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AN ANALYTICAL, CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE DIOCESES
OF NAKURU AND MOUNT KENYA EAST, KENYA,
FROM 1975.

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Bachelor of Arts (University of Exeter, 1981)
Postgraduate Certificate in Education (University of Exeter, 1982)
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A thesis submitted to the Open University in partial
fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of
Master of Philosophy

Oxford Centre for Mission Studies

October 1997

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ABSTRACT

Distinctive and common approaches in the local mission theologies of the Anglican dioceses of Nakuru and Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga, Kenya during the period from 1975 are compared with other Protestant forms and Roman Catholicism, Pentecostal-type churches and African Instituted Churches. Specific analysis of Anglican liturgy reveals that issues of social justice and political concern have had a major impact on liturgical development and pinpoint the link between mission and worship.

The mission of the Anglican Church in Kenya was at its inception Evangelical but has acquired a Catholic emphasis which has affected the use of liturgy. Appropriate theories from Anglican mission and sociology highlight aspects of recent Kenyan history (e.g. independence, decolonialization, ethnic identity, land disputes, development) which influence the course of the CPK (Church of the Province of Kenya) in the areas of Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses.

The distinctive expression of the East African Revival Movement (Balokole) constitutes areas of commonality in mission theology between Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians in the diocesan areas. Anglican distinctiveness is also evident in training contexts and expressed in church leadership and communities by means of the theory and practice of wholistic mission and catechetics in relation to urban and rural cultures.

It is argued that a study of the sociology and history of worship aids an understanding of a Kenyan Anglican theory of the church in mission. Various views are critiqued in focussing on the relationship between mission and liturgy. Correlations between the history of liturgical renewal, mission history, and between liturgy and sociology and secularity are examined. These demonstrate the originality of Kenyan Anglican wholistic mission through liturgy.

A practical analysis of processes of liturgical change in the CPK, and other churches (using case studies) signals the extent to which the theory and practice of contextualised African Anglican liturgies in the diocesan areas have become indices of the formation of distinctive ecclesiological communities in mission.

Therefore the CPK is distinctive in mission among the churches of Kenya through a unique combination of theology, training, ecclesiology, and culture-sensitive liturgy.

THE AUTHOR DECLARES THAT NO PORTION OF THE
WORK PRESENTED IN THIS THESIS HAS BEEN
SUBMITTED IN SUPPORT OF AN APPLICATION FOR
ANOTHER DEGREE OR QUALIFICATION OF THIS OR
ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY OR OTHER INSTITUTE OF
LEARNING.

CONTENTS

	Page
Title	
Abstract	
Declaration	i
Contents	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abbreviations used	iv
Charts and maps	v
<i>Chapter One Part One: Introduction: Definitions, sources and methodologies</i>	1
<i>Chapter One Part Two: The Cultural Fields of the Anglican Dioceses of Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga and Nakuru within the CPK</i>	18
<i>Chapter Two: An Enquiry into the Distinctiveness of the CPK with reference to the Revival Movement, training and to worship:</i>	
<i>Part One: The influence of the EARM with reference to liturgy and the CPK</i>	45
<i>Part Two: A survey of the extent to which the CPK assumes a distinctive character in training contexts</i>	67
<i>Chapter Three: Ecclesiological and sociological aspects of worship with reference to African liturgy and the CPK:</i>	
<i>Part One: Criteria for Anglican liturgy in the mission of the CPK</i>	96
<i>Part Two: From an European sociology to an African ontology of liturgy</i>	97
<i>Part Three: Liturgy: Issues of African importance</i>	105
	117
<i>Chapter Four: A Practical Analysis of changes in worship in the CPK:</i>	
<i>Part One: Language, Church and Culture (including case studies)</i>	130
<i>Part Two: Recent Developments in contextualised worship</i>	149
<i>Part Three: Dimensions of Change: communion, community and ancestors (a case study)</i>	177
<i>Chapter Five: Conclusions and further areas for research</i>	189
<i>Appendix I (a) 'Decade of Evangelism' Survey & (b) Analysis (91)</i>	198
<i>Appendix II (a) Worship survey & (b) Results (96)</i>	204
<i>Appendix III Analysis of 'Neo-Revivalist' Meeting</i>	208
<i>Appendix IV Analysis of Confirmation service, Kirinyaga diocese</i>	209
<i>Appendix V The 'Ethnic' clashes</i>	210
<i>Appendix VI Nakuru Happy Church Membership Form</i>	212
<i>Appendix VII Example of TEE Test material</i>	214
Bibliography	215

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Being fortunate enough to spend time on a theological college placement in Nakuru diocese in 1989 (through the Friends of Nakuru of my sponsoring diocese of Chichester) was the spur for this study as a piece of Continuing Ministerial Education. Further to that, without the generous hospitality extended to me by Rt. Revd. Laadan Kamau Mbiu and later by the Rt. Revd. Stephen Njihia Mwangi of Nakuru diocese, and the Most Rev. Dr. David Gitari, latterly Bishop of Kirinyaga, the research would have of course been impossible. I have learnt so much from a limited contact with the Kenyan Anglican church that I would like this to be an expression of gratitude to them. I hope that this work can be of interest or use, and that it may catch somewhat of the spirit of the CPK so that it is positioned centrally as an example of African Anglican mission.

Further to that, I am grateful for the stimulation received from conversations with, and unpublished papers received from African students of the Kenyan church, mainly at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. My thanks go to my Director of Studies, Rev Dr Kevin Ward of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds and to my supervisors, Rev Dr Chris Sugden, of the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, and Dr David Cook of Green College, Oxford.

Thanks go to Dr Bryson and May Arthur, of St Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, for their hospitality and stimulus at the end of my stay in 1996. Warm thanks go to my friends, Rod and Else, for allowing me to descend on them periodically in Nairobi, especially for their Ethiopian cuisine. I am also most grateful for the funding from the Board of Mission of the Church of England towards my second visit.

Finally, and to a large extent, I thank Fiona, Peter and Edward for their loving support, encouragement and patience.

Abbreviations used

AMECEA - Association of Members of the Episcopal Church of East Africa (Roman Catholic)

ATIEA - Association of Theological Institutions of Eastern Africa

BCP - Book of Common Prayer

CPK - Church of the Province of Kenya

CWME - Council for World Mission and Evangelism

DMA - Diocesan Missionary Area

EARM - East African Revival Movement

EFAC - Evangelical Fellowship in the Anglican Communion

KAYO - Kenyan Anglican Youth Organization

MCK - Methodist Church in Kenya

PBTE - Provincial Board of Theological Education

PCEA - Presbyterian Church of East Africa

SACTD - St. Andrew's College of Theology and Development

TEE - Theological Education by Extension

Charts and Maps

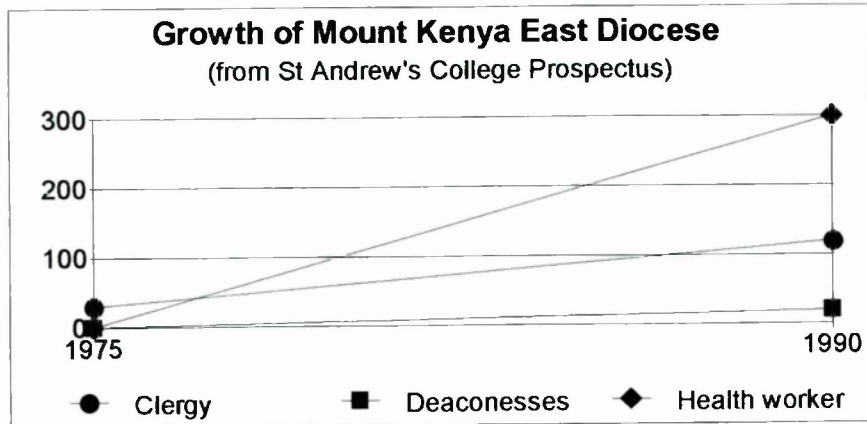


Figure 1

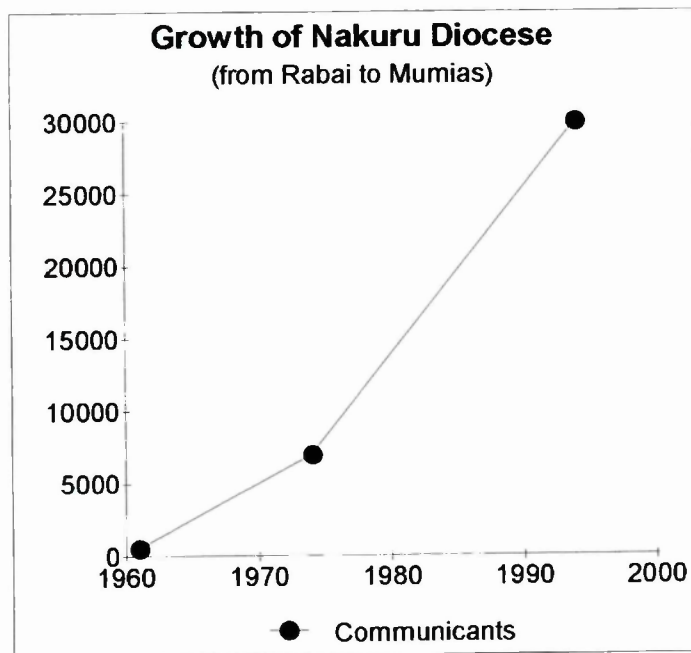


Figure 2

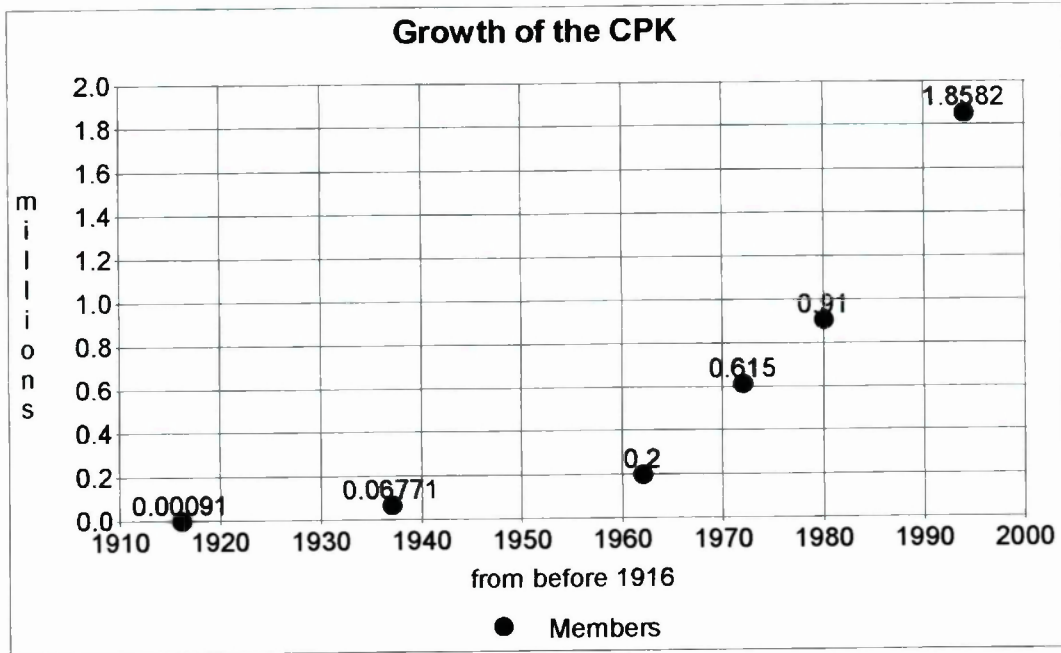


Figure 3

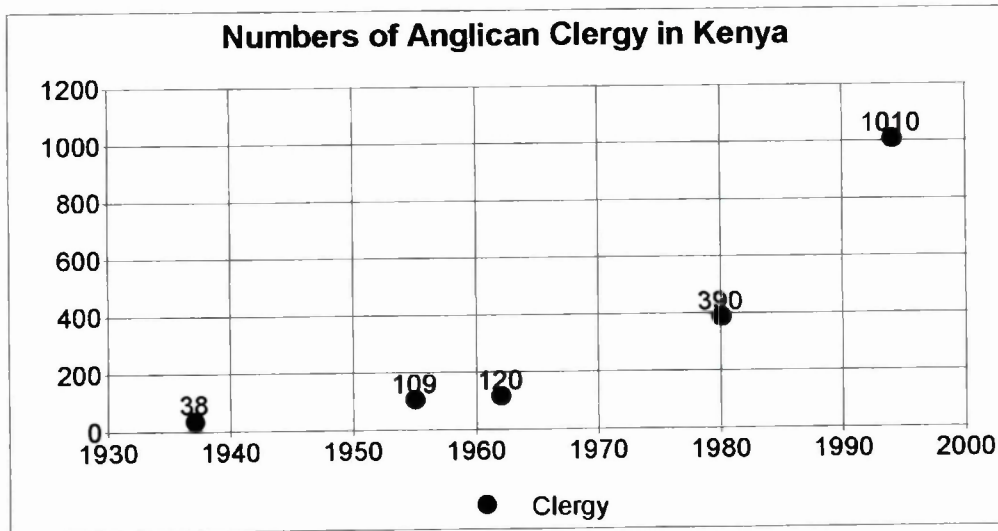


Figure 4

TEE in the Diocese of Nakuru

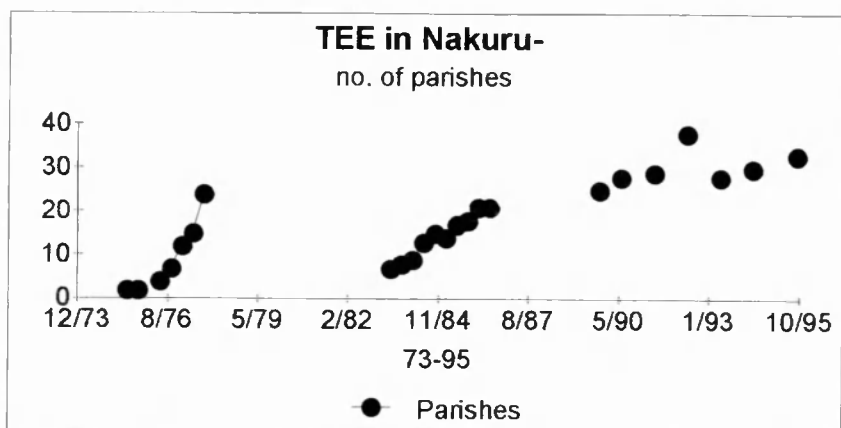


Figure 5

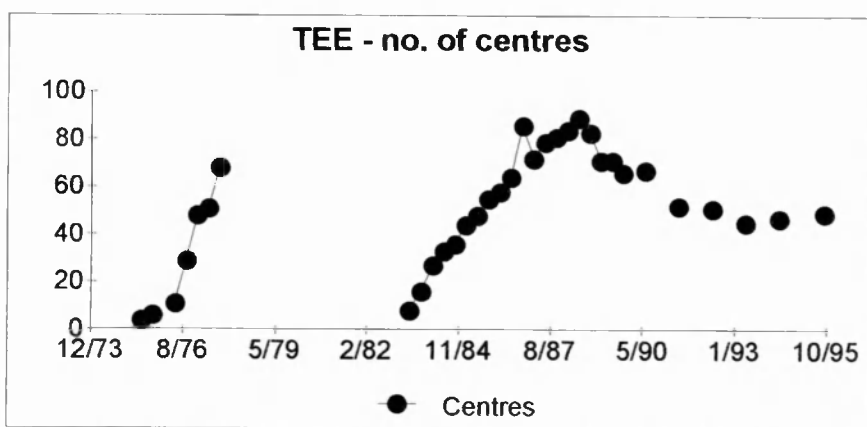


Figure 6

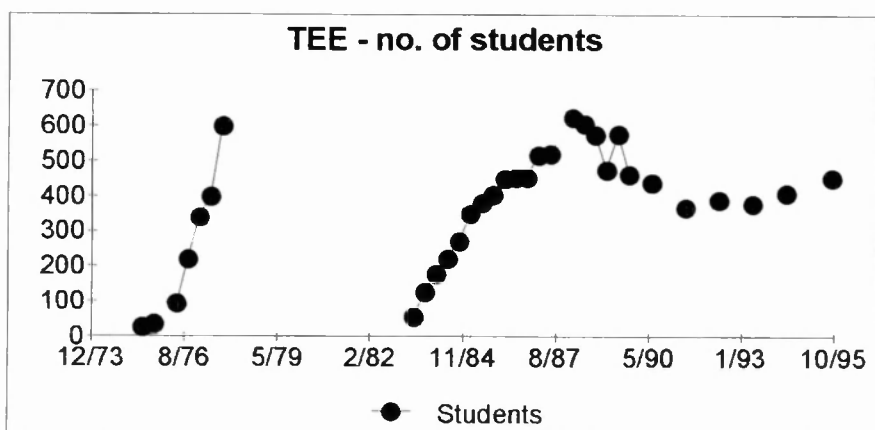
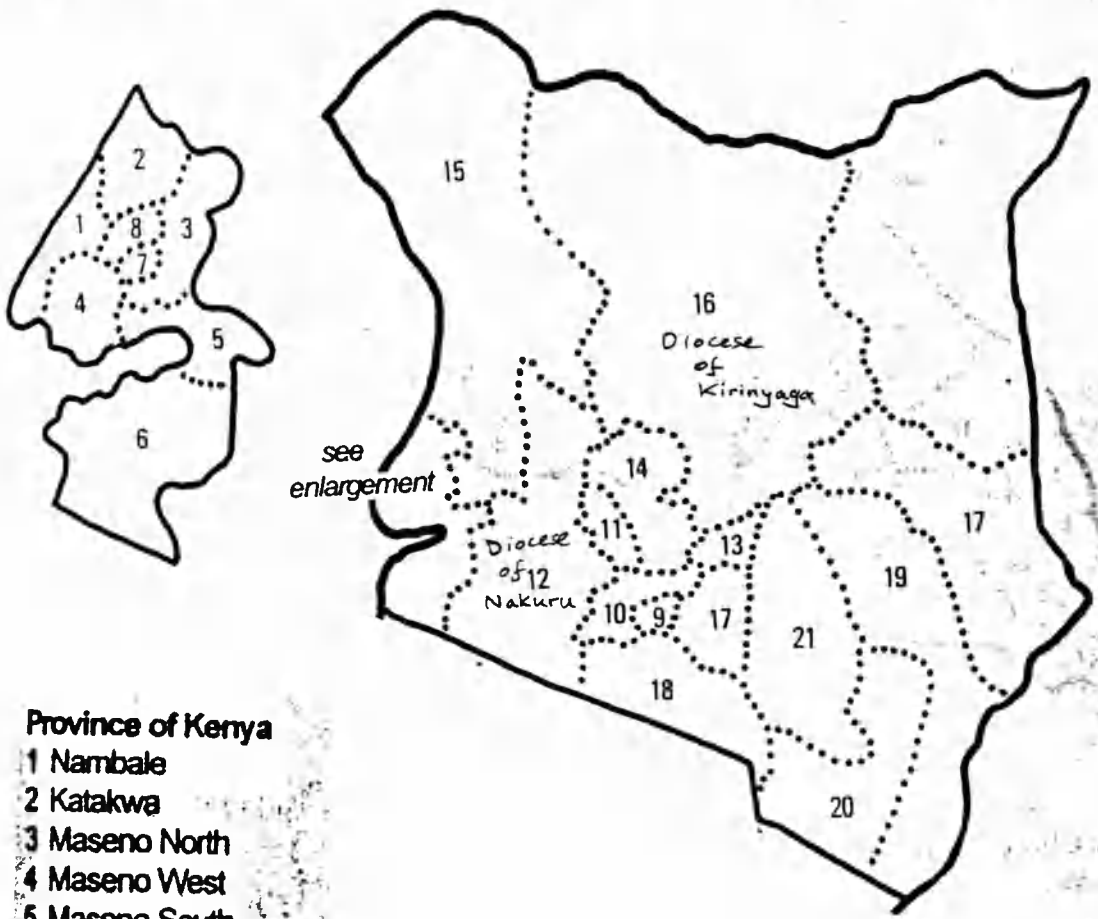


Figure 7

Map 1.
 (Dioceses of Church of the Province of Kenya)



Province of Kenya

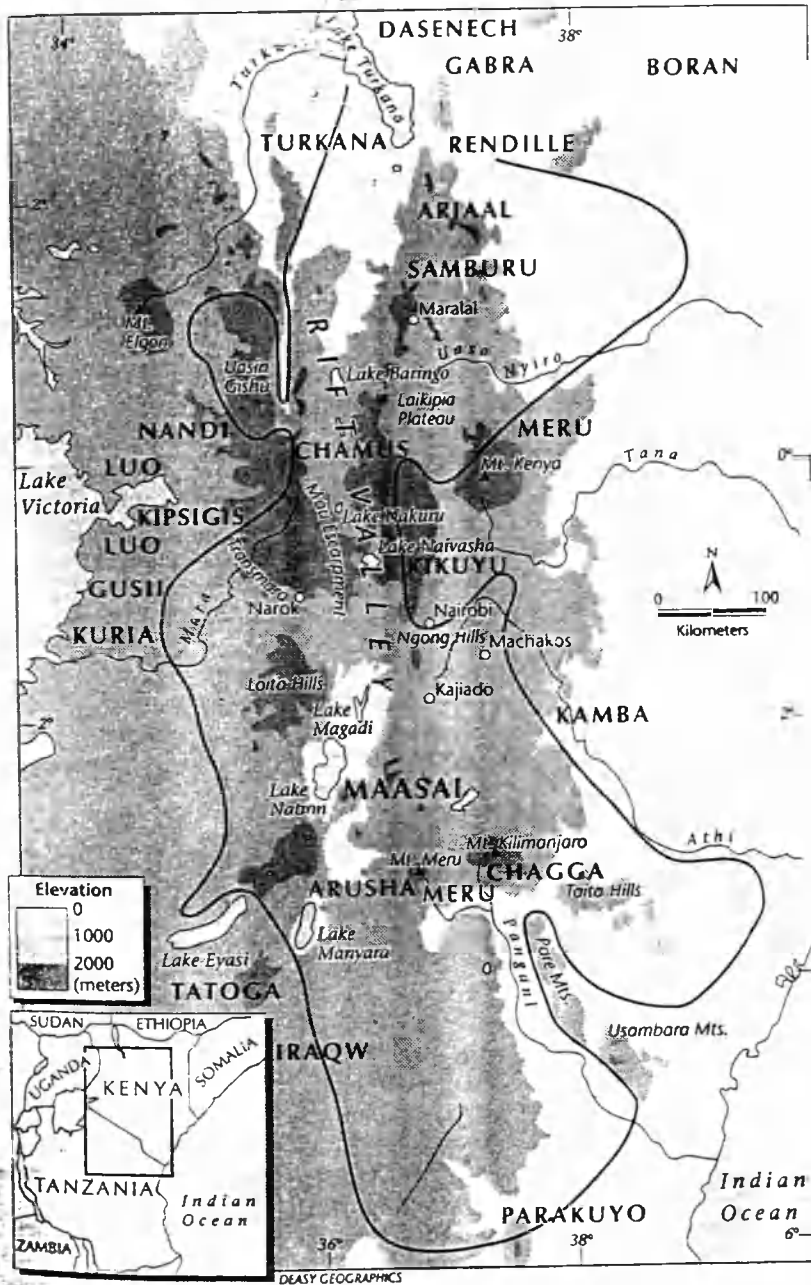
- 1 Nambale
- 2 Katakwa
- 3 Maseno North
- 4 Maseno West
- 5 Maseno South
- 6 Southern Nyanza
- 7 Butere
- 8 Mumias
- 9 Nairobi
- 10 Mount Kenya South
- 11 Mount Kenya West
- 12 Nakuru

- 13 Embu
- 14 Mount Kenya Central
- 15 Eldoret
- 16 Kirinyaga

- 17 Machakos
- 18 Kajiado
- 19 Mombasa
- 20 Taita Taveta
- 21 Kitui

from Church of England Yearbook, 1997, CHP,
 London.

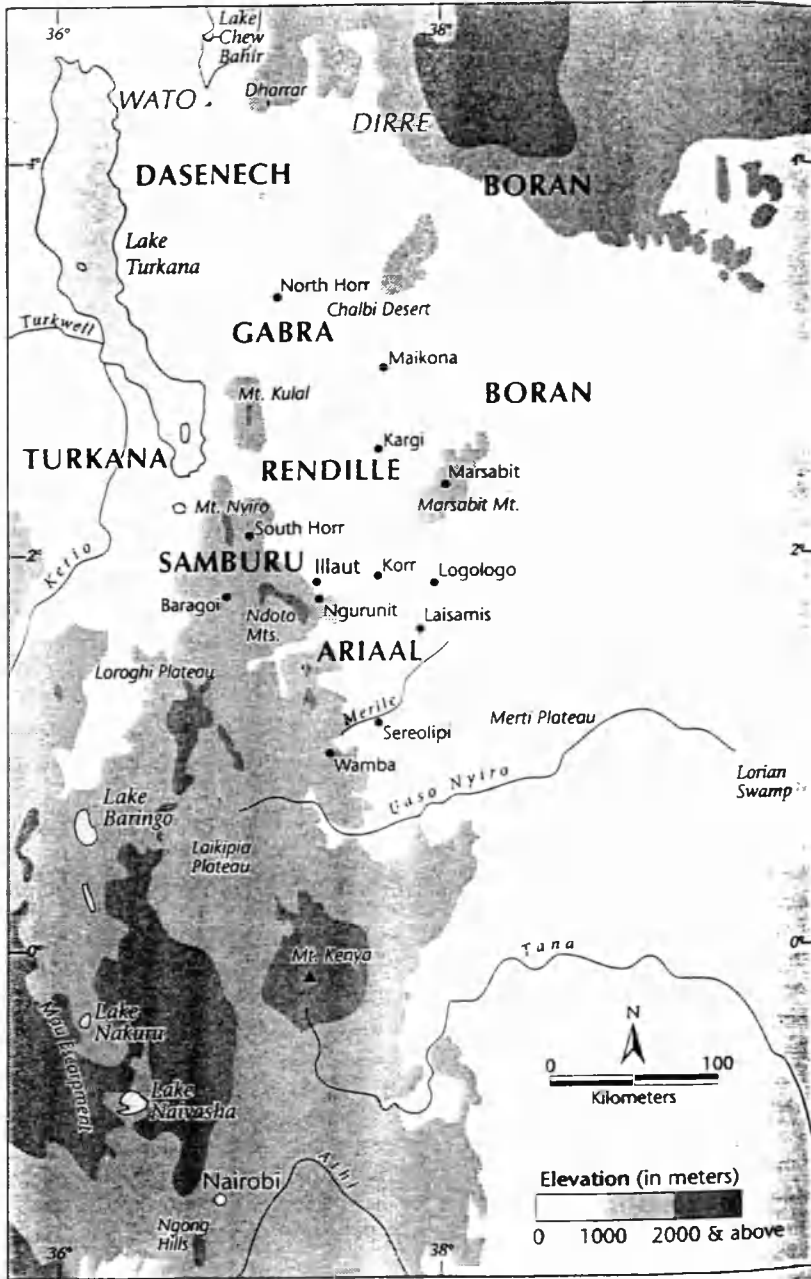
Map 2.
(including Nakuru diocese)



Maa-Speaking People and their Neighbours

from Being Maasai, *op cit.*, p.3

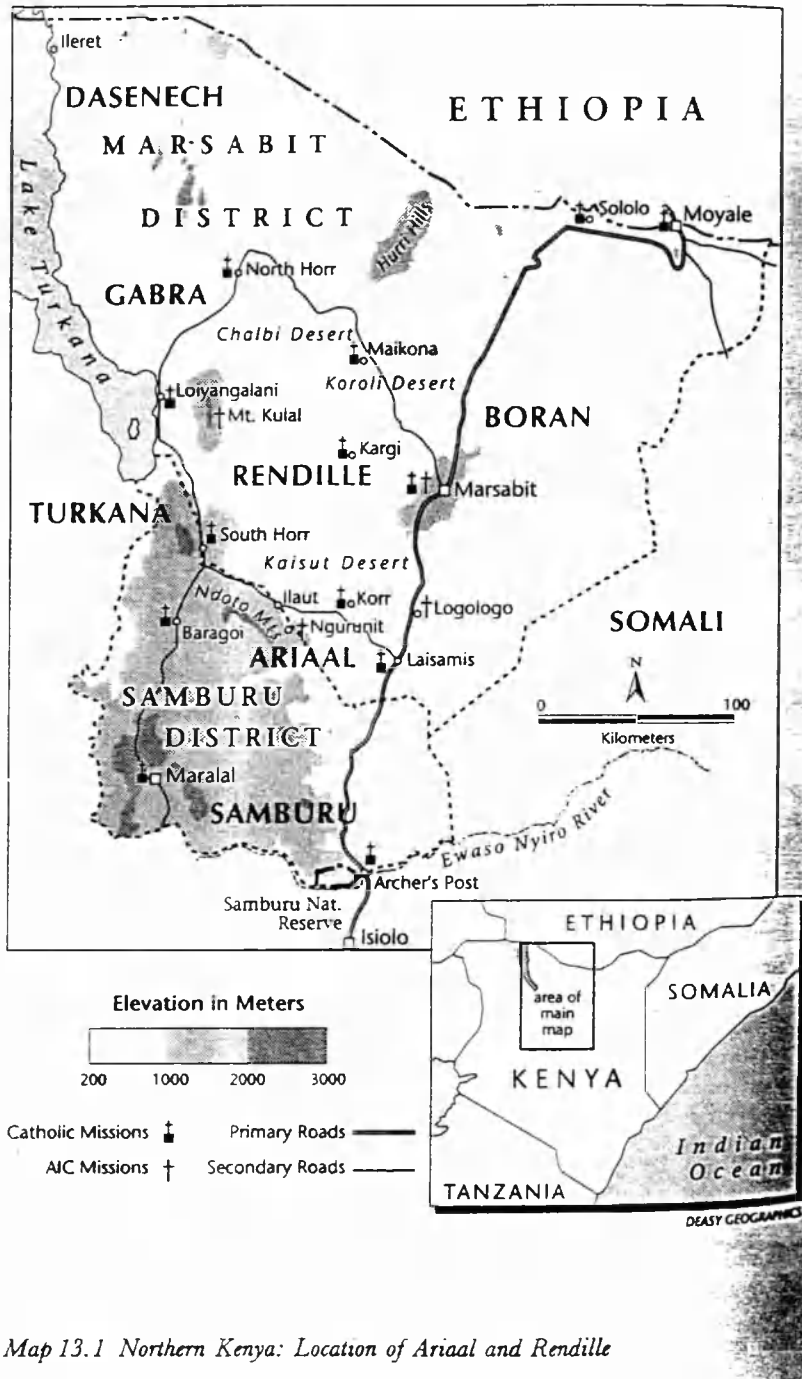
Map 3.
(including Kirinyaga diocese)



Map 5.1 Peoples of East Turkana

from Being Maasai, op cit, p.106

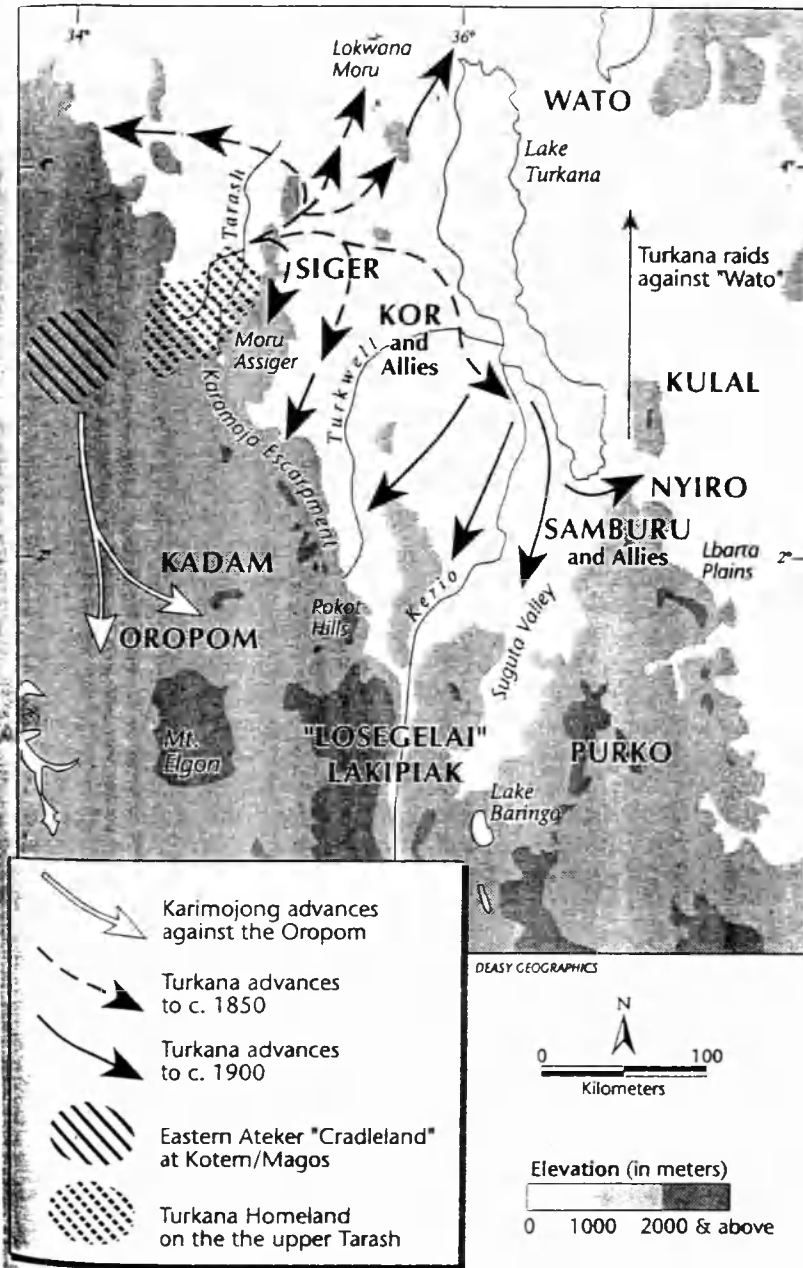
Map 4.



Map 13.1 Northern Kenya: Location of Ariaal and Rendille

from Being Maasai, op. cit, p 274

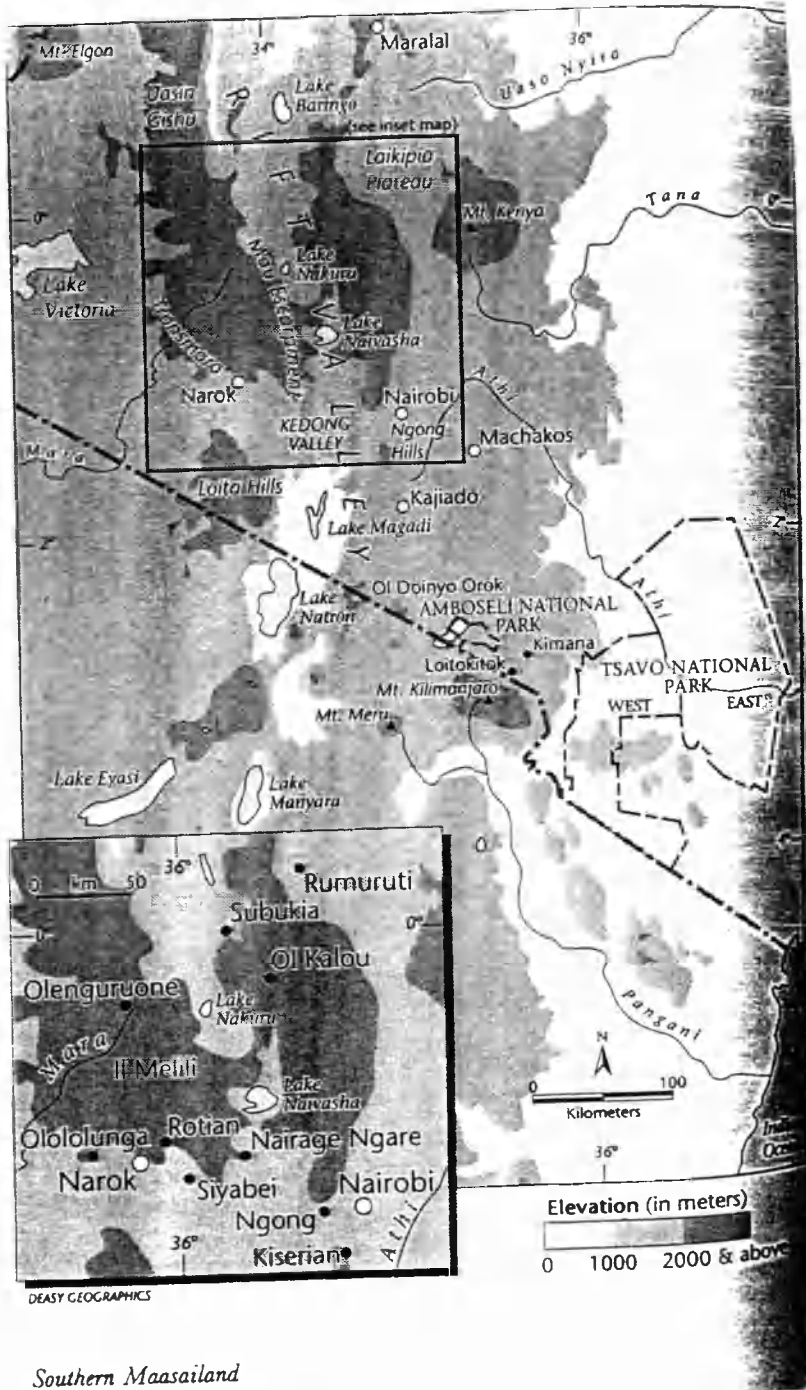
Map 5.



Map 4.1 Peoples of West Turkana

from Being Maasai, op. cit., p 89

Map 6.



Map 7.



Map 3.1 Maasai Sections

from Being Maasai, op. cit, p. 71

CHAPTER ONE. PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

1.1.1 During the late 70's and 80's the proposal that the last 10 years of this millennium should constitute a decade of evangelisation or evangelism was made in a number of Christian denominations. The Anglican Lambeth Conference of Primates and Bishops in 1988 resolved (in Resolution 43) to declare the 1990's 'A Decade of Evangelism' throughout its world-wide fellowship of national churches.¹ Although this sort of initiative had previously been tried in the Church of England, this latest attempt was supposed widely to have been at the instigation of certain Two Thirds World², and particularly African, church leaders. Moreover it was a declaration which was already being acted upon by the African church.³ The question was asked: what had been happening in previous decades in the Western (or One Third World Church) whilst parishes and dioceses were multiplying in, for example the Nigerian, Ugandan or Kenyan Anglican contexts⁴? The ascription of a 'decade' of evangelism may be a statement of the obvious when applied to a rapidly-expanding non-western church, such as the Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya. Although with some Western evangelical bodies, it had difficulty with a label for what appeared to be self-evident⁵, it

¹For the ecumenical origins of the 'Decade of Evangelism' see Michael Harper, 'Summer of Celebration', Anglicans for Renewal, Vol.42, 1990, p.11.

²a term preferred by residents of those parts of the world dominated by poverty, powerlessness, and religious pluralism, to the term "Third World," Samuel and Sugden, Lambeth, A View from the Two Thirds World, 1989, p.1.

³Some felt that it (Resolution 43) represented a major success for the bishops from the Two Thirds World who pushed for it. ibid., p.50.

⁴The writer researched initial responses to the Lambeth 1988 'Decade of Evangelism' resolution in 1991. See statistics in Appendix I.

⁵Interview with the Venerable Titus Ngoto Njuno of Mount Kenya East Diocese, 11/94.

supported this slogan as descriptively accurate and desirable as a means to promote mission both in the CPK and within the Anglican Communion.

It is intended to use these debates in order to compare and contrast initiatives and underlying contextual theologies existing already within the framework of Anglican mission in specific settings. The focus of this study are the geographical dioceses of Nakuru (formed in 1961) and Mount Kenya East in the Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya (existent from 1975 to 1990). The time period from 1975 is selected for a number of reasons. In the political history of independent Kenya, 1975 represented the start of a period of social uncertainty after the assassination of the Kikuyu leader, J.M.Kariuki⁶. Before he was ordained and while still an employee of the Bible Society of Kenya, Archbishop Gitari spoke out against the assassination during a series of radio talks broadcast by Voice of Kenya at that time. Mount Kenya East diocese was formed from Mount Kenya diocese in 1975, which in turn was later subdivided in 1990 into two new dioceses of Kirinyaga and Embu. A further division in 1996 created the diocese of Meru. Gitari was made the sole bishop of the undivided Mount Kenya East diocese during the first fifteen years of the study and this fact provides a firm basis for comparison with another diocese and other traditions. The diocese of Nakuru was also sub-divided into January 1983 to create the new diocese of Eldoret and it is expected to divide again in 1998 to create the diocese of Nyahururu. The specified dioceses are also selected because they afford comparisons between urban and rural communities and have differing processes of diocesan mission and development, Kirinyaga being in the former 'reserve' and Nakuru in the 'squatter' area formerly farmed by whites. Scope for comparisons with other denominations or church groups exists. The writer also visited

⁶Cherry GERTZEL, in 'Developments in East Africa', History of Africa, Vol. 8, Cambridge University Press, p.411.

Nakuru diocese, Kenya in 1989, and both Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses again in 1996.

1975 represents a time when mission and social responsibility were being reflected upon by evangelical Anglican Christians after the Lausanne Conference of 1974. Also the momentum of liturgical change was increasing in Kenya: at the beginning of the 1970's a prototype modernisation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer was produced⁷; an attempt was made to 'simplify the liturgy at the centre of the lives of Christians and make it more meaningful in the Church of the Province of Kenya.'⁸ In the 1970's therefore, a translation of the archaic English into readable English was authorised in an orange booklet called Modern English Services.⁹ In 1975 also the Presbyterian Church published their Church Service Book written in English but based on services originally prepared in Kikuyu. In the 1980's the Kenyan Anglican Provincial Synod established a liturgical committee out of the previous liturgical commission to continue the process which had begun.

Reference to events before 1975 will be necessary to set the date of 1975 in context. The country of Kenya can be compared politically with pre-Gorbachev Eastern European countries¹⁰ as increasing pressures were, and are, put on its government to adopt a democratic system of government. The Christian and Anglican Church in particular has a demonstrably influential part to play in the pro-democracy movement evidenced in the role that the National Christian Council of Kenya played as an observer

⁷ Written comment, Kevin Ward, Teacher in Kenya, 1969-71, 5/2/96.

⁸ The Provincial Unit of Research, CPK, Rabai to Mumias. A Short History of the Church of the Province of Kenya, 1844-1944, Uzima, Nairobi, 1994, pp.165-6

⁹ The Modern English Services contained Morning and Evening Prayer, Baptism of Children, Baptism of Adults, and Holy Communion.

¹⁰ See Basil DAVIDSON, The Black Man's Burden, Africa and The Curse of the Nation-State, Currey, London, 1992, pp.286-9.

in the 1992 elections.¹¹ Christian mission per se is deep at the heart of the development of modern Kenyan life in education, health and all the strata of society.

Denominations, of which there are many in Kenya, derive mainly from the variety of churches (from the UK and US) which established mission work. These differences express themselves in forms of worship, patterns of church order, and approaches to mission and evangelism or evangelisation within the cultural and national context. The existing similarities (e.g. in the area of theology) and differences between localized Christian communities are such that the issue soon arises as to the nature of the distinctions and commonalties between these worshipping communities. The features and factors which either bind them together or distinguish them will be discovered and discussed in relation to the Anglican dioceses of Nakuru and Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga in Kenya. Comparative and analytical research into worship styles and culture in a local context is an area which has not been written about as yet, and therefore justifies the choice of topic.

Contextual theology in the Church of the Province of Kenya as either resulting naturally from mission or academically abstracted, may provide lessons for the Anglican Church everywhere in its educational, social, political and wholistic¹² roles in situ. However this shall remain an open question while the thesis is developed.

¹¹Anglican church workers were involved in the monitoring in Kirinyaga district, Oral Evidence, Revd Pam Wilding, 2.96.

¹²Wholistic mission has been defined by Gitari in terms of the need to minister practically to nomadic peoples facing climatic change and drought in Northern Kenya.

'We have a saying "a hungry stomach has no ears". We cannot preach first and feed people afterwards. We have refused to put a wedge between evangelism and socio-political responsibility. We believe that this approach is required by obedience to the Great Commission and the Great Commandment.'

PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS OF MISSION

1.1.2 Although a variety of definitions of Christian mission and of worship and liturgy will be explored in the scope of this thesis, it is appropriate to provide initial focal definitions here to make the link between mission and worship and to orientate the discussion.

1.1.2.1 In 1971 the Kenyan leader of a 'mission church' proposed a moratorium on missions from the West, which was controversially discussed at conferences in 1973 and 1974 and eventually rejected. Revd. John Gatu, then General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, proposed this as a corrective to what was believed to be Western control of African mission. It became significant as a declaration of ecclesiological independence which was unsuccessful on account of financial dependence on the West.¹³ This high-level statement reflected the perceptions of many East African and Two Thirds World Christians that self-determination and an equation between evangelism and social action are essential in mission, a novel insight in the conservative evangelical theology of the CMS in post-colonialist Kenya. These goals were endorsed at the Evangelical Lausanne Conference in 1974 and at the Fifth World Council of Churches Assembly in Nairobi in 1975. These core events govern any definition of mission in the contemporary Kenyan Anglican context. In 1963 the first CWME Conference in Mexico City enunciated principles which indicated an appreciation of the intercultural and international

(eds.) Samuel and Sugden, *op. cit.*, p.67 See also Bishop Okullu on the aspect of human dignity, *ibid.*, pp.57-59; In the Same Boat, Church and People in Kenya, CMS video, 1991.

¹³'Although in terms of growth and influence the power-centre of the Christian world is seen by many to be moving towards Africa and Latin America, the financial power remains firmly in the West.' Eugeniah Ombwayo Adoyo, Mission and Moratorium in Africa. The issues underlying the proposal for a missionary moratorium, and the implications of its failure for the future of mission/church relationships in Africa. (With special reference to English-speaking Africa), CNAO/Oxford Centre for Mission Studies M.Phil., 1990, p.5.

dimension of mission: i.e. mission is a dynamic activity which moves from all continents 'everywhere, to everywhere' rather than from two continents eastwards. Mission was described as 'the common witness of the whole church, bringing the whole gospel to the whole world.' The unhelpful dichotomy of evangelism and social action is healed if mission is seen as each incorporating the other. A British report speaks of the making known of the Gospel which 'usually involves the use of words but not inevitably so', and depends on identification and solidarity with people.¹⁴ In the Kenyan context Gitari pinpoints an incarnational mission model:

The Incarnational Model demands our Christian presence in the world so that we may be able to share Jesus Christ with the communities and people we encounter. The Incarnational Model also invites us to proclaim the Gospel not from a distance but rather by penetrating into communities and cultures whose customs are either endorsed, challenged or transformed by the gospel.¹⁵

Further to this, the Lambeth Conference of 1988, when it called for a 'shift to "mission" orientation' going beyond care and nurture to proclamation and service¹⁶, was articulating a hope which was more commonly a reality in Provinces such as Kenya where a long-established mission tradition rather than pastoral tradition held sway.

1.1.2.2 The fact that the CPK grew out of the evangelical mission of the Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church means that it carries with it the Catholic and Reformed emphases of Anglicanism as well. The efforts of the early evangelical missionaries in Kenya to translate the Bible and the BCP into vernacular languages was out of a conviction of the doctrinal and liturgical value of the Christian faith expressed in

¹⁴Mission Theological Advisory Group of General Synod Board for Mission and Unity and the Partnership for World Mission, The Measure of Mission, GS780A, CHP, London, 1987, p.38.

¹⁵Samuel and Sugden, op.cit., p.67.

¹⁶The Truth Shall Make You Free, Lambeth Conference 1988, ACC/CHP, London, pp.32, 231.

Anglicanism. The Anglican liturgy and the BCP has been a unitive focus for all Anglicanism and a basis and reference point for subsequent liturgical and theological development. The tradition of worship in the CPK has therefore been deeply enriched by this interaction and has provided a basis for the CPK to be a worshipping presence with a social influence.¹⁷

SOURCES

1.1.3. A full list of sources is included at the end of the study but a survey of the field would be useful at this initial point.

(a) Primary:

The foundations for this thesis are in a study visit to Nakuru diocese conducted in 1989, a further research visit in 1996, and a long-established interest in East African Protestant Mission. Responses to a questionnaire survey of Anglican Provincial and, especially African approaches to the 'Decade of Evangelism' were sought and received in 1991 (see Appendix I) For this study the use of oral evidence, original sources relating to Lambeth 1988 in the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies archives, conversations and correspondence with ex-missionaries, and CMS volunteers are used. Analysing most recent mission styles in Kenyan church history at a distance is not easy. However, there is a growing conviction in the author that there are important lessons to be learnt which will gain in public worth as a result of the effort to communicate them in a cogent form.

¹⁷See Bosch, Witness to the World, The Christian Mission in Theological Perspective, Marshalls, London, 1980, pp.14, 18-19.

(b) Secondary: (Unpublished and Published Works):

Many studies have been made recently in Kenyan culture and anthropology: there were in October 1995 36 entries for Ph.D. theses at Cambridge University alone relating to Kenya. Work has been done on the development of distinctive church communities both in relation to the transformation of mission communities into church communities and in relation to the nation-state¹⁸, and to ethnicity, and specifically to the Kikuyu who are one of the dominant, but not the only, ethnic group in the areas of this study¹⁹. RW Strayer's The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa has been considered a 'good balance between emphasis on CMS policy makers and the Kikuyu recipients of that policy.'²⁰ However, Sandgren's study, which examines the development of the Africa Inland Mission (AIM), and emphasises the accommodation and creative resistance of the Kikuyu to a form of Christian mission, contrasts with, and is built upon by Karanja's The Growth of the African Anglican Church in Central Kenya, 1900-1945. It will be acknowledged that cultural practices such as female circumcision still divide the church but much of the disharmony results from history: whilst Sandgren shows the mixed responses of Kikuyu who left the American-based and mainly Baptist AIM²¹ during the circumcision crisis in

¹⁸As critical socio-political background see Kevin WARD, The Development of Protestant Christianity in Kenya 1910-1940, Cambridge University Ph.D. Thesis, 1976; David THROUP, 'Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's, The Politics of Church-State Conflict in Kenya, 1978-1990' and G.P.Benson, 'Ideological Politics versus Biblical Hermeneutics; Kenya's Protestant Churches and the Nyayo State', in (eds.) Hansen and Twaddle Religion and Politics in East Africa The Period Since Independence, Currey, EAEP, London, Nairobi etc., 1995. See also Benson 'Church Confrontations with the State during Kenya's Nyayo Era, 1982-1991: Causes and Effects', Nottingham University M.Phil., 1994, from which the above was extracted.

¹⁹see John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau. Wealth, Poverty and Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought,' in Unhappy Valley 2, Conflict in Kenya and Africa Book Two: Violence and Ethnicity, Currey, Heinemann, London, Nairobi etc., 1992. (italics mine)

²⁰D.P.Sandgren, Christianity and the Kikuyu. Religious Divisions and Social Conflict, New York, 1989. p.6, quoted in John KARANJA, The Growth of the African Anglican Church in Central Kenya, 1900-1945, Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge, April 1993, p.4.

²¹Established as a 'faith mission' (as the China Inland Mission) in 1895, it had some Methodists, Presbyterians and Anglicans in its ranks. See 'The Beginning and Development of Christianity in Kenya, by Z.Nthamburi in (ed.) Nthamburi, From Mission to Church, A Handbook of

1928-30, Karanja's study contrasts with this the majority who remained in the equivalent Anglican mission. This is explained by the 'highly innovative and adaptive culture' of the Kikuyu. Furthermore, Karanja identifies 'the extent to which the Kikuyu Anglican Church was indebted to indigenous models and experiences for its impetus, dynamism and direction.'²²

Whilst the works cited above concern the historical growth of the Kenyan or Kikuyu Church (or churches) 50 years ago, the present work attempts to trace patterns of church growth and styles of mission with relation to various churches and ethnic groups which have been carried out in the recent past i.e. from 1975 and well within living memory. There is a wish to understand the dynamic of communities in tension and co-operation within the whole church community, including responses to the Kikuyu dominance in the Anglican church.²³ Historical sources are drawn upon to compare the bases for differing or similar expressions of mission including R. Macpherson's The Presbyterian Church in Kenya (Nairobi, 1970), and Z.Nthamburi's (at present President of the Conference of the Methodist Church in Kenya) A History of the Methodist Church in Kenya (Uzima, Nairobi, 1982.)

Whilst comparative studies of mission and church histories are numerous, as are articles and booklets analysing general African liturgical renewal²⁴, this study attempts to bring together comparisons of most recent church development with reference to ethnography, training, leadership, and especially to liturgy in two dioceses in Kenya, and to

Christianity in East Africa, ATIEA/Uzima, Nairobi, 1991.

²²Karanja, op. cit., p.3

²³See Hansen and Twaddle, op. cit., p.146; and 3.3.2 including footnotes.

²⁴See, for example, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Studies 7, Philip TOVEY, Inculturation: The Eucharist in Africa, Grove Books, Nottingham, 1988; and 28, (ed.) David GITARI, Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa: The Kanamai Statement 'African Culture and Anglican Liturgy', Grove Books, Nottingham, 1994

discover the distinctive approaches to mission at a local level. In that sense this study is original.

That African Church History ought to be 'afro-centric', concentrating on Africans as actors in their own history is admirably reiterated, and substantiated by Karanja²⁵. He also points out that the most reflective missiological research has been undertaken on a limited ethnocentric basis. These two factors are underlying premises of this study. Although this study is not primarily historical a parallel premise is taken and tested: that African critical mission scholarship is rapidly developing, represents a centre of global theological gravity, and that models for comparing mission styles in Kenyan Protestant Christianity are, therefore, most relevantly drawn from this corpus²⁶.

METHODOLOGIES

1.1.4 As well as reflections from African critical mission theology it is appropriate to a study of Anglican mission that the main paradigms for the analysis of theory and practice are drawn from international Anglican consultations. Alongside this, appropriate to a social study of the commonalties and divergences between communities in mission there will be a few references to social theory as a means of illuminating the material.

²⁵Karanja cites J.F. Ajahi and E.A.Ayandele, 'Writing African Church History', in Peter Beyerhaus (ed.), The Church Crossing Frontiers, Essays on the Nature of Mission in honour of B.Sundkler, Gleerup, Uppsala, 1969, p.5.

²⁶e.g Lamin Sanneh, Encountering the West, Christianity and the Global Cultural Process: the African Dimension, HarperCollins, 1993; Kwame BEDIAKO, Christianity in Africa, The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion, Edinburgh, Orbis, 1995; see also a survey of the theological literature which relates of necessity to inter-disciplinary themes, i.e. traditional religion, anthropology, politics in J.S.Mbiti, Bible and Theology in African Christianity, Uzima, Nairobi, 1986, esp. extensive footnotes re. christology or soteriology in ch.3, 'Use of the Bible in African Theology.'

ANGLICAN MISSION THEORY

In the keynote speech to the Lambeth Conference of 1988 Dr Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, referred to the hundredth anniversary of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral and to its foundational place in modern Anglican ecclesiology working towards ecumenism.²⁷ Although this event did locate the Church of England in a central place in world Anglicanism then, a fact which is no longer now the case, a statement of the Lambeth Quadrilateral will clarify the method to be applied. Against the background of the impact of the Free Church and Methodist traditions in England, the bishops of 1888 required all to accept:

'(a) the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as "containing all things necessary to salvation", and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith;

(b) the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith;

(c) the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself- Baptism and the Supper of the Lord- ministered with unfailing use of Christ's Words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him;

(d) the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church'.²⁸

After a conference Rt Rev Michael Nazir-Ali commented on the Quadrilateral as follows:

'the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral... promotes the historic three-fold ministry of the church as a way of ordering the Church but not any particular interpretation or theological understanding of it. It is minimalist because it promotes respect for liberty of conscience and by setting minimum parameters for unity, it seeks to bring diversity and even,

²⁷ From report on The Anglican Communion and Scripture, First International Consultation of the Evangelical Fellowship in the Anglican Communion, Canterbury, June 1993, Rt Rev Michael Nazir-Ali, EFAC Bulletin, Iss. 45, 1994, 1, p.19.

²⁸ This relates to an original Anglican tradition, see Article 34, Of the Traditions of the Church, Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

perhaps, disagreement into a unity which is based on primitive faith and order.²⁹

He further defined the importance of this event when he was concerned to situate the Anglican Church's poles: of locality- how does a church become the Catholic Church in one place; and of catholicity- how do the Local Churches become authentically 'church' in fellowship with other authentic churches in a particular place?

It is against these criteria that any specific Anglican ecclesiology in mission styles may be assessed. Further to these, the importance of the Lambeth Conference 1988, Resolutions 22 and 43 are noted in relation to this study. Resolution 22 was passed as follows:

'RESOLUTION 22:CHRIST AND CULTURE

This Conference:

(a) Recognises that culture is the context in which people find their identity

(b) Affirms that God's love extends to people of every culture and the Gospel judges every culture according to the Gospels own criteria of truth, challenging some aspects of culture while endorsing and transforming others for the benefit of the Church and society³⁰

(c) Urges the Church everywhere to work at expressing the unchanging Gospel of Christ in words, actions, names, customs, liturgies, which communicate relevantly in each contemporary society.'

Part (b) was largely amended by Dr. David Gitari, then Bishop of Mount Kenya East, and other African bishops after plenary discussion at the Pre-Lambeth Conference for Africa in July 1987³¹. Besides providing further framework for analysis, it also aptly illustrates the

²⁹Nazir-Ali, *op. cit.*, p.19.

³⁰Italicized section introduced as Amendment to Resolution LC88/022 by Rt Rev Dr David GITARI, former Bishop of Mount Kenya East. This also illustrates how Kenyan theological reflection has influenced Lambeth or global Anglicanism (see 1.1.2.1.)

³¹see *Summary of Discussions and Resolutions, op. cit.*, p.14.

increasingly central place that African bishops are occupying in the world-wide Anglican discussion of 'dogmatic and pastoral concerns.'³²

The importance of Resolution 43, referred to above, was to establish publicly the priority of evangelism in the agenda of the Anglican Church, a fact which underlies the intention of this study. It read as follows:

'RESOLUTION 43: EVANGELISM AND MISSION

This Conference, recognising that evangelism is the primary task given to the Church, asks each Province and diocese of the Anglican Communion, in co-operation with other Christians, to make the closing years of this millennium a "Decade of Evangelism" with a renewed and united emphasis on making Christ known to the people of this world.'

This resolution was greeted as 'a shot in the arm' for mission by some Western bishops whilst seen as an affirmation of what was already happening by African bishops and Kenyan churchleaders. However there was evidence that it was more enthusiastically embraced by other Anglican churches than by the Church of England³³. The opinion that the term 'Decade of Evangelism' was borrowed from the Roman Catholic Church is further a sign of its ecumenicity³⁴; however, the fact that evangelism has always been firmly rooted in the mission of Christianity in Kenya, of Anglicanism, and in the dioceses of Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga and Nakuru, begs a further question to be examined, namely regarding the whether growth begets mission or a preoccupation of the CPK with its own institutional structure.

³²The Lambeth terminology of the area of discussion.

³³Samuel and Sugden, *op. cit.*, p.50; Oral evidence, Ven. Titus Ngoto. 11/94.

³⁴According to Michael Harper, Fr. Tom Forrest, an American Roman Catholic priest was the first to speak of a Decade of Evangelization so that the majority of the world should be Christian by the year 2000. 'Evangelization' is generally seen as a term used by Roman Catholics as more comprehensive of mission. See Michael Harper, *op.cit.*

1.1.5 ONE MODERN SOCIAL THEORY

Pierre Bourdieu, currently Professor of Sociology at the Collège de France and Director of the Centre de Sociologie Européenne, was born in 1930 and trained as an anthropologist in the structuralist tradition. Much of his early research was done during the Algerian war against French colonial rule, an experience which gave rise to a sense of the mutual relationship between disciplines. This led to a wide set of important publications from 1958 to the present ranging through education, work, kinship, economic change, language, philosophy, literature, photography, museums, universities, law, religion and science. He draws on the categories of Weber's sociology of religion frequently (e.g. bureaucratic priests and charismatic prophets) and his concern to harmonise and synchronise 'theoretical knowledge of the social world as constructed by outside observers and the knowledge used by those who possess a practical mastery of their world'³⁵ accords well with the project of this thesis in its analysis of the wholistic relationship between mission and liturgy in post-colonial Kenya.

Specifically Bourdieu has been concerned with the development of 'practice' as an organising concept in research as well as being a proponent of 'reflexive' social science. Critical social reflection on the Kenyan church is necessary for in the same way as church history and ecclesiology are determinants of Kenyan Anglicanism, so are ethnic, cultural, political and Christian identity determinant in Kenya's social formations.

³⁵(eds.) Calhoun, LiPuma and Postone, Bourdieu, Critical Perspectives, Polity/Blackwell, Oxford, 1993, pp.1-2.

Bourdieu sought to revolutionise understandings of social theory based on the dichotomy between subjectivist and objectivist approaches: 'beliefs desires and judgements' are counterbalanced or governed by 'material and economic conditions, social structures or cultural logics'. Neither 'structuralism' nor 'phenomenological approaches... adequately grasp social life' since it must be understood in terms that 'do justice both to...cultural structures and to the constituting practices and experiences of individuals and groups.' Bourdieu's three main concepts which he has contributed to debate are 'habitus', 'capital', and 'field'.

'Habitus' is a term which was used allusively both by the Scholastic philosophers to translate Aristotle's hexis, and by Durkheim who noted that French Christian education had to attempt to mould a Christian habitus with a pagan culture. It is close to what is suggested by the idea of habit, but differs in that it refers to an incorporation rather than an acquisition of dispositions, to individual and genetic histories and competencies. Bourdieu calls it a transforming machine 'that leads us to "reproduce" the social conditions of our own production , but in a relatively unpredictable way, in such a way that one cannot move simply and mechanically from knowledge of the conditions of production to knowledge of the products.' The habitus represents the principle of real autonomy tuned in and shaped according to the needs of the situation.³⁶ It also therefore represents the wish to transcend the opposition between theories that grasp practice as constituting, (methodological and ontological individualism [phenomenology]) and those that view it as constituted (Levi-Strauss, structuralism, structural functionalism after Durkheim). For Bourdieu social life is a 'mutually constituting interaction of structures, dispositions and actions' whereby the cycle of practice is informed by culturally and personally influenced

³⁶p. Bourdieu, Sociology in Question, pp.86-87

improvisations. The capacity for generative improvisation which is durable, transposable or unconscious is defined as 'habitus'.

'Capital', as a form of power, in a Marxist and material construction of culture and history, is usually thought of as economic capital and is converted easily, according to Bourdieu, into symbolic, cultural, or social capital. This symbolic capital serves 'to mask the economic domination of the dominant class and socially legitimate hierarchy by essentializing and naturalising social position.' Whilst Weber separated class and status, for Bourdieu they are interrelated. For example, in speaking of 'linguistic capital', there may be a distinction between the communicative and the social function of language so that, and, someone may speak with great authority and communicate nothing. According to Bourdieu this happens in the Mass. The use of Latin without a market for it indicates a diminution of linguistic capital: a competence without a market becomes worthless. In the linguistic market laws of price formation mean that producers of linguistic products- or utterances- are not equal.³⁷ 'Field' provides the frame for 'relational analysis' where multi-dimensional spaces are occupied by agents. The position of a particular agent is the result of an interplay between that person's habitus and his or her place in a field of positions as defined by the distribution of the appropriate form of capital. Overlapping fields become sites of (class) struggles, the aim being to emancipate, to help agents to grasp the meaning of their actions.³⁸ The notion of field is clarified by the concept of 'apparatus': although the State and the Church are fields they may start acting as apparatuses.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.80

³⁸ eds. Calhoun, LiPuma and Postone, *op. cit.*, pp.1-11; 193ff; Pierre Bourdieu, The Field of Cultural Production, Polity/Blackwell, 1993, p.74ff.

In a field, agents and institutions are engaged in a struggle, with unequal strengths, and in accordance with the rules constituting that field of play, to appropriate the specific profits at stake in that game. Those who dominate the field have the means to make it function to their advantage; but they have to reckon with the resistance of the dominated agents. A field becomes an apparatus when the dominant agents have the means to nullify the resistance and the reactions of the dominated- in other words when the lower clergy, or the grass-roots activists, or the working classes, etc., can only *suffer domination*...³⁹

Bourdieu's synthesis of the subjective and objective and models of variability and coincidence seem to suggest and correspond with the socio-theological ethos of the mission intention of the Church of the Province of Kenya. If the 'habitus' which is concerned here is that of the practice of 'wholistic mission', or the construction or expression of liturgies, then the particular urban and rural contexts, or the church groupings or organisations become 'fields'. The capital may either be the resources to accomplish tasks, be it economic or non-economic, or symbolic capital such as art, literature, or vernacular bible translations or the language used in- or the (traditional) religious background to liturgies. Bourdieu's socially-committed stance in relation to the exploited of Algeria make his models appropriate and sympathetic for use in reflecting on the emancipatory role of mission and liturgy in communities in post-colonial Kenya. The further relevance of Bourdieu's theories to the subject will be shown as the argument unfolds.

³⁹Sociology in Question, *op. cit.*, p.88.

CHAPTER ONE PART TWO

1.2.1 THE CULTURAL FIELDS OF THE ANGLICAN DIOCESES OF MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA AND NAKURU WITHIN THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF KENYA (CPK)

Social and cultural background (see map 1.)

Besides being centres of Protestant Christian mission, the Kirinyaga and Nakuru areas in Central Kenya were contrastingly and respectively a Kikuyu heartland and the locus of a confluence of migration and inter-ethnic alignments. Early East African pre-history and history shows that from the first millennium BC the migratory routes of Southern and Eastern Nilotic pastoralists led them to what is now Kenya. Iliffe points out that these groups are ancestral to the modern Kalenjin and Maasai respectively. These are then compared by Iliffe with the Western Nilotic peoples who were cultivators as well as pastoralists when they expanded early in the second millennium AD. Most moved southwards to the Great Lakes region where their most numerous descendants, the Luo, occupied the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. There are, as we shall see, many Luo and Luyia descendants settled in the highland area of Nakuru. Whilst the Luo and the Luyia (speakers of a Bantu language) created something like chiefdoms to counter other Nilotic and Bantu populations, it has been noted that the original Bantu word for 'chief'— a concept which was later manipulated by European to their own ends— dropped out of many Eastern Bantu languages, including Kikuyu, because agricultural peoples who were isolated in highland areas were able to resolve their disputes by shared customs. Among these were those who settled where the *mukuyu* (fig-tree) grew, from which term came the derivation 'Kikuyu' of modern Kenya.⁴⁰ In

⁴⁰Iliffe, Africans, The History of a Continent, Cambridge, 1995, pp.105-

this sense we can note the fluidity of ethnic identity; a Luyia speaking fluent Kikuyu will be taken for the latter in Nakuru whilst remaining proud of his origin.⁴¹

The Kikuyu are one of the largest single ethnic groups representing 26%⁴² of the entire population of Kenya which is composed of 42 main ethnic groups. After the Kikuyu (5,146,000) who occupy traditionally the central part of the country there are the western Luyia (3,475,000) and the eastern central Kamba (2,146,000). The Kikuyu (and the sub-groups, Ndia and Gicugu, Mbeere and Embu) are also the predominant ethnic group in Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga dioceses (henceforward Kirinyaga). According to a Kikuyu myth Ngai (the Divine Being) gave the whole land south of Mount Kenya to them, a perception which is still strong amongst the Kikuyu peoples and influenced their growth in property ownership after the era of colonialism or colonial district boundaries.

In neighbouring Nakuru diocese, on the other hand, the Nilotic Kalenjin-speakers, (including the Nandi, Tugen and the Kipsigis), and the Maasai, traditional owners of the Rift Valley Provinces before European land alienation, as well as the Luo, Luhyia, the Kamba and the Kikuyu are amongst the many and diverse ethnic groups who now populate the vast, relatively prosperous and multi-cultural Rift Valley and Nakuru urban area. Here few feel that they are at home and the Kikuyu are not yet so dominant in this area although their economic bourgeoisie have certainly made inroads in the area by the purchase of farms.⁴³ Aspects of this regional history will be referred to in chapter two.

6; see B.A.Ogot, History of the Southern Luo: Volume I, Nairobi, 1967; see also John Lonsdale, 'The Conquest State of Kenya 1895-1905' in Unhappy Valley I, Conflict in Kenya and Africa Book One: State and Class, B.Berman and J.Lonsdale, Currey, Heinemann, London etc., 1992, p.21.

⁴¹Oral Evidence, 3/96

⁴²Kenya Democratic and Health Survey, 1993

⁴³See Gavin KITCHING, Class and Economic Change in Kenya, Yale

The fluidity of population movements has been mirrored by changing Anglican ecclesiastical boundaries. The large geographical area which the diocese of Mount Kenya East- from 1975- covered in the north-east corner of Kenya, was subdivided twice in 1990 and 1996, as stated above, creating Kirinyaga, Embu and Meru dioceses. The original area of Mount Kenya East, which was created from the larger Mount Kenya diocese, so named in 1964⁴⁴, therefore comprised seven administrative districts, namely Kirinyaga, Embu, Meru, Isiolo, Marsabit, Wanjir, and Mandera.

Neither the fields of Anglican nor political administration can account for the cultures and lifestyles (the habitus) of peoples which develop in their own dynamic relationship with the symbolic capital of social organization, or with the real capital of land and property. It is necessary in this respect to examine the background of all linguistic, cultural and ritual fields, but this specific examination must be limited to a few details from Kikuyu, Maasai well as from some of the peoples of Northern Kenya who populate large areas of both Nakuru and Kirinyaga dioceses, in order to understand the patchwork of socio-political and economic communities which have made them resilient to change, yet open to Christian mission, a factor which has been influential in the critical dynamism of the present CPK in its mission and liturgy.

University Press, 1980.

⁴⁴Cellular reproduction of dioceses began after the diocese of Mombasa became independent of Canterbury in the formation of the Church of the Province of East Africa in 1960, a province which embraced the more diverse Anglican traditions in what was then Tanganyika, with L.J.Beecher as its Archbishop. But in 1961 the area of the diocese of Mombasa was divided into Maseno, Nakuru and Fort Hall dioceses, the latter becoming Mount Kenya in 1964, with Rt Rev Obadiah Kariuki as its bishop. Rabai to Mumias, 1994, p.116ff.

1.2.2 THE DIOCESE OF KIRINYAGA

(a) The Kikuyu

(1) Organisation and Leadership

The history of the social organisation of the Kikuyu people has been well-documented by Kenyatta, Leakey and Muriuki⁴⁵, and any survey of the location of the Kikuyu Anglican Church cannot ignore these works nor recent literature⁴⁶. The highland area of central Kenya occupied by the Kikuyu consisted of parallel high forest-covered ridges and valleys with a temperate climate described as 'paradise' at the beginning of the twentieth century. The occupation took place some time in the past as a pioneer and his family moved north or south along the ridge of the Aberdare Range of hills until they settled at a suitable point at the top of a ridge for defence purposes, and cleared nearby forest for cultivation. These pioneers were known as the founders of the mbari, a kinship or descent group, which developed into a corporate self-help economy separated from others by rivers and valleys. After the population of one mbari (or a group of mbari) increased over about 5 generations, a sub-division took place and migration expanded due to this fission. At this point it was found desirable to form unions for defence or trading with other mbari, which, as a group of neighbourhoods were known as miaka or a bururi, a district including many ridges.

Mihiriga, clan or lineage genealogies- of which there were reputed to be nine descended from the daughters of Gikuyu and Mumbi- used to be more important, until the rapid multiplication of mbari⁴⁷ which were

⁴⁵Facing Mount Kenya, L.S.B. Leakey, The Southern Kikuyu, vols. I-III, G. Muriuki, A History of the Kikuyu, OUP, 1974.

⁴⁶see Karanja op. cit., Benson, op. cit.

⁴⁷These were notionally segments of the nine clans and mosaics of'

corporations based on settlements rather than purely kinship-based. Mariika, age sets and generational associations have been recently a more significant agent of social cohesion. This united late adolescents at the time of initiation across kinship (clans or descent groups) and territorial lines. In addition to chronological age sets, generational age sets united 'roughly equal numbers of two different generation sets... designated by birth in alternating opposition, father and son.'⁴⁸

Leadership has also had an important role to play. This was limited to the muramati or mbari leader, whose main responsibility was to allocate or administer land, and within the kiama, elders' council, to the muthamaki, spokesman. The muthamaki had a leadership role for his possession of wisdom, tact, self-control and public speaking gifts, and thus chaired discussions and proclaimed kiama decisions. The Kikuyu had no kings or chiefs- like the Embu, Meru and Kamba, but unlike the Luo and many other Bantu groups, - nor did they have self-appointed or elected leaders of the people, but each of the groups had men with recognized leadership qualities who reached and proclaimed authoritative decisions of the kiama, which were respected by the people.⁴⁹

In summary, habitus as a capacity for organisation and a complexity of social structures could be termed as mature⁵⁰ on account of the many interlocking and interacting mechanisms which have been active in creating, conserving and adapting Kikuyu society in the past; the powerful combination of these improvisations have enabled the Kikuyu to access the capital of decolonialized and modern Kenya.

'patrilineal descent, affinal alliance and unequal patronage' held together by the ideology of kin and lineage. Berman and Lonsdale, op. cit., p.336.

⁴⁸ibid., p.335-6.

⁴⁹Muriuki, op. cit., p.7; Sandgren, op.cit., p.9-11.

⁵⁰The author's concept.

(ii) History, Economy and Politics

Before it became part of what is now Kenya the area (of present central Kenya) known as 'Kikuyuland' represented a fertile trading post for travellers involved with the trade of the Imperial British East Africa Company to the interior. The agricultural skill, excellent trading value, intelligence and friendliness of Kikuyu is remarked upon. Despite the initial toleration of the European exploitation and the counter-opportunity for the Kikuyu to gain ivory etc. in trade, the relationship deteriorated with the increased amount of caravans and the European theft of (garden) goods from their properties led eventually to the murder of traders in 1891.⁵¹

The social conflict resulting from British trading patterns and land alienation continued and was deeply formative of political consciousness, when the Kikuyu Central Association almost united 'opinion in an alliance of progress with the state at the peak of the late-1920s boom'. In the 1940s frustration with the colonialist domination of the coffee trade,

⁵¹This resulted in the British being driven from 'Fort Dagoretti' which was then sacked; a local muthamaki, Waiyaki, manoeuvred to persuade the British to position the new 'Fort Smith' near his people so that they could profit from the trade. However, the commander had already arranged the import of cheaper produce from elsewhere, a factor which may have induced Waiyaki, to conduct raids against the British. The political savoir-faire of Kikuyu leaders is further illustrated that it was another Kikuyu muthamaki, Kinyanjui, who guided the British in their retreat from Dagoretti, and who also guided an attack on the Dorobo, allies of the Kikuyu the next year. The power-struggle between Waiyaki and Kinyanjui led to the former being deported and the latter being the first European-appointed so-called 'chief' of the Kikuyu. Sandgren, op. cit., pp.12-13. The eponymous Waiyaki was a landowner who died after being deported from his own land following disagreement with the colonialist occupiers (see further note 107 below). Of theological interest is that fact that his death led in Kikuyu myth to his being considered as somewhat a 'suffering servant', or reincarnated in Kenyatta. Cf. Mbugua Njama's *Mayoya ma Waiyaki, the Prayers of Waiyaki*, a prophetic tract urging readers to pray for their warriors since 'liberation would come with sacrifice, prayer, learning and the patriotic use of wealth.' John Lonsdale, 'The Prayers of Waiyaki, Political Uses of the Kikuyu Past', pp.240-291 in (eds.) Anderson and Johnson, Revealing Prophets Prophecy in Eastern African History, Currey, London etc. 1995, pp.270-71, 245, 274.

and the enforced status of Kikuyu as squatters fed into a political dynamic where the Kenya Central Association (conservative ethnic nationalists), the Kenya African Union (moderate pan-ethnic nationalists)⁵² were influential in the creation of a Kikuyu identity in terms of the 'tribalization of politics.' The role of Kenyatta was crucial as he returned from Europe with academic status and was perceived more as a Kikuyu than a Kenyan leader, marrying a Kikuyu woman, and yet very definitely emerging as the founding father of modern Kenya.⁵³

The Mau Mau war or struggle, with which Kenyatta was identified by the colonial authorities, has been seen as an important drive for nationalism based on the economic necessities of a number of ethnic groups, but principally those of the Kikuyu. Estimates of Kikuyu killed range from 3000 to ten times that number; about 100 British were killed and the conflict cost the colonial power £20m⁵⁴. The transfer of power to Kenyatta and other nationalists took place in 1963, whose tasks were to safeguard property rights, contain militants, and reduce unrest by distributing land bought from departing settlers.

Mau Mau can neither be seen as a purely tribal movement, although Kikuyu mobility and trading acumen may have predisposed some Kikuyu to being activists, nor as a trans-ethnic movement, which the British feared.⁵⁵ The movement has been extensively examined elsewhere and many political, theological or interdisciplinary studies have been made on the subject and to rehearse these is beyond the scope of this study⁵⁶, but Mau Mau can now be seen as a playing out of the complexities of Kikuyu identity

⁵²KAU, which developed into the present Kenyan African National Union, [KANU]

⁵³Berman and Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, p.408-410.

⁵⁴Oliver and Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, Cambridge, 1994, p.227.

⁵⁵Berman and Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, p.449.

⁵⁶See for example David THROUP, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau, 1945-53*, Currey, EAEP, London, Nairobi etc, 1994; also Furedi, Jocelyn Murray, etc.

within the edifice of the Kenyan state⁵⁷. Nevertheless, any contemporary theological or historical study must take account of the currents and undercurrents set in motion in the stream of this debate.⁵⁸

(iii) Religion and ritual

The Kikuyu traditional religious field is composed of two separate but related areas⁵⁹. Belief in God and ancestral spirits. Ngai or Mwene-Nyaga⁶⁰ is the omnipotent and omniscient creator and sustainer of all things who is traditionally associated with Kere-Nyaga (the mountain of brightness) or Kirinyaga. (see 3.1.1 (b)) Ngai is also associated with large evergreen trees, the mugomo, the sun, moon, stars, lightning and rain.⁶¹

Three different types of ngoma, ancestral spirits, were identified: 1) the spirits of the immediate forbears, or of the mbari, to whom living family, represented by the muramati, made offerings of food and drink as tokens of fellowship; 2) the spirits of the clan who concerned the welfare of the clan; 3) the age-group ancestors, who concerned the well-being of the whole society and who were approached by the leaders of the age-group, the athamaki. The muramati was concerned with the ritual and religious health of his mbari or descent group; he was alert to the operative taboos, and the concept of thahu, ritual uncleanness which could harm the whole descent group. Diseases affecting livestock and

⁵⁷Lonsdale charts the analysis which has developed since the 60's from seeing Mau Mau as a rejection of Western beneficence to viewing it as rooted in the conflict between 'moral authority and effective action, between seniors and juniors, rich and poor, men and women.' Unhappy Valley 1, p.10.

⁵⁸See Galia Sabar Friedmann, 'The Mau Mau myth, Kenyan political discussion in search of democracy,' Cahiers d'études africaines, 1995, vol. 35, cah. 137, pp.101-131.

⁵⁹see Sandgren, op. cit., p.10; Karanja, op.cit., p.14

⁶⁰Ngai, a loan-word from the Maasai language, from Engai or Nkai, (Samburu); Mwene-Nyaga means possessor of brightness.

⁶¹Karanja, op.cit., p.14

people were attributed with ontological causes and he could consult a mundo mugo, a ritual expert, to determine what had upset the balance between the society and the universe to incur the ngoma's wrath.

Sacrifices, which were usually made to ngoma in rites of passage or in thanksgiving, represented the means of approach to maintain a healthy relationship with God and a trouble-free life. If Ngai was approached at times of major crisis when other ritual avenues had been exhausted, ngoma could be always approached. 'One "beseeched" or "worshipped" Ngai but was "in communion" with the ancestors.'⁶²

The marriage of the symbolic capital of Kikuyu ritual and Christianity provided a rich and various field with political and ethnic implications:

Christianity and the Bible gave the Kikuyu God, Ngai, a past which was longer and more precise than the mists of tene na agu (a named generation)... Ngai became Jehovah, a tribal and interventionist God, father of a people whom he repeatedly rescued from the hand of their enemies. In the minds of Kikuyu people the Bible fostered a Kikuyu tribe.⁶³

These facts were particularly pertinent in the development of a Kikuyu Anglican Church in the Central Province, with its indebtedness to Kikuyu indigenous social and ritual models, as Karanja has shown⁶⁴.

To analyze the argument thus far, the theft of Capital as land due to European trading and colonizing (Habitus)⁶⁵ led to its partial re-appropriation by the newly-empowered Kenyatta on his return from Europe, and to a retrieval of the symbolic Capital which had accumulated in the field of politics, and which, after the eruption of Mau Mau, was embodied in the Kenyan state. Kenyatta also reinvigorated a sense of Kikuyu ethnic and religious pride in his anthropological work. A new Habitus was

⁶²Sandgren, op.cit., p.11. See also below 4.3.0

⁶³Berman and Lonsdale, op.cit., p.354.

⁶⁴Karanja, op.cit.

⁶⁵See Kitching, op.cit.

inaugurated by the installing of a non-Kikuyu President, Moi, who whilst attempting to follow in Moi's footsteps, set in train a new set of dynamics, which related to other ethnic and religious symbolisms of capital.

(b) The Turkana (and Rendille, Samburu⁶⁶ and Boran) (See maps 1, 3, & 4)

(i) Linguistic and social organisation

Spencer notes⁶⁷ the traditional axes of alliance between the Rendille, Samburu and the Ariaal, who are located further south than the Turkana, and Cushitic- (or Galla-) speaking Gabbra and Boran in the north. The Turkana⁶⁸, thought to be part of a later migration from the highlands of Sudan, belong to the Ateker peoples who speak a language from the same branch of Eastern Nilotic languages as the Maa-speakers (see below); in the middle of this millennium the Ateker interacted with their neighbours, the Luo, in what is now Uganda, and borrowed their agricultural techniques. Those further to the east, in present Kenya, had a deeper commitment to pastoralism but relied on agricultural and hunter-gathering activities. Peaceful economic co-existence based on bilingualism and multiculturalism was common until an ecological crisis generated a more fragmentary culture which was more cattle-centred. This in turn created the drive for expansion, assimilation and reciprocal raiding. Lamphear notes the way that assembling the senior elders became increasingly difficult due to expansion and changing social patterns and that a transformation of the generation-set system⁶⁹ took place whereby

⁶⁶For more details see below under The Diocese of Nakuru, 1.2.3.

⁶⁷*op.cit.*, p.292

⁶⁸see John Lamphear 'Aspects of "Becoming Turkana"', Being Maasai, (eds.) Thomas Spear, Richard Waller, Currey, London, 95, pp.87-104.

⁶⁹Spencer further contrasts the age-set in the Turkana as 'not strong and restrictive', with that of the Samburu, who disdain their lack of discipline and of a rigid age-system; the Samburu are characterized by conformity, the Turkana by competition. This competition is evident in the family field where 50 head of cattle (much larger than an average herd) are required for bridewealth compared with the Samburu who only

greater emphasis was placed on biological age than the distinction between alternating age-sets.⁷⁰ These age-sets began to resemble military units and were associated with raiding activities.

(ii) Leadership and politics (see map 5)

The Turkana encountered the Kor, a Turkana term for the Samburu (or Sampur), the Rantalle and Poran, the Rendille⁷¹ and Boran, a confederacy of communities, who introduced camels to their notions of a pastoral economy. Lacking the stratification of age-sets due to dispersed nomadism, and with the loss of eldership authority, Turkana traditions record the coming into existence of a charismatic strand of leadership in the 1830's: a powerful emuron (pl: ngimurok), a diviner, called Lokerio, under whose direction raiding parties came. They tell of him creating a dry path with his stick through the lake in order to lead his armies through to capture herds of camels from people on the other side. Parallel with 'religious' leaders in Maasai and Nandi societies, Lokerio was also distinctive.

His type of diviner, ngimurok aakuj, 'Diviners of God', was sharply different from the local healers and seers of the other Ateker, both in the universality of his authority, and in terms of the influence he exerted over the age-class apparatus and military affairs.⁷²

Modern Turkana ethnicity under Lokerio was forged and knitted together against the pressure from the Samburu and since many of the latter looked to his mystical and political leadership, lacking a similar Samburu central figure, they were assimilated as participants in the ritual and

require 6 head of cattle. op.cit., pp.276.

⁷⁰ ibid., pp.93-94.

⁷¹ The number of speakers estimated as 15,000 in 1965. Both Samburu and Rendille divide their cattle between their settlements and their camps in order to exploit resources to the full. The Rendille are afraid that their camel herds grow slower than their own birth-rate, anxieties which unite the fragilities of both a camel economy and ethnic identity. Spencer, op.cit., pp.292, 276.

⁷² ibid., p.96 and n.27

military capital, 'becoming Turkana'. From the mid-nineteenth century there is also evidence of alliance with the Pokot to the south-west, who joined them in raids against the Samburu and the Maa-speaking Chamus.

Cattle-disease- widely attributed to the effects of intensified trading due to European colonialism- and the 'triple disaster' of rinderpest, drought and smallpox, in the 1910's, affected all pastoral societies apart from the Turkana who, having double-invested in camels and goats, which were not susceptible, therefore survived in the highlands. This success bred converts amongst Maa-speakers to what was perceived as a more ideal pastoralist way of life, and Turkana were identified as 'the pure Samburu and Rendille' type and friendly relations with the Maa-speakers prevailed. Militarily opposed to the British and their 'pacified allies', the Turkana were crushed by the administration so that boundaries influenced a newly inflexible notion of identity where the free exchange of ethnic capital is less possible due to the effects of 'monolithic tribalization'.

(iii) Development and religion

At the time of the great droughts in the 1970's and 80's famine relief was undertaken by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Marsabit who established missions in the Rendille area at Korr, Kargi, and Laisais. The AIM worked with the Ariaal communities at Ngurunit, Logologo and Marsabit town. These have been called mission towns and many Rendille families have settled around them in search of food, security, health care and education. The Anglican Diocese of Mount Kenya East had also been working in famine relief amongst the Turkana in Isiolo, Epiding, and amongst the Rendille at Kargi and Ula Ula.⁷³

⁷³See Elliot Fratkin, 'Maa Speakers of the Northern Desert', in Being

Although the national and administrative boundaries within Kenya had ethnic repercussions, the borders between Anglican dioceses are clearly of no political importance so that much of what has been described here is applicable also to the Diocese of Nakuru which shares the territory which many of these nomadic semi-pastoralist communities inhabit.

1.2.3. THE DIOCESE OF NAKURU

(a) The Maasai, including the Samburu Field (See maps 2, 6 & 7)

(i) Identity, ethnicity and ritual

For long seen as prototypical pastoralists of the Rift Valley, it is likely that the livelihood of the Maasai was originally agro-pastoralist and that a view of them as 'purely pastoralist', or even as a unity, is only based on recent differentiations between increased populations who have specialized in grain production (communities of farmers on either side of the valley), in hunting and gathering (such as the present Okiek or Dorobo), as well as in the traditional Maasai pursuits of cattle and small stock. This division of labour came to be ethnically understood, an understanding which was not in accord with the complexity of the interaction of the diversity of Maasai communities with other groups.

The fact that the IlMaasai, (lit: those who speak the Maa language) embrace the Samburu, who populate Nakuru diocese, the Ariaal, the Chamus, the Arusha of Tanzania and other peoples serves to illustrate the portmanteau nature of the Maasai concept. The capacity for the Maasai to

Maasai, pp.273-289; David Gitari, 'Evangelism among Nomadic Communities', in One Gospel Many Clothes, eds. Wright and Sugden, EFAC/Regnum, Oxford, 1990, pp.60-70.

be viewed as they wish to view themselves has been considerable, as this observation shows:

Jacob's view reflected the contempt of his Maasai informants for poor people without cattle (iltorrobo) [hence 'Dorobo'] and for farmers who worked the soil (ilmeek), the sharp distinction proved to be too neat...⁷⁴

Although Kikuyu identity is as problematic as Maasai, less definitive ethnographies have been written than for the more sedentary Kikuyu⁷⁵, and the social organization of these nomadic pastoralist communities can be more properly determined according to the mobility of their habitus expressed in the observable rites of passage. Therefore, although it is difficult to generalize, the typical situation of a Maasai family in the Nakuru diocesan area might be as follows.

The family lived on a homestead, which was namely a structure made either of dung placed on woven wooden poles, or of more permanent materials. Where inroads into cultivation necessitated a longer stay in one place the socio-economic habitus of the herder in his concern to building up his stock became prominent. The perils of drought and the fragility of cattle wealth, and the need to provide for his family (within its sub-tribe, and clan) was to form a basis for new forms of socialization, rupturing the comfortable irresponsibility of the late adolescent peer-group age-grade where the demands of family and wealth were dismissed as irrelevant. For example, the practice of polygamy depends on the ideal stability of the individual progressing 'from one status to the next as a member of a family', and as a member of an age-grade and an age-set, so that an elongated pre-marriage period for young males preserves the 'bride capital' for adult males. Thus Priest sees six

⁷⁴Being Maasai, , p.4. n.3; my italics.

⁷⁵See the tentative arguments of ibid; and of a missionary-anthropologist, Doug PRIEST Jr., Doing Theology with the Maasai, California, 1990, p.60.

stages which the individual Maasai passes through in his or her life (each defined by rituals some of which he observed): '1) birth and childhood 2) puberty 3) warriorhood for males and marriage for females 4) marriage and adulthood for females 5) elderhood and 6) death'.⁷⁶

The Maasai age-system is succinctly described by Galaty.

Maasai age-groups are constituted over time. A new age-division (Olporror) is opened every seven years, a successive pair of divisions forming an age-set (Olaji) on a fourteen year cycle. Alternative age-sets form 'streams' which link older and younger in relations of authority and political affinity... In each section, the age-set which is assuming the leading political role as sponsors (or 'firestick-elders') opens a new age-set for recruitment. However, the sponsors of the previous age-set which is just leaving murranhood continue to exercise influence in local meetings. Members of an age-set must respect their sponsors, but routinely experience tension and competition with adjacent age-sets, those immediately preceding and, in time, succeeding them.⁷⁷

Age-sets based on time, and cutting across units of residential organization, intersect with localised age-set units which are indeed based on territory so that a 'structured hierarchy in the age-system parallels and politically delineates the segments of a territorial section and provides the means for its integration'.⁷⁸ However, this integration is only the ideal. The very real frustrations of the modernizing murran (warriors) who find the 14 year period of waiting difficult, as well as the connected exasperation of the elders with the prospect of the system's failure, is seen less as an obsolescence of murranhood, and more as the feature of a gerontocratic society, as Spencer has argued.

The Samburu, who are seen as linguistically on the outer edge of Maaspeaking culture⁷⁹, share the Maasai social structure. Numbering over

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p86ff.; (eds.) Spear and Waller *op. cit.*, p.149.

⁷⁷ John G. Galaty, 'Maasai Expansion and the New East African Pastoralism' in *ibid.*, p.80. My italics.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp.72-3

30,000 they traditionally inhabit part of semi-arid northern Kenya and the easternmost section of the area covered by Nakuru diocese⁸⁰ but many have migrated with others to the central highland areas of the Rift Valley. As a nomadic people they are characterized naturally by climate-induced obsessive concern for their cattle, sheep and goats; they try to avoid loss, build up their stock and expect to turn to others in their clan for support; the accountability between murran has been classed as obsessive, too⁸¹. Spencer has modified his singular gerontocratic construction of Maasai society, an interpretation of the ilpiron, elders' (or 'firestick' patrons⁸²) disapproval for the delinquency of their murran, to encompass the dynamics of competition between firestick alliances, between adjacent age-sets, as one matures to the status of ilpiron, and the other to senior elderhood, i.e. when the age-set that replaced them as murran reaches the elderhood stage. The ilpiron or olpiroi (Samburu) have the power to bless or curse the murran, according to the respect, nkanyit (Samburu), they show to the elder.⁸³

Therefore, whilst the gerontocratic model (dominance of the age-grade) may hold true in the north, in the south the cohesion is achieved by a union of alternate age-sets. Both the Maasai and the Samburu have many ceremonies connected with rites of passage and socio-religious identity. Spencer remarks on the occurrence of two ceremonies, the first to inaugurate a new age-set amongst the Keekonyokie Maasai in the north, the second, olngesher, 'a unifying ceremony', marking the end of murranhood. Although it may seem that the Maasai are a diverse people, their

⁸⁰They live in an area of 11,000 square miles between Lake Rudolf and the Vaso Ngiro river, on the Leroghi plateau; the figures, too, are from this source. Spencer, The Samburu A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomad Tribe, London, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1965, pp.1-2.

⁸¹Spencer, 'Becoming Maasai, Being in Time' in Being Maasai, p.150

⁸²The responsibility of an age-set to bring to life a new age-set of murran, two sets, or 15 years below their own, by the ritual lighting of a fire.

⁸³Spencer, The Samburu, op.cit., 1965, p.1.

corporate age-consciousness expressed in these rituals links 'their local variations in the age-system to a synchronized Maasai whole, which gives them a sense of belonging together in space also,'⁸⁴ as pastoralist and less pastoralist communities from north to south are encircled in this complexity. The continuity noted in the society is remarkable in view of the changes which European invasion brought.

(ii) Modern history and economy

The recent determination of Maasai ethnic identity is also related to British occupation of Maasai land in that this took place in ignorance of the social consequences for the Maasai⁸⁵, and consequently some Maasai (and other ethnic) communities both lost considerable land and secured alliances with the British, both to their own advantage and to the detriment of other communities. It has been shown that the East African Protectorate⁸⁶ showed little or inconsistent territorial or ethnic understanding and respect for the Maasai or Kikuyu in the European settlement which took place, especially in the highlands, and the area around Nakuru.⁸⁷

In a letter to Lord Lansdowne, Sir Charles Eliot, the second Commissioner of the East African Protectorate from 1901 spoke of Maasai culture as a 'beastly, bloody system founded on raiding and immorality.'⁸⁸ Lonsdale,

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.146.

⁸⁵ Speaking not only of the Maasai Sir Charles Eliot wrote: 'We have in East Africa the rare experience of dealing with a tabula rasa, an almost untouched and sparsely inhabited country where we can do as we will...' quoted in Basil DAVIDSON, *Africa in History*, Orion, London, 1991, p.338.

⁸⁶ This was to be called the colony of Kenya in 1920, had its beginnings properly in April 1902, with the opening of the Uganda railway stretching from the coast to the shores of Lake Victoria, 'a linear symbol of Britain's social, economic and political incursion.. a perceived source for unity and economic growth.'

⁸⁷ See *Unhappy Valley* etc. Also: Eliot spoke of 'a white man's country in which native questions would be of little interest,' *The East African Protectorate*, London, 1905, p.128, quoted in C.C.Wrigley, 'The Patterns of Economic Life 1902-45' in *HEA, Vol. II*, OUP, London, 1963, p.212.

⁸⁸ Quoted in George BENNETT, 'Settlers and Politics in Kenya up to 1945'

contrarily, describes the process of Maasai accommodation to the prevalent situation as:

'social formation' (whereby) 'an overlapping patchwork of hunting, cultivating and herding peoples.. linked by the exchange of women, goods and trust...' (were) 'wrenched into one, as yet very disjointed field of competition between Africans to appropriate the power of colonial rule.'⁸⁹

Lonsdale's argument put forward in 'The Conquest State of Kenya' is that colonialization introduced economic and political differentials where previously power had been vested in lineage seniority and kinship, and political capital invested in the 'intimacy' of wives, cattle loans, trading alliances and grants of rights in land in return for labour. Lonsdale's conclusion is that there is more African continuity with the effects of European disruption than has been previously thought. The machinations of European statecraft enlarged African power through the introduction of automatic weapons, impositions of chiefship, (which was a concept with validity only in the far west in some Luo and Luyia settlements, but largely imagined by British officials).

The extent of the attack on the political economy can be measured by the effects on the Maasai people, who in their dealings with the 'mixed farming' peoples were the 'bankers' of the highlands in terms of livestock⁹⁰; alliances with the British were formed later in times of famine and disease. This did not mean that they or other allies were rewarded in the process of land alienation: from 1905 the government sold looted land stock to settlers, and withheld it from African allies, forbidding Maasai to take part in the bidding. These early aggressive actions on land which the Maasai saw that they were allowing the British to live, sowed the seeds of violence then and later.

in *ibid.* p.271

⁸⁹Lonsdale and Berman *op.cit.*, p.13

⁹⁰See R.D.Waller, 'The Lords of East Africa: the Maasai in the mid-nineteenth century, c.1840-1885, Ph.D Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1979, cited in Berman and Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, n.35, p.98.

(iii) Maasai and Kikuyu

The late colonial state reinforced the sense of common disinheritance of capital between the Maasai and the Kikuyu and the solidarity between them which had existed, despite some evidence to the contrary. Both of these groups had emphasized ethnic distinctions of identity through 'reserves' and the presence of Kikuyu squatters on 'colonial' and Maasai land, and strengthened alliances in fields of marriage⁹¹ and economy. There were reports of partnership between Maasai and Kikuyu; and by 1951 'over 150 shopkeepers were licensed in Nakuru district alone.' Then government officials, again perceiving a pure Maasai identity to solve an immigration problem, cast the 4000 Kikuyu squatters in the role of 'trespassers in Maasailand'.⁹² This lack of cultural awareness of many, including missionaries⁹³, and involvement in European wars, the reality of land alienation, and impatience with the status quo as well as the cause of the Pan-African movement were also reasons underlying the Mau Mau insurrection against the British in 1956⁹⁴. Ethnic or ideological oppression was not, however, the monopoly of the occupying British but was practised by Mau Mau and others and in oath-taking controversies subsequently.

⁹¹Priest describes the case study of a Kikuyu woman who 'became Maasai' when she married her husband Menye Siloma in the Loita Hills, in Nakuru diocese. 'Menye Siloma was one of the first Maasai men to be seen wielding a hoe in the Loita Hills. Priest, *op.cit.*, p.62.

⁹²Unhappy Valley pp.417-8

⁹³The female circumcision crisis of 1928-30 was an illustration of this although not all missionaries were dogmatically opposed to it, see Unhappy Valley 2, p.388ff and J.M.Murray 'The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Crisis with special reference to the Church Missionary Society's "Sphere of Influence", University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D dissertation, 1974.

⁹⁴JD FAGE calls the land problem 'the prime cause of the Mau Mau insurrection of the 1950's', A History of Africa, Routledge, London and New York, 1995 (Third Edition)

(iv) Religion and ritual

The Maasai word for God, Enkai,⁹⁵ can be translated as 'The Originator', and as such has many synonyms which express His characteristics. Priest has compiled a list of over 30.⁹⁶ The only human attribute which Enkai could be construed as having is old age, for respect for the oldest living men and their power to bless or curse is magnified in the profound respect for all-powerful, all-knowing Enkai. Elders with their knowledge are a respected part of any ceremony where 'each ritual transition is a step towards old age and metaphorically a step towards God'. Maasai rituals can be classed in 3 categories: 1) family rites of passage, e.g. Naming the Child; 2) age-grade rites of passage e.g. Purification and Blessing of the New Age-Grade; Olng'esher ceremony; 3) Rituals of affliction e.g. to bring rain. The concepts of 'holiness' of the sacrificial animal and 'blessing' are crucial in their enactment.⁹⁷

Spencer writes that the critical event of all the major ceremonies is a sacrifice, which, in sharing the meat brings all participants closer to God. In the sacrificial rituals, the belief in the presence of some shadowy sorcerer figure is equated with the devil in Christian belief. The process of celebrants becoming closer to God as they become murran, and move through the ages, also keeps at bay the forces of chaos.⁹⁸

(b) The Luo Field

The Luo people, of whom there are many in the Rift Valley, Nakuru diocese, originate from the Western side of Lake Victoria. They operated

⁹⁵This is similar to the Kikuyu word, Ngai. Kikuyu are normally regarded as having adopted the Maasai term.

⁹⁶Including Enkakenya esirua ai, (My) splendour of the morning; Nabak engurle, one with many chicks etc., Priest, op. cit., pp.113-4.

⁹⁷ibid. p.83ff., p.121

⁹⁸Spencer, op. cit., p.148

a mixed economy traditionally and adapted well into other societies. This may have a bearing on the way in which they have adapted to the current political situation in Kenya, including the adoption into Dholuo of new words for new concepts.⁹⁹

The conflict and confrontation which was borne out of the colonial era in the form of Mau Mau is the hidden mainstay for an acute study by Kitching of the socio-economic background of Kenyan recent political history. From this work it is possible to shade in details which facilitate the comparative aspect which underlies this study.

1.2.3 A COMPARISON OF THE ECONOMIC FIELDS OF KIRINYAGA AND NAKURU DIOCESE

(THE VIEW OF KITCHING)

(For) it is the hallmark of the petite bourgeoisie that their position within an economy cannot be grasped simply by reference to their role in production alone, or their role in circulation alone, precisely because they are so frequently involved in both dimensions. Moreover, they can rarely be characterized simply as 'exploited' or 'exploiters'. They frequently occupy both positions with reference to different classes (which is why their politics are shifting and prone to oscillate between left and right.) The difference in Kenya and in many other parts of the Third World, is that a section of the petite bourgeoisie, having gained control of the State, approximates much more closely to the situation of 'pure' exploiters than any petite bourgeoisie does in advanced capitalist situations.¹⁰⁰

In his economic and agronomic study of contemporary Kenya, Kitching describes structural transformations wrought by historical changes in economy and society, the incompleteness of which restricts the effectiveness of a purely Marxist analytical model; thus 'exploitation' rather than 'class analysis' is a helpful tool to describe the variety

⁹⁹See Lucia N. Omondi, 'The Semantics of Government and Democracy in Luo: a linguistic study of socio-political development,' Afrikanische Arbeitspapiere 94, Nr. 40, pp. 83-113

¹⁰⁰ p. 453

and wide range of concepts of lower order than those termed 'modes' of production. 101

In the area covered by Kirinyaga diocese in pre-colonial times there were patterns of production and trade based on sexual division of labour (and divisions within that), and on skills; there were, for example, women traders with the Maasai (in the view of Leakey), guilds of Iron-Smelters and Metal Workers etc, which were sociologically organized along the same lines as mbari, i.e. each guild was endogamous for men within it. In the Rift Valley and the area of the present Nakuru diocese, the Maasai had exercised their nomadic pastoralist lifestyle. 102

The first half of Kitching's study is subtitled 'Some Economic Origins of Mau-Mau 1905-1952', which as such is only alluded to, since Kitching's socio-economic model takes the struggle as a marker. He sees the 'agrarian revolution' as not so much precipitated by Mau Mau as existent beforehand, and therefore views Mau Mau as reinforcing the power of the dominant whose interests were served well by the colonial powers compared with those of the poor forest fighters who gained little for their sacrifices and later, up to 1966, were viewed as not employed if they did not have land or work in their own businesses. 103

He notes generally the changes in labour patterns away from agricultural pastoralism (from 1905-14) to white collar, semi-skilled and unskilled employment, an African 'squatter' labour force engaging in production on land alienated to Europeans, and an expanded and altered African labour force. 104

101 Kitching, op. cit., pp.3-5, 12-13.

102 ibid., p.14.

103 ibid., pp.2, 154, 377.

104 ibid., pp.16-17

Kitching documents the gradual increase in agricultural production in Central Province (in which Kirinyaga diocese is set) and the population trends which this led to: the poorer tenant ahoi came under pressure from the 1920's-40's as land became scarcer for the cultivation cycle (described in 1.2.2 (a) i) This was due to their being blocked in the 'native Reserve' on the one hand and the muramati or mbari leaders with the prior land by settlers claim on the other. Many migrated to the Rift Valley where they became squatters overnight, as land they were occupying was already alienated to Europeans. Other reasons for the movement was desire to avoid compulsory employment in the Reserves, conscription into the Carrier Corps, or to access the fine grazing land denied them by the Maasai but which the settlers were now opening up.¹⁰⁵

The augmentation of off-farm labour for the male work-force from the 1930's with the increasing feminisation of farm labour through the introduction of the plough and hand-gristing mill is identified. Hay, in particular, notes a movement of Luo from Kowe in western Kenya in 1914 when a handful of men left the sub-location for jobs in Kisumu, Nairobi and Nakuru. Previously 10-15% had worked outside the sub-location, and now all of these were unmarried in the 15-20 age-group; more than 50% stayed away for more than 15-20 years! (Kitching's exclamation mark) This long-stay group comprised (a) sons of prominent men who had been educated, usually at the CMS Maseno school, and had obtained good 'white collar' jobs with government or private firms; (b) sons of poorer families who had little claim on land or stock and for whom 'long term wage labour provided a chance to acquire stock for bridewealth which ordinarily would have been beyond their means'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ ibid., pp.34, 18

¹⁰⁶ M.J. Hay, 'Economic Change in Luoland: Kowe 1892-1948', Univ. of Wisconsin Ph.D., 1972, pp.172-3, quoted in ibid., p.48.

Kitching makes a few comparisons¹⁰⁷ between the urban and rural contexts which are interesting for the purposes of this analysis: the areas of Central Province, he notes, were more densely populated during the period 1952-70 than areas in the Rift Valley, but it was access to off-farm labour which brought with it economic differentiation.

Employment statistics had to take account of the informal sector which grew with the population since it was an outlet for the 'poorest male

107 There is much material on land economy which pertains as background to this study: Kitching shows how the economy was affected by and the way it adapted to factors such as rinderpest, famine, world wars, the Depression of 1929 and was molded into a differentiated capitalist society. In the 1930's he notes particularly the 'monetisation' of the economy as commerce spread and the proportion of males sending back cash remittances increased. His accent on exploitation is most vividly brought out in the notes on the Kenya Land Commission of 1934 (Kenya Land Commission: Report and Evidence and Memoranda (3 Vols) 1934, pp.111-112, 130-1, 162, 188, 465-6, 815-42, cit. in Kitching, op. cit., p.284ff.) This both throws light on the colonialist government's lack of cultural understanding and the considerable leeway for integration which Kikuyu and Maasai culture allowed. The bitterness which Africans felt about the way the best land was often excised and handed over to settler farmers and plantation owners resulted from the novelty with which the Europeans had taken over the land and attributed ownership to themselves and had attached increasingly stringent conditions to those whom they allowed to share with them as 'tenants' or 'squatters'—whereas before squatters were quite authorized in offering the customary gifts of livestock and crops, now the 'white conquerors preferred labour, to be precise (by 1918) 180 days per year for an adult male. Those who had left the Reserve to 'squat' found that the 'new white conquerors had replaced the Maasai in the rich grazing lands of the Rift Valley', but because there were far fewer than the Maasai, they thought they would not mind. On the contrary, the idea of 'exclusivity' in the habitus of the European farmers was vastly problematic and Kitching points to the clash of real and symbolic capital values revealed in the proceedings of the Commission where mbari claimed they were and always had been owners of the land (see the theological legitimisation referred to in 1.2.1) For example, there was a surprising ignorance or obstinacy by the Commission not to believe that land could have multiple owners. By 1931 then Africans had come to subsume their own current and past patterns of land use to western concepts, so that they would not lose out by admitting that they did not have a traditional concept of exclusive land use: transactions became 'purchases, those who had made recognition gifts became 'tenants' who had to pay rent to 'landowners.' From 1952 there was no capitalizing monopolization, but a particular correlation between small-holding size and economic profit and wealth according to the amount of land cultivated, rather than the amount of land official statistics counted, which depended on farm cash, and off-farm income; furthermore, family size was often subject to this. Off-farm income was, according to Kitching's hypothesis, used as a source of savings and for other economic ventures e.g. land purchase, support investments for agriculture and for other businesses. Rather fewer people were enriched than might have been supposed by this 'agrarian revolution' and many households were untouched by the new farm enterprises at the centre of it.

labour power' (wage employment surveys of men in non-agricultural rural occupations revealed that 60,000 were working in 55,000 different rural establishments) It was people in the most densely populated areas, such as Central Province, who strikingly dominated the labour market: in 1960, for example, 32.2% of all Africans in employment were from Central Province. The Labour Department Annual Report of 1960 is exultant that the 'prevailing free supply of labour' meant 'those in employment (were) prepared to work longer through fear of losing their jobs' ¹⁰⁸.

From the mid-fifties there was a stabilisation in the Kenyan labour force restricted to African male workers. Except for a few salaried élite, men did not bring their families to urban areas, such as Nakuru (or Nairobi), and imaginably from the Kirinyaga area, until the early seventies. Although there were recommendations for a minimum wage, most were remitting their wages to their family at home, and wages did not rise fast enough to allow a whole family to remove to the urban area.

Kitching's conclusion outlines the inadequacy of a neo-Marxist analysis were it to conflate historical materialism and the stratification model of bourgeois sociology. He prefers a truer Marxist appraisal which disentangles the 'objective' structure of class and production relations from the 'subjective' structure of consciousness, ideology and political factions.¹⁰⁹ These are issues, which it is argued in this thesis, influence the sociology of mission and liturgy in the churches, and the CPK, and which will be examined in more detail below and in Appendix V in relation to some events of recent social conflict.

¹⁰⁸33.2% from Nyanza, and most of the remainder from Machakos and Kitui.
ibid., pp.378-379, 383

¹⁰⁹*ibid.*, p.455

Kitching has offered many helpful models which are keys to the analysis of the prospectives for mission and worship in the CPK; his non-doctrinaire application of Marxist thinking is theologically apposite¹¹⁰ and his differentiated economic frame of reference is neither simplistic nor unsympathetic to the needs of the 'voiceless' which the churches have been so eager to represent, and accords very well with Bourdieu's dynamic models of the habituses of agents manipulating capital within a field. His analysis can well be set alongside the work of Karanja (op. cit.) and Githige¹¹¹ to illuminate the social and economic forces, which have been and still are at work in the church.

1.2.4 SUMMARY

To sum up the argument thus far using Bourdieu's frame of reference, we may say that the instinctive and learnt habituses of the Samburu and the Maasai are considerable in the changes which they resisted and adapted to. This can be seen from the ambivalent relationship the Samburu had with the Turkana (1.1.2. (b) (ii)), and the inventive alliances the Maasai formed with the dominating British (1.2.3. (a) (ii)). For these peoples capital exists in the form of age, ownership of livestock and number of wives from which status is derived in the ritual field. For the Kikuyu, who have a complex habitus, and were able sometimes to manage the effects of colonialism (see the Waiyaki incident, 1.2.2 (a) (ii) n. 51) capital is in general related to the gain, tenancy or ownership of land. However, the impact of modernity and the rural-urban migration patterns mean that strict ethnographical distinctions are impossible, particularly in more cosmopolitan societies such as the town of Nakuru. Kirinyaga diocese, by

¹¹⁰vis. David Jenkins: 'Marx convicts me of sin...' The Contradiction of Christianity.

¹¹¹Revd. Gideon Githige, 'The Church as a Bulwark against Extremism: Development of Church and State Relations in Kenya with particular reference to the Years after Political Independence, 1963-1992,' Ph.D thesis.

contrast, is more densely populated, cultivated and homogeneously Kikuyu than Nakuru town which is generally heterogeneous in its make-up since it is a centre of migration. In large areas of Nakuru diocese, however, there are more homogenous groups and pastoralist peoples where identity and ethnicity is formed and reformed (as has been shown in the case of the Maasai) around the givenness of the ritual fields. The Kikuyu are not dominant in Nakuru; however it is well known as a politically dynamic town, a fact which may be related to its volatile populations. Both Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses have large areas of thinly populated and desertified land and pastoralist peoples in the north. Maasai, for example, are commonly seen in the town of Nakuru.

Kikuyu traditionally relate to the transcendent often by the association of divinity with a mountain and through a complex social organization; for the Maasai and other more pastoral groups, the complexity of social organization is subject to the environment and worship depends on the ritual slaughtering of undefiled animals from their prized stock. Contrasting views of the divinity, either as found in relation to a mountain or to the sun (for more northern Kenyan communities) do not detract from a common monotheistic belief which these communities share.

To these communities came the givenness of a new ritual field, the Anglican liturgy, catechesis and symbology inherited from the Book of Common Prayer. It was translated, with the Bible, into various vernacular languages, and a more striking contrast could not be imagined between the uniform Christian worship based on the English Reformation and the multi-ethnic, socially-diverse and politically-charged community (or communities) which Kenya represented, and into which it was introduced.

CHAPTER TWO

A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE CPK WITH REFERENCE TO THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT, TRAINING, AND TO WORSHIP.

CHAPTER TWO PART ONE

2.1.0 THE UNITIVE THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF THE EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT (EARM)¹¹² WITH REFERENCE TO LITURGY AND THE CPK.

The history of the Kenyan Anglican Church has been well described elsewhere. There are distinctions between the various denominations and church groupings which will be examined later. These generally concern the different approach of the American Baptist mission, the Africa Inland Mission/Church or of the Western-influenced New Pentecostal churches as compared with the mainstream denominations. In fact, many of the Independent churches are derivatives of established denominations. Some are not, but grew out of popular movements such as the East African Revival Movement. The EARM was a phenomenon which united the factions of the church in East Africa and Kenya, as they saw the common heritage they shared. The first Anglican bishops of Nakuru and Mount Kenya, Neville Langford-Smith and Obadiah Kariuki were EARM adherents and therefore an analysis of its influence on liturgy is apposite and will determine areas of commonality between the churches in mission. This is the concern of this chapter.

¹¹²The author's abbreviation.

2.1.1 EARM AND THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE 1988.

One of the aims of international Lambeth Conferences of Bishops which takes place every decade is for them to experience worship from other contexts and to meet their colleagues from elsewhere. Overall, however, the worship sessions at the 1988 Lambeth Conference of Primates were considered disappointing from a liturgical point of view by a number of bishops.¹¹³ We have noted already the way in which the Two Thirds World and African bishops significantly altered the agenda of the conference. However, one western bishop's (Rt Revd Colin Buchanan) record establishes clearly the important role of the theme of East African Revival in the worshipping pattern of the conference, even if it was marginal to the discussion which took place. On Sunday 24th July as part of the Family Eucharist, Janet Wesonga, widow of a Ugandan bishop of Mbale, led the African bishops in singing a 'Swahili Revival theme-song' launching an evangelistic call to bishops and their wives. This Swahili Revival song was likely to be Tukutendereza, ie. a Luganda song (see n.124 below). In the early mornings of the 4th-6th August ad hoc East African Revival meetings were convened consisting of:

'twenty minutes of prayer, twenty minutes of testimony (some of it confession of resentment about the plenary business...but perhaps folk do well to be angry), and twenty minutes of bringing scripture to each other- punctuated by the Swahili Revival song.'¹¹⁴

The inclusion of EARM elements (in terms of a structured hour of informal liturgy) in the worship of an international conference of Anglican leaders may indicate how they have become part of an Anglican liturgical heritage; however EARM is not monopolised by Anglicans but points to an overall Protestant movement which has developed mainly within and across denominations. It is necessary, therefore, to trace briefly the origin,

¹¹³See Questionnaires, OCMS Archives.

¹¹⁴News of Liturgy, August 1988, n.164 (A Lambeth Liturgical Diary), p.3.

features and effects of EARM in Kenya in relation to mission and liturgical development with respect to the modern CPK.

2.1.2 A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT (EARM)¹¹⁵

The origin of the movement is linked with the arrival of certain Anglican British missionaries in Rwanda (then Ruanda) and, importantly, to Uganda, and Kenya. Joe Church was a medical doctor who came to Gahini in Rwanda at a time of famine and great hardship, with the prayer and financial support of the Cambridge University Christian Union (CICCU). With him he took the 'puritan' gospel message of holiness and enthusiasm, an influence derived from the American/European missions and hymnody of Moody and Sankey in the late nineteenth century, which was in turn embodied by the deployment of students as missionaries in the twentieth century. In 1929, with his senior hospital assistant, Yosiya Kinuka, Church began a daily Bible study and teaching group for 'pupils, workmen, hospital patients, staff'.¹¹⁶ This 'community study' was a marker both of depleted human resources in a time of stress and a clarion-call for greater reliance on divine providence and interdependence. It lasted an hour and was later seen as the 'foundation for the revival'. Subsequent to this evangelistic-cum-medical teams were sent out with the aim of furthering revival in terms of improving lay theological education and increasing participation.

¹¹⁵There is an increasing amount on the subject of EARM: Rabai to Mumias, op. cit.; John Karanja op. cit.; Dr. Jocelyn Murray is also writing a book on the subject.

¹¹⁶Proclaim the Good News, Jocelyn Murray, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1985, pp.187-9.

In 1936 another of Church's colleagues, Blasio Kigozi, died, an event which led to a discussion about issues which Kigozi had intended to raise at the Uganda Church Synod. His intentions were viewed retrospectively as prophetic. The term Balokole which is used to denote the movement is from the Luganda language of Uganda and means 'the saved ones', and signifies its rootedness in Uganda, where it has a widespread influence.¹¹⁷ Although Church was instrumental in the movement, at this point 'what might have been the work of one gifted man now clearly became the work of the Spirit'¹¹⁸, as rapid growth apparently took place. Murray's summary helps to focus the features and effects that need to be examined in this study.

Teams went out in all directions, small meetings and larger conventions were held, and wherever the message of sin, repentance, turning to Christ, and confession was preached, results were seen. Indeed the "signs following" became a rock on which the young movement nearly foundered. There was crying out, weeping, whole congregations praying, trembling and crying out all night; reports of dreams and visions. There was also restitution of money and goods stolen, restored relationships, changed lives. It was in the hospitals and boarding schools that the violent outward manifestations of revival presented the most difficulties. Missionary headteachers and hospital sisters found their entire institutions disrupted while dancing, drumming, singing and praying went on all night.¹¹⁹

The 'love and zeal' spread like a fire and those experiencing it were impelled to ignite others with the publicity as they 'testified' to new spiritual life. In 1937 the movement reached Kenya when a team preached at Kabete at the invitation of Church's brother, and some people were 'saved', including Obadiah Kariuki.¹²⁰

In its early stages the movement explored dynamics within East African Christianity- e.g. the link between theology and medical and social development, and the empowerment and employment of lay Christians- which

¹¹⁷See Kevin Ward, loc. cit.

¹¹⁸Murray, op. cit., p.190

¹¹⁹ibid., p.191

¹²⁰See John Karanja, op. cit., p.262.

were later to become more pronounced in the Church of the Province of Kenya. It led after the war to Revival conventions under indigenous leadership: a lay movement par excellence, one of its slogans is that the Church is too important to leave control of it to the clergy. It represented from an early stage 'the means by which the Christian Gospel has become incarnated more deeply and radically into African patterns of thinking and action, a genuinely African expression of Christianity.'¹²¹

2.1.3 THE INFLUENCE OF THE 'EARM LITURGY' WITHIN THE CPK.

(i) Features of EARM: confession, salvation and social changes.

In attempting to define the nature of the movement Max Warren identifies three streams which converge in it: a reaffirmation of theology, a resuscitation of worship, and a reviving of conscience.¹²² He also indicates three factors which kept the Revival in the mainstream churches. They were firstly 'emotional': a mature joy in faith, an indiscriminate love in the expression of community or fellowship as koinonia, and a practical concern for one another.

Secondly, the faith experienced was to be shared by the preaching/medical teams, and, thirdly, from the 1940's conventions attracting thousands were held every year under the leadership of Kenyans. It is possible to compare the strength of the movement with the organisation of earlier English Wesley revivalism, with its bands, classes and societies, or with the expression of recent transatlantic Church Growth theory with its cell-, congregation- and celebration-size groups¹²³, which were both similarly formed for the purposes of propagation and social dynamism.

¹²¹Kevin Ward, ' "Tukutendereza Yesu" The Balokole Revival in Uganda,' in (ed.) Nthamburi, From Mission to Church, p.113.

¹²²Max Warren, Revival, An Enquiry, London, SCM, 1954, pp.19-20.

¹²³The cell having 3-12, a congregation 25-175, a celebration 175+. See

In a critical chapter Warren examines some characteristics of EARM such as the exuberant dancing and singing, particularly of the theme-song, Tukutendereza,¹²⁴ in which he warns of the dangers of undisciplined emotionalism whilst recognising the drawbacks of his own European formalism. He recounts how a white missionary, irritated by the noise of an EARM meeting going on into the night at Christmas, approached the Balokole to silence them but was so moved by the paeans of praise for the incarnate Lord that he felt rebuked for how little Christmas meant to him. In a contemporary context, the enthusiastic use of the hymn book in the Kirinyaga area, Nyimbo Cia Gucanjamura Ngoro, (94) points to a distinctive Anglican emphasis of home grown tunes balanced with a Wesleyan theology of hymnody.¹²⁵

Another factor which Warren was wary of is the tendency towards oversimplification and individualism which appears to inhabit EARM theology since it emphasizes 'being saved' as an instant affair more than the process of sanctification. Exclusiveness is another feature of EARM- which may be necessary for group formation, cohesion and trust, as will be seen- but which gives cause for concern since it is incompatible with the Christian notion of universal agape which involves 'brothering all the souls on earth.'¹²⁶

Thirdly, one of the most significant features of EARM is the motif of open confession, which has also characterised other revivals in history. Warren locates this expression theologically in the experience of Isaiah who after a vision of God perceives his own sinfulness and receives the

e.g. (ed.) Eddie Gibbs, Ten Growing Churches, MARC Europe, BCGA, 1984; Roy Pointer, How Do Churches Grow?, Marshalls, 1984.

¹²⁴Luganda for 'We praise Thee', it is the first line of a chorus from the Keswick hymn-book, which reads 'We praise Thee Jesus, Jesus the Lamb. Thy blood cleanses: I thank Thee Saviour.'

¹²⁵Perception based on this author's experiences, 2-3/96; see further on this 4.1.4.3(c) and footnote.

¹²⁶Max Warren, op. cit., p.88

tangible gift of forgiveness in the image of the burning coal which purges his lips. This confession, which is a process, and may therefore be repeated leads to 'moral reform often of a very radical character' where drunkards and wife-beaters become model characters and recover meaning and purpose¹²⁷. It also has a social function in strengthening the bond with other members of the fellowship community (walking in the light).¹²⁸ The African Israel Church (Nineveh)¹²⁹, which developed from a Pentecostal mission, used to practise open confession of an ecstatic variety but this changed under new leadership so that private confession to elders, elders to pastors, pastors to the High Priest or Vatumwa became the norm.¹³⁰ This is now a flourishing indigenized church, and can be seen as an example of how confessionalism has been sacramentalized by independency.

Kevin Ward defines Balokole belief and practice under the titles, 'Church Commitment', 'The Blood of Christ', 'Sin and Confession', and 'Testimony' and importantly indicates the nuances of revivalism in different parts of Uganda: in Western Uganda EARM was co-terminous with the Anglican Church whilst in the north and elsewhere it was seen as a challenge or threat to the established Anglican Church as an institution.¹³¹ B.A.Ogot, furthermore, stresses the split between different interpretations of the EARM in Western Kenya which resulted in the development of the Church of Christ in Africa from the Anglican Church. One writer sees the failure of CCA in that it led to a later split and that it did not create an indigenous theology or liturgy.¹³²

127 F.B.Welbourn, B.A.Ogot, A Place to Feel at Home, A Study of Two Independent Churches in Western Kenya, OUP, London, 1966, pp.10-11.

128 Max Warren, op. cit., p.67

129 Warren's description

130 ibid., p.95

131 (ed.) Z. Nthamburi, op. cit., pp.124ff, 130ff.

132 F.Welbourn and B.A.Ogot, op. cit., cit. in Rabai to Mumias, op.cit. p.86

Another revival-based movement in Western Kenya eventually led to a break with the Anglican church in 1948 when a Luo group appeared within the church, calling itself Joremo, the people of the blood, since they were always singing of the blood of Jesus. Although the Joremo were not schismatics, they believed a person needed to be 'saved' many times; this contrasted with another group called the Johera, people of love, who preached the salvation of a soul once for eternity. The Joremo were more aligned with the Anglican Church than the Johera who stood apart and formed a new church.¹³³ These debates about the nature of salvation can be equated with another context, namely the clash between Augustine and Pelagians in the Early Church regarding whether salvation was by faith or by works. Another group, the Wahamaji, believed that salvation was dependent on repentance and confession of sin.¹³⁴ The point may be made, and has been made, drawing a parallel between the nature of the theological debates of the Early Church (in patristic studies) and those of the 'Younger Churches' of Africa, in order to point to the analogy of the theology of the Church Fathers, rather than more recent Western theology, as a starting point for an African theology of synthesis.¹³⁵

Further waves of the Revival Movement have been discerned in East Africa and Kenya, in groups calling themselves not only Balokole but 'kuzukuka' or 'kufufuka' or the Bazukufu¹³⁶, the 'Reawakened or Risen Ones' to define themselves distinctively. It is interesting to see how the development of revivalism and its terminology is a reflection of the socio-religious climate at any one time. (See Chapter Two Part Two). More

¹³³ ibid., p.17.

¹³⁴ Welbourn and Ogot, op. cit., p.38.

¹³⁵ See Kwame Bediako, Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and Modern Africa, Regnum Books/Lynx Communications, 1992, p.432 and citing André Benoit, L'actualité des Pères de l'Église, Neuchâtel, 1961, p.79.

¹³⁶ See ibid., p.137; and cit. in a list of 'New Clan laws' relating to Tanzanian Lutheranism in Josiah M. Kibira, Church Clan and the World, Uppsala, Gleerup, 1974, p.51.

recently mwaki prayer groups consisting mainly of women from all churches have been meeting in Kirinyaga diocese, and possibly elsewhere in Kenya. Mwaki are a Roman Catholic initiative. ¹³⁷

(ii) Confession, identity and wholistic mission

Although the expression of Revival in East Africa has not been associated with baptism, it is significant that both in the Early Church and in the separatist churches which Sundkler investigated in South Africa this has been very much the case. Confession, in Sundkler's analysis is purgative and gains entry (or re-entry) to the fellowship of the redeemed, and may certainly be seen as 'sacramental' in its initiatory intention.

The traditional association of the public confession of Kalenjin novices at their initiation is suggested by Welbourn. The initiates are placed in a circle of elders and made to confess their petty sins and offences. If they are suspected of withholding anything, seeds are thrown in the fire producing explosive noises interpreted as angry ancestral spirits.¹³⁸ This is a sign, too, of the inculturating aptitude of EARM theology.

Again, the account of the independent African Israel Church (Nineveh) in 1966 describes the terms of membership as the elders' satisfaction that the candidate has confessed her sins (either publicly or to an elder) and is set in a new way of life.¹³⁹ The danger that this fellowship might become exclusive is obviated if Kibira's thesis (op. cit. n.11) is added to the equation. His assertion of no confidence in the denominational exports of European Lutheranism or English Anglicanism has led to a consideration of the Bahaya-Banyambo culture as containing models for a revivalist ecclesiology. Kibira referred to four 'clans' (by which he

¹³⁷mwaki=fire (Kikuyu). Interview with Canon Daniel Munene, 4/12/95.

¹³⁸F. Welbourn and B.A.Ogot, op.cit., pp.13-14.

¹³⁹ibid.,p.95.

meant religious traditions) which are bridged by bloodbrotherhood and marriage and proposed a theology whereby Christ can be seen to have created a new bloodbrotherhood inaugurating an inclusiveness, even a pluralism of acceptance:

the "New Clan" cannot just be of a few people as expressed in the Abalokole movement. Jesus Christ died for all, including those who do not believe in him. He is Lord of the whole world including Muslims and Traditionalists and peoples of all world religions... the blood brotherhood conception is stronger than the clan, and its uniting effect beyond clan boundaries will be the foundation on which we base the Christology in indigenous theological thinking.¹⁴⁰

Connected with the theme of confession and purgation is that of healing and wholeness, and publicity or testimony in relation to (the sacramental ministry of) absolution or cure. Warren recognised the continuum from individual conversionism to the establishment of corporate identity in the social unity of reconciliation between African and European and between members of different ethnic groups. Mbiti speaks of a 'spirit of openness... that cuts across barriers of denominational, ethnic and class differences'.¹⁴¹ This unity embraces one's fellows so that in 'that wholeness [the individual] himself becomes whole and so becomes able to mediate wholeness to others. He does not do this by himself but as part of that new whole of which he is a member.'¹⁴² Christian healing is thus profoundly related in East African theology to the public confessional as a means of healing, a feature which may incidentally be related to the Western predilection for psychotherapy or counselling as a quasi-confessional, or, further, in terms of EARM, as a group pastoral counselling process whereby the group also grants priestly absolution¹⁴³.

¹⁴⁰Kibira, *op. cit.*, pp.46-7

¹⁴¹He also questions whether the openness goes too far and cites the example of a woman confessing publically to adultery with a high-ranking clergyman who subsequently lost his job. John S.Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*, OUP, Nairobi, 1986, p. 167.

¹⁴²Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 70, 109, 111.

¹⁴³Kenneth Leech asks whether 'pastoral counselling' is a modern version of confession; however there is a warning that a person who needs 'counselling' may not be psychologically able to cope with being 'fixed in their weakness', a possible result of confession. This question deserves further treatment but will take me outside the scope of this

In this 'dynamic cycle' verbalised 'testimony' is thus the outcome which will be intended to bring others to a sense of sinfulness and confession.

The confessional-healing motif may be said to be one of the influences in the rise of a concept of wholistic theology which integrates mission and development. This has been particularly evident both in the evolution of conference theology as bishops and leaders have contributed and interacted in a global forum, and in institutional theological education in the CPK. At the Lambeth Conference in 1988 Bishops Okullu and Gitari, both office-holders in the World Council of Churches (Gitari being on ARCIC 2), affirmed their commitment to 'evangelism and mission to the whole person and society.' Their speeches were seminal in the establishment of an African perspective at an international level and were from a representative background of the mission understanding of the Church in the Two Thirds World.¹⁴⁴

In common with this, the 'diocesan' theological colleges became 'provincial' theological colleges in 1993, so that students from the whole Province may now go from other dioceses to these colleges. All of the Anglican colleges are supposed to be seen as 'Colleges of Theology and Development' since they educate in Community Health Work Training, Secretarial and Development Studies as well. (See Chapter Two Part Two). The continuity between the early medical and educational work of the EARM and many missions and the present tasks of the CPK in its responsibility through the Provincial Board of Theological Education can be established.

study. See Kenneth Leech, Soul Friend, A Study of Spirituality, Sheldon Press, London, 1977, pp.99,101; and insights from Clinical Theology- John Peters, Frank Lake, the man and his work, Darton Longman and Todd, 1989.

¹⁴⁴cf . Lausanne 1974- where evangelical Christians endorsed social responsibility; 'Transformation- The Church in Response to Human Need'- an international conference of theologians and developmentalists, Grand Rapids, 1983; the Stuttgart Statement from the Commission for World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, 1987 etc. See, Samuel and Sugden, op.cit., SPCK, 1989, pp.70-5

One reason for this may be that both the EARM and the CPK later took the bible seriously and prepared the way for it to be related more closely to social context.

2.1.4 EARM AND BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS

The importance of the fact that the text of the Bible has been translated into vernacular languages, and that it has been read in homes and been expounded in churches is considerable in the Revival Movement in Kenya. Warren complains of the lack of systematic Bible study (in 1954) in church groups in Africa; he criticises the method of 'drawing out from its surface meaning what finds an immediate echo in the individual's or the group's experience.'¹⁴⁵ He would seem to be advocating a text-based (rather than a contextualised) approach to study whereas recent analysis of insights from liberation theology would suggest a different angle of approach which bears resemblance with the Revival approach.

Basic Christian Communities in Brazil adopt a threefold method which starts with (a) contemporary experience, perhaps in the form of a parable from life concerning a political or moral question- such as land, followed by (b) a discussion in which hearers identify from their own experience and feelings with the semi-fictional characters in the narrative; (c) the biblical text is read and discussed and compared with the story from life, and only then is a commentary read which represents current liberational exegesis (e.g. 'Jesus' parables were an invitation to change things according to God's justice and goodness') and insights are drawn from the reflection which impact the present call to discipleship in the community.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵Warren, *op.cit.*, p.97.

¹⁴⁶Christopher Rowland and Mark Corner, Liberating Exegesis, The Challenge of Liberation Theology to Biblical Studies, London, SPCK, 1990, pp.12, 15, 38

Whilst Rowland and Corner note a certain 'circumspection' about the historical-critical method in Basic Christian Communities, they note also that 'the difference from the naive Evangelical reading is the communitarian setting and the avoidance of a narrowly individualistic "religious" reading.'¹⁴⁷ If Revivalist textual exegesis has been naively personalist, this may partly be explained by the theological presuppositions of conservative evangelical missions and educators in Kenya in comparison with the socially-committed calibre of recent Latin American Roman Catholic priests and laity. This personal spirituality may also be a feature of a highly religious African culture. Zablon Nthamburi, currently Presiding Bishop of the MCK, mentions the role of African liberation theology in Kenya in bringing wholeness to a society dominated by white 'settlers', and the Anglican liturgy providing hope for the Meru people in their fragile pastoralist lifestyle¹⁴⁸. This discussion will be extended further below.

Both Latin Americans and East Africans study their bibles in situations of poverty, oppression and disease and the original Christological and soteriological focus of EARM defines a careful, respectful approach to Scripture which now is bearing fruit in the political engagement of Christian leaders and in an intelligent biblical approach to traditional religion and sacraments in Kenya.

2.1.5 EARM AND KENYAN POLITICS

Classic studies of the EARM such as Warren's and Welbourn's¹⁴⁹ filter their insights through the lens of Sundkler's influential study, Bantu Prophets in South Africa¹⁵⁰ so that we can draw attention to four

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.14

¹⁴⁸ Zablon Nthamburi, The African Church at the Crossroads, Uzima, Nairobi, 1991, pp.4-9

¹⁴⁹ F.B.Welbourn, East African Rebels, A Study of Some Independent Churches, London, SCM, 1961; ... A Place to Feel at Home.

¹⁵⁰ OUP, 1948/1961.

features which both independent church and revival movements, although divergent in their intentions, have in common. Firstly, the tendency towards separatism with the corollary of independent church movements which was necessary in the former South Africa to combat explicit racism. In the case of Kenya the Revival was often opposed to political action¹⁵¹, but it did increase social awareness, lead to the empowerment of a lay movement, which would mature in opposition to the means, if not the ends, of the Mau Mau 'liberation' movement. Lonsdale encapsulates the alignment which took place between the embryonic state in Mau Mau, missions and the population in relation to EARM.

Revivalists... saw themselves as washed in the blood of Christ as other Kikuyu were cleansed by the blood of a ram...Nationalists were said to fear that their worldly Christianity was being subverted into political quietism. Missionaries saw Mau Mau as a counter-revival to keep religion in this world. But revival also challenged clerical white control; the "saved" or "the brethren" as they called themselves, trusted only the inward authority of spiritual rebirth. Not all missionaries were similarly "broken" in spirit; some despaired, inconsistently that their finest Christians had become so other-worldly that they despised politics as a "dirty game". Indeed Mau Mau and missionary criticism of revival was, from opposite sides, remarkably similar...¹⁵²

A committed moral and pacifist stance was being adopted by revivalists who were deeply distrusted by Mau Mau and missionaries and district commissioners respectively for their refusal to take blood oaths and their pacifist abdication from defence of the colonial order. This led to martyrdoms and arbitrary killings¹⁵³; Roman Catholics were also at risk because Mau Mau feared the power of the confessional. The role of the

¹⁵¹For the complexities of the relationship between the colonial state and the government of the peoples of 'Kenya', and the role of the mission churches (when the churches were growing fastest numerically) in the early twentieth century, sometimes affirming the government, sometimes being challenged by it, and sometimes challenging it, see Berman and Lonsdale, Unhappy Valley, Book One, (op.cit.). See Sandgren (op. cit.) for an account of the racism practised in an American-based mission largely unaffected or opposed to the Revival although actually a seedbed for church independency.

¹⁵²Berman and Lonsdale, Unhappy Valley, Book Two pp. 445, 447 and footnotes; see also Murray, op. cit., p.243

¹⁵³Warren's Revival is dedicated to Ganthon and Rebekah who were Revival leaders and who were murdered by Mau Mau for serving tea to British police officers

public confessional in EARM, as a group bonding mechanism, might therefore be seen as one powerful liturgical agent in social formation against which the Mau Mau rituals could be described as a putative counter-liturgy. The ecclesiastical and political divisions over oathing were in that case a result of liturgical conflicts.

Ward makes the point that in the same way as the Balokole were non-political and yet open to politics, or perceived as a political threat (when they burnt 'immoral' crops affecting the brewing industry) they were also both conservative in their critique of African culture and 'progressive' in their acceptance of Western medicine and education:

The virtues of honesty, integrity and hard work helped Balokole to get jobs and having got them to keep them. Their educated children were in a good position to get high-salaried professional posts. (But many children found the ethos of the fellowship too narrow and have not become Balokole themselves). The general result has been that the Balokole have been an upwardly-mobile status group, participating in the creation of a petite-bourgeoisie in society at large.¹⁵⁴

The fact that leaders of the Protestant mission churches were more critical than other (Roman Catholic, American-based or even Independent) churchleaders during the multi-party era before 1991¹⁵⁵, points to the fact that EARM theology had matured in the CPK and PCEA context to allow a combative position to be adopted in relation to the Kenyan state. Before Bp. Muge's controversial death in 1989, a further alliance between leaders of these churches, Bps. Muge, Okullu, and Gitari and Rev. Timothy Njoya (of the PCEA) and a Roman Catholic Bishop a'Nzeki, of Nakuru, showed that Kenya's churches had come of age and that they were constructing an 'indigenous theology of resistance'¹⁵⁶ to the state which

¹⁵⁴Ward in (ed.) Nthamburi, *op.cit.*, p.136.

¹⁵⁵As Benson has argued, *op.cit.*, p.2.

¹⁵⁶David Throup, "Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's" The Politics of Church-State Conflict in Kenya 1978-1990, in Religion and Politics in East Africa, 1995, p.172

wished to see a more Erastian church. The corporate effect of the EARM in the establishment of an ecumenical political bastion is important¹⁵⁷.

One of the foremost symbols of socio-political identity for the Kenyan EARM adherent and Protestant Anglican would be the spiritual equipment of liturgy: the Bible, upon which so much political idiom depends for its effectiveness, and prayer books.

2.1.6 LITURGY AND THE EARM

Warren writes of the esteem in which the Book of Common Prayer, along with the Bible, is held, a fact which is underlined by Bishop Gitari and others.¹⁵⁸ The common pattern of Revival adherents holding informal meetings after church services to discuss the sermon or improve on the gospel content of the sermon is an effort to supplement the worship of the BCP and not to substitute something else for it. The content and faith of the Book of Common Prayer which was created by an individual for a people at a particular time has achieved, by its translation and use, a transcendence in the spiritual lives of many (now) older African and Kenyan Christians who are also EARM adherents so that it became a basis for ongoing mission and for current liturgical developments. The catechisms learnt by baptism candidates or confirmands, and taught by evangelists are ingrained in many Christian leaders at present. The formalism of the BCP has been the foundation for much internalised theology and the source of some frustration due to concern amongst many clergy in the Kenyan dioceses under scrutiny, as new Pentecostal churches are drawing many young people to them¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁷See Gideon Githige, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁸See 3.1; Interview with Revd Shadrach Mwangagi, Tutor, Berea College of Theology and Development, Diocese of Nakuru, 12/95.

¹⁵⁹See interview with Revd Shadrach Mwangagi, Berea College of Theology and Development, Diocese of Nakuru, 12/95; survey results (Appendix II)

Historically the EARM created a mutual fellowship which 'appeared to supersede all the older solidarities of family and clan... (and) the revival profoundly challenged the assumptions of European superiority in the Church and opened the way for a recovery of African responsibility and leadership.'¹⁶⁰ As we have seen above, there were separatist forces unleashed in the EARM, but these were largely defined by a movement (towards African Independent Churches) for independence from mission directives, and they were, moreover, crucially not overwhelmed by the underlying will for unity which EARM strived for. In fact, the EARM became an 'African movement operating parallel to the administrative structure of missionary denominations' in the 40's, and ensured the survival of the established African Church when independent schools and churches were being banned by the Colonial administration.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, during the 50's and 60's it was almost impossible for a candidate to be accepted by his parish for clergy training if he was not deeply involved in the EARM, so closely was this expression of spirituality associated with the piety necessary for spiritual leadership.¹⁶² This is borne out by the number of mainstream churchleaders now associated with the EARM, including most CPK bishops, former Archbishop Manasses Kuria, former PCEA Moderator, Revd. John Gatu and others. Nowadays an ordination candidate is more likely to have sympathy for New Pentecostalism which sees itself as more advanced than the EARM in its liturgy and appropriation of spiritual power. Typical of the New Pentecostal movement is the Happy Church, which was begun in Nakuru in 1983 and now has 25 branches (See Appendix VI). Its leader, Pastor Joseph Kamau, was baptised as an Anglican by Bishop Obadiah Kariuki, a revivalist, and is himself now informally called 'Bishop' by

¹⁶⁰See F.B.Welbourn, op. cit., 1961, p.9

¹⁶¹See N.A.Kivuti, A Church Comes of Age: 50 years of Revival in the CPK Diocese of Embu, Acton Publications, 1992, cit. in Rabai to Mumias, op. cit., p.82

¹⁶²ibid., p.82

his pastors. Mention must also be made of the ecumenical rôle of St Paul's United Theological College, and of the NCKK in reinforcing respect between traditions (e.g. PCEA, RCEA, MCK, CPK and Independent churches) and in maintaining a somewhat revivalist ethos among its alumni. On the other hand some would see St. Paul's as creating animosity between traditions and in quenching the revivalist ethos amongst its alumni.¹⁶³

2.1.7 EARM AND MUSIC

Furthermore, Anglican flexibility and assimilation of the EARM ethos wedded to social action has provided the basis for greater indigenization of worship in Kenya. The open prayer, call and response and repetitive hymn-singing of the revival liturgy is emulated in the Kenyan Service of Holy Communion (pp.4,19) and Modern Services (pp.21,42). The Kikuyu hymn book Nyimbo Cia Gucanjamura Ngoro produced by Revd Joyce Karuri and others can be seen as a contemporary illustration of a continuity between the importance of music and dance evoked in the inculturation of the Keswick hymns of the 30's and the marriage of theologically explicit text and local cultural forms.¹⁶⁴ Also the crucifixion and stoic themes of many EARM conventions, visual aids and motto cards have resonated with the sombre christological and penitential tone of the BCP.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³Interviews with Rt Rev Dr Zablon Nthamburi, Presiding Bishop of the MCK, 7/3/96; Rev Michael Lolwerikoi, Tutor at Berea Theological College, 27/2/96, Rev Gideon Githige, 15/12/95, Comment, Dr. Kevin Ward, 4/97.

¹⁶⁴See ch.4 for more details in the context of the liturgy.

¹⁶⁵One of the motto cards which grew out of the deeply devotional and formative 'Bowed neck' dream which Kilimenti Semugabo, a Mutusi sub-chief had, was an annotation of the Lord's Prayer called 'VICTORIOUS PRAYING; the logo pictures two kneeling men shaking hands in penitential reconciliation; it reads as follows:

OUR FATHER... daily prayer together
WHICH ART IN HEAVEN... daily looking up
HALLOWED BE THY NAME... daily worship
THY KINGDOM COME... daily Revival
THY WILL BE DONE... daily brokenness
GIVE US HIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD... satisfied
FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES... daily repentance
AS WE FORGIVE THEM... daily forgiveness
LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION... daily guidance
DELIVER US FROM EVIL... daily Victory

2.1.8 EARM AND THE LITURGY OF NEO-REVIVAL¹⁶⁶

The development of a new corporate spirituality with little importance being attached to denominations is attributable to the EARM also. The spiritual formation of theological students does not appear to be as deeply affected by the history or awareness of the EARM as by other factors. During the author's time spent in Kenya he observed an EARM meeting in process, namely a planning meeting of leaders. The EARM leaders were predominantly but not entirely of the 40+ age group, a feature which coincides with the perception amongst young people that the EARM is not meeting their needs or is over-exclusive¹⁶⁷. Of far greater importance is the phenomenon of student-led meetings for informal prayer and worship; in St Andrew's College, Kirinyaga diocese these were incorporated into a chapel programme; in Berea College, Nakuru diocese these were separate from chapel and designed as an addition to the official services. They are referred to as 'fellowship meetings' but because of the influence of a New Pentecostal style of worship in their conduct they can be defined for our purposes as Neo-Revivalists. The proceedings of one of these 'new revival' meetings is described in Appendix III.

Some division exists regarding these meetings, other students feeling that they are supererogatory, and some staff treating them with distrust. Some of the features of this division are comparable with the 1941 crisis

FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOM THE POWER AND THE GLORY... daily praising
FOR EVER AND EVER.
AMEN.

J.E.Church, Quest for the Highest, A Diary of the East African Revival,
Paternoster, Exeter, 1981, pp.217-8

¹⁶⁶My term

¹⁶⁷Although the East African Revival Fellowship (in Kirinyaga diocese) has thriving youth groups for its second generation Christians, many of these are not able to remain followers on account of strict rules regarding the wearing of hair (no beards nor plaits) and certain clothing. Oral Evidence, Jeffithah W.Mugo, 22.2.96

at Mukono Theological College when a third of the theological students 'met early in the mornings for prayer and fellowship and conducted an aggressive campaign against the evils of sin, theft and immorality which they found in the college.' When the authorities tried to stop the meetings 30 ordinands refused to comply and were dismissed from the college.¹⁶⁸ The opposition of African clergy leaders in Kenya to the Revival (from 1937-1945 and beyond) has also been noted.¹⁶⁹ The zeal of contemporary students in Nakuru diocese is not out of disapproval of theological liberalism since Berea is a conservative college, but out of a sense of corporate need for shared extempore prayer and praise, an expression of dependency on God which was a hallmark of the EARM. There is not however a distinguishable emphasis on open confession, but rather an emphasis on intercession.

On the one hand, this non-denominational Neo-Revivalism is perceived as threatening to the older generation of the EARM who have seen themselves as the custodian of true fellowship and spirituality. On the other hand, younger members of the movement who identify with New Pentecostalism, but who equally value the emphasis on preaching and other strengths within EARM, are determined to bring changes to the movement in future. Although older members resist an openness to other forms of worship and behaviour, the Neo-Revivalists in EARM love the elders and are campaigning for a more progressive approach in that spirit.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ See Kevin Ward, *op.cit.*, p.118

¹⁶⁹ They were afraid that the public confessions would cause conflict, and that they interfered with the Kikuyu practice of *kirira* (secret knowledge). See John Karanja, *op.cit.*, p.263ff.

¹⁷⁰ Jeffithah W.Mugo, *op. cit.*

2.1.9 SUMMARY

EARM did ironically, in spite of Warren's concern about its separatist tendencies, lead to a stabilisation of mainstream Protestantism and did generally reinforce existing denominations, including Anglicanism¹⁷¹. As a lay movement it also encouraged local African leadership as huge annual conventions were organised and held by Africans themselves, and which challenged the Churches to intensify their evangelistic task¹⁷², using a style of evangelism which went hand in hand with a concern and newly-secured responsibility for health and education and which can be termed 'wholistic mission'. Some senior clergy would downplay the significance of EARM in the contemporary context, seeking to distance themselves in the Kenyan context from an inadequate theologization of a Ugandan movement which failed to deal with the frenzies which routed Rwanda in 1994.¹⁷³ However the Kenyan ethos of the EARM has begotten a generation of Christians who are sympathetic to new forms of worship and whose Neo-Revivalism is considered to be one option which not only the mainstream denominations, but also the EARM, some wish, should re-assimilate into its style.

EARM would also come of age politically in Kenya in the power of protest and moral witness which the CPK was to exercise in the 1980's and 1990's. The possible influence which EARM had in the eventual introduction by the Kenyan state of a multi-party system in 1991 is neatly summarized by Benson below.

The Reformation-based mainstream churches emphasize the "priesthood of all believers", the essential solidarity

¹⁷¹Warren, op. cit., p.52; interview with Ven. Titus Ngotho Njuno, 10.95.

¹⁷²John Karanja, op. cit., p.267

¹⁷³See Roger Bowen, 'Rwanda- Missionary Reflections on a Catastrophe, J.C.Jones Lecture 1995' in ANVIL, Vol.13, No.1, 1996, pp.33-44. Interview with Most Revd Dr David Gitari, when Bishop of Kirinyaga, 26.2.96.

between leaders and people; the influential East African Revival gives emphatic anti-hierarchic teaching. The churches' understanding is the very antithesis of the Nyayo doctrine of sacral leadership... The churches set before Kenyans a radical alternative to Nyayoism just by being there.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴Benson, in Hansen and Twaddle, op. cit., p.195. 'Nyayo'- Kikuyu for the footsteps of Kenyatta, the founding father of modern Kenya, in which Moi self-declaredly walks.

2.2.0 A HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SURVEY OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE CPK IN THE DIOCESES OF NAKURU AND MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA ASSUMES A DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER IN TRAINING CONTEXTS.

It is the hypothesis of this study that the mission of the CPK is distinctive compared with other forms of mission in Kenya and that this can be defined in the particular approach to worship which the Kenyan Anglican Church is practising and commending. One way of determining whether this is so is by referring to theological training and lay training in the dioceses which are the foci of this chapter, and to the views and opinions of those who are involved in this. Residential institutions of theological education foster sustained theological reflection upon practice and are the seedbed for the nurture of practical theology. The students at colleges in the chosen dioceses are from a Provincial pool although many at the colleges will be deployed in the related diocese after basic ministerial training. St. Paul's, Limuru caters for students at degree level and above and has a larger catchment as a result. Diocesan strategies for mission can therefore be studied insofar as they derive from the quasi-university ethos of these colleges as the future CPK élite attend seminars and live together in community. For these latter perspectives the writer is often relying on material from oral interviews.

2.2.1 ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT ST ANDREW'S COLLEGE OF THEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT (SACTD), KABARE, DIOCESE OF KIRINYAGA.

(a) Background.

Before St Andrew's College (formerly 'Institute') was founded, a Christian presence could be discerned earlier this century when in 1910 the 'Gospel was preached' and St. Andrew's Church, Kabare was first established. Kabare is situated on an intensely-cultivated hill in the foothills at 36km south of the twin peaks of Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya) just off the Nairobi-Embu road, and not far from the present diocesan offices at Kerugoya. Edmund Crawford, of the Church Missionary Society, built the Old Mission House there with stones carried from the River Kiringa in 1912, the oldest stone building in the area. Also connected with the early establishment of Christianity in the area was Samuel Mukoba, the Archbishop Gitari's father, who came from Kabare to preach at Ngiriambu in 1919; the first church was built there in 1936. St. Andrew's Institute began as a Bible College in the diocesan offices at Embu in 1977 with Bishop Gitari as its first Principal. In May 1978 it moved to Kabare where there were only two wooden buildings and with both financial help from overseas and from Harambees it has developed considerably. Set in one of the fastest growing dioceses in the Anglican Communion, SACTD has since the 'Provincialisation' of all colleges in 1993 been seen as the 'leading and largest' of 4 provincial ordination training colleges. The college does not only train theological students but also has a Community Health work training programme, which began in 1982, Secretarial Studies, begun in 1988, and holds training courses in Development Studies and for evangelists¹⁷⁵: all of these initiatives are intended to represent 'integrated training for holistic mission.'¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵See SACTD, Kabare Prospectus Church of the Province of Kenya-Provincial Board of Theological Education, 1995, pp.1-8.

¹⁷⁶See The Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Library of St Andrew's Institute 1.5.91, LE.1.

(b) Views from the college and diocese.

It is apparent that students are very much aware that Kabare is indissolubly connected with the history of Christian and Anglican mission in Kenya and this, therefore, has implications for theological training and training for mission in the college.¹⁷⁷ Students are given regular block placements in order to carry out evangelistic work and third year students are exposed to DMA areas in the north (such as Isiolo) where they have to do missionary work in a difficult environment. The college's Department for Worship and Evangelism meets regular requests for 'open air meetings, challenge weekends and youth rallies'. The level of response to preaching in youth meetings is high and students speak warmly of their experience of missions in these contexts: with the criterion of Christian conversion, success was cited when it was reported that in 1995 'more than a thousand people got saved'¹⁷⁸ through student block placements. It is stated that group evaluation of the Sunday placements is taken seriously and that the recent introduction of inter-active pastoral training in the form of role-plays has been found most helpful by the students.

It is felt by some of the college educators that work in Diocesan Missionary Association (DMA) areas, focal points of potential mission, is not supported well enough by the diocese in not deploying enough pastors and evangelists in these areas; and that there is sometimes a want of integration between the Christian Community Services and the college and clergy.¹⁷⁹ However, the Christian formation of a number of students bears the hallmarks of a successful DMA policy with people from northern Kenya now studying there; the public and pastoral ministries of (former) Bishop

¹⁷⁷ Interviews, Revd. Johannes Beyerhaus, New Testament Tutor, SACTD, 2, 96.; with students

¹⁷⁸ ibid.

¹⁷⁹ ibid.; Interview, Dr. Ben Knighton, 24/2/96; see also Interview with Bp. Gitari.

Gitari, whose childhood was spent in the area, and Assistant Bishop Andrew Adano, from a northern ethnic group who had particular responsibility for the nomadic people of the north, are widely felt and appreciated by students. Bishop Adano died tragically in 1996. It was felt that the ministries of clergy which covered large areas would be improved if more resources were devoted to transport. In fact the priority of evangelism is articulated strongly by staff, students and clergy. At the same time, amongst theological students of the diocese there is criticism of the Roman Catholic approach to mission amongst the Gabbra people, as being characterised by gifts of aid to establish friendship and by not discouraging 'syncretism'. On the other hand, the mission of the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society (BCMS)¹⁸⁰, who have worked much in the north of Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses, has been accused of excessive caution regarding development work so that people have not seen the Christian God as interested in their material needs. Thus there is a legitimisation of the CPK approach to mission because this contrastingly both encourages a full break with a traditional religious-cum-Muslim past and attempts an integration of the gospel and social responsibility.¹⁸¹

The attitudes of the theological students of the provincial theological college of this diocese stress a middle way which conservatively values the indigenisation of mission and Anglican liturgical practice combined with an emphasis on preaching which relates to social context. The particular emphasis which Gitari exercised whilst Bishop of Mount Kenya

¹⁸⁰Now renamed Crosslinks, this was an Anglican mission which was formed in 1922 in reaction to the perceived 'modernism' of the CMS and in sympathy with the distinctly conservative AIM. See Macpherson, op. cit., p.70.

¹⁸¹See Interview, Mark Karge Denge and Daniel Qampicha 20.2.96; also Joseph Denge Galgalo Challenges to Evangelism among the Gabbra Pastoralists of Northern Kenya, unpublished paper, St Paul's United Theological College, 1993; also John Casson, Gospel and Culture in the Missiological Thinking and Practice of Bp. David Gitari, unpublished paper, Christ's College, Cambridge, 1994, p. 18.

East/Kirinyaga drew support from his local area and was reflected in the national Anglican constituency when he was voted Archbishop. The rich diversity of the student population with secretarial and development specialists as well as clergy from Sudan and other East African countries and elsewhere seems to make the institution somewhat of a university in its ethos.¹⁸²

2.2.2 ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT BEREA THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, NAKURU DIOCESE.

(a) Background

The origin of the property which is now where Berea Theological College is located, is linked with the colonial government's African Settlement programme in the Kinangop area. In 1961 a grant was received from Inter-Church Aid (now Christian Aid) through the auspices of the Christian Council of Kenya to start a Rural Aid Mission (RAM) providing medical services, agricultural training and other social services. The base for this was at first at St. Francis Mission, Soy, South Kinangop but when it was 'swallowed up by African Settlement'¹⁸³, Berea Farm, which was bought by the diocese by 1963 became eventually the basis for the Mission to farms in 1964. A Rural Service Department was established on Berea Farm in 1968, which became a rural extension service in the early 70's until it was decided to discontinue the project in 1974; however, profits from the farm's coffee and tea plantations were reinvested in mission in more rural and unreached areas.

A report says that the 'Diocese of Nakuru has been committed to the task of training men and women at all levels since 1961,¹⁸⁴ and that, apart

¹⁸² Oral Evidence, 3/96

¹⁸³ CPK Diocese of Nakuru Celebrates 25 Years of Christian Growth, 1961-1985, Diocese of Nakuru, 1985, p.5ff.

¹⁸⁴ ibid., p.26.

from those who went to St. Paul's College, Limuru, a few clergy had been trained at St. Philip's Bible School, Maseno as 'Assistant Ministers' previous to 1969. In 1978 the Church Training Centre, Kapsabet, which as Berea Farm, was a centre for training courses, was upgraded to a Bible School, as St. Paul's School of Divinity with Rev. Enos Ashimala as its first Principal. When Eldoret diocese was created out of Nakuru diocese in 1983, St. Paul's, Kapsabet became the new Eldoret diocesan 'Bible school'. Following that, the residual Nakuru 'Diocesan Department of Training' saw the need for revitalising Berea as a learning institution¹⁸⁵ and in 1985 Berea Bible Institute was founded with Rev. Stephen Njihia Mwangi, who is the present Bishop, as its first Principal. On provincialisation it became Berea Theological College and it is significant of the place of formal theological education that the new notice-board outside the college announces in equal-sized lettering that Berea is also now the centre of T.E.E. and Lay Training in the diocese, a service which was previously offered from the Normain estate on the outskirts of Nakuru.

(b) View from the college

The sense of identity of Berea Theological College is also governed by its development from a programme which integrated rural skills with mission, an emphasis which has been continued in the diocese and with the formation of the Christian Community Services Department (CCS) Department. Mission and Evangelism is taught to third year students and the educators are keen to point to the links with development which are promoted. Students engaged in the same placement activities as at SACTD and mission is an important element in their education. Although less is made of the fact, Berea is equally committed to a wholistic approach to mission and is also set in a diocese which is proud to have pioneered and

¹⁸⁵ ibid., p.29.

popularized the DMA approach to mission. A complementarity or competitiveness between these dioceses in this domain is also spoken of.¹⁸⁶

One strong contrast with SACTD is the fact that its setting on the edge of a large town means that Berea has the opportunity to expose its students to the complexities of urban life and pastoral challenges in Kenya's 'political capital' since it has often been associated with political opposition¹⁸⁷. This perception is historical due to Nakuru's position at the centre of the former European highland farming area with the attendant migration of settlers and 'squatters' whereas SACTD is set in the former 'reserve' area of colonialist ascription. The important role of the CPK diocese in relation to European farming has been mentioned above and it will be examined further; the Church's role in the ethnic clashes of the early 90's will also be examined in Appendix V.

Nakuru is also an arena of religious competition with a number of New Pentecostal Churches making a significant impact on the lives of people so that the theology which any ordinand develops at the college is influenced by this. Perhaps in the light of this a daily student-led prayer and praise meeting is taking place in the early evening and from March 1996 an extra session was initiated before breakfast (see 2.1.8); the author was not made aware of such zeal at SACTD which is not to say it is not there. The student survey, (see Appendix II) which was carried out largely at Berea but included students from Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses, revealed particular concern for indigenization and freedom in worship, and most interestingly, revealed a high estimation of the importance of the Book of Common Prayer as an instrument of catechesis

¹⁸⁶Interviews, Revd Michael Lolwerikoi, 27.2.96; Revd Shadrach Mwangangi, 15.12.95.

¹⁸⁷Weekly Review, 4.9.92, p.17.

and in worship¹⁸⁸, with a number of qualifications regarding the need for further vernacularization.

2.2.3 SYLLABUS

The syllabus used at all the provincial theological colleges is that designed for ministerial students at St Paul's United Theological College, Limuru and involves a mixture of historical, theological and practical subjects which would be found at other theological colleges, but includes modules on African Church History and African Theology and Christian Ethics, and on Christian Worship and Homiletics. Courses in the History of the Anglican Communion, and Administration in the CPK are internally examined at SACTD, since each college is responsible for its own Anglican Studies. Berea Theological College employs a part-time tutor in African Traditional Religion; the full-time Systematic Theology tutor is also much concerned with contextualized theology.¹⁸⁹ In order to place SACTD and Berea Theological college in broader context, it is necessary here now to consider the significance of St. Paul's College, Limuru as a centre of training.

2.2.4 THE ORIGIN AND ETHOS OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT ST. PAUL'S UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, LIMURU.

The importance of St. Paul's College, Limuru is considerable. As an ecumenical theological and degree-awarding institution which receives Anglican students from Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses amongst other places it allows for the exchange of perceptions in terms of theology, mission and liturgy. Since it is theologically rather than ministerially oriented

¹⁸⁸Practical worship is needed because 'even our culture allowed daily worship which was related to real-life situations' Response no. 8.
¹⁸⁹Interview with Revd Michael Lolwerikoi, Berea Theological College, 27/2/96.

and the students are most likely to return to their dioceses, the sharing of practice and reflection happens in a secure environment.

Having begun as a CMS Divinity School in 1903 in Freretown, St. Paul's moved to Limuru in 1930 on account of the healthier climate and to be closer to the centres of most rapid church growth. It was the only place of training for African pastors at this time¹⁹⁰. With joint (Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican) theological training being agreed in 1949, it became a United Theological College in 1955. Set in the ascending highlands, in an area evangelised by the Church of Scotland mission (PCEA)¹⁹¹ as well as by the CMS (CPK), the general and united strength of these denominations is apparent in the staff representation of Presbyterians, by a Methodist Principal, and by the variety of affiliation amongst the students, many of whom are already ordained, some of whom are from Independent churches. St. Paul's is widely regarded as a founding institution of theological education in Kenya, as a centre for the awarding of degrees, and of the external St. Paul's Diploma in Theology, and both as a reference point for Protestant theological training and higher education, and as an ecumenical and pastoral meeting point in East Africa.

The notice-board at Limuru bears the inscription 'St. Paul's University', a status which the institution will shortly formally acquire. It began granting degrees (in addition to diplomas) in 1980 under the Association of Theological Institutions of Eastern Africa (ATIEA)¹⁹², and later, under the Kenyan government as it sought to standardize academic

¹⁹⁰See Karanja, *op. cit.*, p.242; Nthamburi, *op. cit.*, p.128.

¹⁹¹The PCEA have recently opened a large new centre near the original mission church in Kikuyu in 1995.

¹⁹²Originating in 1960 as AFATC, and creating the Dip. Th. course at Makerere University in 1965, ATIEA now promotes fellowship between constituent colleges in an annual staff institute, including Seventh Day Adventist and Roman Catholic members. See Nthamburi, *op. cit.*, p.128; Interview, Dr Peter Ensor, Principal, St. Paul's, Limuru, 3/3/96.

qualifications, to create more places in higher education for school-leavers, and to encourage private universities. Therefore, from 1990 St Paul's began to award internal degrees and to seek accreditation by the Commission for Higher Education as a private university under the management of its supporting churches and the NCK. Its spheres are increasing with the addition in 1996/7 of Social and Cultural Studies, and Business Studies departments.¹⁹³

2.2.5 ANALYSIS

University College, Nairobi, opened a 'Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies' in 1969¹⁹⁴, but the University of Nairobi Certificate of Theological Studies¹⁹⁵ is no longer available, a fact which is not entirely regretted by theological educators since it is perceived that 'privatised' theological, pastoral and post-graduate education needs to 'keep up parity with other kinds of specialized professional training'.¹⁹⁶ In other words, the pastoral needs of a rapidly-expanding church are distinctively shaping the form of theological education on offer, particularly, as we have seen, in the CPK. Thus the overall question of the changing academic status of theology in non-Western and Two Thirds World, as well as Western, universities is crucially deserving of attention, but can only partially be entered into here. The changes at Nairobi University referred to are an example which illustrate well the third conclusion of the thesis of Ghanaian Presbyterian, Kwame Bediako:

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Rabai to Mumias, op.cit., p.154.*

¹⁹⁵ This has been replaced by the Provincial Certificate in Theology (CPT). See *SACTD Prosopectus, CPK-PBTE, 1995, p.16*

¹⁹⁶ These include the Nairobi International School of Theology (NIST), the East African School of Theology (EAST), the Pan-African Christian College (PACC) and the Nairobi Evangelical School of Theology. Daystar University provides non-theological courses closely related to Church service.' *Rabai to Mumias, op.cit., p.154-5; and Interview, Ven. Titus Ngoto, 10/95.*

An indication of the radically new situation which the African pluralistic context now presented is the fact that the university Faculties of Divinity or Theology which had developed within European Christendom with their attention mainly directed towards the traditional fields of Biblical, historical and dogmatic studies, have had to make way for Departments of Religious Studies with a more pronounced interest in the phenomenology and theology of religions. No self-respecting theological institution in Africa can now avoid the study of African Traditional Religions, for it is they which "are now at the very centre of the academic stage." ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸

We may characterise the ethos of St. Paul's, Limuru, and to some extent the other colleges, as embodying the very real tension between the need to offer practical theological training with an emphasis on mission, (as well as a dynamic and challenging experience of worship,) with the demands of African philosophy and theology which are responsive to the genuine critique of non-theologians, who see in African Christian theology a perpetuation of the alienation of colonialist mission theology.

There is, however, amongst some students and staff at Limuru a commitment to indigenised theology but not at the expense of drawing on the perceived riches of a mainly European heritage so that the dominant attitude might be typified as a conservative radicalism.¹⁹⁹ There is some sense of correlation between the Early Church and 'Younger Churches'²⁰⁰ of Africa at the college as well as an eagerness to grasp western theology. It may be correct to speak of the strength of academic theology and of a security within traditions, whether Anglican or otherwise, but this is not as pronounced as the determined ecumenical (although

¹⁹⁷ See Adrian Hastings, African Christianity, An essay in interpretation, Chapman, London, 1976, p.183, in Kwame Bediako, Theology and Identity, 1992, p.442, n. 23.

¹⁹⁸ Professor Walls argued that in the pluralist conditions mentioned and through the work of Geoffrey Parrinder that Departments of Religious Studies 'as we know them in Britain' were born in Africa. A.F Walls, 'A bag of needments for the road: Geoffrey Parrinder and the study of religion in Britain,' in Religion, Vol. 10, Autumn 1980, p.144, ibid., p.442, n.25.

¹⁹⁹ 'Because Christianity must be like that of the early church, our church systems must be conservatively different.' Response 18.

²⁰⁰ cf. Bediako loc. cit., p.432.

Protestant) ethos which defines St. Paul's. Denominational studies take place separately from the theological curriculum and centre mainly on pastoral training so that it might be argued that the ecumenical strength of the college militates against the acquisition of an Anglican or Methodist or Presbyterian or Independent Church identity.

The formation of a non-western, East African and Kenyan broad liberal theological consensus is a function of this ecumenical convergence in training and also of the range of pastoral needs of churches experiencing growth. This theology, however, requires more focus to counter the materialist observation that a 'religious Africa' may be a mythical construct. Bediako cites p'Bitek who disapproves of the tendency to 'christianise' and to seek the continuation of an African religious past.²⁰¹ Mission theology should be ecumenical (Hollenweger, see note 444) and relevant to the secular domain. The fact that African religious identity is controversial for some East African philosophers demands that the students of the theology of mission and those involved in training should also take account of these reservations, and that they should grapple philosophically and sociologically to make a greater impact in sceptical intellectual circles.

2.2.6 A HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE TRAINING INITIATIVES WITHIN METHODISM WITH REFERENCE TO MERU DISTRICT (KIRINYAGA DIOCESE).

The development of residential theological education in the establishment of St. Paul's, Limuru in 1955 should not obscure the fact that formal theological education began in Mombassa many years before, and in Presbyterian centres also. The later introduction of Western-style

²⁰¹Bediako citing Okot p'Bitek, African Religions in Western Scholarship, East African Literature Bureau, Kampala, 1970, ibid., p.438

education into many parts of Kenya bred a continuity into adult further and higher education which the mission school model²⁰² could not accommodate. The history of school education in the Methodist mission in the Tana river area and in Meru (until 1996 in the diocese of Kirinyaga) may be cited.

In The History of the Methodist Church in Kenya, the Rt. Revd. Dr. Zablon Nthamburi emphasises the evangelistic and conversionist zeal of the pioneer missionaries and African partners in Methodist spheres of influence who were influenced by Dr. Krapf's vision to reach the Galla people. This vision bordered on the obsessional and was unsuccessful partly due to misinformed and poor attempts to connect with Galla culture. Methodist missionaries paid the Galla to attend schools and services, and embarked on 'agricultural training', which to the Galla as pastoralists was alien, manipulative and indicative that the missionaries were seeking to possess their land. The Galla, who had under pressure set their slaves free, were encouraged by the Muslims to think that the Methodists were as bad as the colonizers. Nthamburi indicates that one of the possible reasons for the lack of success was that the Methodists did not have people of the same stature as the CSM, CMS, or Catholic missions.²⁰³

The Meru mission began in 1913 and from the first exhibited a partnership with local Christians, such as Daudi M. Ituma, who had been Presbyterian-trained. He was a catechist, teacher and interpreter. The original school suffered setbacks, a fire in 1914 killing 5 of the 12 scholars, and famine and influenza in 1918-19 generated a worshipping community dependent on the resources available for the homeless and destitute

²⁰²i.e. The apparatus which grew out of the framework set up by the mission school, which was extended and then used to produce readers and catechists, Nthamburi, op. cit., p.90

²⁰³Nthamburi, op. cit., p.53

there. Having learnt lessons at the Tana river, the approach to the Meru people was more measured, but they were no less suspicious of the Methodists' motives and attempts to transform a deeply-rooted way of life. One of the surviving children from the fire, Philip M'Inoti, was a key character, for having been ordained in 1934, he went on uniquely to become an administrative chief.

He was convinced that Christ came to fulfil the spiritual pilgrimage already underway through the tutelage of the traditional religion. He strongly felt that "the Christian Church therefore must be a natural growth within the traditional life and not an alien culture foreign to them."²⁰⁴

Although African catechists and teachers organised new churches and schools, European missionaries were called on to share in the task of leadership when they showed signs of growth. Although local evangelists had done most of the work, they were not given the responsibility of overseeing the congregations they founded.²⁰⁵

On the subject of 'cultural nationalism', Nthamburi points to the clash between the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), who wanted the government to assist in sending students overseas for higher education and the missionaries who were clinging on to control of education. This sort of tension was crystallised in the Female Circumcision Controversy of 1929-1932. After Dr. Arthur of the CSM had tried to lobby for support from the Roman Catholics to join the Kenya Missionary Alliance, and for them to help in persuading the governor to suppress 'indecent customs', the government riposted by advising missionaries to try to change African attitudes through education and not legislation. Nthamburi shows that the Methodists took this advice more seriously than other societies such as

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 64

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 65

both the CSM or the AIM, who had immense crises of membership at Chogoria, Tumutumu, Kikuyu, and at Kiambu respectively.²⁰⁶

The value of education and training was therefore a product of the process of Methodist evangelisation as missions educated their converts in order to be able to read the Bible, learn the catechism and understand the content of the faith. The practical moral teaching of traditional African societies was undervalued and elders despaired of the cultural decline which went hand-in-hand with missionization. Since literacy was only obtained through the mission, being a Christian was synonymous with being a muthomi, a reader or scholar. The first school in Kenya was founded by the CMS at Rabai in 1847, and the first Methodist Mission school began in 1864, the aim being to 'reach children through formal education', and these children were intended to become readers and catechists, trainee propagators and translators of the gospel into the vernaculars. It was natural that political development in the Central Province with the Kikuyu Central Association should lead to demands for independent schooling but it was not until about 3 generations later in 1926 that secondary education was first introduced with the Alliance High School. Increasing pressure built up subsequently for more academic and higher education. The Beecher Report of 1949 seemed flawed because it assumed a high rate of 11 year old school leavers for only 8% of school age children were able to continue to primary school. Many Africans saw this correctly as a method of providing cheap labour on the European settler farms and this led to the establishment of Kikuyu Independent Schools. Gradually the missions were left with the role of responsibility for Religious Education in schools and with that of their management until independence.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶See Sandgren, op.cit. and Karanja, op.cit., who both deal with the issue. Some ex-AIM members joined the CMS at Kiambaa because they provided better education too (p.239).

²⁰⁷Nthamburi, op.cit., p.89ff.

In the Methodist Mission an employee had a dual role as teacher in the Church building during the day and as catechist and evangelist after hours. However, the standard of the education was approved by the government of the day where the teachers regarded the 'spread of the gospel as far above the teaching of the school. All conduct(ed) catechumen classes in addition to their teaching...Every school a Church and every village a preaching place.'²⁰⁸

The aims of Methodist Missionary Education are stated to have been academic training, artisan training, health training and evangelical training. These are shown to have been methodically achieved by the tables presented in Nthamburi's history²⁰⁹, taking into account the superiority of the Presbyterian mission in the field of health care, and the competition with Roman Catholicism between the 40's and 50's. Theological training can thus be seen to have evolved from the context of the overall evangelistic and conversionist approach in the Meru mission; its success was due to the immediate deployment of those trained and skilled into rural situations where their mettle would be tested. It would seem that inadequate missionary theology or insufficient engagement with African philosophy did not stifle a process of empowerment which took place in spite of, or in reaction to, that missionary work which was culturally inappropriate or politically pro-colonialist.

In many ways the development of Methodism is typical of Protestant expansion; however it has been possible to observe a case study of how an indigenous model of theological education grew out of the conflict engendered by the colonialist education policy. Whilst we may see that it was necessary that catechist and evangelist training should be

²⁰⁸Hopkins, 'The Ice Melts on Mount Kenya', The Kingdom Overseas, 1936, p.6, cited in ibid., p.100, n.49

²⁰⁹See pp.101-3

formalised in the establishment of pastoral training institutions such as Limuru, the exponential growth of the Kenyan Protestant Church due to African evangelists and pastors in the 40's, as Karanja has shown, signal a particular strength which is defined in part against specific residential clergy training as lay or 'para-theological' training. This is an aspect of church development which has distinctive characteristics which are evident in the CPK in the dioceses being scrutinized, and it is to that which attention is now given.

2.2.7 A HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF LAY AND MINISTERIAL TRAINING IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION BY EXTENSION PROGRAMMES IN THE DIOCESES OF MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA AND NAKURU

Whilst it is admitted that formal theological education of ordinands and clergy in residential provincial institutions has an influence on the Anglican formation of men and women in the dioceses, it would be misleading to assume that other educational initiatives have a lesser role. It is also clear to any Kenyan Anglican that the part which lay readers play is crucial to the present strength of the CPK and that their continuing education is intrinsic to it. One of the main reasons for the strength of the Anglican church in these dioceses is due to the emphasis on Theological Education by Extension (TEE). TEE was first developed in the small Central American nation of Guatemala for training leaders in a situation where the church was growing fast, leaders were needed quickly, and residential courses were expensive and not always effective. It was in 1973 that the first Bishop of Nakuru, Rt Revd Neville Langford-Smith, attended an Archbishop's Commission on Theological Education and saw the potential of TEE. Accordingly, Keith Anderson was appointed Director of Studies in 1974 and started writing materials which were first used in May 1975. It was also Keith Anderson's transfer to Mount Kenya East

diocese, and Embu in 1978 which was the occasion for the start of TEE there. Anderson was one of the people who pinpointed the apparent need for non-residential theological training in the East African context. The high level of responsibility of each ordained minister who may be responsible for 5-15 congregations inevitably depended on trained lay people on the ground and TEE could offer the ordained and lay ministers alike the required training. Subsequently the role of TEE in the development of the diocese and in terms of the educational impact it is making qualifies the programme as a 'movement' in itself. A comment from Anderson, who left Kenya in 1982, puts the role of TEE and lay training within the wider context of the Anglican Communion.

From the perspective of Britain where I now live the strong tradition of lay leadership in the East African Church is viewed with something approaching amazement and envy.²¹⁰

It would therefore be necessary to understand the uniqueness of TEE in the context of the CPK dioceses under scrutiny, and in order to achieve that, a brief description of the TEE educational process follows.

(a) TEE AS A 'MOVEMENT'.

It is not only the growth of the programme but the philosophy behind it which qualifies it to be termed a movement parallel with the base Christian communities of Latin America. Some important differences exist, such as the fact that TEE which is considered here takes place within the structure of the Anglican Church and that it fosters a conservative theology in keeping with the material used. In Nakuru diocese the AIC, PCEA and African Gospel Church (at Kericho) have TEE programmes, and these initiatives are all affiliated to AITEA, which is an indication of an ecumenical dimension. Within CPK, TEE is sociologically dynamic as can

²¹⁰ K.B. Anderson, P.G. Benson, Theological Education by Extension, Book 5, Religions in East Africa, date not given, p.vi.

be proven by the fact that a number of its ex-members, or leaders are now theological educators in colleges or dioceses.

The objective of TEE at a parish level is to offer theological training to those already involved in lay ministry in local congregations. At certificate level, the possibility of training for ordination is borne in mind. The production of TEE materials is labour intensive as the textbook acts as the student's tutor by means of learning sequences of programmed instructions from a workbook. (See Appendix VII). In one module a student will, firstly, complete five lessons per week for 10 weeks; this is accompanied by a discussion each week, where one student will chair a discussion and evaluation of the previous week's learning input. In this way seminar leaders are trained. There is, thirdly, an equal emphasis on the practical integration of academic progress with daily life; and those taking the course should be leaders already or have been recommended by their pastors. The material used is generally part of the the AEAM Text Africa Project, published by Evangel Publishing House, whose titles are conservative and Protestant in their orientation. The academic level of the parish level course is aimed at completers of primary education, or year 8. It is also reckoned that 10 terms of full-time study is equivalent to one year of full-time study at a 'residential Bible College.'²¹¹

As the academic credibility and popularisation of TEE increases²¹², it is instructive to note similarities with the theory of social education, which, for example, Paulo Freire has identified in Latin America, and the processes at work within TEE in Kenya. Whilst one objective of the CPK's

²¹¹CPK Diocese of Nakuru Celebrates 25 years of Christian Growth 1961-1985, Diocese of Nakuru, 1985, p.33

²¹²In 1989 a tone of disparagement by some in relation to the academic place of TEE was noted; in 1996, and with the TEE centre housed in the college, a greater respect and co-operation between Berea and TEE within Nakuru is developing.

training programme is 'biblical literacy', this cannot be divorced either from the social context of Kenya or the radical exegetical example of some of its bishops.²¹³ It is likely that economic or social challenges became part of the discussion agenda when high rates of inflation meant that some students were prevented from affording course books, and when ethnic clashes caused a decline in attendance in 90-92 in Nakuru. The explicit agenda of TEE is spiritual and practical empowerment for service within the church for those for whom residential theological education is either impossible due to employment or financial situation; this also rests upon participation and praxis in affirming a distinctive lay ministry within the episcopal CPK.

(b) EVALUATION OF TEE IN NAKURU DIOCESE.

The importance of lay training in Anglican mission may be established from an account of the history of TEE in Nakuru diocese. The first course (of 'Church Leadership Training by Extension') which Anderson developed in 1975 became extension training to Certificate level to equip people for ordination, who successfully completed the Nairobi University Certificate in Religious Studies (now defunct). In other words, it was a three year course which led to the NUCRS. This encouraged 'men' in further training and in being ordained in the diocese. Students were made up of clergy, schoolteachers and evangelists with ordination being the goal. However, this objective was questioned, not least by Anderson, so that emphasis shifted to training church leaders. A few ordination candidates had been ordained by the time the programme ceased in 1982.²¹⁴

²¹³cf. The record of the late Bp. Muge, Bp. Okullu, and Bp. Gitari in social commentary linked to biblical exposition; see Benson, *op. cit.* and David Gitari, Let the Bishop Speak, 1988, In Season and Out of Season, 1996.

²¹⁴Margaret Thornton, Evaluation of TEE Lay Leadership Training Programme in the Diocese of Nakuru, CPK, 1st May 1983-15th May 1990, Diocese of Nakuru, 1990, p.1ff.

The sense that the ethos of extension education should reach out beyond the clergy was reinforced by the establishment of the 'Lay Leadership Training by Extension' programme which began in June 1975 in the Nandi Rural Deanery of the Eldoret Archdeaconry, which was also then still part of Nakuru diocese. This was co-ordinated by Revd Bob Andrews, formerly Warden of the Church Training Centre, Kapsabet, and his wife, Shirley. With Revd Mark Sang they had gone to a 'Writer's Workshop' at St. Paul's, Limuru, organised by the Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar (AEAM) to train people to write the Programmed Instruction material which forms the basis of the learning model. They encouraged the Diocesan Lay Training Committee and Training Departments to engage with TEE in a small way.

The programme achieved substantial growth between 1975 and 1977 growing from 27 students at 4 centres to 600 students at 68 centres. Although from 1978-1982 there was a pause in the parish level TEE programme due to organisational problems²¹⁵, it should not be overlooked that one objective of TEE was admirably met in that 112 students were trained as seminar leaders. That is to say that these people were not only acquainted with theology in a passive way but were encouraged actively to take part in the learning process, to absorb lessons in the context of their life and work, and to be of greater use to their churches. This would appear to be a rare achievement in terms of expectations of adult or part-time education elsewhere.²¹⁶

The division of the diocese in January 1983 meant that the area to be covered by TEE was reduced by half. With encouragement from the Bishop at

²¹⁵That is, the new Director was required to do the work of two and was not equipped with a vehicle as the previous one had been, see Margaret Thornton, *op.cit.*, p.4

²¹⁶See CPK Diocese of Nakuru Celebrates 25 years of Christian Growth 1961-1985, Diocese of Nakuru, 1985, pp.31-32

that time the Rt Revd Laadan Kamau Mbiu, Dss. Margaret Thornton, a CMS Australia mission partner with a long established record in the diocese, undertook further training in theology and adult education to become the new Director of Lay Training. When still vicar of Nyandarua parish, Kamau had been a keen advocate of lay training by extension since its introduction there in 1977. When the programme was not operating he was repeatedly asked when it would begin again and this led to his request of Dss. Thornton to "get TEE lay leadership training firmly established in our diocese".²¹⁷

The movement in the new diocese spread quickly and extra staff were appointed from 1985 funded by donations from TEAR Fund, England and the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York. By April 1987, 3000 people had been through the system, 135 of these being trained as leaders; by May 1988, 1277 had completed the full course lasting 3-4 years. A significant aspect of the implementation of TEE is that in 1983 the Diocesan Training Committee agreed anew that all Lay Readers should study TEE at the basic level and that the TEE Director should work through vicars when introducing TEE to parishes.²¹⁸ This demonstrates the ever-strengthening link between the organisation of TEE, the diocese, clergy and Berea as the diocesan and provincial training institution.

Leadership of TEE from 1990 has suffered from discontinuity with 5 Directors since that time, but in 1995 James Gitonga, a former colleague and trainee of Dss. Margaret Thornton, was appointed Director which provided a new degree of continuity. The sphere of the programme has been extended from Berea where 'TEE/Lay Leadership Training' is now housed,

²¹⁷Margaret Thornton, *op. cit.*, p.5.

²¹⁸Since 1983 all letters sent to group leaders are copied to parish clergy. If he is convinced that Christian life and witness can be strengthened through theological education by extension, then he is a tremendous help.' *ibid.*, p.7.

sharing an equal credit with the theological college on the sign-board visible from the road. Gitonga sees a vital role for TEE in training the people in the increasing parochialization of the diocese, evidently mirroring the increase in dioceses within the CPK. A reduction in the number of students in 90-91 was due to the ethnic clashes, and in the number of centres after 90 was attributable to personnel shortage although overall student numbers are now rising. Another adverse factor was inflation which has driven up the cost of the course. It is felt that evangelists and layreaders should take TEE more seriously and that evangelists training courses for evangelists which used to happen 10 years ago could be usefully revived; in this respect it is wished that TEE should work on a provincial basis in closer cooperation with the CPK colleges. In 1994 only 3 dioceses supported TEE whereas in 1996 12 out of 21 dioceses are active in TEE. There is thus considerable scope and basis for expansion of TEE in Nakuru diocese, and beyond that within the Province, which is proven by its particular local contribution to the movement.

Funding has been problematical, as can be seen from the setting of the prices comparative to wages, the expensive cost of books²¹⁹, and therefore local fund-raising and self-supporting schemes are envisaged. However, great hopes have been raised elsewhere by a donation which Gitonga managed to attract from a regular donor, the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York. In February 1996 \$106,000 was granted over 3 years in response to a scheme drafted to launch a Provincial TEE Programme.

One specific fruit of the TEE work in Nakuru diocese is the publication of a Programmed Instruction training course specific to the CPK. It is

²¹⁹In March 1996 one book costed on average 150 KSh; the course 190 KSh x 3 per annum.

entitled Equip Yourself to Serve, A Training Course in Anglican Lay Ministry, Uzima, 1990, and was edited and prepared for the PBTE by C. Gaikia, D.M.Kariuki, M.Thornton, I.Muhoya, S.Muthungu and M.Tooze, all of whom are, or have been employees of the diocese. This book has been successfully marketed and is sold to dioceses in Uganda and Tanzania which are developing TEE. The ecumenical nature of participants has meant that some students have been unhappy with the definite Anglican catechesis of this publication, fearing they would be 'Anglicanized' and so the Director has decided to use instead Honouring and Worshipping God, published by Evangel.²²⁰

(c) A BRIEF EVALUATION OF TEE IN MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA DIOCESE

TEE was begun in Mount Kenya East diocese in 1978 based at the District Development Centre at Embu, and led by Keith Anderson. Of the 44 students who started at that time, 7 became ordained, 2 already were ordained and one was a PCEA member. In November 1979 the first 10 students were ready to sit for exams and 26 completed a four year course. Although definitely lay-oriented the initial aim here was Certificate level. Parish level TEE began in July 1980 and by October comprised 163 students at 7 centres; in 1983 there were 63 Parish Level graduates. Expansion took place until 86. In 84-85 the appointment of Joyce Karuri and Jane Karira with the expectation that they should travel by taxi made visiting centres difficult, and in 86 after two men were appointed and subsequently posted to parishes the Parish Level TEE programme was discontinued. Despite the fact that in 1983, 21 TEE students were awarded the NUCRS, and in that in 1987, 9 more received this and 22, the Diocesan TEE Certificate, the loss of external funding from CMS was partly responsible for the discontinuing

²²⁰Whitson, Chiko and Holland, Honouring and Worshipping God. An Evangelical Programmed Book, Evangel, Nairobi, 1990. This is advertised as offering 'a right understanding of who God is and how he is to be worshipped.' Interview, James Gitonga, 29/2/96

of external funding from CMS was partly responsible for the discontinuing of this programme also. The diocese is concerned that this is the only programme of their's which was started and abandoned.²²¹ It had however been reinstated at a Parish Level in 1995 in Kirinyaga diocese and and it is significant that Margaret Thornton (who left Nakuru diocese in 1989) was recruited to develop the programme in Embu in 1995.²²²

Whilst it may be appreciated that TEE at the Certificate Level had been more successful than in Mount Kenya diocese, it is clear that Nakuru diocese has been the pioneer of the movement at the Parish Level, which was where it was aimed. The programme in Nakuru has not suffered from being closed or from lack of funding. Whilst self-funding is the ideal, the power of the funding mechanism is highly ambivalent as either the controlling patronization of the 'donee' or justified concern for book-keeping. The question arises from this comparison between dioceses of whether the concern with institutional and diocesan development in Mount Kenya East diocese (which became Kirinyaga and Embu dioceses respectively in 1990) could have militated against the survival of the TEE movement within it. Lay training would seem to have been a casualty of the need to staff the increasing number of parishes.

Revd. Patrick Bundi, the TEE Director of Mount Kenya East in 1987, sums up the Anglican doctrinal and catechetical value of the TEE Certificate programme in this diocese:

'TEEC on the whole has done a commendable job in the Diocese. It should be noted that TEEC has improved the sermons of the laypreachers. It has also solved a lot of theological problems among the brethren, such as the Revival

²²¹See Diocese of Mount Kenya East, Fifteen Great Years 1975-1990, The End of the Beginning, Preparatory Documents for the Eighth and Last Ordinary Session of the Synod of the Combined Diocese, St Andrew's, Kabare, 2-4/5/90, pp.191-2; 224.

²²²Oral Evidence, Margaret Thornton, 21/2/96.

Brethren, and the Pentecostal brethren who were out to confuse our brethren in schools. This is the area in which TEE has shown its value in trying to explain each problem from a theological standpoint.²²³

(d) SUMMARY

It may therefore be stated that the original vision of TEE in Nakuru as a distinctly lay training initiative has been justly retained, but that in offering parish level theological education it has secured greater educational, diocesan and institutional credibility as a result of a) its location at Berea Theological College, b) its strong commendation and appeal to Lay Readers²²⁴, who are substantially the diocesan labour force, and c) by marketing a TEE publication and, more recently, by leading an attempt to gain Provincial recognition for what we may term a 'movement', however organisationally confined within the CPK. In Nakuru it has provided Anglican biblical and theological tools refined in an ecumenical learning environment. It has also been both a catechetical instrument and 'liturgical' in an accurate sense, in that a well-defined learning model has been excellently adapted to the practical equipping of a worshipping lay clientèle in response to the church's ministerial needs. Although ultimately under-resourced, Mount Kenya East diocese provided theological education at a consistently high level.

Two issues can be seen as challenges to the movement: firstly, that the initially successful Certificate-level programme should be revived, as long as it will not be detrimental to the needs of the Parish-level programme, in order to foster more vocations for the increasing number of

²²³Diocese of Mount Kenya East, op. cit., Section on Board of Theological Education and Liturgy, pp.88-89.

²²⁴The participants agreed that this programme (TEE) is of central importance in the growth of the church as it teaches people the word of God. Two of the participants pointed out that they had received Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour after they enrolled in the TEE programme.' See Proceedings of the Lay Readers Course held at the Diocesan Conference Centre, Normain, Nakuru, 10th April-17th April 1994, CPK Diocese of Nakuru, p. 3.

parishes; and secondly, that funding should become less dependent on external sources without the students having to pay more. Funding has been problematical, due to prohibitive course book prices, but local efforts are envisaged. The principle remains that financial independence will contribute to autonomy in theological education, to greater Africanization and indigenization in worship within the Anglican framework. Where this is not the case, a dependency culture results in relation to foreign donors, a process which has been recognised in mission history and was challenged partly by the proposal of a moratorium on missions.²²⁵ Further to this, given the motivation of individual students²²⁶, it is not unlikely that TEE centres have provided a context for potential empowerment to confront structural injustices in Kenya as well as the issue of dependency.²²⁷ This aspect requires further research.

²²⁵See 1.1.2.1, esp. n.13.

²²⁶One male TEE participant walked 5 hours to undergo an examination; an evangelist regularly arrived early for an 8.00 am Sunday morning class, having walked six miles over two mountains. Oral Evidence, Margaret Thornton, 7/89.

²²⁷TEE can be seen as evangelization, having the power to produce what is proclaimed.

'Basic ecclesial communities... are found not only in Latin America, but also in countries of Africa... In these vibrant communities the Word of God is read aloud and is applied, through Bible sharing, to the personal and collective lives of Christians. In this way evangelization opens people's eyes and "conscientizes" them, to use the term coined by Paulo Freire in Brazil. They discern their own responsibility for the evil within and outside themselves.'

2.2.8 CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER TWO

In this chapter the emerging distinctive features of a CPK ethos or habitus have been examined in relation to the church's location within the views and strategies of mission in which Kenyan Christianity engages. It has been found that there is much which CPK has in common with other denominational expressions such as a shared background with the East African Revival Movement (EARM), a common concern for political and social renewal and for lay and professional training. Although other denominations use the TEE method, it is conceivable that the TEE movement and lay training in Nakuru and Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga dioceses are more developed and integrated than in other traditions. In the same way as the theological institutions, TEE has, as part of diocesan education projects, had (and will continue to have since it was newly provincialised in 1996) a powerful catechetical and doctrinal effect on the life of local Kenyan Anglican communities.²²⁸ In this it is distinctive.

It is also distinguished from other Protestant churches increasingly by a concern for liturgy, although similar in this respect with the Roman Catholic church. It is noteworthy that the MCK is minded to study and develop more liturgical material. The privatised quietism of the EARM has meant that the message of the churches has sometimes been domesticated- or over-contextualized- so that churchleaders have been construed as political by the State and Church when carrying out their prophetic role in redressing this balance. One of these leaders is David Gitari, Bp. of Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga, and now Archbishop of Kenya,

²²⁸One of the conditions of confirmation was (and is often still) the requirement to know the catechesis by heart and to have been active as a catechist or evangelist, Oral evidence, 3/96

whose work will be examined in Chapter Four. He has reflected that one of the main concerns for the CPK is in the area of liturgy.

Liturgy, worship and prayer are equally the concern of lay training as theological education, and before the forms of worship of the CPK are analysed in Chapter Four it is appropriate to set this analysis in a wider context. It is therefore to a background discussion of the ecclesiological and sociological functions of liturgy that the next chapter is devoted.

CHAPTER THREE

A CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF ECCLESIOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF WORSHIP WITH REFERENCE TO AFRICAN LITURGY AND THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF KENYA.

3.0 INTRODUCTORY

Until the last 20 years Anglican liturgy in Kenya, as in other countries²²⁹, was entirely based on the Church of England's Book of Common Prayer of 1662 in English (the BCP), or on the same in Kiswahili or in other vernacular translations. Until after the formation of the Anglican Province of East Africa (from Kenya and former Tanganyika) in 1960, and the creation in 1970 of the Church of the Province of Kenya²³⁰ with Bishop Festo Olang' as the first Archbishop, links with British Anglicanism were noticeably strong due to the heritage, personnel and influence of the Church Missionary Society out of which this church grew, as well as out of the rich melting-pot of the EARM. The case will be put that change and transformation in, and by the BCP in the CPK grew to some extent out of the climate of liturgical renewal but that it was largely due to the transformability that the new post-colonial CPK granted to the BCP in its own context.

The priority of liturgical renewal on the agenda of the CPK's Provincial Board of Theological Education and as intrinsic to mission was recently reaffirmed, as was a concern to develop and improve the whole area of

²²⁹Developments in this respect have been well documented elsewhere and are not the direct concern of this study. See e.g. (ed.) Bernard Wiggan, The Liturgy in English, OUP, London, 1962, ed. C.O. Buchanan, Further Anglican Liturgies, Grove, Nottingham, 1975.

²³⁰For historical location of this event see eds. Sykes and Booty, The Study of Anglicanism, London, SPCK, 1988, p.393ff.

catechism in the CPK.²³¹ Is there a rediscovery of the innate principles of worship which is emerging from the Kenyan Anglican liturgical context within the mixture of Kenya's cultures?

To answer these questions it will be necessary to locate the later analysis of the liturgy of the CPK (chapter 4) against a wider, and also, on account of its historical and traditional part in Anglicanism, against a philosophical and Western- background of liturgical developments (see 3.2). It seems important to discuss Kenyan Anglican identity in the context of international Anglican ecclesiological definitions, and the next section concerns in the first place the latter (see 3.1 below).

CHAPTER THREE PART ONE

3.1 CRITERIA IN CONSIDERING ANGLICAN LITURGY IN THE PROJECT OF MISSION IN THE CPK

3.1.1 ARE THERE ANY INTERNATIONAL ANGLICAN ECCLESIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS?

(a) The ecclesiology of Rt. Revd. Stephen Sykes.

In order to answer the question above it will be necessary to look more closely at the Anglican view of liturgy in terms of mission. As we have seen above (1.1.3), the foundational statements of modern Anglicanism in the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral have been described by Nazir-Ali as 'minimalist', but is this an adequate doctrinal basis for the manifold superstructure of Provincial liturgical renewals? One tenet of modern Anglican identity connected with the latitude which the formulation

²³¹ Interview with the Dean of the Province and Bishop of Kirinyaga, Rt Revd Dr David Gitari, (now Archbishop of the CPK) 26/2/96.

allows, is the idea that Anglicanism has 'no special doctrines' (NSD), and this is a position which the theologian, Bishop Stephen Sykes, challenges. Citing the contemporary influence of Bishop Wand (who said that Anglicanism's glory is in having 'no special and peculiar doctrines of our own') and Bishop Stephen Neill, (who, it is argued, implies there is no special Anglican theology), Sykes ascribes these views to the fact that the 39 Articles and Catechism commonly occupy a lower level of authority and are relativised compared with the creed. It is also true that according to Lambeth 1888 'newer missionary Churches' such as those in North America were not bound by the Articles, but it is not logical, especially in view of the work of past Anglican divines, to conclude that Anglicanism is somehow above 'the denominations' and equated with NSD. Sykes issues a call for Anglicanism to redefine its contours in terms of ecclesiology and its view of the catholicity of the church.²³²

Sykes then shows how the development of the first and second pillars of the Lambeth Quadrilateral link Scripture and the Creeds and lead back to the original enunciation of Article VI²³³. Acts of hearing, singing or reading of Scripture in the liturgy in a 'hermeneutic largely of communal praise' are set in the context of the recitation of the creeds, collects, prayers, canticles and responses, and hymns. These, according to Sykes, more than anything else define the doctrine, authority and integrity of Anglicanism.²³⁴ Because of the ambiguities within it, especially within

²³²S. Sykes, 'Anglicanism and the Anglican Doctrine of the Church, in ed. J. Robert Wright, 'Quadrilateral at One Hundred', Anglican Theological Review, 1988, pp.156-177; JWC Wand, Anglicanism in History and Today, London, 1961, p.227; see 1.1.4. n..

²³³

'Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for salvation: Holy Scripture cointaineth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.'

²³⁴See The Integrity of Anglicanism, 1978.

the 'fourth pillar' regarding the Episcopate²³⁵, the Quadrilateral itself is no substitute for working out an Anglican theology of the Church; an Anglican doctrine of the Church would have to take account of the plurality of Prayer Books in the Anglican Communion; and one way of encompassing this diversity is the theory of 'dispersed authority', which has been evident within Roman Catholicism in the wake of Vatican II, and due to the impact of the liturgical movement in Protestant communities.²³⁶ Nazir-Ali points out that the Quadrilateral's emphasis on Scripture has had an ecumenical trajectory and that Lambeth 1920 and 1930 influenced moves to unify Asian churches to a large extent.²³⁷ Elsewhere he writes of Anglicanism's multi-cultural and multi-contextual ecclesiology and affirms that the fundamental Anglican documents provide for liturgy which is in the vernacular and appropriate for a given culture, and underlines the need for churches to take this seriously on all levels.²³⁸ It is necessary in this study to ask precisely if, and how a diversity of worshipping contexts can enrich an Anglican unity in

²³⁵See Sykes, 'Authority in the Anglican Communion', in Unashamed Anglicanism, DLT, London, 1995. (This aspect was illustrated admirably by the failure of early ecumenical endeavours in Kenya, which also provides a footnote in the history of an indigenous church:

'Inspired perhaps by the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, Scott, the CSM missionary leader was the driving force behind plans for a federation of missions. The fact that non-episcopally ordained people had taken part in a communion service at a conference celebrated by a Church of England bishop prompted the Bishop of Zanzibar to request an indictment of his fellow-bishops from the Archbishop of Canterbury on charges of "propagating heresy and committing schism." The Archbishop referred the controversy to the Central Consultative Body of the Church of England which in Easter 1915 delivered a judgement which "wished to abstain from any expression of judgement": that although occasionally non-episcopalians could receive communion from an ordained Anglican, this should not mean that Anglicans could receive communion from non-episcopalians because they were isolated; also the joint communion service should have been avoided because it misrepresented the Church of England position.' Robert Macpherson, op. cit., pp.50-51.)

²³⁶ibid., p.157

²³⁷op. cit., p.20

²³⁸M.Nazir-Ali, 'A Worldwide Communion,' in (ed.) I.Bunting, Celebrating the Anglican Way, Hodder and Stoughton, 1996, pp.53-66

liturgy. In order to achieve this further examination of the work of Sykes is apposite.

(b) Two critiques of the thought of Rt. Revd. Stephen Sykes.

Sykes admits that Anglicanism's apparent unsteadiness in authority and doctrine draws criticism. Firstly, a study relating to the Scottish Episcopal Church asks for definitions in view of the perceived inconsistencies not only concerning doctrinal bases between Provinces but between individual churches and churchmanships in England:

Lambeth 88 stated that 'the Authorized liturgical forms embody doctrine, and the stance of faith of each Province is in part discerned from its liturgy.' Exactly which part is not discussed: after all, definition of words, phrases and concepts, has never really been an integral part of Anglican method. Similarly, in a discussion relating to the enculturation of liturgy, Lambeth 1920 affirmed that a higher synodical authority should not be so rigidly exercised as to preclude a diocesan bishop from sanctioning liturgical forms 'so long as those features are retained which are essential to the safeguarding of the unity of the Anglican Communion.' No statement is forthcoming, however, delineating what those features are precisely.²³⁹

The thirst for clear unambiguous statements of doctrine is unlikely to be assuaged in the Anglican tradition. Should not the will to live and worship together as a family of churches overcome the differences between Provinces? There is a danger in comparing simplistically a liberal West with a conservative Africa since there are disparities both in the West and in Africa, regarding, for example, sexual ethics, whether it be homosexuality or polygamy. However there may be an unwillingness of African bishops to enter into debate on subjects which are consuming the liberal West. In the realm of liturgy, a Liturgical Secretary was appointed at Lambeth 88 to give encouragement, support and advice to

²³⁹S.J.Evans, 'Liturgy: Vehicle of Tradition with especial reference to the Anglican Communion, in general, and the Scottish Episcopal Church, in particular', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1994, p.66

churches in their work of liturgical revision but this cannot be adequate, suggests Evans, who prefers a more prescriptive approach such as is found in the documents of the Roman Catholic Church.

Secondly, the forceful response of one representative CPK member to Sykes' work is instructive as it tells us as much about the ethos of the CPK as the the advancer of the disagreement. Although viewing from a different angle than Evans, the Kenyan position taken is similar, for: the power dispersed throughout the church is said to 'dissolve into nothing' compared with the authority of Rome which reposes in the papal hierarchy. Muthungu criticizes Sykes for a preoccupation with authority since his 'desire and aim is to locate *authority* rather than *witness* within the church in all matters of faith and doctrines.'²⁴⁰ (my italics). Article II of the Kenyan Provincial Constitution is cited in defence of this position:

The CPK receives all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments given by inspiration of God, and containing all things necessary for salvation and as being the ultimate rule and standard for the faith and life of the church²⁴¹

The emphasis in the form of words on the divine 'inspiration' of Scripture takes the doctrinal definition further in a conservative direction than in the form: 'revealed Word of God' from Chicago (1886) which was subsumed in the recapitulation of Article VI of the Quadrilateral. Muthungu argues therefore that 'the Scriptures', and not a comprehensive or liberal ecclesiology as contained in the official Quadrilateral statement, are, and should be the Provincial source of authority, and that to gainsay this is incompatible with the CPK 'declared statement of faith'. He feels that traditional Anglican formularies, and early Church Creeds, Canons and ecumenical councils of

²⁴⁰Rev Samuel Muthungu, Authority in the Anglican Communion, A Response to Four Documents issued under that title by Primate's Meeting in Washington DC, April 1982, SACTD Library Archives, p.6.

²⁴¹ibid., p.14.

c.4-5 AD do not so much represent church authority as witness to the ultimate authority of Christ through the Holy Spirit. This is a fine distinction perhaps, but it reveals a number of points.

It could be said that CPK Anglicanism is moving away from the centre in terms of the Anglican Communion inasmuch as the Anglican Church can be depicted as liberally comprehensive of the disparate nature of a multi-cultural church. The CPK, if Muthungu is representative, wishes to define itself by biblical text and BCP alone; however, the direction it is moving would appear to reinforce Scriptural and Credal authority. In so doing a distinction is happily drawn with an albeit conservative Western theologian who is perceived as too liberal in relation to Scripture, legitimated with reference to the CPK Provincial Constitution. One notes from this an unconcern with ecumenism in terms of visible church structures²⁴² as well as an impatient concern for mission.

Lambeth 1988 stated that how the church is renewed in its mission is intimately bound up with its worship. The worship of the CPK is to be discussed in relation to texts and therefore it is necessary to locate this discussion in contexts. The diversity of Anglican contexts is a problem for those who desire a centrally-located authority, whether it is to be in ecclesiology or Scripture, and so it is important to find a dynamic framework for debate which will both encompass the fragmentation and explain why it is unavoidable if Anglican theological and liturgical debate can move forward.

²⁴²This has historically been true since the CPK formed. Bp. Olang justified a reluctance to seek a united church by stating that Christians in the mainstream denominations were already 'one' by virtue of identification with the EARM. Interview, Bp. Johana Bogori, MCK, 2/96.

3.1.2 LOCATING THE ANGLICAN CPK LITURGY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EAST AFRICAN RITUAL FIELD.

This section restates the argument of the thesis and is an attempt to bring together the facets of the comparative study between the dioceses which have been alluded to. The agenda is both descriptive and projective. East African and Kenyan church, political, mission and cultural history is being charted very competently all the time(243) and there is no wish to add to this substance especially from a western perspective. Although some would differ with the view on a philosophical level, worship, liturgies and prayers are a sine qua non of African and Kenyan cultures since Africans 'already have the alphabet of praying' and 'understand and practise prayer as a natural form of relating to spiritual realities'. Mbiti continues to state that the praying tradition in the African background holds 'great promise for liturgical development' and laments the strictures of the incursive Western missionary liturgists.(244) Here the double-edged notion of lex orandi, lex credendi is particularly apposite. Furthermore movements which encourage a laicization of the liturgy can challenge both assumptions that it belongs to the work of the Christian 'priest', or that it is the province of the 'ritual expert' or 'prophet', however he or she may be termed. In other words, liturgical development, which is becoming ever more evident and will do so increasingly as the present generation of Anglican ordinands (245) become CPK ministers and theologians, is manifested in a lexical democratization. The plan of the CPK is to create

243 See e.g. The Eastern African Studies Series, James Currey, London EAEP, Nairobi etc.; the African Christianity Series, Series Editors: J.N.K.Mugambi and Carroll Houle, Uzima, Nairobi; AMECEA Gaba Publications, Eldoret, Kenya.

244 Mbiti adds that an analysis of 300 traditional African prayers revealed that 90 per cent of these were addressed to God, with the remaining 10 per cent assuming God in the background, op. cit., 1986, pp.72-3; 93

245 See results of interviews in Appendix II(b)

vernacular liturgies or to translate them into the vernacular so that liturgical expression is in the dialect of all: liturgical renewal thus carries the seeds of cultural affirmation. Despite fears of a perceived Anglican ecclesiological laxity referred to above, a doctrinally conservative tone prevails where there is little unconscious 'syncretism' or heresy (246), where Anglican 'defectors' retain a largely orthodox position (247), or rather compete to achieve spiritual orthodoxy in a communicative self-regulating doctrinal environment. (248) The determination to remain Anglican and to some extent English-speaking is a factor of ecclesiological legitimisation, a unifying reference marker, significant of the link with the Book of Common Prayer, but with no bearing on a colonial past. It would seem that the intentionality of the CPK is towards 'orthopraxy' in the sense that as a diocesan church, similar to the Roman Catholic church, it has regional responsibilities and therefore encompasses all ethnic groups, and develops positions in relation to refugees and nomadic pastoralists. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church it is not centralized but articulates to different Provincial needs. (cf. Art. XXXIV) The process of liturgical renewal is vital as a paradigm of the Christian intercultural process for the whole of Africa, and possibly for other parts of the world. These localized recent developments will be seen both as representative of a distinctive African liturgical ethos and of continuity, or contiguity with a common Christian or western liturgical heritage. It is first to the latter consideration that attention is now given.

246 Although of course Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons are strong.

247 cf. The Nakuru Happy Church, see Appendix VI.

248 viz. The prevalence of open air meetings conducted, for example, in Nakuru bus/matatu station where most people listen respectfully, have a modicum of Christian education, and would soon know the provenance of the speakers' and worshippers' theology.

3.2 FROM A EUROPEAN SOCIOLOGY TO AN AFRICAN ONTOLOGY OF LITURGY.

3.2.1 Previously the sociological theories of Bourdieu have been adduced for their flexibility, for their capacity to absorb and analyse previous writings, and for their pertinence in application to this thesis. With Pierre Bourdieu, it is appropriate here to place more sociological players in the field who are sympathetic to the liturgical and cultural project referred to above. Teleology or meaning-making are functions which are important to all individuals, communities and to the project of practical or mission theology, but which are generally outside the scope of sociology. Bourdieu, however, tries sympathetically to encapsulate these functions. For example, he needs to define himself in the face of critics who accuse him of a 'finalist and utilitarian vision of action' (249) as only intent on a theoretical description of the interplay between field and habitus inducing 'social being.' Bourdieu is ambitious in his thinking: intensely critical of sociology and philosophy (250), he regards sociology as a 'natural' rather than a 'human' science and grasps after an all-encompassing metaphysical explanation where 'the competition for a social life that will be known and recognised, which will free you from insignificance, (and) is a struggle to the death for symbolic life and death'. (251) An essentialist rather than a constructionist in the sociological task, his agenda could be described

249 P. Bourdieu, 'Concluding Remarks: For a Sociogenetic Understanding of Intellectual Works,' in Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives, op. cit., p.274.

250 e.g. Amongst other points, he critiques the possibility of a truly abstract decontextualised philosophy by exposing coterie self-censorship which protected Heidegger from contemporary scrutiny in the field of his pro-Nazi ideas due to his academic 'symbolic capital'. The Political Ontology of Martin Heidegger, Polity, Cambridge, 1991

251 Bourdieu; In Other Words: essays toward a reflexive sociology, trans. M. Adamson. Polity, Cambridge, 1990; Stanford University Press, first pub., 1987.

as para-theological and his interest in the liturgy has also been noted (252), untypical of the norm of anti-clerical French intellectualism, for, as Calhoun quotes:

'the form taken by the structure of systems of religious practices and beliefs at a given moment in time (historical religion) can be far from the original content of the message and it can be completely understood only in reference to the complete structure of the relations of production, circulation, and appropriation of the message and to the history of this structure.'

Calhoun continues by summarising aspects which purport to this missiological and liturgical study:

Bourdieu goes on to stress the centrality of struggles for the monopoly of religious capital, including both struggles between clergy and laity and those between priestly authorities and heretical, quasi-religious or other challengers. "Genesis and structure of the religious field" (253) has not been widely enough recognized as Bourdieu's key, seminal text on fields. There he shows clearly what he means by going beyond the "pure" study of meaning and interaction to study the underlying relations of struggle which produce and shape meanings and interactions and constitute their frame. (254) The approach to religion expounded there anticipates that which he has more recently begun to develop towards the state. (cf. Bourdieu, La noblesse d'État: grands corps et grandes Écoles, Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1989) (255)

Whilst liturgy in itself or in a Western context may not be seen as adversarial by nature, in Africa, in Kenya, and in the chosen dioceses in the CPK it will be possible to observe features which indicate its rising

252 Further to this:

'Situations of linguistic power relations are situations in which there is speech without communication, the extreme case being the Mass. That is why I have been interested in liturgy. There are cases in which the authorized speaker has so much authority, has the institution, the laws of the market and the whole social space so much on his side, that he can speak and yet say nothing; it is the voice of authority.'

Bourdieu, Sociology in Question, trans. R.Nice, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1993, First pub. Les Éditions de Minuit, 1984.

253 Comparative Social Research, 13, 1-43, 1991, First pub. 1971.

254 Is this a sociological description of the process observed above regarding the disciplinary shifts in the field of African theological education? (see above 2.2.3 and n.198)

255 Craig Calhoun, 'Habitus, Field and Capital,: The Question of Historical Specificity', in Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives, op. cit., n. 7, pp.84-5

importance as an instrument or voice in a struggle for meaning in a hostile society or in a state which becomes uncomfortable with the Church. Whether vernacular languages, the lingua franca, Kiswahili, or the language of education, English- are used in liturgy may be as important as what is expressed.

Studies in the 'sociology of liturgy' draw on a host of disciplines in the human sciences, from semiology to anthropology. A further two in particular are pertinent as they indicate teleological, epistemological and missiological concerns which have a bearing on the field analysis of the CPK which is being undertaken.

3.2.2 Speaking from a Roman Catholic perspective Rainer Volpe notes that despite Vatican II, vernacularization and reform efforts the liturgy is becoming increasingly verbal when more participation is indicated. The stress on the communal character of the Mass brings a tension between the Church and small groups. An objective semiotic observation of the forms of social behaviour of the liturgy, as well as the signs in a religious structure, are called for. Having regarded the sociology of religion, the sociology of the church, social psychology and language theory, Volpe argues that the liturgy is a sign series of complex process where the ontological religious signs (supper, washing, word) are not absorbed into the sign but are productive of multiple meanings and structure ways of experiencing the world. 'Liturgical behaviour reflects the social behaviour and the symbolic realisations of a religious group which presents itself in the religious service.' (256)

256 'La liturgie en tant que comportement social, Réflexions en vue de l'élaboration de méthodes empiriques de recherches,' Social Compass, XXII, 1975/2, pp. 157-8

Volpe points to the need for theologians to rediscover the history of the liturgy, and notes the sociological effects of the vernacular Mass as a levelling of linguistic codes and a democratisation of public life. Ecclesiastical linguistic competence is no longer an issue since 'modern languages have replaced Latin and biblical texts have lost their educational role and religious incentives, their double-role as artistic motifs.'²⁵⁷ Volpe's analysis applies to the specific Roman Catholic Mass in the West, whereas the CPK (and other churches) in Kenya are still very concerned with the cultural and educational roles of liturgy. (See below)

Whilst the new textual emphasis (Volpe wrote in 1975) emptied the liturgy of too much of the symbolic, certain distinctive traits remained untranslatable (the Pater Noster and the sacraments), and, in our analysis, marks of the ontology of liturgy. Volpe speaks approvingly of the anonymity of a church service which can bring freedom of spirit and present an array of opportunities and interests. Along with the stated communitarian intention of the office there is the internalization of religious symbols and tradition which will protect the individual from manipulation and make her or him responsible. In reflecting on modern liturgies, Volpe describes the distance between official regulations and practical applications such as an unauthorised interconfessional communion²⁵⁸, and also asks pertinently:

Where is the content of the meaning of liturgical acts located in the relation between contemplation and models for action? How can the appeal to anamnesis and anticipation, values of practical experience which strongly resist any comparison, be held within those latter social, psychological and linguistic parameters?²⁵⁹

Volpe's empirical analysis of the office yields many insights which will not be pursued here, and draws conclusions regarding the liturgy in terms

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.160, (my translation)

²⁵⁸ See again 3.1.1. (a) n.235 for the Anglican effect in this regard

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.162.

of the moral, inexhaustible, irreducible and celebratory, signs of a model for social behaviour. Two points, however, stand out from his analysis: he states, from a socio-psychological point of view, that a church can only survive if it sees the allocation of roles not as its aim but as the means by which all may continuously exchange their religious experience; an argument par excellence for a theology of the laicization of the liturgy and every-member ministry.²⁶⁰ Secondly, he crucially states that religion uses language and that religious language does not have 'God', but 'the world, life, His creation' as its object, 'not to prove anything, but to lead to a new view of that which is given and to invite one to reflect.'

3.2.3 In addition to the above, Plüss' study, from a Swiss Reformed and Pentecostal perspective, seeks to re-orientate disciplines of theology, philosophy and sociology and to recreate a narrative theology which, rather than being a purely textual genre, is actually based on oral religious narratives, i.e. reinvesting the narrative function with the roles of testimony or the recounting of visions. His sixth chapter, 'Accessible Liturgy' applies his findings, drawing attention to a multi-denominational consensus on the ontology of the liturgy, the place of 'testimonial or the (auto-)biographical' within that and a consequent dialogue or argument with secularity which arises from worship, for in 'a secular context the service of worship, if it is genuine, will have repercussions in the world.'²⁶¹

Plüss draws attention to the importance of 'oral history' in Africa; whilst religious language does not speak of 'God' directly, Christian worship has a 'Divine and Human Subject'. Visions of 'God' are

²⁶⁰ ibid., p.167 See 4.1.3.2. and 1 Corinthians 12.

²⁶¹ Plüss, Jean-Daniel, Therapeutic and Prophetic Narratives in Worship, (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, Band 54, Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris, p.243

fragmentarily part of the former, and in the latter the market place of profane opinions means that Christian liturgy is not only involvement with the holy mysteries but needs a sense of mission in order to be meaningful. The step down 'from the sacred in order to bring wholeness to the profane' in liturgy requires 'bilingualism' as it involves a double movement of the evocation of pre-reflective thought from a secular context (especially in testimony) and of the reenactment of myths, and the interaction of both. Three other of his points, of which there are many, seem pertinent to this discussion.

Plüss remarks on the giving of a testimony bearing the marks of a rite of passage, and with this can be placed the testimonial as a form of greeting in EARM situations, necessitating social acceptance and indicating spiritual differentiation.²⁶² He also develops the catechetical and doxological value of narratives: as well as the concern to tell the story of Jesus the function of 'personal articulation of what is believed to be of ultimate concern' indicates the important part which testimonies and visions have to play in the Pentecostal liturgy, it is argued, but not without a critical function to accompany their kerygmatic and edificational intentions. The teleological value of liturgy in the secular field where materialist morality predominates is indicated. Thirdly, Plüss notes that Elie Wiesel tells stories in order that prayers could be made. It is the memorialization of atrocities, lest we forget. The passing on of positive narratives such as miracle stories or incarnational testimonies are other examples, but the lack of common belief in God nowadays means that that it is 'the hermeneutic responsibility of the community to relate faith to the public involvement in the world and not to a search for esoteric gratification.'²⁶³

²⁶²It is known in Kenya for a person to announce themselves in the familiar way but instead of saying 'My name is, I'm saved etc...': 'My name is... (I go to church) I'm not saved yet...'

²⁶³*ibid.*, pp.245-6, 265, 267, 277, 279.

The predictability of patterns does not account for social or political changes- such as the the simple attribution of the rise of an economic petite-bourgeoisie in Kenya to Mau Mau(264). A purely sociological frame of reference cannot do justice to the changes in religious awareness (such as Christian revivalism in the EARM) as Ranger has argued; nor can it encompass the delicate balances between ritual and spontaneity, or restricted and elaborate linguistic codes, between the mythic or expository and the testimonial narrative or prophetic. Other tools are called for. It is appropriate therefore (as Volpe has hinted, 3.2.2) to locate this analysis against the background of historical development.

3.2.4 HISTORIES OF LITURGICAL RENEWAL: 'MAN IS NOT MADE FOR LITURGY BUT LITURGY IS MADE FOR MAN.' (265)

The search for an 'ontology of liturgy' has been well-prepared by practitioners and writers in what may be defined as the socio-liturgical field. A sense of liturgy as both 'fête', Fest, and 'célébration', has been strong in the continental European liturgical movement, where its thinking was shaped 'by Socialist thought focused through Christian activism'(266); these elements may be seen to apply to an understanding of the trajectory of liturgy in East Africa, Kenya and the CPK. Meyer has defined a cycle whereby the celebratory liturgy creates social ripples which begin to outpour meaning not only into individual believers and the corporation of belief, but further into the expanding social field:

The more completely the expression of a culture is taken over for the liturgy, the more closely the language and symbols of the liturgy correspond with the social features of a period, the more likely it is that celebrations of the liturgy will have secondary effects which will be felt in the life of society outside worship. When this happens the liturgy can perform its function of providing meaning and motivation which will shape lives, not only of individual believers but

264 Kitching, op. cit.

265 Plüss, op. cit. , p.260.

266 Evans, op. cit., p.15.

also of the whole believing community, and go on to influence the wider society outside this. This opens up new fields of liturgical study where as yet little work has been done.
(267)

This is a refreshingly optimistic view of the societal benefits of Christian worship which Roman Catholic liturgical innovators from the Church had been developing from the 19th century onwards.

Amongst important figures on the landscape were Prosper Guéranger (1805-75), who believed that people needed the liturgy and that the liturgy needed the whole people of God to celebrate it; Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960), Belgian founder of a bi-ritual monastery of Western and Eastern monks at Chevetogne, sought the spiritual renewal of ordinary people, and discerned an opposition between liturgical piety and private devotionalism. He saw the latter as an enemy of former. Romano Guardini was an Italian-born German, and leader of the Catholic Youth Movement (founded in 1910) in 1930's Germany, and propogated a doctrine of the Mystical Body which became an early experiment in charismatic community: young people 'took part in debates, in music, choreographed dances, choral speech groups and especially in the 'liturgy' and having been 'bored with the bourgeois world... caught fire and went back to their youth clubs in their hometowns to effect the change that would bring liturgy and life together.'(268) It is instructive in the present area of study to balance the enthusiasm of youth and theological students for keshos - Kiswahili for tomorrow, (an all-night prayer and praise and preaching festival) prayer meetings (See Appendix III), the KAYO²⁶⁹ movement- which is springboard for leadership in the CPK- with the violent behaviour of the politically-motivated 'youthwingers' who chased

267 H.B.Meyer, 'The Social Significance of the Liturgy, Concilium, 1974, n.2, pp.34-50.

268 It is also interesting to compare what was happening elsewhere in Germany with the Hitlerjugend: (ed.)R.L.Tuzic, How Firm a Foundation, Chicago, 1990, pp.20ff.

²⁶⁹Kenyan Anglican Youth Organization

the then Bishop Gitari onto his roof in April 1989, or of others who later in 1991-2 were drawn into the ethnic disturbances .

3.2.5 RECENT LITURGICAL THEORIES: 'LEX ORANDI, LEX CREDENDI' (270)

Yves Congar was an initiator of the sea-change which brought Vatican II and postulated a theory of lay involvement based on Christ's triple nature of the: priestly (moral, testimonial and liturgical involvement) the royal (powerful and eschatological) and the prophetic (mystical knowledge and teaching) (271). His emphasis on the oral and the pneumatic in tradition was considerable in Roman Catholic and Protestant circles and laid much of the groundwork for liturgical renewal; his conception of the liturgy was as a 'locus theologicus' and as such a communicator of Good News, or mission-intentioned:

The liturgy is at one and the same time theology, soteriology, anthropology and communion... for content it has, in a more concentrated way than scripture, the divine-human covenantal relationship. (272)

The importance of the Orthodox priest, Alexander Schmeemann (1921-1983) was in his belief that liturgy was a source of theology, the 'ontological condition of theology, the proper understanding of kerygma of the Word of God... in the Church, of which the liturgy is the expression of the life...' For him the Latin maxim should be formulated as lex orandi est lex credendi since 'theology was not an academic discipline, but

270 A shorthand for Prosper of Aquitaine's (c.390-463) argument with Semi-Pelagianism that divine grace is needed throughout the process of human salvation, that 'the law of prayer may establish a law for belief' for 'Jews... heretics... schismatics... the lapsed... catechumens' (Wainwright, Doxology, Epworth Press, London; Oxford University Press, New York, 1980 pp.225-6), a formulation, despite its ancient ring, in a context which is full of significance for the project of mission in a pluralistic society. Maxwell Johnson, 'Liturgy and Theology', in (eds.) Bradshaw and Spinks, Liturgy in Dialogue, London, SPCK, 1993, p. 202

271 Plüss, op. cit. p.237.

272 Yves Congar, Tradition and Traditions, London, 1966, p.430 in Evans, op. cit., pp.5ff.; Evans deals with Congar's first of three monuments of tradition: liturgy, the teaching of the magisterium, and the works of the Fathers, Doctors and Theologians, ibid., p.4, 36ff.

precisely the articulation within the church of the unitary aspects of Christian belief and life: eucharist, eschatology, ecclesiology all perfectly expressed precisely in the church's liturgical life.' (273)

For the Protestant theologian, Wainwright, the Latin lex orandi, lex credendi means that the 'rule of faith is the norm for prayer : what must be believed (doctrine) governs what may and should be prayed (text)' (274) Wainwright appears to be concerned about worship 'getting out of hand' and wishes to apply theological tests to monitor it. These three positions may tell us more about the theological habitus of each proponent, and, as Johnson has shown, can be held in tension, so that the Latin term is seen to mean: 1. the law of praying is the law of believing, 2. that the law of praying *constitutes* the law of believing, (evoking a theologia prima, and as a 'pre-reflective perception of the life of faith' after Kavanagh) and that, 3. after Wainwright, the law of believing cannot 'function in isolation from other theological principles without distorting the theological quest for and articulation of truth.' (275)

3.2.6 LITURGY AND RELEVANCE: 'THE THEOLOGIAN IS ONE WHO PRAYS IN TRUTH, AND THE ONE WHO PRAYS IN TRUTH IS A THEOLOGIAN'. (276)

The concern of early members of the European liturgical movement was practically to relate worship to life and life to worship, as is the concern of Western liturgists today, and of an entire gamut of African theologians. Thus mission is seen to be mediated through the translation and vernacularization of biblical and liturgical texts in conjunction

273 R.L.Tuzic, op. cit., pp.303-4; and ibid., p.29

274 Wainwright, op. cit., p.218, cited in Bradshaw and Spinks, op. cit., p.209.

275 Maxwell Johnson, 'Liturgy and Theology', in ibid., pp.205, 210, 222, 225.

276 Evagrius Ponticus, 4th C.

with local religious expectations, and liturgies are created in the mediation of mission and evangelism. The way that mission affects the world through the agency of liturgy will be discussed to some extent through the example of the 'ministry of the word' of Archbishop David Gitari. His emphasis, as a former representative of the Diocese of Kirinyaga and CPK, on Incarnation and bringing the word to the people can be observed in the politico-theological intention of his words at the Confirmation Service (See Appendix IV) and of his sermons, and in his view of the importance of the role of preaching, or 'prophesying',²⁷⁷ as he prefers to call it, in the liturgy. It is true, for example, that Roman Catholic members attended Mass at 8.00 a.m. on a Sunday and then commonly attended at St. Thomas' Cathedral, Kerugoya in order to hear his sermon²⁷⁸, a sign of the value which is popularly placed on the prophetic. The use of liturgy also as a weapon in the 'Environmental Litany' will be alluded to in chapter 4 (4.2.7).

3.2.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter so far some perspectives of mission in a liturgical context, and for liturgy in a missiological context have been synthesised with reference to the secular context. Whilst certain factors- such as a post-Christian ethos- make this a problematical proposition for the church in Western society, there may be signs that the church in Africa, and specifically the church in Kenya, and the CPK in this study, is beginning to relate Christian mission to secularity through the medium of the liturgical project.

²⁷⁷, ...I preached these prophetic sermons... I prophesied to the people of Kirinyaga...' from Dedication, In Season and Out of Season, op. cit., p. 9.

²⁷⁸ Interview, op. cit.

Some standard distinctions between theories of liturgy may thus be summed up briefly for the purpose of this discussion as follows: Orthodox theology after Schmeemann and others postulates the priority of doxology and liturgy over theology; whilst the Roman Catholic approach favours the interrelatedness of these elements; Protestantism, on the other hand, would emphasize the differences between doxological language and theological reflection, and would apply the latter to the former. (279) An Anglican definition is as, as has been seen (3.1.1) problematic but probably draws on all of these models; however, it is also filtered through an ecclesiological concern so that the 'possession by ordinary clergy and by the laity of the gospel in their own tongue, interpreted by and interpreting the liturgy of the church, is crucial for the understanding of authority.' (280) Certain issues impinging on liturgy which are of African importance arise from this.

279 Teresa Berger, 'Liturgy and Theology', an ongoing Dialogue, Societas Liturgicas, 19, n.1, pp.14-16.

280 (ed.) Sykes, Authority in the Anglican Communion, Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, 1987, p. 19

CHAPTER THREE PART THREE

3.3 LITURGY: ISSUES OF AFRICAN IMPORTANCE

3.3.1 LITURGY AND AUTHORITY

Pursuing and applying points which have been made in 3.1, it is evident that Stephen Sykes draws attention to Pobee's essay in the same volume, (Authority in the Anglican Communion), and agrees that Pobee's suggestion of African paradigms of authority (in terms of priest, elder or chief, depending on the culture) are pertinent to his discussion; Pobee points to the interlocking of the secular and the sacred, and the recovery of a ministry of power and holiness as means for the resolution of the western dichotomy of a priest as 'ritual performer' with no secular standing, for 'religious authority must be visible in the secular life.'(281) In another study Pobee speaks of the inculturation of Christian worship as the Greek term skenosis- 'tenting', an apt term in this study due to the present need of the CPK to address the contexts of nomadic communities; and he mentions aesthetic considerations in respect of the use of appropriate liturgical colours, since in one culture red is a sign of death. He is also interested to explore the possibility of the use of the language of African royalties in liturgy.(282)

Spinks appears to locate the problem of Western liturgical revision precisely in the following statement which also by inference throws into relief the advancement of the African, and even Kenyan liturgical

281 Pobee also agrees with Sykes regarding the BCP as 'the power base for the Christian community as a whole', 'Take Thou Authority: An African Perspective' in *ibid.* pp.189-201.

282 'The Skenosis of Christian Worship in Africa', Studia Liturgica 14, 1981-2, pp.37-52 in Spinks, 'Liturgy and Culture: Is Modern Western Liturgical Revision a Case of Not Seeing the Wood for the Trees?', in Bradshaw and Spinks, op. cit., pp.31, 35.

project, so that issues of inculturation (see also 4.1.3) and the local secular domain, due to historical processes, are rightly engaged with greater clarity:

From the literature one senses that there is an acceptance that there is a problem, that modern Western liturgies are at variance with modern Western culture, and that at the moment they are a-cultural, with inculturation a distant goal. Part of the problem is the difficulty of looking at one's own culture and liturgy from within, since it lacks perspective. (283)

The concern of this section has not been with the Western liturgical project as such, but the barrenness of some aspects of it compared with the African determination to relate liturgy to the world, and some success in so doing; it has also been to point to the necessity of extending the discussion of the relationship between the secular and the sacred in the realm of liturgy, which may be called the dynamic of mission. The way in which the liturgical has impacted on the political and vice versa can be observed in some events from recent Kenyan political history.

283 ibid., p.37.

In 1990 Bishop Alexander Muge²⁸⁵ who lost his life in a mysterious car crash in August of that year, suggested with a sense of vision that the three main Protestant churches- the CPK, the PCEA and the MCK- should form a union to speak out against social evils. Not surprisingly, the proposal was immediately condemned by MPs who accused him of trying to form an opposition against KANU. Previously in 1986 the AIC was alleged to be weakening the position of the CPK in Muge's diocese (a Kalenjin area) and Muge declared that 'AIC and CPK pastors should come together,

²⁸⁴The 'limited theology of secular power' (John Lonsdale, Stanley Booth-Clibborn and Andrew Hake in (eds.) Fashole-Luke, Gray, Hastings, Tasie, Christianity in independent Africa, London, 1978, p.267.) attributed to Kenya's Protestant churches has been seen by scholars to have been considerably extended after independence: both Throup and Benson (D.Throup, '"Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's"' The Politics of Church-State Conflict in Kenya, 1978-1990, and Benson, op. cit., in (eds.) Hansen and Twaddle, op. cit.) respectively show the socio-political and ideological force of the Kenyan government, what has been termed its 'hegemonic project', and detail chronologies of church-state relations which will not be rehearsed here. Throup, in summary, mentions that the CPK, the PCEA and the Roman Catholics had become increasingly dominated by Kikuyu churchmen and congregations in Central Province, where members also had influential positions in government. ('In September 1990... after 12 years of the Moi presidency and the dismantling of Kikuyu hegemony in the state, 5 of the 12 CPK bishops were Kikuyu. The moderator, former moderator and secretary-general of the Presbyterian Church were also Kikuyu. Both denominations were weak in the Kalenjin heartland of President Moi.' [Such as the district and town of Nakuru where Moi has his home.] ibid. p.160) A strong contrast may be drawn, therefore, between President Daniel arap Moi who advanced people from his own home area into positions of power, and the powerful Bishop Alexander Muge who became an outspoken critic of corruption, Kikuyu domination in the church, an advocate of ecumenism and opponent of the 'tribalization' of politics and the church- in a highly politicized town where Moi's support was wavering. Various examples highlight these background elements: Eldoret had expanded from less than 20,000 at 1963 at Independence, to over 100,000 20 years later, and contained the president's two main 'ethnic bases of support', Kalenjin and Abaluhya, who were also competing for political control, as well as a considerable number of rural landless squatting on the farms of notables. (ibid. p.149) The NCKK represented an ecclesiastical axis of discontent with the queuing system of voting from 1986, and more moderate senior clerics, Archbishop Kuria and the Bishop of Nakuru and Chairman of the Roman Catholic Episcopal Conference, Rt. Revd Ndingi Mwanza a'Nzeki (although the Roman Catholics were not NCKK members) were fully in support of the critical line, although receiving less criticism due to hierarchical solidarity, whilst Revd Timothy Njoya (of the PCEA in Nairobi) and Bishop Muge distinguished themselves as offering high profile critiques, championing the view that the church should be the 'voice to the voiceless.' (op. cit. pp.150-1)

²⁸⁵The first Kalenjin bishop of Eldoret diocese when it was created from Nakuru diocese in 1983

pray together and then go out and tell their followers that they serve the same God and should not allow politicians to use the church for their gains.²⁸⁶

The role of liturgies and preaching in contemporary Kenyan politics was pinpointed in 1983 when at the beginnings of the Njonjo affair, a PCEA prayer meeting was condemned by the government, as was a 1984 sermon by Njoya, since they both appeared to be attacking the processes which led to the (justified, by all accounts) disgrace of Njonjo, and especially for the way spiritual power appeared to be re-asserting Kikuyu disinclination to support the government.²⁸⁷ The politicization of the rhetoric and elements of liturgical content is a theme of the following account.

3.3.2.1 THE BANNING OF PRAYERS BY THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT

A few months before Kenya ceased to be a de jure one-party state in December 1991, a revealing article appeared in The Weekly Review entitled 'Running Out of Steam, The CPK seems to be in disarray over its political approach'²⁸⁸. At this time, for example, Dr. Gitari was at his rhetorical height, preaching against environmental exploitation and financial corruption in the government, not to mention the desirability of multi-partyism.²⁸⁹ Archbishop Kuria had announced in mid-July that 'special prayers' for the return of peace and justice would be held in the

²⁸⁶In the controversial politics of Nandi district suspicion of Muge's tactics due to a previous association with the fallen Anglican Kikuyu politician, Njonjo, led to a meeting in September 1986 where three-quarters of the councillors who met to condemn Muge were members of the AIC, of which Moi was a member. Weekly Review, 19 September 1986, p.6, cit. in ibid., p.152

²⁸⁷op. cit. p.161.

²⁸⁸Weekly Review, August 2nd 1992, pp.3-6.

²⁸⁹See 'Was there no Naboth to say no?' (19th May 1991) and 'You are Doomed, You Shepherds of Israel' (9th June 1991), in In Season and Out of Season, op. cit. pp.73ff.

cathedral and other churches on that day. The secretary of CPK's Justice and Peace Commission announced that the prayer service would be preceded by a public procession through Nairobi's streets.

Subsequently the government warned the public against attending the service and said it would not allow the procession to take place on account, the journalist argued, of the memory of a violent aftermath of an 'unlicensed prayer crusade' in Nyeri district, organised by Revd Timothy Njoya of the PCEA. The report attributed the 'decentralisation' of the prayers, i.e. the fact that the CPK hierarchy did not converge in its entirety on All Saints' Cathedral, to the CPK's 'backing down'. Notwithstanding there were reports of intimidation against senior CPK clergy and lawyers by security personnel.²⁹⁰

The account relates the 'CPK's manoeuvre' to that of the 'controversial' 'Justice and Peace Convention - Kenya' (sponsored by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), the CPK, and the NCKK) of which Bishop Henry Okullu was Chairman, and Paul Muite of LSK, was secretary. The writer seems to approve the 'resolute government hostility' which also prevented a situation in which, in the words of a KANU national chairman, the prayers would amount to a 'political meeting with a purpose.' The journalist also attacked Archbishop Kuria: 'Despite the vociferous posture... He is widely perceived... as a vacillating and indecisive prelate who lacks the stomach to stare a crisis down, as he aptly demonstrated'.²⁹¹

Not only is the demonization of the church by the government evident from this text but also a real fear of the power of the CPK can be read in between the lines, as well as the angle of the reporter as slightly, if

²⁹⁰Weekly Review 2/8/92, p.4.

²⁹¹ibid., p.5

carefully slanted against the CPK. The distinctive roles of the CPK and the LSK as agents in the political field are particularly acute bearing in mind the closeness of the repeal of the one-party state law later that year. It is then no surprise to discover that secular 'liturgies' are used to mobilize political opinion.

3.3.2.2 KENYAN SECULAR RHETORIC AND LITURGICAL PROSPECT

In Haugerud's study, The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya, (1995) it is her interesting thesis that the Kenyan open-air political meeting or baraza²⁹² which she has witnessed, (the harambee being an example) was a ritualized method of keeping open secrets out of the public domain, of maintaining silence by coercive and symbolic means. Examples of the genre are offered, e.g.:

CM (a politician): Today there are how many secondary schools in Embu?
CROWD: There are many
CM: Are there many?
CROWD: Yes!
CM: They are there?
CROWD: Yes!
CM: Aren't those fruits of independence
CROWD: They are fruits
CM: Those who say those are not the fruits of independence during the time of KANU put their hands up (pause) Thank you.²⁹³

Alongside the subjective views of the anonymous Weekly Review journalists, Haugerud- as an outsider- in fact remarks well on a maturation ('a stunning departure') of the political process in the early 90's, as opposition politics was offered more opportunity in public spaces, and was even allowed its own baraza.²⁹⁴ Pressing Bourdieu and

²⁹²A Swahili term with multiple, multi-cultural meanings from, perhaps, Persian- 'a royal court' connoting a public audience, council meeting, village headman's or colonial administrator's office or 'pulpit'. Haugerud, op. cit., p.61

²⁹³ibid., p.79

²⁹⁴ibid., p.59

others into service, there is a social theoretical concern with the achievement of balance between the 'thinkable and the unthinkable'²⁹⁵, 'between coercion and persuasion, between constraint and creativity, between "structure" and "agency"'. One may summarize the intention of her analysis (which in the purposes of this study has ramifications for the liturgical project) by the following quotation:

Baraza may offer a stage on which state élites use political oratory to foster national unity, territorial identification, and loyalty to the ruling régime. Here we see the construction and diffusion of national culture: those "intentional élite products which draw on élite, folk, mass and popular forms, and use indigenous as well as cosmopolitan technologies of reproduction and dissemination". The symbolic activities of the nation-state include constructing national histories, and inventing and recycling traditions and ethnic identities. Such constructions or representations are the outcome of historical struggles among competing agents who press alternative political claims....One might ask, for example, whether jovial outward shows of compliance by baraza audiences do not have the unintended effect of helping to constitute a solidarity, though disguised, mocking of or opposition to apparently shared values... (converting) to strategic weapons what were once open secrets politely ignored.²⁹⁶

In what is an oral and narrative study of rhetorical politics, encompassing a case study of Embu (formerly in Kirinyaga diocese), Haugerud laments the loss of skills such as pre-colonial dialogue poetry, but shows that curses, proverbs and metaphor belong to the staple of political speech, when for example, 'solidarity' was compared to that of fathers whose sons had been initiated. She says that the use of such genres presuppose 'deeply shared beliefs and cultural understandings' which are less common in polyglot, heterogeneous society.²⁹⁷ In speaking of cross-ethnic informal associations which could counter the fissiparous trends in opposition politics, despite their attempts at uniting candidates of different ethno-regional origins, Haugerud mentions 'faculty lounges, bars, offices, sports fields, schools, and neighbourhoods', but not, however, churches.

²⁹⁵Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice, p.21, cited in ibid., p.56

²⁹⁶ibid., pp.57-8

²⁹⁷ibid., p.70

It is not only the manifest wish of churchleaders to use indigenous cultural rhetoric so that one may describe the style of Bp. David Gitari in his sermons as baraza (see Appendix IV.) In fact the sermon may be performing exactly the opposite of what Haugerud is arguing that political oratory can do, in articulating open secrets in a public and consecrated domain, for example the reference to the 'confused nation' in the Holy Communion Service²⁹⁸, denoting the period of one-party rule (1982-1991), or by Gitari's and others' references to contemporary politics²⁹⁹. Furthermore the christianization and liturgicalization of a Turkana curse (referred to below in 4.2.2(b)) may be advanced as proof of a bold cross-ethnic deeply shared statement of belief.

The Presiding Bishop of the MCK wishes to develop the dimensions of the 'spontaneous oral poem' in worship, a phenomenon which involved it being passed from one person or generation to another³⁰⁰. Other examples from the broader social canvass include the (secular) allusive identity-reinforcing song, Muthirigu, performed infectiously in protest at the time of the circumcision crisis: an example of the ironic repartee with serious intent referred to by Haugerud³⁰¹, or the nyimbo of political poets³⁰². As well as having a possible cross-referencing resonance to the latter, the formation and use of the Kikuyu Nyimbo Cia Gucanjamura Ngoro hymnbook in the CPK Kirinyaga diocesan field has already been referred to as a foremost example of contextualised worship (2.1.3 (i)). In the Preface to this Bp. Gitari notes that whilst singing outside the church is enthusiastic, entry into the building sometimes brings an

²⁹⁸op. cit., p.27

²⁹⁹In a highly scriptural and inspiring sermon, Dr. Gitari referred plainly to the fact that people are 'letting us down by defecting to KANU... and a member of the congregation commented 'they were bribed', see Appendix IV.

³⁰⁰Interview with Rt. Revd Zablon Nthamburi, 7/3/96.

³⁰¹D.P.Sandgren, op. cit., pp.175ff

³⁰²John Lonsdale, 'The Prayers of Waiyaki,' in Anderson and Johnson, op. cit., p.273.

unnecessarily solemn air. The creation of hymns for different occasions by Joyce Karuri and others, and the publication, and usage of the Kikuyu hymn book is evidence of grass roots inculturation of worship drawing on secular or home-produced musical forms.

Thus it can be seen that many forms of worship have oral or narrative roots in a social setting, but which are made distinctive by synthesis with Christian theology. It is equally true that the secular domain in Kenya may be set in the context of the liturgical, such as a national day of prayer or the 'special prayers' which were seen as politicized by the government. That such a scenario is viewed as so inimical by the government is revealing: church worship may happily draw on the social context in the state (pray for national leaders) but uneasily comment in its worship on that social context. There is therefore a very powerful element in liturgy which is proclaimed and re-proclaimed and is therefore as, if not more voluble than the sermons which cannot be censored in advance. Powerful also is the fact that the Kenyan state enshrines freedom of worship in consecrated buildings.

3.3.2.3. KENYAN PRO-DEMOCRACY UNREST, JULY 1997

In a state which guarantees freedom of worship, many found it disturbing to see Kenyan riot troops beating students and worshippers in All Saints Cathedral, an event which gained international news and television media coverage in July 10th-17th 1997. Further unrest was reported particularly in Nakuru and deaths occurred elsewhere. Revd. Timothy Njoya, who had been injured himself, returned with others to the Cathedral and in full sight of the foreign media for a 'cleansing ceremony'. Activists carried green branches to symbolise peace as Archbishop David Gitari sprinkled

holy water and then knocked three times on the door to mark its reopening for services:

Open the gates of this cathedral so that I may enter and cleanse it.³⁰³

Gitari's sermon included an impassioned appeal for justice, declaring of President Moi: 'You have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.' The liturgy also included a litany for the security forces to be guided, protected and inspired.³⁰⁴ This successful public act may well make it easier for worship to be socially engaged in future. As well as having a clear liturgical purpose, i.e. to reconsecrate the Cathedral, it may well turn out to have had a political effect if constitutional changes are forthcoming.

Earlier the link between the CMS and the CPK was mentioned (3.1) It has been remarked that the discussion of the role of liturgy in specifically mission history has been limited, and it is to that area that some consideration is now given since it is correct that these remarks should immediately precede an analysis of liturgical texts in chapter four.

3.3.3 MISSION HISTORIES AND LITURGY

Prof. Ranger has spoken of the defect of early Christian mission historiography (in East, Central or Southern Africa) as underplaying the cultural and religious whilst expanding on the political and economic since 'formal church historians, writing from within the missionary societies, have emphasised institutional achievements, the build-up of schools and clinics and have hardly discussed the impact of missionaries and their African catechists on the cultural imagination of Africans.'³⁰⁵

³⁰³Channel 4 News, 14/7/97

³⁰⁴The Guardian, 14/7/97, p.12.

³⁰⁵Terence Ranger, 'Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa', African Studies Review, 29, (2), 1986, p.35

Some of these shortcomings have been addressed above as the links between culture and liturgy become apparent. Ranger cites Sanneh (306) and Strayer (op. cit.) as chroniclers of the 'African capture of Christianity', against nationalist historians who, despite rightly stressing the African agency of catechists and missionaries, failed to take into account the powerful role of Christian rites and symbols adopted and adapted by African Independent churches. Ranger is correct to emphasize the grass-roots seizure of symbolic capital by Pentecostalist and Revivalist elements, as has been noted in the account of the EARM, and to point to an undervaluation of the strength and popularity of mission Christianity which has entered into a dynamic with these elements within its own institutions, as has been described (307).

Far from being swept away by independency, a differentiation of traditions (whether MCK(308), PCEA(309) or CPK), even healthy competition, within a context of spiritual unity in the mission imperative, and of political unity through the influential offices of the NCKK, has meant that in some areas the mission churches are more representative and attended.(310) In the CPK the exploitation of the concepts or images of the Book of Common Prayer has been transformative and self-transformational. The PCEA, MCK etc., and all the 'mission churches', which Kenyans prefer to call 'mainstream churches', and the Roman Catholic church have been exercising a revolutionary role vis-à-vis the state. In her comments in a review essay (311), Hackett speaks of

306 Translating the Message, 1983, pp.xi-xviii.

307 See Appendix II

308 The MCK, traditionally a Meru church, started a new church in Nakuru in the last few years. Interview, Shadrach Mwangangi, 15/12/95.

309 The PCEA recently built a new centre in Kikuyu and all its churches, as well as CPK and MCK churches in this area are full; the churches of Kirinyaga are predominantly CPK and are well supported. Interviews, Staff at St. Paul's, Limuru, SACTD, 2-3/96.

310 Terence Ranger, op. cit., pp.36-39.

311 'African New Religious Movements', Review Essay of Karen Fields, Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa, Princeton, 1985; and Jean Comaroff, Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance, by Rosalind Hackett, African Studies Review, 29, (3), 1986, pp.141-6.

'Zionist bricolage' whereby signifiers of 'dress, ...the Bible, money, weapons, dance, drums or the written word' are transformed from signs of colonial oppression into 'dynamic forms of transcendence' and states that data interpretation from 'the perspective of the participants, people's experience of the spiritual world and their articulation of this merit more attention.' Although when she is speaking of mutually transforming scholarly collectivities being needful, she is thinking of the subject of new religious movements in Africa, the dividing lines between so-called mission, and now CPK tradition, and New Pentecostal and possibly New Religious Movements are academically drawn and unclear. Narrative, oral and liturgical fields provide greater scope for analysis for the study of mission. The development and adaptation of a CPK BCP tradition (in the new liturgies) indicates a novel dynamic form to be studied in this way. (312) A similar point has been put forcibly by Plüss:

...if one has a genuine interest in intercultural theological dialogue, one should learn to understand oral digests of faith as they are largely practiced in the Third World. (313)

Mbiti well sums up the liturgical project of the African or, for present purposes, the Kenyan church, by historical reference to the inculturated habits (*habitus*) of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

At this moment I do not know of any fully developed African liturgy, worked out theologically, integrating the various parts into a wholeness... the Church of Ethiopia gives us hints as to the direction local liturgies elsewhere in Africa might take. Examples are 'outdoor' and 'indoor' services, liturgical stress on the Incarnation, chanting and singing by clergy and congregation, observing of fasting and feast days, use of symbols (bells, colours, robes, etc.,) positions for prayer (standing up, kneeling, prostration) and regular times of prayer (this Church has 7 in a day.) (314)

312 i.e. Karen Field's study (*op. cit.*) of Jehovah's Witnesses in former Zambia illustrates this fragility to some extent; it is a reactive critique of political and cultural approaches but her concept of 'revival' is not theologically founded, and attempts to demythologize and situate in her scheme the religious elements in order to typify millenarianism.

313 Plüss, *op. cit.*, p.8.

314 Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p.93.

There are many resonances here with the stated 'wholistic mission' approach of the CPK (described in 2.2) and its outworking in liturgical renewal (chapter 4) in new services and the Incarnational stress in sermons by Dr. Gitari, for example; it is hence instructive to imagine ways in which the 'Liturgy in the Making'³¹⁵ of the CPK will be enlarged.

³¹⁵Revd Michael Lolwerikoi, Interview, op. cit.

CHAPTER FOUR

A PRACTICAL ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN WORSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF KENYA.

CHAPTER FOUR PART ONE: LANGUAGE, CHURCH AND CULTURE

4.1.1 LANGUAGE AND LITURGY IN THE NEW PARADIGM

Bosch suggests³¹⁶, in an application of the paradigm theory of Kuhn, that the world now inhabits parallel paradigm universes, and this is an insight helpful to the thesis at this point. We are, it is argued, simultaneously experiencing a paradigm shift³¹⁷ into a post-Enlightenment view of the world- whilst many wish to remain within an Enlightenment paradigm. The social theorist, Bourdieu is somewhat a child of the new paradigm, although resistant of labels such as 'post-modernist': in linguistic theory he is critical of internal 'semiological' analysis of a text with scant regard for the social-historical conditions which surround it. In his work he emphasises the 'institution' in which the speech-act takes place although this is not seen as an organisation so much as a 'competitive field'. Interestingly, he is criticised for this over-reliance on 'recognised social ritual, like a marriage or baptism, as distinct from...unstructured face to face interaction.'³¹⁸ He has also written on the subject of religion and in the essay, Authorized Language,

³¹⁶Transforming Mission, Orbis, New York, 1991, p349ff.

³¹⁷Martinez... attributes the most recent paradigm shift (in ritual) primarily to the Second Vatican Council and mentions only in passing the impact of modern culture' but this is not adequate to explain the simultaneous liturgical change in so many different Christian traditions. cf. Martinez 'Cult and Culture: The Structure of the Evolution of Worship', Worship 64, (1990), pp.406-33 cited in Ruth Meyers, 'Liturgy and Society ', pp.154-175 in (eds.) Bradshaw and Spinks, Liturgy in Dialogue, SPCK, London, 1993.

³¹⁸Pierre Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic Power, Polity Press, Oxford, 1991, p.10.

(subtitled The Social Conditions for the Effectiveness of Ritual Discourse) Bourdieu quotes extensively in parallel with his own discussion, the commentary of French churchgoers dismayed by the liturgical changes (or 'errors') precipitated by Vatican II and the paradigm shift alluded to above. Remarks on the theology of place, gesture, language are used to substantiate a tendentious linguistic argument pleading for the context or culture in which a word is embedded and gains true 'illocutionary and performative force':

We are subjected to the extravagant notions of a 'quartet of young priests' who last year had the idea... of holding the solemn first communion in the Sports Centre, even though we have two large and beautiful churches...

It was remarkable to hear, in an ancient Gothic church, the formal version of "Hail Mary" ("Je vous salue Marie") employed with a much more familiar form of address "Hello, Mary" (J'te salue Marie). This familiarity does not match the spirit of our French language...

the priest used neither ornaments nor sacred vessels to celebrate mass. Dressed in civilian clothes, he used an ordinary table, ordinary bread and wine, and ordinary utensils.³¹⁹

Bourdieu articulates a sociological description of the 'representative function' of priestly ministry and avers that the 'abdication of the symbolic attributes of authority, like the cassock, Latin and consecrated objects and places, highlights a break with the ancient contract of delegation which united a priest with the faithful through the intermediary of the Church'. The devolution of authority in the liturgy to individual priests -regarded as 'anarchic diversification' by the outraged faithful- points to crises over liturgy, in the 'clerical field' and in religious belief. With the penetrating statements that the 'performative magic of ritual functions fully only as long as the religious official... acts as a kind of *medium* between the group and

³¹⁹from R.P.Lelong, Le dossier noir de la communion solennelle, Mame, Paris, 1972, pp. 66, 86, 183, cited in *ibid.*, pp. 108-114.

itself'; and that the crisis in religious language is not only due to 'the collapse of the world of representations...(but) part of the disintegration of an entire universe of social relations of which it was constitutive'³²⁰, Bourdieu accurately captures the mood both of those who would keep to an Enlightenment paradigm, and of those, (to use his model) whose symbolic or liturgical capital is occupying an emerging paradigmatic field (the priests and supporters of a post-Vatican II ethos) which is claiming the ground of the former.

This rupture of the liturgical and ecclesiastical order in Roman Catholicism is paralleled to some extent by the relationship in Kenyan Anglicanism between the young ordinands and clergy and older members of the parishes. This is typified by the tension between lay readers (for whom the use of the BCP in services represents order and spiritual rootedness and many of the values of the EARM) and new clergy who may be already used to new liturgies, ways of praying which are appropriate to their own culture, or who may be writing their own experimental liturgies with the encouragement of the Provincial Liturgical Committee.³²¹

4.1.2 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION IN THE NEW PARADIGM

Whilst changes in the ecclesiology of the Roman Catholic Church are being discussed, it is instructive to realize that the Roman Catholic anthropologist, Aylward Shorter, follows Bosch in drawing attention to the ramifications of the paradigm shift in this tradition. For him the driving force for the shift is found in mission which is no longer Eurocentric but based in the local Church rather than from a 'sending' church, and great store is set by the role of basic ecclesial communities

³²⁰ ibid., p.115-6

³²¹ Interview with denominational representatives, 2/96.

in this process. The paradigm of the 'culturally polycentric', koinonia Church encourages mutual ministry of the kind found so anathema above, but this is the function of the movement of an egalitarian world communion (served by the central organs of the universal Church). The features of this are a growing partnership between local churches in a dialogical encounter with cultures and faiths and the witness of basic ecclesial communities³²², which Muthungu (3.1.1 (b), above) favours so much for Kenyan Anglicanism.

Shorter reveals that some elements of established Roman Catholicism resist the new paradigmatic wave, preferring an Enlightenment construct where Euro-American theology prevails, and here Shorter cites Cardinal Josef Ratzinger as disliking the term 'inculturation', and appearing to suggest that Christianity is mediated through Western culture. The liturgist, Aidan Kavanagh is cited as a neo-conservative who fears that inculturation will lead to local politicisation of the liturgy and the dispersal of the church as a worshipping community, and seeks that episcopal conferences and Roman curial congregations should act as controlling mechanisms.³²³

Since the term 'inculturation' is a bone of contention in a discussion of 'dispersal', whether of authority in an Anglican frame, or of the community in a Roman Catholic context, it is appropriate here to consider briefly the definition and usage of this concept.

³²²Aylward Shorter, Evangelization and Culture, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1994 pp.153ff.

³²³ibid., pp.90, 94

4.1.3 INCULTURATION AND THE LITURGY

The term 'enculturation' entered theology and missiology via cultural anthropology and thence, as 'inculturated Catholicism', came to Jesuit Catholicism in 1962, to the Synod of Bishops in 1977, and soon found a home in Protestantism too. The term is explained by Bosch under the generic umbrella of 'contextual theologies' which branch into 'indigenization' or 'socio-economic' models; the indigenization stem then sprouts a 'translation' or 'inculturation' model; under the socio-economic definition are classified, political or liberation theologies. Bosch himself would like to link 'inculturation' only with indigenization.³²⁴ Other terms such as 'accommodation' or 'adaptation' are used to speak of the philosophical ructions of this movement which is not so much new as in the process of being rediscovered or reinvented³²⁵.

Of course 'inculturation' is at the heart of the historical process of Christianity: mission theologians have argued recently that the Early Church was generated in a linguistically, ethnically and culturally mixed environment: since the early church was born in a cross-cultural milieu with translation as its birthmark, it is no surprise, argues David Bosch³²⁶, that in the Pauline churches Jews, Greeks, barbarians, Thracians, Egyptians and Romans felt at home, nor that faith was 'inculturated in a great variety of liturgies and contexts- Syrian, Greek, Roman, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Maronite...'³²⁷ In the

³²⁴Bosch, op. cit., p.421

³²⁵This term is ascribed to Leonardo Boff speaking of the rise of the local church in base Christian communities as 'ecclesiogenesis', Bosch op. cit., p.451

³²⁶Lamin Sanneh, quoted by Bosch, Transforming Mission, p.448 cf. Max Stackhouse, Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization and Mission in Theological Education, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1988.

See also Lamin Sanneh and Michael Nazir-Ali, op.cit.

³²⁷David J. Bosch, op.cit., p.448. The kenotic and historical precedent and resources for inculturation is also discussed by Teresa Okure,

earliest era of the Church there was also an emphasis on the autonomy of local churches within a loose federation of unity. This diversity and renewal was founded on the basis, for example, of the work of missionary translators in empowering cultures with the principle of 'mother tongue particularity'³²⁸:

'(It is) the same vernacular note that sounds like a drumroll in the rise and spread of the sense of social and cultural self-awareness, not in some refined if ephemeral Pan-African cultural project that is inclined to overlook linguistic and cultural particularity, but in the detailed, single-minded missionary cultivation of vernacular specificity, including the preservation of dialectical distinctions.'³²⁹

This was ironically in the 19th century a force for the deconstruction of empire, and for the reinforcement of nationalist or ethnic identity, and of a renewed religious awareness and for the expression of this in liturgy.

'Inculturation' can thus be defined as 'the presentation and re-expression of the Gospel in forms and terms proper to a culture, processes which result in the reinterpretation of both, without being unfaithful to either'³³⁰; and as 'the inculturation of Christianity and the Christianization of culture.'³³¹ Given that inculturation (or 'interculturalisation') is something which is being worked towards there is, Shorter suggests, a continuum from 'acculturation' to 'over-

'Inculturation:biblical/theological bases' in Teresa Okure, Paul van Thiel et alii, 32 Articles evaluating Inculturation of Christianity in Africa, Spearhead 112-114, AMECEA Gaba Publications, Eldoret, 1990, pp.55-88; Pope John Paul II's 'African Synod' in 94/95 contains a theological evaluation of inculturation, see eg The African Synod Comes Home, A Simplified Text, ed. AMECEA Pastoral Dept., Paulines Publications Africa, Nairobi, 1995, pp.25ff.

³²⁸'...mother tongue particularity was a direct consequence of missions' careful development and promotion of vernacular languages in Africa, and from that we come upon the springs of cultural particularity and renewal, the very basis on which significant literary and artistic creation in Africa have gone forward and entered the wide stream of world history.'

Lamin Sanneh, op. cit., p.114.

³²⁹Lamin Sanneh, ibid., p.82

³³⁰Shorter, op. cit., p.32

³³¹Bosch, op. cit., 454

inculturation', or 'syncretism' (where a measure of 'desyncretization' would be necessary.)³³²

These categories provide a decisive break with the idea of faith as 'kernel' and the culture as 'husk' which in other words is an illustration both of the Western scientific distinction between 'content' and 'form' and of the rationalistic separation between the empirical and the experiential or supernatural.³³³ In this way the Enlightenment paradigm, where Euro-centric epistemology was the guiding principle, is superseded in the Church by a koinonia ecclesiology. It may also be the case that a Euro-centric pedagogical approach, in judging the maturity of an African denomination by whether it had measured up to Henry Venn's 'self-governing, self-propagating, self-supporting,'³³⁴ criteria was disregarded (for instance by independent church movements) because the Enlightenment paradigm insofar as it followed on the Protestant Reformation (as a European over-inculturation) was not recognised or important to African cultural development. The success of 'mission churches' as community churches both in colonial times and after political Independence indicates that the notion of the 'local church' became paramount so that it was not decisive whether 'a church is historically Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian or Lutheran, but whether it has its home in Africa, Asia or Europe. Regional differences tend to become more important than confessional ones.'³³⁵ There is a strong distinction therefore with modern Pentecostal churches which are more individualised and urbanized. It will be seen precisely in the

³³²Such as in the early Church where Christians needed to detach themselves somewhat from their Jewish culture. Shorter, op. cit., p.32

³³³Bosch, op. cit., p.454

³³⁴Bosch suggests a fourth 'self': 'self-theologising', came into its own in the 70's, a prospect which 19th century mission theorists did not remotely foresee, op. cit., p.452

³³⁵ibid., p.453-4, see (ed.) Agatha Radoli, How Local is the Local Church, Small Christian Communities and Church in Eastern Africa, Eldoret, Kenya, AMECEA Gaba Publications Spearhead 126-128, 1993.

following section how ironically it was the former mission churches, and mainly the Anglican Church (wielding that most Reformation-embedded instrument, the Book of Common Prayer), and not the independent or new Pentecostal churches which in confronting aspects of socio-political culture, were both popularly inculturated and transformational. The analysis of the practical liturgical dimension is set in context by two case studies.

4.1.4 CASE-STUDIES : A NEO-PENTECOSTAL AND A CPK SERVICE

Having stated and viewed the desirable and actual interface of the secular and the theological or liturgical in various ways, the intention of this section is to set alongside two narrative accounts of a neo-revivalist, and an Anglican service both experienced by the researcher in Nakuru and Kirinyaga dioceses respectively, and to ascertain how and to what extent they represent the secular or the sacred, the narrative or the mythological, the foreign or the indigenous, the public or private.

4.1.4.1 ACCOUNT OF A NEO-PENTECOSTAL SERVICE: 'CHRICKO FELLOWSHIP' SERVICE, NAKURU TOWN, 29/2/96³³⁶

(i) The lunchtime service took place in a hired public meeting hall in the town centre. An arrangement of benches in rows faced the front of the hall, posters declaring that 'Jesus Christ is enthroned in this place' and notifying of revival meetings adorned the walls.

(ii) A worship ensemble consisting of singers, a keyboard player, bass and lead guitars and drums was set up in front of the benches. Before the

³³⁶'Chricsko' was founded by someone called Harridas in the 1980s. It is an indigenous, interdenominational mission church, and many mid-week supporters at this meeting also went to other churches. Interview with Chricsko Pastor, 29/2/96

service began many gathered in the worship space and bowed their heads in devotion. A lead singer or with a portable microphone led the singing, which modulated into expository and 'rap'-style prayer, and prayer using glossolalia, each one praying on his own. The prayer was in English and called for revival, for the blessing of bishops and leaders, and was addressed to God, e.g. 'Wrap us in Your Spirit, Lord.' This continued for 5 minutes.

(iii) There was then a mass rendition of the chorus, 'There is power in the blood...' which lasted 2 minutes, followed by more mass intercessory prayer, singing with glossolalia, and prayers for the 'President, the Vice President, for PCOs, DCOs, Chiefs, and Sub-chiefs, and for the fear of the Lord to come upon them'.

(iv) The hymn, Asante sana Yesu, (translated from the English 'Thank you thank you Jesus') was sung in Kiswahili for about 5 minutes and then the congregation was encouraged 'to shout praises out loud to the Lord'. This lasted another 5 minutes. After another Anglo-American hymn, i.e. composed originally in English and translated (2 minutes) the pastor welcomed the congregation and announced that the collection would be taken during the next hymn, which was also Anglo-American.

(v) Another period of public prayer followed in which the visiting preacher- using bilingual English and Swahili- commanded every ear to hear and receive the word. There were prayers for those who had requested it, and announcement of some 'words of knowledge', prophetic utterances directed at some specific person or need., (so that they, and we, might feel confident of divine pastoral care and presence, and possibility of its mediation through the paid pastor).

(vi) The sermon followed in which the preacher opened with the question: 'Why do some situations come upon us?' This emphasized the eschatological end-times, the sanctification of the faithful, and the coming revival. The congregation was exhorted to wave if it understood what he was saying, eg:

We are all on our way to the promised land... I used to sometimes take a long route home from school for fun and to parental disapproval; God took the children of Israel on a long route to Canaan because he wanted to spend time with them. When there is no problem we are full of hallelujah, but when problems come our testimony evaporates. The people came to the Red Sea, Egypt was behind them and there was no going back (nods from congregation); they complained, 'Is this what you call Deliverance?' Remember where, how, and when God visited you. You have your holy ground, your burning bush; there is hope for you when you pass through the waters, when in financial crisis, or hopeless. The other day I met a woman who had marriage problems, who had attempted suicide, and she accepted Jesus, praise God...

This sermon lasted 30 minutes and was to be continued the next day.

(vii) Most people left rapidly to get back to work. The pastor was concerned to stress that revival was already present in their group, and that 'we (Chricsko) are here to bring individuals to Jesus, not communities.'³³⁷

4.1.4.2 ACCOUNTS OF SERVICES AT ST. MATTHEW'S NGIRIAMBU, CPK DIOCESE OF KIRINYAGA, 18/2/96

The worship setting was the new church which was built in 1982 after a 'harambee' in 1976; the first church was built in 1936, its founding father being Samuel Mukoba, who had first come there to preach in 1919; and is remembered by the elders, (see 2.2.1 (a)).

³³⁷ Account of Chricsko Service and Interview, 29/2/96

(i) Girls' Secondary School Service, 9.30 a.m.

1. This service was entirely and enthusiastically led by the pupils, with a choir, a few drums, and with the visiting preacher from SACTD there to preach.

2. Leader: Praise the Lord!

School: Amen!

The congregation were invited to read Psalms 56-7 in unison, followed by an up-beat version of the Kikuyu version of the hymn 'Take my life and let it be consecrated, Lord, to thee.'

3. There were readings from Jeremiah and John ch. 15, the preacher's chosen text, read by girls, interspersed with the hymn, Guide me, o Thou great Redeemer.

4. A personal 'testimony' was given by a pupil. She began her address: 'Praise the lord/Response: Amen/I am saved...' This led into her introduction of her contemporaries who performed a melodic and rhythmic Kikuyu choral-responsive hymn, which they had also composed themselves. This was followed by another hymn written in Kikuyu.

5. Extempore intercessions in English were led by another member of the school who prayed for the leaders of the country and the school administration: 'You chose them, O mighty God... bless all the decisions they are making for the school...'

6. Another pupil came forward. She introduced herself: 'My name is... and I'm saved...', and then introduced the visitors who were all greeted with warm applause.

7. An interactive sermon on John 15 was given in English, including an action song in which the pupils were encouraged to join. This lasted 25 minutes.

8. The hymn 'Just as I am without one plea' was sung; the Head thanked the preacher and a final English hymn which had been translated into Kikuyu was sung while the offering was made by pupils walking up to place their gifts on the plate.

9. At the end a number of pupils remained for a long time with their heads bowed in devotion.

(ii) Account of Service of Morning Prayer from the Kikuyu Book of Common Prayer, 11.00am.

1. The service began with a procession of the choir and clergy from the vestry through the entrance of the church to the chancel, singing an English hymn

2. The service was led by two lay readers and a female Kabare student

3. The Kikuyu order of service was followed to a large extent, and notable were the chanted Psalms (in Kikuyu).

4. Hymns were interspersed regularly in the order, with the hymn book, Nyimbo Cia Gucajamura Ngoro- Songs to Warm our Hearts (op. cit.) being used for the most part. 2 hymns were sung from this book, a good number of the congregation having purchased their own copies.

5. A member gave her 'testimony' in the form of a singing solo; another original Kikuyu hymn was sung while members brought their gifts up to the plate in the aisle before the chancel; then a prayer of offering was said.

6. This was followed by the introductions interpreted into Kikuyu, notices and financial appeals. One of these concerned a sick child. One of the lay readers was the master of ceremonies. This lasted half an hour.

7. After the sermon from the visiting preacher (of about half an hour) there was another hymn and an invitation to give again to the plate in harambee-style support for the child's medical fees.

8. The recessional hymn was a Kikuyu version of 'Guide Me O Thou great Jehovah'.³³⁸

4.1.4.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF A NEO-PENTECOSTAL AND AN ANGLICAN SERVICE

(a) Setting.

To all intents and purposes these two services were typical: they were part of a regular pattern and there was no ordained Anglican person present; the secondary school service was 'specialist' but can be classified as a normal event. The first area of comparison for comment would be that of context: it is noted that the Chricsko service took place in a hired hall whilst the Anglican church had a long worshipping history and served both as a 'school chapel' and as a parish church. The

³³⁸Account of St Matthew's Services, 17/2/96

congregations were distinctive in that one was urban (Nakuru) and contained largely working or professional young people, and the other was rural (the BCP Service in Ngiriambu).

Symbolisms of authoritative capital or ecclesiology can be compared: the use of the microphone and electronic music, and a suit and tie worn by the preacher, as against processions and robes and a platform and pulpit in the Anglican church.

(b) Forms and language.

The contrast between the forms of service was striking in that the Neo-Revivalist liturgy was led orally by the worship-leader and 'interceder', rather than from the text of the Kikuyu BCP. Whilst the Chricsko service appeared 'freer', it lasted strictly no more than 45 minutes, and was largely held in English. The BCP service taking place in a rural situation by contrast, was largely vernacular, with some translation of English into Kikuyu, and lasted 90 minutes; however, the school service had more English in it, English being the language of instruction.

(c) Music.

The musical content of the Chricsko service was 100% European or American from the point of view of the origin of melodies, and nearly all were sung in English too, which may indicate the provenance of the church group or its leader, or the funding source, the preferred style of its members, or an international New Pentecostalist liturgical style.³³⁹

³³⁹See in this respect Paul Gifford who analyses the musical styles, as well as the 'Prosperity Theology' of these charismatic churches elsewhere in Africa: according to him the hymns are sometimes English translated into Ewe, sometimes translated into Akan, but always have western rhythms. 'Ghana's Charismatic Churches', Journal of Religion in Africa, XXIV Fasc.3, August 1994, pp.241-265; 'Prosperity: A New and

Certainly there were no 'Swahili choruses', of the kind that are common to CPK and EARM worship, and certainly not of the kind that the schoolchildren sang in their service. The melodies of the Anglican service were 50% Euro-American, from a 'Golden Bells-type' hymn collection, but nearly all of these were sung in Kikuyu; the rest were both composed and sung in Kikuyu or Swahili, either from the new Nyimbo book, or from memory. A note on the evolution of African church music throws some light on this comparison at this point.³⁴⁰

(d) Sermon.

Readings were in English at Chricsko, and in Kikuyu at St. Matthew's. The sermon was an important part of both liturgies, the Chricsko example using an Old Testament Exodus theme, one of the most popular texts according to Mbiti, for its leverage, the Anglican, a participatory

Foreign Element in African Christianity, Religion, 20 October, 1990, pp.373-388

³⁴⁰On musical evolution.

Historically, the striking, or discovery of traditional musical roots for worship has taken a long time. In Church's account of the East African revival (EARM), Quest for the Highest, he describes the way in which Keswick Hymn Book tunes are imparted and imported as a catechetical process, not least that of No. 170, Cleansing Blood, better known as the Luganda Tukutendereza Yesu, We praise you Jesus. In 1937 Church received a letter from Kabete, a centre of CMS mission in Kenya: 'It is like the early church in Acts... Whenever people pray here now they mention the names of your team and the hymn "What can wash away my sin" is heard all over the district.' (J.E.Church, Quest for the Highest, A Diary of the East African Revival, Exeter, Paternoster, 1981, p.146.) Furthermore, already in 1936 the adaptation of hymn tunes was found to be euphonious, with the introduction, as Church notes, of syncopation. He describes how the hymn: 'My hope is built on nothing less than Jesus' blood and righteousness', originally written in 3/4 time, was 'sometimes sung nearly all night, more and more syncopated until the Africanized 6/8 time completely took the place of the original and incidentally seemed to many of us to fit the vernacular much better.' (ibid., p.131) Study of the differences in socio-musicology between European and African, especially Bantu-language hymns, was undertaken, for example, by the Dutch White Father, Paul van Thiel, who clarified the fact that African traditional music's 'irregular' beat does not match with the metronomic rhythm of Western music, and asked that good hymn texts should be improved, others created, and, above all, that new tunes adapted to African cultures. (Paul van Thiel 'African music in Christian worship', in African Ecclesiastical Review 3 (1) February 1961, pp.73-76.) The Kikuyu Nyimbo now stands as evidence of this being taken seriously by the CPK.

illustrative version using visual aids. The Anglican sermon, translated into Kikuyu, was not as long but the service all together was longer. The importance that CPK ordinands place on preaching is the highest of a list of components of the liturgy which they were asked to place in order of importance. (See Appendix II (b)) It is highly respected as a form of devotional, social, prophetic and narrative communication, and it is not without significance that most churchmembers in Kenya would be expected to be able to stand and articulate their faith in delivering a 'testimony', and that a number of ordinands are former catechists or evangelists.

(e) Prayers.

Although there was more led prayer and participative and simultaneous use of glossolalia³⁴¹ at Chricsko, the leadership of the prayers was from the worship-leader at the front, whilst at St. Matthew's, and particularly in the school service, different people came forward and participated. It may be that the call for Anglican worship to be more participative³⁴² refers to the perceived need for simultaneous personal pentecostal-style worship because the actual level of participation at the Anglican service was higher. Prayers for the nation were noted in both the Chricsko³⁴³ and the school services; the pupils prayed movingly for their teachers and administrators. The set prayers of the BCP were used in a relatively rigid way. There is evidence that an older generation appreciates the

³⁴¹Something which mainstream churches do not encourage, e.g. the MCK, interview with Rt. Revd. Z. Nthamburi.

³⁴²See the survey responses: Appendix II (b)

³⁴³The correlation between Baptist or New Pentecostalist groups and government support would appear to be true at least in Nakuru. This is not necessarily so elsewhere such as Eldoret where the AIC was very critical of the government. In Nakuru the American-style Deliverance Church stress evangelism and healing, do not belong to the NCKC, and appeared on the one national television channel, Interview, Pastor Paul Mwankio, Deliverance Church, Nakuru, 29/2/96.

wording which is translated into a Kikuyu which is more modern than Cranmer's prose, but which sounds strange to a younger ear.³⁴⁴ Also there is evidence that some younger Christians have been told by New Pentecostalist Christians that they cannot pray using a Prayer Book, since prayer must come from their heart (and even to throw their BCPs away.) However, there is respect for the New Pentecostalist groups.³⁴⁵

(f) CONCLUSION OF ANALYSIS

It can be seen that there are contrasting dynamics in the worship fields of both churches. Whilst the Pentecostal habitus is demonstrated in the Chricsko church, and there appears to be a freedom of expression in the liturgy, this is personal rather than public. The Anglican Church form, even the BCP structure, offers opportunities for a greater degree of participation: e.g. someone to pray, someone to do the reading, indeed the office of layreader, and the role of each of these is clear-cut.

It would be wrong to equate the formality of the BCP structure with foreignness due to the high degree of indigenous music and the scope for participation in the Anglican liturgy, even if this is ritualized or needs to be legitimised by the authority. The latitude which the authority, (i.e. the Liturgical Commission) grants is considerable and under-exploited: Dr. Gitari has challenged many to formulate liturgies, which have been commented on below. (See 4.2.7 below) Similarly, spontaneity cannot equate with contextuality; Joyce Karuri's Introduction to the Nyimbo shows how much work was required to put the book together, and it is clear from experience that it is the music in the CPK church which is more truly indigenous. The question of whether young people in

³⁴⁴Interviews, e.g. Jeffithah Mugo, 2/96.

³⁴⁵Interviews, SACTD, 2/96.

the New Pentecostalist churches want more indigenous hymnody or whether they have any option is deserving of research.

In brief it may be stated from the liturgical point of view that an Anglican BCP form, which is greatly appreciated by many ordinands, provides a framework, a field for agents to use and experience a variety of worship styles. Rigidity of form is a drawback in encouraging participation but it is often not the clergy but the layreaders who are conservative in these matters.³⁴⁶ A most telling contrast between the individualistic New Pentecostal approach and the wholistic communitarian to mission of the CPK can be brought out by the above comment: 'we are here to bring individuals to Jesus, not communities.' The emphasis of mainstream Protestantism, accentuated in the CPK is precisely that only by doing the latter can the former be achieved.

Locations such as the rural and urban communities being dealt with in this study have experienced a lurching paradigm shift from the traditional to the modern, or Western, modulated by the trauma of decolonization (loss and redistribution of land, the Mau Mau conflict, ethnic identity, economic instability) and philosophical energy has been concentrated in those areas³⁴⁷. Anglicanism would seem to be a theological and ecclesiological anachronism. But the socio-cultural field in many areas of Kenya has not been invested with the capital in terms of a post-Enlightenment disenchantment with over-rationalistic philosophical categories³⁴⁸. The CPK thus appears not to be Western in a historical sense, but refreshingly post-modern, capable of being transformed, and of

³⁴⁶Interview, St. Paul's, Limuru Denominational Representatives, 3/96

³⁴⁷See the works of the East African, Okot P'Bitek, Kenyan, N'gugi, and contemporary African novelists, eg Buchi Emecheta.

³⁴⁸cf. Lamin Sanneh sees 'the Enlightenment, the Romantic, and the Modern... cultural project' in Europe as an elitist alternative religion and wishes to propose a bottom-up re-evaluation of the theology indwelling cultures, op. cit., p.24ff

transforming, and it is experiencing, partly in common with other traditions, a particular inculturation³⁴⁹. The Anglican enculturation of the Christian faith is a historical and anthropological process, as has been discussed; it is connected with theological education and training; it is not only expressed in worship and liturgy but this has become recently an important criterion in charting its articulation. The variation within Anglican liturgies, which are not as centrally determined as their Roman Catholic counterparts due to federalism, lends them important cultural flexibility. In the next section of this chapter the liturgy of the CPK will be analysed in these respects.

³⁴⁹Alister McGrath speaks of Anglicanism 'gaining in strength where the Enlightenment has had a minimal impact', The Renewal of Anglicanism, SPCK, 1993, p.18

CHAPTER FOUR PART TWO

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WORSHIP

4.2.0 A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION OF EXAMPLES OF CONTEXTUALIZED LITURGY FROM THE DIOCESES OF NAKURU AND MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THEOLOGY AND CULTURAL APTNESS IN MISSION

4.2.1 THE PRESENT KENYAN LITURGICAL FIELDS

Kenya is a young country: in 1985 over 55% of the population was under 15; and 75% of the whole population would describe themselves as Roman Catholic, Protestant or Evangelical Christians³⁵⁰. Amongst about 42 ethnic groups and cultures in the land of Kenya, and in particular in the Anglican dioceses of Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga and Nakuru, which represent a mixture of urban and rural settings, there is a rich area of interaction between culture and liturgy. As John Karanja has shown³⁵¹, certain ethnic groups have been very adept at handling enormous change and it is to be shown that liturgical renewal in certain parts of Kenya can be seen as one index of religious, social and political development in Christian mission.

The Church of the Province of Kenya has had modern English translations of the Bible for many years and from 1970 the CPK authorized a modern English translation of the services of Holy Communion, Baptism, Morning and Evening Prayer.³⁵² The examples of liturgy to be examined do not belong exclusively to the dioceses of Mount Kenya East or Nakuru, but the Bishop of Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga was, and is still the Chairman of

³⁵⁰ Kenya Country Profile, TEARfund, 1987

³⁵¹ John KARANJA, *op. cit.*

³⁵² Preface to A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion, (*op.cit.*)

the Liturgical Committee and uses material from the peoples within his diocese.

'it is our right and our delight to give you
thanks and praise, great Father,
living God, supreme over the world...'
Eucharistic Prayer, CPK³⁵³

As Bishop of Mount Kenya East from 1975-1990 (when it was sub-divided into 2) and Chairman of the Liturgical Committee of the CPK, David Gitari made a large contribution to the booklets, Kenyan Service of Holy Communion and to the Modern Services, (1991) which both are now widely-used in both the evidently fast-growing Anglican dioceses under consideration. In the Preface to the former Gitari writes that the CPK was founded on two books: the Bible and the Prayer Book. Whilst the Prayer Book of 1662 (Book of Common Prayer) is still used in many parishes, of the new Holy Communion service Gitari writes enthusiastically that it is 'not a modern translation or even adaptation of the old, nor an importation of liturgical revision from the West, but rather a new liturgy which has grown out of recent developments in African Christian theology and liturgical research.'³⁵⁴ It is therefore important to discover why, to what extent and in what way it may be true that such growth has taken place, and hence if and how this is an example of good theological and mission practice.

4.2.2 DEVELOPMENTS IN THE USE OF THE CPK KENYAN SERVICE OF HOLY COMMUNION

1989

It can be recognised firstly that longstanding Anglican traditions embedded in the use of the Book of Common Prayer together with a recent

³⁵³p.27, A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion, Uzima, Nairobi, 1989

cf. 'it is our duty and joy,
at all times and in all places
to give you thanks and praise,
holy Father, heavenly King...'

Eucharistic Prayer, Church of England. p. 130, The Alternative Service Book 1980, London, SPCK.

³⁵⁴Bosch, op. cit., p.454

tendency to develop liturgical material in other Anglican Provinces (e.g. in the new prayer books of the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Church of England, the Anglican Church in Canada etc.) meant that the framework and the precedent were in place for liturgical renewal in Kenya. Secondly, the meaning of the word 'liturgy'³⁵⁵ implies that ordering of worship is something to be attended to with the encouragement of the voluntary consultation and involvement of the whole people of God. This is underlined by Gitari's remarks in the Preface to the Communion Service:

'As we use this service... let us enjoy worshipping the God of our fathers, through Jesus Christ his son, in the power of the Holy Spirit.'

Moreover, in the Preface to the sequel, Modern Services, Gitari cites a liturgical scholar- in likelihood Rt. Revd. Colin Buchanan- who writes of the Communion Service that the 'pioneering by Kenya is in principal a model for the whole Anglican Communion' and that 'the rite is a market leader.'³⁵⁶ This raises the issue of the liturgical field as a marketplace, and the churchmember as consumer, a scenario which may be accurately described in an African and Kenyan context where all the packages and varieties of products are selling well.

Whilst Bourdieu's analysis is functional, enabling one to see the forces at work, (field, capital etc.) its economic provenance belies the dangerous situation in which a '"consumer-led" market' could put liturgy, since authority which is exercised through that liturgical composition and depends on the conservation of the best of liturgical tradition is, as has been shown, difficult to define. Contrary to this view, a defence

³⁵⁵from leitourgeo, to minister, to serve, 'to supply public offices at one's own cost' WE Vine, An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words, Chicago, US, Moody Press, 1940. In the New Testament 'liturgy' is used for an act of service or ministry towards God and a neighbour. There was originally no distinction between worship, work and witness but worship came to be regarded as the supreme service to God and as, as such, was singularly labelled 'liturgy'. Evans, op. cit., p.5.

³⁵⁶Preface, Modern Services, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, Baptism, Admission to Holy Communion, Confirmation and Commissioning, 1991.

of Anglican Provincial devolution of liturgical authority is trustful of local theological resources, tradition, and interpretation and provides possibilities of legitimisation to those who are composing, designing or vernacularizing liturgies, in whatever way that might be. In fact a process of standardization and some form of doctrinal unity precedes the work of translation and publication which should 'aim at large tribes for purposes of marketability.'³⁵⁷

It may, therefore, be the case, or the intention that the locus of authority in a decentralized liturgy validates participation and democratization at the grass roots level and points to a recovery of the original meaning of liturgy as applying to the whole of life, to 'witness' and mission, an intention which is embraced by the CPK. Or it may be that the particular leadership of CPK clergy and bishops in doctrine and liturgy, mission and public life (and especially of Archbishop David Gitari), is a mark both of hierarchical organisation and of a liberation deriving from defined and differentiated social and theological cohesion.

Some comparative examples from the liturgical products will help to elucidate these arguments.

(a) Historical and cultural awareness

The cultural overlap and collision between the Romanized and Africanized fields is well illustrated by Uzukwu in an essay which equates the inculturated ancestral bases of the Roman Eucharistic Prayer I with the ancestral concerns of African liturgies³⁵⁸. He argues that ethnicity and

³⁵⁷ Active Liturgies File, Secretary, Provincial Board of Theological Education, March 1996.

³⁵⁸ Discussed further below

vernacularization are intrinsic to liturgy. The 'word' in an African context is all-encompassing, corporately performative in its power and thus explains recent responsorial developments³⁵⁹; the Roman ethos tends more to that of a presidential address to God in the name of the community. Although Ethiopic, Coptic and other Eastern church anaphoras (or eucharistic prayers) integrate congregational responses, only recently has a responsorial style been required by the composition of masses for children.³⁶⁰ The Liturgical Commission of the CPK has instructed a Children's Service of Holy Communion to be drafted which is notable for its high degree of responsoriality.³⁶¹

The Roman Catholic All Africa Eucharistic Prayer³⁶², is comparable in its responses with that of the CPK:

Priest: We thank you for giving us life
All: We thank you
Priest: We thank you for giving us freedom
All: We thank you

from The Prayer of Thanksgiving (CPK)

Minister: Is the Father with us?
People: He is
Minister: Is Christ among us?
People: He is.

/.../ From a wandering nomad you created your family; for a burdened people you raised up a leader; for a confused nation you chose a king; for a rebellious crowd you sent your prophets. In these last days you have sent us your Son, your perfect image. Bringing your kingdom, revealing your will, dying, rising, reigning, remaking your people for yourself.³⁶³

There is in the service a liturgical reference to Abraham as a wandering nomad which specifically conveys a commonality in lifestyle between the

³⁵⁹e.g. The Roman Catholic draft Tanzanian mass

³⁶⁰Elochukwu E. Uzukwu, 'Inculturation and the Liturgy (Eucharist)', in (ed.) Rosino Gibellini, Paths of African Theology, Editrice Queriniana, Brescia, trans. by Orbis/SCM, London, 1994, pp.107ff.

³⁶¹Diocese of Kirinyaga, Draft Children's Service of Holy Communion.

³⁶²Published in early 1970, a Swahili version was prepared in 1977 at the request of the bishops of Kenya, which was not used. More successful were 3 'Kenyan', 'Tanzanian' and 'Ugandan' African Eucharistic Prayers published in 1973 because they were more closely linked to ethnic prayer models from the countries concerned. The Zaire Rite further emphasized this tendency in developing the vernacular in response to a socio-cultural context within Roman norms. Shorter op. cit., pp.126-7.

³⁶³p. 27, A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion

early patriarchs and some of the pastoralist and agro-pastoralist ethnic groups in Kenya e.g. the Maasai in Nakuru diocese, and the Kikuyu. The 'confused nation' would seem to be a very appropriate phrase for the historical and political course which, as we have seen in previous chapters, the many peoples who make up the area of land named as Kenya have plotted. This confusion has often been not of the making of the original inhabitants of the land now known as Kenya, but as a natural reaction to colonialism expressed in Independence³⁶⁴. This description is also probably a contemporary comment on the political ferment which Kenya experienced in the multi-party era in the 1980's, when the present Archbishop was chased onto his roof by 'youthwingers'.

In addition, a comparison of the Roman Catholic Kenyan Eucharistic Prayer with that of the CPK indicates a common concern with a rightful sense of the divine ownership of land and wealth, given the distortion of values which the settler economy exacerbated, juxtaposed with a translation of one Kikuyu name for God which connotes ownership.³⁶⁵ The Anglican prayer also plays on the assonance in English of the words 'Owner' and 'Owe', an element which could be lost or improved upon in a translation into Kikuyu or another vernacular. The inclusion of a Meru prayer for health and fertility gives the Roman Catholic rite a more inculturated effect than the Anglican which is more soteriological, although it does stress corporateness rather than individualism in salvation. The former is successful because it effectively offers the unborn and the ancestors to God in the context of intercession, concerns which are basic to ethnic community life.

Owner of all things, We offer you this cup in memory of your
Son. We beg you for life, for healthy people with no disease.
May they bear healthy children, And also women who suffer

³⁶⁴See D.Gitari, An Offering from Africa to Anglicanism, Church Times, 06/04/90, p. : 'we still have nomadic peoples and remember our own experience of exodus in 1963'

³⁶⁵Mwene-Nyaga, see below (b)

because they are barren, Open the way by which they may see children. Give the good life to our parents and kin who are with you.³⁶⁶

Almighty God, Owner of all things, We thank you for giving up your only son to die on the cross for us who owe you everything. Pour your refreshing Spirit on us as we remember him in the way he commanded, through these gifts of your creation.³⁶⁷

(b) Reference to recent anthropological literature and practice

The Rift Valley area of Kenya, including the former Mount Kenya East and Nakuru dioceses, is populated, as noted already, by many Kikuyu people and the alternative to set intercessions (p.20) in the new Holy Communion rite is a litany based on an ancient Kikuyu litany. One Kikuyu name for God is Mwene-Nyaga (owner/possessor of brightness and mysteries) and hence the association with Kere-Nyaga (mountain of brightness), or Mount Kenya, locates this prayer in the area of the diocese of Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga. The original prayer, Gitari tells us, is recorded in the work of the anthropologist and first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta and we can see the similarities between the two and the emphasis and the ethos which Gitari wished to introduce by comparing the two.

'Elder: Ugai kiama kiroiguana (Say ye, the elders may have wisdom and speak with one voice)

Assembly: Thaithayai Ngai thaaai (Praise ye Ngai. Peace be with us)

Elder: Ugai borori uroagirira, na ando maroingeha (Say ye that the country may have tranquillity and the people may continue to increase)

Assembly: Thaithayai Ngai thaaai (Praise ye Ngai. Peace be with us)³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶Kenyan Eucharistic Prayer: Prayer of Offering and Fruitful Communion-based on Meru prayer, Uzuoku, *op. cit.*, p.110.

³⁶⁷A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion, p.28.

³⁶⁸pp.238-9, Facing Mount Kenya, The Traditional Life of the Gikuyu Heinemann, London, 1938

'Leader: May the bishops and leaders of our churches have wisdom and speak with one voice.

People: Amen. Lord have mercy...

Leader: May the country have peace and the people be blessed

People: Amen. Lord have mercy.³⁶⁹

Gitari draws attention to this as a christianised litany which has been adapted to suit the needs of the country; the prayer that the people continue to increase has been modified, in view of the population explosion in Kenya, to 'May the... people be blessed.'

Responsorial material has also been adapted into the Roman Catholic Kenyan Eucharistic Prayer by coupling Kikuyu and Gala prayers:

Based on a Kikuyu Prayer: .../...

O, Father when we look upon your greatness, We are confounded with awe. O Great Elder, ruler of all things earthly and heavenly, We are your warriors, Ready to act in accordance with your will

Based on a Gala Prayer:

Response: Listen to us, aged God, Listen to us, ancient God, Who has ears. Look at us, aged God, Look at us ancient God, Who has eyes. Receive us, aged God, Receive us, ancient God, Who has hands.

Based on a Kikuyu Prayer:

Celebrant: You, the Great Elder, Who dwells on the shining mountain, Your blessing allows our homesteads to spread....We ask you to send the Spirit of life (hands outstretched) To bless and sanctify our offerings, That they may become for us the Body and Blood of Jesus, our Brother and your Son...³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹See *op.cit.* above

³⁷⁰Uzukwu, *op. cit.*, pp105-6.

Similarly, the blessing on p.34 of the CPK Kenyan Service of Holy Communion is based on an ancient litany used traditionally as a curse by the Turkana (an ethnic group in the Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga diocesan area) as they, by a sweeping of their arms, sent 'all their problems and the devil's works' to their enemies, the Maasai. Although there is no attribution to the African tradition as in the Roman Catholic prayer, this rite has now been Christianised, (and leads into the ASB Advent blessing) whereby the congregation dramatically sweep their arms to the cross, and then raise their hands to heaven, thus:

Minister: All our problems
People: We send to the cross of Christ
Minister: All our difficulties
People: We send to the cross of Christ...'

The first draft of the rite contained a play on words between 'setting sun' to which the problems were originally sent, and the 'risen Son' ('All our problems... We send to the setting sun... All our hopes... We set on the risen Son...') This was changed after members of a liturgical conference from Western Kenya complained that after the prayer which sent all problems and difficulties to the West it was no surprise they were still having problems. Reference to Galatians 3:13 provided a helpful way forward and so it concludes:

Minister: All our hopes
People: We set on the risen Christ
Minister: Christ the Sun of righteousness...'

(c) Transforming the Book of Common Prayer.

Until the fairly recent past the Book of Common Prayer has been seen as the unifying factor in Anglican liturgies and not until 1978 at the Lambeth Conference was it officially recognized that 'unity in structure can rightly co-exist with flexibility in context and variety in cultural expressions for the Holy Spirit is both a spirit of order and an

unpredictable wind.³⁷¹ In a sense the BCP is not only capable of transformation but is in fact a transforming instrument, and it is possible to show this in the way that the new services elaborate on the theology of the BCP in a distinctive way compared with other Anglican prayer books; the criteria for comparison is importantly the ethos of the BCP which has deeply suffused Kenyan Anglican culture, and especially through the vernacular translations. This is illustrated, amongst other examples, by the transformation of Cranmer's 'feudal' prayer of humble access from Holy Communion in the 1662 prayer book, to emphasize thanksgiving for forgiveness, linking with this the biblical references, Matthew 5:6 and 1 John 2:1:

Thank you, Father, for forgiveness. We come to your table as your children, not presuming but assured, not trusting ourselves but your Word...³⁷²

4.2.3 THE USE OF THE MODERN SERVICES , MORNING PRAYER, EVENING PRAYER, BAPTISM, ADMISSION TO HOLY COMMUNION, CONFIRMATION AND COMMISSIONING

The transformational theme is taken up in the Preface to the book of services where it is indicated that the 'next five years' (1991-1996) should see the publication of an entire new prayerbook of liturgies which are Biblical, African, Anglican in tradition and contextually creative. The Modern Services, which were authorized for experimental use in the first instance, include services of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer and Baptism and services entitled, A Draft Service of Confirmation and

³⁷¹Lambeth Conference 1978 quoted in Elisha G. Mbonigaba, 'The Indigenization of Liturgy' in (ed.) David Gitari, Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa: The Kanamai Statement 'African Culture and Anglican Liturgy', Grove Books, Nottingham, 1994

³⁷²p.25, A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion, also Church Times, 6/04/90, op.cit.

Commissioning for Service and Witness³⁷³, and A Draft service of Admission to Holy Communion.³⁷⁴ Both these services bear the rubric: 'Authorised for STUDY in the Dioceses but NOT yet for EXPERIMENTAL USE'.

In the Preface to the booklet of services it is noted that in Pentecost 1991 David Gitari was no longer the Bishop of Mount Kenya East but named the Bishop of Kirinyaga, a result of the fact that the diocese of Mount Kenya East has experienced a multiplication of parishes which necessitated new diocesan divisions for the purposes of effective pastoral oversight. This phenomenon of church growth can be compared briefly with the situation in another very different Anglican Province, the Church of Nigeria³⁷⁵, which has experienced a similar sub-division and extension of dioceses.

(a) Morning Prayer; Evening Prayer

The services of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer are noteworthy for their inclusion of variants to the ordained minister's pronouncement of pardon for a lay leader to use if necessary. The priestly form of the absolution is based on the parable of the Prodigal Son and on Psalm 23.³⁷⁶ A concern that the liturgy should be biblically-based is shown when Gitari points out that none of the canticles in a comparable Church of England Alternative Service Book 1980 are based on Jesus' words. He thus commends for Morning Prayer the use of 'The Song of Jesus' (p.12) which is based on Luke 6:27, Matthew 25:35-36, Luke 7:22-3 and Luke 10:21. Also introduced into the Morning Prayer service are 'The Song of the Messiah', which 'attempts to sum up the Old Testament witness to

373 p.59, op.cit.

374 p.64 ibid.

375 Appendix I

376 D. Gitari, Offerings from Africa to Anglicanism, an article for Liturgy Canada, October 1991

Christ³⁷⁷ in the law and the prophets. The 'Prayer for Rain' (p.23) and 'The Song of Habakkuk' (p.8) adapted from Habakkuk 3:17-18 relate the problems of agricultural life and drought to faith:

'Though the mango tree does not
blossom,
nor the fruit be on the vines...
yet I will rejoice in the Lord.'³⁷⁸

Similarly the Evening Prayer service contains 'The Song of Blessings' (p.33), based on the Beattitudes of Matthew 5:3-10, and 'Song of the Kingdom', based on the teaching of Jesus in Matthew 6:25-33. Other developments in these regular offices include both in 'The Song of Paul' (p.11) and the significantly titled 'Song of Christ's Mission' (p.36), the change of St. Paul's third person to the second person singular: 'You are the image of the invisible God...' in place of 'He is the image..'

(b) Baptism

Distinctive Scriptures are evinced in this service which has more in common with the BCP service for those of 'Riper Years' than with comparable modern prayer books. References to John Chapter 3, the Apostolic Commission from St. Matthew's Gospel, and to the Philippian jailer and his family (Acts 16) demonstrate a greater concern liturgically with adult initiation than with 'churching' or blessing children, which is both indicative of the fact that the blessing of children is a function of community anyway, and that in the Kenyan Anglican Church initiation rites are both conservative and demanding.

³⁷⁷ D. Gitari, op. cit.

³⁷⁸ p.8, Modern Services, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, Baptism, Admission to Holy Communion, Confirmation and Commissioning, 1991.

Steering a course which prudently links society and church, Gitari argues that African inculturation can sidestep old ecclesiastical rivalries in the optional anointing in the Baptism service which is to be carried out not by the priest but by the sponsors or parents of the candidates. Anointing was not only practised in the early church but is a component of traditional initiation ceremonies³⁷⁹ so that when a discussion took place in April 1991 at St Andrew's Institute, Kabare, about how appropriate such a rite would be, a Pokot theologian spoke:

'Among my people anointing is vitally important. Traditionally our community anoint with oil at birth, at initiation into adulthood, at marriage, at eldership and at death.³⁸⁰

A rubric also encourages that ululations should be made after the baptism (p.56), a traditional African women's greeting at birth, circumcision, marriage and death, lending richness to baptism as both a Christian equivalent to circumcision (for infants) and as a real and complete sacramental initiation for adults and infants. These ululations traditionally numbered 5 for a boy and only 4 for a girl but they have been equalised in the Christian rite.³⁸¹ The prayer for thanksgiving over the water (p.53) is in the form of an African traditional litany from the Pokot and Turkana tribes whereby the people respond loudly with the key word of the versicle:

Minister: Sanctify this water for the baptising
of your servants
People: Sanctify³⁸²

Another example of a baptismal-type responsorial form recorded by an anthropologist also comes from a pastoralist tradition. It is the prayer

³⁷⁹A point which is made in the introductory notes, *ibid.*, p.44

³⁸⁰ D.Gitari, *op.cit.*

³⁸¹ Interview, D.Gitari, 26/2/96

³⁸² p.54, D.Gitari, *op.cit.*

of naming for a child which is conducted after the cows which it has been given as part of the ceremony return from grazing. It is a dialogue between a male or female elder and other participants in the community :

May God (or Enkai) bless this name.	Yes God
Care for the child and others.	Yes God
Be together with all the children.	Yes God
Make the child strong but not hard	Yes God
Make the children of the house prosper	Yes God
Bless the woman of the home	Yes God
Make the young calves prosper	Yes God
Bless the mother and the people	Yes God ³⁸³

Many mainly pastoralist communities have particular ways of praying which the new Kenyan CPK material has partially adapted to. Frequent responses, for example, as above, are part of the Maasai tradition of prayer, as are certain liturgical gestures. It is traditional to keep one's eyes open during prayer so that a fear exists that closing one's eyes in more common practice will not constitute a genuine prayer; at the end of each phrase it is also expected to bring the hands together in asseveration.³⁸⁴

(c) Admission to Holy Communion and Confirmation and Commissioning (Draft Liturgies)

The 'Draft Service of Admission to Holy Communion' is intended 'for those who have been baptised, who have attained the age of reason (6-7 years) and who have received instruction in the meaning of the sacraments.'³⁸⁵ It is to be performed not by the bishop but by the parish minister during communion. Although it is a simple service of welcome the minister questions the candidates who are required to give full answers and to renew their baptism vows:

³⁸³Doug Priest Jr. *op. cit.*, p.87.

³⁸⁴Interviews, Joseph Ailo, Josphat Siapan, 18,20/2/96;

³⁸⁵p.59, *ibid.*

'Minister: What is required of those who come to Holy Communion?

Answer: They should make sure that they have truly turned from their sins and live for Christ, that they trust him alone for salvation and love their neighbours.'³⁸⁶

'A Draft Service of Confirmation and Commissioning for Service and Witness' is aimed at children aged 12 and over who have been instructed in the faith, and it is to be performed by the bishop. Gitari writes that it emphasises 'public commitment, strengthening by the Spirit and commissioning for service and witness.'³⁸⁷ Two examples illustrate this:

'Will you be willing to tell your neighbours about the love of Christ?

Answer: I will...

We, about to be commissioned for the mission of Christ and his Church, pledge to keep and walk in God's commandments all the days of our lives, and to read the bible and pray regularly.'³⁸⁸

The catechetical possibilities of the latter and of the formulations in the Baptism and Admission to Holy Communion services are considerable and there are signs that the CPK intends to develop these for further use.³⁸⁹

4.2.4 THEOLOGICAL CRITERIA INFLUENCING LITURGICAL CHANGE

It has been argued above that a certain denominational distinctiveness is present in Protestant and Anglican worship in Kenya which results from history and mission styles. This can be substantiated by the evidence from, for example, John Baur's work.³⁹⁰ However, ecumenical and mainly Roman Catholic and East African theologians have clearly enunciated a raft of thinking which structures work done in the area of 'inculturated

³⁸⁶ p.60, *ibid.*

³⁸⁷ D.Gitari, *ibid.*

³⁸⁸ pp.69-71, Modern Services

³⁸⁹ Interview, Bp. Gitari, *op. cit.*

³⁹⁰ The Catholic Church in Kenya, A Centenary History. (ed. The Assumptionist Community), St. Paul Publications- Africa, Nairobi. 1990.

christologies'. It is pertinent to the discussion of the CPK that these are here rehearsed so that it can be seen in which sense Kenyan Anglicanism is located in the matrix.

Ukpong clarifies five approaches to the meaning of Jesus in relation to inculturation. The first of these is an *incarnational* approach whereby in the same way as the eternal Word became incarnate in Jesus, God's word and the Christian faith must become 'incarnated' in human cultures. This approach is found principally in the 1974 Synod of Roman Catholic bishops and was used by Pope John Paul II in addressing Kenyan bishops in 1980. The second approach is named as the *Logos Spermatikos* approach based on the theology of Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria; it has been typified by Efoé-Julien Pénoukou who uses the idea of the eternal *Logos*, in whom all things were created, to show that Christ pervades all cultures, even if we are not aware of it, from the dawn of creation. The third, and similar *functional analogy* approach, which is employed by the Anglican J.S.Pobee, Bénézet Bujo, or Charles Nyamiti, analyses Christ's redemptive functions and titles in terms of African thought-forms, so that he may be christologically the 'Greatest Ancestor of the Akan', the proto-ancestor, or our 'Brother-Ancestor'. The fourth category is attributed to Aylward Shorter as the *paschal mystery* approach, which after Kasper, Moltmann and Pannenberg, takes the death and resurrection as the starting-point of christology (rather than the incarnation) so that the centripetal force of Christ's new life is a reagent in all cultures: this is crystallized by the Pope when he said that 'Christ in the members of his Body, is himself African.'³⁹¹ The final approach is termed *biblical* and, by means of those statements which stress the universality of the Christian message, fixes on the doctrine of Christ's

³⁹¹At Kenyan Episcopal Conference, 1980, reprised in The African Synod Comes Home, 1995, p.30.hh

pre-existence to bring the suggestion that since Africans worshipped God before hearing of Jesus they were in fact worshipping Jesus unconsciously. One exponent of this Christology from above is Mbiti who stresses the Christus Victor topos as being appropriate, and biblical themes which have African cultural parallels: 'son of God, Redeemer...Lord... Christ's birth, baptism, death and resurrection etc.'³⁹² Ukpong then proposes his own synthesis of these approaches which unites systematics and textual analysis (mainly of Christ's parabolic teaching method) and effectively advances Jesus' inculturated evangelisation as subversive of Jewish culture and, in its effect on his disciples, as explosive out of its Jewish culture.³⁹³

A number of these approaches (mainly the first, second and fifth) are common to the theological method of the CPK, for example Bishop Gitari in his preaching and diocesan leadership and with his emphasis on doctrines of Creation, Incarnation and the Kingdom of God.³⁹⁴ A few CPK bishops have been involved in the ecumenical and peace and justice process, as has been mentioned, however their contribution has been mainly at a Provincial and national rather than a theological level because of the autonomous rather than global culture of Anglicanism. This has its strengths in that a local theology can be developed from below which is necessarily on a conservative evangelical basis; that the CPK is able to articulate its teaching to the socio-cultural situation has given it a voice which is disproportionate to its size. The weakness may be that its provincialisation prevents it from achieving as much systematic christological reflection as a globalised church so that the desire to

³⁹²C.Nyamiti, 'African Christologies Today', in (ed.) R.J.Schreiter, Faces of Jesus in Africa, Orbis, Maryknoll, New York, 1991, pp.3-23.

³⁹³Justin S.Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation: A New Testament Perspective', in Paths of African Theology, *op. cit.*, pp.40-61

³⁹⁴See Benson, *op. cit.*, p.76-78

take full advantage of Anglican Communion membership is crucially related to overcoming this weakness.

Summarizing the work of the aforementioned theologians, Nyamiti writes that 'for the first time in the history of sub-Saharan Africa new African categories are systematically employed to express... "Christ the *integral healer* (after Shorter), *chief, elder brother, master of initiation* (after A.T.Sanon), *ancestor, black messiah* (liberator), *plenitude of human maturity*.'" He laments the absence of African systematic christologies of the standing of those of Sobrino and Boff in Latin America, and points also to the necessary link with ecclesiology since these categories are unthinkable without the context of human society and the Church headed by Christ. He calls for new catechisms and liturgies to contain these christologies.³⁹⁵ Nyamiti extends his discussion later, pinpointing the need for christological research and the for the production of theological textbooks which contain christology which has passed through an African filter, and presents his own systematic scheme. In his footnotes he includes two writers whose work is relevant to this study, which indicates that his challenge has been taken up, and their work will be examined below.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁵Nyamiti, *op. cit.*, pp.14-16

³⁹⁶They are: K.Bediako, 'Biblical Christologies in the light of African Traditional Religions' in Sharing Jesus in the Two Thirds World, Evangelical Christologies from the contexts of poverty, powerlessness and religious pluralism. The Papers of the First Conference of Evangelical Mission Theologians from the Two Thirds World, Bangkok, Thailand, March 22-25 1982 (eds.) Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden, 1983, pp.81-121.

P.N.Wachege, Jesus Christ our 'Muthamaki' (Ideal Elder): An African Christological Study based on the Agikuyu Understanding of Elder, Nairobi, Phoenix Publishers, 1992

C.Nyamiti, 'Contemporary African Christologies: Assessment and Practical Suggestions', in Paths of African Theology, op. cit., pp. 61-77.

4.2.5 LOCALIZED NATURAL THEOLOGY AND LITURGY

One of the factors giving power to the new services is the fact that they are- or that their participants are in a cultural sense- imbued with covenant theology, biblical and African titles for God, and Old Testament themes which are particularly appropriate for some ethnic groups in Kenya. These issues are worth examining in more detail since they will deepen an understanding of the dynamic of liturgy.

With regard to Old Testament and covenant theology, in the Communion service the confession is based on Genesis 1:28 and the absolution on Psalm 105:11-12:

'Almighty God, Creator of all...
we have corrupted ourselves and damaged your likeness...
Almighty God, whose steadfast love is as great as the heavens
are high above the earth, remove your sins from you as far as
the east is from the west, strengthen your life in his
kingdom and keep you upright to the last day; through Jesus
Christ, our merciful High Priest...'³⁹⁷

Reference to the Almightyness, creating and sustaining power of God is made in the Modern Services³⁹⁸, and emphasized by the matrices of Scriptures offered as 'Introductory Sentences' e.g.

God rained down upon them manna to eat, and gave them the
grain of heaven. *Psalm 78:24*³⁹⁹

For with you is the well of life; and in your light shall we
see light. *Psalm 36:9*

...Come, let us go to the mountain of the Lord that he may
teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths. *Isaiah*
2:3⁴⁰⁰

The reference to mountains is crucial to an understanding of some African traditional theology, as it is to understanding the narrative of the establishment of the covenant at Sinai⁴⁰¹. Traditionalist Kikuyu, for

³⁹⁷ A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion, pp.24-5

³⁹⁸ Other Prayers in Morning Prayer, pp.23,26; Evening Prayer, p. 42

³⁹⁹ Holy Communion, p.2.

⁴⁰⁰ Modern Services pp.1-2

⁴⁰¹ See biblical references to Mounts Sinai, Exodus 19, 24, 34; Horeb, (the giving of the Ten Commandments to Moses), Deut 5-10; Mounts Gerizim

example, relate to four sacred mountains: Kia-Njahi (or Kia-Ikamba, Mountain of the Kamba), the Bean Mountain or Kilimamboga, Kia-Mbiruiru (the Blue-Black Mountain or Ngong Hills), Kia-Nyandarua (the Kinangop or Aberdares); Kiriama-Kia-Ngai (God's Mountain or Longonot), also called Kiriama-Kia-Ithoro (the Mountain with a hole) was not sacred. The most important, as has been indicated, is Kiri-Nyaga (Mount Kenya) for Mwene-Nyaga had appeared at the top, leaving the mysterious snow, and had from there brought Gikuyu and Mumbi into being according to the Creation myth. On the top of these highest mountains the Owner of All descended, in Old Testament fashion, to view his property and to bring blessings and punishments; the snow on Kiri-Nyaga was a symbol of purity which was smeared on children and used in sacrifices.⁴⁰² Some attention to the names of God will help to focus the argument as this was crucial to the Old Testament covenantal scheme. (See e.g. Exodus 3:13ff., 6:2ff)

The point has been well made that the many names for God do not connote a plurality of gods in any way. By an analysis of Swahili, Frankl has shown that Mugu (Kiswahili) EnkAi (Kimaasai) and Nyasaye (Dholuo) are not three different gods but one God and that there are three different languages which 'in a post-Babel world reflect three different cultures but express one religious idea.'⁴⁰³ Comparison of the names for God between the Kikuyu and the Kamba and the Maasai may be made as these groups neighbour the Kikuyu and are relevant to this study. For Kikuyu culture: Ngai represented the greatest divider or provider; Ngai Mumbi was God the Creator, Ngai Baba, God the Father, and Mwathani, the distinctively eminent ruler of all, a term which is also used in the Christian sense of 'Lord.' Wachege draws attention to the name Githuuri, Unsurpassed Elder, which corresponds with the Johannine pre-existent Logos, and yet with a

2nd Ebal (blessings and curses), Deut 11.

⁴⁰²P.N. Wachege *op. cit.*, pp.49-50.

⁴⁰³P.J.L. Frankl, 'The Word for "God" in Swahili', Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol XXV, Fasc.2, May 1995, pp.202-211.

specific human dimension.⁴⁰⁴ The Kamba called God Mwatuangi (Clever, distributor) and Asa (Father) as well as Mulungu, Ngai and Mumbi (Creator, Maker, Fashioner). For the Maasai the great number of names for God, which read like a psalter, have already been mentioned; noted here are Enkai as the Originator, Emayian, the One who blesses, and Pasai, Parsai, 'One prayed to 'O, God.'⁴⁰⁵ The Turkana, on the other hand, as a nomadic group, appear to have a slightly different concept of God as Akuji, a Source-Being; it is a particularly immanent idea of God who exists in spirits and then particularly in the old.⁴⁰⁶ The waso-Boorana, a similar group, have a dynamic concept of the deity also; they believe that God is one and speaks different languages so that the God of the Borana in Ethiopia, the God of Islam, and the God of Christianity are the same. They particularly view the eagle as a transmitter of God's will, and construct rites around its appearance on their landscapes.⁴⁰⁷ In these liturgies the interface with Islam is particularly relevant, a factor which we have mentioned in relation to the Gabbra ethnic group who are cousins to the Borana.

Although he is critical of their veracity, it is most fascinating to note here that at basis of this study Wachege cites evidence from two informants who see the Agikuyu as originating in Old Testament history as an offshoot of the tribe of Judah which came from Abacii in Ethiopia or Egypt.

⁴⁰⁴This was so because: 'niwe wa tene na tene, Aari ho kuuma tene na egutura tene na tene, He is of long ago. He has been in being and He will last everlastingly. (cf. For biblical comparison: Rev. 1:4b) This is a link in Wachege's argument for Christ as the Muthamaki. P.N. Wachege op. cit., p.47.

⁴⁰⁵ibid., and Doug Priest Jr., op.cit., p.115.

⁴⁰⁶K. v.d.Jagt, The Religion of the Turkana of Kenya, An Anthropological Study, 1983.

⁴⁰⁷Mario I.Aguilar, 'The eagle as messenger, pilgrim and voice: divinatory processes among the waso-Boorana of Kenya', Journal of Religion in Africa, V.XXVII, Fas. 1, Feb. 96, pp.56-72. See also Donovan's account of the Maasai where he discovers that the Lion has an important place in their understanding of the deity, An Epistle to the Maasai.

When we left Egypt *Ngai* led us through Moses as children of Abraham... Eventually we migrated and came to Murang'a... We dispersed according to our clans. Some decided that better places for them are Meru, Embu and settled there marrying and producing. So we got Gichugu, Embu, Ndia, Meru etc.⁴⁰⁸

The existence of this Kenyan-Israelite myth is interesting both as an aetiology of Kikuyu origins and particularly as it shows the way that Judaeo-Christian thought-forms have become embedded in the culture. According to Kibicho, *Ngai* gave the Kikuyu the good land, continued to protect it in spite of its alienation by the colonialists, and would eventually facilitate its repossession because He is a God of socio-political justice.⁴⁰⁹ Similar to the Turkana myth which was mentioned previously (1.2.2 (b) ii), Nthamburi records that the Meru people, whose name for God, 'Murungu', connotes 'the great deliverer or provider', were traditionally led from slavery by the great prophet, 'koome-njue', the wise one. Having been enslaved by a red-skinned people on an island, the elders asked the great priest/prophet 'Mugongai' how they could escape. After prayer and fasting the 'Mugongai' received an oracle that they would be given a rod with which they could strike the sea so that a passage of dry land would appear for their escape and this was the way they were led by 'koome-njue'. The Kalenjin, too, have been referred to as the 'people of the Exodus', and there is a Kipsigis⁴¹⁰ story of the appearance of a bat which appeared one evening with a blade of grass in its mouth; this was taken as a good sign and the bat was followed southwards to a fertile stretch of land. This has obvious parallels in the dove which Noah released in the biblical story.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸Interview in *ibid.*, p.9

⁴⁰⁹Nthamburi speaks of a Kikuyu theological sense of *Ngai* at work in history, warning of the hostility of Europeans through a seer, Mugo wa Kibiro, and the common sense among African traditional religionists and Christians that Maumau represented the combat of oppression in which *Ngai* cooperated with them. See also The Kikuyu Conception of God, His Continuity into the Christian Era and the Questions it Raises for the Christian Idea of Revelation, Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, Nashville, Vanderbilt University, 1972, cited in Nthamburi, *op. cit.*

⁴¹⁰They originate from around Mount Menengai (Crater) near Nakuru.

⁴¹¹Ben Kipkorir, People of the Rift Valley, 1985, pp.5-6

The question must then be asked whether there is any possibility of an historical link between early Israelite history and the dispersion to the south of peoples who had had an encounter with a God common to the Israelites, or whether it is the result of obvious Christianization dating back only 100 years. Recent African theologians have relativised Greek philosophical categories in the African theological project, and have wished to emphasize the Africanness of Augustine, Tertullian, Origen and Athanasius etc.: a tension exists between the need for universalization for theological legitimisation and particularized inculturated expression, which are symptoms of growth in a movement, and which were present in the Early Church also; this tension is thus resolved by African answers to African questions and by 'Christian expressions of African origin, like the prophetic movements'⁴¹², and the Turkana, Kikuyu and Meru mythologies show the interpenetration between 'Ethiopian' movements, mainstream Christianity and Old Testament liberative and covenantal themes⁴¹³ in dialogue with forces of political change.

Both Nthamburi and Oduyoye speak of the Exodus event as a paradigm for theological self-understanding, and Oduyoye relates the Old Testament covenantalism to present-day African covenants by means of the concept of blood-brotherhood. (See also ch.2) She links the culture of hospitality of shared meals- of the Akan (of Ghana) and the Kikuyu- with the Communion service and puts the Eucharist in the context of the reverence with which food is often taken, with the appropriate rites of gratitude. Refusal to eat is a sign of hostility. The concept could be extended to explain the prayer which precedes even the drinking of a cup of tea, or a

⁴¹² A. Ngindu Mushete, 'An Overview of African Theology', in Paths of African Theology, op. cit., p.20ff; see also Mercy Amba Oduyoye, Hearing and Knowing, Theological Reflections on Christianity in Africa, Orbis, New York, 1986, and Kwame Bediako, op. cit.

⁴¹³ See Mercy Amba Oduyoye, who explores the topic of covenant and community in more detail, op. cit., p.109ff.

journey in Kenyan Christian contexts. An aspect of Kikuyu culture highlights the continuity of the covenant theme into the mediation of Jesus in New Testament theology. In a study which postulates Christ as an Ideal Elder, Wachege comments on Christ's elderhood and servanthood which meant that Christ 'regarded his vicarious suffering and death as part and parcel of His job as He fulfilled His salvific mission and re-establishment of God's covenant with his people.'⁴¹⁴ One of the roles of the muthamaki is in reconciliation, and Jesus typifies this par excellence.⁴¹⁵ The pilgrim community is thereby bonded together- especially by Christ- for Oduyoye states that Africans 'come to the biblical covenants from a living experience of the seriousness with which our own covenants are made.'⁴¹⁶

The event and theology of Exodus which has become common in developed liberation theologies and could be said to be notionally if not geographically closely connected to the ethnic groups of East Africa and Kenya, has not been fully realized in Kenya since with the gain of independence there was still a long way to go as:

'people discovered painfully that leaders of the liberation movements were absorbed into leadership roles by virtue of their education and influence. Consequently whether for altruistic or selfish motives many became part of the new elite and supported the status quo. The majority who were part of the struggle felt betrayed by their leaders.'⁴¹⁷

It was in reaction to these events that some churchleaders protested and became known, but they themselves were not immune to charges of elitism and dominyatory behaviour.

The localized integration of names for God, social orientations and Christology and biblical theology are at present a rich seedbed for the

⁴¹⁴ P.N. Wachege op. cit., p.134

⁴¹⁵ ibid., pp.60, 248

⁴¹⁶ Mercy Amba Oduyoye, op. cit., p.111, Z. Nthamburi, The African Church at the Crossroads, Strategy for Indigenization, Uzima, Nairobi, 1991, pp.36ff

⁴¹⁷ Z.Nthamburi, op. cit., p.5.

growth of liturgy and catechesis, as Wachege suggests, and the worship of Ngai can be liturgicalized by the cooperation of liturgists and 'gradual and continuous catechizing and evangelizing.'⁴¹⁸ If this is not to be an altogether top-down process, there is a need for greater development of less dominant ethno-theological categories, and especially that northern ethnic groups should acquire a stake in liturgical production.

4.2.6 THE USE OF SERVICES IN LOCAL LANGUAGES

It is apparent that both the Kenyan Service of Holy Communion and Modern Services are written in English- since this is the language of education. Kiswahili, although the lingua franca and more widely known than English is not widely enough known in certain areas of the dioceses of Nakuru and Kirinyaga. It is notably asserted that not many of these recent services are used in the ordinary life of the church because they have not yet been translated into local languages, and translation of the new liturgies into Kiswahili has not yet been completed. The Kiswahili translations of the liturgies were lost by mistake, but about eight language groups have their own translations complete or in process.⁴¹⁹ The Kiswahili translation of the 1662 Prayer Book is therefore still frequently used. The fact that many of the prayers in the liturgy have their origin, as has been shown, in the local languages and cultures means that re-translation back into the sender language would not be problematic. It is however intended that this process of cultural and transnational integration will take place for the different language groups which populate areas in the dioceses under consideration. The

⁴¹⁸Wachege, op. cit., pp.251-252

⁴¹⁹ Letters from Dr. Ben KNIGHTON, Vice Principal and Director of Academia, St Andrew's College of Theology and Development, Kabare, Kenya, 29.12.94; and from Canon Graham Kings, Henry Martyn Lecturer in Missiology, Cambridge, formerly at St Andrew's College, 19.10.95; PBTE Active Liturgies File.

Provincial Board of Theological Education gives each diocese the responsibility, or joint responsibility where a people is in more than one area, for translation into the languages of the ethnic groups which they are reaching.⁴²⁰

4.2.7 OTHER SERVICES

Gitari makes the point that as well as the regular services, ad hoc situations are responded to with appropriate liturgies.⁴²¹ On 19th May 1991 a special Environment Sunday Litany was written for use at Mutuma Church in the diocese of Kirinyaga (previously Mount Kenya East). The litany, based on passages from the Psalms, Job and Isaiah is divided into sections called Celebration of Creation, Judgment on those who Destroy the Environment and Hope for Creation. Gitari writes that some local political leaders had been using their position unjustly to acquire the beautiful hill of Kamuruana where trees has been cut down to build a hotel.

'Bishop Let us hear the warning words of Isaiah.
Woe to those who call evil good and good evil,
who put darkness for light and light for
darkness.

People who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter!

Bishop Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes,

People and shrewd in their own sight! (Is. 5:20-21)

Bishop On a bare hill raise a signal,
cry aloud to them;

People wave the hand for them to enter
the gates of the nobles... (Is. 13:2)

Bishop For you shall go out in joy ,
and be led forth in peace;
and the mountains and the hills before you
shall break forth into singing

⁴²⁰ Interview with the Ven. Titus Ngotho Njuno, Theological tutor, St Andrew's College of Theology and Development, Kabare, Kenya, 16/10/95

⁴²¹ D. Gitari, op. cit., p.3

People and all the trees of the field
shall clap their hands

(Isa 55:12)⁴²²

The point may be made that the litany, which marshalls quotations from Isaiah for the purpose of worship, also successfully provides publicity and is effective in advancing the environmental cause in view of the political statement which the Bishop is clearly making by his leadership of the rite. The biblical tradition, especially in the Old Testament, contains many examples of social and political action, conducted by, for example, the priests, Samuel and Ezra, or the prophets, Jeremiah and Isaiah. The role of a modern Anglican bishop vis-a-vis the state in dioceses in the CPK can be starkly prophetic, as has been argued by Benson⁴²³.

In Nakuru diocese also a number of liturgies are being collected at an informal level and a Committee of Writers of Important Topics and Liturgies is discharged with the responsibility of compiling them. The following have been listed:

Unveiling of the Cross; Blessing of a Christian House; Thanksgiving Services (for passing exams, for the purchase of a vehicle, for buying a shamba (farm), harvest); Blessing of a Civil Wedding; Inductions of an Archdeacon and of a Rural Dean; Admitting of KAYO, Mothers' Union and Fathers' Association Members; Commissioning of Boys and Girls Brigades; Blessing of the Lord's Acre⁴²⁴; Receiving Members from Other Denominations; Admitting Layreaders.⁴²⁵

These have been created by clergy in the parishes with the encouragement of the Provincial Liturgical Committee and they will be passed up to PBTE level for ratification. Meanwhile they are being used and developed at the ground level and will eventually go into a manual for use in the diocese. There is for example as yet no provincial consensus on the liturgy for admitting layreaders so each diocese will have its own procedures.

⁴²² News of Liturgy, August 91, and D.Gitari op. cit., p.4

⁴²³ George Patrick BENSON, op. cit. See also a digest of this in: (eds.) Hansen and Twaddle, op. cit.

⁴²⁴ An area of private land which is set aside so that the produce from it is sold to benefit the church's work.

⁴²⁵ Interview, Ven. Paul Ngore, Archdeacon of Biharti, Nakuru, 2/3/96.

There is thus evidence of creativity and innovation in the area of liturgy in the CPK, but not exclusively; this is a realization of the wish of the Liturgical Commission and the present Archbishop. The intentions of the liturgies in terms of mission or social comment (purchasing a vehicle, buying a shamba, environmental protest) are grounded pastorally if not theologically. Prayer for vehicles and their passengers is recommended in a country where the state of the roads and other vehicles leaves much to be desired, and may indeed galvanize political will. In the next section one example of the radical liturgical work of Dr. David Gitari in Mount Kenya East/Kirinyaga diocese will be analysed.

CHAPTER FOUR PART THREE

DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE

4.3.0 A CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE DISPLACEMENT OF OLD STYLE LITURGY IN CPK BY NEW LOCAL THEOLOGY

In this section it is intended to demonstrate that new forms of local theology in liturgy, as a result of mature theological reflection upon practice, have substantially altered the dimensions of Anglican Christian worship in the Church of the Province of Kenya. This will take place by means of a case study; and these dimensions can also be measured in terms of statistical growth (see Charts p.v.ff), or of the perceptions of the members of congregations or of the clergy (See Appendix II), analysis of age and ethnic diversity, and by comparison with other Protestant liturgies and statistics or perceptions.

In the late 1980's a new posture in relation to the 1662 Prayer Book is noted generally by the Anglican Consultative Council:

'[The influence of the Old Prayer Book] is waning, though a recognizably Anglican worshipping character persists. Yet this needs to be consciously sustained, expressed, renewed, and re-expressed'⁴²⁶.

Alongside this can be placed the view of Mbonigaba underlining the perception of Holeyton that 'the first generation of indigenous leaderships tends to cling closely to the inherited liturgical tradition and with reluctance strays from BCP 1662.'⁴²⁷ If this is the case then perhaps the state of things is not surprising in view of the overarching,

⁴²⁶Many Gifts, One Spirit- Report of ACC-7: Singapore 1987, Church House Publishing, p.75, cited in News of Liturgy, September 1987, Issue No. 153, Grove Books, Nottingham.

⁴²⁷E.Mbonigaba quoting from an Unpublished Paper by David Holeyton(1988), in 'The Indigenization of Liturgy' in (ed.) Gitari,op. cit., 1994.

rather than the specifically liturgical, Anglican ethos as represented as ideal by the ACC. Points regarding biblical, Anglican and Kenyan integrity will be shortly explored in greater detail. Let it be sufficient to say here that a Kenyan Provincial residential conference on liturgy in April 1991 in Kabare, in the diocese of Kirinyaga, was observed to have loosened its attachment to the 1662 rite.⁴²⁸

4.3.1 CASE STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA DIOCESE: COMMUNION, COMMUNITY AND ANCESTORS.

This section traces the history and thinking behind one recent development within the new Kenyan liturgies. An important Protestant evangelical consultation in 1982⁴²⁹ recorded a dialogue between Bediako and Gitari in which it is possible to demonstrate action taken five years later in the draft (1987) and new (1989) liturgical material within the adoption of prayers in relation to ancestors.

In his initial presentation at the consultation, 'Biblical Christologies in the light of African Traditional Religions' Bediako sketched the philosophy and theology of Western Christian mission in relation to Akan culture and ethnicity and weighs the reasons for a failure in encounter between the 'gospel of Christ and African religious life'⁴³⁰. The problem of African Christian identity resulted from the theological failure of early missionaries to recognize the attempts of early African theologians to take seriously their own religious traditions and background

⁴²⁸C. Buchanan writing on receiving Modern Services materials, in News of Liturgy, July 1991, Issue No. 199, p.9.

⁴²⁹See Sharing Jesus in the Two Thirds World, Evangelical Christologies from the contexts of poverty, powerlessness and religious pluralism, The Papers of the First Conference of Evangelical Mission Theologians from the Two Thirds World, Bangkok, Thailand, March 22-25 1982 (eds.) Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden, 1983.

⁴³⁰p.88, op. cit.

spiritualities⁴³¹, and to see, as Sanneh argues elsewhere⁴³², the patristic theology of Tertullian and others in the second and third centuries A.D. in the context of Gentile Christianity as paradigmatic for the African theological quest.

The critique and appraisal of mission history and theology and of Akan traditional religion leads Bediako to pinpoint an insight into Christology with the suggestion of Christ as the 'Great Ancestor of all mankind, the mediator of all blessing, the judge of all mankind'⁴³³. In the discussion which is recorded (p113-121) Bediako further develops a theology of the veneration of ancestors in pointing to the distinction between real belief in demons and the reality of ancestors and asks for a probing into the intention of all forms of worship and for a consideration of whether, in reacting perhaps to his own evangelical formation, respect for the elder or ancestor is necessarily evil. He points to a new type of evangelical theology of incorporation into the family and ancestral line of Christ:

'So once Christ has come the ancestors are cut off as a means of blessing for we lay our power lines differently. Blessing comes from Christ. Our concern with ancestors and their concern with us has to do with social organization. We can now alter our relationship with them. They simply become members of the community. We may even include them in our intercessions.'⁴³⁴

In his dialogue with Bediako, Gitari⁴³⁵ noted a veneration of the ancestors in his own 'Bantu' culture, that a dead person is spoken of in the present tense, and that, as in the western culture of death notices

431. The dominant drive behind that kind of theological production was admitted to be an effort "to establish the value of African religion and culture before the unjust criticisms made by earlier missionaries". Philip Turner, 'The Wisdom the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ: some notes on Christian adaptation in Africa,' Journal of Religion in Africa, 4, 1971., cited by Bediako, p.88.

432. Encountering the West, op. cit.

433. Samuel and Sugden, op. cit. p.109

434. p.115, ibid.; also quoted in Christianity in Africa, p.217

435. p.119ff., ibid. Although Gitari is not cited it is recalled by members of the conference that he spoke. Conversation of writer with participant at conference, 10.95.

in newspapers, there is a connection between the living and the dead.

Gitari continues:

'Understood from the African point of view , I am very prepared to think that it is possible for us to look at the whole question of ancestors and our contact with them. I do not fear that anything will come from them because the Lord Jesus Christ has now become their Lord and we are one with them. As a Christian, I am not going to worship them. If they are saints, then it is the communion of the saints and it becomes part of Christian worship.'⁴³⁶

Further to the discussion referred to above Bediako includes in his latest study quotations from the CPK Eucharist which in conclusion to his argument make reference to ancestors as an example of the way in which a Christian theology of ancestors could be a resolution of a dilemma. In a section entitled 'Towards a Theology of Ancestors' he argues that this theology is the corollary of the continuity of God in the African experience. He criticizes Fashole-Luke for the use of the category Communion of Saints in his theory as one kind of 'theological datum, a... fixed grid of Christian answers into which African ideas must somehow be made to slot.'⁴³⁷ A theology of ancestors was not made necessary by the fact that many African Christians have ancestors who were not Christians but it requires an a priori change in thinking to realize that the saving activity of God was present prior to the proclamation of the Gospel.

'a theology of ancestors is about the interpretation of the past in a way which shows that the present experience and knowledge of the grace of God in the Gospel of Jesus Christ have been truly anticipated and prefigured in the quests and the responses to the Transcendent in former times, as these have been reflected in the lives of African people.'⁴³⁸

Bediako criticizes Byang Kato, as elsewhere⁴³⁹, for his lack of recognition of the religious advantages of a continuous view of African

⁴³⁶p.120, ibid.

⁴³⁷Fashole-Luke, 'Ancestor veneration and the communion of saints', in Mark Glasswell and Edward Fashole-Luke, New Testament Christianity for Africa and the World, in Bediako, Christianity in Africa, p.224

⁴³⁸ibid., p.224-5

⁴³⁹See Theology and Identity, op. cit.

culture and custom, citing the evidence of traditional prophets who have foreseen the coming of a 'white man' to tell them about the 'Supreme Being'. Cross-cultural transmission (the agency of white missionaries) and Old Testament covenant theology- by which by faith-union with Christ Christians are brought into the Abrahamic promise- are means for Africans to make sense of 'an adoptive past'. Further to the above discussion of the covenant above it can be seen how important ancestors were in the Abrahamic and Mosaic covenants (Exodus 6). Bediako draws attention to an anomaly whereby the Akan political chiefs are not allowed to hold full membership privileges although they may be baptised, confirmed and practising Christians. Their involvement in pouring libations to the ancestors and their succession to the ancestors disqualifies them. He suggests that this situation represents an inadequate ancestor theology.⁴⁴⁰

An understanding of the gain of identity in local cultural and religious expression, especially in regard to the veneration of ancestors in Akamba and other ethnic groups, as John Mbiti has argued⁴⁴¹, means that the memory of the 'living dead' is honoured in African, Christian and, as has been shown, specifically Anglican Kenyan worship. Through his communication with the West African scholar, Bediako, some of Mbiti's philosophical outlook has come to be shared by Gitari, and other members of the Liturgical Committee of the CPK so that a christologically and culturally specific approach has matured and has therefore been recognized and enshrined in the introduction to the Sanctus of the Holy Communion Service:

'Therefore with angels and archangels, faithful ancestors and all in heaven...'⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Samuel and Sugden, *op.cit.*, p.106

⁴⁴¹ *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*, OUP, London, 1972 and *African Religions and Philosophies*, SPCK, London, 1969

⁴⁴² *op.cit.*, p.28

It can be seen that this liturgy therefore allusively recognizes cultural reality in Kenya and that it is an expression of the link between the ordinary way of life of specific communities and the ministry of the whole people of God. The point, which has been made by Gitari⁴⁴³, that from the theological point of view it can be seen that the burgeoning of the largely evangelical Church of the Province of Kenya within the cultural framework of local ethnic practice has led to an adoption of liturgical theology around 'Prayer for the Dead' normally associated with Roman or Anglican Catholicism. This can be seen to illustrate the felicitous way in which Pan-African conference dialogue has interacted with local religious expression to produce an agreed pastoral form of worship; furthermore it shows the cyclic nature of pastoral theology and the rigour and vigour of a new ecumenism occurring, incidentally as it were, in the pattern of the Church's mission⁴⁴⁴.

4.3.2 PERCEIVED STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES IN THE LITURGICAL THEOLOGY OF THE CPK AND IN THE WORK OF GITARI.

In the final section of this chapter the strengths and weaknesses of the material which has been examined and attitudes to it will be assessed. The criteria for this assessment are the extent to which integrities of biblical tradition, Anglican tradition and Kenyan tradition have been maintained.

⁴⁴³ The high Anglican Church which takes strongly the whole question of the communion of the saints is probably closer to the African culture than the low Anglican Church which does not want to think about the people who have just died.' Samuel and Sugden, op. cit., p.119. This is also highlighted in The Natural Mystery of Folk Religion, Christopher Sugden, Grove Books, Nottingham, 1992, pp.21-22

⁴⁴⁴ 'If mission and mission studies are to have a future, they must be rigorously ecumenical.' W.Hollenweger, 'The Future of Mission', IRM, LXXX N.317, Jan. 1991.

(i) Biblical Tradition.

In producing the new liturgical material the Provincial Board of Theological Education has taken a broad evangelical view with relation to the Bible: Scriptures which have been chosen to inform the *corpus* have been selected carefully to illuminate this view.

There was no 'need to accommodate "catholic" theology within this liturgy' because unlike Tanzania's broader Anglican churchmanship, Kenya had no catholic-Protestant ecumenical incentive to provoke it to do so. Old Testament themes of pastoralism, peace and justice in the prophets are, as has been seen, interlaced in the prayers of the Communion Service, and have made it biblically catholic, and textually responsive to the inculturation movement in the Roman Catholic church. Certainly in the Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer Services the Songs of Habakkuk, the Messiah, Paul, Jesus, the Church, Blessings, the Kingdom, and Christ's Mission represent the use of a rich content of Scripture which is successfully honed into a format where Christ and the evangel are central.

Although recent attempts at inculturation of the Roman Catholic liturgy have been many and diverse, it is not clear that the same attention is being given to biblical content as in the Kenyan Anglican material. Two recent essays from the Roman Catholic tradition suggest an articulation to the traditional religious forms in Nigeria or Zaire within the parameters set by the Mass. The fact that there does not seem to be the same concern for the introduction of biblical text may reflect an higher level of flexibility or interaction with the bible which is found in the Revival Movement, for example.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵See Elochukwu E. Uzukwu 'Inculturation and the Liturgy (Eucharist)'

(ii) Anglican Tradition and Culture

The tradition of the Anglican 1662 BCP has been respected in the formation of the new African texts in English; the means by which Anglican theological and pastoral leadership has evolved, and the way in which it will deliver English, Swahili and vernacular texts at a local level is consonant with an Anglican integrity. A valuing of the BCP in African liturgical contexts has probably had a restraining and refining influence on change so that it may be argued that new East African liturgies are a direct descendant of the 17th century Protestant European Reformation. A comparison from Uganda focuses on the conservative aspect of BCP tradition which may not be at all negative:

'Go to a little mud-brick building on a Sunday morning in Buganda, whether in a quiet village or in city slums, and you will find the rite of 'Morning Prayer, Bible Readings, a sermon, and 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' sung warmly, reverently, beautifully: the only difference from the original being, that it is all in Luganda and the middle of Africa.'⁴⁴⁶

Although there are evidently more differences than are conceded here, it might be added that, far from being a rarefied expression, this liturgy clearly had a part in preparing the Church in Uganda for the enormous conflict and suffering of the Amin years. Was it the biblical and teaching content of the Anglican liturgy, despite its strange clothes, which partly equipped the people for this? Is it the vitality springing from a conservatism which is giving confidence to a new liturgical expression in Kenya? The CPK liturgies could well be enhanced if the ethnic origin of prayers was acknowledged as in the Roman Catholic text and this gives in turn an incentive to embrace as many different traditions as possible in the liturgical texts.

and Francois Kabasele Lumbala, 'Africans Celebrate Jesus Christ' in (ed.) Gibellini, Paths of African Theology, SCM, 1995.

⁴⁴⁶ Knighton, Christian Enculturation in Karamoja, Uganda, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Durham, 1990, p.20

(iii) Language and Liturgy

The language of the bible, and, hence of liturgy is a dialect which joins many ethnic and people's groups in Kenya. The voice of churchleaders have often been heard in the politicised domains of constitutional reforms and human rights protests. Lonsdale makes the point regarding recent church-state conflicts that 'a national language is being invented out of a religious idiom.'⁴⁴⁷ The role of biblical hermeneutics has been shown by Benson and Throup in their most recent publications⁴⁴⁸, especially the part that the Archbishop of CPK, David Gitari has played in this. The fact that he is also the leading liturgist of the church is surely no accident. It is thus in this generation that the liturgy of the CPK is attaining maturity as it builds on the legacy of the BCP tradition. There has been criticism that it has taken a long time, but equally there has been enormous appreciation for it from the Church of England.⁴⁴⁹

Pertinent to a discussion of worship and culture is the fact that Bediako cites an incident from the 'worshipping, witnessing life' of a congregation who played the drums at a time when it was forbidden according to the traditional religion: this was an authentic expression of a legitimate Ghanaian, and not solely Christian, form of worship which was of inherent socio-cultural value.⁴⁵⁰ It has been remarked that at one time dance was considered unchristian⁴⁵¹ but the Presiding Bishop of the MCK is now exploring ways of introducing dance into the worship of this church.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁷'African Pasts in Africa's Future' in Berman and Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, p.218.

⁴⁴⁸(eds.) Hansen and Twaddle, *op.cit.*, 1995

⁴⁴⁹News of Liturgy notes that in a draft stage the rites were being used more in Britain than in Kenya

⁴⁵⁰pp.110-111, Samuel and Sugden, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵¹Gideon Githige, in The Natural Mystery of Folk Religion, p.20ff.

⁴⁵²Interview with Rt Revd Zablon Nthamburi, 7/3/96.

It is becoming clearer that there is no gospel that is not culturally packaged; neither is it clear where the "culture-free" gospel ends and where Western culture begins to 'uplift' the local culture, as the Roman Catholic style would have it.⁴⁵³ It has been shown that the CPK has made an innovative and culturally sound start in making worship appropriate both as a Province and in relation to local communities in the dioceses scrutinized.

4.3.3 SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

1. The Church of the Province of Kenya locates itself emphatically as part of the Anglican Communion and is an example of theological unity in ethnic and cultural diversity. Its provincial autonomy has enabled it to develop a distinctive ecclesiology a generation after its creation, and encouraged it to dialogue freely with perceived Western liberal theories of the church which do not stress the reality of the church's mission as it pertains in the local context in Kenya. Whilst firmly accepted by seasoned members of the church, the BCP has been shown to be a transforming instrument and capable of transformation, and liturgical changes are an index of this.

2. The formation and adoption of the new Holy Communion Service of the Church of the Province of Kenya in Mount Kenya East and Nakuru dioceses was welcomed, especially by younger members, and its relation to aspects of Kikuyu, Maasai, Turkana and other cultures was evidence within the Anglican Communion of both a radical movement and of academic reflection in relation to liturgical renewal and inculturation. The necessarily

⁴⁵³Uzukwu, op. cit., p.97 See also Buchanan: 'There is a general sense around that the younger churches of the world have been culturally colonized... but it is easier to make the general point than... identify each liturgical item so affected and to know then how to transculturalize it.' News of Liturgy, 1989, No. 176, pp.1-2.

limited number of ethnic groups represented textually will need to be widened to reflect a comprehensive CPK within the Anglican Communion.

3. The experimental use of these services in cathedral and college from 1987-89 and subsequent increasingly popular use in cathedral, parishes and colleges⁴⁵⁴ shows how widespread this renewal had become. This has become even more pronounced since the publication of a second booklet of Modern Services. This has by no means replaced the use of the BCP but even with the use of the BCP, innovative approaches are recognised. Other unpublished services are also used which are devised by clergy to meet a liturgical or even political need.

4. In making these points it is often felt by Kenyan Anglicans that liturgies should have a flexible response, and that no liturgy should be written in stone although for a long time Western theology and colonialist mission failed to realize that its self-appointed position as a liturgical referee could break cultural rules (see re: the Bishop of Zanzibar in n.235).

5. Western, as much as Two Thirds World liturgies are all provisional and on the wax or wane of inculturation or contextualization⁴⁵⁵. Therefore, the value of the work is partly, as Gitari has argued, that a contextually creative liturgy may be shared throughout the Church with those who are Partners in worship.⁴⁵⁶ The use of Anglican liturgy in mission, and mission which proceeds from liturgy in local contexts in

454 'The weekly Holy Communion celebrated in the College often provides the best worship to be had in the area for students or visitors...' Letter, Dr Ben Knighton, St Andrew Institute, Kabare, Kerugoya, Kenya, 29.12.94

455 See David BOSCH, *op.cit.*, p.456

456 See D.Gitari, 'An Offering from Africa to Anglicanism', Church Times, 06/04/90; A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion

Kenya, are of cultural benefit to their practitioners and to those who share faith or Anglican Communion membership anywhere.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER AREAS FOR RESEARCH

5.1 SUMMARY

The main argument of this thesis is that the Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya has been, in the last 20 years, distinctive in its approach to Christian mission. Although, as it is suggested, sharing substantial commonalities with other East African, and Kenyan Protestant 'mission' or 'mainstream' church communities (including the Roman Catholic church), it has been distinguished from them, and, in other ways, from other New Pentecostal or Independent churches. This has been particularly true in terms of worship and liturgy, for theological training taken as a whole, and in public life and leadership in the dioceses which have been examined.

In common with the PCEA- and mainly through its bishops- the CPK has consistently dialogued with, and challenged the state, both attracting government and press criticism, and drawing a 'new guard' of membership in the early 90's, evident in its ordinands and in some from other church groups who joined because they respected the CPK's overall resistance to being cast in an Erastian mould. In sociological terms, following Bourdieu, the CPK mission has acquired an identity due to its exploitation of cultural and linguistic capital (consisting in the delicate relationship with ethnological and religious expectations) in the field of vernacular bible translations and liturgies, which have developed into an impetus for liturgical renewal defined in the new liturgical material. This has been possible on account of a recasting of Anglican ecclesiology (its habitus) in the Kenyan multi-cultural and

multi-lingual context, and its reflection and refraction in the secular domain.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

LESSONS FROM THE STUDY ABOUT:

5.2.1 THE DIOCESES OF NAKURU AND MOUNT KENYA EAST/KIRINYAGA AND THEIR INTERFACE WITH THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF KENYA

The study of the categories of Bourdieu (see 1.1.5., 3.2., 4.1.1.) has facilitated a flexible analysis of Anglican theology and mission practice in the dioceses concerned. This has led to a comparison of the various approaches to mission and training (2.2) although similarities in the area of liturgy are evident in the dioceses. This study has observed nuances of the relationships between different denominations and between ethnic groups and their approach to religious worship (1.2 and 4.2.2). This has shown that the ethos of the CPK is in many ways similar to that of the MCK and the PCEA insofar as it has grown out of the seedbed of the missions of the colonial era and the conservative ethos of the EARM. Distinctive elements in the mission strategies of the CPK have been sought which are attuned to the needs of the members of the parishes in the dioceses concerned. It has been found that there is more in common than distinctive between Protestant churches, but rural development has been a particular feature of the Anglican dioceses (2.2.2; 2.2.7), as has its status as an episcopal mission church. Social and political issues in Kirinyaga and Nakuru have been championed by the churches and the CPK has been foremost in times of conflict such as the ethnic clashes (Appendix V). Most importantly, study of these dioceses has shown the integration of worship styles and social comment to create identity and theological

meaning (see the Environmental Litany in 4.2.7. and the liturgical and political role of the Archbishop and former bishop of Kirinyaga in July 1997, 3.3.2.3.) Insights from the sociologist, Bourdieu would encourage the idea that the 'habitués', the acquired dispositions which generate both liturgical renewal and social activism, operate together effectively in the CPK within the Kenyan religious 'field'. This is a distinguishing feature from other Protestant and Independent churches and it is unusual since liturgy is commonly seen as a straitjacket rather than as a liberative instrument. The CPK is thus a prime example of innovation in liturgy in contemporary African Anglicanism.

5.2.2 THE NATURE OF THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF KENYAN ANGLICAN MISSION

Liturgy has been a tool of Anglican mission in Kenya since the Bible and BCP were translated into Kenyan languages. More recently Anglican debate has turned around the way in which the liturgical becomes doctrinally defining. The foundation of Anglican mission is built upon tradition spelt out in the BCP (2.1.6, 3.1.2, 4.2.2 (c)), the Lambeth Quadrilateral (1.1.4) and the catechetical and liturgical possibilities which arise from it. The Kenyan ritual field of course predated mission and liturgy and was the nourishing environment for Anglican theology as it grew up. Vernacularization and internationalization were opposite sides of the same liturgical coin where making the Christian message understood and using a transethnic language and being identifiably Anglican were all important. This study has shown how in both dioceses liturgical production is a function of local (but not necessarily explicitly Christian) theology (see 4.2 and 4.3.1 re. ancestors); the study has also shown how it encourages, thanks to Bourdieu, a 'habitus' of practice and reflection upon practice. In the diocese of Kirinyaga a tradition of rural mission is emerging at the college (SACTD) where theology and

development (i.e. community health) are taught together (2.2.1) and initiatives in theological training are taken (2.2.7(c)). In Nakuru diocese a longer established tradition of theology and development distinguishes the CPK as a centre of theological training, of wholistic theology earthed in the local context (2.2.2). In some ways the CPK may not be that different from the MCK (see 2.2.6) and the PCEA, but Bourdieu's model of the 'habitus' helps us to view the CPK as an organism which has taken on a life of its own, as in the forefront of social and spiritual renewal. The CPK occupies by virtue of its 'cultural capital'⁴⁵⁷ the most important and competitive middle position in the Kenyan religious and secular field or marketplace.

5.2.3 THE DISTINCTIVE ANGLICAN ECCLESIOLOGY OF THE CPK.

A peculiar triple marriage between biblical theology (4.3.2 (i)), the conservative expression of Kenyan Anglicanism (1.1.4; 3.1.1) including the values of the EARM (2.1.4) and African or Kenyan cultures (1.2) has taken place in the 'field' of the CPK. Although preaching and evangelism are features which the CPK holds in common with other denominations, the CPK has distinguished itself in the place that preaching occupies in the centre of the liturgy and by the fact that the present Archbishop has published two books of sermons in English as singular examples of his theology. Gitari emphasizes the fact that his expository preaching is based fundamentally on the text and that the context is the means of application. The sermons were not political but were taken to be so by those who were unreceptive to their message (4.3.2. (iii)) The conservative expression of Kenyan Anglicanism which derives from the BCP (independently of other influences) and from the EARM has represented

⁴⁵⁷The stuff of the habitus is not what Bourdieu terms "symbolic capital"; nor is it "economic capital", but *cultural capital*... ' Amongst other skills it is comprised of rhetorical ability, (eds.) Calhoun, LiPuma, Postone, *op. cit.*, p.197

exactly the correct framework to conserve and develop or transform aspects of Kenya's cultures, and to be a repository for the developing ecclesiological identity of the CPK. This transformation has been particularly acute in the force for vernacularization where the development or translation of liturgies into Kenyan languages has been encouraged (4.3.6 & 7). However, the production of liturgical texts in the medium of English is maintained not as a residue of colonialism but conversely because English is the language of education in post-colonial Kenya and its use represents cleverly both a lexical safeguard against an ethnocentric church, a self-confident statement of membership of the international Anglican Communion, and perhaps a claim to be some kind of national church. The provincialization of theological colleges also develops a multi-ethnic church as ministers in training experience a crossover between dioceses in a large country. In this way the church's ecclesiology forms its political and social identity and therefore carries forward its particular mission.

5.2.4 THE CPK AS A CULTURAL BRIDGE FOR MISSION IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT

The cultural and linguistic project of the CPK is considerable and wider than other denominations. Although the concern at first has been to create liturgies both in the lingua franca, Kiswahili, and in the international and educational (but no longer colonialist) language of English, and although all mission agencies and denominations have been involved in translating the bible into vernacular languages, the CPK intends to continue to translate and vernacularize the new liturgies across diocesan boundaries so that growth from the grass-roots is encouraged. An awareness of the breadth of Kenya's ethnologies and cultures reveals within them a deep concern with the religious (see 1.2, Chapter Four). With other churches and agencies, the CPK has accordingly

been concerned with primary evangelism amongst less dominant ethnic groups (such as the Samburu or Gabbra) and the CPK's inculturating approach has shown more appropriate sensitivity and respect for cultural variations than other agencies have (2.2.1 (b)), a fact which is evidenced by the new long-term membership of people from these groups. This means that the possibility of working more closely with Anglican people belonging to such groups is enhanced as they are affirmed by relationships with catechists from their own ethnic groups. It has been shown that a traditional past and its worship is partly continuous with the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and particularly with Old Testament categories (4.2.2(b)) and the incorporation of prayers based on different Kenyan traditional worshipping patterns into a common liturgy is an affirming and challenging signal. In addition, the promotion of the oral poem, or the giving of a 'testimony' (as part of worship) (4.1.4.2), and the veneration of ancestors are examples of Kenyan cultural capital which has been invested in the liturgical form. These factors show that the Anglican CPK has been more successfully inculturated than other churches, whilst being defined biblically and liturgically (4.1.3). With its 'culturally sensitive',⁴⁵⁸ Archbishop, and through wholistic evangelism the CPK has provided a better bridge into the culture than other worshipping expressions.

5.2.5 THE ROLE OF LITURGY AS CONSTITUTIVE OF THE DISTINCTIVE IDENTITY OF THE CPK

The indigenous expression which Anglican ecclesiology encourages is part of the birthright of Anglicanism which has been born again in Kenya through the use of the BCP, and beyond that through the trajectory out of which the new liturgical material has sprung, namely the EARM and CPK .

⁴⁵⁸ (eds.) Hansen and Twaddle, op. cit., p.9

The BCP is accepted as absolutely intrinsic to the liturgy in African Anglicanism, and the analytical framework of Bourdieu furthermore helps one to see how the BCP tradition inherited the cultural capital of an ethnic religious past in the 'field' of social struggle. The creation of the 'symbolic goods' of the present liturgical corpus took place by means of the interaction between Kenya's past and present identity as refracted through the CPK, and by means of the dialectic between mission theology and social and ethnic liberation and equality. Both the BCP and the EARM have shown themselves to be unlikely transforming (and preserving) instruments and also as capable of transformation and liberation (4.2.2). The liturgical process, it has been argued, is of more than ecclesiastical importance, particularly in the Kenyan local context. Study of the ethnology and rhythm of worship (Chapters One, Four) and the history and sociology of liturgy, and liturgical renewal (Chapter Three) has been shown both to receive from and transmit to the cultural, political and secular domains. The mission to young people via liturgy may involve gospel proclamation and the discovery, cultural re-appropriation or transformation of the symbology of African religious pasts. It will enrich mutual respect and interdependence in church and society, and be open to new forms of worship. Worship is central to the lives of many of Kenya's peoples and one of the most distinguishing and effective features of the specific Christian mission of the CPK is found in the liturgical revival which takes place in the intersection between the spiritual and the secular domains. The mode of the renewal of worship in CPK communities promises much nationally for Kenya, for Africa and globally for the future of the Church as a whole.

5.3 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.3.1 CROSS CULTURAL COMPARISON

This research began with the question of a British Anglican: 'What can be learnt by the Church of England in its mission from its sister church, the CPK?' There was a sense in the writer that useful parallels might be drawn whereby positive lessons from a Kenyan diocese could be applied in an English diocese. The scope for such a study was correctly considered to be too wide-ranging and to have too many variables to make comparison feasible, and so part of this thesis compares mission styles in Kenya itself to achieve a focus. At an early stage in research the liturgical element of the study had not been fully appreciated but the key concepts of worship and liturgy provided a means of understanding the development of the CPK and became central to this thesis. Having completed this research it may be possible in the interests of international mission scholarship to establish points of comparison (e.g. in theological or lay training, or in worship) so that the above question may be attempted.

5.3.2 SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

In a country as religious, and with such a Christian presence as Kenya there are many denominations, new churches and sects. The CPK is operating in a market place or 'field' which sociologists of religion should investigate more. Bourdieu's model is helpful in providing categories which aid an understanding of why certain churches or sects develop in certain ways. In this study the mainstream churches have largely been discussed. A thorough examination of the relationship and comparative development of a New Pentecostalist church with a mainstream churches could profitably be attempted, and particularly in relation to the approach to mission.

5.3.3 CHURCH AND STATE

The social and political domain which the CPK occupies within the state of Kenya is particularly important since the enthronement of the Most Revd Dr. Gitari as Archbishop. Events in July 1997 have revealed that he and others will continue to be active in open dialogue with, and in providing a critique of the workings of state in Kenya. The theological implications of the history of the relationship between church and state in Kenya will need to be traced as history unfolds and as it is scrutinized by scholars it will provide lessons for other African nations and Anglican communities.

5.3.4 SOCIALLY-SENSITIVE LITURGY

Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital' indicates an amassing of wealth in formal and informal liturgy set firmly in the Kenyan social context. Communities and ethnic groups are empowered and given a national identity as new services are developed, translated into, produced in English, or translated into vernaculars. Further research will need to follow the wave of liturgical renewal and production, both formal and informal, and discuss the mission and cultural implications. International and cross-cultural ramifications are also likely. Discussions of liturgy and mission at the imminent Lambeth Conference 1998 will probably be dominated by African primates and bishops. With the revision of the English ASB in 2000 it would be profitable to see if the Church of England, or any other Anglican Province, could benefit from certain lessons arising from the particular Kenyan Anglican socio-liturgical process.

APPENDIX I (a):

AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON THE AIMS AND PROGRESS OF THE DECADE OF EVANGELISM, (January 1991.)

Question 1. Which of these statements most accurately sums up the Decade for you? [Please circle as appropriate]:

- (a) It makes little difference because mission happens anyway
- (b) The most inspired statement from Lambeth for a long time
- (c) It provides a thrilling focus for world evangelisation

Comments?:

Question 2. Does the 'renewed and united emphasis on making Christ known to the people of his world'(Resolution 43) mean principally...[Please place in order of priority]:

-(a) More openness to the renewing power of the Spirit
-(b) Greater cooperation with other denominations
-(c) Explicit emphasis on evangelism within the Province/diocese
-(d) Greater attention given to international cooperation

Comments?:

Question 3. Resolution 44.1 calls for a 'shift to a dynamic missionary emphasis going beyond care and nurture to proclamation and service.' Does this involve...? [Please place in order of priority]:

-(a) deploying more evangelists than pastors
-(b) developing lay education programmes e.g. Theological Education by Extension.
-(c) developing or changing theological colleges

Comments ?:

Question 4. Resolution 44.2 records the challenge to diocesan and local structures and worship and ministry patterns. It 'looks to God for a fresh movement of the Spirit in prayer, outgoing love and evangelism...'What problems, if any, do you think stand in the way of this? [Please circle as appropriate]

- (a) disobedience
- (b) lack of vision
- (c) financial
- (d) bureaucratic

Comments ?:

Question 5. Is the model of the church in your Province

- (a) mainly pastoral
- (b) first pastoral, then evangelistic
- (c) first evangelistic, then pastoral
- (d) mainly evangelistic

Comments?:

Question 6. Are/is the role(s) of the (arch)bishop(s) that of leader(s) in mission?

Please explain:

Question 7. 'We still need to learn from a wide variety of models across the Communion.' (para. 13, Report as above.) From the experience in your Province what does the church in the north (or First World) have to learn from the church in the south (or Two Thirds World)? [Please circle as appropriate.]

- (a) to avoid over-discussion: more action
- (b) better use of bishops
- (c) wisdom in drawing in resources from the international Church
- (d) how to dialogue/mission in a pluralist setting

Comments?:

Question 8. What particular trends do you predict the Decade of Evangelism holds in store? [Please circle as appropriate, indicating importance to you]:

- (a) greater emphasis on mission and evangelism
- (b) numerical growth of The Anglican Communion
- (c) greater understanding of the faith
- (d) more ecumenical cooperation
- (e) environmental consciousness/sense of being one world
- (f) renewal ('charismatic' movements, signs and wonders, miracles)
- (g) revival (large numbers of people, villages, towns, cities, ethnic groups becoming Christian without much contact with the Church)
- (h) other (please specify)

Comments?:

Signed:

Diocese:

Province/Church:

APPENDIX I(b)

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH (91).

I(b)1.1 In January 1991 26 letters and/or questionnaires based on the resolutions in the 1988 Lambeth statement were sent. The selection of countries was biased towards Africa and the Singapore Anglican Congress on World Evangelisation, ('Church on Fire') in September 1990. Primate and bishops targeted.

Key: * = At Singapore Congress.

+ = Reply received although not always from the person written to.

Primates:

Archbishop Abiodun Adetiloye, Nigeria. +
Archbishop Sindamuka, Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire.
Archbishop Makhulu, Central Africa.
Archbishop Manasses Kuria, Kenya.
Archbishop Yagusuk, Sudan.
Archbishop Ramadhani, Tanzania.
Archbishop Yona Okoth, Uganda. +

Bishops:

Bishop Rudvin, Karachi, Pakistan. *
Bishop Jiwan, Hyderabad, Pakistan. +
Bishop Savarimuthu, West Malaysia. *
Bishop Nduwayo, Gitega, Burundi. *+
Bishop Dirokpa, Bukanu, Zaire. *
Bishop Nshanihigo, Shyira, Rwanda. *
Bishop Mundia, Maseno North, Kenya. *+
Bishop Nyaronga, Mara, Tanzania. *
Bishop Mpanga, Western Tanganyika, Tanzania. *
Bishop Annobil, Sekondi, Ghana. *
Bishop Haruna, Kwara State, Nigeria. *+
Bishop Jamieson, Bunbury, Western Australia. *+
Bishop Buckle, Northern Region/Auckland, New Zealand. *+
Bishop Rabenirina, Antananarivo, Madagascar, (Indian Ocean). *+
Bishop Moses Tay, Singapore. *+
Bishop Lumpias, Central Philippines, Philippine Episcopal Church. *+
Bishop Evans, Assistant, Bradford, UK. *+
Bishop Albalate, Cuba.

Other:

Bishop Gbonigi, Akure, Nigeria (who kindly completed a questionnaire whilst visiting Durham) +
Revd. Mike McCoy, Staff Member for Mission, The Church of the Province of Southern Africa. +

RESULTS AND ASSESSMENT CRITERIA.

I(b)1.2. The response rate was 50%. The material divides into three parts: Africa, Asia and Australasia, bearing in mind that certain countries are in the Two Thirds World by virtue of not being in the North or West (apart from Australia etc.) but are fast developing into nations as economically viable as in the One Thirds World (e.g. Singapore). An extract of the report follows:

AFRICA.

NIGERIA.

I(b)2.1. A letter from the Provincial General Secretary informed me of developments and considerable progress. The Decade of Evangelism began in January 1990 in Nigeria, because in 1990 it was exactly 90 years since the 'gate to evangelisation in the Northern part of Nigeria was shut by the then Colonial Administration.' Accordingly, with funds raised from churches in Lagos, the Archbishop and his brother bishops appointed eight new bishops to missionary dioceses created in Muslim northern Nigeria, the aim

being to make a diocese in every state capital in that part. The bishops were consecrated in Kaduna, the centre of the violent persecution of Christians by Muslims 3 years earlier. Later last year 2 more missionary bishops were consecrated in southern Nigeria, and 2 more dioceses made, bringing the total to 39.

In addition to this, a Mission Department has been set up to co-ordinate activities across the dioceses, a priest is being sent to work in Britain, and the church is deciding on who will replace Canon Bob Renouf as the Anglican Consultative Council's Adviser for the Decade of Evangelism. Also, the setting up of the Bishop Crowther Memorial Language School is intended to train all ordinands in the major languages of Nigeria, of which there are over 300, in order to enlarge the deployment possibilities.

The bold Provincial plans above were amplified by the response from Kwara State. After the Archbishop's declaration of an Ecumenical Decade of Evangelism, the Diocesan Missionary Society formed a committee of 7 to make recommendations to the diocese. Briefly, a training programme to mobilize the whole diocese for evangelism and renewal is envisaged, and the timetable for this has already been drawn up:

1990-1: First meeting of District Evangelism Working Committee; monthly day (1st Wednesday) of prayer and fasting for priests for church-planting programmes; deadline set for Evangelism Committees to be formed in all churches; dates for Joint Church Evangelism Committee meetings and training; monthly district prayer day (3rd Wednesday) for church-planting programmes; deadline set for submission of dates for renewal programmes in each church; date for evaluation and future planning.

1991-3: Having spent time in preparation and consciousness-raising, especially regarding prayer, evangelism and church-planting should begin with every existing church expected to plant at least one new one.

1994: Evaluation, improvement and control, to prepare districts for more protracted church-planting process.

1995-7, 1998-2000: The process of 1990-3 to be reapplied with relevant modification.

With what is called a 'three-year reproductive period plan' for a district of ten churches over ten years, the plan is that by 2000 the number of churches in each diocesan district should be multiplied by 8:

PERIOD	MAIN TASK	NO. OF CHURCHES
1990-1	Planning and preparation	10
1991-3	Churches planted	10+10 = 20
1994	Control and consolidation	20
1995-7	Churches planted	20+20 = 40
1998-2000	Churches planted	40+40 = 80.

KENYA:

I.(b) 2.2 From the diocese of Maseno North 1 received a friendly letter from the bishop inviting me to go there, and a newsletter from the diocesan office. The story is of growth:

'We subdivided the Diocese of Maseno into two in 1970. Maseno Diocese had 18 parishes, by 1985 we had grown to 82 parishes. We subdivided again in 1987 into two- Nambale Diocese went with 36 parishes and Maseno North 42. This year Maseno North has gone up to 60 parishes. This growth is not by mere numbers but spiritually too. In short there is expansion both quantitatively and qualitatively. In all this we Praise the name of Jesus.'

This seems to indicate, if I have understood rightly, that in the last 20 years, within the old 1970 borders of Maseno Diocese the number of parishes has doubled three times (supposing the average number of parishes for the four dioceses to be now 40-50), aggregating 15% growth every year. This is quite astonishing but does not do justice to the numbers of people involved.

UGANDA:

I.(b) 2.3 I had a reply from the Provincial Mission Coordinator, Rev. Stephen Mungoma. As in Nigeria, the plan is expand the number of dioceses, from 21 to 23; at present there is a membership of 5 million with

2500 priests and deacons. They have divided the 'target audiences' into 4 categories: the churched, the unchurched nominal Christians; traditional worshippers (or 'pagans'), and adherents of other faiths.

As in Kwara diocese, Nigeria, the Province has a ten-year plan with an emphasis in the first 2 years on selecting, training and equipping evangelistic teams (clergy, layreaders and catechists) to reach the different categories, and who will effectively pass on training to others, with the appointment of diocesan mission coordinators to oversee this on a parish level. Year 2 will be concentrated on reaching nominal Christians, both churched and unchurched, Year 3 on adherents of African traditional religions, and Year 4 on adherents of other religions. Years 5 and 6 will be devoted to children's, youth and students' work. Year 7 will concentrate on those in leadership in the country, and Years 8 and 9 will emphasize mission, with the Ugandan church sending missionaries to neighbouring countries, and others from Anglican provinces being encouraged to visit. The final year is intended to be one of celebration and thanksgiving for the integration of evangelism into the churches' lifestyles, 'so that there is no need to designate certain years as years of evangelism'. But the objective overall is to change society, as Stephen Mungoma writes, 'The Church aims at making disciples of Christ whose lives will affect the socio-economic and political life of Uganda.'

BURUNDI.

I(b)2.4 Philbert Kalisa, a diocesan administrator, sent me some information on Burundi and the Église Episcopale du Burundi. It is one of the smallest and most densely-populated countries in Central Africa with a population of 5m. Kirundi is the national language and French is the official language. 65% are Catholics, 20% Protestants, and the remainder non-Christians. Gitega (the second town in Burundi) Diocese was inaugurated in 1985 as a result of a division, and Anglican Christians make up 1.03% of the inhabitants (others 89% Christian, and 9.97% Muslims and pagans). The diocesan report speaks of the pastoral needs to be met amongst the Rwandan refugee camps in their jurisdiction.

One problem the diocese has is aging clergy whom it cannot pay pensions and who therefore go on until they have passed the age when they should be working for the church.

The point is made that they are making a wholistic response to the social and economic realities as well as in terms of evangelism.

Sunday School, Vocational Bible School, work in prisons and schools and traditional religious music, youth theatre, films are mentioned as forms of evangelisation. The diocese has grown by 4 parishes. There is an interesting system of religious education in the schools in the diocese: the nursery schools (4-6 years) aim to instil basic Christian behaviour and to prepare the children for primary education. In the secondary schools the pupils choose what R.E. lessons they want to go to, there is a course on Islam if they wish. The E.E.B. comes out top in the School Congregation League except in one school where the Pentecostals beat them. Philbert mentioned to me the effect of the campaign evangelism of Reinhardt Bonnke: when he came to his country in 1984, 5000 people were converted, and since then it is estimated that this may have grown to 25,000 through their witness- an graphic example of the explosive growth I also noted in Maseno North.

There is no theological college in Burundi which means that academic training has to happen in Methodist establishments, or in Europe, although rarely because of the enormous cost. Accordingly, the École Biblique Pastorale de Buhiga aims to train catechist-pastors who will, as lay people, take almost as full responsibility as priests, pending some kind of resolution of the problem of true 'Anglican' theological training there.

Development projects being run by the diocese include literacy, health education, bee- and rabbit-keeping, and the inculturation of the Boys Brigade as the Intore za Yesu (Followers of Jesus) because the Government did not like the previous ex-colonial resonance.

MADAGASCAR:

I(b)2.5 I had a personal letter back from the Bishop of Antananarivo, Bishop Rémi Joseph Rabenirina. He spoke enthusiastically of the launch of the Decade which took place on 6th January. In the terrain of his diocese where churches are separated by long distances, the common means of travelling is on foot and the Bishop vividly described this event in terms of 'processions of people across hills and valleys led by fanfare to meet in one of the churches'. Plans are being made for evangelistic campaigns but the implementation of these has been postponed for this year for lack of funds. In a response to the questionnaire, Bishop Rémi says that he himself is the Chairman of the Evangelism Committee, and active in evangelism (Bible study,

door-to-door visits) as well as sacramental ministry. He prefers action to discussion and says that Two Thirds World people do not like to spend time on 'grammatical correctness'; 'We trace the path by walking', he explains. He also wishes to break out of a minority church syndrome and see expansion resulting from the Decade.

SOUTH AFRICA:

I(b)2.6 The Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) has no overall strategy for the Decade, as Mike McCoy, the CPSA staff member for mission writes. Only several of the Provinces 21 dioceses have taken up the challenge of the Decade by organizing consultations, workshops and training events. Two, Lebombo and Niassa in Mozambique, were particularly enthusiastic in running Anglican and ecumenical basic training courses for groups of laity in 1990. Several congregations have approached Mike for resource material but these have tended to be 'white' parishes. 'Black' parishes have shown little interest in the official Decade of Evangelism. Mike writes that 'words like "mission" and "evangelism" are not universally understood or even accepted, given the history of missions in this sub-continent...The major challenge is to redeem "evangelism" in the eyes of their clergy and people, and to help them own the mission dimension of the local church's life.'

It is plain that the situation in South Africa is very different from other nations, and the comments of Mike McCoy obviously deserve more attention than I can give them. There is probably material for a book there. I imagine that he is referring to the position churches have long held on apartheid and the (until recently) theologically-justified racism of the Afrikaaner Dutch Reformed Church, but it is sobering to note the reference to "black" and "white" churches within the Anglican Communion. With regard to evangelism, I think that this is taking place in other denominations, and outside them, as can be shown by the strong pentecostal presence, and the Christian coalition for major structural change. Archbishop Tutu is an example of the evangelistic and prophetic preaching which will not separate the religious from the secular, and parallels might be drawn with the voice of David Gitari in Kenya.

APPENDIX II (a)

CONFIDENTIAL SURVEY ON CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND WORSHIP- all about your participation and attitudes (March 1996)

THE PART YOU PLAY IN, AND VIEW YOU HAVE OF THE WORSHIPPING LIFE OF YOUR CHURCH & COMMUNITY

(1) How did you first come to this church? (please tick one or more boxes)

1. I have always come to this church, or my parents came

2. I was attracted by some aspect (eg preaching, music,)

3. When I became a Christian this was my nearest church

4. Friends invited me

5. Through a church-based organization (eg Girl's Brigade, KAYO,)

6. Through a particular service (eg baptism, wedding or funeral)

7. I've/ we've moved into the area and attended a church like this elsewhere

8. Through the church's outreach or mission activity

9. Other (please state)

(2) Do you belong to any church or non-church organization and how often do you meet?

name of church organization.....

we meet every week every 2 weeks monthly less often (please circle)

name of non-church organization..... (please don't answer if you don't want to)

we meet every week every 2 weeks monthly less often (please circle)

(3) How important is the fixed order of service for you (eg A Kenyan Service of Holy Communion or Book of Common Prayer in Swahili, Kikuyu etc)?

Not very important Very important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (please circle number)

(4) How important is a free form of service, or space for 'open prayer'?

Not very important Very important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (please circle number)

(5) In an act of Sunday worship what do you now find most helpful, and why?

intercessions... testimony... Holy Communion... the offering... preaching... notices...

readings... social time... open prayer... silence... music/singing... ceremony...

sharing food... other (please state).....

Can you number 1,2,3,4,5, etc. in order of helpfulness to you?

continued

please turn over

(6) How well do you feel that the worship is connected to your daily life, to your joys or problems, to your experience and culture. ?

Not very well- Very well

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (please circle number)

Any further comments on questions 1-6, especially on (6)

.....

.....

.....

.....

YOUR ATTITUDES TO CHANGES IN WORSHIP; & YOUR EXPERIENCE OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING THROUGH PRAYER BOOKS AND WORSHIP

(7) What have been your feelings about using the standard order of service in your church (eg Book of Common Prayer in your own language, MCK service book or another)? What language was used/ is used now (eg Swahili, Kikuyu, English or another language)?

.....

.....

(8) Have there been changes in the form of worship, and when? What do you feel about these changes? (eg Kenyan Holy Communion Service or Modern Services or other)

.....

.....

(9) Was a prayer book (eg Book of Common Prayer) used by an evangelist/catechist/minister to teach you about the faith of Christ? If so/if not, what happened? Was the BCP used as a 'text book'? Have you yourself been involved as an evangelist or catechist?

.....

.....

(10) Have you any other comments to make on membership, prayer books, or Christian teaching in relation to worship?

.....

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX II (b)

Results of survey (96).

The survey was given to students of Berea Theological College and St Paul's United Theological College, Limuru. It was intended that they should simulate the responses of members of congregations but it is obvious that their own responses were given which were equally valuable. I distributed 35 copies and have had a response rate of 57%.

3.3.1 Answers to question (1) showed that 89% (of ordinands) were second generation Christians; and 11% had been attracted to membership by an aspect of their church, such as the preaching; similarly 11% had been reached by a church's mission activity. More than one box may have been ticked.

Question (2) was intended to gauge the level of social involvement of the respondents and revealed that, apart from attendance at church, membership of the Kenyan Anglican Youth Association (KAYO) was the main (27%) other 'extra-ecclesiastical' activity. This is an important finding in tracing the pattern of priestly vocations in the CPK.

In questions (3) and (4) I sought to discover the relative importance of the fixed (and probably vernacular) BCP order of service as against a service which would afford more freedom within the worship structure. It was surprising to find that on a scale of 1-10 the ordinands, (many of whom expressed grave reservations about the BCP) on average valued the fixed order at 7.7 on the scale. A free form, or space for 'open prayer' was placed at 7.0 on the scale.

In question (5) respondents were invited to rate the components which were valuable to them in an act of Sunday worship. The averaging of responses showed that the importance which was felt could be ordered thus on a percentage scale:

	%
1. Preaching	86
2. Holy Communion	71
3. Intercessions	66
4. Testimony	65
5= Readings	65
Open Prayer	65
7. Music/singing	63
8. Offertory	49
9. Ceremony	35
10. Social Time	35
11. Notices	33
12. Silence	25
13. Sharing Food	7

A couple of respondents made the point that all elements of the service were integral to the service. However, the findings show the rating of a Word-based service above that of an Eucharistic one (86 then 71); they also show the common inclusion of Baptist/Pentecostalist elements such as Testimony or Open Prayer.

Although they were not rated highly by the ordinands, I noted that the offertory and notices were of particular importance to the laity in terms of time and effort devoted to them in the service.

Question (6) probed the relationship between worship and culture: the respondents rated the level of connection between the two as an average of 87%. Many comments were made in addition to this.

The space for further reaction in (6) ranged from accusations of simony, syncretism and materialism on the part of the CPK to the assertion that those who are under the influence of non-liturgical services need to be taught the importance of the BCP. Most revealing comments were 'the best things in my culture help me to worship God well', and 'worship has modified my own culture.'

Questions (7-10) were aimed at exploring the relationship between changes in worship and liturgical formation, and were intended to survey attitudes to these factors.

Question (7) assessed the status quo (present use of prayer book, language of worship) and responses ranged between 'whoever prepared the BCP was used by God' to 'the BCP has become an 'idol' so that people can't hear when God speaks outside it' to 'most of the youths are indoctrinated with a charismatic view of the daily prayer book.' There was a widespread concern for participation, vitality, vernacularization, for 'freeing-up' rather than changing the old order. It was observed that a local Kabare congregation would use Kikuyu in worship; a semi-literate, Kiswahili, whilst a learned and town congregation would use Kiswahili and English.

Question (8) assessed the liturgical changes in process and in prospect. The new (English) prayer books have made 'worship not only African but Kenyan', but it was crucially observed that the Kenyan Holy Communion and Modern Services are presently limited to colleges, and some town churches, not yet being used in rural areas. Participation and indigenization are appreciated but they have not gone far enough. The English service books are largely yet to be translated into Kiswahili and the vernacular. The impact of the fear of AIDS in the approach to drinking from the chalice or individual cups was mentioned.

Question (9) enquired about use of the BCP in the catechetical process. It has been/is widely used for evangelism and education. 'As an evangelist have used this book to introduce young Christians to the true teaching of Christ based on his death and resurrection.' Appreciation came from an army-sponsored ordinand: 'what we want is order in the military life...' and the BCP is the main Protestant liturgical tool which gives this. A critical alternative viewpoint from an Independent churchleader: 'The BCP was never/is never used to teach faith but is used in catechetical classes for those who already have faith.'

Question (10), which was a 'cover-all' to gather any other opinions, elicited further responses which often underscored statements that had already been made. The following are representative samples:

'Christian teaching is important in worship because through it we receive the insight of worshipping God without mixing Christianity with speculative cultural practices.../there is a need for the church to adjust itself to the strong charismatic wave; clergy and lay-readers should enrich the order of the BCP in order to have an impact on the lives of church members/... the BCP... needs to be updated according to modern society which needs real participation in worship/... the church needs to create more room for reforming the liturgy to allow time for a living testimony from Christians and for individual moments in the prayers/... People need to be serious about what they are taught in case going to church becomes a habit without any effect on their lives/... CPK should indigenize Christianity even to the extent of letting everybody participate in the service. Let the Prayer Book be there but let the people participate/... Because Christianity must be like that of the Early Church our church systems must be conservatively different.'

3.3.2 Finally, the results of the survey need to be seen in the context of the outlook of the rising leadership of the Anglican and broadly Protestant churches; I encouraged students from Kirinyaga and Nakuru dioceses to respond particularly and so responses may be seen as weighted in those directions. Taking into account other conversations I had with leaders and churchmembers it may be seen that the views expressed are indicative of the attitudes and perceptions within the CPK.

APPENDIX III

ANALYSIS OF A 'NEO-REVIVALIST' MEETING, 29/2/96.

The service is one of a regular daily series initiated by Berea Theological College students (Nakuru) of the graduating class of 1996. In 1993 these students began an informal 7.30-8.00pm fellowship meeting which happens every weekday evening in the chapel, in a break between the evening meal and evening lectures. While I was at the college this group (or some of them) began meeting daily in the early morning as well. The meeting I attended was on 29/2/96 from 6.00-7.00am, just before breakfast, and also in the chapel. These are in addition to the official college chapel services which are after breakfast.

The meeting begins with singing (and dancing) of Kiswahili choruses standing in the pews or seats. After a while, a member of the group expounds the verse Luke 24:1 (The women went to the tomb early in the morning and found Jesus had risen from the dead), mentioning that Jesus also prayed early in the morning, and that, therefore, we are encouraged from Scripture to meet with Jesus early in the morning and that we should thus continue to do so. 20 minutes later there is more singing, this time of an English hymn, All to Jesus I surrender, before the company disperses, still singing for private devotions carried out publically within the chapel building or in a sideroom. In this time most pray aloud, or read the Bible aloud, giving thanks, praising, interceding volubly for the needs of one another or the world, sometimes using 'tongue-speaking'. After 30 minutes, another song is joined and the company reassembles in front of the chancel, standing in a circle clapping and dancing; items are exchanged for personal and corporate prayer (e.g. forthcoming evangelistic events) and then we join hands and 2 or 3 people pray for the needs. The meeting concludes with embraces and exchanges of 'Bwana asifiwe', Praise the Lord!

APPENDIX IV.

Analysis of a Confirmation Service conducted by Rt Rev Dr David Gitari in Ngiriyama, Kirinyaga diocese, 10.00-12.00 am on 25/2/96.

Within the context of the BCP Order of Confirmation the Bishop endeavoured to make what he called afterwards a 'rather dull order', more interesting. The sense of occasion was firstly heightened by the women, or Mother's Union with white headscarves, and the 'Peoples' Wardens' wearing special uniforms although the 'Vicars' Wardens', who are traditionally the Vice-Chairmen of the PCCs, did not. 2 evangelists, who were involved in preparing the candidates (none of whom are under 13) for confirmation, presented the 80 people to the bishop.

The service began with the rehearsal of the Catechism, or a version of it, from the BCP, with all candidates responding with the full text learnt by heart, including the Creed and Ten Commandments. After the confirmation of the adults, parents and godparents were invited to stand up, with the acknowledgement by the bishop that many had travelled a long way, and asked to accompany the young people to the altar rail, two at a time. The young people knelt, were prayed for, and then welcomed by their parents and godparents to the family of the church. Then all the confirmed came into the chancel and were greeted amidst much joyful singing. After this the bishop blessed all 34 babes in arms and gave them permission to be noisy in church and reprimanded wardens for the tendency for un-Christlike removal of them.

The bishop led the singing of the hymn, 'How Great Thou art' and encouraged people to call out names of birds, trees etc.; some people had traditional animal names: Messrs. Giraffe and Frog were to stand up; we turned to one another and stated: 'You are made in the image of God.' The bishop then preached on the theme of stewardship of God's natural, spiritual and environmental gifts: before the sermon a group of schoolgirls had begged the bishop to hear an extra of their beautifully-harmonized songs; he asked: where are the men, are they not given the gift of singing? He castigated religious and political defectors: so many people go from one denomination to another, CPK one day, a Pentecostalist the next, that they will be in danger of missing the kingdom of God. The opposition politicians who were changing back to supporting the official KANU party were letting us all down because they were being swayed by a different 'wind of doctrine', that of money and bribery. After the service a significant time was spent outside the church reinforcing the points made (the dangers of selling tea and coffee to unauthorized private outlets), distributing gifts and in prayer. In an interview with a Standard reporter after the service the bishop said that it would be impossible to go back to a one-party system now, and that if that was the tendency churchleaders would have to re-occupy their position as the quasi-political opposition as they did in that era. I do not know if this interview was printed.

APPENDIX V

THE 'ETHNIC CLASHES' 91-92

A few months after the Kenyan National Assembly repealed laws allowing other parties to oppose KANU for power, the approach of the multi-party elections, which took place in December 1992, coincided with a period of political unrest. Known as the 'ethnic clashes', and typified by the foreign media as 'tribal warfare', the trouble appeared to have its roots in political manipulation masquerading as ethnic dissatisfaction although the Kalenjin perpetrators had grievances that their land had been taken from them by other groups such as the Kikuyu. We note that the European habitus of 'land ownership' is now fully operative in a Kenyan urban and rural context (see 1.2.3 in text).

By mid-1992 over 800 people may have died and perhaps 130,000 left homeless, many of the deaths (114) and the displaced (13,000) being in Nakuru district.⁴⁵⁹ The 1992 parliamentary report admitted that some provincial administration officers encouraged the clashes through public utterances, and that "'youthful" warriors were hired and transported (even by a former KANU chairman in Nakuru) to clash areas from outside to reinforce the local ones'.⁴⁶⁰ At a baraza (see 3.3.2.2 in text) the Bungoma DC was alleged to have exhorted some Sabbo people to 'sort the goats from the sheep': to do so he used the Kalenjin language and began with greetings from His Excellency the President!⁴⁶¹ The clashes, which pitted Kalenjin and Maasai groups against Kikuyu, Luo, Abaluhya, Abagusii and Teso groups, began in the Rift Valley Province in October 91 (to July 92) and spread to parts of Nyanza and Western provinces and were soon sweeping through Molo in Nakuru district. The causes are succinctly analysed by Haugerud:

Though Moi had predicted that multipartyism would bring ethnic conflict and chaos, his opponents in 1992 argued that such conflict did not emerge until the ruling party engineered it from above in order to undermine advocates of a shift to a multiparty system... The Moi régime's rhetorical characterization of rural violence in 1992 as 'ethnic' conflict caused by multipartyism should be interpreted in the context of the state's fiscal and patronage crisis, structural problems in the economy, and class issues or conflicts between haves and have-nots... (;) the force of ethnic idioms and cultural differences... interact with other lines of social conflict and cohesion (so that) 'ethnic' identities can be manipulated or accentuated from above to serve particular political interests. As Abner Cohen writes, people 'do not fight or kill one another simply because they are culturally different.'⁴⁶²

The shift in the balance of political power, already referred to above in relation to Moi and Bp. Muge, is usefully surveyed in Haugerud's chapter 2 where she outlines the economic favourisation of the Rift Valley Province (and the Western Province), and its large scale farmers, against the export crop interests of the Central Province. A visitor in March 1996 would have noticed the discrepancy between the standard of road maintenance in Kirinyaga and Nakuru diocesan areas. Popular beliefs hold that 'Kalenjin' groups have privileged access to state resources, finance

⁴⁵⁹A. Haugerud, The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya, 1995, pp.38ff.; Weekly Review, 25/9/92, p.14.

⁴⁶⁰Haugerud, citing Kenyan government report, ibid.; Weekly Review, ibid. p. 6.

⁴⁶¹Weekly Review, 25/9/92, p.11

⁴⁶²Haugerud op. cit., pp.38-9, 42.

and education and so on, but conflict between Kalenjin sub-groups indicate that Moi has not successfully built a monolithic base of support.⁴⁶³

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES IN THE AFTERMATH

In another magazine article⁴⁶⁴ the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nakuru, Rt. Revd. Mwana' a Nzeki offers his assessment that the single most significant aspect to Nakuru's political volatility was the distinctively high number of new settlers or immigrants compared with other parts of the country. His sociological analysis of Nakuru district as a 'cauldron of immense explosive potential, especially because rivalry over land and property keeps tribal nerves rather taut' explains why he prefers to name the ethnic violence 'politically-motivated tribal clashes', a term preferred by other CPK clergy.⁴⁶⁵

A comparison between the tone of the article and the one above (a) shows a certain acceptance of multi-party politics, a respect for the role of Bp. Nzeki and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and less pro-government bias despite such expressions as 'Kikuyu tribal chauvinists' preferring to vote DP. Elsewhere, a Roman Catholic Cathedral organist and accomplished public speaker was standing for the Nakuru town seat for the DP, and it was noted that the caring role which the church exercised during the clashes; 'providing lorries and personnel for evacuation missions, food, clothing and shelter and... monecy', and by explicitly condemning violence and offering sanctuary led to its great popularity. In Molo it was thought that Nzeki was more popular than the area MP at that time, and that anyone whom the church adopted would be at an advantage.⁴⁶⁶ The CPK Diocese of Nakuru reported on remarkable achievements at St. Nicholas' Children's Home when of a total of 106 children, 30 children were admitted in 1993 after their relatives became victims of the 'devilish tribal clashes' which broke out in 1991.⁴⁶⁷ Kirinyaga diocese reported 'politically motivated tribal clashes' in the northern part of the diocese between 1992-3, and a disruption to their mission work in Marsabit: 'Boran bandits' attacked and destroyed Rendille centres and Burji property.⁴⁶⁸

An overall approval of the role of the churches in the clashes needs to be tempered by the government report which for one reason or another accuse clergy 'in some places' of being inflammatory at a high level, and of partisanship in relief work at a lower level, discriminating against the Kalenjin.⁴⁶⁹ Against this is the evidence that the state did little to help victims of the clashes, according to the Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Committee of the CPK⁴⁷⁰, and that a number of Protestant people, including young members of New Pentecostalist churches, have been drawn back to attending the CPK churches in Nakuru on account of the contrast between the appealing prophetic words and actions of the CPK and the apparent backing of their previous churches for the government.

⁴⁶³ ibid., p.40

⁴⁶⁴ Weekly Review, September 4, 1992, pp.17-21.

⁴⁶⁵ e.g 'Some Samburu people were asked to attack their Kikuyu neighbours but refused because they were their friends and intemarried...' Oral Evidence, Interviews, 2-3/96

⁴⁶⁶ ibid., p.18

⁴⁶⁷ CPK Diocese of Nakuru, Report of 15th Ordinary Session of Diocesan Synod, 1993, p.26

⁴⁶⁸ CPK Diocese of Kirinyaga, Good Stewards of God's Varied Gifts, (1 Peter 4:10,) Preparatory Documents for the Second Ordinary Session of Synod, St Andrew's Institute, Kabare, 22-25 August 1994.

⁴⁶⁹ Weekly Review, 25th September 1992, pp.13-15.

⁴⁷⁰ Talk by Revd Gideon Githige, 13/2/96.

THE NAKURU HAPPY CHURCH MEMBERSHIP FORM

2/96

- (1) Salvation and holy living are pre - requisites.
- (2) Good reputation within and without Nakuru Happy Church.
- (3) Zeal to experience spiritual growth and maturity.
- (4) Submission to Church leadership in all spiritual matters.
- (5) Attendance to all church functions, for example, weddings, keshu, conventions, etc. church functions are paramount and must take precedence over any other private functions.
- (6) Attendance to the nearest cell group on regular basis.
- (7) Sunday service attendance on regular basis.
- (8) Our emphasis on offering is giving the Lord the best one can afford.
- (9) Tithing is a requirement and a key to God's blessings.
- (10) One should be involved in at least one of the following ministries:
Wamama fellowship
Men's fellowship
Youth's fellowship

Evangelistic ministry
Praying squad - Intercessors
Choir - The Revivals
Sunday school ministry.
Altar ministry
Pioneers ministry - house to house evangelism

- (11) One should dress decently on attending sunday services.**
- (12) One should be a participant but not a spectator. If not sure which ministry to join , please ask. Please let us know your gifts.**
- (13) We welcome any suggestions that may make our church to be more productive.**
- (14) It is your right, and not a priviledge, to be a member of our church should you fulfil all the above.**
- (15) These conditions are not exhaustive but they are adequately informative of our spiritual thrust. Welcome to the family of the Nakuru Happy Church and remember we use family commitment as our model.**

(16) NAME

ADDRESS.....

OCCUPATION

I pledge to abide by the above.....Signature

NEW TESTAMENT SURVEY PART ONE.

NAME TEE MATERIAL I

Week 1.

WEEKLY TEST
EXAMPLE

1. What does the word "testament" mean? _____
2. Write one reason why the New Testament is "new". _____
3. What two big things does the New Testament tell about?

(1) _____

(2) _____

4. How did we get our Bible?

(1) _____

(2) _____

5. Write the four kinds of books besides the names of the books.

(1) Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. _____

(2) Acts. _____

(3) Romans to Jude. _____

(4) Revelation. _____

6. In what way do the Old and New Testaments agree together?

7. Why is the New Testament above the Old Testament?

NEW TESTAMENT SURVEY PART ONE.

NAME _____

Week 2.

1. What are the first five books of the New Testament?

(1) _____ (4) _____

(2) _____ (5) _____

(3) _____

2. What things do we learn about each book?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

3. In what language was the New Testament written?

4. Write four kinds of people in the New Testament.

(1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ (4) _____

5. Write two kinds of things the Bible teaches us.

(1) Things to _____

(2) Things to _____

6. What is the big subject of Matthew?

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(ed.) Wilding, P., Diocese of Kirinyaga, Draft Children's Service of Holy Communion.

2. Written and oral evidence from informants:

(a) 20 confidential questionnaire responses, see Appendix II

(b) Taped interviews with:

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Githige, Revd Gideon PBTE, 15/12/95

Lolwerikoi, Revd Michael Tutor, Berea Theological College, 2/96

Mwangangi, Revd Shadrack Berea Theological College, 15/12/95

Mbogori, The Rt. Revd. Johana Presiding Bishop of the MCK, 1979-1984, 2/96

Munene, Canon Daniel Kirinyaga diocese, 4/12/95, 23/5/96

Nthamburi, The Rt. Revd. Dr. Zablon Presiding Bishop of the MCK, 7/3/96

Njuno, The Very Revd. Titus Ngotho SACTD, 16/10/95

Waniki, Revd. Lydia, Tutor, SACTD, 2/96

Students at SACTD and Berea Theological College:

Ailo, Joseph and Siapan, Josphat 20/2/96

Lekadaa, William, 20/2/96

Kargi Denge, Mark and Qampicha, Daniel, 19/2/96

Mugo, Jeffithah W. 2/96

Mwangi, Joseph, 3/96

Obende, Albert, 3/96

Rapiss, James, 20/2/96

(c) Taped debate at SACTD: (Student motion: This house believes that African theological colleges would be more spiritual if they did not emphasize the indigenization of the Christian faith.)

(d) Untaped conversations, especially during 2-3/96, with:

Arthur, Dr. Bryson, Tutor, St. Paul's United College, Limuru
Atieno, Revd. Margaret Christian Religious Education Advisor, Nakuru diocese

Beyerhaus, Revd. Johannes, New Testament Tutor, SACTD

Ensor, Dr Peter, Principal of St. Paul's United College, Limuru

Gaikia, The Venerable Charles, Principal, Berea Theological College

Gitonga, Mr James, TEE Director, Nakuru diocese

Kamau, Pastor Joseph The Nakuru Happy Church

Kanu Keru, Pastor Gilbert Chricsko Fellowship, Nakuru

Knighton, Dr. Ben, Acting Principal and Director of Academia, SACTD

Lesuuda, Revd Jacob, Director of Mission and Evangelism, Nakuru diocese

Macharia, The Venerable David, Tutor, Berea Theological College

Mukoba, Mrs Samuel, mother of Dr. Gitari, Ngiriambu, Kirinyaga

Mwangi, The Rt. Revd. Stephen Njihia, Bishop of Nakuru

Mwankio, Pastor Paul, Deliverance Church, Nakuru
Nganga, Revd Geoffrey, Nakuru diocese (from 7/89)
Ngore, The Venerable Paul Archdeacon of Biharti, Nakuru
Njuno, The Very Reverend Titus Ngotho
Sanders, Mr Tim Diocesan Treasurer, Nakuru diocese
Sapit, Rev Jackson, St. Paul's, Limuru, and Nakuru diocese (from 7/89)
Thornton, Dss. Margaret TEE Director, Embu diocese, formerly of Nakuru diocese (including especially when in Nakuru in 7/89)
Wilding, Revd Pam, Director of Secretarial Studies, SACTD

(e) The research has been aided by numerous other conversations with students and others which I am sorry not to be able to include here.

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