways and highways when on processions.

PROCESSION: The church emphasizes the fact that there ought to be a Procession occasionally to fish for sinners on roads, markets, etc., and that this is the only means we can reach to the neglected sinners, thus fulfilling the Lord's Command to go to preach the Gospel to every creature.

THE CHURCH HISTORY: This church began in January 1st 1942, with a few separatists of about 150 people from PAEA church, and it grew up steadily until now it is estimated to have more than 10,000 members of all ages from the babies, boys and girls, and adults.

THE SCOPE: Our target is to reach the whole world, but first of all Kenya, East Africa, Africa, and then other parts of the world. At present we have branches throughout East Africa.

Appendix 5. Texts from Western Kenya Roho churches

Note: Where more than one language is found in the original text (left-hand column) Swahili is printed in *italics*, Lulogooli or Luyia in Roman script.

5.1Texts from services of worship

5.1.1 Assistant Archbishop Simiyu of *Nabii* leads repentance and the casting out of Satan & evil spirits during worship

The procession arrives at the place of worship, where they begin with choruses and spiritual songs. After singing they start chasing away evil spirits led by Assistant Archbishop Simiyu.

Assist Archbp: Shetani hama! Satan leave! [literally, 'migrate!']

Congregation: Hama! Leave!

Assist Archbp: *Magonjwa hama!* Illnesses, leave!

Congregation: Hama! Leave!

Assist Archbp: *Mapepo hama!* Evil spirits, leave!

Congregation: Hama!Leave!Assist Archbp: Toa!Get out!Congregation: Toa!Get out!Assist Archbp: Vunja!Break!Congregation: Vunja!Break!

This chasing away of evil spirits goes on accompanied by drumming for about twenty minutes after which people start talking in tongues.

Assist Archbp: *Gari limeingia!* The car has come in!

Congregation: Yes! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Gari limeingia!* The car has come in!

Congregation: Yes! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Jeshi limeingia!* The army has come in!

Congregation: Yes! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Jeshi limeingia!* The army has come in!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Jeshi limeingia! The army has come in!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Bwana takasa*. Lord, cleanse!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Roho takasa! Spirit, cleanse!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Roho takasa!Spirit cleanse!Congregation: Takasa!Cleanse!Assist Archbp: Shetani aende!Satan be gone!Congregation: Aende!Be gone!Assist Archbp: Hama!Leave!Congregation: Toa!Give way!

During this period of exorcism, as the Assistant Archbishop leads the congregation in the general exorcism, some members of the congregation start speaking in tongues as they rid the meeting of evil spirits.

Assist Archbp: Sherehe ya leo mikononi mwako! Today's ceremony in your hands!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Na Roho utawale*. May the Spirit rule!

Congregation: Tawala! Rule!

Assist Archbp: *Umewakusanya kwa mkono wako* You have gathered them in your

hand!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Tumeona imekuwa ni ishara!* We have seen it as a sign!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Nimesema takasa*. I've said, cleanse [us]!

Congregation: Takasa! Cleanse [us]!

Assist Archbp: *Mathabahu Masia ukiwa ndani* Messiah the Sacrifice, if you are

yetu takasa. [present] in us, cleanse [us]!

Congregation: Takasa! Cleanse [us]!

Assist Archbp: *Mungu Mkuu wewe ndiye Bwana* Great God you are the Lord!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Majemedari wetu wewe ni Roho* Our commander, you are the Spirit!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Waliopiga picha wote mikononi mwako. [May] the cameramen be in your

hands!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Mwami utawashika kwa mkono wako. Lord, you will hold them in your

hand!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Roho mmri Jesu omba! Spirit, [authority of]Jesus, pray!

Congregation: Omba! Pray!

Assist Archbp: *Jina la Yesu omba!* Name of Jesus, pray!

Congregation: Omba! Pray!

Assist Archbp: Roho wa Yohana omba! Spirit of John, pray!

Congregation: Omba! Pray!
Assist Archbp: Mimi nasema omba! I say pray!
Congregation: Omba! Pray!

Assist Archbp: We ni Bwana omba! You are the Lord, pray!

Congregation: Omba! Pray!

Assist Archbp: Halleluya omba! Halleluya, pray!

Congregation: Omba! Pray!
Assist Archbp: Ondoa! Get out!

Congregation: Ondoa! Get out!) repeated x 5 **Assist Archbp**: Kisha mashetani, majini ambayo
Next, devils, djinns, that

imetumwa ondoa! have been sent [by people], get out!

Congregation: Ondoa! Get out!

Assist Archbp: Heee he! Ondoa! Heee he! Get out!

Congregation: Ondoa! Get out!

Assist Archbp: Tutaamuru katika jina la Bwana! We will command [them] in the ondoa name of the Lord, get out!

Congregation: Ondoa! Get out!

Assist Archbp: Tuko mikononi kwako. We are in your hands

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: Sherehe iendelee kwa amani. May this ceremony continue in

peace!

Congregation: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Kwa jina la Yesu nimeomba*. In the name of Jesus I have prayed!

Congregation: Amen! Amen!

Glory kirinainda kaidaki, 14 Bwana **Prophetess:** Glory kirinainda kaidaki praise

> asifiwe! the Lord! Amen! Amen!

Prophetess: Bwana asifiwe! Praise the Lord!

Response: Amen! Amen!

Prophetess: Hapa hivi kuna njiwa, ndege hii ya Here now there is a dove, a bird like

njiwa. Imekuja na kijiti, baadaye hii a dove. It has come with a stick. kijiti ikawa kama penseli lakini then the stick became a pencil, but it ikaning'inia tu na ikarudi lahi, swayed to and fro and it returned [to semeni halleluva! its former shape], say Halleluya!

Halleluya! Halleluva

Response: **Prophetess:** Semeni halleluya! Say halleluya! Response: Halleluya! Halleluya!

In the secretary, the secretary, the Si katika karani, karani, karani **Prophetess:** mkuu kuna shida gani ndani ya general secretary... what problem is

kazi yako? Nimeona mane... there in your work? I have seen maneno imesimama ya giza, things, things of darkness, hayaaaaaaa! Glory hayaaaaaaa! Glory bosaida

bosaida huuuui...¹ huuuui...

At this point, the congregation joins in speaking in other tongues.

Prophetess: Ooh Baba ribasaida mutakatifu Oooh Father ribasaida Holy

oh shila! Kig Baba, hmmm oh shila! Kig Father, hmmm

She continues sighing in ecstasy

Response:

Assist. Arcbp: Soma Bibilia soma Bibilia. Read the bible, read the Bible.

Reader: Halleluya! Halleluya! Halleluya! Halleluya! Response: Reader: Halleluya! Halleluva! aah Psalms 133 Halleluya! Aah Saburi 133 Response:

Response:

Reader: 'Tazama vile ilivyo vyema 'How good and pleasant it is when kupendeza ndugu wakae brothers live together in unity'

pamoja na kwa umoja'

Response: Yee

Reader: 'It is like precious oil poured on the 'Ni kama mafuta mazuri kichwani'

head' Someone: Eweeee Eweeee

'running down on the beard, running Reader 'yashukayo ndevuni, ndevu down on Aaron's beard'

za Haruni' Someone: Ndio!

Reader: 'yashukayo mpaka upinde 'running down upon the collar of his

> wa vazi yake' robes'

Yee! Someone: Yee!

It as if the dew of Hermon were Reader: 'Kama umanje huu wa Amoni

ushukao milimani pa Zayuni. falling on Mount Zion, for there the Maana ndiko Bwana alikoaamuru Lord bestows his blessing, even life baraka naam uzima hata milele', for evermore',

Yes!

Semeni hallelluya! Say Halleluya! Halleluya! Halleluya!

Response:

15 tongues

¹⁴ tongues

Assist Archbp: Aah semeni Halleluya! Aah say halleluya!

Response: Halleluya! Halleluya!

Assist Archbp: *Hatuwezi kungoja mfalme, saa* Halleluya! We cannot wait for the

haingoji. Chukua nafasi twende, king, time does not permit. Take the mbele ya Mu...? king, time does not permit. Take the opportunity, let's go before whom?

Response: *ya Mungu* Before God

Assist Archbp: *enyewe tuangalie inasema nini?* God himself, let's see what he says.

Twende sasa. Let's go now.

Congregation: Start confessing their sins individually out loud, then suddenly, 'Osma! Osmi! Osma! Osmi! Osma! Osmi! Osma! Osmi! (for about twenty minutes).

Priest: Enda! Go out! Congregation: Osma! Osma! **Priest**: Wewe You Congregation: Osma! Osma! Priest: Hava! Ok! Congregation: Osmi! Osmi! Priest: Haya! Ok! Congregation: Osmi! Osmi! **Priest**: Enda! Go! Congregation: Osmi! Osmi! **Priest**: Enda! Go! Congregation: Osmi! Osmi! Heeeeeee! Priest: Yeeeees! Congregation: Osma! Osmi! Priest: Osmi! Osmi! Congregation: Osma! Osma! Priest: Osmi! Osmi!

He then starts beating the small drum.

Priest:Riswa!Riswa!Congregation:Riswa!Riswa!Priest:Riswa! (while beating the small drum)Riswa!Congregation:Riswa! (every time the small drum is hit twice)Riswa!

This continues for about ten minutes, until the priest speaks in Kiluyia:

Priest: Amadimoni wiyee! Demons ouuuut!

Congregation: Yiya! Yeeeeah!

Priest: Madimoni wiyee! Demons ouuut! Congregation: Hiya! Yeeeeah!

Priest: Chibiiri wiyee!

Congregation: Hiya!

Distribution. Thya:

Priest: Bwonekhu wiyee!

Congregation: Hiya!

Priest: Magelitso wiyee!

Congregation: Hiya! **Priest**: Bolo wiyee! **Congregation**: Hiya!

Priest: Irisi wiyee!
Congregation: Hiya!
Someone: Eeeh!

Archbishop: (Sings) *Mungu yu mwema...* O God is good, O God is good....

(then prays)....*Mungu wangu* My God, this is your company of soldiers, [I commit them] into

your hands.

Response: Yeee Yeee

Assist Archbp: Walioshika mkuki na bunduki mkononi Those who carry spears and guns,

mwako. [I commit them] into your hands.

Response: *Ndio* Yes

Assist Archbp: *Kwa hivyo tunapiga huyo muovu na* So we are fighting this evil being in

neno lako. your name.

Response: Yee Yee

Assist Archbp: Tukimkanyagia chini wewe ndiye When we trample on him, you are

Bwana the Lord. Ndio! Yes!

Response: *Ndio!* Yes! **Assist Archbp**: *Watakaokanyaga na miguu yao chini* Those who will trample him down

wewe ndiye Bwana! with their feet, you are the Lord!

Response: *Ndio!* Yes!

Assist Archbp: Wanaolala chini wewe ndiye Bwana. Those lying down, you are the Lord!

Response: Ndio!

Assist Archbp: *Tukiamka tena wewe ndiye Bwana*. If we rise again, you are the Lord!

Response: *Ndio!* Yes!

Assist Archbp: Baba hiyo ndiyo kozi yako. Father, this is your company of

soldiers!

Yes!

Response: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Baba ndio kikozi chako*. Father, it's your company!

Response: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: hawa ndio majemedari wako. These are your commanders!

Response: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: hawa ni askari wako. These are your soldiers!

Response: Ndio! Yes!

Assist Archbp: *Mkutano naufungui* I [now] open the meeting!

Response: Fungua! Open it!

Assist Archbp: *Mkutano naufungui* I open the meeting!

Response: Fungua! Open it!

Assist Archbp: *Mkutano naufungui* I open the meeting!

Response: Fungua! Open it!

Assist Archbp: *Mkutano naufungui* I open the meeting!

Response: Fungua! Open it!

Assist Archbp: *Mkutano naufungui* I open the meeting!

Response: Fungua! Open it!

Assist Archbp: Aliaye Ibilisi na harizwi! He who is Satan get out!

Response: Riswa! Riswa!

Assist Archbp: wa kung'ang'ana musongo na kusonga

huku na huko nakanya a ritswi!

Response: Riswa!

Assist Archbp: Sisi ni engineer papa ukiona omundu

walamwa achendanga inda na hatzi!

Response: Riswa!

Assist Archbp: Mwenye anatembea na tumbo mwami

anshiriki huku na huku Baba we...

na hatzi!

Response: Riswa! Riswa!

Assist Archbp: Ambaye analeta magonjwa na shida Whoever brings sickness and

problems,

Baba na hatzi! Father, away with them!

Response: Riswa! Riswa!

Assist Archbp: Hee nakememea magonjwa na mashaka I rebuke sicknesses and problems

katika nyumba zetu na hatzwa! in our homes – away with them!

Response: Riswa! Riswa!

Away with them! Assist Archbp: na hatzwa!

Response: Riswa! Riswa!

Assist Archbp: na hatzwa! Away with them!

Riswa! Riswa! **Response:**

Assist Archbp: na hatzwa! Away with them!

Response: Riswa! Riswa! Assist Archbp: hatzwa! Away! Response: Riswa! Riswa! Assist Archbp: hatzwa! Away! Response: Riswa! Riswa!

Assist Archbp: Baba nawakabuthi [sic] mikononi I deliver them into your hands,

Father

mwako. Yee! Response: Yee

Assist Archbp: Katika jina la Bwana. In the name of the Father.

Response: Amen. Amen.

Assist Archbp: Ahsante. Aaah semeni Halleluya! Thank you. Say Halleluya!

Congregation: *Halleluya*. Halleluya!

The Chairman is now welcomed to give his address, before the consecration of the church leaders and the blessing of the flags.

(From Ordination of Leaders and Blessing of Mission Flag held atNabii Christian Church, Kianda Congress, Kibera, Nairobi. 29.10.00, (Doc. 43) pp. 1-6. Original in Luyia and Swahili.

5.1.2 Prophecies given in church at a special gathering for a Youth Camp and Mothers' Conference, 17.3.01

(Names of denomination and individuals have been omitted.)

Prophet: Hallelujah! Prophet: Hallelujah!

All: Hallelujah! **All:** Hallelujah!

Prophet: Hae tus tis. Nyasaye avora munyi mugwi avanuri. Mugwi avanuri ku zimesa yizi. Throws the tables down and pushes chairs around]. Nyasaye avora mugwi avanuri. Chigira yiki mureka avakunzakari nivademba? Izimesa yizi mugwi avanuri. Mugwi kuzimesa yizi avanuri. Nyasaye avorerea vivi pointing to leader A.] yari niyakuyanza, yari niyakuyanza, karunu akotee. Mmmh, mmmh, tata tata tata tata tata...Izimeza yizi, [hitting the tables], izimesa yizi, izimesa, izimesa zigwi zio

Prophet: *Hae tus tis.* God is saying you have become robbers. You have become robbers at these tables. [Throws the tables down and pushes chairs around]. Why do you leave the widows to suffer? At these tables you have become robbers. You have become robbers at these tables. God is telling you [pointing to leader A.] He had loved you, He had loved you, now he has dumped you. *Mmmh*, *mmmh*, mmmh, tata tata tata tata tata... These tables [hitting the tables], these tables, tables have become robbers. Tata tata tata la la la... vunuri. Tata tata tata la la la la... hilitai halitai, hilitai halitai, hilitai, tas titi lala lala lala lala tilitai ssss. [Hitting a table.] Yakobo wa mbora uyu, asingiyi nagwi kumunyi ikivavi. Mmmhh talatala lala...hii lalala... hili lalala nyasaye, talalalala lalalala, avandu vafwereye ichova mu miandu je lilova kwenya avakunzakari nivavanura. Hilititalalala...

Si murondanga ililaga, si murodanga ililaga dave, endeve, endeve, eronda ililaga dave, Nyasaye asura. Nyasaye avora muronda ililaga mba. *Mmmhhh mmhh mmhh...*Inyumba ya B., inyumba ya B., ikindu chave nichenya chekoreke mu, navuza Nyasaye asingirizi mu ililaga. *Mmmhhh mmhh mmhh....*

Ni nudeka vuza kuvugwa amabesa nimuvika imbiri, agamuria navakunzakari nivakuba ikivi izisendi zienyu ziahuki pee Mmmhh mmhhh... Nyasaye wa Yakobo avora ndi amasabato mwayivila, Mwikaye mu viama vye ichova na iviama viene vira muza konyora mu uvuritu. Mmmhh mmmhh. Omundu ove vuza kondere iyirivuguna endeve yukusingila avakunzakari, navavisandu, navadembi, vagereka, naziakwenya iyindi ichova, heei heei, Roho gwa Nyasaye ugwa Yakobo govora uvurwaye vwizuye kumundu oyo du, mpaka nu mbiama wazii. Mmmhh mmmh... Uvunuri, uvunuri vwizuyi mundeve Mmmhhh mmmhhhh...Kari amabesa agaturizwa yaga gaveku nuwagazia mba. Nagukuria vuza kwonogonya. Mmmhh mmmhh...Philibo asingii, Sadaraka asingii asingi ililaga nezisendi ziratura nezisendi ziratura navuzwa uwaza arie umwana weve arararuka. Umwaneve arayinga, umwana inzara irichova munyumba du. Mmmhh mmmhh.

Jacob [the church founder] that I am saying has stood firm and has become a sword to you. *Mmmhh talatala lala...hii lalala... hili lalala... hili lalala... hili lalala lalalala* In God's church, in God's church, *talalalala lalalala* people have gone out into worldly riches to look for widows and to rob them. *Hilititalalala*...

God is saying today, you will see what will happen, you will see what will happen. Chagugi [the name of a congregation] has separated because of the laws of Jacob that I am telling you about, because you have not made them to stand. *Mmhh mmmhh mmmhh*. The angel of the Lord God has given power to women, and they are going to put you down. *Mmmhh mmmhh mmmhh mmmhh mmmhh mmmhh mmmhh mmmhh*...

You are not following the law, the chair, the chair is not following the law, God is refusing you, God is saying that you are not following the law. *Mmmhhh mmhh mmhh...* The house of B., the house of B., something was to happen to it but God has made the law to stand there. *Mmmhhh mmhh mmhh...*

If you put the collection of money ahead of everything, and the widows are suffering, all your money has been scattered. Mmmhh mmhhh... The God of Jacob is saying this: the Sabbaths – you have forgotten them. You have sat in outside societies, and these societies you are going to find in hardship. [the reference is principally to political parties.] Mmmhh mmmhh Anyone who has a post in the church, the responsibility of looking after widows and orphans, and those with problems... and has left it and gone to look for another post outside, heei heei, the Spirit of the God of Jacob...sickness has come to that person, even up to the societies that he has gone to. Mmmhh mmmh... Robbery, robbery is great in the seat [meaning the church HOs]. Mmmhhh mmmhhhh... Even the money contributed will go nowhere. It will be eaten and misused. Mmmhh mmmhh... Philip has stood, Shadrack has stood [deceased leaders of this congregation], he has stood crying that the money will be contributed, the money will be contributed, but he who embezzles the money, his child will run mad. His child will become foolish, the child, hunger will be great in his house. Mmmhh mmmhh

C. umwana wo O. otegeywe ni sumu kumundu mukari uduki kwitwa chigira uvurwani na Nyasaye avora nutasingira wiganiri usingiri vurungi rigari rigari umundu oyo aduki kuyivi. *Mmmhhh...*

Na yivi Nyasaye avora ha vokoyani umundu avugu izi ahilingi mia mbili aviki ku ovodohi uvuturi mu choo vwononyi izi shilingi zizio. umwana yaza kuwara izisendi na zifwereku. *Mmmhhh*...

Na yivi uruyayi rove muyire. Na Nyasaye avora mu myayi yirwo avana vavoheywi ni vanyore izigasi dave, navonyore ku izigasi dave. Mutiganira uruyayi mturi mu yivi avana vaza kokoregerera. *Mmmhhh*...

Na yivi Nyasaye avora kuridiku lya lisabato na kurivugana lya Nysasaye mutasingira ku uza kwirana iruguru, *Mmmhhh...* mmmhhh..., na nuvuganiriyo nu mundu mukari nurware nanuzia mukirindwa, *Mmmhhh...*

Na yivi ha Bunyore, Nyasaye ya kotovora usingiri ho na wareka.. Nyasaye akunga izisendi aziuhu mu hospitali. Mu yangane sana. Mutavugura irikuvu usingi kigira umoyo gugwo gwa hambanywa mbakere na vakari, avere avavisandu navakunzakari, uduki kuvimira ma yivi oreka, ekego kisuyimu izisendi. *Mmmhhh*...

Na yivi Nyasaye yari niyakuha isinguvu, wingi mbimonyo izinguvu ziene yizio inzara yizi mmba mumwo, inzara yizi mu... Mmmhhhh...

C. son of O., you have been trapped with poison through a woman to kill you...and God is saying if you don't repent and stand firm, truly, truly, that person will succeed in her wish. *Mmmhhh*...

And you [pointing at D.] at your village a person has taken a note of 200/- and has smeared it with mud from a toilet, and has spoilt your money. A child is going to fall sick and all your money will be spent on the child. *Mmmhhh*...

And you [pointing at E.] you still do the things that young men are expected to do, and God is saying that because of your youthful actions, your children have been tied. They will not get employment, they will not get employment. If you don't repent of your youthful actions, to be given up by you, your children are going to defeat you. *Mmmhhh*...

And you [pointing at F.], God is saying that on the matter of the Sabbath and in God's church, if you don't stand firm, you will go back to town. *Mmmhh mmmhhh* and you will meet there a woman, you will fall sick, and you will go to the grave. *Mmmhhh*.

And you [pointing at G.], in Bunyore, God chose you to stand there but you have refused. God is driving away your money and has scattered it into hospitals. You will have a lot of problems. If you don't hold firm to the Word – because your heart was connected to old women, young women, who are destitute and widows so as to lead them, and you are refusing, the cow shed has refused you money. *Mmmhhh...* [Note: G. trades in cattle.] And you [pointing to H.] God had given you power, you have entered into gossip, that hunger for power has entered your house, hunger has come in... Mmmhhh...

From Doc. 115; original in Lulogooli.

5.1.3 A service for unbinding the vow against medicine at *Holy Spirit* Bukoyani, 5.7.02

Archbishop: Yahova avasakura vali nivagaya amang'ana ge hospitali nakunyi kovora ukovere. Murivoharora amarago mwami – gitulizwe!

All: Gitulizwe!

Archbishop: Kusaranga izimbavasi, Mwami, utakuvaliza ilihyolo mba. Izing'inga zigirung'ona, Mwami, kovere- Gitulizwe!

All: Gitulizwe!

Archbishop: Urindamanu vuta kugwira mba. Kari kwakoteva Archbishop akusaviri izimbavasi –Yanza okovohore- Gitulizwe!

All: Gitulizwe!

Song led by the General Secretary:

Avamitu avayanze mudinye Mutanyarika kusundwa Mukore miyinzi gyo Mwami Muranyora madenyi gege

Kunyi si ikuragona vosi Navuzwa kuragirung'anywa Nikudinya ku miyinzi jije Kuranyora rivamwoyo Yahova avaye imbinga yitu Akulundanga ing'inga ye kivi

Mu vudinyu vwitu vwosi bei Aletanga uvuyanzi

Archbishop: Lisaala lyo Omwami: All: Dada witu oveye mwigulu... **Archbishop:** Lisaala lye zimbavasi: All: Dada witu oveye mwigulu... **Archbishop:** Lisaala lye liyohololwa: All: Dada witu oveye mwigulu... Archbishop: Asande Mwami waginga livamwoyo. Avana vasigami vateva izimbavasi. Vagumiye amagembe ne zimbanga. Vagumiye izinyundu ne misumari. Yahova venva kuzia kubima no kotema omusingi gwe hospitali. Yahova, uvarere izimbavasi. Venya kuumbuka ehospitali okovere izimbavasi. Ku hospitali izimbavasi ziveho. Kuvatangiza ilivugana vili koteva kumunyi izimbavasi. Yakobo okovere izimbavasi.

All: Okovere.

Archbishop: Daniel okovere izimbavasi.

All: Okovere.

Archbishop: Filibo okovere izimbavasi.

Archbishop: Jehovah, the old men had refused to have anything to do with hospital, and we are now asking you for forgiveness. In untying the law, Lord – may it be removed!

All: May it be removed!

Archbishop: We ask for forgiveness, Lord, do not count us as sinners. The times are changing,

Lord, forgive us – may it be removed!

All: May it be removed!

Archbishop: Nothing bad should befall us. We have even asked Archbishop Christopher to beseech you to have mercy on us. Please release us – may it be removed!

All: May it be removed!

Song led by the General Secretary:

Brothers, loved ones, be strong Do not be moved. Do the Lord's work

You will get

We will not all sleep But we will be transformed If we stay strong in His work We will get life.

Jehovah is our refuge
He looks after us in times of danger
In all our troubles
He brings joy.

Archbishop: The Lord's Prayer:

All: Our Father who art in heaven...

Archbishop: The prayer for forgiveness:

All: Our Father who art in heaven....

Archbishop: The prayer of being released:

All: Our Father who art in heaven....

Archbishop: Thank you Lord, the life-giver.

Your children are kneeling asking for forgiveness. They are holding hoes and pangas. They are holding hammers and nails. Jehovah, they want to go and prepare the foundation of the hospital. Jehovah, forgive them. They want to build a hospital. Forgive us. As for the hospital, have mercy on us. Those who founded this church, we ask for your forgiveness. Jacob, forgive us.

All: Forgive us.

Archbishop: Daniel, forgive us.

All: Forgive us.

Archbishop: Philip, forgive us.

All: Okovere.

Archbishop: Isaya okovere izimbavasi.

All: Okovere.

Archbishop: Rahelil okovere izimbavasi.

All: Okovere.

Archbishop: Avatumwa vazia mukovere

izimbavasi. **All:** Mukovere.

Archbishop: Lwakwenya kurima urimi

nikunyi. **All:** Yee.

Archbishop: Avayinziri mumukono

gugwo.

All: Gavendio.

Archbishop: Avakare vasra kuyivi.

All: Ndio.

Archbishop: John Padwick asara kuyivi.

All: Gavendio.

Archbishop: Avasakuru vasara kuyive.

All: Gavendio.

Archbishop: Vosi vasara kuyive.

All: Ndio.

Archbishop: Ulwanda ulwiga, ilieta lilyo lizominywe.

All: Gavendio.

Archbishop: Umweli nigoveye katano mweli wa saba umuhiga gwa elfu mbili na mbili kovora wizominywe.

All: Ndio.

Archbishop: Kumanya Archbishop Christopher Ondolo aveye halala nikunyi.

All: Yee.

Archbishop: Kwamutevi amasng'ana ye hospitali Yahova. Yavugireye namoyo gwigwe gwosi. Yavugivira na kusavira izimbavasi kuyive. Yavugilila naïve vugivira. Okovere.

All: Gavendio.

Archbishop: Amakuva gavari nivavoha umwene akikiri mwoyo yavohovoye nakunyi avana veve ikindu kitakudiva ikivi mba

All: Tawe.

Archbishop: Uhuriri umoyo ne risara lya Archbishop Christopher wakugirara manedeleo gave murikanisa lia Holy Spirit nu kuvandu vosi.

All: Yee, Mwami.

Archbishop: Ikindu ikidamunu

kitekoleka dave.

All: Dave.

Archbishop Igasi ekoreke vujira imbara.

All: Forgive us.

Archbishop: Isaiah, forgive us.

All: Forgive us.

Archbishop: Rachel, forgive us.

All: Forgive us.

Archbishop: The apostles who have gone

before, forgive us. **All:** Forgive us.

Archbishop: When we start digging, dig

with us

All: Let it be so.

Archbishop: Women are praying to you.

All: Yes.

Archbishop: John Padwick is praying to

you.

All: Let it be so.

Archbishop: Men are praying to you.

All: Let it be so.

Archbishop: All are praying to you.

All: Yes!

Archbishop: Rock, horn, your name be

praised.

All: Let it be so.

Archbishop: Today being 5th July 2002, we

say, be praised.

All: Yes!

Archbishop: We know Archbishop Ondolo

is with us.

All: Yes!

Archbishop: We asked him about the hospital, Jehovah. He agreed wholeheartedly. He accepted it and prayed to you to forgive us. He accepted it, and you accept it also. Forgive us.

All: Let it be so.

Archbishop: Those things they had bound, he himself is still alive, he has unbound them, and for us his children, nothing bad should befall us.

All: Nothing.

Archbishop: Hear the voice and the prayer of Archbishop Christopher who accepted development to be in the Holy Spirit Church and for all people.

All: Yes, Lord.

Archbishop: Nothing bad should happen.

All: No.

Archbishop: the work should be done

All: Gavendio

Archbishop: Mu vunyingi nu vugasu, na makuva gave kuive koterera mu lyeta lya Yesu Kristo Mwami witu.

All: Amen.

Archbishop: Lisaala lyo Mwami. **All**: Dada witu oveye mwigulu...

Archbishop: Yahova Nyasaye kuvika inyumba yiyi yaha avalwaye na vahoneru mu. Mu lyeta lya Yesu Kristo Mwami witu. Amen.

without any fault. **All:** Let it be so.

Archbishop: In plenty and blessing, and all is upon you – we ask in the name of Jesus

Christ our Lord. **All:** Amen.

Archbishop: The Lord's Prayer. **All:** Our Father who art in heaven...

[Participants moved to the site outside the church.]

Archbishop: Jehovah God, we are putting up this building here. The sick will get healed in it. In the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Service of repentance at Holy Spirit Bukoyani, 5.7.02, before going to the site of the clinic to break the foundation.(Doc. 143.)

Original in Lulogooli.

Note: This is not a transcription from a recording but a reconstruction made immediately after the event.

5.1.4 Extracts from a *Holy Spirit* public service of witness *(ushuhuda)* at the beginning of the year (Mbale Market, 1st Jan. 2000)

Processional songs as the processions go round the Town before gathering at the Municipal grounds.

Bishop Akimanya officially opens the fellowship with an exorcism and prayer:

Ikirage chavakolanga hano, avahambiku avarumindi, avonyonyi murieta lia wanyara viosi jiturizwi, jiturizwi, murieta lia wanyara, jiturizwi.

Nyasaye wu mwiguru, wi rivamwoyo, ni risandiza, ni rizominya, imbiri wi zimoni zizio, umuhonyi umurahi, umurindi munene, wa kurindi ku muhiga gwa tisaini na tisa (1999) kwa kambuka elefu mbiri (2000.) Uvukumi mwiguru ku Nyasaye, uvukumi mwiguru ku Nyasaye imirembe ku virombe via walomba, waromba ivindu viveye murirova vioosi nutakasa numkono gugwo, kugwizominya, huula noveye mwigulu takasa, huula, huula noveye mwiguru, orete viukuria, dada witu hulira, dada witu hulira, vageendi varuhi, ng''nya yivi viika muvo imiika, viika muvo imiika Yahova Nyasaye hurira, Yeso mwami witu hurira, gasiza rivugana riveye hano yiri, uritagase rigase muhiga gwa Erefu mbiri, kandi ogohereke, ogohereke kutura omweri lara kuduka Desemba, kura kwizominya nikovora yive udukaani, gakolwe gu rieta ririo, gakorwe ku rieta lia dada, ni liu mwana, na Roho mtakatifu, uvagavuuli iviyinzilu, uvagavuli iviyinzilu, uvahe zisaramba, uvahe amang'ana, uvahe liimba, uvahe avaasoma amang'ana, uvahe amang'ana, gakolwe kutura mwiguru Makedonia, muvwimiriri vwa Yeso Kristo Mwana wa Nyasaye. Amen!

All sinful activities done here, drunkenness, murder, those who are distracting others, in the Name of He who conquered all, get out, get out, in the Name of He who conquered, get out.

Our heavenly father, our source of life, we give thanks to you and praise you and come before your eyes, our great healer and our great protector. You have protected us throughout the year 1999 until the beginning of the year 2000. We give thanks to you, and your name in heaven be praised, we give thanks to you, and your name in heaven be praised, peace be to all your created creatures, you created all creatures on earth, and blessed them with your hand, we praise you. Our heavenly Father, hear us while in heaven, bless us, listen to us, and anoint us, listen to us while in heaven, give us spiritual food. Our concerned father listen to us, these people have come and travelled long distances and are tired, Father I beg you to give them strength, give them strength, breathe into them, our heavenly father. Listen to us, our Lord Jesus Christ, listen to us, anoint the congregation gathered here today, bless it as it enters the New Year 2000. Be with us and protect us from the 1st of January 2000 until December. We will praise your name because vou are all powerful. Let it be done in your name, let it be done in Jesus' name, and that of the Holy Spirit. Give and equip them with tools, instruments, songs and for those who will read your word, bless them, give them the right message, let it be done from heaven through Jesus Christ the son of God. Amen!

General Secretary Joseph Zare's speech:

Kwa wale wote ambao wamefika hapa, siku ya leo tumpe Mungu shangwe yake, kutufikisha kwa karne mpya. Beba mkono wako kumshukuru Yesu. Bwana asifiwe, Bwana asifiwe, Yesu yizominywe, Yesu yizominywe, Halleluya, halleluya!

To those who have come here today, let us give God praise for seeing us through to this new century. Lift your hand up to thank Jesus. Praise the Lord, Praise the Lord, Praise Jesus, Praise Jesus, Praise Jesus, Halleluya! **Chorus** Yesu yaranga Musa, Musa yavugira 'mbeye hano'. Jesus called Moses, Moses responded 'I am here'.

Joseph's speech continues

Halleluya, halleluya, Yesu yizominywe, Yesu yizominywe. Basi, tukiwa hapa, jinsi nilivyosema ya kwamba hatutachukua muda mrefu zaidi wa zaidi, kuna mambo mawili:

Jambo la kwanza: Kwa hivyo mwenyekiti Mungu ametufikisha sisi kwa siku ya leo, mimi na wewe, na wote wana wa Kenya na dunia nzima. Mungu ametupa rehema ya bure, tumeona karne ingine ambayo hatukutarajia kwamba tutaiona. Lakini kwa uwezo na mapenzi ya Mungu tumefikia mwaka mpya. Tunasema kwamba uwe mwaka wa upendo, mwaka wa nini? Wa upendo.

Jambo la pili: Ni kuwa rudishia shukrani kwa wale ambao wanasimamia Town Council yetu ya Vihiga. Hawakusita kuitikia mwito ambao wametupatia kiwanja hiki, wakati walisikia mwito wetu hawakukataa. Si ni watoto wetu? Hii si ni council yetu? Tuwaombee.

Seven opening songs

Assistant Archbishop Sande's sermon:

Kigira Nyasaye yamanya kura kave hano, ni kunyi avaveye hano, sikwamanya kura kave muchichiri hano dave. Sikwamanya kura kave muchichiri hano dave, sikwamanya kura kave hano January lara ku muhiga gwa Elfu mbiri dave. Yaga na amang'ana ga Nyasaye, niye umanyi kuri na kogendizi, kandi niye waze umanye kuri nusingiri, kandi niye umanyi imihiga jijo mukono gwigwe. Kigira siumanyi kuri nomenye mu kivara kinu na avandi vaduki hano, avamari kuza hano mmbasu gwa karunu mmbeye ni ngavi kuhurira rikuva lilie. Kigira kuzi hano umweri lara (1.1.2000). Kunyi sikuzi hano kovonene vwitu dave nicho ikigira umunene niye wu vunyari vwivwe vaya halleluva! Kari nu wikaye hasi halleluva! Kahuririzi kuri mari kovora. Kohenze mukitabu cha Matayo 11:28 kosome mu Kiswahili, Kijaluo nu Lulogooli.

Halleluya, halleluya, Praise Jesus, Praise Jesus. As I said, we will not take much time here, we have two issues.

The first issue: Therefore God has enabled us - me, you, all Kenyans and the world over – to reach this day. God has given us free grace to see the new century that we had not anticipated to see. But in the power and the will of God we have reached the New Year. We proclaim that it should be a year of love, a year of what? Of love.

The second issue: I give thanks to all Vihiga Municipal Council officials. They did not hesitate to let us use the municipal grounds when we requested them for it. They accepted and did not refuse. Aren't they our children? Isn't this our council? Let us pray for them.

I am really thankful to God for He knew that we will be here today, we are the ones who are here now. We did not expect to be here on the 1st of January, 2000. This was God's plan. He is the one who will guide us. He is the one who will know how strong you will be this year in faith. He is the one who knows how old you are. However, you do not know for how long you will live on this earth. For those who have come today, you are lucky to listen to His word. We usually come to worship here on the first [6th] of January every year, but God changed His plans for us, so as to come and worship here on the 1st January, 2000. We have come here not because of our greatness, for we know God is the only one who is great. Halleluya, even if your face is gloomy or looking sad, halleluya! For those who are seated, halleluya! Listen now, and let us read the word of God in Matthew 11:28 in Kiswahili, Luo and Lulogooli.

Kiswahili: Njooni kwangu nyinyi nyote msumbukao na kulemewa na mizigo mizito, nami nitawapumzisha.

Dholuo: Biuru ira, uu duto mujony kendo mugangoru mapek, mondo amiu yueyo.

Lulogooli: Hambi ku inzi munyi voosi avanyang'ananga na avaminikaanga ni misigo miritu na inzi ndamusosiza.

English: Come unto me all you that are weary and heavily laden, and I will give you rest.

Interpretation of the scripture by Joel Sande:

Mwanyang'ani ku muhiga gwa (1999) erefu moja mia tisa tisaini na tisa, munyi umwambukizi ku muhiga yigu, henza Yahova Nyasaye yakukwambukiza, avora ndi, yivi ukubanga ikivi, yivi unyang'ananga, akuranga hamba, hamba, kigira umusigo gugwe nu mwangu. Imisigo juwaginga, uzi akuturi, uzi akuturizi kigira nuwakatura uranyora ovosoosi. Kigira umuhiga gwafweye Nyasaye yaari ni kunyi, yagendi ni munyi avaaveye mwoyo akudukizi ing'inga ya rero umweri nigoveye lara muhiga wa (2000) erefu mbili, na kunyi kuhane uvukumi.

Halleluya! You have heard what God has spoken to us through the Bible. For the year 1999 was difficult to all of us. We struggled with many problems until God made it possible for us to see the New Year. For us who have seen the New Year, God is speaking to us. He is saying, for those who are suffering, He is calling you, come to Him, come to Him, for His burden is light. Whatever burden you have, come, He will give you rest, come, He will give you rest and after giving you rest, He will make you free. For God was for and with us in the beginning of January 1999, He guided us, He protected us until He has brought us to the New Year, 1st January 2000. We give thanks to Him and glorify His name.

Choruses

The Bishop continues:

Nicho kigira nikuza hano. Yivi wari ni rinyang'ana, yivi oveye nu vudinyu, yivi oveye ni rihenda mwoyo, yivi oveye nu musigo muriduhu, hamba ku inzi, wingiri kuye, inira yeye ni nyangu, musigo gugwo nu mwangu, aranga yivi, hamba, ateva yivi, hamba, avora hamba hano. Nigo amang'ana ga koveye nago, aga Nyasaye atumi avatumwa veve hano vaze kovoola munyi kigira na avana vinyu, kuri yakagasiza hano, kuri yakagasiza hano, kuri kwakasavira voosi avaveye hano, kari na avaginga eserekali yoosi emenya hano. Avasuvira avamenya hano, avaana vitu vatuuri mumitego, nikivi keveye ho, muvulwaye voveye ho, muvunyang'anu voveye ho, ndirukira ku Nyasaye nyore ovoososi, ikivara kitamumira dave, uvuyanzi vwi rirova vutakumira dave, hamba hano wingiri ku vaandu yava, avatumiywi ku yivi lidiku lia Karunu, ngovola hamba, utadinya mwoyo mba, Halleluya, halleluya!

That is why we are here. You are troubled, burdened, disturbed, come to me, enter His gate. your burden is light. He is calling you to come to Him. He is beseeching you to come to Him. He is calling you to come to Him now. This is the word of God that we have brought to you, and that is why we have come here, for God has sent His evangelists, prophets, & priests to speak to you as your brothers and sisters. God has blessed all of us who are gathered here, so our Government, and Municipal Council that stays here, so that our children should not fall into sinful traps. For any sickness, problems, hardships, your refuge will be God, for He will restore and comfort you. Let not the world engulf you, come to these people and join those who were called to preach to you today. I am telling you, requesting you, warning you. Come, come, don't harden your heart! Halleluya! Halleluya!

Ulwandora avaana, karunu ni vakina ndi ndakaman rivugana liveye mwoyo, ku ndaka-manya liveye mwoyo kigira nindio kwenya kandi nindio roho yenya, ku amorome ni kunyi, ndi kuku-manya kutu: may speak with us. I am gaining insight from hano na kurasoma kitabu chitu chu kumaliza ni kuk kosoma, hamba uviki ku eoviro.

When I see children dancing like this, I know the service is lively because that is what we like and that is what the Spirit likes so that He here and we shall read our closing passage, come and put oil on it.

Prayer by Akimanya:

Ririo, uvukumi nu vuvwo, kusandiza dada na Roho mtakatifu, wavisa avageeri amang'ana amarahi, manoretera avasiru, avasiru vamenyange mu varasii kokora uvwami vwa korondela yivu nu vwimihiga ni mihiga na kokogonya yahova Nyasaye gumiriza yava voosi vagumiriki, varondele uvwami vuvwo. Avatigara ichova okomorore, avatigara mu kivanda zia okomorore, avatigara mu inyanza zia okomorore vaaze konyora uvwami okore kuri lieta rilio, umuhiga gunu goveye umuhiga gwu kumaliza na kokogonya yivi utumi zinguru kutura mwigulu zizi mu avaandu voovo, vavore amakuva gogo, vavore amang'ana gogo kuduka lwa na uzi, vave ni vakavora rieta rilio lizominywe, muyivi gakolwe mu dada nu mwana na Roho mtakatifu, mu girigari mu vwimirii vwa Kristo mwana wa Nyasaye, Amen!

Our heavenly father, who is above everything, the heaven is yours, the earth is yours. We give thanks to you, your son and the Holy Spirit. You hid the good news from the educated and gave it to the poor to live in and to inherit the heavenly Kingdom that we are now struggling for, that exists for ever and ever. We pray to you heavenly father to bring in those who are outside your church, the unsaved ones, those who have not accepted you, those who are stuck in mud, so that they may be saved and inherit the Kingdom. Let it be done in your name. We were told that the year 2000 will be the last one of the end times. We beg you send us your Holy Spirit power from heaven to proclaim your good news until you come back. Blessed be your name. Let it be done in the name of Jesus Christ Son of God, Amen!

The Archbishop continues:

Ari uganaganyia ndamoroma amang'ana gandi, aka mwakakora hano ga kunyanziza lwa nda korora nu nimukina, ndakorora muviki isaini, kigira ivindu via mwakamoroma hano na amang'ana amanene. Kigira ilikuva rinene liari uvuyanzi, nilio lia nyenya mizii nalio manzikare haasi, ni kuhuliza cha Nyasaye avoora nu wikaaye hoosi hoveye ginga ekedete kirara yiguru kigira karunu nu mweri lara ekedete kirara cheng'ine utasingiriza viosi vitano dave, kigira karunu nu mweli lara. Nyasaye amugasizi Munyore ivinyingi, halleluya! Halleluya!

Maybe some of you still think I will say more than I have already said. What you have done here has impressed me a lot. Dancing, singing, and other activities have shown that we have put a rubber stamp [upon the day], that everything was perfect. The most important word we should remember today is love. That's what I want you to remember and take home with you, while we wait for what God is going to reveal to us. Wherever you are sitting or standing. I want you to lift up one of your fingers and twirl it in the air, do not raise all five fingers but only one for today is the first of January 2000. God bless you all, and receive abundant blessings, halleluya! Halleluya!

Matthew 28:16-20:

Kiswahili

Na wale wanafunzi kumi na mmoja wakaenda Galilaya mpaka mlima ule, aliowaagiza Yesu. Nao walipomwona walimsujudi, lakini baadhi yao waliona shaka. Yesu akaja kwao, akasema nao, akawaambia nimepewa mamlaka yote mbinguni na duniani, nendeni mkawafanye mataifa yote kuwawanafunzi, mkiwabatiza kwa jina la Baba na Mwana na Roho mtakatifu na kuwafundisha kuyashika yote niliyowaamuru ninyi. Na tazama, mimi niko pamoja nanyi siku zote hata ukamilifu wa dahari.

Lulogooli

Na avigizi likomi na murara, vazia Gariraya kuduka mukiguru kuri Yeso ya varaga navolwa vamurora vamusigamira, na Yeso yaaza himbi navo, na sivatia navavorera, mbevuywe nzinguru ziosi mwiguru nu murirova, muzii na muve avigizi ku voosi mu vabatize murieta lia dada no mwana na Roho mtakatifu na vigizi nu kugumira goosi ga ndamuraga, na mbeye harara ni munyi kuduka ku kiheri chi rirova.

English

And the eleven disciples went to Galilee as Jesus had instructed them. When they saw Him, they did not fear but worshipped Him. Jesus came to them and said unto them, I have been given authority in heaven and on earth, go and make disciples of all, baptizing them in the name of the father, the son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them and holding firm to what I have instructed you. Lo I am with you always till the end of the age.

Altar call by Gen. Sec. J. Zare:

Yesu aliwaambia wanafunzi wake waende katika ulimwengu wote, mkawatangazie mataifa ya watu wangu, wale ambao watashika neno langu watatubu dhambi zao, na kuokolewa. Na wale ambao watakataa basi wataenda Jehanamu ambayo iko tayari kwao. Ttumesikia jambo hilo. Jee, ndugu, dada yule amefika hapa? Roho yako inakwambia nini? Karibia, karibia kwa wokovu wake Yesu Kristo. Hakuna wokovu mwingine kuliko wa Yesu Kristo ambaye alimwaga damu yake ikatiririka juu ya dhambi zetu ili tupate kuokolewa. Kwa hivyo ndugu na dada, chaguo ni lako. Mapenzi ni yako wewe mwenyewe. Angalia tarehe mosi, wewe unasimama aje? Uko upande gani? Uko kwa njia gani?

Karne hii imepewa jina lingine, mmesikia? Jina millenium, sijui ni Miriam, sijui nini mhubiri amesema tuite Miriam? Halleluya! Sasa wewe mwenyewe uchague. Hata kama uko kanisa gani, mama, baba, kijana, chaguo ni lako, Ahsante.

(Greetings from various people follow)

General Secretary:

Kwa kuwa saa imeenda tumechukua muda mwingi sana, tumepata miujiza kwamba wale wamama hawakujaliwa kupata watoto waje Bukoyani waombewe wapate watoto. Dawa zimerushwa kutoka mbinguni kuja Bukoyani, waje waombewe wapate matokeo. Chaguo ni lako. Ninamuita hapa ukiwa na shida yoyote uje uombewe, shida ya kazi, ugonjwa na kadhalika

For Jesus commissioned His disciples to go into the whole world and preach to all nations of my people. 'Whoever listens to my word and repents of their sins will be saved but those who will not listen to it will perish in Hell which is waiting for them.' We have heard this. Dear brothers, dear sisters, whoever is with us today, what does your heart (roho) tell you? Come close, come close for your salvation from Jesus Christ. There is no other salvation save that from Jesus Christ, who poured His blood upon our sins that we might be saved. Therefore, the decision is yours, brother and sister. The choice is yours alone. Look and see how you stand this first day of the year. Which side are you? Which way are you taking?

Have you heard that this century has been given another name? I don't know whether it is Millennium or Miriam. I don't know what the preacher told us to call it, Miriam? Halleluya! Choose by yourself now. Whatever church you come from, father, mother and the youth, the choice is yours. Thank you.

Because time has been much spent and we have taken a lot of time, we have received miracles that those women who have never given birth should come to Bukoyani for prayers to get children. Medicine has been released from heaven to Bukoyani. Let them come for prayers that their situation may change. The choice is yours. Let me call those with problems to come here for prayers, problems like unemployment, sickness, etc.

Chorus: Jesus is calling you, Jesus is calling you...

Joel Erote prays for various problems:

Amahi gaveye gu mwiga gwa 1999, mu rieta lia Yesu Kristo gaturizwi! Amahi guvulwayi garonda ku vaana voovo ni gavamina uvudiku nu mbasu, gaturizwi! Uvuminiku vuturizwi!

All the problems we have undergone in the year 1999, in the name of Jesus get away! In the name of Jesus get away! All the conflicts that have confused your children day and night get away! Hardships get away!

Chorus: I love our father who is in heaven

Prayer by Joel Erote:

Yesu umwami wakuyanza kutura January kwa kuduka Desemba, uvukumi kuyivi, dada wakohereka vuzwa kwakutunga dave, kuzi kutanga amang'ana gitu Hambale hano, kovora yivi wizominywe mihiga ni mihiga. Avaana voovo yava vamenya muriminika ngonya yivi mwiguru mwene zinyasi mwiguru, uvahiri mbola vivi mwiguru, hamba uvahili. Oveye ni zinyasi mukabati, hamba, yikiza, dada nu mwana na Roho Mtakatifu. Wizominywe kuri amakuva gaturi mwiguru, vahamini uvukumi, wakuyanza vuza kwakuha kundu dave, kuduki umuhiga gwa 2000 ku vaana voovo vaduki hano, vatarwara dave, uzi kuvakora avaramu vazi kohereka yivi, vazi kohereka yivi, vegomba vahereke yivi, nu musigu sietani avakaragira uvulwaye, ngondekera uvulwaye murieta lia Yeso vuzii! Ngondekera uvulwaye murieta lia Yesu vuzii! Avasieni ivirenge viavo Hambale ku muhiga gwa elfu mbiri vakorwe avaramu, vakolwe avaramu, rieta lilio lizominywe. Avamenya avere uzii konyora, avateveye nizinyumba, avataveye niziigaasi vanyore, Nyasaye oveye mwiguru okore gave ndio, okore gave ndio, lieta lilio lizominywe, kusavira Kenya igase, kusavira Kenya igase, gakolwe murieta lia dada nu mwana na Roho mtakatifu nu mugerigari, AMEN

Glory be to you, Lord Jesus, for loving us from January till December. Father, you saw us through free of charge, we paid you nothing. We have come here to Mbale to say 'be glorified forever and ever'. These that are suffering are your children. I beg you as the only source of medicine, come and heal them! Come and heal them for you have all sorts of medicine in your cupboard. Come, set them free, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Be praised and glorified for the words that you send from heaven, which they have believed. You freely loved and let us see the year 2000. Your children are here, let them be healed, guide them and give them good health. It is burdensome for the devil to condemn them to sickness. I rebuke sickness in the name of Jesus, go! I rebuke sickness in the name of Jesus, go! Let the feet of those that stepped here at Mbale be made whole this year. Let them be healed! Your name be glorified! Those that have lived in poverty, provide for them, those that don't have houses, and let the unemployed get jobs. Father in heaven do it for your name will be glorified. We pray for Kenya, let it be well with Kenya. Let all this be done in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and in the truth, Amen.

Offering and notices

Closing Prayer by Bishop Akimanya:

Nirisandiza nirizominya imbiri wi zimoni zizio, wahereka avaana vovo vaduki muhiga wa elfu mbiri (2000) kandi kovora yivi uvahereke ku muhiga gwa (2000) uvahereke ilwa varirana hano varizominya rieta lilio. Dada nu mwana na Roho mtakatifu venya virane yengo, urwa venya kogenda ku virenge kuzinzira uvahereke, Yahova

We give thanks and praise your name, O Lord, before your eyes, for you have led us through to see the year 2000. We continue to pray to you for protection, lead us until we come back here again at this place and we will glorify your name. In the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit, we are going back home. Some will travel on foot, protect

Nyasaye, avaveye avalwaye yengo yazii kohona, avaaveye avalwaye yengo vazii kohona, Yesu oveye mwiguru, yivi umwene uzii kuvagavula, ziu kubii mu endeve mwiguru uzii kuvagavula. Umundu atavaku ni inzara dave, umundu atavaku ni inzara nu vudaka dave. Avana vavo vava vakwiyami, na yivi uviyami, vanyore iviavatumikira, Kuduka Desemba (2000) elfu mbili, vara kwizominya riieta lilio. Avaduki hano uvagasize, kari avafutwa mkitabu vazii kuhandikwa, lieta lilio lizominywe mihiga ni mihiga, mbaavo mumadara uvimiriri kuzinzira, uvimiriri mbavo kuzing'endo, uvimiriri gakolwe ku riieta lilio mu bwimiriri vwa Yesu Kristo. Amen

them, heal those that are sick at home. Our heavenly Father, provide them with what they lack, for everything comes from you. None of us of us should suffer from hunger. None of us should suffer from hunger. Listen to my prayer, for your children have accepted you and you have accepted them, provide them with what they lack and they will praise your name until the end of the year December 2000. Bless those who are here today, even those who have backslidden, forgive them and write them in the book of life. May your name be praised for ever more. As they depart to their homes, protect them and take care of them. Let it be done through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

li)

5.1.5 Order of service for baptism and communion at African Holy Zionist Church, Kawangware, Nairobi.

Preparation

- 1. In the house of the pastor: repentance, exorcism, and prayer before procession.
- 2. Procession. Songs sung during procession:

Lihe liu Mwami

Emilembe Nyasaye

Tembea na Yesu

Gali mahingani geng'ine

Awela awela awela

Wataomba baba nifungulie

Amenitendea

- 3. Entry to the church (leaders remove shoes)
- 4. Repentance (one minute)
- 5. Prayer
- 6. Singing continues while awaiting arrival of the Archbishop

The Archbishop repents in the house where he had gone to robe.

- 7. On arrival of the Archbishop at the church, he, his aide, and the priest *(omusalisi / kuhani)* remove their shoes and repent before entering the church.
- 8. The congregation rise to their feet.
- 9. The Archbishop and his aide proceed to the sanctuary *(madhabahu)*, kneel down and individually pray for the service.
- 10. The Archbishop then stands, and indicates to the congregation they should sit.

Repentance

- 11. The church secretary officially begins the programme.
- 12. The priest is called upon to drive out evil spirits after which he prays for the Holy Spirit to guide the service.
- 13. Spiritual songs sung by the entire congregation:

Ne lidiku linene

Kuziza mu lidala lya Nysasaye

Oh Yesu nguyanza

Bolela Yesu mang'ana gogo.

Mwami Yesu yananga

- 14. Repentance and exorcism (five minutes)
- 15. The priest sings a song:

Leluya wimbile Messiah

16. Prayer by the pastor

Welcome and introductions

- 17. Introduction of the visitors (who each greet the congregation)
- 18. Congregational song:

Shetani ashindwe kwa damu ya Yesu

- 19. The priest then prays for the visitors.
- 20. The priest then welcomes the pastor to speak.
- 21. The pastor presents a report concerning the progress of the congregation before welcoming the visitors from the Mission HQ.
- 22. The priest then officially welcomes the Archbishop and his team
- 23. Members of the Archbishop's team greet the congregation and the Archbishop is then asked formally to address the congregation. He
 - addresses the grievances raised by the pastor
 - presents greetings from the Mission HQ
- 24. Offerings

Sermon

25. Song to welcome the preacher (Archbishop):

Nitaomba na Yesu, nitaomba

- 26. Prayer for the preacher
- 27. Archbishop sings:

Namtafuta Yesu akae moyoni

- 28. Archbishop preaches the sermon on the Samaritan woman at the well.
- 29. Acts 1: 6 is read.
- 30. Prayer for the sermon.

Blessing of the children

- 31. Scripture verse: Matthew 18: 1.
- 32. Song: Leta avana batule mubuoni
- 33. Archbishop anoints children with oil on their foreheads.
- 34. Archbishop gives the children sweets.
- 35. Prays for the children.
- 36. Takes his cross, exorcises the spirits that come against the children, and then prays a general prayer for all children.

Blessing of adults

- 37. Scripture verse: Deuteronomy 28: 1.
- 38. People kneel down.
- 39. Song: Kwenyanga ligasizwa.
- 40. Archbishop gives the candidates sweets.
- 41. Anoints them with oil on their foreheads.
- 42. Prays for then one after another while laying hands on them.
- 43. Makes a general exorcism against evil spirits followed by prayer.
- 44. Lord's prayer.

Baptism

- 45. Archbishop teaches on the importance of baptism.
- 46. Candidates are called upon one after another.

- 47. Candidates face the congregation and the Archbishop asks the congregation to name any they do not think are worthy of baptism.
- 48. The Archbishop questions the candidates especially on the passages they have learnt (Ps. 23 and Matthew 5).
- 49. Scripture reading from Corinthians.
- 50. The church flag is brought.
- 51. Candidates kneel down while the congregation stand.
- 52. The Archbishop pours oil on the candidates forehead and baptizes them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
- 53. Songs:

Lidiku linene

Taji imewekwa tayari

Wewe ni Baba yangu

Pale Kalivari yote yamekwisha

Avachayi nivachaya nomusalaba nigugenda

Mulinde Roho mulisala

Holy Communion

- 54. The table is prepared with bread, Ribena, and a knife.
- 55. The Archbishop reads a scripture and then prays.
- 56. The Archbishop takes a slice of bread and cuts it with a knife, then puts the pieces on an open page of Scripture while still reading it.
- 57. Partaking of the bread and the cup.
- 58. Prayer by the Archbishop
- 59. The Archbishop warns against the drinking of alcohol after receiving from the table, and reads a Scripture on how Jesus was tempted after baptism.
- 60. Prayer.
- 61. The flag is returned outside.
- 62. End of service.

5.1.6 Prophet Adolwa prophesies at the memorial service for Laban Busaka, *Holy Spirit*, Kisiru.

Kiki kiki lalalalalalala Hukika, Nyasaye avola ndi Laban ku saa yinu aduki kuvikwa halovega ku madiku sita. Ni livugana ni menyanga ha Kisiru hano koveye na vandu vanieza umulu mavaleka avandi nivakubana mutakoleka mule agaza kwekola hango omundu oyo

Titi titi titi kaka kaka kandi Roho gwa Nyasaye gusingi, nagwo nomululu gu vandu yavo vaginga ivimonyo, avikalanga avasalisi nivaduka ukonyega amalago, nivaduka ukonyega amalago, avandu yava sivadukanga kari virwaza mundu shara varonda, inzara ilazia mumba mwavo enene na vana varasaranyika.

Ni ka lalala Kandi Roho gwa Nyasaye gusingiye govora muvandu valindi aveng'ene sivatiza avakunzakari na uza kumoroma Kiki kiki lalalalalalala. Listen, God says that Laban at this time has been set aside for six days (i.e., his entry to heaven has been delayed). And the fellowship at Kisiru has people who are stirring up conflict and then leaving people to fight. You will come to see what will happen in the home of that person. Titi titi titi kaka kaka kaka kandi Again, the Spirit of God has stood firm, and is fierce against those who backbite, those leaders and preachers who disparage the law, who disparage the law, those who do not obey; if they preach, people will not follow them. Hunger will enter their homes and their children will be scattered.

Ni ka lalala Again, the Spirit of God has stood and is saying that the youth leaders have no respect for widows, and whoever kumukunzakari vululu mulivugana lia Holy Spirit yengine muza kola ivirorekitsu. *Lalalalala lalalala* avandu vachaya Roho wa Nyasaye nivaduka ukutumikila amasala ga mademoni, avandu yavo vaza ukukubana sana.

Kiki lalalalala Japheth na Daniel vasingiye na malago ha Bukoyani nimutahenza mwizuu vimonyo. Muveye ni vikuria dave, navuzwa muza kolola virorekitsu. Avakere vavora vavugura Roho muhiga gwa isherini na saba vayizura ivimonyo umung'ele nasingila vataraku amang'ana umwilwazi nasingira vataraku amang'ana nivo avaliza ivindu via Nyasaye. Nyasaye avana vinyu vamkonyaku dave mtavola amang'ana ga geligali. Kiki lalalalalala.

Prayer for the prophecy:

Kukusandikiza Yahova umulindi umugasu makuva gaveti kutula mwigulu kigira wayanza livugana lia Holy Spirit. Na kokogonya yivi Avandu vakuranga amang'ana yago viganire zimbi vanyore agaveye gerigari nokora ndio. Kurasandikiza kigira uduya kuvandu vovo mifuri masoma ku vuri mulala kuive, sieveye Ikisiru yenyene dave na maganiza ga Holy Spirit Roho gogendemu gwirwaze mu Roho gwi mwami gogende mu amavi gatavamu dave, vimonyo vitavamu dave. Wizominywe chigira oveye dada. Ukuvuliyi agivisi kulwa yivi Yeso Kristo umwimili wetu. Amen.

speaks harshly to the widows in the Holy Spirit church, you will see what will happen. *Lalalalalala lalalala*. Those who despise the Spirit of God while praying to evil spirits, they will find themselves in a great conflict.

Kiki lalalalalala. Japheth and Daniel have stood firm with the law at Bukoyani, and if you don't pay heed, you will be filled with backbiting. You do not have food, but you will come to see signs. Those mothers who say they received the Spirit in 1927 are full of backbiting. If a young man stands up they accuse him, saying it is these people who eat the things of God. God will not help your children if you don't speak the truth. Kiki lalalalalala.

Prayer for the prophecy:

We thank you Jehovah, our good protector, for the words that have come from heaven because you love the church of Holy Spirit. And we pray to you that those who do these things should repent of their sins, and receive the truth, if you do this. We thank you because you stamp people with your mark, and you bring each one to you, not just from Kisiru alone, but from all the churches of the Holy Spirit. May the Spirit visit us when we preach in the Spirit of the Lord, and be with us so that evil doesn't happen, and there is no backbiting. Receive our thanks because you are the Father. Reveal to us what is hidden in Jesus Christ our leader. Amen.

From Memorial service for Laban Busaka at Holy Spirit Kisiru branch, 26.9.00 (Doc. 6)
Original in Lulogooli.

5.1.7 Invocation by Kefa Mwangale for the presence of the church founders at a service in *Holy Spirit*.

Kusandisa Yahova umwayi umurahi numurindi umurahi. Kuranga yivi noveye mwiguru, urinda riguru ma urinda ilova. Vandu yava na vandu vovo, wavatovora varindi miyinzi jijo. Rwa vaturi mu zimbega, Nairobi, Mombasa, kogenya yivi wikize amakuva ga Jacob, Japheth, Phillip. Atavamu avura kuhura dave. Avaza muno uvagasizi. Kujage miyinzi

We thank you Jehovah, good shepherd and good guardian. We call upon you in heaven, (for) you look after the heavens and the earth. These are your people, you chose them to look after your work. As they have come from different places, Nairobi, Mombasa, bring down messages from Jacob, Japheth, and Philip. Let there be none that will not

nikoveye nivi chigira oveye Nyasaye we kiligari. Kurwa Yesu Kristo umwayi witu, Amen.

hear. Bless those that will come in here. Let us begin the work while we are together with you because you are the God of truth. Through Jesus Christ our Shepherd, Amen.

From Holy Spirit Leaders' Conference at Bukoyani 27-30 Dec. 2000 (Doc. 5)
Original in Lulogooli.

5.1.8 The role of dreams in giving direction during worship.

(This text continues directly from the one above.)

Rev Albert Obede

Tunaendelea na programme mnaelewa ya kwamba mkutano wetu wa Holy Spirit huwa unaendeshwa na Roho Mtakatifu. Na kwa vile watu hapa asubuhi walisema ndoto zao, kwa wale hamkuwepo, mtu aseme kile Roho alimwonyesha ndio tujue mwelekeo wa mkutano wa leo.

Ndoto ya mtu

Ndori ndi avandu vizuyi murivugana hano na nindora Patrichi (Padwick) aveye yaha na kadoga. Ku koromanji naye nimuteva, "mavakoheku ri rwaza?" Naye avora amanyi da, "agavene vamanye vatovore vamanye vambe na sinyara kumanya dave".

Nindora Secretary witu Japheth vave no gorori gonene, varange no muyayi wa Mugara umwimbi; Osore. Rwa vazi nimbateva, "vaya mukachereveya hayi? Kwa kwingira rivugana na nguyu muza no gorori, mukatura hai?" Ku ndevangi vuza ndio navo vanjibangi dave. Ku hadidi erori yeyo imanyi ni yoneka ma nimbavola, "siola ndakamteva na mchiring'ana. Erori yakoneka, ku na kokorendi". Asi nivachiring'ana za ku vamanyinivavugura, mula anaginga imutwi - Joseph na Osore naginga imadako manivazia nerori yeyo manimbuka.

Rev. Albert Obede

As we continue with the programme you will understand that the Holy Spirit usually leads our Holy Spirit meeting. And because people narrated their dreams here in the morning, for those that were not here, let everyone tell of what the Spirit showed him/her so that we may know the direction of today's meeting.

A dream from a participant

I saw this: that many people had gathered at a meeting here and then I saw Padwick here with a small vehicle. So we were talking with him and I asked him, "will they give you [an opportunity] to preach?" He said that he didn't know, "whatever they will choose, they will give me. I do not know".

I saw Japheth, our secretary with a big lorry, together with Mugara's youngest son; Osore. When they came, I asked them, "Eh where are you from that made you come late? We have already begun the meeting and you are coming with a big lorry, where are you from?" So I kept asking them this but they never answered me. So shortly afterwards, that lorry got spoilt, then I told them, "You see, I have been asking you as you kept silent. The lorry has got spoilt, so what shall we do?" Okay, they kept silent and they took it, one carrying the front part – Joseph while Osore carried the rear part. They then went away with that lorry and then I woke up.

Member wa Kabras

Ndakorora kuzi hano, ni ndora rivugana rinene, nindora Peter nende musakuru, ma ndiza nindora vagwiyi mu gurina gwene yigwo. Nyasaye avagasizi.

Asst. Archbishop Joel Sande interprets

Ikindu ekenene mwivugana, kutanga konyora isimu itura yiguru ku Nyasaye kumanye kuri rivugana yiri rimanye rigende. Ah mudoga na mang'ana kuhusu rivugana chigira mudoga gwene yigwo gwa yoneka na rigingiywi rishirwa wa rizia koromberwa chigira vakwanganyia umundu wa varanga Osore na nivamuretanji yinu nokovora ndi yago ni maganisa gitu genyanji gaze hano na imidoga javo kwenya kokengere mujo josi na makanisa gavo kuri varinda makanisa gavo kuri rivugana rienya risingiri. Ku umwami avora umudoga gwene yigwo genya gohenzwemu ku risingiriza gusingiri vurahi. Nigo ga Nyasaye avora hano kandi niyo isimu ya koreteywi kandi nicho ikivuni ekenene hano.

Ah rira riari direct chigira rimanyi vuza vurungi iliina ni riyaviywi, oveza numari kuvikwa ahadamanu chigira unyara kutura dave chigira oveza ni wavikwa mwirina, ku niva nukuba urwang'a unyara kuturizwa na nutakuba urwang'a dave nukuzirimu.

Ndoto ya mtu

Nilionyeshwa nilienda kwa kampuni ingine ya kutengeneza milango, vitu vya mbao. Watu wakaanza kufanya kazi nikaona General Secretary akaingia na akasema, "fanyeni haraka haraka na mtoke, mambo imefanyika pahali fulani kwa hivyo fanyeni haraka tutoke ndani". Mimi nilikuwa na randa, nikatoka nayo. Sasa tulikuwa tutoke ndani twende tuone mtu amekufa na nikaamka.

Asst. Archbishop Joel Sande interprets

Suvira ni mala mere chigira ni igasi ya Nyasaye. Koveye ne miyinzi muno na igasi ya koveye nayo kunyaguri sana ne zisa chigira koveye ne miyinzi minyingi jenya jigurwe na General Secretary avora

A church member from Kabras

I dreamt that we had come here, then I saw a big meeting, then I saw Peter [the leader of a rival group] and the old man, and then I came to see that they had fallen into that pit. God bless you.

Asst. Archbishop Joel Sande interprets

The greatest thing in a meeting, we begin by receiving a telephone call that comes from God so that we know how the meeting should move on. Ahh the vehicle [represents] a message concerning the meeting because that vehicle is spoilt and it is carried to be taken to where it can be repaired, that is why the person called Osore came in and by bringing him, it meant that those are our churches that were supposed to come here, and we should scrutinise their vehicles and their churches [to see] if they are running the way the churches should. So the Lord is saying that the vehicle should be checked so that it stands firm. That is what God is saving here and that is the call that was sent to us, and also, that is today's chief theme.

Aah that [the second dream] was direct because it just showed directly that when a hole has been dug, you have been put in a bad place because you cannot come out when you have been put in the hole, so if you cry for help, you can be rescued, but if not you will die there.

Another dream from someone

I was shown that I went to some company that makes doors, wooden things. People began working and I saw the General Secretary come in and said, "Do quickly and come out, some things have happened somewhere, so be fast so that we can come out of this place." I had a carpenter's plane, which I came out carrying. We had to leave and go and see someone that had died and I woke up.

Asst. Archbishop Joel Sande interprets

I think it is the same because it is God's work. We have work here, we should rush on with this work because we have a lot that needs to be done, and the General Secretary is saying that everyone should

umundu ayinzira umuyinzi gwigwe chigira umuyinzi gwa goveye nagwo nu muyinzi gwo koronda isaa. Noveye muno uyinziri umuyinzi yigu chigira si goveye nigwu umuyinzi gwengine dave, koveye nugundi hambiri kwenya kokore ku na yivi ove umwangu kokora umuyinzi. Navora mukore igasi, mukore vwangu chigira koveye nu muyinzi hambiri yaha.

Rev Albert Obede

Hizi ndizo simu tulikuwa nazo na kwa hiyo huwa tunapeana dakika moja kama mtu ameona kitu ndani yake kwa hizo ndoto aende ajitakase na wale ambao mmeingia muende mjitakase kwa vile mmechelewa. Kuhani John Andove.

Kuhani John Andove

Nyasaye wo mwiguru, umugeri wa vageri, waromba rirova, riguru ne nyanza, yanza vugula baba koveye ku muyinzi gugwo yivi oveye makanika uyinzira ku mioyo jitu, ove nive usingila amaroto agaturi mu riguru. Yivi umwene vikaku umuhuri na kandi kogonya yivi okohe amarahi agakogendiza korerwe vurahi kuri vanga Jacob vagenda ku. Mu vudendi vwa Kristo Mnathareti, Amen.

keep to his/her work as the work that we have requires us to be careful about time. If you are here, you should be part of this work because it is not the only work, we have some other ahead that we need to do, and you should therefore be quick in doing the work. If he tells you to work, work quickly because we have other work ahead.

Rev. Albert Obede

These were the telephone calls that we had, and we usually give one minute so that if someone has seen something about themselves from those dreams, they go to cleanse themselves and those that have just entered, go and cleanse yourselves because you have come late. Priest John Andove.

Priest John Andove

God of heaven, the wisest of all the wise, who created the earth, the heavens and the ocean, please Father take over, we are at your work. You are the mechanic that works on our hearts, you are the one that presides over the dreams that come from heaven. Seal it with your rubber-stamp and we request you to give us what is good and what will lead us well on the rails like Jacob. In the care of Christ the Nazarene, Amen.

From Holy Spirit Leaders' Conference at Bukoyani 27th –30th Dec. 2000 (Doc. 5).

Original in Lulogooli and Kiswahili.

5.2 Life in the Spirit

5.2.1 The call of Archbishop James Kisibo of Roho Israel

Ring'ana chigira vurwaye vwange vura: rwandahirwa musivitari, ndamaramu madiku gavaga. Lakini rwandingilamu ndasava vuza amazi maninduka, ma kuduka saa moja umwoyo ni gutura; yani umundu yaza niyambola, "ndumiywi nzize kukuranga kuzi." Ku rwandasingira nimba umundu umwangu na umuviri nigutigara hasi. Umundu oyo nambola utahenda umwoyo dave. Kwaduka hakihadisi kwanza, yani ahene yaho avandu vahambikila vuza, nivakubana. Ma nimbolwa yava navandu vakuza nivataveye avasuviri, nikuturaho nikuzia havandu harangwa mu paradizo, ninyora avandu varava, vagivika zinguvu zindavu, ma hanzika vuza avandu avarahi ma sindenya kutulayo rigari dave lakini umundu wa kwazia naye yambola singoretangi rigari dave, ndakuza kukumanya.

Basi kihuzuzi nacho chandurizayo mpaka viguru ma ninyorayo zindeve avandu vayikaraku, na dada wakuranga nyasaye aveve nende zinderu zindambi nazio zindavu, na umundu wang'endiza niye wambola kwakaduka havundu fulani. Na Yesu mwana wa Nyasaye yayikara ku umukono umurungi. Avandu vene yava vamanya nivasingira manindora ng'ani na vandu ma nimbevwa amarago uwene yeyo. Nimbolwa amazi guwakahevwa nu ruka, wakogizwa na rwutura hano uzie kwirwaza, ovole avandu Yesu no mwana wa Nyasaye yayikara ku umurungi gwa Nvasave avavugila vahone. Na ikindu cho kutanga chokora utazia kuria inguruve dave, chigira avandu variza ikindu chene yicho roho gwa Nyasaye gumanya guviruka. Ria kaviri nimborwa zirwaze na imima ginde ge kivara utingilamu dave. Kwamanya kutura ahene yaho kuzia musivitari na kwingira muviri gwange vigwo ndingila mumuru. Ninyora nzingiriza umuviri nenzeromba lakini vwari uvudinvu kwigining'anya. Na ikindu kisimuguka kumundu kwanza nezimoni. Ndeginga kandi zie kuya. Ningaywa ndikara

A word about that sickness of mine; when I was taken to hospital, I stayed there for three days. When I got to the hospital I asked for drinking water, but I vomited it all up. When it reached seven o'clock, my heart (read: spirit) left me, that is, somebody came and told me 'I have been sent to call you that we may go.' So when I stood up, I felt so light and my body remained on the bed. That person told me not to worry. We got to the deep first, that is, people just drink and fight there. Then I was told that those were the people, who died before believing. We left there and went to a place called paradise and found some people having put on white clothes. There were very good people where I was seated, making me desire not to leave, but the person with who we went told me, "I did not bring you here to stay, I just came to show you."

Then a fierce whirlwind took me out of there to a place up and I found seats occupied by people, and our father that we call God had a very long white beard. It was the person that was taking me around that would tell me the place we had reached. Jesus, the Son of God was seated on the right hand side. Those people then stood up and I can bear witness that they were real people. I was then given commandments there and was told, "The water that you were given and vomited had cleansed you. So when you come from here, go and preach. Tell people that Jesus is the Son of God and is seated on the right hand side, and those that believe shall be saved. And the first thing that you will do is not to eat pork because those that eat it are usually forsaken by the Spirit of God. Secondly, I was told to preach but take care not to get entangled in worldly pleasures. We then left that place and went to hospital and I entered my body through some opening. I then discovered that I had entered to my body and was tidying myself up but it was very difficult for me to turn. The thing that becomes active first are the eyes. I could lift

mu sivitari dave, chigira, "siwari umurwayi dave - wakoretwa vuza wogizwi ku ovole daktari akohe uvwiyangu wirane. Ku rwo mukaye wange yaza yanyora karunu mbenza. Na musivitari vari nivangunichi kitambaa ili asubuhi mbirwe mumochari. Rwavachura asubuhi vanyora mbenza varwaye vingi nivaza kondora.

Basi rwayaduka saa tatu, ninzi haa mbeye ne zinguru nimbavola nyenya zie kwisinga rwasingira ngwa hasi ma vangaruzaku. Basi rweduka saa sita ninyora mbeye nezinguru ma daktari na mba urwiyangu. Ndamanya nizia ku avakamba varomba viratu nimbateva vanzegobi ze navuza vamba vuza. Ninzia mu bucha wa Omubo niyamba isiringi ma ninziza vuza. Basi ukuza ndatanga vuza igasi yange yo kwirwaza. Ku Nyasaye yaingola virorikizu ivingi sana. Ma nisavira avandu ma onyora vakohona. Ma kunyara kuva kuri kunyi lakini vuri mundu yahevwa kihanwa.

myself up but fall again. I was instructed not to stay in hospital because, "You were not sick – but was brought only to be cleansed – so tell the doctor to give you permission to go back (home)." So when my wife came, she found me conscious. I had already been covered using white sheets so as to be taken to the mortuary in the morning. When they found me conscious in the morning, many of the patients (in the hospital) came to see me.

Now, when it reached nine o'clock and I had gained some strength, I told them that I wanted to go and bathe, but when I stood up, I fell down and they put me back into bed. When noon reached, I felt strong, then the doctor released me. I therefore went to the Kambas that make shoes and requested them to sell me shoes on credit but they gave them to me free of charge. Then I went to butchery owned by a Luo, who gave me a shilling after which I just came. When I came over, I just began on my work of preaching. So God has performed many miracles to me. That is why I pray for people and you find them healed. So we can be like this but every person has been given a gift.

OI James Kisibo, 20.10.99 (Doc. 117) Ibwali. Original in Lulogooli

5.2.2 How Bishop Jethro Avisa of *Holy Spirit* received the Spirit

Nilikuja hapa nyumbani kwa likizo na kwa ile hali ya kuijiandaa kurudi kazini, nyumba ya mama iliungua na ikabidi niwasaidie. Sasa kurudi huko ikawa nilikuwa nimechelewa na farm manager akasema nifutwe kazi. Sasa niliamua kuja Giligil Town na kwa bahati nzuri nilikuwa na rafiki yangu Muganda akaniamba niko kwa mjengo na tukaongea vizuri kisha tukaenda na yeye. Nikaingia Depot Naivasha, na tukawa na mvurugano na nikatoka na kwenda. Kama niko stage, Kalasinga kanichukua kuja kujenga Berlin Hotel Naivasha, na tukaenda Nairobi.

Na huko Nairobi, tuliuwa na mvurugano, yaani hatukuwa tukiruhusiwa kwenda kwa chakula cha mchana. Na nilienda welding yaani chomelea chuma na nikapelekewa Kabte kw Wnglish Press yaani printing. Ikawa siku moja wakati nilikuwa nikaota ndoto yaani nilikuwa nimepanda kwa mti na nimeingia kwa matope

I came home on leave {from my job as a tractor driver for a European], and when I was preparing to go back to my place of work, my mother's house burnt down, and I had to stay to help her. So when I returned to work, I was late, and the farm manager ordered my dismissal. I therefore decided to come to Gilgil Town where, by good luck, I made friends with a Ugandan who told me he was working in construction. We talked well and I went together with him. While at Naivasha Depot, we quarrelled, making me part company with him. When I was at the bus stage, a Sikh took me to build the Berlin Hotel in Naivasha. After that I went with him to Nairobi.

In Nairobi, I disagreed with the Sikh because we were not allowed to go for lunch. I therefore went into welding, and was taken to the English Press at Kabete - in printing. One day while asleep, I dreamt that I had climbed up a tree and was stuck in mud where I saw

hapo. Kwa matope nikaona basi naangamia, sasa jaribu kulia lakini sioni wa kuniokoa. Sasa wakati nililia 'Mungu wangu uniokoe!' sasa ndege ilikuja ikanipiga kwa kichwa – *taa* – na niliruka kwa mti na ilikuwa mti mrefu sasa nikasema hasante Mungu umeniokoa.

Sasa muda mfupi tu niliona barua kutoka kwa mama mzazi Rebah Chesi. 'Eh, mwanangu, nini mbaya? Nimeota hapa mambo mabaya sana kwako, nimekuona ukiwa uchi!' Sasa ikanibidi niandike majibu. Na mama akaja akaniambia nitubu dhambi yaani kuwacha kupiga gita, kuvuta sigara na pombe na nikauza gita.

Na ikawa ugonjwa kaniingilia mwaka wa 1963, nikaenda kwa daktari, lakini ugonjwa wangu haukupona. Sasa ikawa wazee wakaja Nairobi na waliniamuru niende nyumbani na nikaenda Bukovani na nikatubu dhambi na ikafika mwendo wa saa nane nikatokwa na jasho na nilombewa. Sasa kutoka tu Bukoyani kwenda nyumbani nilikuwa nakanyaga hewani. Kurudi Nairobi, hao marafiki zangu wakanicheka kwani nilikuwa nimebandika kwa nguo. Wakajaribu kunijaribu na kunipea sigara lakini nikawaambia daktari amekataa na kuendelea hivyo nilizoeana nao. Tulikuwa na mzee mmoja alikuwa akiitwa Kizuu akanifunga kilemba. Na kwenda kazini, mkubwa wangu akaniita afisini na kuniuliza 'hii ni nini?', na mbona nilikuwa sinyoi ndevu, na nikwambia mimi nilikuwa myahudi. Sasa akaniruhusu. Na tukiwa tu huko wenzangu walianza kuokoka pole pole tu.

Sasa siku moja tuliwekwa kwa nyumba ya Jotham huko Nairobi, yaani kutubu dhambi natukaenda Shauri Moyo Hall. Na tulipofika huko mwaka wa 1970, ikiwa wazee wamekuja huko akina Japheth, na mkutano ukawa juu na nyimbo zilikuwa tamu sana. Heh! Nilirushwa juu mpaka chini na nikaona niko kwa nchi nyingine sana nimelala chini na nikaona ndege na mwangaza na ikaingia moyoni mwangu na yale mambo nilipewa najaribu kuongea kwa kilugha lakini siwezi. Mambo nilielezwa na kusalimiana kwa mkono ni mambo mengine tu. Sasa kuanzia hapo, nilipewa kipawa cha unabii, na kipawa cha unabii ni kipawa kigumu sana yaani uwe wa kujilinda. Hakitaki mtu wa kuomba omba, nyama ambayo imejinyonga

myself perishing. I tried crying but I couldn't see anyone to rescue me. When I cried out, 'My God save me!', a bird came and hit me on the head – *taa* - and I jumped from the tree – and it was a very tall tree - and thanked God for saving me.

After a short while, I received a letter from my mother, Rebah Chesi, 'Eh, my child, what's wrong? I have dreamt some very bad things about you, I saw you naked!' I wrote back to her, and my mother came to tell me to repent of my sins, that is, to forsake playing on my guitar, smoking and drinking. I sold the guitar.

In 1963, I fell sick and was taken to a doctor but could not get well. Some elders came to Nairobi and ordered me to go home. I then went to Bukoyani where I confessed my sins and when it reached two o'clock, I began sweating and was prayed for. From Bukoyani, on the way home, I felt as though I was walking on air. Coming back to Nairobi, my friends laughed at me because of what I had sewn on my clothes [a cross]. They tempted me with cigarettes but I told them that the doctor had told me not to smoke. This went on until I got used to them. There was one old man called Kizuu who put a turban on my head. Going to work, my boss called me to his office and questioned me 'What is this?', and why I didn't shave my beard. I told him that I was a Jew. He then gave me permission. And while we were there, many of my comrades began gradually getting saved.

One day, we were taken to Jotham's house in Nairobi to confess our sins and then went to Shauri Moyo hall. Arriving there, that was in 1970, some elders had come and Japheth was among them. The meeting was very powerful and the songs were very sweet. Eh! I was thrown up, then fell down, and saw myself in another land lying down. While there, I saw a bird, and a light, and it entered my heart. I was given some words that I tried speaking in other tongues but could not. I was told, among other things, about [not] greeting by shaking hands. From then, I received the gift of prophecy, which is a very difficult gift because you have to take great care of yourself. It doesn't like someone who is a

usikule pia yenye imelala. Hapo wakati wana wa Israel walikuwa wakila maana hawakuruhusiwa kubeba. Uji ya kuganda. Roho akawa ameniuliza nisisalamie watu kwa mkono. Yaani kuna mengine ana nafsi za uasherati na ukimsalamia utaambukizwa.

Na kweli, wazee walikuwa wakiwaonya wasichana ukienda mtoni, mwanamke mwengine asije akupige kwa mgongo. Na anapokupiga anakuambukiza. N sis vijana wakati mkienda kisunguni, ukiambiwa ukae kwa kitanda usikubali yaani kuna mtu ambaye ni msherati akikaa na wewe atakuambukiza hicho kisirani. Sasa chakula chako unatengeneza kidogo tu.

...Na uzuri wa Roho, unajua kile ambacho kinaendelea.

beggar. You are not to eat meat from a strangled animal or that has slept [is not fresh]. This was why the children of Israel were told to eat but not to carry. You don't drink fermented porridge and the Spirit has told me not to greet people by the hand because some have adulterous souls and if you greet people like that, you get infected.

It's true, the elders used to warn girls that when you go to fetch water at the river, another woman should not smite you on the back because when she smites you like that, she infects you. For the boys, we were told that when you go somewhere and are offered a bed to sit on, you should decline because there could be someone adulterous who will infect you with that problem if he sits with you. And you only prepare a little food, enough for yourself.

...The good thing about the spirit is that you are aware of what is going on.

OI, Bishop Jethro Avisa, 13.10.99 (Doc. 13) Mutsulyu. Original in Swahili.

5.2.3 Archbishop Kisibo of *Roho Israel* on the joys of life in the Spirit

Mimi naweza kusema uzuri ambao ni mkubwa kabisa kwa maisha ya kiroho ni kwamba wakati mtu iko ndani ya maisha ya kiroho ambaye tunaita maisha ya Kikristo na hiyo maisha uzuri ulio ndani yake ni kwamba huwezi kupata mambo makubwa sana ambayo yanaweza kufanya ukasirike kupita kiasi na tena Mungu hakupungukii. Utakuwa unabarikiwa kwa kazi zako ambazo unafanya, utakuta maisha yako ni maisha ambayo ni ya furaha sababu yule mtu ambaye hako ndani ya maisha ya kiroho saa kidogo wamepigana na mtu, wamepeleka yeye kotini na saa yote anakaa na wasiwasi sababu yule mtu ambaye mnashtakiana na yeye akikupata mahali mkiwa wawili na yeye ana rungu, atakupiga kwa sababu wewe ni adui wake. Tayari na yeye anataka njia hata ya kuondoa ile kesi iharibike.

Sasa utakuta maisha ya kiroho uzuri wake ni kwamba unakuwa huru kila wakati hata ukikutana na watu, hauna wasiwasi ya kuangalia hata iko adui kwa hawa watu. I can say that the best thing about life in the Spirit is that when someone is in the life of the Spirit – which we call the Christian life – and the goodness of this life is that you cannot encounter very serious issues that make you become extremely angry, and also God will never leave you. You will be blessed in the work you do, you will find your life is a life of happiness. Because whoever is not in the life of the Spirit, within a short time they have fought with someone, they have taken that person to court. And all the time they are living with fear, because that person whom you are accusing, if he meets you somewhere by yourself, and he has a club, then he will beat you because you're his enemy. ...he's looking for a way of escaping from the case so that it gets spoilt.

Now you will find that the goodness of the life of the Spirit is that you are free all the time. If you meet people, you're not worried,

Wewe unajisikia maisha yako iko protected - inakingwa na Mungu. Kwa hiyo hii ndio kitu mimi naona kwa upande wa maisha ya kiroho, furaha yake ni kwamba unakuwa unaishi maisha ya uhuru ambaye haina wasiwasi ndani yake.

looking to see if there is an enemy among them. You feel that your life is protected – protected by God. So this is what I see concerning the life of the Spirit, its happiness is that you live a free life, without anxieties.

OI, James Kisibo, 9.5.00 (Doc. 41) Ibwali. Original in Swahili.

5.2.4 Archbishop Joel Sande on the Holy Spirit and the discernment of evil

Basi nimbeye hano nende umukari wange navana vaviri, Christopher niyazi Nairobi na Irigechi naveye Pastor witu Nairobi na yavuganira nario Milimani ni kuvisangi na avandu vitu va African Holy Spirit mung'inga yo ukoloni, vavuganira mu Primary school. Ahene yaho ndaturaho nimbeye kuri umusangi, ni kindu cha ndarora muno ninbeye ichova Roho gwayinziranga hagati hitu ukwahura uvurahi nende uvudamanu. Ku nya nzizwa sana umwoyo gwange gwafweramu okola ndi Nyasaye akuvula gosi.

Now, while here together with my wife and two children, Christopher had come to Nairobi and Irigechi was our Pastor in Nairobi, the congregation used to meet at Milimani and we were fellowshipping together with members of African Holy Spirit during the period of colonialism at a primary school. And at that time, I was just a member and what I used to see very much while away from home (in town) was that the Holy Spirit could come upon me and give me the ability to discern good and evil, and bring it into the open, and my heart was filled with joy because God was telling me everything.

OI, Joel Sande,3.5.00 (Doc. 84) Muhanda. Original in Lulogooli

5.3 The discipline of the spiritual life

5.3.1 Archbishop Joel Sande of *Holy Spirit* lists some of the laws of the Holy Spirit and explains the value of visions

Roho wa kare yari na marago amaruru siwari unyara kuzia mu nutavohi ekeremba ma ovoporofeti vwari uvururu. Agigala avang'ele siwari unyara kucheriza avandu mukono dave, ogende nende kekombe chicho. Simwasanga dave kandi vari avandu avakere sivari avanyingi kurwa karunu dave genya vuza avasereze dave. Siwari unyara kwingira ne virato mukanisa dave, wisave nende isavuni imwamu noho Sunlight amaguta vatumikira ageng'ombe ne zimboga. Ikifuria cho musarisi keve rovega. Umundu wa Roho arete umukana mu Roho apana mu Friends dave. Navuza rwa vahenzamu nivala yaga sinakove na vana dave vamanya nivavohola na sivari vanyara kunywa esoda, ovosera uvwiniki, invama egoni ni chukuria vadeke vuza ikifwa. Niyivichi iganzu utamucheriza dave.

Japheth yamanya nivavohola imirembe kotevane, urunyasi avana vanywe, viviki izikofia zie misalaba, karunu koveye nende amarago gene yago kumunyi avandu varangiywi avimili. Na marago gagaya kuria ingurwe mpaka na rero sikuriza dave, kofoyo, ribada, ivindu viene yivi Nyasaye yambakana navora kurie ikindu kiriza igamura. Umundu wareta avakari vaviri siyazaku dave.

Joel continues to speak in Swahili: Na ikiwa kondoo amechinjwa nyumbani yenye imebaki itachemshwa na ilale kama imesimama hivi. Sababu ilifanya wasile huku na huku ilikuwa yule mnyama ambaye hula mabaki au kutafuna. Roho alikataa kugusa gusa mikono kwa sababu nguvu zako zinaisha. Sasa ukienda kubariki mtu utoke nyumbani kama mtakatifu, ile ambayo utafanya yasikike kwa Mungu. Hata pia kama unaenda kanisani kama kesho lazima ujitenge na mkeo kwa sababu mkiwa na yeye utapoteza nguvu zako na huwezi kufanya kazi vizuri.

The Spirit of old had harsh rules; you could not go without a turban. Prophecy was very stern. This used to discourage the youth. You could not shake hands. You had to carry your own cup as no sharing was allowed. Women were not as many as they are today and it was not good to attack them. You could not enter the church in shoes and bathing was done only using black soap or Sunlight soap. They applied only milking oil and oil from plants [on their bodies]. A priest's cooking pot was kept aside. A spiritual person was only allowed to marry from a spiritual congregation – not from Friends Church. But they reviewed this because they saw this as a hindrance to the youth. They therefore loosened [these rules]. They could not take a soda, fermented porridge, or meat that is not fresh. They could prepare food and eat it only on that day. If someone is wearing a gown (kanzu) you were not to greet him/her.

Japheth loosened the greeting rules, the taking of medicine for children, [and allowed] the wearing of caps with crosses [instead of turbans]. The rules however still bind the leaders. And the eating of geese, pork and rabbits is prohibited up to now. God has refused the eating of these things and allowed only animals that chew the cud. Someone taking two wives was not allowed.

And if a sheep has been killed at home, its remains will be boiled and remain just like that. The reason that made us not to do to eat here and there was that animal which eats or gnaws scraps left behind. The Spirit refused people touching each other by the hand because your strength would become finished. So if you go to bless someone, you should come out of your house like someone holy, in a way that would make you to be heard by God. Even if you are to go to church tomorrow, you have to separate yourself from your wife, because if you were together, you would lose the power of the Spirit, and you can't do your work properly.

Na amri kali ilikuwa ukizini na kijana alafu akupatie pesa na upeleke kanisani maana yako itajulikana haraka na hata ungekula majani. Na Roho pia alikataa kuhani kufanya kazi kama kufanyia wazungu ijapokuwa yule ambaye alikuwa kazini ni Laban Vosoro. Kuna mzee mmoja Isaiah Maleya ambaye alikuwa akifanya kazi ya biashara na Mungu akatuma gari akapitia kwa mgongo wake...

Kwa maono ukiona ya kuwa umeruka juu kwa hewa mpaka kule, ujue kuna mambo fulani adui ambazo haziwezi wewe, inaonekana kuamini kwako kuko juu na kazi ambayo unafanya Mungu ameipenda. Uko uchi ujue kuwa uko na dhambi, kama una hasira. Na hayo ndiyo yanayotuongoza na kama tuko na mkutano tunaomba halafu tunaenda kwa maono kisha hayo ndiyo yanayotupa mwongozo kujua tuko vizuri au vibaya na hicho ndicho kitu kikubwa.

Unabii ni tofauti na maono, maana yake nabii atatafsiri mambo yake na kusema mambo yake papo hapo, na kama adui ameingia mpaka nabii atakutambua. Na kama unaingia na mambo mengine lazima atasema.

And one strict law was that if you [get money by immoral means]... and you take that money to the church, your intentions will quickly be known, and you may end up eating grass! Also the Spirit refused to permit priests to work for Europeans, except for someone who was already in work, Laban Vosoro. There was one *mzee* Isaiah Maleya who was working in business and God sent a car that ran over his back...

As for visions, if you see that you have jumped up there in the air, know that there is something from the enemy which will not prevail against you. This shows that your faith is strong and the work that you are doing pleases God. If you see yourself naked in a vision, know that you have sins – anger for example. And that is what guides us and if we have a meeting, we pray before the sharing of visions – this is what gives us guidance to know if we are doing well or badly, and that is the greatest thing.

Prophecy is different from visions. This is because a prophet interprets; he speaks of things that are present then and there, and if an enemy has entered, the prophet will definitely reveal it. And if you enter [the church] with evil intentions he will say.

OI, Assistant Archbishop Joel Sande, 3.5.00 (Doc. 84), Muhanda. Original in Lulogooli and Swahili

5.3.2 Prayer of thanksgiving for dreams given, recounted, and interpreted, and of petition for more dreams

Aah tuombe. Tunakushukuru wewe mwenyezi mungu, ahsante kwa siku ya leo, aah, umetuonyesha ndoto ambayo ziliwaongoza hawa wana wa Israeli kutoka Egypt kuenda Canaan. Ahsante kwa hayo yote ambayo umetuongoza. Chochote ambacho tunaenda, mungu baba, utuongezee wale ambao hawajaona kitu, mungu baba, mahali wataenda kupumzika usiku wa leo, baba, utuonyeshe kitu. Ahsante kwa yote ambao tunaenda, mungu baba, utuongoze na roho yako. Kwa haya machache, kwa jina la Yesu Kristo, aliye mkombozi wetu.

Let's pray. We thank you, Almighty Father, thank you for today, aah, you have shown us dreams which guided these children of Israel from out of Egypt to go to Canaan. Thank you for all you have done to lead us. Wherever we shall go [to sleep tonight], God the Father, give us more, especially for those who have not yet seen anything, God the Father, where they are going to rest tonight, Father, show us something. Thank you for everything where we are going, God the Father, guide us with your Spirit. For these few things, in the name of Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

5.3.3 Archbishop James Kisibo of *Roho Israel* explains when not to greet people by the hand and why.

Sheria zile nilikuwa nazo, lakini kwa pole pole nikazirekebisha lakini kuna sheria zingine ambazo bado tunafuata, ambazo tukiangalia ndani ya biblia, Yesu wakati alituma wanafunzi wake, aliwaambia, mkienda msisalimiasalimie watu njiani. Kwa hivyo, wakati sisi au mimi, wakati najitavarisha kwenda mkutano wa kanisa au kwenda kuombea mgonjwa saa hiyo natumia hiyo sheria. Lakini wakati ambapo ninaenda kwa seminar mahali au naenda tu safari, saa hiyo sichukui sheria ya kanisa niweke kwa njia. Wakati wa kuombea watu ni saa hivo nitatumia sheria ya kanisa kutosalimia watu kwa sababu pengine nimekesha usiku kucha nikiuliza Mungu anipe nguvu wakati naenda kuombea mkutano au wagonjwa nguvu za Mungu zifanye kazi pamoja na mimi. Au pengine naweza kusalimia mtu ambave pengine hakujitayarisha, yeye pengine mbele ya Mungu pengine hakujitayarisha wakati kama hiyo. Kwa hivyo, hiyo mtu ndio inafanya wakati wa kufanya kazi ya Mungu lazima tuwe tunajaribu kutafuta utakatifu wa Mungu, nionekane [not clear] kwa njia ya kiroho, nionekane niko na nguvu.

The rules I had - though I revised them slowly, there are other laws we still follow, which if we look in the Bible... When he sent out his disciples, Jesus told them, 'When you go, don't stop to greet people on the way.' So... when I am preparing to go to a church meeting, or to pray for the sick, at that time I follow the rule. But when I go to a seminar somewhere, or on a journey, I don't then take the law of the church and use it on the way. When I am praying for people, that is when I follow the church law about not greeting people, because perhaps the previous night I was fasting and praying /kukesha] all the night, asking God to give me strength when I go to pray for the meeting or for the sick, that the power of God may do its work through me. Then [it would be wrong] for me to greet someone who perhaps has not prepared himself [i.e., is in a state of ritual impurity or has not repented of sin]. So this rule is followed by someone when doing the work of God, we must seek the holiness [utakatifu: purity] of God, so that I am seen to be in the path of the Spirit, I am seen to have power.'

OI, James Kisibo, 9.3.00 (Doc. 41), Ibwali. Original in Swahili.

5.4 Healing

5.4.1 Archbishop James Kisibo of Roho Israel testifies to the gift of healing in conversion

Kitu kilifanya kanisa hili kuenea ni kuwa Mungu alikuwa anafanya miujiza na nilienda pahali pengine huko Migori, kunaitwa Ponge Kamenya, na huko walileta mtu mwendawazimu ambaye walikuwa wamefunga kwa kamba. Basi huyu nikaema wamfungue na basi akaja, akapiga magoti, nikamwombea, naye akapona. Bado yuko hata leo mfuasi wa Roho Israel huko Ponge Kamenya kule Migori. Hata anapiga darama. Ikafanya watu wengine wakaokoa na nikaona mungu alifanya mapenzi yake, na ndani yake moja au wawili wanapata miujiza. Yule alikuwa hazai anazaa halafu wananiita jina, hata majina yangu iko huko mingi sana kwa hivyo mungu alikuwa anafanya kazi na mimi.

What made this church to spread is that God was doing miracles. I went somewhere near Migori that was called Ponge Kamenya, and they brought there someone mad, whom they had bound with a rope. I told them to untie him, and he came and knelt down. I prayed for him and he was healed. He is still a member of Roho Israel at Ponge Kamenya, Migori. He is even a drummer. It made some other people to get saved, and I saw that God was doing his will, and in it, one or two were receiving miracles. Someone who was barren gave birth, and they called the child after me, in fact my name is very common there. So God was working through me.

OI, Archbishop James Kisibo, 31.8.02, (Doc. 136), Ibwali. Original in Swahili.

5.4.2 Testimonies from those healed at St. Phillip's *Holy Spirit* Church, Lugangu, through the ministry of Prophet Joab Adolwa.

A member: Inze sindiza kovora dave chigira nyasaye yanduriza ahadinyu. Gwari umuhiga gwa 1992 ni nyenya ningore rigera ria Std.8. Avatende vitu nivanzira hasi. Nivandega ndaruki na uvurwaye nivuza ku vwongo. Ma nivandeta mpaka mwikanisa muno. Ma nimbona ndagumira rikuva rio musaraba.

Another member: Inze ndari murwaye ku miyiga gitano. Uvurwaye vwandangira mu vwivu. Nimali madiku munane niduka vudiku vurwaye nivundanga. Ndarema virenge sindagenda dave. Kari umwana wange siyanuna dave. Mama wange yaza kondora ma navora vandete ku vinu na vuzwa we nyumba yange siyenya dave. Ma navora avandu varara vigada vuzwa vasara navuzwa dave. Riari ho ridiku rirara niyaza na mbugura. Ndatura mmba 5.00 a.m. Ndaduka muno nivangurura vuzwa na ndatura muno ni ng'enda kutura urwene girwo ndahona. Ma umwana wa yari nambeye yahuzamu imwaka aveye muramu karunu aveye mu Chakaviri.

A member: I do not fear saying this, because God has delivered me from a difficult place. It was in 1992 when I was to sit my standard eight examinations. Our neighbours conspired against me. They lay a trap for me to get mad and some illness came onto my brain. I was brought to this church and was then healed and have (ever since) held firmly to the Word of the Cross.

Another member: I was sick for five years. My sickness began when I gave birth. On the eve of the eighth day after birth, the sickness began. My legs were paralyzed and I could not walk. My mother came to see me and advised that they bring me this way but my husband objected. He would say that some people cheated that they were praying but did not. There was one day that she (my mother) came to get me. I left the house at 5:00 a.m. I reached here by being dragged but left here walking. I have been healed ever since. He (God) breathed His strength into the child that He had given me. He (the child) is now fine and is in standard two.

Mrs. Mugofwa: Sandiza Yahova Nyasaye wareta hano rivugana ria Holy Spirit. Ndanzia Nandi Nyasaye nakora amang'ana marahi nimba nende umurimi zi hectare 25, zing'ombe 35, store ye zing'oko. Navuzwa uvurwani vwatura 1982. Avandu vaza hango avingi. Nivaduya inyumba ma nivayuguru kila kitu. Na kwari nikoveye yinu omundu nakuba isimu nakovola agari ne gekorechi. Avandu va nyasaye ndoneka uvwongo. Kwadorwa na vandu va Red Cross ni kushirwa mu kanisa nimwo mwa kwagona. Rwa kwirana hano nigaroreka muramwa wange ugayi si kuringira dave. Ma ninzia komenya ku sogoni. Ma kidogo ndamanya ni nziza muno ni ndira na ningwa hasi. Nabii yamanya ni yasala ni garoreka mbeve nende uvurwaye vwe kiritu. Nabii yasaala ma ndamanya ninyora havundu ho komenya. Nzizominya rigari rivugana rinu.

A member: Nzizominya Nyasaye chigira hayanduriza hari ahatambi. Inze mu rimenya riange avandu vari nivanjaya sana. Lakini nabii yambika muno mu masara. Niyambola ngungi uvwoni, mbe nindi risuvira Nyasaye arakora go kogenya. Kweri ndasara ma Nyasaye nakora majabu. Yamba ikihanwa ukuhana ekerorekizu ku vari nivangola evehenyahenye.

A member: Irivugana ria Nyasaye murembe mwosi! Inze gave vuzwa kuri nabii avora. Chigira ndamenya ichova mu avandu ve zihiri rugano na rugano. Na sana kwamenya nende avakamba. Ku vambola ninyenyi komenya vurahi, chosi chavakora ngoreku. Ma nivambola mbahe izimia zitano. Ma nivamba ivindu kuri madongoro. Ku rwandazia mmba nimbul'la muviri gwange gushaluka.

The Prophet: Vamuvola ing'inga uzia ove umururu. Ma kari norora umundu wa Roho umuhe vuzwa ugung'ana arakoreka. Mwarora vuzwa umundu urigwa avandu va Nyasaye amang'ana ganyora amagini ku avezanga ni yijinga.

Esau Kimanya: Ndakoreva avazi okohonywa muno muzie kusoma kitabu cha Varevi.

Mrs. Mugofwa: I praise Jehovah God, who brought the Holy Spirit church here. I went to Nandi and God did wonderful things. I had 25 hectares of land, 35 cows and a chicken house but fighting started there in 1982. A lot of people came to my home broke into the house and took everything. And as we were here, someone telephoned us to tell what had happened. People of God, my brain was confused. We were rescued by the Red Cross people and were taken to church where we slept. When we came back here, it appeared that my sister-in-law refused to let us in. so I went to stay at the market place. Shortly thereafter, I came here, cried and fell down. The prophet prayed for me and it appeared that I had a chest disease. The prophet prayed for me and I got a place to stay. I praise this church very much.

A member: I praise God because He got me from far. In my life, people had despised me very much, but the prophet prayed for me. He told me to repent of my sins and to have faith that God would perform miracles. It is true that I prayed and God did wonders. He gave me a gift (child) as a testimony to those that ridiculed me.

A member: Peace be unto you all God's gathering! As for me, it is just as the prophet is saying. That is – because I used to live with people of different ethnic groups, and we particularly used to live with Kambas. So they told me that if I wanted to live well, I should do whatever they did. Then they gave me things like beads. So when I entered my house, I felt my body on fire (hurting)

The Prophet: They told him that when you go home be harsh, when you see a spiritual person, just tell him a strong word and he will leave you alone. You see a person who betrayed the children of God. What he got were djinis to protect himself.

Esau Kimanya: I would like to tell those who have come here for healing to go and read the book of Leviticus.

5.5 Roho leaders on traditional diviners and prophets

5.5.1 Bishop Mwangi of *Holy Spirit* on the temptation of visiting diviners

Part of his address (of which this is only part) to baptismal candidates at a service in Holy Spirit Church of East Africa Shauri Moyo Church, Nairobi. Mwangi preached in Lulogooli, and his sermon was translated simultaneously into Swahili. Swahili in the original (shown here in the first column) is printed in italics.

J. Mwangi: Onyola vuza umundu umusali You find someone who is a good prayer mugasu sie inze ne mbee Bishop warrior like me - and I am a Bishop –

Secretary: Unakuta mtu mwingine mzuri

kama Bishop

J. Mwangi: Obulwale bwakingila m'mba when sickness enters the house,

Secretary: Ugonjwa ukiingia kwa nyumba

J. Mwangi: (Not audible)

Secretary: Anakimbia anaenda kwa he runs to a diviner (mganga).

mganga

J. Mwangi: Onyola nowemuganisa

nomuganga umutee hasi

Secretary: Unakuta tena mganga You find that the diviner seats the patient on

amemuweka chini the floor.

J. Mwangi: Akola kuye igasi

Secretary: *Anafanya kwake kazi* He does his work.

J. Mwangi: Mogenya umundu uyu

Secretary: *Unashangaa huyu mtu* You are surprised at this man.

J. Mwangi: No muskristo?

Secretary: *Huyu ni mkristo?* Is he a Christian?

J. Mwangi: Yakwivila uvukristo?

Secretary: Amesahau Ukristo? Has he forgotten Christianity?

J. Mwangi: Nomuganga nohenza m'mba

mwe

Secretary: Na mganga ukiangalia kwa When you look at the diviner's house,

nyumba yake

J. Mwangi: Yikala ku stool

Secretary: Anakaa kwa stool he sits on a stool.

J. Mwangi: Nawe m'mba mumwo

Secretary: Na wewe kwa nyumba yako And you, in your house,

J. Mwangi: Esofa set

Secretary: *Iko sofa set* you have a sofa set.

J. Mwangi: No muganga huyu Secretary: Na huyu mganga

J. Mwangi: Nohenza kwishati

Secretary: *Ukiangalia kwa shati kola* When you look at the collar of his shirt,

And this diviner,

J. Mwangi: Kali esabuni yokufuya abeye

nayo dave

Secretary: Hata hana sabuni he even doesn't have soap to wash it with.

J. Mwangi: Na ive ovee ne sweater ne ligoti

Secretary: *Na wee uko na sweater na koti* whereas you have a clean sweater and a coat.

J. Mwangi: Omuganga avula ivirato

Secretary: *Mganga hana viatu* The diviner has no shoes,

J. Mwangi: Kelenge kegenda hasi Secretary: Anatembea mguu tupu

Secretary: Anatembea mguu tupu he walks barefoot, **J. Mwangi:** Nagovola inzi kondakolomba olagasa

Secretary: *Na anakweleza mimi* yet he tells you, 'I will make you well,

nitakutengeneza utakuwa sawa sawa **J. Mwangi:** Kandi ndakulombezela amabesa onyole amabesa amanyingi

Secretary: Tena nitakutengenezea njia and arrange it so that you get lots of money.

utapata pesa nyingi

J. Mwangi: Halleluya! Halleluya! Halleluya. Halleluya.

J. Mwangi: Onyola umundu muhindila

usigami

Secretary: *Unakuta mtu mkubwa* You find even a big person is kneeling down

amepiga magoti pale there.

J. Mwangi: Onyola kali ali'laho kabisa

Secretary: Unakuta analilia pale You find him there bewailing [his

J. Mwangi: Halleluya! misfortunes].
All: Halleluya. Halleluya!
J. Mwangi: Amang'ana yaga gakuliza Halleluya.

ilivugana inyima

Secretary: Haya mambo ndio These things hold back the progress of the

we have prophets

actually thinking.

thorn tree?

yanasumbua mkutano church.

J Mwangi: Na mwivugana muno

Secretary: Na katika hii kanisa In this church

J. Mwangi: Kove na vaporofeti Secretary: Tuko na manabii

J. Mwangi: Neva nokokokonya

varakokonya

Secretary: *Wakipenda kukusaidia* who will assist you if need be.

watakusaidia

J. Mwangi: Na irisuvila ririo rirakokonya

Secretary: *Hata imani yako itakusaidia* Your faith , too, will help you.

J. Mwangi: Nosala vudinyu olakonyeka

Secretary: *Ukiomba kwa bidii,* If you pray fervently, you will be helped.

utasaidiwa

J. Mwangi: Halleluya! Halleluya! Halleluya. Halleluya.

J. Mwangi: Kongenya avandu yava vali na

mang'ana ki?

Secretary: Nashangaa hawa watu This makes me wonder what these people are

mlitengenezwa namna gani?

J. Mwangi: Mwagutanga amakuyu

kumatagaku?

Secretary: *Mnavuna matunda kwa ile* Are you trying to reap good fruits from a

miiba?

Voice:HmmmHmmmJ. Mwangi:Halleluya!Halleluya!All:Halleluya.Halleluya.J. Mwangi:Halleluya!Halleluya!All:Halleluya.Halleluya.

J. Mwangi: Mwagura ku matagaku?

Secretary: *Mnavuna matunda kwa miiba?* You are reaping from a thorn tree?

Matagaru gala.

J. Mwangi: Amang'ana yaga gakunyagizi

izinyumba zia kuzi

Secretary: Mambo haya yamesumbua These things disturb many Christian homes. nyumba nyingi za wakristo Amang'ana yaga gavee vuza J. Mwangi: muzinyumba zia vandu vakiri avanyili. **Secretary:** Hava mambo iko ndani va They are especially common among people watu ambao bado ni vijana who are still young. J. Mwangi: Vanyola umundu abagada **Secretary:** Wanakuta mtu They find someone deceiving them – anawadanganya J. Mwangi: Omundu huyu akweza ampesa gakuduka dave Secretary: Yule mtu anakupatia pesa 'so-and-so [your husband] doesn't give you hazitoshi enough money. J. Mwangi: Uzi ngolombe akuhe amapesa Therefore, come, let me fix it so that he gives Secretary: Kuja nikutengeneze akupe you more. pesa J. Mwangi: Leta inguvu yeye Leta nguo yake Bring his clothes, **Secretary:** J. Mwangi: Leta isuruali yeye Secretary: Chukua hata suruali yake bring his trousers, J. Mwangi: Leta underwear yeye Chukua underwear yake bring his underpants, **Secretary:** J. Mwangi: Nvenva ngolombere Nataka nikutengenezee so that I may fix it for you. Secretary: J. Mwangi: Lelo nakumanye From today, he will desire you, **Secretary:** Atakujua J. Mwangi: Nogingeza amapesa gosi Secretary: Utachukua pesa yote you will take all his money.' J. Mwangi: Me underwear vo musakuru oyira Secretary: Underwear ya mzee unapeleka Then you take the underpants to him, Halleluya! J. Mwangi: Halleluva! All: Halleluva. Halleluya. Ubugula isurwali yo musakuru J. Mwangi: oyila Secretary: Uginga isurwali yo musakuru You carry away your husband's underpants ushira and take them to him. Sasa musakuru nateva isurwali J. Mwangi: yaivisa muno **Secretary:** Sasa mzee anauliza suruali Your husband asks 'Where are my yangu ya huko ndani iko wapi? underpants?'. J. Mwangi: Naive waginga wayila omuganga Secretary: Na wewe umepelekea mganga And you have taken them to a diviner! J. Mwangi: Akolombere omusakuru Atengenezee wewe mzee **Secretary:** to fix your husband for you. akuwe sawa sawa J. Mwangi: Umanye yago namang'ana amadinyu sana Secretary: Unajua hiyo ni maneno You know this is something very serious? makubwa

Halleluya!

Halleluya.

J. Mwangi:

All:

Halleluya!

Halleluya.

J. Mwangi: Amang'ana gakupiza avakristo ikivi **Secretary:** Hiyo ndiyo inasumbua wakristo

These things are troubling Christians.

Kigira ikitabu.....(not clear) J. Mwangi: Basi kitab kinasema mnatoa **Secretary:**

The book says [not clear]...

katika(not clear)

J. Mwangi: Basi butieza mugamba Secretary: Kuamkia kesho

Come the following day,

J. Mwangi: Omusakuru enotisi kazi

hapana

Secretary: Unakuta notice kwa mzee your husband is given notice – no job!

hakuna kazi

J. Mwangi: Omusakuru alwa akola

amakono

ingine

Sasa unakuta mzee anatoka **Secretary:** He returns home empty handed.

huko mkono tupu

J. Mwangi: Omukere wakumufuta igasi Secretary: Mama amefuanya mambo

The wife has got him sacked!

J. Mwangi: (Not clear)

Secretary: Si amepeleka underwear?

J. Mwangi: Ma yalombwa *Na imetengenezwa?* Secretary:

And things were 'fixed'?

J. Mwangi: Na imifuti igasi Na imemufuta kazi Secretary:

And he has lost his job. Halleluya!

Halleluya!

J. Mwangi: Halleluya! All: Halleluya

J. Mwangi: Amang'ana yaga genya

gobole mulivugana muleke

Secretary: Hava maneno na tunatembea

katika kanisa muache

These things, for those of us in the church, we must stop them.

Didn't she take her husband's underpants?

J. Mwangi: Omusakuru yakuyanza kale Mzee alipenda wewe **Secretary:** kitambo

Your husband loved you earlier on.

J. Mwangi: Olwa yakureta ku yakuyanza

Secretary:

Wakati mlioana mlipendana

Kandi yakolola J. Mwangi: Tena alikuona **Secretary:** and he desired you (alikuona).

Kwenya akolole kaviri? J. Mwangi:

Unataka akuone mara ya **Secretary:** pili?

You want him to desire you again?

When he married you, you loved each other

J. Mwangi: Halleluya! All: Halleluva

Kove avakristo avalayi

Tukae kama wakristo wema. Let us live like good Christians.

Halleluya!

Halleluya!

J. Mwangi: Kutagura kumafwa dave. Tusivune katika miiba Secretary: J. Mwangi: Kwingine mukiliango kila

Let us not harvest from thorns.

kenene

J. Mwangi:

Secretary:

Secretary: Tuingie katika mlango Let us enter through the strait gate.

mwembamba. J. Mwangi: Omusakuru nanyo amabesa

If your husband gets little money

kidogo

Secretary: Mzee akipata pesa kidogo

Tumikila mabesa kidogo J. Mwangi: use little money.

Secretary: Tumia pesa kidogo Kigira ikivara nikidinyu J. Mwangi:

Secretary: Aah baraka ni tofauti Aah, people's fortune is different..

Otegomba echioundi dave J. Mwangi:

Usitamani cha vule Don't envy another person. Secretary:

J. Mwangi: Uriingila mbudamanu Secretary:

Utaingia kwa mabaya It will lead you into evil,

Halleluya!

Now,

J. Mwangi: Halleluya! Halleluya! All: Halleluya! J. Mwangi:

Halleluva! Halleluya! All: Halleluya! J. Mwangi: Nyeli molome sana Halleluya!

Nilikuwa natamani I wanted to talk much Secretary:

kuongea

J. Mwangi: Lakini ndoli esa nehweye

Secretary: Naona saa imekwisha but there isn't much time left.

Navuza karunu J. Mwangi: Secretary: Wakati huu

Nimukahuli kuzizakili J. Mwangi:

Secretary: *Mkipenda tuendelee* if you want us to continue,

Ma ndete ga roho sasa J. Mwangi: Basi nitaleta ya roho Secretary:

I will invite the Spirit to take over.

Voice: Twendelee

J. Mwangi: Sasa molomele vuza mu Let's continue!

kiroho

Voice: Twendelee Let's continue!

Secretary: Sasa nitaenda kwa ya

kiroho

Voice: Tuthie Let's continue!

Mbo'le banabii mukore J. Mwangi:

igasi

Secretary: Niambie manabii fanyeni I will tell the prophets to do their work,

kazi

J. Mwangi: Tabiri sasa Prophesy now!

> Service at Holy Spirit, Shauri Moyo church 18.9.99 (Doc. 8), Nairobi, pp. 13-17. Translated from Swahili and Luloogoli.

5.5.2 Archbishop James Kisibo of *Roho Israel* on the need to rebuke the spirits of divination in some would-be prophets, and the spirits of various ethnic groups.

Vipawa vya kiroho nafikiri Mungu hupeana. Kufuatana na nabii Joel, aliweza kutabiri kuwa siku za mwisho, Mungu atamwaga kipawa cha Roho mtakatifu kwa watu wote; wasichana, wazee na watu wote. Watu watakuwa wakiona maono. Hiyo kipawa wakati kinamwagwa

The gifts of the Spirit are given by God. According to the Prophet Joel, who preached that in the last days God will pour out the gift of the Holy Spirit on all people – girls, old men, everybody. Everyone will see visions. When this gift is poured out, it enters a place

Now I go to the work of the Spirit.

kinaingia mahali kufuatana na mila za hao watu...

Sasa wakati Roho wa Mungu aliingia kwa watu wa Ujaluoni na nimeona ni watu ambao walikuwa wanapenda sana vitu vya kichinichini; vitu ambavyo tunaita maroho ya uganga na wakati Roho wa Mungu alikuja, alikuta hiyo roho ya uganga iko ndani, ikakuwa vita. Sasa inatakiwa kiongozi wa kanisa awe mwangalifu zaidi. Wakati wa kuombea huyu mtu, roho ya uganga ile ya mashetani ya uganga ikemewe kabisa itoke na ikisha kutoka, Roho wa Mungu mtakatifu, akiingia basi huyo mtu atakuwa msafi. Anahubiri vizuri, atakuwa hachanganyi ubaya ndani va uzuri lakini ikiwa bahati mbava wakati Roho anaingia kwa huyu mtu na bado wale roho wachafu hawajakemewa na waombewe tu, huyu mtu atakuwa mtu anazungumza na roho lakini maneno ambavo anatabiri inakuwa ni kinyume cha ukweli au kinvume cha ukristo.

Hii maroho machafu imekuwa sanasana nyingi upande wa Ujaluoni. Upande wa Ukikuyuni, mtu akipata Roho wa Mungu kwa sababu hawa ni watu ambao ni wakali hawa ni kama Maasai, ni watu wakali, watu ambao wanapenda pia kupigana. Wakati Roho inaingia, inataka itoe ile roho mchafu ndani ya huyu mtu, kwanza ile ya ukali na kama roho ya ukali hapana toka na Roho ya Mungu aingie akute ile roho iko pia kule, nafikiri huyu mtu bado yeye iko kwa kanisa anahubiri na kuna saa ingine yeye ni mkali tu kama mtu ambaye hajaokoka.

Kwa hivyo, upande wa Maragoli, ni watu ambao ni wa mirembe tangu zamani. Hii mirembe maana yake ni watu wa amani tu. Basi nyumba ya Kimaragoli ni kama nyumba ya Walawi ambaye wakati tulitoka pande za misri kukuja hapa Afrika, walikuwa na moyo huyo kuwa nyumba hiyo ni nyumba ya maombi tu. Hata Roho amekuwa akinifundisha hivyo kuwa watu wa kupigana kama wakikuyu - ni watu wa kupigana watu wanapenda kupigana na panga kukata watu bila kujali, kupiga mtu mshale, mkuki bila kujali - watu hao ni wa utawala wa kimwili, lakini utawala wa kiroho hawana kwa sababu utawala wa kiroho unatakiwa watu ambao wanajali sana

according to the customs of those people....

When the Spirit of God came to people in Luoland - and I have seen that they are people who very much like primitive things, things that we call spirits (maroho) of divination (uganga) – when the Spirit of God came, he found the spirit of divination there, and there was war. So a church leader must be very careful. When you are praying for someone, the spirit of divination, the demons (mashetani) of divination, must be rebuked completely until they come out, and when they are out, the Holy Spirit of God, if he enters that person, then he or she will be clean. Such a person will preach well, and won't mix bad with the good. But if by bad luck, when the Spirit comes into someone, the unclean spirits have not vet been rebuked and prayed over, that person will be someone who speaks with the spirit (roho), but what he prophesies will be far from the truth or far from the Christian faith.

These unclean spirits have been there very much in Luoland. In Kikuyu country, someone who gets the Spirit of God – for those people are fierce, they are like Maasai, they are fierce, people who like to fight. When the Spirit comes in, it wants to remove that unclean spirit from inside this person, especially that spirit of fierceness, and if that spirit of fierceness doesn't come out, and the Spirit of God enters and finds that spirit also there, I think this person still...when he is preaching in church sometimes he will be fierce like someone who has not been saved.

So then, as for the Maragoli, they are people who have been of *mirembe*, peace, for a long time. This *mirembe*, its meaning is that they are people of peace. So the house of the Maragoli is like the house of the Levites, who, when we came out of Egypt, to come here to Africa, they had that spirit that this house is a house of prayer. Even the Spirit has been teaching me this, that people who fight like the Kikuyu - they are people who fight, people who like to fight with pangas, and to cut people up without caring, to shoot people with arrows, to spear them without caring - these people are of the kingdom of the world. But the kingdom of the Spirit –

amani na maisha ya wengin. Huwezi kutamani kumwaga damu ya mtu, huwezi kutamani kutoa roho ya mtu. Unakuwa na uoga. Unajua ya kwamba roho ile iliumbwa na Mungu hata ikiwa ni mtu mgeni, hata ikiwa ni ndugu yako au la, wote inatakiwa kuwachukuwa tu kama ni ndugu yako. Kwa hivyo vile nimehubiri upande wa Ujaluoni, vile nimehubiri upande wa Kikuyuni, vile nimehubiri hapa Uluhya, ninaona hiyo kitu iko namna hiyo. Kuna tofauti ya vipawa vya Roho. Roho ni moja lakini kuna tofauti tofauti kwa kutumika.

they don't have it. Because the kingdom of the Spirit needs people who care very much for peace and the lives of others. You can't want to spill the blood of someone, to take the life of someone. You are afraid. You know that that life was created by God – even if it's the life of a stranger, or your brother's or not, everyone should be treated as your brother. So then, the way I have preached in Luoland, the way I have preached in Kikuyu country, the way I have preached in Luyialand, I've seen it's like that. There are different gifts of the Spirit. The Spirit is one but there are differences in its use.

OI, James Kisibo, 9.3.00 (Doc. 41), Ibwali, p.11. Original in Swahili

5.5.3 Archbishop James Kisibo describes the non-Roho practices that churches that have come out of *Roho Israel* in Nyanza have adopted.

Kisibo: Wakati walitoka kwetu walikuwa wanatoka na makosa, vile nimekuwambia. Kwa hivyo, hao walikaa kivyao. Mimi sikuona jambo lolote kwa hivyo wao walikuwa kando nasi tukawa kando... Ibada zao ilikuwa mbaya sana, ilitoka kwetu kabisa, ikawa wanatumia msalaba na rosa kama watu wa 'Legio', walienda wakaiga watu wa Legio. Walitembea na msalaba, wanachanja mtu kwa wembe alafu ananyonya kisha wanasema wanatoa vitu kwa mwili wa mtu.

Interviewer: Walitoa vitu aina gani?

Kisibo: Siwezi kujua kwa maana hawafanyi mahali kwenye niko, lakini nasikia wanachanja mtu wanavuta damu. Alafu wanatoa mifupa au sindano. Lakini kwa kuangalia kiroho hakuna kitu kinaweza kukaa kwa mwili wa binadamu. Inaonekana wanaweka tu hivyo vitu ndani ya mdomo kwa sababu hata miiba tu ikikaa ndani ya mwili wako hauwezi kulala. Basi kwa hivyo maombi yao ilikuwa tofauti na yetu.

Interviewer: Kwa hivyo, vitu walipeana, sababu gani vilikuwa kwa mwili wa

Kisibo: When they came out of us, they came out when they were in error, the way I've told you. So those people kept themselves to themselves. I didn't see any reason to disturb them, so they were separate from us. Their prayers were very bad, they were far from ours, they used crosses and rosaries like Legio Maria, they copied Legio. They walked with crosses, they cut someone with a razor, then they would suck out something, and they'd say they've removed something from someone's body.

Interviewer: What kind of things did they take out?

Kisibo: I can't really know, since they don't do these things in my presence, but I hear they cut someone and extract blood. Then they take out bones or needles. But from a spiritual perspective, there's nothing that can stay in the body of a human being. It looks as if they hide those things in their lips because even if a thorn stays in your body, it won't remain for long. So therefore their prayers are very different from ours.

Interviewer: So those things they put there, why are they in someone's body?

binadamu?

Kisibo: Walisema mtu alirogwa, iko uchawi ndani ya mtu. Sana wanatoa huo uchawi kwa huyu mtu.

Kisibo: They would say the person has been bewitched, there is some witchcraft substance in the person. So they are removing that witchcraft from the person.

OI James Kisibo, 31.8.02 (Doc. 136) Ibwali. Original in Swahili.

5.6 On the inheritance of spiritual gifts and of leadership

5.6.1 Archbishop Kisibo on his own spiritual heritage

(Note: this is an immediate continuation from the passage recorded in 5.7.1.)

Si rahisi mtu ambaye hakuteuliwa na Mungu, si rahisi Roho wa Mungu afanye kazi pamoja naye, ni vigumu. Kwa mfano, sasa wewe ni muingereza na mimi sasa ni mwafrika ambaye nimezaliwa hapa pande za western na pengine ukiingia ndani ya Maragoli kabisa watakuambia hii nyumba ya huyu ni nyumba ilikuwanga ya kutabiri tangu zamani, hata ikiwa wana.... tunawaita watu wa kidunia au ni watu ambao walikuwa wanafanya matandiko ya zamani

Baba yetu alikuwa... watu wanaenda kupigana kwa vita lazima wale wazee wanaenda kwake na kumwuliza sisi tunataka kwenda kwa vita siku fulani na ukikataza hao msiende, wakienda wataenda kuwawa wote na ikisema nyinyi apana kwenda siku hiyo imeagizwa, enda siku fulani basi wataenda na kushinda vita huko na warudi na mali nyingi, wanyakue mali nyingi huko. Basi, sasa nyumba yetu ilijulikana ni nyumba ya ukuhani, nyumba ya kubariki watu na sisi hapana jua kama nyumba yetu iko namna gani lakini tunakuja ambiwa tu baba yako ya zamani alikuwanga namna hii. Kuja kwa ule baba ambaye alinibarikia, sasa inasemekana yeye aligeuka akasema sasa yeye anatumia Roho ya Mungu ambaye inamtaja Yesu Kristo kama mwokozi. Basi yeye alikuwa mtu wa Friends na alikuwa anafanya kazi huko Kaimosi kama mpishi wa kupikia hawa watoto wa shule. Basi wakati ndugu mmoja alikuja huko akahubiri maneno ya Roho.

Alipowaambia wale students kupiga magoti kuomba, basi sasa Roho akaingia kwa wale. Sasa Roho wa Mungu anafanya kazi na kufuatana na nyumba yenu. Ilikuwa nyumba ambayo ilibarikiwa kafanya kazi hiyo au la... na ikiwa ni nyumba ambayo pengine kwa mfano sasa Paulo wakati alikuwa Saulo, alikuwa ni mtu mbaya muuwaji ambaye sasa wakati Yesu

It isn't easy for someone who hasn't been chosen by God, it isn't easy for the Spirit of God to work with him – it's very hard. For example, you are an Englishman, and I'm an African who was born here in Western Province, and perhaps if you enter deep into Maragoli traditions they will tell you the house [family] of this person, is a house which has been prophesying for a long time, even when they were... let's call them people of the world, or people who were following the customs of the past.

Our father was...when people are going to fight in a war, then the elders had to visit him and to ask him, 'We want to go to war on such a day, and if you tell them not to go, if they go, they will all be killed, and if you say, "Don't go on the day you have been told, but go some other day," they will go and be victorious, and they'll return with a lot of wealth, they'll steal a lot of wealth there.' So, our house was known as a house of priesthood, a family which blessed others, and... though we couldn't know for ourselves what our house was really like, we came to be told this was the way your father was in the past. Now to come to that father who blessed me [Jacob Bulukul, it is said that he changed, and he said that he was now using the Spirit of God who recognizes Jesus Christ as Saviour. So he was someone of the Friends, and he was working at Kaimosi as a cook, cooking for the school children. So one day a brother came there and preached about the Spirit.

When he told those students to kneel down and pray, then the Spirit entered into them. Now the Spirit of God works in accordance with your house. If it was a house that had been blessed, it will do that work, and if not... if it is a house in which perhaps, for example, Paul when he was Saul, he was a bad man, a killer, who when Jesus appeared to him, he changed.

alionekana kwake akageuka. Sasa huyu Paulo kwa ukweli alikuwa amezaliwa.... aliweza kusema yeye alikuwa mtu mbaya lakini kumbe damu ile ilitoka pengine ni damu iliyokuwa imebarikiwa na Mungu lakini Shetani alimuingia tu akajaribu kufanya ubaya lakini mwishowe hawezi kufa mtu mbaya, atarudi tena kulelewa na Mungu.

Kwa hivyo, hiyo ni mimi naweza kusema - mtu ukiona anafanya kazi ya Mungu, ni mtu ambaye Mungu mwenyewe amemuita. Paulo alisema tunafanya kazi ya Mungu kwa sababu Mungu alijua sisi hata kabla ya kuzaliwa. Wakati aliumba [not clear] basi akajua watu wake. Basi hiyo ndiyo tunaweza kusema kwa upande wa utumishi wa watumishi wa Mungu.

So this Paul – for in truth he had been born... he said he was a bad man, but surprisingly that blood left him. Maybe it was blood which had been blessed by God, but Satan had entered into him, so he tried to do evil, but in the end he could not die a bad person, he had to return to be trained by God.

Therefore I can say this – if you see a person working for God, he is someone whom God has called. Paul said we are doing the work of God because God knew us before our birth. When he created [not clear] then he knew his people. So that's what we can say concerning the ministry of the servants of God.

OI, Archbishop James Kisibo of Roho Israel, 8.3.00, (Doc. 41), Ibwali. Swahili original

5.6.2 Rev. Joseph Zare of *Holy Spirit* tells how Jacob Buluku handed over leadership in the church to his father, Japheth Zare.

Wakati Jacob alipokuwa karibu kufa, alijua siku zake duniani zimekuwa chache, na alituma marehemu Japheth kwa maduka ya Wahindi kule Lunyerere. Akanunua mchele. Alipoleta, alimwuliza aende jikoni apige. Alipokuwa tayari kuandaa wali, basi marehemu Japheth alileta wali, na hapo Japheth alikuwa amewaalika wale wazee wake wote, kisha marehemu akachukua kijiko akalisha mke wake na Japheth huo walikwa kijiko, alafu akamwambia achukue kile kijiko na alishe wale wengine wote. Na alipomaliza, aliwashauri ya kwamba, mimi nawaachia huyu Japheth Ambula awe kiongozi wenu, na hapo marehemu Japheth alisaidiana na kuhani Zechariah. Hadi hapo wazee wa kanisa waliitwa tu mitume wa mungu kwani vyeo vilikuwa havijafika katika Holy Spirit Church. Hadi wakati marehemu Japheth Ambula aliposhika uongozi, ndipo akaiga vyeo kama Reverend, Pastor, Bishop kutoka kwa dini ya Anglican na hapo wazee waliokuweko walipewa hivyo vyeo kama Bishop Isaya Maleya na wengine.

When Jacob was about to die, and knew his remaining days on earth were few, he sent the late Japheth to the Indian shops at Lunverere to buy rice. He bought some rice. When he had brought it back, [Jacob] told him to go into the kitchen to cook it. When he was ready to serve the rice, the late Japheth brought it in. Now Jacob had invited all his elders there. Then he took a spoon and fed his wife and Japheth with rice from the spoon, and then he told him to take the spoon and feed everyone else. When he had done so, [Jacob] told them, 'I am leaving you this man Japheth Ambula as your leader', and the late Japheth worked together with the priest Zechariah. Until that time, the elders of the church were called apostles of God, because posts had not yet come to Holy Spirit Church. Until the late Japheth Ambula took leadership is when he copied posts like Reverend, Pastor, Bishop, from the Anglicans, and the elders of that time were given those posts, like Bishop Isaiah Maleya and others.

5.7 Interpreting the experience: Roho theologising at the grassroots

5.7.1 Archbishop James Kisibo of *Roho Israel* offers a spontaneous theology of the Holy Spirit

Ndio njia ya pekee ya mtu kupokea Roho Mtakatifu ni hiyo ...lazima mtu kwanza ajue kutubu dhambi - mimi nimekuwa muuwaji, nimekuwa nikilewa, nikifanya mambo mbalimbali, sasa hiyo nimewacha. Basi akisema kabisa akiamini na akipiga magoti kabisa mtu wa Mungu akimwekea mikono, ile Roho Mtakatifu anaingia.

Hata huyu mtu atasikia hali yake ya kimwili inageuka na sasa yeye hawezi kuwa tena na ile roho ya kivuli, hawezi kuwa mtu wa kiburi, kutaka kupigana na watu tena, mtu wa kuiba.

Yule mtu ambaye atashika sheria za Mungu yeye Yesu atakuja na watakaa na Baba yake na huyo mtu sasa atakuwa akingozwa tunasema Roho Mtakatifu na Roho mtakatifu anatoka wapi? ni Roho Mtakatifu yule alifanya Yesu akashikwa mimba kwa Maria na Roho Mtakatifu huyo ni Roho wa Mungu na Roho huyo ndio anafanya Yesu kufanya kazi pamoja na ndio alimfanya kutoka kwa wafu na hata sasa Roho Mtakatifu huyo ndio anafanya kazi na Roho Mtakatifu huyo anapofanya kazi sasa yeye yuko katikati ya Mungu na Yesu na anafanya kazi na wale watu ambao Mungu amewateuwa.

'The only way to receive the Spirit of God is this... you must first know how to confess your sins – I have been a murderer, I have been a drunkard, I have done many different things, and now I have left them. If he says this when meaning it, if he believes and kneels down, and a person of God lays hands on him, that Holy Spirit will come in.' That person will feel the state of his body change and now he can't again have the spirit of shadow, he can't be someone of pride, someone who wants to fight with people, someone who steals.

The person who holds to the laws of God – Jesus will come to him and together they will stay with his Father, and that person will be guided by the Holy Spirit. Where does the Holy Spirit come from? It was the Holy Spirit who caused Jesus to be born of Mary, and this Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God, and it was this Holy Spirit who enabled Jesus to do his work, and who made him rise from the dead, and even now this Holy Spirit is working, and when this Holy Spirit is working, then he is between God and Jesus and he works with those people whom God has chosen.

OI, Archbishop James Kisibo of Roho Israel, 9.3.00, (Doc. 41), Ibwali.

Translated from Swahili.

5.7.2 Bishop Jethro Avisa of *Holy Spirit* explains baptism of the Holy Spirit

Basi kama sijaanza kazi nitatoa reference ama nitamjulisha reference ya kubatizwa. Hatuwezi kuanzia ama sisi hatujaanzia Shauri Moyo, ulianza enzi zake mtumishi wake Mungu jina lake Musa mwana wa Abraham Musa. Yeye ndiye alikuwa mwanzilishi wa ubatizo. Hiyo ndiyo reference nitaanza kumpa kwanza kabla sijaendelea mbele na ubatizo na tutaangalia katika Wakorintho wa kwanza Wakorintho wa kwanza kumi.

Before I begin my task, I will give out some references, I will let you have some references concerning baptism. We are not beginning [this rite], nor have we begun [this rite] here at Shauri Moyo. It began in the time of the servant of God called Moses, the descendant of Abraham. He was the founder of baptism. Here are the references I will give you before we continue with the baptism itself. Let's look in 1 Corinthians Chapter 10. [he reads v. 1-4]....

Halleluya! (Response: halleluya). Sababu sababu hii kitu kubatizwa ni jambo muhimu sana kwanza uwe kweli wa kanisa, uwe mshiriki kamilifu wa kanisa na sasa umeshafunguliwa ile ngozi ya zamani umeivua umeiondoa kama umeshaiondoa ile ngozi ama sura ya zamani, uko na sura mpya. Yale matendo ulikuwa nayo uyawache kama ulikuwa mwenye kelele mayowe uwache, hata majirani watajua sasa hii mtu mtu ameshabadilika.

Sasa hatuoni mienendo ile ilikuwa akienda zamani, hapana, sasa tunamuona ameshabadilika. Uwe sasa mtulivu na mkristo, ujue viongozi wako kuanzia kwa shamanzi, village pastor mpaka pastor. Reverend mpaka hata kwa Bishop missionary wako, uwe unawapa heshima, mama assembly mpaka kwa mama diocese uwe unawapa heshima, halleluya! (Response: Halleluya).

Basi na ubatizo wetu, hatuwezi kumwagilia mtu maji, aah aah, sababu naweza kuwapa kitendawili ama fumbo ama mithali. Mithali namna hii, kama umeweka jiko yako hapa na iko moto sana, na umeweka maharagwe ama chakula mchele alafu uweke maji, alafu ile chakula ulikuwa umeweka kwa hiyo moto kitaiva? (Response: aah aah) ile chakula itaiva? (Response: aah aah). Kwa hivyo watu wa Roho ni moto halleluya! (Response: halleluya). Basi tutaangalia vile Paulo naye alisema.

Tuangalie matendo ya Mitume, Acts, Acts kumi na tisa, tuanzie hapo hapo, msitari hapo hapo. Matendo mume mkielewa mambo ya ubatizo kwa jina la Baba mwana na Roho mtakatifu alafu wakati utaanza ukiregea alafu tusikie ooh aliteremshwa huko mtoni akaenda kubatizwa, ukienda kubatizwa huko mtoni alafu ugonjwa ya maji ukikushika huko nani atakuwa lawamani? Ule alikupeleka na wewe ndiye alikubali kupelekwa mtoni?

Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Because this matter of being baptised is something very important. First you truly belong to the church, you become a full member of the church, and now you have had that skin of the past loosened, you have removed it, you have taken it off. When you have taken off that skin, that appearance of the past, you have a new appearance. Those deeds you had, you left behind, if you were quarrelsome, you leave that behaviour behind, so that even the neighbours will know now this person is someone who has changed.

We don't see any longer that behaviour of the past. No, now we see that that person has changed. Now you must be quiet and Christian in behaviour. You must know your leaders from the deacon, the village pastor to the pastor, from the Reverend to the Bishop, your missionary¹, respect them, from the 'mama assembly' to the 'mama diocese', give them respect, halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!]

Now in our baptism, we don't pour water over someone, no – and to explain why I'll give you some stories or proverbs or sayings. Like this: when you have let your charcoal stove, and it's very hot, and you've put beans or rice on to cook, and then you pour water on the stove – will that food you had started to prepare cook properly? [Response: No.] Will that food cook? [Response: No.] And people of the Spirit are like fire, halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Now let's see what Paul says.

Let's look in the Acts of the Apostles 19:1, beginning there.... Acts will help you understand the meaning of baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And then when you begin, if you start to slip...and then we hear, oh, he fell into the river, and then some water-borne disease infects you there, then who will be to blame? He who took you and you who agreed to be taken to the river?

Halleluya! (Response: Halleluya) Halleluya! (Halleluya). Haya sikia vile Paul naye anasema, anazungumza.

Halleluya! (Response: Halleluya). Waliposikia mambo kama hayo walibatizwa kwa jina la nani? (Response: La Yesu) la Yesu, halleluva! (Response: Halleluya). Hawakupelekwa mtoni, no! ofisi ya Yohana wakati Yesu alikuja ilifungwa na ikawekwa lock na ikapigiliwa misumari. Sasa ikawa kubatizwa kwa iina la Baba na Mwana na Roho Mtakatifu halleluya! (Response: Halleluya) Kwa maji ilikuwa ya Yohana na ikafungwa na ile chapter ikafungwa, zile file za Yohana kubatiza, kuteremsha watu mtoni zikafungwa. Zile file zinaendelea tangu wakati Yesu wakati ule ule ni za Yesu Kristo mwanaye Mungu, halleluya! (Response: Halleluya) Halleluya (Response: halleluya).

Nikiendelea kumaliza, tuangalie tena hiyo matendo ya mitume mbili na thirty seven naelekea kumaliza. Msitari utakaa kwa hii ubatizo no. basi matendo ya mitume, Acts chapter 2 verse 37 verse 37 naatiza kusoma.

Halleluya (response: Halleluya) Halleluya (response: Halleluya). Wakamuliza je sasa kama tumeacha mambo ile ya Yohana kupelekwa mtoni, tufanye nini? Basi wakasema sasa mtubu dhambi zenu mtubu dhambi zenu. Ninapokubatiza alafu nikupatie kadi sio mwisho ya kutubu dhambi sio mwisho, uendelee kutubu dhambi na kusali zaidi upate kupokea kipawa cha roho mtakatifu. Halleluya! (Response: Halleluya), Halleluya! (Response: Halleluya).

Halleluya! (Response: Halleluya)
Halleluya! (Response: halleluya. Mimi
naelekea kumaliza kitabu ya mwisho.
Kitabu ya mwisho. Sasa na tuangalie
Mathayo, injili ya Mathayo hiyo ndiyo ya
mwisho sababu nilianza kumwonyesha
reference ya ubatizo. Mtu mwingine
atatoka nyuma yako, ataingia kwa nyumba
yako aanze kukudanganya, 'Mimi

Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] OK hear what Paul says. [He reads Acts 19: 1-5]. Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] 'On hearing this, they were baptized into the name' of whom? [Response: of the Lord Jesus'.] Of Jesus, halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] They were not taken to the river, no! The office of John, when Jesus came, was closed, and locked, and fastened up with nails. Now it is time to be baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!]. Baptism in water was for John, and it was closed, that chapter was closed, the way John baptized, taking people down to the river, was closed. What has been going on since the time of Jesus, since then, is of Jesus Christ the Son of God, halleluya!

[Response: Halleluya!]

Let me continue and finish. Let's look at Acts 2: 37, I'm about to finish...

[Response: Halleluya!]. Halleluya!

[Reads Acts 2: 37-38].

Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Halleluya (response: Halleluya). They asked him, 'Now, if we have left behind that business of John, of being sent to the river, what do we do?' So they said, 'Now, repent of your sins, repent of your sins.' When I baptize you and give you a membership card, that's not the end of repenting, that's not the end, continue to repent and to pray until you receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.' Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!].

Halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Halleluya (response: Halleluya). I'm just going to give you the last book. The last book. Let's look in Matthew, the gospel of Matthew is the last, because I started to show you the references of baptism. Someone later will come and enter your house, and begin to deceive you, 'I'm going to take you to water.'

nitakupeleka kwa maji', no! usikubali maji ofisi ya maji ilifungwa na utasikia sasa vile maandiko matakatifu inasema. Basi ningelianza msitari wa kumi na moja na mimi ninataka mpate kuelewa kabisa ndio nianze mwanzo. Mathayo chapter three verse one. Nasoma,

Halleluya (Response: Halleluya!). Basi huyu Yohana mbatizaji alikuwa kama wewe mzazi. Wewe unasafiri tu mtoni na maji unamuosha na maji unampeleka kwa headmaster ama headmistress si unafanya namna hiyo? Wewe ndiyo unamfundisha kwa nyumba? Yohana alikuwa anasafisha tu watoto - ama wewe wenye dhambi. Wakitubu dhambi zao basi anawapeleka akiwajulisha kuna mwalimu ambaye iko powerful sana, iko powerful, huyo ndiye anakuja nyuma yangu yangu na sistahili kuinama kufungua vidamu vyake ama kamba za vyangu kwa kiswahili rahisi. Sistahili kuvifungua ni mtu ambaye iko na nguvu na pepeto yake iko mkononi mwake, utasikia vile maandiko itasema usije ukasema Avisa wanatwambia maneno mengine hata hatujui wanatoa wapi tunasikia wakisema tu kwa kanisa.

Basi msitari wa saba,

Halleluya (Response: halleluya)....vitabu nyingi. Sasa mmekimbia hasira inayokuja hata mlango wa imani inaendelea kufungwa. Hamtasikia mtu akitubu dhambi, "eeh mungu nimekosea fulani." Hakuna mtu atakuwa anakosea mwingine anaendelea tu mbele anaendelea mbele na mambo.

Wewe una bahati umekimbia ile ghadhabu ama ile hasira, ile hasira kama umeondoka huko kwa vitu vya ulimwengu, vitu vya dunia, maovu ya dunia.

Ujilinde kabisa, usije ukatupa jicho kule usije ukawa mke wa Lutu mnajua Lutu? Wam'manya Lutu?

Basi yeye... malaika alipowaonya waondoke katika hapo majengo walipokuwa wanaishi, hapo majengo waondoke huko, basi wanaposafiri sababu walikuwa na utajiri hapo, ng'ombe za grade, hapo walikuwa na wardrobe ile Don't accept water, the office of water was closed, and you will hear now what the Holy Scriptures say. I would have begun with verse 11, but I want you to understand properly, so let me begin at the beginning. Matthew chapter 3 verse 1. [Reads Matt. 3: 1-6].

Halleluya [Response: Halleluya!] So this John the Baptist is like you as a parent. You go to the river, you wash your child with water, and you take him to her to the headmaster or headmistress, isn't that what you do? Or do you teach your child at home? John was washing children like you sinners. If they repent of their sins, then he takes them and informs them that there is a very powerful teacher, very powerful, and 'It's he who is coming after me and I'm not worthy to undo his sandals or the laces of his shoes' (in simple language). I am not worthy to undo them. He is someone with power and his winnowing fork is in his hand. You will hear what the Scriptures say. Don't say afterwards that Avisa and the rest of them told us something, we don't know where they got it, we just heard them say it in church. Verse 7: [Reads v. 7.]

Halleluya [Response: Halleluya!]many books! You are fleeing from the anger that is coming, even the door of peace will be shut. You will not hear anyone repenting 'Oh God I have sinned against someone...' There will be no-one who sins against another, he will just go on his way, he will just go on his way... You are fortunate, you have fled from that wrath or from that anger, that anger, when you came out of the things of the world, the things of the world, the evil of the world. Take proper care of yourselves, don't look back lest you become like the wife of Lot, you know Lot? You know Lot? Well, he... when the angel warned them to leave the town where they were staying, to leave the town there, when they were on the journey, because they had a lot of riches there – grade cattle, they had a large

kubwa sana, nguo zinajaa, zile nguo za "hali" mnajua zile nguo za "hali" zinaitwa "sari eeh sari", alafu viatu pair nyingi ziko huko, vitu dhamana, basi wanapovuka hapa hii mto va majengo hii wanasikia moto imeanza kuchana ng'ombe zinalia zile wardrobe za nguo za bei ghali zinaanza kuungua, basi mke wa Lutu akafikiria zile pesa alikuwa amewacha kwa hiyo wardrobe na zile nguo za bei ghali, basi alipoangalia huko majengo tena basi mpaka wa leo amekuwa nini? Jiwe la? [Response: Chumvi.] Eh amekuwa la chumvi, halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] Kwa hiyo usijaribu kuangalia vile vitu umewacha.....

wardrobe, full of clothes, clothes of 'quality' – you know those clothes of quality..., also many pairs of shoes, many things of value, as soon as they had crossed the river from the town, they heard fire had broken out, the cattle were lowing, the wardrobe of expensive clothes had begun to burn, and the wife of Lot began to think of that money she had left in the wardrobe. and those expensive clothes, so when she looked back at the town, up until now she has become what? A pillar of? [Reponse: Salt. Yes, she became a pillar of salt. halleluya! [Response: Halleluya!] So, therefore, don't try to look back at what you have left behind...

(from Baptism in Holy Spirit Church, Shauri Moyo, Nairobi (Doc. 8), pp. 6-9.)

Translated from Swahili.

5.7.3 Bishop Mwangi of *Holy Spirit* compares water baptism with the traditional rite *ikinduramili* or ritual cleansing

Josiah: Lwa kurakasome ikitabu kirakakovole. Yohana yavika vuza avandu mmazi kigira toba. Ku shaviki kigira ilibatiza dave. Na kisababu cha toba live kovola kali fwana Yohana mwene ura kandi yahira avandu yava. Kigira ilikuza lia dada weve Yohana yahenza ku dave. Makandi mama weve dave. Morekeywe mwene. Ku avana vakuza mu Jerusalemu vosi avikwili yatwa ku Raheli ilila mu Roma ni kigira Yohana na Yesu. Ku inze mbe nilisuvira kuli umwima gwa Murogoli govplanga umundu yizukanira na lumindi ahirwi mmugera, ma yisavi ikinduramili. Niyio etoba. Ku inze ndoranga ikinduramili chukushira avandu mura nu kweyogiza izimbi zira zituri, zituri, sio apatizwa dave.

Albert: Ikinduramili ni ki?

Josiah: Wisingi numanyia umugongo wa

mazi gatura

Albert: Wokubi umugongo?

Josiah: Ku naive wakaduka ku mazi, sio

ndio?

Josiah: When we read the Book, it will tell us. John immersed people in water because of repentance. Therefore he did not immerse them for the sake of [true] baptism. The reason for repentance is maybe that John himself took away [misled? check] these people. John never considered (= attended?) the death of his sister. His mother also died without anyone helping him to know what had killed her. He was abandoned. Of the children that died in Jerusalem, all Rael's children were killed, therefore Rael waited in Ramah because of John and Jesus. Therefore, I believe it as the Maragoli custom says, that if one killed or murdered someone, he had to be taken to the river and bath while naked. [ikinduramili] That was repentance. I therefore see great shame when we people nowadays cleanse those sins to come out, it's not baptism.

Albert: What is "Ikinduramili?"

Josiah: Washing oneself with your back facing where the water in the river is coming

from.

Albert: Lying on your back?

Josiah: You have reached the water, haven't

Gatura yiyi gaziza yiyi? Basi kuive ndi,wirane ugarondelange nugambagila nigaza yinu gaze kwikuku kuvitira kuyive nigirana nigakweya ndi ku gakweya izimbi, toba. Ku sheve nipatizo dave. Ku ndora yasohanga kigira karunu yenya azie kuria na vandu. Nazie kuria na vandu. Mmh

you? It comes from this direction and goes in that direction? Taking you, for example, you follow the water, splashing it on you to pass over you, to cleanse you of your sins. This therefore is not baptism. I can see that person is now clean. He can now go and eat with people. He can go and eat with people. Mmh.

OI, Bishop Josiah Mwangi, of Holy Spirit, 15.9.00 (Doc 15), South Nyanza, p.4.

Translated from Lulogooli

5.8 On mountains and special places for prayer

5.8.1 Archbishop James Kisibo of *Roho Israel* talks about his call to pray on Menengai Crater, Nakuru

Naweza kukumbuka wakati mmoja nilikuwa huko Nakuru, nikatumwa milimani nikaambiwa kuna mtu mmoja ametumwa huko na wewe tena umetumwa huko. Inatakiwa niende mapema, ukifika huko ufanye maombi, uombee nchi, amani, lakini yule ambaye atafika huko kwanza ndio maombi yake yatapokelewa.

Basi nilienda usiku saa nane na saa tisa nikawa niko huko kwa milimani. Kwa mlima ule unaitwa Menengai Crater. Basi nilipofika huko, nilienda na mtu mmoja tukaomba. Wakati niliomba Mungu, niliona maajabu. Baridi ilikuja ikafanya kisulisuli na nikaona maombi yangu imebebwa ikapelekwa kabisa juu. Kufika mbinguni, nikaona imeenda kuingia kwa roho ya mtu. Nikaona picha ya mtu juu ya mawingu, ikaingia kwa roho ya huyu mtu. Saa kidogo (not clear) mtu mwingine akaingia – ana motokaa yake - saa kumi na moja. Yeye akaingia. Anakuta sisi, anauliza sisi, 'Je, nyinyi mnaishi hapa kwa mlima?' Tukamwambia, 'Hapana, tulitumwa tu na Mungu, tumekuja mapema.' Basi, akasema, 'Mimi nilitumwa, kwa hivyo vile mmetangulia sasa, siombi tena kwa sababu niliambiwa nikikuta mtu ametangulia nisiombe, kwa hivyo ninarudi tu.' Akaingia kwa motokaa yake akaenda.

Kwa hivyo hii kwenda milimani ina maana kwa Mungu kwa sababu watu wengine wanafuata maandiko ya Yesu vile alimwambia yule mama msamaria kwa Yohana nne mstari wa ishirini na moja hivi. alisema siku zinakuja ambazo watu hawataomba Mungu kule Yerusalemu au juu ya milima lakini watu wataomba Mungu katika Roho na ukweli. Basi hapo pamefanya imani ya kwenda milimani kupoapoa kidogo sababu watu wanaona Yesu alisema si kule milimani tu ambapo maombi yatasikika. Maombi yatasikika hata ukiwa kwa nyumba lakini uwe umeamini kwa kile kitu ambacho unaomba juu yake.

I can remember on one occasion when I was in Nakuru, I was sent to the mountain, and I was told that another person had been sent there, and that I had [also] been sent there. I should leave early. 'When you reach there, do your prayers, pray for the country, for peace, but whoever gets there first, it is his prayers that will be heard.'

So I set out at 2.00 a.m., and at 3 o'clock, I was on the mountain. That mountain is called Menengai Crater. When I reached there – I travelled with another person – we prayed. When I prayed to God, I saw something wonderful. A wind came, like a whirlwind, and I saw my prayer carried away and taken up. When it reached heaven, I saw it enter into the heart (roho) of someone - I saw like a picture of someone above the clouds – it entered into the heart of that person. After a short while, another man came – he had a car – about five a.m. He arrived. He found us and asked us, 'Do you live here on the mountain?' We replied, 'No, we were simply sent by God, and we came early.' Then he said, 'I was sent, and since you have come before me, I shan't offer prayer, because I was told if I find someone there, I shouldn't pray, so I'll just go back.' He entered his car and left.

So this business of going to a mountain has meaning for God, because some people follow the writings of Jesus, where he told a Samaritan woman (in John 4:21ff), he said the days are coming when people will not pray in Jerusalem or on mountain-tops, but they will pray to God in Spirit and in truth. It's that which has caused [people's] faith in going to mountains to decline a little, because people believe that Jesus said it's not only on mountains that your prayer will be heard. Your prayer will be heard even if you're in your house so long as you have faith in that which you're praying for.

Watu wa zamani pia walikuwa wanaamini mahali pa mlima. Kunaweza kuwa na miti kubwa huko, kunaweza kuwa na mawe pale alafu hapo wakienda, wanaenda na ng'ombe au kondoo na wanachoma moshi inaenda mbinguni, wanatoa kafara kwa Mungu. Moshi ukienda juu vizuri kabisa laini, wanajua maombi imepokelewa na Mungu ni nzuri. Na sio mazuri, watarudia. Kwa hivyo watu wa kitamaduni walikuwa wakienda milimani kuombea Mungu milimani na ni kama watu wa kiroho vile Roho ilianza mpaka watu waende milimani.

People in the past also used to believe in mountains. There would be some big trees, or some large stones, and then if they go there, they go with oxen or sheep and they make smoke so that it goes to heaven, they make a sacrifice to God. If the smoke goes straight up, they know the prayer has been received by God and it's good. And if it's not good, they go back again. So therefore traditional people were going to mountains to pray to God on mountains, and it's like people of the Spirit, the way the Spirit began, so that people went to mountains.

OI, James Kisibo, 9.3.00 (Doc. 41), Ibwali. Original in Swahili.

5.8.2 Archbishop Kisibo of *Roho Israel*, on converting Ibwali, a traditional sacrificial site, to a place for prayer

Ni tofauti kidogo sababu kwa upande wangu, huu mlima ambaye tunaita Ibwali, maana yake ni mahali pa kuombea Mungu. *Ovwali* ni kama vile walikuwanga wanachinja kondoo halafu mahali walichomea. Hapo panaitwa *ovwali*. Ndani ya kanisa mahali kuhani anakaa au viongozi wanakaa hapo panaitwa *ovwali*. Basi, sasa hapa mahali tunaombea iko na shimo ndani ya mawe na ilikuwa ikitumiwa na watu wa kitamaduni, wazee wa kitamaduni hapo zamani.

Wakati Roho wa Mungu alikubali nifanyie maombi pale, niliweza kuchukua wazee saba, nikaenda nao, tukakemea ile roho ya zamani, ile ya kuchomea mnyama kule. Tukasema sasa mnyama kubwa ambaye tumechomea huko ni damu ya Yesu, sababu sisi hapana fanya ile kafara ya zamani. Tukienda huko, tunaomba kwa jina la Yesu wa Nazareti. Sasa sisi hapana kwendanga kuchoma vitu huko, tunaenda kufanya maombi kwa jina la Yesu na Mungu anajibu maombi. Kwa hivyo, tofauti maombi ya sasa na ile ya zamani ni kuchoma kafara. Ile ...ya kafara sasa ilikwisha. Watu wa Mungu hawachomi.

In my case it's a bit different [than the case of traditional prayer sites], this hill that we call Ibwali, it means a place to pray to God. *Ovwali* is how they were slaughtering sheep and then the place where they burn [sacrifice] them. That was called *ovwali*. Inside the church, the place that the priest stays or the leaders stay, that's called *ovwali*. So then the place where we pray has a hole in the rock [cave] and it was used by the people of tradition, the traditional elders some time in the past.

When the Spirit of God agreed that I should do my prayers there, I took seven old men, I went with them, and we rebuked that spirit of the past, that of burning [sacrificing] animals there. We said that nowadays the big animal that was burnt for us [sacrificed for us] is the blood of Jesus, because we don't do the sacrifices of the past. If we go there, we prayed in the name of Jesus of Nazareth. So we don't go there to burn [sacrifice] anything, we go there to pray in the name of Jesus and God answers the prayers. So the difference between the present-day prayers and those of the past is the burning of sacrifices. That business of sacrifices is finished. The people of God don't burn [sacrifice].

OI, James Kisibo 9.3.00 (Doc. 41), Ibwali, p. 7 Original in Swahili

Appendix 5.9 Spiritual Songs

5.9.1 Song expressing a reaction to the Second World War

The clothes of the Kenya African Rifles, I would not like to put them on. Haleluya, happiness in Canaan.

The cars of the Kenya African Rifles I would not like to travel in.

Haleluva, happiness in Canaan.

The shoes of the Kenya African Rifles I would not like to put them on.

Haleluya, Happiness in Canaan.

(from O.I., E. Joji, Date?(Doc. 101) Womuluma)

Translated from Lulogooli

Note: The following songs were collected by Rev. Francis King'ang'a,of African Holy Spirit Church. Where the song uses people's names, these are of church founders. Many of the songs can be extended at will by susbtituting other names.

5.9.2 Roho Mwene Yarinda Rirova (The Spirit Himself guards the land)

Kuri yaranga Vaporofeti, Roho mwene yarinda rirova, Kuri yaranga Vaporofeti, Roho mwene yarinda rirova The way He called prophets, The Spirit Himself guards the land. (x 2)

Roho mwene, Roho mwene, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova, Roho mwene, Roho mwene, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova.

The Spirit Himself, the Spirit Himself, The Spirit Himself guards the land. (x 2)

Kuri yaranga vanga Filipo, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova, Kuri yaranga vanga Filipo, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova. The way He called Phillip
The Spirit Himself guards the land. (x 2)

Kuri yaranga vanga Isaya, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova, Kuri yaranga vanga Isaya, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova. The way He called Isaiah, The Spirit Himself guards the land. (x 2)

Mumborere avarogi, Yesu yazanga, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova, Mumborere avarogi, Yesu yazanga, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova.

Tell the witches Jesus is coming, The Spirit Himself guards the land. (x 2)

Mumborere avahaga, Yesu yazanga, Roho mwene, yarinda rirova, Mumborere avahaga, Yesu yazanga, Roho mwene yarinda rirova Tell the sinners Jesus is coming, The Spirit Himself guards the land... etc.

5.9.3 Vaguuta Vahona (The Saved Ones)

Vaguuta vahona, Ruya Halleluya ruya, The saved conquerors 'Luya, halleluya, 'luya

Vaguuta vahona,

Ruya vasinga musaraba ruya.

Miriam conquered 'Luya, halleluya, 'luya Miriam conquered

Ruya vasinga musaraba ruya.

'Luya they carried the cross, 'luya.

'Luya they carried the cross, 'luya.

Rubai vaguuta, Ruya Halleluya ruya, Rubai vaguuta,

Miriamu vaguuta,

Miriamu vaguuta,

Ruya Halleluya ruya.

Ruya vasinga musaraba ruya.

Rubai conquered 'Luya, halleluya, 'luya Rubai conquered

The saved conquerors

'Luya they carried the cross, 'luya.

5.9.4 Kurwana Rihi Liu Mwami (Fighting The Lord's Warfare)

Hambi kurwane, rihi riu mwami Hambi kurwane, rihi riu mwami Avandu vatunanga kuzia mu rihi lie.

Petero virwaza, rihi liu mwami Petero virwaza, rihi liu mwami Avandu vatunanga kuzia mu rihi lie

Robai virwaza, rihi liu mwami Robai virwaza, rihi liu mwami Avandu vatunanga kuzia mu rihi lie.

Yohana ya rwana, rihi liu mwami Yohana ya rwana, rihi liu mwami Avandu vatunanga kuzia mu rihi lie, etc.

Mugende kwirwaze, rihi liu mwami Mugende kwirwaze, rihi liu mwami Avandu vatunanga kuzia mu rihi lie Come, let's fight the fight of the Lord Come, let's fight the fight of the Lord People are eager to go to his war.

Peter fought, the fight of the Lord Peter fought, the fight of the Lord People are eager to go to his war.

Robai fought, the fight of the Lord Robai fought, the fight of the Lord People are eager to go to his war.

John fought, the fight of the Lord John fought, the fight of the Lord People are eager to go to his war, etc.

Let us fight, the fight of the Lord Let us fight, the fight of the Lord People are eager to go to his war.

5.9.5 Vaguuta Vigero (Victors over Temptation)

Vaguuta vigero vasavanga Halleluya, Halleluya Vaguuta vigero vasavanga Kunyi mwirova kuriranga

Vaguuta vulwani vasavanga, Halleluya, Halleluya, Vaguuta vulwani vasavanga, Kunyi mwirova kuriranga.

Petero mwiguru vasavanga Halleluya, Halleluya Petero mwiguru vasavanga, Kunyi mwirova kuriranga The victors over temptation are praying Halleluya, halleluya
The victors over temptation are praying

And we on earth are crying

The victors in war are praying Halleluya, halleluya
The victors in war are praying And we on earth are crying

Peter and his people are praying in heaven Halleluya, halleluya Peter and his people are praying in heaven And we on earth are crying Yakobo mwiguru vasavanga Halleluya, Halleluya

Yakobo mwiguru vasavanga Kunyi mwirova kuriranga

Daniel mwiguru vasavanga Halleluya, Halleluya Daniel mwiguru vasavanga Kunyi mwirova kuriranga

Kivuli mwiguru vasavanga Halleluya, Halleluya Kivuli mwiguru vasavanga Kunyi mwirova kuriranga Peter and his people are praying in heaven

Halleluya, halleluya

Peter and his people are praying in heaven

And we on earth are crying

Daniel and his people are praying in heaven

Halleluya, halleluya

Daniel and his people are praying in heaven

And we on earth are crying

Kivuli and his people are praying in heaven

Halleluya, halleluya

Kivuli and his people are praying in heaven

And we on earth are crying

5.9.6 Zinyinga Zivitanga (Time Is Passing By)

Zinyinga zivitanga, kase zizizanga, Kwaruho no vosoni, kwa gurwa nikivi, Navuzwa kuri ahimbi, kwingira mwiguru, Vukumi vumenyanga ha Imanueli.

Yesu, ari kidaho cha sunduka hano, Maazi girivamwoyo ga tura ku mwene; Gari mazi manoru, ga kwigutizanga, Uvukumi vumenyanga ha Imanueli.

Yinzi ndi mwandu gwigwe naye mwandu gwange,

Ya nduriza mmbogo, nda vofwa mbodohi, Karunu singiranga ku rwanda rwa Yeso, Vukumi vo menyanga ha Imanueli.

Yeso aveeye mwami, kwinyi magondi ge, Si kwenya vurariri vwitu, Kwenya kumu yanziza,

Mihiga ni mihiga ku ra mwiziminya Vukumi vu menyanga ha Imanueli Time is passing, always going
We are tired of shame, surrounded by trouble
Even so, we are about to enter heaven
Glory dwells at Emmanuel's

Jesus is a well who poured out here Waters of life coming from Him They are delicious waters, they satisfy Glory dwells at Emmanuel's

I am His possession and He is mine He delivers me from the pit, I am trapped in

Now I stand on the rock of Jesus

Glory dwells at Emmanuel's

Jesus is Lord, we are His sheep

We don't want our will, we want to please Him Years after years we will praise Him

Glory dwells at Emmanuel's

5.9.7 Kidaho Cha Mwigulu (Heavenly Spring)

Solo. Kidaho cho mwigulu

All. Kili na mazi malahi avalitsa kunwaku sivalinyora vuluhu.

Solo. Muchai hamba

All. Hamba

Solo. Hamba wiganira

All. Hamba wingira Yerusalemu imbia.

Solo. Muhei hamba All. Hamba

Solo. Hamba wiganire

All. Hamba wingire Yerusalemu imbia, etc.

Solo: Heaven's spring

All: Has good water, those that drink of it will

not thirst

Solo: Come all the proud

All: Come

Solo: Come and repent

All: Come and enter the new Jerusalem

Solo: Come all the adulterers

All: Come

Solo: Come and repent

All: Come and enter the new Jerusalem (etc)

5.9.8 Kisiriva Kirikubwa (The Trumpet Shall Sound)

Solo: Halleluya halleluya

All: Halleluya halleluya halleluya

halleluya

Solo: Kisiriya kirikubwa

All: Halleluya kisiriva kirikubwa halleluya

halleluya

Solo: Kirikubwa chukuranga

All: Halleluya kirikubwa chukuranga

halleluya halleluya

Solo: Kiranga vatovore

All: Halleluya vatovore va Yehova

halleluya halleluya

Solo: Wamitaga rirangwa

All: Halleluya ndivugira mbeye hano

halleluya halleluya

Solo: Ivi murogi urironda hena

All: Halleluya ivi murogi urironda hena

halleluva halleluva

Solo: Ivi muchai urironda hena

All: Halleluya ivi muchai urironda hena

halleluya halleluya

Solo: Ivi muhaga urironda hena

All: Halleluya ivi muhaga urironda hena

halleluya halleluya

Solo: Halleluya halleluya

All: Halleluya halleluya

halelluya halleluya

Solo: The trumpet shall sound

All: Halleluya, the trumpet shall

sound, halelluya halleluya Solo: It will start to sound

All: Halleluya, it will start to sound,

halelluya halleluya

Solo: It will call the elect

All: Halleluya, the elect of Jehovah,

halelluya halleluya

Solo: When names shall be called

All: Halleluya, I will respond, I am

here, halelluya halleluya

Solo: Where will you pass you witch?

All: Halleluya halleluya, where will

you pass you witch? Halleluya

Solo: Where will you pass you proud?

All: Halleluya halleluya, where will you

pass you proud? Halleluya

Solo: Where will you pass you wicked? Halleluya halleluya, where will you pass

you wicked? Halleluya

5.9.9 Mtatia Da Va Setani (Don't Fear The Devil's Traps)

Mtatia da va Setani mkutegekwao Kuveye avana va Nyasaye Kuragura zinguru ziavo.

> Chorus: Vandu vanyora Roho wa Yesu nivo Avana va Nyasaye Kari muvire nigukuza Mwoyo siguri kuza kandi da.

Rukuzu ni ruza nirukuria sikuyara kuganagana. Vudaka nivuza nivukuria si kunyara kuverora

Avandu varinyorwa vatiganira inyinga yakiheri varisambwa muriru. Kunyi sikunyara kureka risala kuradinya kuduka kuzia.

Don't fear the traps of the devil's people We are the children of God We will defeat their power

Chorus: People with the Spirit of Jesus Are the children of Go Even if we die Our spirit will not die.

When death comes to destroy us
We will not be disturbed
When poverty grips, we will not be sorrowful

People who have not confessed At the end time will be burnt in fire We will not forsake prayer, we will continue in strength

5.9.10 Roho Ya Kwahura (Spiritual Separation)

Roho ya kwahura halleluya x2

Roho ya kwahura

Kutura muzihiri za vayudasi

Vahaga vararira

Kurigenda na Yesu halleluya x2

Kurigenda na Yesu vahaga vararira

We will walk with Jesus, halleluya!

 x^2

The wicked weep.

We will walk with Jesus,

The Spirit has separated us, halleluya!

The Spirit has separated us.

From the Jewish people,

We will walk with Jesus at the end

of times.

The wicked weep.

Kurilonda mundege halleluya x2

Kurilonda mundege Vahaga vararira

Kurizira mumeli halleluya x2 Kurizira mumeli inyinga yakiheri

Vahaga vararira

We will go by aeroplane, Halleluya

We will go by aeroplane,

The wicked weep

We will go by ship, Halleluya We will go by shin the last day

5.9.11 Yesu Yakuhira Ku Inzira Imbia (Jesus Took You To A New Way)

Yesu yakuhira ku inzira imbia x2 Jesus took us to a new way x2

Mugende nimwirwaza mukimira vandu Move as you preach, taking hold of people

Yakobo yakuhira ku inzira imbia x2 Jacob took us to a new way x2

Move as you preach, taking hold of people Megende nimwirwaza mukimira vandu

Danieli yakuhira ku inzira imbia x2 Daniel took us to a new way x2

Mugende nimwirwaza mukimira vandu Move as you preach, taking hold of people

Zakaria yakuhira ku inzira imbia x2 Zachariah took us to a new way x2

Mugende nimwirwaza mukimira vandu. Move as you preach, taking hold of people

Jafeti yakuhinia ku inzira imbia x2 Japheth took us to a new way x2

Move as you preach, taking hold of people Mugende nimwirwaza mukimira vandu

Etc.

5.9.12 Mumuganda Yimu (In This Congregation)

Solo: In this congregation Solo: Mumuganda yimu

Etc.

All: Varimu All: There are

Solo: Mumuganda yimu Solo: In this congregation A11: Varimu vayuda varimu All: There are Jews, there are

Chorus: Halleluya varimu Chorus: Halleluya there are

> Halleluya varimu vayuda varimu Halleluya, there are Jews, there are

Solo: Those that crucifed Jesus Solo: Avavamba Yesu

Varimu All: There are A11:

Solo: Those that crucified Jesus Solo: Avavamba Yesu

All: Varimu vayuda varimu

All: There are Jews, there are.

5.9.13 Avasuviri (Believers)

Vaveye no vugasu yavo vasuvira x3 Ma Yeso mwene yavavorera

> Haleluya haleluya Haleluya haleluya Haleluya haleluya Ma Yeso mwene yavavorera

Vaveye no vugasu yavo vatakaswa x3 Ma Yeso mwene yavavorera

Vaveye no vugasu yavo viganira x3 Ma Yeso mwene yavavorera. Those who believe are good And Jesus himself told them so

Halleluya, halleluya Halleluya, halleluya Halleluya, halleluya And Jesus himself told them so

Those who are cleansed are good And Jesus himself told them so

Those who have confessed are good And Jesus himself told them so

5.10 Roho churches and politics

5.10.1 Myth-making: Elder Savatia explains how Elijah Masinde overcame Europeans by his wiles and spiritual power

(This story was told in a broken Swahili, the vigour of which I have not been able to reproduce in translation. The historical references in Savatia's story are not necessarily correct.)

Savatia: Elijah akawa ndoto, kuna mulima bibilia. Ninataka kunyakua na mtu kutoka ng'ambo. Sasa Elijah alienda subuhi usiku hiyo. Huyu bado anang'ang'ana na ndege, Elijah kwishachukua. Ire ile Elijah alichukua ile bibilia na akaanza kuhubiri, na kilugha na kuita dini yake Musambwa.

JP: Mmmh

Savatia: Na akasema - siku hiyo walikuwa naitwa Kitosi samani [zamani] alikuwa anaitwa Kitosi alikuwa hapana itwa Wapukusu [Bukusu] - sasa akasanya watu. Sasa hatutaki kabila ingine tunataka Kitosi pekee yake, ikuwe Dini ye Musambwa. Na hii madhehebu zingine wakasema hatutaki dini ya Musambwa. Vile unauliza hii ya Holy Spirit. Elijah akasema mimi niriruota [iliota]. Na kuna mtu ingine atakuja na atakuta yeye kwisha nyakua. Na kweli alikinyakua. Mzugu aliomba Elijah akamwambia hapa twende nawee ng'ambo, Elijah akamwambia hapana. Bahati imepopote [imepotea] Kama mi nimepata basi kama unataka kuniunga tukuwe dini ya Musambwa, mzungu akamwambia aa aa. Sasa kama mimi nilikwambia tukuje kwa hiyo ukamaduni [utamaduni] tupige hii kama wewe umekwisha ukoka, utakubali? Elijah akaambia hiyo mzungu.

Sasa Elijah hakutaka kusikizana na watu ingine. Hiyo kitu ndio kukuja kwa Elijah kama kitu mwenda azimu. Kitosi yote ilikuwa inatembea huko kwao. Usiku na mchana hana mahali ya kukaa. Na madhehebu zingine wakasema Elijah ameshakuwa mwenda azimu. Haya serikali ikisikia hivyo, vakareta (waleta) ripoti Kakameka [Kakamega]. Elijah akaenda kushikwa.

[A European in London had a dream. There was a bible of great significance on Mount Elgon....]

Savatia: Then Elijah had a dream. There's a bible on the mountain. Someone from overseas wants to snatch it. Now Elijah went very early that morning. While the other man was still in the plane, Elijah had already taken it. Elijah took that bible and he began to preach, and to call his religion in that language Musambwa.

JP: Mmmh

Savatia: And he said – those days those people were called Kitosh, a long time ago they were called Kitosh, they weren't called Bukusu - now he gathered people together. 'I don't want any other tribe, we want only Kitosh to follow the religion of the ancestors (Dini ya Musambwa).' Now the other denominations said, 'We don't want Dini ya Musambwa.' (Like Holy Spirit you are asking about.) Elijah said, 'I had a dream. And there's another man who will come and he'll find it's already been taken.' (And actually he had already snatched it.) The European begged Elijah, he told him, 'Come with me overseas.' Elijah told him, 'No. The good luck will go. Now I've got it, OK, if you want to, join me and we can be together in Dini ya Musambwa...' The European said, 'No.' 'Now if I tell you to join me in this tradition, so that we work in it together, when you are already 'saved', will you agree?' Elijah told this European.

From that time Elijah didn't want to cooperate with anyone. This thing came to Elijah like something of madness. All the Kitosh used to go to his place. Night and day there was nowhere to sit. And the other denominations said Elijah had gone mad. When the government heard this, they sent a report to Kakamega. Elijah was arrested.

JP: Mmm

Savatia: Sasa Elijah kushikwa mwendo wa saa tano ya usiku. Vakakuta [wakakuta] tena Elijah ameshatoroka. Ameshatoka huko kwa jela Kakamega. Polisi ikaanza kufikiria hii, labda watu wa Gidoshi wameshakwisha kufanyana Wabugusu wanatoa Elijah kwa jela si hivyo? Sasa hao wakafanya kitu ya kufuata Elijah, wamari wamari [the blacks the blacks] sasa kwa maana wanamushangilia. Naye kaambia kama we pana shangilia mimi, hamu heshimu huko kibila yangu. Sasa wakaendelea na hiyo kitu wakaendelea nacho kushangilia Elijah. Sasa wakasema pande ya Kitusi [Kitosi] sasa kunapatikana mtu anakuwa kama Kenyatta alianzisha Mau Mau. Na serikali ikachukua atu [watu] ya army. Hii vifaru vikaenda huko. Vilichamua watu ile wote wakakufa. Lakini risasi haikupata Elijah, lakini wale wengine wakafariki. Sasa serikali kaona tunaweza tumia njia gani kushika huyu Elijah? Kama hii mwezi wa nne tulimaliza. Wakashika Ulijah (Elijah) huko saa kumi na mbili kama tena anataka rudi kwa mulima. Serikali ilifanya bidii hii watu ya army washika Elijah. Na ndio kama anaponyoka kidogo akiingia kwa mulima wakamshika. Kwa maana iko nyoka kama hii upana hii ya meza. Urefu yake kutoka kwa ile mlango mpaka hapa. Na we mtu ingine huwezi kuingia huko. Hiyo nyoka ndio ilikuwa inalalia hiyo kitabu. Na ulimi yake iko kubwa. Sasa wakashika Elijah, wakamfunga vile wanafunga ile unaona ile musalaba va Yesu? Wakaweka miti kwa motokaa, wakafunga Elijah mkono pande hii, ingine pande ile. Wanakuja naye moja kwa moja, moja kwa moja siku ya sabato jumamosi. Nguo zilikuwa huko zinanikwa Mbale kwa soko. Upepo ilipeleka. Mpaka hii kanisa ya Jeshi la Mukuri pande moja baridi ilipanua mpaka kwa mtoni. ...

...Halafu saa hiyo wanamtoa huko Mbale na hiyo motokaa, mpaka Kisumu. Wakafungua hii, hii jera (jela) ya Udiaga (Kodiaga) iko baharini. Najua mabusi (mabusu) iko mingi. Wakamsukuma mpaka ndani. Ilikuwa kitu kama saa nne. Sasa kuweka yeye ndani, saa kumi na mbili wanakuta mlango iko wazi. Nakaambia mabusu hapana toka nje. Nyinyi

JP: Mmm

Savatia: Now Elijah was arrested about eleven at night. Then they found Elijah had run away. He had got out of the jail at Kakamega. The police began to think that perhaps the Kitosh – who now call themselves Bukusu - had got Elijah out of jail. So the blacks, the blacks now decided to follow Elijah, they received him enthusiastically. And he told them, 'If you don't support me, then you don't respect my people.' And they continued in that way, they continued demonstrating for Elijah. Now it began to be said that in Kitosh someone had appeared like Kenyatta who started Mau Mau. Now the government took some army men. These tanks, they went there, they attacked people and they all died. The bullets didn't affect Elijah, but everyone else died. Now the government wondered, 'How can we capture this Elijah? April is now over.' They seized Elijah at six o'clock when he was about to return to the mountain. The government made a great effort to capture Elijah as he was about to return to the anthill [under which he was hiding]. It was just when he was slipping away to get into the anthill they caught him. There was a snake as thick as the width of this table. Its length was like from that door to this one. And you as an ordinary person couldn't enter there. It was this snake that was sleeping on the book. And its mouth was big! So they seized Elijah, and they bound him like they tied Jesus – you see the cross over there? They put the cross on the vehicle, they tied Elijah on this side and that side. They came with him straightaway, on the Sabbath, Saturday. There were lots of clothes spread out in Mbale market. The wind took them and carried them to the Salvation Army church at Mukuri, down there it spread them out as far as the river...

...Then they took him from Mbale in that car as far as Kisumu. They opened the jail at Kodiaga, by the lake. You know the prisoners were many. They pushed him in. It was about 10 o'clock. After putting him in, at six o'clock they found the door open. 'I am telling you prisoners, don't come out.

kaeni. Pia serikali ilimkuta tu hapo, hakutoroka. Ndio tena wakamchukua nahii hii muti poti (motor boat) ya maji mpaka ile kiziwa (kisiwa) iko Kisumu. Ile inaenda Lusinga kina Mboya.

. . .

Savatia: Lusinga. Ndio ilimpeleka hiyo. Sasa wakasema basi tunamuweza. Navuza [lakini] wale wanakuja, wanakuja mpaka Kisumu. Watu wanafikiria Elijah iko wapi, ndani ya maji. Kesho yake hiyo usiku hiyo Elijah hakulala huko, Elijah alipita na mguu mpaka kwao. Polisi kwenda kuangalia asubuhi haya wao wanaotoporota walimulika tochi hakuna mtu. Wakasema hapana baridi inaendanga juu Elijah ako kwa maji kwa maana baridi inafunika. Jua maji inafanya mulima. Sasa wakafikiria Elijah iko wapi, kule ndani yake kumbe ameshatoka. Saa ile polisi wanaenda huko na watu walikuwa kule wakasema huvo alitoka saa ile mulimuweka huko tu, hakukaa. Na wakafanya nini wakaondoka walienda wakampata kwao.

Mugodo: Chwele.

Savatia: Eee. Kwele (Chwele). Yeye nakusa sasa watu wameshakuja wengi. Unaona ile mzungu alikuwa anaitwa Bonge [Bonke]. Siku hiyo alikuwa na mkutano watu walikuwa kama hivyo. Sasa ndio watu wanaanza kufahamu kumbe huyu mtu anaweza anaweza kulisha watu neno la Mungu. Sasa watu wanaanza kuambia serikali hapana tunataka kusikia neno lake. Na serikali imeshaona ile kazi imetumia, bada shatosheka (haijatosheka). Sasa hizi ndege za Wilson ile ndege ndogo, ndio waliweka Elijah mpaka Mambasa [Mombasa] kwa ile kisiwa ya Mombasa tena.

JP: Lamu, Lamu Savatia: Lamu Avisa: Lamu

Savatia: Eeee. Sasa wakasema hapo basi. Na Elijah naye kule anasema aa aa nyinyi bado tosheka, mimi nitatoka hii ndani ya maji. Elijah alipambana na maji, napambana namaji napambana na maji napambana na maji napambana na maji napambana], mpaka town Mombasa. Kidogo hii kulikuwa na muislamu huko Mombasa alikuwa anaitwa Sheikh Kazi. Akitoka msikiti anaambia waislamu eei

You stay there.' Indeed, the government found him still there, he hadn't fled. So again they took him in a motorboat to the island near Kisumu. He went to Rusinga island, of Mboya's people...

. . .

Savatia: Rusinga. That's where they sent him. Now they said, 'At last, we've got him.' But people came, they came to Kisumu. They thought Elijah was - where? In the water. The following night Elijah didn't sleep there. Elijah came home on foot. The police went to look for him in the morning....they shone a torch inside but there was no-one there. They said 'No, a strong wind came; Elijah is in the lake, the wind is covering him. You know the water has risen up like a mountain.' So they thought Elijah was where? There inside, but he had got out. When the police went there, those people there said, 'That man got out as soon as you put him in, he didn't stay.' So they left and went and found him at home.

Mugodo: Chwele.

Savatia: He had gathered together people, many had come. You see that European called Bonke? That day there was a meeting as big as that. Now it was when people began to understand that this person can feed people with the Word of God. People told the government, 'No, we want to hear what he has to say.' And the government realized that everything they had done was not enough. So they got these small planes from Wilson airport and took him to Mombasa, to that island of Mombasa,

JP: Lamu, Lamu.... Savatia: Lamu Avisa: Lamu

Savatia; Yes. So they said, 'Right!' And Elijah said, 'You guys are not up to my standards, I will get out of here by swimming.' Elijah fought with the water, he fought with the water, he fought with the water as far as Mombasa Town. There was a Muslim in Mombasa called Sheikh Kazi. Coming out of the mosque, he said to the Muslims, 'Hey, we can see that man they say is Dini

tunaona ile mtu wanasema dini ya Musambwa ule walikuwa wanampeleka kisiwa si ndio ule? Wengine wakamwambia hapana kama huyu ameshinda maji wachana na veve. Sasa Elijah akakuja mpaka huko kwao nyumbani. Sasa Elijah akisha kuja nyumbani, na ndio uhuru una kaka (chacha) hii Mau Mau. Ndio tena siku ya Mau Mau inafanya nini, iko zaidi. Na ndio akaanza kusema hata kama mnanifanya mpaka tutavale (tutawale). Mbaga (mbaka) akaanza kutetea huyu mzee kama yuko ndani ya jela, Kenyatta, pamoja na hii Odinga, mpaka Kenyatta akatoka na bado ile mambo ya Odi ya nini inafanyika nini, inaendelea ya huyu Elijah. Tena akiririji (waki-release) Kenyatta mwenyewe, tena akafunga Elijah.

JP: Mmm. Mara nyingi.

Savatia: Eee, mara nyingi. Akasema wewe ulisema wewe ni ni mtu mwenda azimu? Wee si mkristo. Nave akamwambia hata wewe mimi nilikutetee utoke ndani ya jela na wee hukutoa wana wa Adamu kwa ukomboani. Musa ndio tunajua peke yake, Elijah anamjibu. Unajua maswali ya Elijah ilikuwa ngumu kushinda mzee Kenyatta na Kenyatta kusikia anasema namna hiyo, rudisha huyu ndani ye jela. Anarudishwa. Sasa veve kumrudisha ndani ya jela. wanasikia yeye bado iko huko kwao. Sasa Kenyatta akasema aa aa wachani na hiyo mtu akaa, na akapata uhuru ya kukaa nyumbani kwao na Upukusu (Bukusu), mpaka mwenyewe akaendelea na hii dini yake Musambwa, akaendelea na dini yake Musambwa, akatambaa huko kwao kabisa. Wengine wakakataa wanatoroka wanakuja kwa dini zingine. Paga wa dini hawa wengine wakakua wote wakakwamia Lugulu. Sasa ukienda Lugulu Friends ndio iko kubwa sana.

ya Musambwa, the one they had sent to the island, isn't that him?' Some others told him, 'Ah no, if he has overcome the water, leave him alone.' So Elijah came back home. No sooner had Elijah come home, then [the fight for] freedom reached boiling point in Mau Mau. It was the days of Mau Mau, doing all sorts of things. And he began to say, 'No matter what you do to me, in the end we will rule.' Until he began to support the old man who was in prison, Kenyatta, together with Odinga, until Kenyatta came out. ... Then they released Kenaytta himself, and he locked up Elijah....

JP: Mmm. Many times.

Savatia: He said 'People say you are mad. And you're not a Christian.' And he told him, 'I struggled for you to come out of jail, and you're not the saviour of the sons of Adam. We only know Moses.' Elijah told him. You know that response of Elijah was very hard for Kenyatta to answer, and Kenyatta as soon as he heard it, he said this, 'Put him back in prison.' He was put back. So having been returned to prison, they hear that he's still back home. So Kenyatta said, 'No, no, let this guy stay', and he gained the freedom to stay at home with the Bukusu, and he continued with this religion of his, Musambwa, he continued with Musambwa, it was very popular all over there. Other people refused it, they left and came to other religions. Many of those people remained at Lugulu. Now if you go to Lugulu, that's where the Friends are strong.

OI, Avisa, Savatia, Mugodo, 9.5.00 (Doc. 12), Nairobi. Translated from Swahili.

5.10.2 Church Conflict at Chebwai in Kabras

In the year 1997 the health status of the archbishop that was serving at the moment deteriorated rapidly to a point of no-return... other leaders who were his followers saw to it that they should take over the power before he passes away. This issue brought conflicts between the church leaders since it was difficult to appoint one of them to take over since

everyone fought like a wounded lion to take over the seat....[One of the leaders] decided to quit the church and form his own denomination by cheating the members to follow him so that he can be the archbishop of his own church.

He started by convincing the branches that were far from the headquarters... Before the headquarters panel discovered that the intruder was out to confuse its members and inform their branches about the issue, the intruder had already confused some and formed his own church, using their garments, same flag and same beats of drums. This confused the whole church since there was now a wide separation. The remaining members who were firm [loyal] demanded a new move whereby other branches were to be opened and [given] their certificates. It was in the year 1998 in April when they decided to hand over new certificates to...members in Kakamega Diocese who remained firm...

On the material day the entire headquarters panel booked a full bus of its members and went to hand over a new certificate to the faithful who remained firm, so that they open a new page and hold their services with no fear. When they went, they alighted from their bus at a market centre known as Butali, and they started singing hymns to alert people that they had arrived to bring the certificate of the most right church registered under the umbrella of the registering act from the office of the Attorney General. While on their way towards the place where the remaining faithful [were] who had remained firm, they did not expect anything wrong before them.

On their way to Tibito, they were singing majestically, not knowing that their rivals had organized to fight them since they were going to block them. When they were nearing a place termed as Chebwai, their rivals came with a gang of people and pounced on them with blows, breaking their sticks of flags and really injured most of the faithful who remained firm. The fight took about thirty minutes. The congregation took some of the members who had been injured to a health centre.

The aftermath of the fight was serious since two people died and some sustained serious scars, and up to this particular moment the case is still proceeding in court, and some of the members who are now seeing light are coming back one by one to their right church, and I do pray that they change their minds and follow the right track, since God will come like a thief and get [find] them disorganized.

PC, Lauden Kedogo, September 1999. (Original in English, which has been edited slightly.)

5.11 Roho churches on desire, money, business, and commoditization

5.11.1 A debate on whether small businesses are permissible to Roho Christians in a Holy Spirit service at Bukoyani.

(This text was reconstructed after the service by one of the participants, Albert Obede, in English, except for the songs sung, which he gave in Lulogooli.)

Dishon: Before I accept Ksh 100,000 to come to Bukoyani and spoil the spirituality of the people, we must get ready. I am not for business but I am a spiritual leader. Francis will speak about these things but I would not support development in business. I will support spirituality.

Then **Dishon** sang:

Lwa olola uvutugi ni vomedeka ni fedha No kovolwa kwa mahi Gamanyanga keheri keve ahimbi

Sivariduka vosi yengo witu Mukivara che Kanani Sivariduka nanga Yesu Jerusalemu yengo wanga Yesu

Albert responds by continuing to sing the same song.

Avana ve zihiri mugerihe Mwigaye kuvugandi vwe kivara Vugandi vwe kivara ni Shetani Vwagoyanya vana va Yakobo

Sivariduka vosi......

Then **Dishon** sang:

When you see wealth and silver increasing And the rumours of war It shows the end is near

They will not all get to our home In the land of Canaan They will not get there with Jesus Jerusalem the home of Jesus

Albert responds by continuing to sing the same song:

Children of the nations beware Shun the false teachings of the world False teachings of the world are of Satan They confused the children of Jacob

They will not all get to... (etc)

Albert: What Rev. Dishon has said is quite correct. We need to be spiritual. Rev. King'ang'a will greet you, and later on he will speak to you about how we can be self sustaining in business. You should all remember that we need nourishment, we need to educate our children, we need better shelter and clothing. All this we cannot achieve without working hard and having some money on us. I urge you to take seriously the issue of business and farming. We need to be holistic in our life. We need to be sound in our soul, mind and body.

5.11.2 The 'naked girl' prophecy of Bwana Rees and discussion on the role of money.

Savatia: Mzungu bwana Rees aliambia Maragoli kuna msichana anakuja, atamaliza hii wasichana venu Maragoli.

JP: Hii mzungu alikuwa nabii kweli

Savatia: Ndio mimi nataka kumwambia hii mzungu bwana Rees, nani alikuwa namwambia

yeye, si alikuwa nabii? **Mugodo:** Roho

Savatia: Roho yake ilikuwa inamwambia

JP: Yaani msichana uchi...

Savatia: Msichana atakuja wa... mwenye nini

uchi

Avisa: Bila nguo

Mugodo: Yeye atakuja kweli huyo msichana?

Savatia: Amekuja

Avisa: Ameshakuja ndiye anasumbua watu

wa.....

Mugodo: Iko wapi? Savatia: Na hii shilingi....

Mugodo: Atoka kwa mfuko. Unamweka kwa

mfuko

Savatia: Hii shilingi nyeupe Avisa: Aaah, aaah, ni pesa

Savatia: Eeh pesa Avisa: Sema tu pesa Savatia: Pesa

Avisa: Pesa iko, iko na nguo?

Savatia: Aah, aah.

Avisa: Eeh

Savatia: Na Maragoli walisema, hata baba yako akasema, msichana yetu iko matiti nasimama

sawasawa.

Avisa: Sharp.... Msichana yetu hapana ingia kwa

maji kila siku. **Mugodo:** Mmm...

. . -

Savatia: Lakini zamani mimi namwakia hadithi, na kweli mimi naona hii hadithi ya bwana Ebe (Webu) iko right. Kwa maana sasa tuna angalia.

Mugodo: Pesa

Savatia: Kama we hauna pesa

JP: Wewe si mtu

Savatia: Si mtu. Lakini kitu yetu, Reverend, kitu ya Maragoli, mimi panataka sema kabila ingine, ng'ombe tu peke yake na mbuzi na kuku. Hiyo ndio kitu kilikuwa muhimu kwa babu zetu. Tena babu zetu walikuwa nanyang'anya hii Munandi kama bado naitwa, (pana Munandi zamani, anaitwa Umutwa, au Umudugudi) kwa maana

Savatia: The European Bwana Rees told the Maragoli that there is a girl who is coming, she will finish all your Maragoli girls.

JP: That European was truly a prophet.
Savatia: Yes, it's this European Bwana Rees
I want to tell you about. Who is is that was

telling him he was a prophet?

Mugodo: The Spirit.

Savatia: His spirit was telling him. **JP:** You mean the naked girl...

Savatia: A girl will come like... like, she is

naked.

Avisa: Without any clothes.

Mugodo: Will she really come, this girl?

Savatia: She has come.

Avisa: She's already come, it's she who is

disturbing people...

Mugodo: Where is she?

Savatia: Take this shilling...

Mugodo: She comes out of your pocket. You

keep her in your pocket.

Savatia: This silver shilling.

Avisa: No, no, it's money.

Savatia: Yes, money.

Avisa: Just say, it's money.

Savatia: Money.

Avisa: Money, does money have any

clothes?

Savatia: No, No. **Avisa:** That's right.

Savatia: And the Maragoli said, even your father said, our daughter has nipples

that stand up properly.

Avisa: Sharp...Our girl doesn't bathe in

water every day. **Mugodo:** Mmm...

Savatia: A long time ago I told this story, and I really believe this story of Bwana Webu [sic] is right. Because now we can see

Avisa: Money...

Savatia: If you don't have money...

JP: You're not a person.

Savatia: Not a person. But something, Reverend, something about us Maragoli (I don't speak of other people), it was only cattle and goats and hens. Those were the only important things to our grandfathers. And our grandfathers would steal them from

alikuwa anaweka ngozi.

the Nandi as they're now called (it wasn't Nandi before, they were called *Umutwa* or *Umudugudi* [someone who speaks things that are not comprehensible], because they used

OI, Avisa, Savatia, Mugodo, 8.5.00, (Doc. 12) Nairobi Original in Swahili

5.11.3 Discussion with Mama Mission Irene Maleya of *Holy Spirit* on the power of the Holy Spirit in the future. Irene speaks in Lulogooli, and JP in Swahili.

JP: Je, ningeuliza, katika siku zijazo Roho atadumu kama jinsi alivyokuwa ama atafifia na kupoteza nguvu zake alivyokuwa nazo?

Irene: Inyara kuva nitsinguru dave chigira kanunu vindu vyaitsa vinyingi vya maridadi. Mundu avuye ni fees, ninzara, ne chahonyo, Ku lwavungiza mang'ana gege yago mavole yatse ku roho yatsa da. Mundu sianyala kuva na roho mritu chigira mundu avezanga netsinganangani tsiokovora nangorendi -monyola roho sigumala kuva netisgulu chigira veneyavo sivaganagana dave, kali gilisoma valengaku hashibi da.

JP: Ningekuuliza tamaa na mahitaji ya vitu ilianza kwa akinanani na wapi?

Irene: (Laughs) Itamaa lwi tsisendi tsiatsa, alafu tsifees nitsitsa mundu yaganagania kuri za yola tsisendi ashiri musukuri?

JP: Unaonaje mama upande mmoja wa mishonari walileta injili na hata wengine kama Chilson walileta mafunzo ya kiroho, kwa upande mwingine walileta mwanzo wa tamaa, kwa sababu walifungua shule, walikuja na vitu maridadi vile ulisema, nguo, vyombo safi vya kazi, dirisha nzuri, milango mizuri, vitanda, godoro, blanketi, na vingine vyote, unaonaje?

(Laughter)

Irene: Yee, nivo vareta chigira avandu vatunga tsikodi nu mukira gwi lichungu, mtu yangendanga na yola lichungu akara mkira matunga ikondi,

. . .

JP: sasa tuseme serikali ya ukoloni ilikuwa karibu sana na maisha ya watu kwa mambo mengi sio kama sasa.

Irene: Yee.

JP: Walikuwa wakifanya vizuri au vibaya? Irene: Chigira vanyola vandu vaveye ni vyahonyo, sivarange ku ninguvu da varange avere, mukere yahombanga ivindu kuli tsimbusi ma voha mkisindi no musakuru yiti imbuli aluziku kesero ye vohe, ma vasungu valeta kindu 'ikehera', basi ndio ndio mani vareta tsisiendi basi litanga lya mang'ara miritu nyaitsa kalunu mavyalika, mapesa galeta itamaa chigira mundu natave nago aliada.

JP: I'd like to ask you, in the future, will the Spirit continue as He has been, or will He grow weaker and lose the powers he used to have?

Irene: He cannot have much power because nowadays, many attractive things have come. A person has (school) fees, poverty and lacks clothing. So for him/her to put aside his/her troubles and come to the Spirit, it is difficult. A person cannot be strong in the Spirit because he gets caught up in worries about what one could do – then you find that the Spirit will not be powerful because those ones (the older Christians) never used to worry. They even never give attention to education.

JP: I'd like to ask where the lust and the need for these things began and with whom?

Irene: (Laughs) The lust for these things began when money came, and also paying of fees so that someone thought all the time how to get money to pay fees.

JP: How do you see this, mummy – on the one hand the missionaries brought the gospel and even others like Chilson brought teaching of the Holy Spirit, and on the other side they brought the beginnings of lust – because they opened schools, they came with attractive goods, like you said, clothes, good tools for work, good windows, good doors, beds, mattresses, blankets and other things – what do you think about it?

(Laughter)

Irene: Yes, they were the ones that brought it because people used to pay taxes using rat's tails. Someone would walk around and if he/she found a rat, he/she would cut its tail and pay off their taxes.

. . . .

JP: Let's say that the colonial government was very close to the lives of people in different ways – not like today.

Irene: Yes.

JP: Were they doing good or bad?

Irene: Because people were naked, they didn't have any clothes, they were naked, the mothers used to make things like threads which they would tie round their waists, and the men they killed goats and they wore the skins as clothes. And then the Europeans brought things like *ikehera* [coins pierced in the middle so they could be threaded on a string], and things went on like that until many things came, in plenty, and money brought desire, because without money right now, you

JP: Turudi basi kwa kuchunga ng'ombe, kupeana ng'ombe kupata mke ama mbusi bila kutafuta namna ya kupata pesa ya chakula na nguo. Hapo awali yalikuwa afadhali.

Iren: Lwari vulahi chigira tsisendi tsa liho d vali valomba tsimbago anoho mangembe matsiva kumi na mbiri basi lufwe, mundu ya kukua mkali lufwe, mani vendelea ndio valola kuhanange tsimbuli manivatsi ravola kuhananga tsing'ombe. can't eat.

JP: So let's go back to looking after cattle, to exchanging cattle for a wife – or goats – without looking for ways of making money for food and clothes. In the past things were better. **Irene:** They were better, because when money was not there, people made *tsimbago*, that is hoes, twelve of them, as a bride-price. You get a wife. And then they began to say we should pay goats, and later they said we should pay cattle, up to today.

OI, Irene Maleya, 20.8.02, Bukoyani. Original in Lulogooli and Swahili.

5.11.4 Kefa Mwangale on the Europeans' and the stimulation of desire

Mwangale: Wazungu mnafanya mbaya.

JP: Pengine utaeleza.

Mwangale: Wewe unaona wafanya ukweli?

JP: Sema.

Mwangale: Unajua mzungu mungu alimpa akili na akili yake ilikuwa ya kutafuta ulimwengu kila mtu apate jujua Mzungu ndio mtawala

JP: He nitakubali, endelea. (Anacheka.) Mwangale: Mimi ninafikiria nineteen forty seven na thirty six niliona sukari ikiletwa. Hii ilikuwa hapana nunuliwa walikuwa wakipewa bure mimi mwenyewe niliona lakini kuweka kwa sisi wanaweka kwa mkono sisi tunatupa chini tunaona hii ni kitu mbaya sana siwezi kula hii sukari tunatoroka.

JP: Ni dawa ama nini? Mlifikiri ni dawa? **Mwangale**: Tulikuwa tunaogopa tu ni madawa wakati tukinunua nguo tulikuwa tunalipa pesa nane tongolo bili na ndururu.

JP: Ummh

Mwangale: Tulikuwa tukipewa nguo mbili suruali na shati na mzungu anabembeleza sisi hiyo ni mwaka wa nineteen thirty eight niliona wakingoa hii mahindi analete Oginga huyu alikufa huyu.

Ambani: Jaramogi.

Mwangale: Jaramogi wakaja wakadanganya watu Nyanza yote tukang'oa mahindi mkikula mutakuwa tasa. Watu waling'oa mashamba na bado mzungu anapembeleza. Mzungu analeta bandari, analeta masomo kila kitu mpaka

Mwangale: You Europeans are doing wrong.

JP: Maybe you should explain.

Mwangale: Do you see them doing well?

JP: Say.

Mwangale: You know God gave the whiteman brains to explore the world so that every body becomes knowledgeable. The whiteman is the ruler.

JP: Heee I will accept, continue. (Laughs.) **Mwangale:** I believe I saw sugar being brought in 1936 and 1947. This was not for sale but was given freely. I saw it personally. They would put the sugar in our hands but we threw it on the ground. We saw that it was a very bad thing – I can't eat this sugar and we ran away.

JP: Medicine or what? Did you think it was medicine?

Mwangale: We feared that it might be drugs. At that time we used to buy clothes at twenty five cents

JP: Ummh.

Mwangale: We would be given two types of clothes, a pair of shorts and a shirt by the whiteman, while persuading us. In 1938 I saw them uprooting the maize when incited by this Odinga who is dead.

Ambani: Jaramogi.

Mwangale: Jaramogi and his group came and cheated people in the whole of Nyanza telling them that if they ate it, they would become barren. People uprooted it from their fields but the whiteman went on persuading

nakumbatia akili yetu. Analeta madawa ya kumeza halafu damu ya watu inachemka inakuwa mbaya ndio watu wanaadhirika sana.

JP: Si dawa ni kwa kusaidia watu.
Mwangale: Unajua ni kama ikiwa ni dhambi inaweza sema mimi nasema urudi kwa wazungu shauri wakashindana mimi ninafikiri wanaongeza watu wanaharibika.
JP: Unajua kama ni dawa ambayo

inachemka ni damu ambaye inachemka wazee he wazungu wamepembeleza Waafrika mpaka wamesikia tamaa si tamaa ya mwanaume na mwanamke pekee yake.

Ambani: Ya kimwili

John: Lakini ya kimwili na tamaa ya vitu

tamaa ya vitu.

Mwangale: Sasa bwana Padwick **JP:** Sababu ndio sisi ambaye tulitajirika

Mwangale: Si unaona hii mtoto mama yake ni huyu baba yake ni mimi sasa ukiandamiza kabisa hata mimi mwenyewe nikiangalia hivi mimi ninaona si mtoto yangu na ni shauri ya kizungu.

JP: Kwa upande huu kwa upande huu hii ni vitendo vya hapana hiyo si ya mzungu hiyo ni ya upande wa wahindi lakini ndio sisi ambaye tuliwaleta wahindi kwa hivyo sina ya kusema hapo.

Mwangale: Sasa hivi akiingia saa hii hapa ukiwa hapa hata wewe utashtuka anafanana na wewe sasa mimi nishindwangwa

JP: Oh! Kwa uso.

Mwangale: Hata mwili yote

John: Anatumia dawa.

Mwangale: Sasa mimi ninashindwa na hii wazungu wanaharibu Waafrika kwa nini.

them. He brought ports, brought education and everything until he took control of our intellect. He brought us drugs which when swallowed, make people's blood get heated (makes people get aroused) making people become debased.

JP: But medicine is for people.

Mwangale: You know if it is sin, I can affirm that you should go back to the whites because I think they are the ones who are causing more people to get spoilt.

JP: You know if it is a drug that causes one to be aroused, the whites have persuaded the Africans until they are aroused. It is not a lust between men and women alone.

Ambani: Of the body.

JP: Of the body, yes, and also lust for property (material things).

Mwangale: Now Bwana Padwick.

JP: The reason is that we are the ones who got rich

Mwangale: Can't you see this child [pointing to his daughter's picture on the wall]. This is her mother and I am her father. If you follow appearances, even me, if I look at this, I can see that this is not my child, and it is because of European influence.

JP: On this matter, this is the behaviour of, it is not from Europeans it is from the Indians. However, we are the ones who brought the Indians. I therefore don't have anything to say there.

Mwangale: Now if she comes here when you are here, you will be shocked as she appears like you. It defeats me.

JP: Oh! On the face.

Mwangale: Even the whole body.

JP: She uses bleach.

Mwangale: I keep wondering why these Europeans are destroying Africans.

OI, Kefa Mwangale 21.2.02 (Doc. 111) Kitumba Original in Swahili

Appendix 6. Biographical notes

6.1 Mary Akatsa

(omitted for legal reasons)

6.2 Shem Ogula

Shem Ogula, born in 1917 in Tigoi, Tiriki, was brought up in the Friends Church, and like most Vihiga young men of his and subsequent generations worked in a variety of jobs (as a cook in Nairobi, in a sisal plantation, in a quarry, and as a bus-conductor). He later became a member of the Salvation Army, and it was while he was a sergeant in this denomination in August 1959 that he received a call from the Holy Spirit in a series of three dreams to found a new denomination, *Zioni Mtakatifu*, or 'Holy Zion'. Somewhat reluctantly Major Holland of the Salvation Army gave his permission, saying that if Ogula should fail, he could return to the Army. To clarify and confirm his call Ogula went first to *African Israel* and to *Divine*, but decided that he was not called to join these churches. Kivuli, instead, gave him advice on how to start a Roho church. The great majority of his neighbours thought Ogula was mad. The colonial administration was also initially suspicious, and for a month had Ogula closely watched by two administration police (to whom he preached the gospel) but he was eventually allowed to build a church. The denomination was registered on 14.2.63, having adopted a flag of horizontal white yellow and white stripes, with a red cross in the top left hand corner. Saac Ajega, of *African Israel*, assisted in drafting the constitution.

A significant breakthrough in the church's initial slow growth came in 1964, when a man called Philip Bulimu Aluda arrived at Tigoi from Isukha. Bulimu, who had been worshipping in *African Israel*, had received a dream in which he was told to go to the Holy Zionist Church

¹ Ajega, 'Zioni Mtakatifu (Holy Zion) Kegomoli Church', p. 1.

² According to Ajega, op. cit., this call came in July 1957.

³ In obtaining permission in this way, Ogula was following the example of Zakayo Kivuli.

⁴ OI, P. Ndenga, 24.5.00 (Doc. 45), Nyang'ori.

⁵ OI, P. Ndenga, 24.5.00 (Doc. 45), Nyang'ori.

⁶ For the meaning of this flag, see below, chapter 5.

⁷ PC, Henry Ajega, Zululu, 4.6.87.

in Tigoi (having no previous knowledge that such a church existed). He was welcomed by Bulimu, and returned home. While in prayer, he read Hebrews 12: 11, 'But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels.' This convinced Bulimu, and he invited Ogula to come and start a church at his home.

6.3 James Kisibo

His father (who called Jacob Buluku 'brother') had migrated into Nyang'ori in 1925 from Mbihi, near Mbale. Kisibo recounts that in 1935, Buluku, instructed by the Spirit, visited Kisibo's family and gave his blessing to the young boy. His parents were together with Zakayo Kivuli when *African Israel* was founded in 1942, but Kisibo took little interest in church affairs – being, as he says, a smoker and a drunkard - until in 1957 when he fell ill. The medical profession could find nothing wrong with him. Getting worse, in 1959 he was sent to hospital. Here, one night a stranger came and called him. He left his body behind on the hospital bed, and was taken to visit hell and paradise. Here he met God the Father and the Son, who commissioned him to return to earth to preach. He experienced some difficulty in returning to his body, but eventually woke up in bed the following day. In the meantime the nurses at the hospital had covered him with a white sheet in preparation for being taken to the mortuary. After resting, he was discharged from hospital that day.

He then began to pray for people who visited him at home. His own final healing took place in 1960 at a meeting led by a PAG evangelist at Goibei in Nyang'ori. Twice during his sickness he had been given prophecies that he should start a church called Roho Israel. Finally Zakayo Kivuli also gave a prophecy, and in 1960 the church was opened, at first in Kisibo's own house. Archbishop Japheth Zare from *Holy Spirit* came to bless the ceremony, bringing with him a large drum tied on the back of a bicycle so that it could be beaten on the way. That day was marked by healings and the provision of food in fulfilment of prophecy. Kisibo still remained somewhat uncertain how he could defend his decision to start a new denomination (especially since Gimarakwa is less than 2 kms from the *African Israel* HQ at Nineveh), but he was given a verse, Zachariah 3: 8, which gave him confidence. ¹⁰ A further

5

⁸ His symptoms were the classic symptoms of a pyscho-somatic disease – headaches, painful muscles and joints, weakness and dizziness.

⁹ For a fuller version of this testimony, see Appendix 5.2.1.

¹⁰ In English, the verse reads: 'Listen, O high priest Joshua and your associates seated before you, who are symbolic of things to come: I am going to bring my servant, the Branch.' In Kisibo's mother tongue of Lulogooli, the word 'Branch' is translated 'Kisibu' and is capitalized.

message in 1961 gave Kisibo a special place of prayer at a rock-shelter ('Ibwali') a few metres from Kisibo's home, which had hitherto been used for traditional sacrifice. ¹¹ The final stage in his initiation into spiritual leadership was when after praying and fasting for three days, he received the Holy Spirit. This, Kisibo says, gave him the power to heal, and the freedom to travel by himself in Nyanza without fear. ¹² Some years later, just before Zakayo Kivuli's death in 1974, Kivuli called Kisibo to give him his blessing and to tell him he believed that Kisibo was the man he had dreamt of who was to unite all the churches.

6.4 James Ochwatta

James Onesiforo Riddo Ochwatta, who was born in 1929 in Mombasa, but later returned to Nyanza, his home area. After the death of his father, he was taken under the care of Kivuli and brought up as a member of *African Israel*. Between 1945 and 1948 he was a student at Githunguri African Teachers College (effectively a secondary school), where he studied under Kenyatta in what has been regarded as 'the school of nationalism'. Later he and Isaac Ajega studied a correspondence course together at Nineveh with a college in Pretoria. During the Emergency Ochwatta left for Uganda, where he taught in a private school and joined Reuben Spartas' African Orthodox Church, telling Spartas that he was a graduate of a South African University and had been sent to Kampala by Archbishop William Alexander as his agent. In 1957 or 1958 he travelled via Khartoum to Cairo, where he studied with the

¹¹ Inside the shelter are now painted the words 'Roho Israel of All Nations of All the World'.

¹² Possibly this was on the occasion Kisibo talks about elsewhere, where, at a service in Nyakach Zakayo Kivuli prayed with him after he had received the Spirit. OI, J. Kisibo 31.8.02 (Doc. 136), Ibwali.

¹³ Obiero, Ms. Unless otherwise stated, the information given in the next four paragraphs is taken either from the useful summary in Welbourn and Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home*, p.104, or from an interview I did with Ochwatta himself in Nairobi, 20.3.84. Ochwatta was inclined to embroider his life history in his own interests.

Kenyatta was Vice-Principal at Githunguri from 1946, and from 1947 was in sole charge. See Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta*, 230-232; Anderson, *The Struggle for the School*, pp. 123-125.
 O.I., Henry Ajega, Gambogi, 29.8.86; Obiero Ms.

¹⁶ Archbishop Daniel William Alexander of the African Orthodox Church in South Africa had a formative influence during the mid-1930s on Spartas' African Orthodox Church in Uganda, and on the formation of the African Independent Pentecostal Church and the African Orthodox Church in Central Kenya. See Welbourn *East African Rebels*, p. 232, f.n. 51. Welbourn notes that while in Kampala, Ochwatta used his influence to support a faction in the African Greek Orthodox Church that wanted to resist the extension of Greek influence. The dates for this period are conflicting. Ochwatta told me that

Coptic Church at their seminary in Abbassiya.¹⁷ During this time he also involved himself in Kenyan nationalism, visited Russia, and on his return was expelled from Cairo, returning eventually to Uganda about 1960.¹⁸ Using a secretarial post in the African Orthodox Church in Uganda as his base, he visited Kenya. Here he resumed an earlier activity, that of trying to build links between Western Kenya AICs and the Ugandan African Orthodox Church.¹⁹ He next made a trip to Ethiopia, with the intention of introducing to the Ethiopians both the Ugandan Orthodox Church and also Gideon Omolo's AIC council, the African United Christian Church.²⁰

What Spartas had formerly done to link Ugandan independency with the Greek Orthodox, Ochwatta hoped to replicate with the Kenyan AICs, first with the Egyptian and now with the Ethiopian Copts. A subsequent delegation from African United Christian Church did visit Ethiopia, but in the absence of Ochwatta himself returned without any definite promise of support and angry with Ochwatta. As part of his concern to spread orthodox and Coptic influence among AICs, Ochwatta drafted a number of constitutions during this period. Some were for councils (whether they existed or not)²², others for individual denominations, such as *African Israel* and *Legio Maria*. Kivuli proved resistant to these Coptic blandishments, but did appoint Ochwatta briefly as the secretary of *African Israel* (on 29 July 1964). It was on

.

he was in Kampala between 1954-57; according to Welbourn, he did not travel to Kampala until late 1955 or 1956.

¹⁷ Obiero, Ms. The 'Prologolo' [sic] of the 'Legio Orthodox Church's Liturgy...' is signed by Ochwatta in November 1959 using the address of the seminary.

¹⁸ Ochwatta claims to have opened a Kenyan political office in Cairo.

¹⁹ The African Orthodox Church of Gisambai (Tiriki) was already affiliated to Uganda after the larger body from Central Kenya was banned during the Emergency. Welbourn & Ogot, op cit, p. 105, f.n.1. ²⁰ Obiero, Ms.

²¹ Obiero, Ms.

²² e.g, 'the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Coptic Communion Church, Province of East Africa' and the 'East African United Churches and the Eastern Orthodox Coptic Church' which had no existence. These draft constitutions did, however, form the basis of the constitution of East African United Churches. (*African Israel* files.)

²³ See Welbourn for a 'Coptic' constitution written for *African Israel* in 1955. The files of *African Israel* contain another constitution for the church drafted in June or July 1964, which bears all the marks of Ochwatta's work, together with one for *Legio Maria* (then known as Maria Legio).

²⁴ AICN File EAUC 1/27 & 1/31.

the basis of this relationship between Kivuli and Ochwatta that the most ambitious of all AIC councils of the period was to be built.

6.5 Prophetess Mary Wanjiru

Prophetess Mary Wanjiru Mwangi from Nyandarua became the MP for Kinangop on the (opposition) Ford Asili ticket in the General Elections of 1992.²⁵ A business-woman, wife to a preacher, and daughter of a former representative in Legco (the colonial Legislative Council), she had tried earlier to enter Parliament in 1979 and 1988. Although not formally a member of African Israel (in 1995 she said as a prophetess she could not be a member of any church), she is a friend of Kivuli II, and wears 'Israeli' embroidered on her clothes. ²⁶ Judging from her statements to the press and in Parliament, her spirituality draws on both Akurinu and Roho traditions. She prays on Mt. Kenya, regarding churches as polluted because of the practice of bringing dead bodies there for prayer. She prophesied in favour of a government of national unity, argued in a 1995 interview for less confrontational politics, and made some positive statements in the Assembly in favour of President Moi. (Indeed at the end of her term in Parliament she crossed over to KANU). Her parliamentary contributions were in the form of prophecy, the detection and removal of witchcraft from the House, ²⁷ the promotion of local and national development, ²⁸ and the settlement of squatters. ²⁹ Among her concerns were themes that may legitimately be considered representative of those of the Roho and Akurinu communities: corruption caused by greed; the need for self reliance and a true independence in order that 'foreigners who want to colonise us and who have hidden agendas about Kenya, may not have a chance to exploit us';30 registration of churches under the Societies Act;31 and

²⁵ The following information (except where stated) is based on DN: 'Here's how woman trounced three political giants', 2.4.93; ST, 'Meet the MP who communes with God', 23.4.95. I regret that I was not able to arrange an interview with her.

²⁶ She attended the farewell party for Kivuli II on his departure for Trinity College, Singapore, which was hosted in my house in Nairobi. ²⁷ 'The Hansard', for 6.5.93;

²⁸ 'The Hansard', for 6.5.93;

²⁹ 'The Hansard', for 9.12.93; 26.10.94. DN 23.1.94, 17.2.94, 23.2.94, Std 27.10.94. The concern for squatters is typically Akurinu, many of whose members are among these most marginalized of people. Archbishop Musa Thuo, of Kenya Israel Evangelistic Church of East Africa (an Akurinu church), has vigorously defended the rights of squatters against large and significant land-grabbers (e.g., in Ndithini), and in 2002 was given a letter from the Office of the President authorizing him to act as a roving investigator on land issues anywhere in the country – an extraordinary commission in the most sensitive of all matters. P.C., Musa Thuo, Nairobi, various occasions 2001-2.

³⁰ 'The Hansard', for 9.12.93. See also 8.12.94; 'I have been told to request the British government not to ever dream of possessing Kenya because God is here with us and we are not going to be their slaves.'
³¹ 'The Hansard' for 12.4.94.

the view that devil-worship was essentially the worshipping of money. ³² Rather more disturbingly she announced that God had given her a cure for AIDS, that God had told her she was number three after God and his son, ³³ that she had seen him face to face. ³⁴ Her understanding of the relationship between religion and politics was that religion was the husband and politics the wife. ³⁵ She reported that due to her intervention in prayer on Mount Kenya, God had taken away the earthquake he was going to bring to Kenya, ³⁶ and that God had proclaimed Kenya 'God's protectorate'. ³⁷ The Speaker was unable to find an appropriate standing order for such prophetic interventions, ³⁸ and she was evicted from the house for praying in the house, demanding that she be given permission to read a verse from Scripture, and throwing her bible at the Speaker's feet. ³⁹ She and another Ford Asili MP were also shot at while travelling to Nyahururu, although for unknown reasons. ⁴⁰ The direct intervention of the Divine in Parliamentary proceedings (including advice on not registering the political party Safina) ⁴¹ drew a mixture of respect, bewilderment, and mockery from the honourable members and the press.

³² 'The Hansard' for 23.3.95. 'The people who brought us to worship money and even stoop to shameful levels are the British'. See also 'The Hansard' for 21.6.95, concerning the world's largest soda-ash company: 'I have been told by God to request the British government and the Queen to keep away from Magadi Soda Company. We were given that resource by God... We will not be called beggars by these people in Paris club.'

Both in 'The Hansard' for 12.4.94.

³⁴ 'The Hansard' for 8.12.94.

^{35 &#}x27;The Hansard' for 8.12.94.

³⁶ 'The Hansard' for 23.3.95. See also DN 16.1.95 for an earlier visit to Mt. Kenya

³⁷ KT 22.6.95.

³⁸ 'The Hansard' for 26.7.94.

³⁹ Std. 24.6.93.

⁴⁰ Std. 25.2.94, 26.2.94.

⁴¹ KT 28.7.95. Safina , she said, was led by a foreigner (Philip Leakey) who was out to colonize the country.

Sources and Bibliography

1. Unpublished sources

African Divine Church,

Kenya High Assembly: Maswali kwa wanajordani (Doc. 95),

African Holy Zionist Church

'Constitution / Rules of African Holy Zionist Church', printed, 8 pp. c. 2000.

'Ratiba ya Mazishi ya Marehemu Rev. Ayub Kenyani Kedogo , 28.7.01. (Funeral Programme)

'Ratiba ya Makumbusho ya Siku Arobaini ya Marehemu Rev. Ayub Kenyani Kedogo, Tarehe 6.9.01' (*Makumbusho* programme)

'Historia ya Marehemu Rev. Ayub Kenyani Kedogo'. (Funeral history)

'Vitabu vya Matoleo Kanisani', (2002) Handwritten notes on types of contributions and their biblical justification

African Interior Church

Programme of Consecration of Rt. Rev. Richard Ong'anda as 2nd Bishop of the church, and his biography, 10.12.89

Charles F. Anabaka, 'Current Confusion in the Church', n.d. Letter in Lunyore complaining of corruption

African Israel Church Nineveh

Files of correspondence relating to EAUC and KICF, 1963, 1964, 1965.

'Christian Council of Kenya: Application for Probationary membership of New Group: African Israel Church.' (Statement by the church and critical comments from PAG)

'Reference Hesabu ya WaIsraeli 1967,' 25.12.67

'Historia ya Marehemu'

'Taratibu ya Mazishi ya Mama Rebeca J. Kivuli Mwanzilishi wa Israel N. Church' & 'History of Marehemu' (Funeral programme and History)

'Sheria za African Israel Nineveh Church', Nineveh Headquarters, 8.5.1993, mimeo, 37 pp.

Documents presented to the Mindolo Conference 1962 from the Harold Turner collection, including:

'The African Israel Church History', mimeo, 2 pp.

'Constitution, Laws and Rules'

Archbishop John M. Kivuli II, Circular Letter to church leaders in Tiriki re. development seminars to be held by the church, 27.1.97

Archbishop John M. Kivuli II, 'Historia ya Marehemu M.P.D. Kivuli I na kuanzishwa kwa African Israel Nineveh Church pamoja na utaratibu wa ukumbusho wake', 10,11,87 (history of Kivuli I and programme for memorial service) Printed, 8 pp.

Archbishop John M. Kivuli II, 'Personal Information' (Curriculum Vitae)

All Africa Conference of Churches et al.

The Church Making a Difference in the 21st Century', Communiqué of AACC / CIRCLE / CATI / EATWOT / OAIC Joint Theological Conference, Mbagathi, Nairobi, 14th – 18th August 2000:

Ajega, Isaac

'Zioni Mtakatifu (Holy Zion) Kegomoli Church', Typsecript 3 pp, 1960s?

'The Book of the Law as the Lord Taught His People', by Isaac Ajega (on behalf of Rev. M.P.D. Zakayo Kivuli).

Aseri, Archbishop Moses

Letter to John Padwick of 3.6.86 giving his personal history and that of the Church of Africa Sinai Mission

David B. Barrett files originally in Nairobi (now dispersed).

Various documents & press cuttings on AICs, inc.:

Letter from Paul Masambu 2.1.265 giving details of Sinai Church of East Africa Constitution of the Church of Quakers in Africa

Constitution of the Holy Spirit Church of EA

T.B. Benson Papers (in Rhodes House, Oxford, MSS Afr. S. 1367 (1))

Correspondence and documents related to Jeanes School, Kabete

Kenneth I. Brown Papers (in Harold Turner Collection, University of Birmingham)

MSS correspondence and documents relating to a number of visits to AICs in Kenya from 1964-1969, notably African Church of the Holy Spirit, African Divine Church, African Orthodox Church, Divine Christian Church, Legio Maria, Kenya Independent Churches Fellowship, East African United Churches, et al. Also NCCK's relation to these churches,

Cashmore, T.H.R. (in Rhodes House, Oxford, MSS Afr. S. 1475)

Chart of independent churches and religions in Kenya showing their supposed relationships, c. 1950

Church of Africa Sinai Mission

'Constitution and Rules'

Cottage Lane Mission, Ormskirk

File of correspondence relating to Holy Spirit Church of East Africa (courtesy Alan Mapstone), including letters and documents relating to leadership disputes.

Cox, Peter

'Bishop James Kisibo: the Beginning of the Roho Israel Church of God,' 7 pp., 1992

Embego, Josiah

'A Study of the Origins and Life of African Divine Church movement', mimeo, 31pp c1971

Esitambale, Hezron N.

'African Interior Church History', mimeo, 11pp, in English and Lunyore. 1971

Holy Spirit Church of East Africa,

'Histori ya Holy Spirit Church'.(Doc.17)

'Constitution of the Holy Spirit Church'

'Revised Constitution of the Holy Spirit Church 2002'

Numerous programmes of funerals and worship events

Isarikho, Alive Khavere

Research reports on

Sabrynsk Church, 6.5.95. typewritten, 1 p. Canaan Church of East Africa, MS 5pp International Jordan Church MS 5 pp.

Kamenyi, John

n.d. 'Prophets (Aroti): (Turban People = Andu a Iremba)', Mimeo 5 pp., no place., (Harold Turner Centre)

Kedogo, Ayub [Kenyan]

'Kenya United Independent Churches', 4 pp. report written for RUNERC, Dept. of Theology, University of Birmingham, 1994 (Harold Turner Centre)

Kenya Government, Registrar of Societies

1961-7 various church constitutions

Kenya National Archives (microfilm collection in Rhodes House, Oxford)

Provincial & District Record Books – 1952 (Micr. Afr. 516)

Miscellaneous District Correspondence (Micr. Afr. 518)

Provincial & District ARS 1937-61 (Micr. Afr. 515)

Provincial & District HORs (Micr. Afr. 517

Government Circulars (from Chief Secretaries' Office) (Micr. Afr. 520)

Civil and Military Intelligence Reports (Micr. Afr. 519)

Kenya United Independent Churches

Various files from 1984 – 2000, relating to the Council and its members churches' activities, including:

Kenya Israel Church of EA, application for membership

Constitution of Christian Israel Church

Constitution of Gospel Holy Spirit church of East Africa

Constitution of Pentecostal Evangelism Team

Documents relating to annual prayer meetings in Mbale and Kaamukunji and their memoranda to government

Notes on a Meeting between Bishop Elijah Joji & Rev. Joshua Apollo concerning affiliation to GHSCEA, 12.9.87

Relations with NCCK

Keverenge, Manoah Lumwagi

Documents relating to Vihiga District Interdenominational Prayer Team

Kigani, Joseph

Notes on various AICs compiled during 1985-6, inc. Church of the Lord, Independent Lutheran Church, etc

'The East African United Church and Orthodox Coptic Communion and its attempts to bring African Independent Churches [together]', MS, 21pp.

Anthony J. King Papers (at Rhodes House, Oxford: MSS Afr s 1281 /1)

Press cuttings from UK and East Africa concerning gold ining during 1930s.

King'ang'a, Francis

Report on Vihiga Interdenominational Fellowship held at Mbale Town, Maragoli, on 29th August 1999. Typescript, 8 pp.

Kisibo, Archbishop James

'List of Reverends & Officials 1987,

'Roho Israel Church of God...Our Faith is in the Book of Joel Chapter 1:6-8', 8.pp, typewritten (list of biblical verses supporting the church's doctrine) n.d.

Lugard Papers (in Rhodes House, Oxford). Papers relating to Colony of Kenya during 1930s, including the Kakamega Gold Mines and the related political crisis at Westminster Letter from JWC Dougall to JH Oldham, 13.1.33. (Lugard Papers L77/1 257-259.)

Lyahuka Church of East Africa

'Hestoria (sic) yake Marehemu Archbishop Eliakimu Keverenge' (the funeral 'history')

Constitution as amended in December 1994

Muthioma, Bishop Joshua Wilson N.

Return of Israel Assemblies of Kenya to OAIC Documentation Project 1988 Report of Israel Assembly [sic] of Kenya for 1999

Obede, Albert M.

'A Short History of The Holy Spirit Church of East Africa', paper presented at 'Building Bridges': a Consultation between Black and White Led Churches at the Methodist Guest House, Nairobi, 1994

'Who were the Founding Fathers?' 2001 (Doc. 98) etc. (see main list of interviews and documents)

Obiero, Daniel Oguso

'A Brief History of the Kenya African United Christian Churches, the Kenya African Independent Churches Fellowship, and East African United Christian Churches.' Typescript, 5 pp. 1984

Organization of African Instituted Churches

Documentation Project on AICs, 1988. Information re. Israel Assemblies of Kenya, God of Israel Zion Church (inc. constitution),

Wambugu, Njeru

1995 'The Organization of African Instituted Churches: An Introduction and Brief History', 9 pp., Nairobi

2. Other libraries consulted

Macmillan Library, Nairobi (Files of Newspapers and Journals from Kenya) Harold Turner Collection, University of Birmingham (collection of articles, papers, and miscellaneous items relating to African Independent Churches)

3. Oral interviews conducted 1985-6

- OI, J. Kigani, International Holy Spirit, 6.3.85, Nairobi
- OI, Bishop Lucas Nuhu, 7.3.85, Nairobi
- OI, Professor James Ochwatta, 20.3.85, Fort Jesus, Nairobi
- OI, Archbishop Musa Thuo, Kenya Israel Church, 11.4.85, Mathare Valley
- OI, Joshua Opeywa, African Israel Church Nineveh, 23.4.85, Nairobi
- OI, Richard Ondeng', Deputy General Secretary of NCCK, 31.5.85, Nairobi.
- OI, Rev. Ayub Kedogo, African Holy Zionist Church, 26.10.85, Selly Oak, Birmingham
- OI, Hon. J.D. Otiende, 14.8.86, Mbale
- OI, Harun Babu, 17.8.86, Tigoi
- OI, Bishop Philemon Orwa, African Israel Church Diocese of Nyanza, 27.8.86, Ramba

- OI, Henry Ajega, African Israel Church Nineveh, 29.8.86, Zululu OI, Archbishop Moses Aseri, Church of Africa Sinai Mission, 30.8.86, Jebrok

4 Audio and Video recordings of services, events, and interviews, and associated documentation

No.	Document title	Date of recording or document	Record Type	Denomination	Venue	Recorded by
	1 HSCEA Leadership Structure/Leaders	Oct. 2000	Document	HSCEA	JP's Hse (Nbil)	AO
	2 HSCEA Bukoyani - Albert vs Dishon	27.5.00	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani Ch	AO
	3 HSCEA Leaders Conference Dec 1999	30.12.99	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani Ch	RO / LK
	4 Idumbu S. Nyanza Fundraising Service	27.1.00	Audio	HSCEA	S. Nyanza	AO
	5 Bukoyani Leaders Conference 2000	27-30.12.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani Ch	JP
	6 Makumbusho - Laban Busaka	28.9.00	Video	HSCEA	Kisiru	KM
	7 Sande's Commemoration 2000	5.11.00	Audio/Video	HSCEA	Muhanda	AO
	8 Shauri Moyo Baptism	18.9.99	Audio/Video	HSCEA	S. Moyo Nbi	OT
	9 Shauri Moyo Church Opening 1999	4.8.99	Audio	HSCEA	S. Moyo Nbi	ES & JP
1	0 Youth Conference at Vihulu	26.11.99	Audio	HSCEA	Vihulu	RO & LK
1	1 Zare's Commemoration 2000	13.10.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO & RO
1	2 OI, Avisa, Savatia & Mugodo	8.5.00	Audio	HSCEA	JP's Hse (Nbi)	JP
1	3 OI, Bishop Avisa 2	13.10.00	Audio	HSCEA	Mutsulyu	LK / RO
1	4 OI, Susan Ambihira	27.2.2000	Audio	HSCEA	Chamadele	AO & RO
1	5 OI, Bishop Josiah Mwangi	14.9.00	Audio	HSCEA	S. Nyanza	AO
1	6 Joel's History of Daniel Sande	21.9.99	Document	HSCEA	Muhanda	N/A
1	7 HSCEA History (compiled by Japheth Zare)	?	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	JZ
1	8 Brief History of C. Ondolo by himself	1985	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	CO
1	9 Mbale Interdenominational Prayer Meeting	30.9.01	Audio	various	Mbale	AO
2	0 Preparation for Rodah's Makumbusho	7.7.01	Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
2	1 Holy Spirit Songs	various	Document	HSCEA	Several	FK
2	2 Millenium Fellowship	1.1.00	Video	HSCEA	Mbale	KM
2	3 Mahanga/Lugangu Service	6.1.01	Audio/Video	HSCEA	Lugangu	AO
2	4 Hellen Hodo - Forty Days	19.11.00	Audio/Video	HSCEA	N. Maragoli	AO & RO
2	5 January 2001 Uyoma Makumbusho	20.1.01	Audio/Video	HSCEA	Uyoma Naya	AO
2	6 JP's Consecration as an Apostle	21.05.00	Audio/Video	KUIC / HSCEA	Bukoyani HQ	AO & KM
2	7 Mount Vindizi night-watch service	23.12.00	Video	HSCEA	Mt. Vindizi	KM
2	8 Burial of Rose Lihavi	17.1.01	Audio / Video	HSCEA	Rogendo	AO & RO

Date of recording or Recorded document Record Type No. Document title **Denomination** Venue by 29 tape missing 30 Youth Conference (Ogada S. Nyanza) 24.11.00 Audio **HSCEA** AO & RO Ogada 31 Rogendo HSCEA **HSCEA** 18.1.01 Audio Rogendo MK & AO 32 Mbale Mkt Open Air Service 30.12.00 Audio **HSCEA** Mbale AO 33 Mbale Open Air Service 15.7.00 Audio **HSCEA** Mbale ΑO 34 OI, Mbale Town Clerk - Mulehi 29.4.01 Audio **HSCEA** Lugangu ΑO 35 Youth Camp - Bukoyani 23-25.4.00 Audio **HSCEA** Bukoyani RO 36 Vihiga Diocese Conference at Lugangu 26.08.00 Audio **HSCEA** Lugangu ΑO 37 The Making of an Elder - Angaya 18.11.00 Audio/Video n/a Mbihi School ΑO 38 28th Dec 2000 28.12.00 Audio **HSCEA** Bukoyani RO 39 African Holy Zionist Blessing & Baptism AHZC OT 20.5.01 Video Katina, Nbi **HSCEA** AO & OT 40 Jane Mmbone Ondolo's burial 26.11.00 Video 41 OI, Archbishop James Kisibo 9.3.00 Audio RICG Ibwali JΡ **KUIC** AO & RO 42 KUIC Culture Seminar 13.2.01 Audio Manyatta 43 Nabii Xian Ch Ordination/Flag 29.10.00 Video Nabii Kianda, Nbi OT 44 Nabii Christian Church - Kianda Congress 4.6.00 Audio Nabii Kianda, Nbi JΡ 45 OI, Pastor Ndenga 24.5.00 N/A AHZC JP's Hse (Nbi) JΡ 46 Ondolo & J. Mwangi (int. & preaching) 9-11.10.00 Audio **HSCEA** Bukovani AO 47 Kefa Asivilwa's Funeral 10.10.00 Audio **HSCEA** Nandi AO 48 OI, Archbishop Christopher Ondolo 15.01.01 Audio **HSCEA** Bukoyani AO & JP 49 Ruwe Holy Ghost - Musanda 16.01.01 Audio/Video RHGC / HSCEA Musanda ΑO 50 OI, Bishop Were of Ruwe Holy Ghost 23.01.01 Audio RHGC Ruwe AO 51 Service at HSCEA Lugangu 15.4.00 Audio/Video **HSCFA** AO & KM Lugangu 52 Visit & service at Kihancha, Masankura 26.9.00 Audio / Video HSCEA Kihancha AO 53 Youth Convention - Nairobi ? Audio **HSCEA** S. Moyo, Nbi ES 54 1st Annual Commemoration of Ayub Kedogo 27.7.02 Audio AHZC Tigoi SM 55 See 131 56 Burial of Ainea Omido 23.04.00 Audio **HSCEA** Bukoyani AO 57 Service at Lugangu HSCEA 11.4.00 Audio **HSCEA** Lugangu AO 58 Ordination of Pastors NBI Diocese 1999 17.10.99 Audio **HSCEA** S. Moyo, Nbi ES

No.	Document title	Date of recording or document	Record Type	Denomination	Venue	Recorded by
59	Sadaka/Greetings NBI Diocese 1999	14.11.99	Audio	HSCEA	S. Moyo, Nbi	ES
60	Consecration of Office Bearers	23.9.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
61	St. Daniel Sande's Commemoration 1999	5.11.99	Video	HSCEA	Kisiru	KM
62	P. HSCEA Leaders Conference - Bukoyani	30.12.00	Audio/Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
63	40 Days & Olovego of Oropah Keverenge	11.11.01	Video	LCEA	Lukuvuli	AO
64	Service for Alan Mapstone at Lugangu	24.9.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
65	Meeting of Peter Asava with Mapstone	25.9.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
66	NBI Diocese Ordination of Elijah Oloo	12.5.01	Audio	HSCEA	S. Moyo, Nbi	ES
67	NBI Diocese 1999 Convention Opening	15.8.99	Audio	HSCEA	S. Moyo, Nbi	ES
68	3 OI, Irene Maleya	20.8.02	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	JP / AO
69	Igangu Service	18.4.00	Audio	HSCEA	Igangu	AO
70	OI, Bp. Ibrahim Senelwa	24.09.99	Audio	HSCEA	Womulalu	AO
71	OI, Lukayu, Sande, Mwangale & Nyando	23.9.99	Audio	HSCEA	Mahanga	LK
72	P. OI, Bishop Josiah Mwangi & Zerika Imali	14.9.00	Audio	HSCEA	S. Nyanza	AO
	Pilgrimage to Mungoma	20.12.00	Audio	n/a	Mungoma	AO
74	Account of Conflict at Chebwai	18.9.99	Document	HSCEA	Chebwai	LK
75	Service on St. Jacob Buluku's Day	15.3.01	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
	Rodah Lulya Obede's Commemoration	8.7.01	Audio/Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	OT & RO
	Israel Church in Africa	19.9.99	Video	ICA	Nyahera	KM
78	African Divine Church Choir Competition	Aug. 2000	Video	ADC	Boyani	ОТ
	Rodah Lulya till Death and Burial tape missing	16-22.7.00	Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
81	Burial of Luhayi Mutsulyu	9.3.01	Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
82	P. HSC Open Air Service Mbale	5.1.02	Video	HSCEA	Mbale	AO
83	B AHZC Saba Saba Pilgrimage	7.7.02	Audio	AHZC	Emau, Isukha	SM
84	OI, Assist Archbishop Joel Sande	17.2.2000	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO & RO
85	Rodah Lulya Obede's Burial Service	26.5.01	Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	RO & OT
86	Night Activities at Rodah's Commemoration	7.7.01	Video	HSCEA	Bukoyani	OT & RO
87	OI, Rev Jacob Shitochi	7.3.01		HSCEA	Emwiru, Kisa	AO
88	Service, Kisiru HSCEA	13.1.01		HSCEA	Kisiru	

Date of recording or

No.	Document title	recording or document	Record Type	Denomination	Venue	Recorded by
89	OI, High Priest Kaos (Church Group of Light)	29.10.99	Document	CGL	Kabras	LK
90	OI of C. Ondolo by M. Keverenge	4.1.01	Audio	HSCEA / LCEA	JP's Hse, Nbi	AO
91	OI, Eliakimu Keverenge	1986?	Document	LCEA	Lukuvuli	JP& AK
92	OI of A. Obede on Succession in HSCEA	18.7.01	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
93	Ayub Kedogo's Funeral (Burial)	28.7.01	Video/Audio	AHZC	Tigoi	AO
	African Holy Zionist Church History	n.d	Document	AHZC	Tigoi	OT
	ADC Baptism/Catechism Record missing	5.11.01	Document	ADC	NBI	ОТ
97	Prophet Adolwa's Interpretation of dreams	7.3.00	Audio	HSCEA	Lugangu	RO
98	HSCEA Founding Fathers by Rev A. Obede	2001	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
99	OI, Absalom Olocho	4.4.99	Notes	Bethlehem	Manyatta	JP
	OI, Archbishop Christopher Ondolo	27.9.99	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	LK, JP
	OI, Archbishop Elijah Joji	29.9.99	Document	GHSCEA	Wamuluma	LK
	Interim Report on HSCEA Census (6.9.97)	6.9.97	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
	Daniel's Makumbusho in S.Moyo Nbi	11.11.01		HSCEA	S. Moyo, Nbi	ES
	OI, Asst. Bishop Rev. Jacob Shitochi	25.01.02	Audio	HSCEA	Emwiru, Kisa	JP,ES,AO
	Record missing		Audio	HSCEA		AO
	Joel Sande & J. Mwangi on Lord's Supper	12.10.00		HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
	2nd sitting in preparation for Lulya's Comm.	4.7.01		HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
	One Day w/shop for NBI HSCEA Youth	15.12.01		HSCEA	OAIC, Nbi	AO
	OI, Kefa Mwangale on Nebuchadnazar	21.2.02		HSCEA	Kitumba	JP, OT
	OI, Kefa Mwangale's Life History	21.2.02		HSCEA	Kitumba	JP, OT
	OI, Kefa Mwangale on Mung'oma	21.2.02		HSCEA	Kitumba	JP,OT
	St Phillip's Commemoration			HSCEA	Lugangu	AO
	Mothers Convention at Kisiru QM	27-30.4.00		HSCEA	Kisiru	RO
	OI, Aineah Ababu		Audio	AICN	Nineveh	JP
	Fundraising for Youth & Mothers' Union	17.3.01		HSCEA	Lugangu	AO
	Special Service at Lugangu		Video /Audio	HSCEA	Lugangu	KM / RO
	OI, Archbishop James Kisibo	1.11.99		RICG	Ibwali	LK / RO
118	OI, Archbishop M. Keverenge	19.8.02	Audio	LCEA	Lukuvuli	JP

No.	Document title	Date of recording or document	Record Type	Denomination	Venue	Recorded by
119	Three days after Rodah Lulya's burial	8.7.01	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
120	Service welcoming A. Obede from Switzerland	5.2.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	RO
121	Paper by Albert on Pacifism	27.10.01	N/A	HSCEA	Nairobi	AO
122	OI, Timona Almaza	25.7.02	Audio	ACHS	Wanondi	JP
123	OI, Prophet J. Adolwa	11.7.01	Audio	HSCEA	Mahanga	AO
124	Bp. Senelwa interprets Adolwa's Dreams	10.7.01		HSCEA	Mahanga	AO
125	HSCEA Leadership Structure & Clans	2000	N/A	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
126	Interpretation of C. Ondolo's Dreams	31.5.01	N/A	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
127	OI, Rev. Joseph Zare	22.0.99	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	JP
128	Service at Lugangu	18.6.00	Audio	HSCEA	Lugangu	RO
129	25th December 1999 at Bukoyani Mission	25.12.99		HSCEA	Bukoyani	RO
130	OI, Kefa Mwangale (2nd Interview)	23.7.02	Audio	HSCEA	Kitumba	JP
131	Robing of JP; Reading of Constit.	5.3.00	Audio	HSCEA	S. Moyo, Nbi	ES
132	Kabras Caanan	8.4.00	Audio	HSCEA	Kabras	LK
133	1st Anniversary of Rev. Ayub Kedogo	28.7.02	Audio	AHZC	Tigoi	SM
134	OI, Archbishop E. Joji	9.1.2003	Audio	GHSCEA	Wamuluma	SM
135	Interview at Isaac Ondolo's	15.9.00	Document	HSCEA	Area B, S. Nyanza	AO
136	OI, Archbishop J.Kisibo	31.8.02	Audio	RICG	Ibwali	LK
137	See no. 68	20.8.02	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO
	OI, J D Okong'o & P.Guya,	19.9.99	Notes	ICA	Pergamo-Obede	JP
139	OI, Bishop Munala	28.8.02	Document	HSCEA	Butali	LK
140	Vihiga Diocese Meeting at Bukoyani	8.1.00	Audio	HSCEA	Bukoyani	RO
141	Lyahuka Church Records	1941-49	Document	LCEA	Lukuvuli	LK
142	2nd Interview with Bishop I. Senelwa	16.8.02	Audio	HSCEA	Womulalu	JP / AO
143	Unbinding a vow, Holy Spirit	5.7.02	Document	HSCEA	Bukoyani	AO

Note; Not all tapes have been transcribed.

No.	Document title		Date of recording or document Re	ecord Type	Denomination	Venue	Recorded by
			Abbreviations of	f personal na	ames:		
		АО	Rev. Albert Obede	e l	KM	Kennedy Mbayagi	
		CO	Archbp Christophe	er Obede I	LK	Lauden Kedogo	
		ES	Rev. Emmanuel S	Simwa 1	MK	Melody Kedogo	
		FK	Rev. Francis King	g'ang'a (OT	Raphael Otakwa	
		JΡ	John Padwick	ŀ	RO	Rosemary Osore	
		JΖ	Rev. Joseph Zare	e :	SM	Stephen Muguga	

5. Bibliography

AFBM

1940 *Luragoli-English Vocabulary*. Kaimosi: Friends Africa Mission

Press

Ajayi, J.F.A. and Ayandele, E.A.

1969 'Writing African Church History', *The Church Crossing*

Frontiers: Essays on the nature of Mission in honour of Bengt Sundkler. P. Beyerhaus and C. Hallencreutz, eds, pp. 90-108.

Studia Missionalia Upsaliensis. Lund: Gleerup

All Africa Conference of Churches, Research and Development Consultancy Service

1992 Christian Education & Development in Africa: Strategies for a

New Vision, Nairobi: AACC

Allen, Tim

1991 'Understanding Alice: Uganda's Holy Spirit Movement in

Context', Africa 61 (3) pp. 370-399

1992 'Taking Culture Seriously', in *Poverty & Development in the*

1990s, ed. Tim Allen and Alan Thomas, Oxford University

Press, pp. 331-346

Alperovitz, Gar

1990 'Building a Living Democracy', in *Sojourners*, July 1990

Amirtham, Samuel, and John S. Pobee, eds

1986 Theology by the People: Reflections on Doing Theology in

Community, Geneva: World Council of Churches

Anacleti, Odhiambo

1983 'Cultural Emancipation as a Means of Economic

Development', in Cultures (Paris), 9: 26-45.

Anderson, Allan H.

1991 *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context*, Pretoria:

University of South Africa

2000 Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of

Pentecostal and Zionist Churches in South Africa, Tshwane:

University of South Africa Press

2001 African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20th

Century, Trenton, New Jersey, & Asmara, Eritrea: Africa

World Press, Inc.

'Stretching the Definitions? Pneumatology and 'Syncretism' in

African Pentecostalism', in *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*,

10.1, pp. 98-119.

Anderson, David M., and Douglas H. Johnson, eds.

1995 Revealing Prophets: Prophecy in Eastern African History,

London: James Currey

Anderson, John

1970 The Struggle for the School: the Interaction of Missionary,

Colonial Government and Nationalist Enterprise in the Development of Formal Education in Kenya, London &

Nairobi: Longman.

Anderson, W[illiam] B.

c.1970 'History of the Holy Spirit Church of East Africa', Typescript,

19pp, in library of St. Paul's United Theological College,

Limuru, n.d.

1971 'Children of Jacobo', *Risk* 9 (3), pp. 14-19

1973 'Leadership developed by two Kenya independent churches: the

African Brotherhood Church and the Holy Spirit Church of East Africa', Paper no.115, *Occasional Research Papers: Christianity in Contemporary Africa, (*Studies from the Kenya Church), Vol. 11, March, 10pp., Kampala: Makerere Univ.,

Dept. of Religious Studies and Philosophy.

Ankele, John

1982 Rise Up and Walk, 55 min. 35 mm. documentary film on AICs

in association with the OAIC and AACC, University of

California Media Centre.

Anyumba, H. Owuor

1971 Spirit Possession Among the Luo of Central Nyanza, Kenya. In

Occasional Papers in African Traditional Religion, Vol. 3 (Nov.), pp. 1-46, Kampala: Makerere Univ., Dept. of Relig

Studies and Philosophy.

Aoko, David

1971 High Priest David Zakayo Kivuli. *Risk* 7 (3), pp. 20-22

Language Use within the African Independent Churches of

Nairobi. In *Language in Kenya*, W.H. Whitely, ed., pp. 253-62.

Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Appiah-Kubi, Kofi and Sergio Torres

1979 African Theology en Route: Papers from the Pan- African

Conference of Third World Theologians, December 17-23, 1979, Accra, Ghana, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books

Appleby, L.L.,

1943 'A Luluhya - English Vocabulary', mimeo 189pp, Kavirondo

[Maseno]: C[hurch].M[issionary].S[ociety].

1958 A First Luyia Grammar: enlarged edition with exercises.

Nairobi: EALB. 2nd Edition, reprinted with emendations.

Aquina, O.P., Sr. Mary [A.K.H. Weinrich]

1967 'The People of the Spirit: An Independent Church in Rhodesia'.

Africa, 37, pp. 203-19

Arce, Alberto, and Norman Long, eds.,

2000 Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring

discourses, counter-tendencies, and violence, London and

New York: Routledge

Ardener, Edwin

1970 'Witchcraft, Economics, and the Continuity of Belief', in Mary

Douglas 1970, pp. 141-160

Arnold, Guy

1974 Kenyatta and the Politics of Kenya, London: Dent & Sons

Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S.

1971b 'Legio Maria: a Study in the Dynamics of Separatism', in

Occasional Papers in African Traditional Religion, Volume Two, Occasional Paper 17, (Oct. 1970), Kampala: Makerere University, Dept. of Religious Studies and Philosophy,.

1975 'A Note on the Chronology of African Traditional Religion in

Western Kenya', in Journal of Eastern African Research and

Development, 5 (2), pp. 119-122

1976 'The Movement of Ideas: A Case Study of Intellectual

Responses to Colonialism among the Liguana Peasants', in Ogot, *History and Social Change in East Africa*, pp. 165ff.

1981 'Siasa - African Politics and Nationalism in East Africa, 1919-

1935', in Siasa - Politics and Nationalism in East Africa, 1905-

39, Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau

1987 'Democracy and the Ideology of Order in Kenya', in Michael G.

Schatzberg, ed., The Political Economy of Kenya, pp. 177-201,

New York: Praeger

Auslander, Mark

"Open the Wombs!": The Symbolic Politics of Modern Ngoni

Witchfinding', in Jean and John Comaroff, eds., 1993, pp. 167-

192

Austen, Ralph A.

1993 'The Moral Economy of Witchcraft: An Essay in Comparative

History', in Jean and John Comaroff, eds., 1993, pp. 89-110

Barasa, J[ulius].

1974 'The Holy Spirit Church of East Africa', Occasional research

Papers: African Religions and Philosophies, No. 213, Vol. 21,

July, Kampala: Dept. of Religious Studies, Makerere

University

Barnes, Douglas F.

1978 'Charisma and Religious Leadership: An Historical Analysis',

Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 17 (1): 1-18

Barrett, David B.

1968 Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand

Contemporary Religious Movements, Nairobi: Oxford

University Press

1971 'Who's Who of African Independent Church Leaders', in *Risk*, 3

(7): 23-24

1982 *World Christian Encyclopedia*, ed. Nairobi: Oxford University

Press

2001 World Christian Encyclopedia, ed. 2nd Edition, 2 Vols., Oxford:

Oxford University Press

Barrett, D[avid] B., G.K. Mambo, J. McLaughlin and M.J. McVeigh, eds,

1973 Kenya Churches Handbook: The Development of Kenyan

Christianity, 1498-1973, Kisumu, Kenya: Evangel Publishing

House

Barrett, David B., and Todd M. Johnson,

2000 'Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2001', in

International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 25:1, pp. 24-25

Barrett, David B., and T. John Padwick,

1989 Rise Up and Walk: Conciliarism and the African Indigenous

Churches, 1815-1987, Nairobi: Oxford University Press

Barrington-Ward, Simon

1978 "The centre cannot hold..." Spirit Possession as Redefinition',

in Edward Fasholé-Luke, ed. et al., Christianity in Independent

Africa, pp. 454-470. London: Rex Collings.

Batlle, Agustin and Rosario

1983 'Organization of African Independent Churches Spiritual

Revival Bible School', in F. Ross Kinsler (ed.), Ministry by the

People, Geneva: World Council of Churches, pp. 169-176

Bayart, Jean-Francois

1993 *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly,* London:

Longman

Beattie, John, and John Middleton, eds

1969 *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa,* London: Routledge

and Kegan Paul

Becken, Hans-Jurgen

1995 'Sounds of the Double-Headed Drums', *Mission Studies*, 12 (2)

pp. 228-246

Bediako, Kwame

1995 Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion,

Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, Orbis Books

Beecher, L.J.

1953 'African Separatist Churches in Kenya', *World Dominion*, (London), 31(1), pp. 5-12.

Beek, Huibert van, ed.

[1996] Consultation with African Instituted Churches, Ogere, Nigeria,

9-14 January 1996, Geneva: Office of Ecumenical Relations,

World Council of Churches

Behrend, Heike

1991 'Is Alice Lakwena a Witch? The Holy Spirit Movement and Its

Fight against Evil in the North', in Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, (eds.), *Changing Uganda: The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment and Revolutionary Change*, London:

James Currey

1995 'The Holy Spirit Movement and the Forces of Nature in the

North of Uganda, 1985-87', in Hansen and Twaddle (eds.), pp.

71-59

1998 'The Holy Spirit Movement's New World: Discourse and

Development in the North of Uganda', in *Developing Uganda*, Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, eds., pp. 245-253.

Oxford: James Currey & Nairobi: E.A.E.P.

Benson, G.P.,

1995 'Ideological Politics versus Biblical Hermeneutics: Kenya's

Protestant Churches and the Nyayo State', in Hansen and

Twaddle, eds., pp. 177-199

Berg-Schlosser, Dirk

1984 *Tradition and Change in Kenya*, Paderborn: Ferdinand

Schoningh

Berman, Bruce, and Lonsdale, John

1992 Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa. 2 Vols: Book

One: State & Class. Book Two: Violence and Ethnicity.

Nairobi: Heinemann

Berman, Bruce

1990 Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectic of

Domination. Nairobi: East African Publishers.

Bernstein, Henry, Hazel Johnson, and Alan Thomas

1992 'Labour Regimes and Social Changes under Colonialism', in

Poverty & Development in the 1990s, ed. Tim Allen and Alan

Thomas, Oxford University Press, pp.183-203

Beyer, Peter

1994 Religion and Globalization, London: Sage

Bloch-Hoell, Nils

1964 The Pentecostal Movement, London: Allen & Unwin

Bloch, Maurice

1974 'Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation: Is religion

an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority?', Archives

Européenes de Sociologie, 15, pp. 51-81

Bloch, Maurice and Jonathan Parry

1989 Introduction to J. Parry and M. Bloch 1989, pp. 1-32

Bogonko, Sorobea Nyachieo

1982 'Catholicism and Protestantism in the Socio-economic and

Political Economy of Kenya, 1920-63', in Journal of Eastern

African Research and Development, 12, pp. 83-123

1984 'Africans and the Politics of their Education in Kenya, 1910-

1934', Journal of Eastern African Research and Development,

14, pp. 19-38

Booth, David (ed.)

1994 Rethinking Social Development: Theory, Research and

Practice, Harlow, Essex; Longman Scientific & Technical

Bottomore, Tom, et al., eds.,

1983 A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, Oxford: Blackwell Reference

Bradley, Candice

1997 'Why Fertility is Going Down in Maragoli', in Weisner et al.,

eds., pp. 227-252

Breidenbach, Paul

1979 'The Women on the Beach and the Man in the Bush:

Leadership and Adepthood in the Twelve Apostles Movement

of Ghana', in B. Jules-Rosette (ed.), The New Religions of

Africa, pp. 99-115. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex

Brown, Gerald

1973 Christian Response to Change in East African Traditional

Societies, (Woodbrooke Occasional Papers 4.) London: Friends

Service Committee for Woodbrooke College

Browne, Herman Beseah

1996 Theological Anthropology: a Dialectic Study of the African and

Liberation Traditions, London: Avon Books

Brown, Kenneth I.

1972 'Forms of Baptism in the African Independent Churches of

Tropical Africa', in Practical Anthropology, 19 (4), pp. 169-

182.

Bruce, Steve

1998 'Cathedrals to Cults: the evolving forms of the religious life', in

Paul Heelas, 1998

Buijtenhuijs, Robert

1985 'Dini ya Msambwa: Rural Rebellion or Counter Society?', in

van Binsbergen and Matthew Schoffeleers, 1985, pp. 322-345

Burridge, Kenelm

1969 New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities,

New York, Schocken Books

Capon, Martin G.,

1962 Towards Unity in Kenya: The Story of Co-operation between

Missions and Churches in Kenya 1913-1945. Nairobi: Christian

Council of Kenya.

Carlsen, John

1980 Economic and Social Transformation in Rural Kenya. Uppsala:

Scandinavian Institute for African Studies

Carothers, J.C.

1954 The Psychology of Mau Mau, Nairobi: Colony and Protectorate

of Kenya.

Casson, John

1998 'To Plant a Garden City in the Slums of Paganism...': Handley

Hooper, the Kikuyu, and the Future of Africa', *Journal of*

Religion in Africa, 28 (4), pp. 387-410.

Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA), Spirituality Department

'A Search for an Authentic African Christian Spirituality',

African Christian Studies, 10 (1), March, pp. 38-55

Chambers, Robert

1997 *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last,* London:

Intermediate Technology Publications

Charsley, Simon

1973 'Dreams in an Independent African Church', *Africa*, 43 (3), pp.

244-257

1987 'Dreams and Purposes: An Analysis of Dream Narratives in an

Independent African Church', Africa 57 (3), pp. 279-296

Christian Council of Kenya

1964 The Churches' Role in Kenya (Conference Report), Nairobi:

CCK.

Clark, Debbie

1983 'For Zion's Sake: The History of the African Holy Zionist

Church', Nairobi: OAIC

1984 'Possession, Vision, and Power in the African Holy Zionist

Church', Special Topics Course, May 15, Amherst College

Clifford, James

1981 'On Ethnographic Authority', *Representations*, 1 (2), pp. 118-

146

Clifford, P. (ed.)

1995 The Christian Churches and the Democratization of Africa,

Leiden: E.J. Brill

Cohen, David William and E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo

1989 Siaya: The Historical Anthropology of an African Landscape,

London: James Currey

Cole, Jennifer

1998 'The Uses of Defeat: Memory and Political Morality in East

Madagascar', in Memory and the Postcolony: African

Anthropology and the Critique of Power, Richard Werbner, ed.,

pp. 105ff.

Colony and Protectorate of Kenya see Kenya Colony and Protectorate

Comaroff, Jean

1985 *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History*

of a South African People, Chicago: University of Chicago

Press

Comaroff, Jean and John L.

1991 Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1: Christianity, Colonialism

and Consciousness in South Africa, Chicago: University of

Chicago Press

1993 (eds.) Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in

Postcolonial Africa, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

1997 Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 2: The Dialectics of

Modernity on a South African Frontier, Chicago: University of

Chicago Press

Cone, L. Winston, & J.F. Lipscomb

1972 The History of Kenya Agriculture, Nairobi: University Press of

Africa

Cooper, Frederick

1994 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African

History', American Historical Review, December 1994

Corfield, F.

1960 The Origins and Growth of Mau Mau: An Historical Survey, Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1959/60, Nairobi: Colony and

Protectorate of Kenya

Countryman, L. William

1989 Dirt, Greed, and Sex: Sexual Ethics in the New Testament and

their Implications for Today, London: SCM

Cox, Harvey

1995 Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the

> Reshaping of Religion in the 21st Century, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Daneel, M.L.

1971 Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches,

Vol. 1, The Hague: Mouton

Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, 1974

Vol. 2, The Hague: Mouton

1983 'Communication and Liberation in African Independent

Churches', Missionalia, 11 (2), pp. 57-93

1991a 'Zircon: Earthkeeping at the Grassroots in Zimbabwe',

Masvingo: ZIRCON (Zimbabwean Institute of Religious

Reearch and Ecological Conservation), pp.16

1991b 'African Theology and the Challenge of Earthkeeping', Neue

zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft,

47 (2 & 3), pp. 129-142, 225-246

1993 'African Independent Churches Face the Challenge of

Environmental Issues', *Missionalia* 21 (3), pp. 311-332

Davidson, Basil

1994 The Search for Africa: A History in the Making, London: James

Currey

de Boeck, Filip

1998 'History, Memory and Death in Postcolonial Congo/Zaire', in

> Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power, Richard P. Werbner, ed., pp. 21-57.

DeCraemer, Willy

1977 Jamaa and the Church: A Bantu Movement in Zaire, Oxford:

Clarendon Press

de Rosny, Eric

1985 Healers in the Night, Maryknoll: Orbis

de Santa Ana, Julio

1979 Towards a Church of the Poor, Geneva: World Council of

Churches

de Vries, Pieter

1992 'A Research Journey: On Actors, Concept, and the Text', in

Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social development, Norman Long and Ann Long,

eds., London & New York: Routledge

de Wet, J.

1994 'Social Change, Resistance and the Worldview of a Community

in the Transkei', in Oosthuizen, G.C., M.C. Kitshoff and S.W.D. Dube, eds., *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 137-164

de Wolf, Jan Jacob

1977 Differentiation and Integration in Western Kenya: A Study of

Religious Innovation and Social Change among the Bukusu,

The Hague and Paris: Mouton

1983 'Dini ya Msambwa: Militant Protest or Millenarian Promise?' in

Canadian Journal of African Studies, 17 (2), pp. 265-276

Derrett, J. Duncan

1979 'Spirit Possession and the Gerasene Demoniac', *Man*, 14, pp.

286-93

Dijk, Rijk van

1998 'Pentecostalism, Cultural Memory and the State: Contested

Representations of Time in Post-Colonial Malawi' in *Memory* and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of

Power, Richard P. Werbner, ed., pp. 155 - 181

Diru, Grace

1973 'The Effect of European Contact on Tiriki Traditional

Circumcision Rites⁷, Paper no. 131, *Occasional Research Papers: African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, Vol. 12, April. Kampala: Makerere University, Dept. of Religious

Studies and Philosophy, .

Dirven, Peter J.

1970 'The Maria Legio: The Dynamics of a Breakaway Church

among the Luo in East Africa,' Dissertation in Missiology,

Pontificia Universitatis Gregoriana, Rome

1970 'A Protest and Challenge', AFER (African Ecclesial Review), 12

(2), pp.127-33

Dougall, J.W.C., ed.,

1931 The Village Teacher's Guide: A Book of Guidance for African

Teachers, Compiled by members of the Staff of the Jeanes

School, Kabete, Kenya. London: The Sheldon Press.

Douglas, Mary

1966 Purity and Danger, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

1969 'Social Preconditions of Enthusiasm and Heterodoxy', in *Forms*

of Symbolic Action, (Proceedings of the 1969 Annual Meeting, American Ethnological Society). Robert Spencer, ed., pp.69-

80. Seattle: University of Washington Press

1970 ed., Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations, London:

Tavistock Publications

1971 'Deciphering a Meal', in *Myth, Symbol, and Culture, Clifford*

Geertz, ed., pp. 61-81. New York: W.W. Norton

1973 [1970] Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology, 2nd Edition,

London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd.

Draper, Jonathan A

1996 'Confessional Western Text-Centred Biblical Interpretation and

an Oral or Residual-Oral Context', Semeia 73, pp. 59-77

Droogers, André

1985 'From Waste-Making to Re-Cycling: a Plea for Eclectic Use of

Models in the Study of Religious Change', in van Binsbergen

and Matthew Schofeleers 1985, pp. 101-137

Dube, Musa W.

1996 'Readings of *Semoya*: Batswana Women's Interpretation of

Matt. 15:21-28', Semeia 73, pp.111-127

1999 'Consuming A Colonial Cultural Bomb; Translating *Badimo*

into 'Demons' in the Setswana Bible (Matthew 8: 28-34; 15: 22; 10: 8), *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 73: 33-59

Dube, S.W.D.

1994 'Hieraphonies: A Hermeneutic Paradigm for Understanding

Zionist Ritual', in G.C. Oosthuizen, M.C. Kitshoff and S.W.D. Dube, eds., *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics*

and Strategies, pp.105-118. Leiden: E.J. Brill

Duchrow, Ulrich

Europe in the World System, 1492-1992: Is Justice Possible?,

Geneva: WCC Publications (originally published in German,

1991)

1995 Alternatives to Global Capitalism: Drawn from Biblical

History, Designed for Political Action, Utrecht / Heidelberg:

International Books with Kairos Europa

Eboussi Boulaga, F.

1984 Christianity without Fetishes: An African Critique and Re-

capture of Christianity, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis

Eijk, Ryan van and Jan van Lin, (eds)

1997 Africans Reconstructing Africa, Nijmegen/Heerlen:

Theologische Faculteit, KV-Nijmegen

Ela, Jean-Marc

1988 My Faith as an African, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis 1994 'Christianity and Liberation in Africa', in Gibellini, pp. 136-153 Esteva, Gustavo & Madhu Suri Prakash 1998 Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures, London: Zed Books Evans, Connolly Yolanda 1975 'Roots of Divergency: American Protestant Missions in Kenya 1923-46', PhD Thesis, University of Illinois Fabian, Johannes 1966 'Dreams and Charisma: 'Theories of Dreams' in the Jamaa-Movement (Congo)' in Anthropos, 61, pp. 544-60 1971 Jamaa: A Charismatic Movement in Katanga, Evanston: Northwestern University Press 1977 'Lore and Doctrine: Some Observations on Storytellings in the Jamaa Movement in Shaba (Zaire)', Cahiers d'Etudes *Africaines*, 17(2-3), pp. 307-29 1981 'Six Theses Regarding the Anthropology of African Religious Movements', Religion, 11, pp. 109-126 1983 'Anthropological Approaches to Religious Movements', in Religion Sect and Cult, David A. Halperin, ed., pp. 131-162, Boston: John Wright/PSG Inc. 1985 'Religious Pluralism: An Ethnographic Approach', in van Binsbergen and Matthew Schofeleers 1985, pp. 138-163 1986 Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Fardon, Richard 1999 Mary Douglas: An Intellectual Biography, London: Routledge Farson, Negley 1949 Last Chance in Africa, London: Gollancz Fasholé-Luke, Edward, et. al., eds Christianity in Independent Africa, London: Rex Collings 1978 Fatton, Robert, Jr. 1992 Predatory Rule: State and Civil Society in Africa, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Fearn, Hugh 1961 An African Economy: A Study of the Economic Development of the Nyanza Province of Kenya, 1903-1953, London: Oxford

Ferguson, Charles

University Press

1973 'Some Forms of Religious Discourse', in *International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion,* 8, pp. 224-235 Ferkiss, Victor C. 1967 'Religion and Politics in Independent African States', in *Boston* University Papers on Africa: Transition in African Politics, ed. Jeffrey Butler and A.A. Castagno. New York: Frederick Praeger Fernandez, James W. 'African Religious Movements, Types and Dynamics' in 1964a Journal of Modern African Studies, 2 (4), pp. 531-49 1964b 'The Lumpa Uprising: Why?' Africa Report, November, pp. 30-1965 'Politics and Prophecy: African Religious Movements', in Practical Anthropology, 12 (2), pp. 71-75 1966a 'Unbelievably Subtle Words - Representation and Integration in the Sermons of an African Reformative Cult', History of *Religions*, 6 (1), pp. 43-69 1966b 'Revitalized Words from "The Parrot's Egg" and "The Bull that Crashes in the Kraal": African Cult Sermons', in Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts, Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, pp. 45-63 1967 Divinations, Confessions, and Testimonies: Zulu Confrontation with the Social Structure, (Occasional Paper no. 9). Durban: University of Natal, Institute of Social Research 1969 Microcosmogony and Modernization in African Religious Movements, (Occasional Paper series, No. 3). Montreal: McGill University 1969 'Preving among Priests and Prophets: Oral Data in the Study of African Religion', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 6 (2/3), pp. 200-217 1969 'Contemporary African Religion: Confluents of Inquiry', in G.M. Carter and A. Paden, Eds., Expanding Horizons in African Studies, (Proceedings, 20th Anniversary Conference 1968, Program of African Studies). Evanston: Northwestern University Press, pp. 27-45 1969 'Independent African Christianity: Its Study and Its Future', Journal of African and Asian Studies 4 (2), pp. 132-147 1970 'The Affirmation of Things Past: Alar Ayong and the Bwiti as Movements of Protest in Central and Northern Gabon', in Protest and Power in Black Africa, Robert Rotberg, ed. 1970 'Rededication and Prophetism in Ghana', Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 10 (2), pp. 228-303 1973 Review of Schism and Renewal: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements, by David B. Barrett, in American Anthropologist, 75 (6), pp. 1872-1874 1975 'The Ethnic Communion: Inter-ethnic Recruitment in African Religious Movements', Journal of African Studies, 2 (2), pp. 131-147

1978	'African Religious Movements', Annual Review of	
1978	Anthropology, 7, pp. 195-234. 'African Religious Movements: the Worst or Best of All	
1979	Possible Microcosms', <i>Issue</i> , 8 (4), pp. 50-52 'Imageless Ideas in African Inquiry - On Cultural Transformations,' Paper presented at the International Conference, Leiden, 11-14 December, on Recent African Religious Studies: Towards an Evaluation. Leiden: Afrika- Studiecentrum	
1979	'On the Notion of Religious Movement', <i>Social Research</i> , 46 (1), pp. 36-62	
1979	'Africanization, Europeanization, Christianization', <i>History of Religions</i> , 18 (3), pp. 284-292.	
1982	Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination, Princeton: Princeton University Press	
1985	'Exploded Worlds - Text as Metaphor for Ethnography', Dialectical Anthropology, 10, pp. 15-26	
Flint, John		
1963	'The Wider Background to Partition and Colonial Occupation', in Oliver & Mathew, <i>History of East Africa</i> , pp. 352-390.	
Forster, Peter G., and Godfrey A. Banda		
1999	'The Last Church of God and His Christ', in <i>Journal of Religion in Africa</i> , XXIX, 4, pp. 442-464.	
Frankl, P.J.L., and Yahya Ali Omar		
1999	'The Idea of "The Holy" in Swahili', in <i>Journal of Religion in Africa</i> , 29 (1), 109-114	
Freire, Paulo		
1972	Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books	
1972	Cultural Action for Freedom, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books	
1974	Education for Critical Consciousness, London: Sheed and Ward	
Freire, Paulo, and Ar	ntonio Faundez	
1989	Learning to Question: A Pedagogy of Liberation, Geneva: WCC Publications	
Friedman, Jonathan 1994	Cultural Identity and Global Process, London: Sage Publications	
Gaba, C.R. 1974	'Should Christianity in Africa be Africanized or Africa be Christianized?', Paper presented at Annual Conference of	

Ghana Federation of Pax Romana, St. Peter's Major Seminary,

Cape Coast, Ghana, March 1974

1974 'Christian Ministry in Dialogue with African Traditional

Religion', AACC 3rd General Assembly, Lusaka, Zambia

Geertz, Clifford

1973 [1966] 'Religion as a Cultural System', & 'Ethos, World View, and the

Analysis of Sacred Symbols', in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 87-125, 126-141, respectively. New York: Basic Books.

(1st published 1966).

1983 Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative

Anthropology, New York: Basic Books

Gennep, V.

1960 The Rites Of Passage. London: Routledge & Kegan

Gerlach, Luther P., and Virginia H. Hine

1970 People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation,

Indianopolis: Bobbs-Merrill

Gerloff, Roswith I.H.

1992 A Plea for British Black Theologies: The Black Church

Movement in Britain in its transatlantic, cultural, and theological interaction, 2 Vols., Frankfurt: Peter Lang

Gertzel, Cherry

c1970 The Politics of Independent Kenya, 1963-68, London:

Heinemann

Gibellini, Rosino, ed.

1995 Paths of African Theology, London: SCM

Gicaru, Muga

1958 Land of Sunshine, London: Lawrence and Wishart

Gifford, Paul

1992 ed., New Dimensions in African Christianity, Nairobi: All

Africa Conference of Churches

1995a The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa, ed.,

Leiden: E.J.Brill

1995b 'Introduction: Democratisation and the Churches', to 1995a, pp.

1-13

1998 African Christianity: Its Public Role, London: Hurst &

Company

Githieya, Francis Kimani

1997 The Freedom of the Spirit: African Indigenous Churches in

Kenya, Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press

1999 'The Church of the Holy Spirit: Biblical Beliefs & Practices of

the Arathi of Kenya, 1926-50', in Thomas Spear & Isaria N.

Kimambo, eds., pp. 231-243

Githige, Renison Muchiri

1982 'The Mission-State Relationship in Colonial Kenya: A

Summary', Journal of Religion in Africa, 13(2), pp. 110-125

Goba, Bonganjala

1993 'Searching for a Liberating Ethic', *Voices from the Third*

World', 16 (2) December, pp. 47-76

Goldthorpe, J.E.

1958 Outlines of East African Society, Kampala: Department of

Sociology, University of East Africa

Greaves, L.B.

1969 *Carey Francis of Kenya*, London: Rex Collings

Green, Laurie

1990 Let's Do Theology: A Pastoral Cycle Resource Book, London:

Mowbray

Gregory, Robert G., Robert M. Maxon, Leon P. Spencer

1968 A Guide to the Kenya National Archives, Syracuse, N.Y.:

Syracuse University

Greschat, H.J.,

1969 'Dini ya Roho' in *Wort und Religion: Kalima na Dini*, H.-J.

Greschat and H. Jungraithmayr, eds., Stuttgart: Evangelischer

Missionsverlag, pp. 265-274

Grimes, Barbara F., (Ed.)

1999 Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 13th Ed., Summer

Institute of Linguistics, Dallas: International Academic

Publications

Groot, Francis

1980 'Christianity in an African Lakeside Town', *Missiology*, 8 (2),

pp. 177-190

Hackett, Rosalind I.J.

1987 Ed., New Religious Movements in Nigeria, Lewiston, N.Y.: E.

Mellen Press

1991 'Revitalization in African Traditional Religion', in Olupona

1991a, pp.135-148

Hake, Andrew

1977 African Metropolis: Nairobi's Self Help City, London: Chatto

and Windus

Hannerz, Ulf

2000 'Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures', in Lechner & Boli, eds.,

2000, pp. 331-337

Hansen, Holger Bernt, and Michael Twaddle (eds)

1995 Religion and Politics in East Africa, London: James Currey

Harper, Sharon M. P. (ed.)

2000 The Lab, The Temple and the Market: Reflections at the

Intersection of Science, Religion, and Development. (A publication of the International Development Research Centre,

Ottawa). Bloomfield, Connecticut: Kumarian Press

Hartfiel, Rick

1984 'The Healing Church: the History of Pentecostal Christian

Universal Church', OAIC, Nairobi, Dec. 1984, mimeo., 20pp.

Hastings, Adrian

1976 African Christianity, London: Geoffrey Chapman

1979 A History of African Christianity 1950-75, Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press

1995 'The Churches and Democracy: Reviewing a Relationship', in

Paul Gifford, ed., pp. 36-46

Haugerud, Angelique

1995 The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya, Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press

Hay, Margaret Jean

1994 'Material Culture and the Shaping of Consumer Society in

Colonial Western Kenya', Boston University African Studies

Center Working Paper No. 179

Hayward, Victor E.W., ed.

1963 African Independent Church Movements, London: Edinburgh

House Press.

Heelas, Paul

1998 Religion, Modernity, and Post Modernity, ed., with David

Martin and Paul Morris. Oxford: Blackwell

Heine, Bernd

1977 'Vertical and Horizontal Communication in Africa', *Afrika*

Spectrum, 12 (2), pp. 229-238

Hobley, C.W.

1902 Eastern Uganda, Occasional Papers No. 1, London:

Anthropological Institute of Great Bitain and Ireland

1903 'Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi', *The Journal*

of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

33, pp. 325-359

Hobsbawm, E.J.

1972 'The Social Function of the Past: Some Questions', *Past and*

Present, 55, May, pp. 3 - 17

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds.

1983 *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press

Hock, Klaus

1995 "Jesus Power - Super Power!": On the Interface Between

Christian Fundamentalism and New Religious Movements in

Africa', Mission Studies, XII (1), 23, pp. 56-70

Hoedemaker, Bert

1998a 'Naming the World in the Name of the Coming One: Changing

Relations between Mission, Modernity and Eschatology',

Exchange, 27 (3), pp. 194-207

1998b 'Rival Conceptions of Global Christianity - Mission,

Ecumenism and Modernity - Then and Now', unpublished paper presented at the Newbegin Colloquium: 'After Newbegin: A Missiological Enquiry in Honour of Leslie Newbegin', Selly

Oak Colleges, Birmingham, 2nd –3rd November 1998

Hoehler-Fatton, Cynthia

1995 Women of Fire & Spirit: History, Faith, and Gender in Roho

Religion in Western Kenya. Oxford: OUP

Hodges, T.

1985 Jehovah's Witnesses in Africa, Minority Rights Group Report

No. 29, London: MRG, 2nd ed.

Hollenweger, Walter J.

1972 The Pentecostals, London: SCM Press (originally published in

German in 1969)

Holmquist, Frank

1984 'The State and Peasant Leverage in Kenya', Boston University

African Studies Center Working Paper No. 91

Hope, Anne, Sally Timnel and Chris Hodzi

1984 *Training for Transformation: Books 1, 2, 3,* Gweru, Zimbabwe:

Mambo Press

1999 Training for Transformation: Book 4, London: Intermediate

Technology

Horner, Norman A.

1975 'An East African Orthodox Church', in *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 12(2), pp. 221-233.

Horton, Robin

1965 'Ritual Man in Africa', *Africa* 34(2), pp. 86-104

1967 'African Traditional Thought and Western Science', *Africa*

37(1), pp. 50-71, 37(2) pp.155-187

1971 'African Conversion', *Africa* 41(2), pp. 85-108

1993 Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West: Essays on Magic,

Religion, and Science, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hotchkiss, Willis R.

1937 Forty Adventurous Years in East Africa, London: Oliphants

Ltd.

Hull, John M.

1984 Studies in Religion and Education, London: The Falmer Press

1985 What Prevents Christian Adults from Learning? London: SCM

Press

Humphrey, Norman

1947 The Liguru and the Land: Sociological Aspects of Some

Agricultural Problems of North Kavirondo, Nairobi:

Government Printer

Hyden, Goran

1987 'Capital Accumulation, Resource Distribution, and Governance

in Kenya: The Role of the Economy of Affection', in Michael G. Schatzberg, ed., *The Political Economy of Kenya*, pp. 117-

136, New York: Praeger

'Imunde, Lawford N[dege]

1971 'An Account of the Historical Background Leading to the

Formation of the African Church of the Holy Spirit in Meru, Kenya', *Occasional Research Papers in African Religions and Philosophy*, ORP No. 260, Comp., A.B.T. Byaruhanga-Akiiki, Kampala: Makerere University, Department of Religious

Studies.

1996 'The Vision of the Founders: Towards a Theology of

Development for African Independent Churches in Africa', Background Paper No. 1, OAIC Johannesburg Theology of

Development Workshop, 28th Nov. – 8th Dec.

Indangasi, Henry

1997 'Gender Socialization in the Maragoli Circumcision Ceremony',

in *Contesting Social Death: Essays in Gender and Culture*, ed. Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira, Masheti Masinjila, Milton Obote, Nairobi: Kenya Oral Literature Association (c/o Department of

Literature, University of Nairobi)

Institute for Education in Democracy

1997 National Elections Data Book: Kenya 1963-97, Nairobi:

Institute for Education in Democracy

Irvine, Cecilia

1967 Report on a Survey of African Independent Church (Separatist)

Congregations in Nairobi City, July, Nairobi: NCCK [National

Christian Council of Kenya], Mimeo

Irvine, Judith

1982 'The Creation of Identity in Spirit Mediumship and Possession',

In Semantic Anthropology, (A.S.A. Monograph 22), David

Parkin, ed., pp. 241-260, London: Academic Press.

Isichei, E.

1995 A History of Christianity in Africa: from Antiquity to the

Present. London: SPCK

Jacob, Nandi O.M.

1993 'The Jerusalem Church of Christ: a Historical and Theological

Analysis', unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi

James, Wendy

1998 'Introduction' to new edition of African Worlds: Studies in the

Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples, ed. Daryll Forde, pp. vix –xxx. Oxford: James Currey. Original

edition 1954

Janzen, John M.

1985 'The Consequences of Literacy in African Religion: The Kongo

Case', in Wim Van Binsbergen and Matthew Schofeleers, eds.,

pp. 225-252

Johns, Cheryl Bridges

1992 Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy among the Oppressed,

Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press

Johnson, Frederick

1939 A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary, London: Oxford

University Press

Johnson, M.P.

1994 'Called to be *Isangoma* or Prophet', in Oosthuizen, G.C., M.C.

Kitshoff and S.W.D. Dube, eds., Afro-Christianity at the

Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies, Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp.

165-179

Johnston, Sir Harry

1902 The Uganda Protectorate, Vols I & II, London: Hutchinson &

Co.

Jones, Thomas Jesse

[1924]

Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central, and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in co-operation with the International Education Board, New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund

Joyce, Patrick, Catriona Kelly, Lawrence Stone, & Gabrielle M. Spiegel

1991/2 'History and Post-modernism', in *Past and Present*, 133 (Nov. 1991) pp. 204-213, 135 (May 1992) pp. 189-208.

Jules-Rosette, Bennetta

es Roselle, De	imetta
1975	African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John
	Maranke, Ithaca: Cornell
1975	'Marrapodi: An Independent Religious Community in
	Trasnsition', African Studies Review, 18 (2), pp. 1-16
1975	'Song and Spirit: the Use of Song in the Management of Ritual
	Settings', <i>Africa</i> , 45 (2), pp. 150-66
1976	'The Conversion Experience: The Apostles of John Maranke',
	Journal of Religion in Africa, 7 (2), pp. 132-164
1979	The New Religions of Africa, ed., Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex
	Publishing Corp.
1979	'Symbols of Power and Change: An Introduction to New
	Perspectives on Contemporary African religion', in <i>The New</i>
	Religions of Africa, Bennetta-Jules Rosette, ed., pp. 1-21.
	Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing.
1979	'Women as Ceremonial Leaders in an African Church: the
	Apostles of John Maranke,' in The New Religions of Africa,
	Bennetta-Jules Rosette, ed., pp. 127-144. Norwood, New
	Jersey: Ablex Publishing

Kabwe, Frederick, S.J.

1991

'Worship in Independent Churches', course paper for Fr. Luigi ,22 January, Marist International Centre, Nairobi

'Tradition and Continuity in African Religions: the Case of New Religious Movements', in Olupona 1991a, pp. 149-165

Kahn, Joel S., & Josep P. Llobera, eds.

1981 *The Anthropology of Pre-Capitalist Societies*, London: Macmillan Press

Kalilombe, Patrick

Review of Oosthuizen et al., eds, *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots*, in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XXVII, 1, p. 109

Kanyoro, Rachel Angogo

1983 Unity and Diversity: A Linguistic Survey of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, Vienna: University of Vienna (Beitrage Zur Afrikanistik Band 20)

Karp, Ivan

1989 'Power and Capacity in Rituals of Possession', in W. Arens and

Ivan Karp (eds.), Creativity of Power: Cosmology and Action in African Societies, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution

Press

Kasiera, Ezekiel Musembe

1984 The Development of Pentecostal Christianity in Western Kenya

PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen

Kaufmann, Herbert

1965 'Zwischen Zauberei und Christentum [Between Magic and

Christianity]', Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 134, 12 June

Kenya Colony and Protectorate

Various dates Native Affairs Department Annual Reports, London: His

Majesty's Stationery Office.

1952 Legislative Council Debates, Official Report, 50, 1952 1st

Session, 3rd Sitting, 25th September - 1st October

1952 'An Ordinance to Provide for the Registration of Societies', in

Kenya Official Gazette No. 57: 342-354, (Ordinance No. 52 of

1952), Nairobi, 11 November

Kenya Government, National Archives

Provincial and District Record Books Miscellaneous District Correspondence Provincial and District Annual Returns

Provincial and District Handing Over Reports

Civil and Military Intelligence Reports

Kenya Government,

1964 National Assembly, House of Representatives Debates, Official

Reports, 3 (1), Nairobi: Government Printer

1994 Vihiga District Development Plan 1994-1996, Office of the

Vice-President and Ministry of Planning and National

Development. Nairobi: Government Printer

2002 Vihiga District Development Plan, 2002-8, Nairobi: Rural

Planning Department, Ministry of Finance and Planning.

Various dates 'Hansard', Report of National Assembly Debates, Nairobi:

Government Printer

Various dates Official Gazette, Nairobi: Government Printer

Kenya Government, Survey of Kenya

1969 1:50,000 Map series Sheets 102 / 1 – 102 / 4; 116 /1, 116 / 2

Kenyatta, Jomo

1965 Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu, London:

Secker and Warburg. Original publication 1938

Kershaw, Greet,

1997 Mau Mau from Within, London: James Currey

Kesby, John D.

1977 The Cultural Regions of East Africa, London: Academic Press

Khadiagala, Gilbert M., & Michael G. Schatzberg

'The Kenyan Bourgeoisie, External Capital, and the State: An 1987

Introduction', in Michael G. Schatzberg, ed., *The Political*

Economy of Kenya, pp. 1-13, New York: Praeger

Kiely, Ray

1998 'Globalisation, (Post-)Modernity and the Third World', in

Globalization and the Third World, ed. Ray Kiely, and Phil

Marfleet, pp. 1-22. London: Routledge

1998 'The Crisis of Global Development', in *Globalization and the*

Third World, ed. Ray Kiely, and Phil Marfleet. London:

Routledge

1998 'Transnational Companies, Global Capital and the Third

World', in *Globalization and the Third World*, ed. Ray Kiely,

and Phil Marfleet. London: Routledge

Kiely, Ray and Phil Marfleet, eds.,

1998 Globalization and the Third World, London: Routledge

Kiernan, Jim

1982 'Authority and Enthusiasm: the Organization of Religious

Experience in a Zulu Zionist Church', in *Religious*

Organization and Experience, (A.S.A. Monograph 21), J.

Davis, ed., pp 169-179. London: Academic Press

King, Kenneth James

1971 Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy

and Education in the Southern States of America and East

Africa, Oxford: Clarendon Press

1976 'Education and Social Change: The Impact of Technical

Training in Colonial Kenya', in *Historical and Social Change* in East Africa: Proceedings of the 1974 Conference of the *Historical Association of Kenya, (Hadith 6,)* ed. Bethwell A.

Ogot, pp. 145-164, Nairobi: East African Literature Board.

Kileff, Clive and Margaret Kileff,

1979 'The Masowe Vapostori of Seki: Utopianism and Tradition in

an African Church', in The New Religions of Africa, Bennetta Jules-Rosette, ed., pp. 151-167. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex

Publishing

Kilminster, Richard

1997 'Globalization as an Emergent Concept', in Scott, 1997a, pp.

257-283.

Kipkorir, B.E.,

1969 'The Alliance High School and the Origins of the Kenya

African Elite, 1926-62', DPhil. Thesis, Cambridge

1980 Imperialism and Collaboration in Colonial Kenya, (ed.),

Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau

Kitching, Gavin

1980 Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an

African Petite-Bourgeoisie, New Haven: Yale University Press

Kivuli II, John Mweresa

1987 'Historia ya Marehemu M.P.D. Kivuli I na Kuanzishwa kwa

African Israel Nineveh Church pamoja na utaratibu wa ukumbusho wake', Nineveh [Jebrok], Kenya: African Israel

Church Nineveh

1994 'The Modernization of an African Independent Church', in

Freedom and Interdependence, ed. S. Nussbaum, Nairobi:

O.A.I.C., pp. 58-63

Kopytoff, Igor

1964 'Classification of Religious Movements', in *Symposium on New*

Approaches to the Study of Religion, June Helm, ed., pp. 77-90.

Seattle: University of Washington Press

1971 'Ancestors as Elders in Africa', *Africa*, 41 (2), pp. 129-141

Krabill, James R.

1995 The Hymnody of the Harrist Church among the Dida of South-

Central Ivory Coast (1913-1949): A Historico-Religious Study, Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, vol. 74,

Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Kudoyi, Peter Wilson

1991 'African Israel Nineveh Church: A Theological and Socio-

Historical Analysis', M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University

LaBarre, Weston

1971 'Materials for a History of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay',

Current Anthropology, 12 (1), pp. 3-44

Langley, Myrtle 'Spirit-Possession, Exorcism, and Social Context: an

Anthropological Perspective with Theological Implications',

Churchman, 94 (1), pp. 226-245

Lanternari, Vittorio

1963 [1960] The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic

Movements, London: Macgibbon & Kee. (Italian original 1960)

1978 'Dreams and Visions from the Spiritual Churches of Ghana',

Paideuma, 24, pp. 85-102

Lechner, Frank J., and John Boli

2000 The Globalization Reader, Oxford: Blackwell

Lewis, I.M.

1966 'Spirit Possession and Deprivation Cults,' Man, 1 (3), pp. 307-

329

1971 Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession,

London: Routledge

Leys, Colin

1996 The Rise and Fall of Development Theory, London: James

Currey

Long, Charles H.

1980 'Primitive / Civilized: The Locus of a Problem', *History of*

Religions, 20 (1), August, pp. 43-61

Long, Norman

2001 Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives, London & New

York: Routledge

Long, Norman & Ann Long (eds.)

1992 Battlefields of Knowledge: the Interlocking of Theory and

Practice in Social Development, London & New York:

Routledge.

Long, Tim

1996 'A Real Reader Reading Revelation', *Semeia* 73, pp. 79-107

Lonsdale, John

1964 'A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945', Ph.D. Thesis,

Cambridge University

1968 'Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa', *Journal of*

African History, pp. 119-146

1970 'Political Associations in Western Kenya', in Robert I. Rotberg

and Ali A. Mazrui, eds., pp. 589-639

1981 'State and Peasantry in Colonial Africa', in Raphael Samuel

(ed), People's History and Socialist Theory, pp. 113-14,

London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

1999 'Kikuyu Christianities', in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XXIX,

2, pp. 206-229.

Low, D.A.

1963 'The Northern Interior 1840-1884', in Oliver and Mathews,

History of East Africa, Vol. 1, pp. 129-168

Lukalo, R. Sarah M

1972 'The Maragoli of Western Kenya', in *Cultural Source Materials*

for Population Planning in East Africa, Vol. II, Innovations

and Communication, Angela Molnos, ed., pp. 156-166,

Nairobi: Oxford University Press

Lumwagi, Manoah & Jill Leet

c1984 The Separated Ones: The History of the Lyahuka Church of

East Africa, Mimeo, Nairobi: Organization of African

Independent Churches

MacGaffey, Wyatt

1983 *Modern Kongo Prophets*, Bloomington: Indiana University

Press

1994 'Kimbanguism & the Question of Syncretism in Zaire', in

Thomas D. Blakely, et al., eds, Religion in Africa: Experience

and Expression, London: James Currey, pp. 241-256

Magesa, Laurenti

1978 'Towards a Theology of Liberation for Tanzania', in

Christianity in Independent Africa, Fasholé-Luke, et al., eds.,

pp.

1997 African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life,

Maryknoll, New York: Orbis

Mahlmann, Peter

1992 'The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation: The

Kenyan Case', in Journal of Eastern African Research and

Development, 22, pp. 120-131

Maimela, Simon S.

1994 'Black Theology of Liberation', in Rosino Gibellini, ed., pp.

182-195

Maloba, Wunyabari O.

1995 'Decolonization: A Theoretical Perspective', in B.A. Ogot and

W.R. Ochieng', eds., pp. 7-24

1998 *Mau Mau and Kenya*, Oxford: James Currey. 1st published

1993

Mamdani, Mahmood

1996 Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of

Late Colonialism, London: James Currey

Marfleet, Phil

1998 'Globalisation and religious activism', in *Globalization and the*

Third World, ed. Ray Kiely, and Phil Marfleet, pp. 185-215.

London: Routledge

Markos, Antonious

1993 'Come Across... and Help Us': The Story of the Coptic

Orthodox Church in Africa at Present Time. Book One: In

Ethiopia and East Africa. Cairo: Coptic Bishopric of African

Affairs

1996 'Come Across... and Help Us': The Story of the Coptic

Orthodox Church in Africa in our Present Time. Book Two: In Kenya, Zaire, South and West Africa. Johannesburg: Coptic

Bishopric for African Affairs.

Marshall, Ruth

1994 "God is not a Democrat": Pentecostalism and Democratisation

in Nigeria', in Paul Gifford, ed., New Dimensions in African

Christianity, pp. 239-260

Martin, B.

1998 'From Pre- to Postmodernity in Latin America: the Case of

Pentecostalism', in Paul Heelas, ed., 1998

Marty, Martin E., ed.

1994 Accounting for Fundamentalisms, Chicago: University of

Chicago Press

Martin, Marie-Louise

1975 Kimbangu, Oxford: Blackwell

Maugham-Brown, David

1985 Land, Freedom, and Fiction: History and Ideology in Kenya,

London: Zed Books

Maxwell, David

1998 "Delivered from the Spirit of Poverty?": Pentecostalism,

Prosperity and Modernity in Zimbabwe', Journal of Religion in

Africa, XXVIII (3), pp. 349-373

Mazrui, Ali

1973 'Mau Mau: The Men, the Myth and the Moment', Forward to R.

Buijtenhuijs, Mau-Mau Twenty Years After, pp. 7-13. The

Hague: Mouton

Mbiti, John S.

1969 *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinemann

1970 Concepts of God in Africa, London: SPCK

1971 New Testament Eschatology in an African Background: A

Study of the Encounter between New Testament Theology and

African Traditional Concepts, Oxford: O.U.P.

1975 Introduction to African Religion, London: Heinemann

1976 'God, Dreams and African Militancy', in *Religion in a*

Pluralistic Society: Essays Presented to Professor C. G. Baeta,

ed. J.S. Pobee. Leiden: E.J.Brill

Mbon, Friday M.

1984 'A New Typology for Africa's New Religious Movements',

Update, 8 (3-4), pp. 35-42

1991 'African Traditional Socio-Religious Ethics and National

Development: the Nigerian Case', in Olupona 1991a, pp. 101-9

Mboya, Tom J.

1969 'The Impact of Modern Institutions on the East African', in

Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Element in the Modern Era', ed., P.H. Gulliver, pp. 89-103,

London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

McDowell, Wendy S.

1987 'Attached and Bearing Fruit: the History of the African Divine

Church at Boyani', type-written term paper for St. Lawrence

University, Nairobi, 26 pp.

McLaren, Peter and Peter Leonard

1992 Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter, London: Routledge

Meyer, Birgit

1998 "Make a Complete Break with the Past": Memory and Post-

Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse', in *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*, Richard Werbner, ed., pp. 182 - 208

Middleton, David and Derek Edwards, eds,

1990 *Collective Remembering*, London: Sage Publications

Middleton, Richard

1992 'The Politics of Cultural Expression', in *Poverty &*

Development in the 1990s, ed. Tim Allen and Alan Thomas,

Oxford University Press, pp. 362-378

Mihevc, John

1995 'The Market Tells Them So': The World Bank and Economic

Fundamentalism in Africa, London: Zed Books

Milingo, Emmanuel

1984 The World In Between, (edited with an Introduction,

Commentary and Epilogue by Mona Macmillan), Maryknoll,

New York: Orbis Books

Mockerie, Parmenas Githendu

1932 An African Speaks for his People, London: Hogarth Press

Mofokeng, Takatso

1993 'Discovering Culture and Its Influence in the Bible', *Voices*

from the Third World, EATWOT, vol. XVI No. 2, December

Mombo, Esther Moraa

1998 'A Historical and Cultural Analysis of the Position of Abaluyia

Women in Kenyan Quaker Christianity: 1902-1979', DPhil

Thesis, University of Edinburgh

Mosala, Itumeleng J.

1985 'African Independent Churches: A Study in Socio-Theological

Protest', in Charles Villa-Vicencio & John W. De Gruchy, eds.,

Resistance and Hope: South African Essays in Honour of

Beyers Naudé, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans

1985 'The Relevance of African Independent Churches and their

challenge to Black Theology', in Mosala and Thlagale, eds,

1986

1989 Biblical Hermeneutics & Black Theology in South Africa,

Grand, Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans.

1996 'Race, Class, and Gender as Hermeneutical Factors in the

African Independent Churches' Appropriation of the Bible',

Semeia 73, pp. 43-47

Mosala, Itumeleng J., and Buti Thlagale, eds

1986 The Unquestionable Right to be Free: Essays in Black

Theology, Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers

Mosii, T.M.K.

1973 'The Salvation Army in Kenya', Paper no. 95, Occasional

Research Papers: Christianity in Contemporary Africa, Vol.10, February, Kampala: Dept. of Religious Studies and Philosophy,

Makerere University

Mtetwa, S.

'African Spirituality in the Context of Modernity',

http://www.unp.ac.za/UNPDepartments/theol/TONYB.HTM

Muga, Erasto

1975 African Responses to Western Christian Religion: A

Sociological Analysis of African Separatist Religions and Movements in Africa, Nairobi: East African Publishing House

Mugambi, J.N.K.

1995 From Liberation to Reconstruction: African Christian

Theology after the Cold War, Nairobi: East African

Educational Publishers Ltd.

Murray, Jocelyn

1973 'The Kikuyu Spirit Churches', Journal of Religion in Africa, 5

(3), pp. 198-234

Murray-Brown, Jeremy

1972 *Kenyatta*, London: George Allen and Unwin

Mutiso, G.C.M.

1973 'Cleavage and the Organisational Base of Politics in Kenya: A

Theoretical Framework', in Journal of Eastern African

Research and Development, 3 (1), pp. 39-64

Mutoro, Basilida Anyona

1997 Women Working Wonders: Small-scale farming and the Role of

Women in Vihiga District, Kenya. A Case Study of North

Maragoli. Amsterdam, Thela Publishers

Mveng, Engelbert

1994 'Impoverishment and Liberation: A Theological Approach for

Africa and the Third World', in Rosino Gibellini, ed., pp. 154 -

165

Mwaura, P[hilomena] Njeri

'The Akurinu Churches: A Study of the History and some of

the Basic Beliefs of the Holy Ghost Church of East Africa',

1926-1980, MA Thesis, University of Nairobi.

Mwenesi, Janet M.

1980 'Yohana Amugune of Maragoli C., 1878-1960', in *Imperialism*

and Collaboration in Colonial Kenya, B.E. Kipkoror, ed.,

Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau

Nandi, O.M. Jacob

1993 'The Jerusalem Church of Christ: A Historical and Theological

Analysis', MA Thesis, University of Nairobi

Nasimiyu, Ruth

1985 'Women in the Colonial Economy of Bungoma: Role of

Women in Agriculture, 1902-1960', in *Journal of Eastern African Research and Development*, 15 (2), pp. 56-73

National Council of Churches of Kenya (*formerly* Christian Council of Kenya, National Christian Council of Kenya)

1957- Annual Reports

[1982] 'Report of Seminar on "The problem of Cult Movement[sic]

and Christian Religious Fanaticism in Kenya: How can the Church Respond to this Crucial Problem?", Organized by the Department of Theology of the National Christian Council of

Kenya. Mimeo 29pp. Nairobi: NCCK

Naudé, P.

1995 The Zionist Christian Church in South Africa, Lampeter: Edwin

Mellen Press

Ndege, L[awford Imunde] see under 'Imunde

Ndeti, Kivuto

1975 Cultural Policy in Kenya, Paris: UNESCO Press

Ndiokwere, Nathaniel

1981 Prophecy and Revolution: The Role of Prophets in the

Independent African Churches and in Biblical Tradition,

London: S.P.C.K.

Neckebrouck, Valeer

1977 Le Onzieme Commandement: Une Aetiologie d'une Eglise

Indépendante au Pied du Mount Kenya, Immensée, Switzerland: Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionaire

1983 Le Peuple Affligé: Les Déterminants de la Fissiparité dans un

Nouveau Mouvement Religieux au Kenya Central, Immensée,

Switzerland: Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionaire

Ngada, H.H.

1985 Speaking for Ourselves, Braamfontein: Institute of Contextual

Theology

Ngindu Mashete, A.

1994 'An Overview of African Theology', in Rosino Gibellini, ed.,

pp. 154 - 165

Ngubane, J.B.

1986 'Theological Roots of the African Independent Churches and

their Challenge to Black Theology', in Mosala and Thlagale,

eds., pp. 71-90

Ngugi wa Thiong'o

1983 Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-Colonial

Kenya, London: New Beacon Books

Niemeyer, Larry L., Ed.,

1986 Nairobi: Christian Outreach in a World Class City, Nairobi:

University College

Njeri, P[hilomena] [see under Mwaura]

Nussbaum, Stan, ed.

1994 Freedom and Interdependence: Papers Presented at the

Conference on Ministry in Partnership with African Independent Churches, April 1993 - Johannesburg, South

Africa, Mimeo: 127pp. Nairobi: OAIC.

Nyamiti, C.

1995 'The Problem of Evil in African Traditional Cultures and

Today's African Inculturation and Liberation Theologies',

African Christian Studies (CUEA), II (1) March

Nyangira, Nicholas,

1987 'Ethnicity, class, and Politics in Kenya', in Michael G.

Schatzberg, ed., The Political Economy of Kenya, pp. 15-31,

New York: Praeger

OAIC (Organization of African Instituted Churches)

1998 'Programme for Participatory Development Report on

Activities 1997/8', mimeo: Nairobi, O.A.I.C.

Obudho, Robert A.

1974 'Urbanization and Regional Planning in Western Kenya' in

Urbanization and Regional Planning in Africa, Salal El-Shakhs

and Robert Obudho, eds., pp. 161-176, New York: Praeger

1979 'Urban Primacy in Kenya', in R.A. Obudho and D.R.F. Taylor,

eds., The Spatial Structure of Development: A Study of Kenya,

pp. 100-109, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Ochieng', William

1975 The First Word: Essays in Kenya History, Nairobi: East

African Literature Bureau

1995 'The Kenyatta Era: Structural and Political Changes', in Ogot

and Ochieng', eds., pp. 83-109.

Decolonization and Independence in Kenya, pp.

Ochieng', William and Bethwell Ogot

1972 'Mumboism - An Anti-Colonial Movement', in *War and Society*

in East Africa: Ten Studies (Universities of East Africa, 5th Social Science Conference, 1969), Bethwell Ogot, ed., pp. 149-

177. London: Frank Cass

Ochola-Akoth, H.H.

1976 'Religious Development and Division in the Nomiya Luo

Church', Paper presented at the Historical Association of

Kenya, Annual Conference.

Odinga, Oginga

1967 *Not Yet Uhuru: The Autobiography of Oginga Odinga*, London:

Heinemann

Oduro, Thomas

2002 'Spontaneous Hymnodal Hermeneutics: An Analysis of an AIC

Hermeneutic', paper presented at an OAIC Consultation with the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Nairobi, February

2002.

Oduyoye, Mercy Amba

1994 'Feminist Theology in an African Perspective', in Rosino

Gibellini, ed., pp. 166-181

Odudoye, Mercy Amba, and Musimbi R.A. Kanyoro

1992 The Will to Arise: Women, Tradition, and the Church in Africa,

Maryknoll, N.Y. Orbis Books

Ogot, Bethwell A.

1963 'British Administration in Central Nyanza District of Kenya,

1900-1960', Journal of African History, pp. 249-273

1971 'Reverend Alfayo Odongo Mango 1870-1934', in *Kenya*

Historical Biographies, Kenneth King and Ahmed Salim, eds., pp. 90-111. Nairobi: East African Publishing House for the

Department of History, University of Nairobi

1974 'A Community of Their Own: A Study of the Search for a New

Order by the Maria Legio of Africa Church' - n.d.

1976a History and Social Change in East Africa, ed., Nairobi: East

African Literature Bureau

1976b 'History, Anthropology, and Social Change - The Kenya Case',

in Ogot 1976a.

Ogot, B.A., and W.R. Ochieng', eds.,

1995 *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya, 1940-93*, London:

James Currey

Ogutu, Gilbert Edwin Meshack [G.E.M. Ogutu-Obunga]

1975 A Historical Analysis of the Luo Idea of God, c.1500-1900,

M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi

Okong'o, Joshua D.

1983 Yalo gi Puonj mag Bishop Jackson F. Orwa, (African Israel

Church Nineveh Vol. 1). Kisumu: Lake Publishers and Enterprises ['Preaching and Teaching of Bishop Jackson F.

Orwa' in Luo]

1999 10 Years: Israel Church of Africa, 15th September 1999 to 15th

September 1999, Kisumu: Lake Publishers and Enterprises [in

Luo].

Oliver, Roland Anthony & Gervase Mathew

1963/5 *History of East Africa, 2 Vols.*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press

Olupona, Jacob

1991a African Traditional Religions in Contemporary Society,

(Essays presented at the Council of World Religion's Conference on 'The Place of African Traditional Religion in

Contemporary Africa', 1987). New York: Paragon House 'Major Issues in the Study of African Traditional Religion', in

Olupona 1991a, pp. 25-33

Ombudo, Owino

1991b

1986 *Harambee: Its Origin and Use,* 3rd ed., Nairobi: Academic

Publishers

Ominde, S[imeon] H[ongo]

1974 'The Harambee Movement in Educational Development',

Vienna Institute for Development, Occasional Paper 74/4

1979 'Regional Disparities and the Employment Problem in Kenya',

in R.A. Obudho and D.R.F. Taylor, eds., The Spatial Structure

of Development: A Study of Kenya, Boulder, Colorado:

Westview Press.

1988 Kenya's Population Growth and Development to the Year 2000,

Nairobi: Heinemann

Omondi, Lucia

1980 'Language and Culture: The Relevance of Linguistics to the

Kenyan Situation', in Journal of Eastern African Research and

Development, 10, pp. 153-164

1983 'Language Handicap in Everyday Life', *Journal of Eastern*

African Research and Development, 13, pp. 104-125

Ong, Walter

1982 *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word,* London

& New York: Methuen

Ongong'a, Jude J.

1983 *Life and Death - A Christian/Luo Dialogue,* (Spearhead No.

78). Eldoret: AMECEA Pastoral Institute, Gaba Publications

Onono-Wamonje

1982 'Culturally Unholy Schools', Journal of Eastern African

Research and Development, 12, pp. 46-56

Oosthuizen, G.C.

1968 Post-Christianity in Africa: a Theological and Anthropological

Study, London: C. Hurst

1987 'The AIC and the Modernization Process', in David Shank, ed.

1991 'The Place of Traditional Religion in Contemporary South

Africa', in Olupona 1991a, pp. 35-50

Oosthuizen, G.C., M.C. Kitshoff and S.W.D. Dube, eds.,

1994 Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and

Strategies, Leiden: E.J. Brill

Orvis, Stephen

1985 'A Patriarchy Transformed: Reproducing Labor and the

Viability of Smallholder Agriculture in Kisii', University of Nairobi, Institute of Development Studies, Working Paper No.

434, December 1985

Oshun, C.O.

1998 'Spirits and Healing in a Depressed Economy: The Case of

Nigeria', Mission Studies, XV-1, 29, pp. 32-52

Osogo, John

1968 'The Historical Traditions of the Wanga Kingdom', in *Hadith* I: Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya, 1967, pp. 32-46. Nairobi: EAPH Owino-Ombudo Harambee: Its Origin and Use, 2nd ed. Nairobi: Academic 1975 Publishers. (1st Ed. 1972) Padwick, T. John 1986 'Towards the Legitimation of A[frican] F[ounded] C[hurches]: The Work of the Organization of African Independent Churches in Kenya', Paper presented at Study Conference on Ministry to AICs, 14th-19th July 1986, Abidjan 1991 Toward a Change in Spirituality? Working in Development with Kenyan Spirit Churches', in Ministry in Partnership with African Independent Churches, (Papers presented at the Conference on Ministry with African Independent Churches, July 1989, Kinshasa, Zaire), Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Board of Missions Painter, L., 1966. The Hill of Vision: The Story of the Quaker Movement in East Africa, 1902-1966, Nairobi: EAYM. Parkin, David 1969 'Tribe as Fact and Fiction in an East African City', in *Tradition* and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Element in the Modern Era, Philip H. Gulliver ed., pp. 273-296. Berkeley: University of California Press 1974a 'Nairobi: Problems and Methods', in Language in Kenya, W.H. Whitely ed., pp. 131-146, Nairobi: Oxford University Press. 'Language Shift and Ethnicity in Nairobi: the Speech 1974b Community of Kaloleni'. As for 1974a, pp. 167-187 1974c 'Language Switching in Nairobi', as for 1974a, pp. 189-216 1982 'Straightening the Paths from Wilderness: Simultaneity and Sequencing in Divinatory Speech', *Paideuma*, 28, pp. 72-85 p'Bitek, Okot African Religions in Western Scholarship, Nairobi: Kenya 1979 Literature Bureau, 1st ed. c.1970 Parry, Jonathan 1989 'On the Moral Perils of Exchange', in J. Parry and M. Bloch, 1989, pp. 64-93

Money and the Morality of Exchange, Cambridge: Cambridge

Parry, J., and M. Bloch, eds.,

University Press

1989

Pato, Luke

1990 'The African Independent Churches: A Socio-Cultural

Approach', in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, 72,

Sept. 1990, pp. 24-35

Pearson, Ruth

1992 'Gender Matters in Development', in *Poverty & Development in*

the 1990s, ed. Tim Allen and Alan Thomas, Oxford University

Press, pp. 291-311

Peel, J.D.Y.

1968 Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba, Oxford:

Oxford University Press

Perks, Robert, and Alistair Thomson, eds,

1998 The Oral History Reader, London: Routledge

Perrin Jassy, Marie-France

1966 'Religious Situation in North Mara District, Tanzania: Report

to the Maryknoll Fathers Mission,' December 1966

1970 Forming Christian Communities, Kampala: Gaba Publications

1971 'Women in the African Independent Churches', *Risk*, 7 (3), pp.

46-49

1973 Basic Community in the African Churches, Maryknoll, New

York: Orbis Books. Translated from the French by Sr. Jeanne

Marie Lyons, original 1970

Philp, Horace R.A.,

1936 A New Day in Kenya, London: World Dominion Press

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen

1997 'Globalization as Hybridization', in Lechner 2000, pp. 99 – 105

Pirouet, M.Louise

1995 'The Churches and Human Rights in Kenya and Uganda since

Independence', in Hansen and Twaddle, eds, pp. 247-259

Pobee, John S.

1979 *Towards an African Theology*, Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon

1996 'Bible Study in Africa: A Passover of Language', Semeia 73,

pp. 161-179

Pobee, John S. and Gabriel Ositelu II

1998 African Initiatives in Christianity: The Growth, Gifts and

Diversities of Indigenous African Churches - a Challenge to the

Ecumenical Movement, Geneva: W.C.C. Publications

Prah, Kwesi K.

1993 'African Languages, the Key to African Development: A

Critique of Ideas in Development Thinking', in *Changing*

Paradigms in Development – South, East, and West: A Meeting of Minds in Africa, ed. by Margareta von Troil, pp.69-76.

Presler, Titus

1999 Transfigured Night: Mission and Culture in Zimbabwe's Vigil

Movement, Pretoria: University of South Africa Press

Rahnema, Majid, ed., with Victoria Bawtree

The Post-Development Reader, London: Zed Books 1997

Rajaee, Farhang

2000 Globalization on Trial: The Human Condition and the

> *Information Civilization.* (A publication of the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa). West Hartford,

Connecticut: Kumarian Press

Ranger, Terence Osborn

1965 'African Attempts to Control Education in Eastern and Central Africa, 1920-1939', Past and Present, 32, pp. 57-85 1968 'Connections between "Primary Resistance" Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa', Journal of African History, 9 (3) pp. 438-453; 631-641 1971 'Christian Independency in Tanzania', in African Initiatives in Religion, ed. David B. Barrett, pp. 122-145 1974 'Prophetism and Conceptual Change', in *African Religious* Research (African Studies Center, University of California Los Angeles, 4 (2), pp. 6-46 1983 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1983, pp. 211-252 'Religious Movements and Politics in sub-Saharan Africa', 1986 African Studies Review, 29 (2), pp. 1-69

1986 'Religion, Development and African Christian Identity', in Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswisshenschaft, 42 (1), pp. 44-68

1987 'Taking Hold of the Land: Holy Places and Pilgrimages in Twentieth Century Zimbabwe', Past and Present, 117,

November, pp. 159-194

1995 'Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa:

Conference Summary and Conclusion', in Paul Gifford, ed., pp.

14-35

Ranger, T.O., and Isaria Kimambo

1972 The Historical Study of African Religion, (Papers from the Dar-

es-Salaam conference on the Historical study of African

Religious systems, 1970), London: Heinemann

Rappaport, Joanne

1990 The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the

Colombian Andes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Rasmussen, A.M.B.

1995 A History of the Quaker Movement in Africa. London: British

Academic Press

1996 Modern African Spirituality: the Independent Holy Spirit

Churches in East Africa, 1902-1976. London: British

Academic Press

Ray, Ben

"Performative Utterances" in African Rituals', *History of*

Religions, 13 (1), pp. 16-35

1972 'Recent Studies of African Religions', *History of Religions*, 12

(1), pp. 75-89

1977 'Sacred Space and Royal Shrines in Buganda', *History of*

Religions, 16 (4), May, pp. 363-373

Republic of Kenya see Kenya Government

Richard, Pablo

1995 'Liberation Theology in Latin America in Dialogue with

Theologians from Africa, Asia and the Minorities in The United States', *Voices from the Third World*, 18 (2), pp. 38-45

Riches, John

1996 'Interpreting the Bible in African Contexts: the Glasgow

Consultation', Semeia 73, pp. 181-188

Robins, Catherine Ellen

1975 "Tukutendereza": A Study of Social Change and Sectarian

Withdrawal in the "Balokole" Revival of Uganda', D.Phil

Thesis, Columbia University

Rosberg, Jr., Carl G., and John Nottingham

1966 The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya, New York:

Praeger

Roscoe, John

1915 The Northern Bantu: An Account of Some Central African

Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate, London: Frank Cass

Rosny, Eric de

1984 *Healers in the Night,* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.

Rotberg, Robert I. and Ali A.Mazrui, eds.,

1970 Protest and Power in Black Africa, New York: Oxford

University Press

Ruel, Malcolm

1994 'Passages and the Person', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 23 (2),

pp. 98-124

1997 Belief, Ritual and the Securing of Life: Reflexive Essays on a

Bantu Religion, Leiden: E.J.Brill

Ryba, Thomas

1991 'Review Article: The Separation of Religious Studies and the

Social Sciences', Religion, 19, pp. 101-127

Said, Edward W.

1994 *Culture and Imperialism, London: Vintage. (Original edition,*

London: Chatto & Windus, 1993)

Sandgren, David Peter

1975 'The Kikuyu, Christianity, and the Africa Inland Mission', PhD

Thesis, University of Wisconsin.

1982 'Religious and Political Divisions among the Kikuyu of Kenya',

African Studies Review, pp. 195-207

Sangree, Walter H.

1960 'The Dynamics of the Separatist Churches', in *Changing Africa*

and the Christian Dynamic, (Papers of a seminar for mission board executives, Feb. 15-18 1960). Chicago: Centre for the Study of the Christian World Mission, Federated Theological

Faculty, University of Chicago. [16pp.] Mimeo

1966 Age, Prayer, and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya, London: Oxford

University Press for the East African Institute of Social

Research)

1997 'Pronatalism and The Elderly in Tiriki, Kenya', in Weisner et al,

eds., pp. 184-207

Sanneh, Lamin

1983 'The Horizontal and the Vertical in Mission: An African

Perspective', in International Bulletin of Missionary Research,

October 1983, pp. 165-171

Schelling, Vivian

1998 'Globalisation, Ethnic Identity and Popular Culture in Latin

America', in *Globalization and the Third World*, ed. Ray Kiely,

and Phil Marfleet, pp. 141-163. London: Routledge

Schoffeleers, Mathew

1982 'Christ as the Medicine-Man and The Medicine-Man as Christ:

A Tentative History of African Christological Thought', *Man and Life* (Calcutta: Institute of Social Research and Applied

Anthropology) 8, pp. 1-2.

1991 'Ritual Healing and Political Acquiescence: The Case of the

Zionist Churches in Southern Africa', Africa 61 (1), pp. 1-25

1994 'Christ in African Folk Theology: The *Nganga* Paradigm', in

Thomas D. Blakely, et al., eds, Religion in Africa: Experience

and Expression, London: James Currey, pp. 73-88

1998 'Prayer Healing and Politics: the Quietism of the Healing

Churches in Southern Africa', Concilium 5 (Dec), pp. 101-106

Schreiter, Robert J.

1985 Constructing Local Theologies, London: SCM Press

1997 The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the

Local, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books

Schwartz, Nancy L.

1985 'Selected Aspects of Legio Maria Symbolism: A Case Study

from a Village Community in East Alego', Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, Seminar Paper No. 168, April

23, 1985

1989 'World Without End: The Meanings and Movements in the

History, Narratives and 'Tongue Speech' of Legio Maria of African Church Mission among Luo of Kenya', PhD Thesis,

Princeton University

1994 'Christianity and the Construction of Global History: The

Example of Legio Maria', in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, K. Poewe, ed., Columbia: University of South

Carolina Press, pp. 134-175

2000 'Active Dead or Alive: Some Kenyan Views about the agency

of Luo and Luyia Women Pre- and Post-Mortem', in Journal of

Religion in Africa, XXX, 4, pp. 433-467.

Scott, Alan

1997a ed., The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments,

London: Routledge

1997b 'Globalization: Social Process or Political Rhetoric',

Introduction to Scott, 1997a, pp. 1-21.

Scott, James C.

1985 Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance,

New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press

1990 Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts,

New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press

Scotten, Carol Myers

1978 'Languages in East Africa: Linguistic Patterns and Political

Ideologies', in Advances in the Study of Societal

Multilingualism, Joshua Fishman, ed., pp. 719-759. The Hague:

Mouton

1982a 'Language Use in Kenya: an Urban-Rural Comparison of the

Luyia', International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 34,

pp. 21-136

1982b 'Learning Lingua Francas and Socio-economic Integration:

Evidence from Africa', in Language Spread: Studies in

Diffusion and Social Change, Robert L. Cooper ed., pp. 63-94.

Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Seeley, Janet

1983 'Pentecostalism and Social Concern: Reflections on a Nairobi

Case Study', Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi,

Paper no. 159, 8th September 1983

1984/5 "We have the healing power..." Independent Churches and

Women in Urban Kenya', *Cambridge Anthropologist*, 9(2), pp.

58-70

Seitz, Ruth

1974 'The Odhiambos of Nairobi, Kenya: Christian Family in an

African World', Christian Living (Scottdale, Penn.), February,

pp. 22-25

Shack, William

1979 Foreword to African Christianity: Patterns of Religious

Continuity, George Bond, Walton Johnson, and Sheila Walker,

eds., xi-xvi. New York: Academic Press

Shank, David A.

1985 'Mission Relations with the Independent Churches in Africa',

Missiology, 8 (1), pp. 23-44

1987 (ed.) Ministry of Missions to African Independent Churches,

Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Board of Missions

1991 (ed.) Ministry in Partnership with the African Independent

Churches, Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Board of Missions

1994 Prophet Harris: The 'Black Elijah' of West Africa, abridged by

Jocelyn Murray, E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1994

Shanks, Andrew

2000 God and Modernity: a New and Better Way to Do Theology,

London and New York: Routledge

Shimanyula, James Bandi

1978 Elijah Masinde and the Dini ya Musambwa, Nairobi:

Transafrica Publications

Shisanya, Chris A.

1990 'The 1983-1984 Drought in Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African*

Research & Development, 20: 127-148

Shorter, Aylward

1985 Jesus and the Witchdoctor: An Approach to Healing and

Wholeness, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books

Shorter, Aylward, and Edwin Onyancha

1997 Secularism in Africa: a Case Study: Nairobi City, Nairobi:

Pauline Publications

Simiyu, V.G.

1998 Elijah Masinde, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers

Smith, Gavin

1991 'The Production of Culture in Local Rebellion', in *Golden*

Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History, Jay O'Brien and William Roseberry, (eds.), pp. 180-

207. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Soja, Edward W.

1968 The Geography of Modernization in Kenya: A Spatial Analysis

of Social, Economic, and Political Change, Syracuse, New

York: Syracuse University Press

1979 'The Geography of Modernization: A Radical Re-Appraisal', in

R.A. Obudho and D.R.F. Taylor, eds., *The Spatial Structure of Development: A Study of Kenya*, pp. 28-45, Boulder, Colorado:

Westview Press.

Solomon, Alan C., and CA Crosby,

1974 A Guide to the Nyanza Province Microfilm Collection, Kenya

National Archives, 2 Vols., Occasional Bibliographies No's 22 & 24, Programme of Easter Africa Studies, Syracuse, N.Y.:

Syracuse University.

Southall, Aidan

1971 'Cross-Cultural Meanings and Multilingualism' in *Language*

Use and Social Change: Problems of Multilingualism with Special Reference to Eastern Africa, W.H. Whitely, ed., pp. 376-396, London: Oxford University Press for International

Institute

Southgate, Beverley

1996 History: What and Why? Ancient, Modern, and Postmodern

Perspectives, London: Routledge

Spear, Thomas and Isaria N. Kimambo, eds

1999 East African Expressions of Christianity, Oxford: James Currey

Sperber, Dan

1975 Rethinking Symbolism, translated by Alice L. Morton,

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Stam, N.

1910 'The Religious Conceptions of the Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 5,

pp. 359-362

Stichter, Sharon

1975-6 'Women and the Labour Force in Kenya 1895-1964', *Rural*

Africana 29, pp. 45-67

Sugirtharajah, R.S.

1996 'Texts are Always with You: Christians and their Bibles',

Hindu-Christian Studies Bulletin, 9, pp. 8-13

1999 'A Brief Memorandum on Postcolonialism and Biblical

Studies', Journal for the Study of the New Testament, 73, pp. 3-

5.

2001 The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial, and

Postcolonial Encounters. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press

Sundkler, Bengt G. M.

1961 Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 2nd edition, London: Oxford

University Press for the International African Institute. Original

1948

1976 Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists, London, Oxford University

Press

Tanner, R.E.S.

1978 'Word and Spirit in Contemporary African Religious Practice

and Thought: Some Issues Raised by Translation into Swahili',

Journal of Religion in Africa, 9 (2), pp. 123-135

Taussig, Michael

1980 The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America, Chapel

Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press

Taylor, John V.

2001 Christian Presence amid African Religion, Nairobi: Acton

Publishers (first published as *The Primal Vision*, SCM Press,

1963)

ter Haar, Gerrie

1994 'Standing up for Jesus: A Survey of New Developments in

Christianity in Ghana', in *Exchange* 23 (3), December, pp. 221-

239

1998 Halfway to Paradise: African Christians in Europe, Cardiff:

Cardiff Academic Press

Thomas, Norman E.

1995 'Images of Church and Mission in African Independent

Churches', *Missiology*, 23 (1), pp. 17-29

Throup, David

1995 "Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's": Church-

State Conflict in Kenya, 1978-90', in Hansen and Twaddle,

eds., pp. 143-175

Thunberg, Lars

1998 'Quaker Mission and the Holy Spirit Churches in Western

Kenya: Ane Marie Bak Rasmussen and her Research', Swedish

Missiological Themes, 86, 2, pp. 157-185

Thurston, Anne

1991 Guide to Archives and Manuscripts relating to Kenya and East Africa in the United Kingdom. Vol. 1: Official Records; vol. 2 Non-Official Archives and Manuscripts. London, etc..: Hans Zell. Tonkin, Elizabeth 1992 *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History,* Cambridge University Press Toren, Christina 1988 'Making the Present, Revealing the Past: The Mutability and Continuity of Tradition as Process', Man (N.S.), 23, pp. 696-717 Turner, Harold W. 1966 'Problems in the Study of African Independent Churches', Numen, 13 (1), pp. 27-42 1967a 'A Typology for Modern African Religious Movements', Journal of Religion in Africa, 1 (1), pp. 1-34 1967b African Independent Church: The Life and Faith of the Church of the Lord (Aladura), 2 Vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press 'The Place of Independent Religious Movements in the 1969 Modernization of Africa', Journal of Religion in Africa, 2 (1), pp. 43-63 1975 'African Independent Churches and Education', Journal of Modern African Studies, 13 (2), pp. 295-308 1977 Bibliography of New Religious Movements in Primal Societies. Volume I: Black Africa, Boston: G.K. Hall and Company 1978 'Patterns of Ministry and Structure within Independent Churches', in Fasholé-Luke, ed., pp. 44-59. Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New 1979 Religious Movements, Boston: G.K.Hall and Company 1980 'African Independent Churches and Economic Development', World Development, 8, pp. 523-533 1983 'A Further Frontier for Missions: A General Introduction to New Religious Movements in Primal Societies', Missionalia, 11 (3), pp. 103-112 1984a 'Maria Legio', in *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, John Hinnels, ed., London: Allen Lane 'Reflections on African Movements during a Missiological 1984b Conference', in *Missionalia*, 12 (3), pp. 107-112 1985 'New Mission Task: Worldwide and Waiting', Missiology, 13 (1), pp. 3-21 'Articulating the Theology Implicit in CENERM'S Relations c.1985 with New Religious Movements' Turner, Victor 1967 The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Twaddle, Michael

1995 'The Character of Politico-Religious Conflict in Eastern Africa',

in Hansen and Twaddle, eds., pp. 1-15

United Nations Development Programme

1999 Human Development Report 1998, New York: Oxford

University Press

2002 Human Development Report 2001, Kenya: Addressing Social

and Economic Disparities. Gigiri, Nairobi: UNDP

van Binsbergen, Wim

1976 'Religious Innovation and Change in Zambia: A Contribution to

the Interpretation of the Lumpa Rising', in *Religious Innovation* in *Modern African Society: African Perspectives 1976/2.* Wim van Binsbergen and Robert Buijtenhuijs eds., pp. 101-135. Leiden: Afrika Studiecentrum. (Issued in 1977) Reprinted in

Van Binsbergen 1981

1979 Towards a Theory of Religious Change in Central Africa,

Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum

1981 Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies,

London/Boston: Kegan Paul International

van Binsbergen, Wim, and Robert Buijtenhuijs

1976 'Religious Innovation in Modern African Society: Introduction'

in *Religious Innovation in African Society, African Perspectives* 1976/2, Wim van Binsbergen and Robert Buijtenhuijs, eds., pp.

7-12, Leiden: Afrika Studiecentrum (Issued in 1977)

van Binsbergen, Wim and Matthew Schoffleers, eds.,

1985 *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion*, London/Boston:

Kegan Paul International Ltd.

van Dijk, Rijk

1998 'Pentecostalism, Cultural Memory and the State: Contested

Representations of Time in Post-Colonial Malawi' in Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of

Power, Richard P. Werbner, ed., pp. 155 – 181

van Niekerk, A.S.

1994 'Multi-disciplinary and Inter-cultural Search with Families in

Transition: a Search for Common Ground', in Oosthuizen, G.C., M.C. Kitshoff and S.W.D. Dube, eds., *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, Leiden: E.J.

Brill, pp. 180-203

Vansina, Jan

1965 *Oral Tradition: A study in historical methodology*, London:

Routledge and Kegan Paul

1985 *Oral Tradition as History*, London: James Currey

van Zwaneberg, Roger

1974 'Neocolonialism and the Origin of the National Bourgeoisie in

Kenya Between 1940 and 1973', in Journal of Eastern African

Research and Development, 4(2), pp. 161-188

Vihiga Cultural Society, Andimi, 2nd ed.

1993

Vincent, John J.

1976 *Alternative Church*, Belfast: Christian Journals Ltd.

Villa-Vicencio, Charles

1992 A Theology of Reconstruction: Nation Building and Human

Rights, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Wagner, Gunter

1939 The Changing Family among the Bantu Kavirondo, London:

International Institute of African Languages and Cultures

1970 The Bantu of Western Kenya (one volume). (Originally

published 1949 as The Bantu of North Kavirondo, 2 Vols.)

London: Oxford University Press.

1998 'The Abaluyia of Kavirondo', in Daryll Forde (ed), *African*:

Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples, Oxford: James Currey, pp. 27-54. Original

edition 1954.

Wamue, Grace N.

1999 'The Politics of the Mungiki', in *Wajibu*, 14 (3), pp. 15-16

2002 'Mungiki Movement in Kenya: Religio-Political Analysis',

Research Paper Submitted to the National Council of Churches

of Kenya, Nairobi

Wamue, Grace N., et al.

1996 "Mungiki Movement": A New Religious Movement in

Modern Kenya', a concept paper, Limuru, Kenya

Wanakacha, Samita Zacharia

1992 'Pneumatology in the African Church of Holy Spirit in Kabras

Division, Kakamega District', M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta

University

Ward, Kevin

1976 'The Development of Protestant Christianity in Kenya, 1910 -

40', D.Phil. dissertation, Cambridge University.

Warren, Max

1967 Social History and Christian Mission, London: SCM Press

Weisner, Thomas S., Candice Bradley, and Philip L. Kilbride

1997 African Families and the Crisis of Social Change, in collaboration with A.B.C. Ocholla-Ayayo, Joshua Akong'a, and Simiyu Wandibba, Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey Welbourn, F.B. 1959 'Independency in East Africa', Ecumenical Review, 11(4), pp. 430-436 1961 East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches, London: SCM Press 1965 East African Christian, London: Oxford University Press 'A Note on Types of Religious Society', in C.G. Baeta (ed.), 1968 Christianity in Tropical Africa, London: Oxford University 1969 'Spirit Initiation in Ankole and a Christian Spirit Movement in Western Kenya', in J. Beattie and J. Middleton, eds., pp. 290-1970 'A Metaphysical Challenge', African Ecclesiastical Review, XII (4), pp. 301-304 Welbourn, F. B. and Bethwell Ogot 1966 A Place to Feel at Home: A Study of Two Independent Churches in Western Kenya, London and Nairobi: Oxford **University Press** Werbner, Richard P. 1986 'The Argument of Images: From Zion to the Wilderness in African Churches', in Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schofeleers, 1985, pp. 253-286; also in Werbner 1989, pp. 299-323. 1989 Ritual Passage, Sacred Journey: The Process and Organization of Religious Movement, Washington: Smithsonian Institute / Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1998a ed., Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power, London and New York: Zed Books 1998b 'Beyond Oblivion: Confronting Memory Crisis', Introduction to Werbner 1998a Were, Gideon S. 1966 'Dini ya Msambwa: A Re-assessment', Paper Given to Universities of East Africa Social Science Conference, pp.7 1967a A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya, c.1500-1930, Nairobi: East African Publishing House Western Kenya Historical Texts, Nairobi: East African 1967b Literature Bureau 1972 'Politics, Religion, and Nationalism in Western Kenya, 1942-62: Dini ya Msambwa Revisited' in *Hadith 4*, Bethwell Ogot ed., pp. 85-104. Nairobi: East African Publishing House

Wertheim, W.

1965 'Society as a Composite of Conflicting-Value Systems in East-

West Landscapes,' in *Sociological Approaches to Modern Asia*, Wertheim, ed., (1st ed., 1964). Chicago: Quadrangle Books

West, Gerald

1996 'Reading the Bible Differently: Giving Shape to the Discourses

of the Dominated', Semeia 73 pp. 21-41

West, Gerald and Musa W.Dube

1996 'An Introduction: How We have Come to "Read With", in

Semeia 73, pp. 7-20

West, Martin E.

1974a 'People of the Spirit: The Charismatic Movement among

African Independent Churches', Journal of Theology for

Southern Africa, 7, pp. 23-29

1974b 'Independence and Unity: Problems of Co-operation between

African Independent Church Leaders in Soweto', African

Studies, 33 (2), pp. 121-129

1975 Bishops and Prophets in a Black City: African Independent

Churches in Soweto, Johannesburg, Cape Town: David Philip

Westerlund, David

1991 "Insiders" and "Outsiders" in the Study of African Religions:

Notes on Some Problems of Theory and Methods', in Olupona,

1991, pp. 15-33

Whisson, Michael G.

1962 'The Will of God and the Wiles of Men', East African Institute

for Social Research, Conference Paper, January. Kampala:

Makerere University

1964 Change and Challenge: A Study of the Social and Economic

Changes among the Kenya Luo, Nairobi: Christian Council of

Kenya

White, Sarah, and Romy Tiongco

1997 Doing Theology and Development: Meeting the Challenge of

Poverty, Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press

Whiteley, Wilfred H.

1971 Introduction to Language Use and Social Change: Problems of

Multilingualism with Special Reference to Eastern Africa:

London: Oxford University Press

1974a 'The Classification and Distribution of Kenya's African

Languages', in Language in Africa, W.H. Whiteley, ed., pp.13-

64. Nairobi: Oxford University Press

1974b 'Some Patterns of Language Use in Rural Areas of Kenya', as

above, pp. 310-350

1974c Language in Kenya, Nairobi: Oxford University Press

Whyte, Susan Reynolds, and Michael A. Whyte 1998 'The Values of Development: Conceiving Growth and Progress in Bunyole', in Developing Uganda, Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, eds., pp. 227-244. Oxford: James Currey & Nairobi: E.A.E.P. Wijsen, Frans 1995 "The Gold and Spirits are Close": Popular Religion and Social Transformation in Sukumaland, North-West Tanzania', in *Exchange* 24(1), February, pp. 45-60 Willis, J.J. 1915 'The Presentation of Christianity to Primitive Peoples: A Statement by Christian Converts in Kavirondo Addressed to their Heathen Friends', *International Review of Mission*, 4, pp. 382-395 [signed J.J. Uganda] Willis, R.G. 1970 'Instant Millennium: The Sociology of African Witch-Cleansing Cults', in Mary Douglas 1970, pp. 129-139 Wilson, L.C. Usher-1951 'Bishop's Study of "Dini ya Misambwa": First Published Account of Dangerous African Movement', East Africa and Rhodesia, 1414, pp. 282-283; 1416, pp. 345-346, November Wink, Walter 1992 Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination, Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1997 Healing a Nation's Wounds: Reconciliation on the road to Democracy, Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute Wipper, Audrey 1966 'The Cult of Mumbo', East African Institute of Social Research Conference Paper 1970 'The Gusii Rebels', in Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, eds, Protest and Power in Black Africa New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 377-426 1971 'Elijah Masinde – A Folk Hero', in *Hadith 3*, ed. Bethwell A. Ogot, pp. 175-191. Nairobi: EAPH 1974 'The Syncretic Component of Legio Maria', Paper presented at The Historical Study of East African Religion, Limuru, Kenya, June 1974 1977 Rural Rebels: A Study of Two Protest Movements in Kenya, Nairobi: Oxford University Press 1983 'Lofty Visions and Militant Action: A Reply to Jan de Wolf', Canadian Journal of African Studies, 17 (2), pp. 277-294 1988 'Rural Rebels and Colonial Kenya: The Argument Against Buijtenhuijs's Re-Analysis', Africa, 58 (3), pp. 353-363

Williams, Rhys H.

1994 'Movement Dynamics and Social Change: Transforming

Fundamentalist Ideology and Organizations', in *Accounting for Fundamentalism: The Dynamic Character of Movements (The Fundamentalist Project, Vol 4*), ed. Martin E. Marty & R. Scott Appleby, pp.785-833, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Wiredu, Kwasi

1998 'Towards Decolonizing African Philosophy and Religion',

http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v1/4/3.htm (available at Harold Turner

Centre)

Wolf, J. J. De

1983 'Dini ya Msambwa: Militant Protest or Millenarian Promise?',

Canadian Journal of African Studies, 17 (2), pp. 265-76

Xulu, M.

1994 'Music and Power in Traditional Zulu Society: The Social Role

of Amahubo Songs', in Oosthuizen, G.C., M.C. Kitshoff and S.W.D. Dube, eds., *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 97-104.

Young, Josiah V., III

1993 African Theology: A Critical Analysis and Annotated

Bibliography, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press

Zaoual, Hassan

1994 'The Economy and Symbolic Sites of Africa', in *Interculture*,

Winter 1994, International Institute of Montreal, partially reprinted in Majid Rahnema, ed., *The Post-Development*

Reader, London: Zed Books, 1997

Zuesse, Evans M.

1991 'Perserverance and Transmutation in African Traditional

Religions', in Olupona 1991a, pp. 167-184

6. Newspapers and Magazines

CMS Outlook, London

Daily Nation, Nairobi

Drum (East Africa), Nairobi

East African Standard / Standard, Nairobi

Nairobi Times, Nairobi

Reporter, Nairobi

Rock, Nairobi: CCK

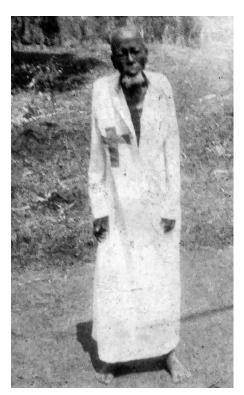
Sunday Nation, Nairobi

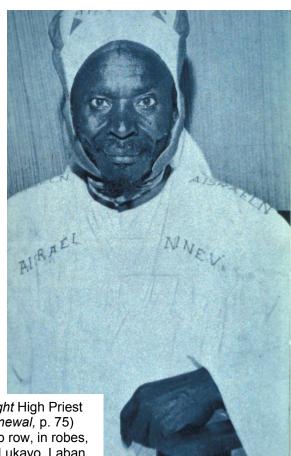
Sunday Times, Nairobi

Target, Nairobi: NCCK

Weekly Review, Weekly Review

Plate 1 Historical aspects (1)





1.1 *Above:* early *Holy Spirit kanzu.* 1.2 *Right* High Priest Z.Kivuli (Photo, DB Barrett, *Schism & Renewal,* p. 75) 1.3 *Below: Holy Spirit* leaders c. 1975. Top row, in robes, from L., Japheth Zare, Joel Sande, Philip Lukayo, Laban Busaka; Seated, bottom row, from L, I. Mugodo, (-), Rebeccah Mwenderani (1st wife of Japheth Zare), Lukas Nuhu, (-), Joseph Zare, (-).

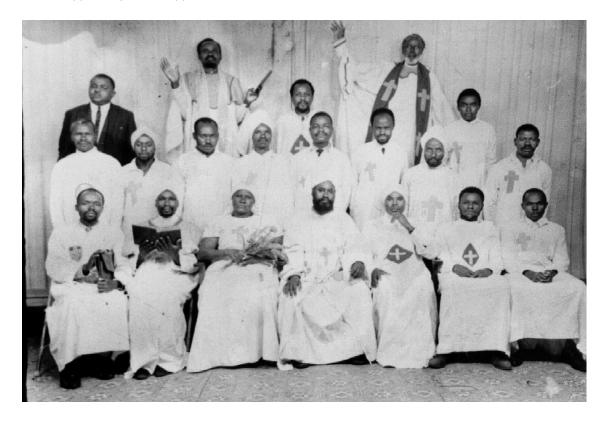


Plate 2 Historical aspects (2)



2.1 *Above:* **AIC leaders at Mindolo, 1962**. 2nd from left, Bishop Matthew Ajuoga (Church of Christ in Africa, Kenya); centre, High Priest Z.Kivuli, *African Israel;* 2nd from right, Isaac Ajega, *African Israel.* (Photo: HW Turner)

2.2 Below: Roho church leaders at Nineveh, 1984. L.-R.: Leaders from Nyanza (Nomiya Luo Roho Ch, & Roho Revelation Ch, respectively); two leaders from *Divine* (4th from rt., Rev. J. Mahero, General Secretary); Archbishop Moses Aseri, *Sinai;* Archbp. Japheth Zare, *Holy Spirit;* High Priest J. Kivuli II, *African Israel;* Archbp. Eliakimu Keverenge, *Lyahuka;* Mama Bishop Trufosa Ogola, *Zion;* Rev. Ayub Kedogo, *Zion;* Rev. Manoah Keverenge, *Lyahuka.*

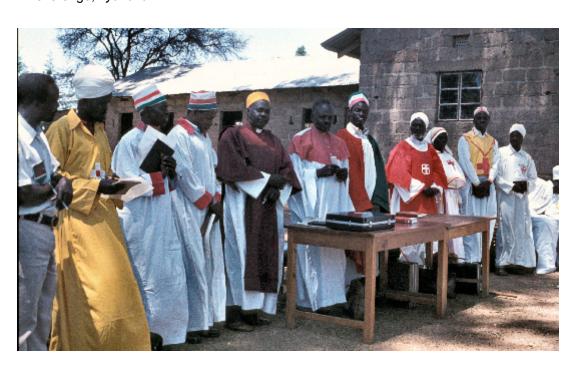


Plate 3 Roho church life and worship



3.1 *Above:* **Drumming calls down the Spirit.** *Divine* drummers in worship at Kangemi, Nairobi 1995. Note the small drum, *ikidindi*, top left, also used for casting out evil spirits



3.2 *Above: Holy Spirit* Prophet Adolwa (on left) in the grove for prayer at his home. Priest Kefa Mwangale with cross.



3.3 Open-air services
Left, Divine at Kamukunji (?),
Nairobi, with market in
background. (Photo, CMS)
3.4 Below left: Holy Spirit
baptism at Shauri Moyo,
Nairobi, under the flag.
Candidate receives baptismal
certificate and shakes hands
with Bishop Mwangi.
3.5 Below right: Discipline
and order of Kenya Israel
choir at Luanda in 1984, typical
of churches in the African
Israel family.





Plate 4
Funerals and memorial services in *Holy Spirit*







- 4.1 *Above left:* At the **burial** of *Holy Spirit* member Ainea Omido, the widow's clan approaches singing a hymn. The widow bears a photo of the deceased.
- 4.2 *Above right:* At the **memoria**l service *(makumbusho)* for *Holy Spirit* leader Ainea Omido, Rev. Joseph Zare, Archbishop Joel Sande, and Priest Kefa Mwangale lead prayers at the grave after erecting the cross.
- 4.3 *Below left: Holy Spirit* leaders at the **erection of the cross** at the memorial service for the wife of Archbishop Ondolo.

Plate 5
Funeral and memorial services
Makumbusho of Daniel Sande



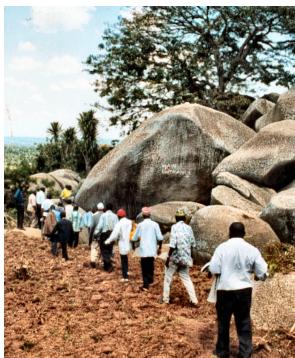


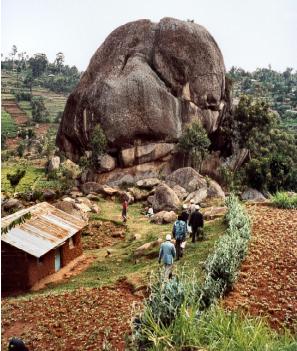


5.1 & 5.2 Above and left: Holy Spirit congregations process through the nearby market and into the homestead of the founder Daniel Sande on the day of his memorial service. Note (left) Prophet Adulwa leading on the right.

5.3 Below left: At the grave of Daniel Sande on the day of his makumbusho, leaders of Holy Spirit stand behind the grave. From left, General Secretary Rev. Joseph Zare, Archbishop Joel Sande, son of Daniel Sande. with Prophetess Dr. J. E. Ahme of the Cherubim and Seraphim of Nigeria (in white), and Mama Mission Irene Maleya. Note the title on the grave, 'High Priest No. 2', the first being Jacob Buluku. The Archbishop and Mama Mission are carrying the crosses of church elders.

Plate 6 Sacred hills for prayer





6.1 Above Left: Procession to Mung'oma on 23 December 2000. Muloogoli's cave is entered to the front and right of the large rock. 6.2 Above right: Imbinga hill in North Maragoli, site of Lyahuka prayers and kasha. There is a rock shelter in the centre of the outcrop. 6.3 Right: Holy Spirit congregations and the public at a night-watch on Vindizi hill in South Maragoli 22 December 2000 and 3.4 (below) In the early morning light,

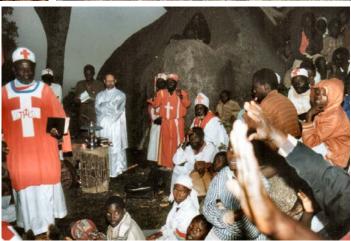
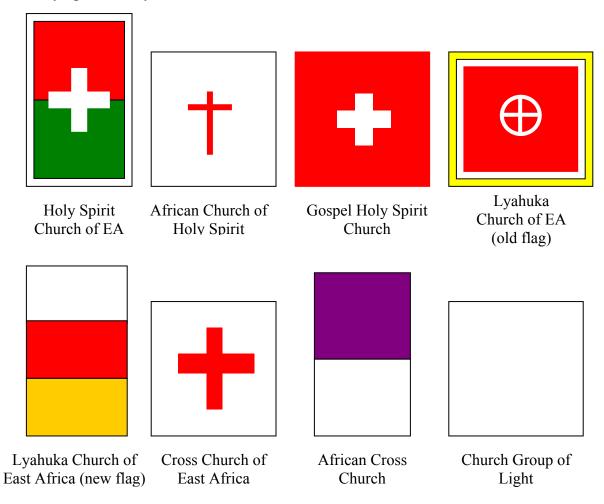




Plate 7. Flags of some Western Kenya Roho churches

1. Holy Spirit family



2. Israel family

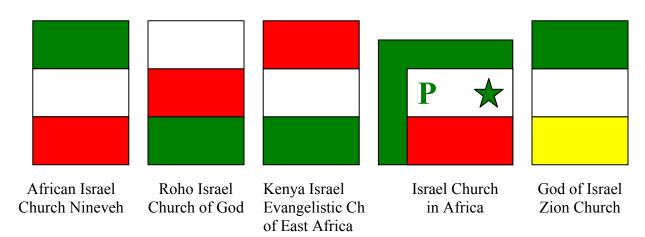
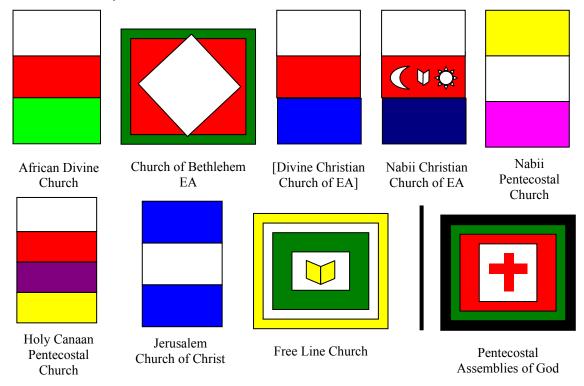
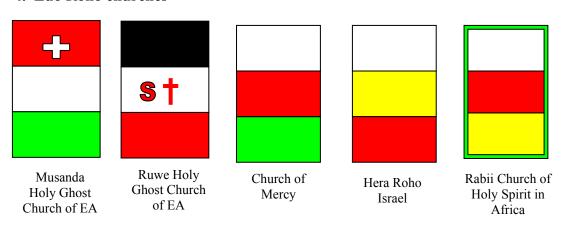


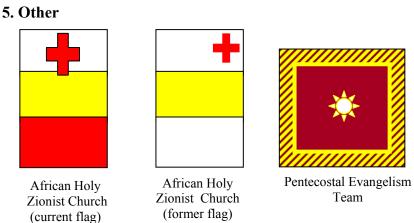
Plate 8. Flags of some Western Kenya Roho churches (cont.)

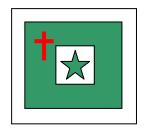
3. Divine family



4. Luo Roho churches







Church of Africa Sinai Mission

Plate 9 The use of flags in Roho churches (1)



9.1 Flags of African Divine Church congregations at the 50th anniversary celebrations of the church's foundation, 1.1.2000, Boyani HQs.





- **9.2** *Left:* Archbishop John M. Kivuli II raises the church flag to open the 50th anniversary celebrations of African Israel Church Nineveh in 1992 at the Nineveh HQs.
- **9.3** Above right: A typical small Roho congregation in procession (gwaride) to church: Nabii Christian Church of Kenya, Sango Congress, Bungoma.

Plate 10
The use of flags in Roho churches (2)



10.1 Left: Flags of Kenya United Independent Churches at their Mbale prayer meeting, Flags visible (from L. to R.) are of Divine (x2), Holy Spirit, Lyahuka, Sinai, Gospel, Zion, African Israel. Note the baraza arrangement of leaders seated separated by a space from their followers in front of them (not visible in this photograph).

10.2 *Right:* Flag of the Church of Bethlehem Kenyatta Assembly at their church in Kibera, Nairobi, in 1993.





10.3 Flags of Lyahuka and other visiting Roho congregations at the memorial service for Archbishop Eliakimu Keverenge of Lyahuka at his home in Lukuvuli, North Maragoli, in 1988. Assistant Archbishop Elijah Joji of Gospel preaching.

Plate 11 AICs in the public arena (1)

These plates are not available in the web copy of this thesis

Plate 12 AICs in the public arena (2)





12.1 *Above:* Leaders of KUIC member churches at their annual prayer meeting at Mbale make themselves known to the public. From left: Assist. Bp. Joel Sande, *Holy Spirit;* Archbp. Elphas Sagida, *Gospel;* Archbp. Philip Bulimu, *Zion*; Rev. Ibrahim Lukalo, *African Holy Spirit;* Archbp. Richard Ong'anda, *Interior;* Rev. E Odera, *Divine;* Archbp. John. M. Kivuli II, *African Israel;* Archbp. Moses Aseri, *Sinai;* Archbp. Manoah Keverenge, *Lyahuka;* Rev. N. Khaguli, Pentecostal Evangelistic Team. The non-Roho denominations are clearly distinguishable by their dress.

12.2 *Below:* KUIC prayer meeting in 1990 at Kamukunji, Nairobi (the site of major nationalist rallies before *uhuru*, and opposition rallies during the process of democratisation). Archbishop Moses Aseri is speaking as the then KUIC Organizing Secretary. *Divine* members are prominent in foreground.