THE INTERVENTION OF ŬGO BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AMONG GİKЎYЎ PRESBYTERIAN CHRISTIANS OF NYERI PRESBTERY (1908-2008)

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Catherine Wambui Murage, for her love, support, encouragement and understanding during the course of the study.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ................................................................. ii
DEDICATION ................................................................. iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................. iv
TABLE OF CONTENT ..................................................... vi
LIST OF TABLES .......................................................... x
LIST OF FIGURES ........................................................ xi
LIST OF PLATES .......................................................... xii
DEFINITIONS OF TERMS .............................................. xiii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ................................. xvi
ABSTRACT ........................................................................ xvii

CHAPTER ONE- GENERAL INTRODUCTION
1.1 Background to the Study ............................................. 1
1.2 Statement of the problem .......................................... 13
1.3 Purpose of the Study .................................................. 14
1.4 Objectives of the Study .............................................. 15
1.5 Research Questions .................................................. 15
1.6 Research Premises .................................................... 16
1.7 Significance of the Study .......................................... 16
1.8 Scope and Limitation ................................................. 18
1.9 Conclusion ............................................................. 19

CHAPTER TWO- LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 Introduction ............................................................ 21
2.2 Adherence to ūgo in Gĩkũyũ indigenous beliefs and practice 21
2.3 Church of Scotland Missionaries' interpretation of ūgo in the 25
evangelization process among the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christian
2.4 Determinants of vulnerability of Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to beliefs and 28
practices in ūgo .................................................................. 28
2.5 Inculturation Strategies for the PCEA Church for Incorporating 33
Christianity into beliefs and practices ūgo .......................... 33
2.6 Conceptual Framework .............................................. 37
2.7 Conclusion ............................................................. 50
CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction .........................................................................................52
3.1 Research Design ..................................................................................52
3.2 The Study Area ..................................................................................53
3.3 Target Population ...............................................................................54
3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size ..................................................54
3.4.1 Sampling Technique .......................................................................54
3.5 Research Instruments ..........................................................................59
3.6 Pilot Survey and Pre-testing of instruments ..........................................60
3.7 Data Collection Procedures ..................................................................62
3.8 Data Analysis .....................................................................................63
3.9 Data Management and Ethical Consideration .......................................64
3.10 Conclusion ........................................................................................64

CHAPTER FOUR- PERSISTENCE OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN ÚGO AMONG THE AGIKUYU AND THE INCULTURATION PROCESS

4.0 Introduction ........................................................................................66

SECTION I
4.1 Background to Gikuyu Beliefs and Practices in Úgo .............................68
4.1.1 Social -Political Organization of the Gikuyu ......................................68
4.1.2 Gikuyu Religious Beliefs System ....................................................72
4.1.3 Gikuyu Beliefs and Practices in Úgo .................................................82
4.1.3.1 Mündi Mūgo Identity among the Gikuyu .......................................82
4.1.3.2 Prerequisite Rituals for one to Qualify for the Office of Úgo ..........83
4.1.3.3 Initiation of Úgo ........................................................................89
4.1.3.4 Úgo’s Religious Roles in Gikuyu Indigenous Community ..........113
4.1.3.5 Conclusion ..................................................................................129

SECTION II
The Church of Scotland Mission: Its Evangelization and Interpretation of Beliefs and Practices in Úgo
4.2 Religio-Cultural Worldview of the Christian Missionary Organization.131
4.2.1 Missionaries’ Attitude towards Gikuyu Belief System ......................138
4.2.2 Denigration of Beliefs and Practices in Úgo in the CSM Missionaries..140
4.2.3 Conclusion .....................................................................................183
4.2.4 Factors leading Gikuyu PCEA Christians to Úgo beliefs and practices.184
4.2.4.1 Respondents Familiarity with Úgo................................................184
4.2.4.2 Basis of Ŭgo Knowledge ..........................................................186
4.2.4.3 Respondents Familiarity with Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christian’s involvement in Ŭgo.................................................................187
4.2.4.4 Detection of PCEA Christians who Consult Ŭgo ..............................188
4.2.4.5 Spiritual fear of mystical forces among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians .............189
4.2.4.6 Source of Refuge for victims of Mystical Powers ................................191
4.2.4.7 Cases Handled by Ŭgo that Defy Contemporary Medicine .................194
4.2.4.8 Existential needs that make Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians Persistence in Beliefs and Practices in Ŭgo..........................................................197
4.2.4.9 Respondents who have benefitted from Ŭgo......................................200
4.2.4.10 Ŭgo Ideas or Images that Embody the Ministry of Jesus Christ .............201
4.2.5 The Attitude of the PCEA on the Beliefs and Practices in Ŭgo.................204
4.2.6 Conclusion..............................................................................226

SECTION III
An Inculturated Understanding of Beliefs and Practices in Ŭgo from a Christian Perspective

4.3 Meaning and Importance of Inculturation..............................................228
4.3.2 Necessity for Inculturation...............................................................232
4.3.3 Biblical Basis for Inculturation...........................................................234
4.3.4 Inculturating Christian Baptism and Contemporary Healing into Gĩkũyũ Indigenous Ritual of Purification and Healing ................................239
4.3.4.1 Inculturating Christian Baptism into Gĩkũyũ Purification Rites ..........240
4.3.4.2 Inculturating Contemporary Healing into Gĩkũyũ Indigenous Healing Ideology...............................................................259
4.3.4.3 Conclusion..............................................................................269

CHAPTER FIVE - CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION: ITS EVANGELIZATION AND INTERPRETATION OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN ŬGO

5.0 Introduction..................................................................................272
5.1 Summary of the study......................................................................272
5.2 Summary of the Main Findings ..........................................................275
5.4 Recommendations .........................................................................284
5.5 Suggestions for further Research.......................................................286

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................................................288

GLOSSARY OF GİKÜYÜ TERMS ....................................................307
APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 1</td>
<td>Questionnaire for Ago</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 2</td>
<td>Questionnaire for Pastors</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 3</td>
<td>Questionnaire for Elders</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 4</td>
<td>Questionnaire for Ordinary Christians</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 5</td>
<td>List of Respondents</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP 1</td>
<td>Map of Kenya</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP 2</td>
<td>Map of Central Region</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP 3</td>
<td>Map of Nyeri Presbytery</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 ................................................................. 57
Table 3.2 ................................................................. 62
Table 4.1 ................................................................. 186
Table 4.2 ................................................................. 188
Table 4.3 ................................................................. 197
Table 4.4 ................................................................. 201
Table 4.5 ................................................................. 204
Table 4.6 ................................................................. 209
Table 4.7 ................................................................. 211
Table 4.8 ................................................................. 215
Table 4.9 ................................................................. 216
Table 4.10 ............................................................... 218
Table 4.11 ............................................................... 220
Table 4.12 ............................................................... 221
Table 4.13 ............................................................... 222
Table 4.14 ............................................................... 224
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1 ................................................................. 78
Figure 4.2 ................................................................. 90
Figure 4.3 ................................................................. 185
Figure 4.4 ................................................................. 187
Figure 4.5 ................................................................. 189
Figure 4.6 ................................................................. 191
Figure 4.7 ................................................................. 194
Figure 4.8 ................................................................. 200
Figure 4.9 ................................................................. 270
LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: A Bag Containing The Five Gourds For Magical Powders ................................................................. 96

Plate 2: A Divining Guard of a Mûndû Mûgo .......................................................... 98

Plate 3: Photograph Showing Various Tools of a Mûndû Mûgo ..................107

Plate 4: Photograph, Shows the Divination House of a Mûndû Mûgo ................................................................. 122

Plate 5: Photograph, of a Mûndû Mûgo Seeking Divine intervention .123

Plate 6: Photograph of Pebbles used by a Mûndû Mûgo for Divination ................................................................. 125
## DEFINITIONS OF TERM

**African Christology:** A discourse on Christ where known titles of honor in Africa such as ancestor, healer, master of initiation, king and guest are ascribed to Jesus Christ as Christological model, with a common aim of incarnating Jesus in African context, in order to meet spiritual, emotional and physical needs of the Africans.

**African Religion:** Indigenous religio-cultural beliefs and practices of African peoples that are distinct from those found in other world religions.

**African Theology:** Theology which reflects the gospel, Christian tradition, and the total African reality in a post-colonial African context.

**African Christianity:** Christianity clothed in African culture, spirituality, ethics and philosophy, separate in ideology, approach and practice from the Western missionary Christianity.

**Ancestral Spirits:** Departed members of the family or clan of up to four generations whose names and personalities are still remembered by their living relatives.

**Church:** Refers to the whole body of Christians throughout the world, of those who outwardly profess Christ and gathered for purposes of worship and ministry. It also means any of the many denominational groups. The term also refers to a building where Christians congregate for worship. In this study, the church will be used in all the three meanings.

**Church Discipline:** Action taken by Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) to correct those who violate Church rules, teachings and traditions. This may include counseling, admonition, rebuke, and suspension from partaking Holy Communion or excommunication. The expression, “Church Discipline” is used in this study to refer to action taken by PCEA to correct those who consult ūgo.
**Church Elder:** A lay person of either gender ordained into the office of eldership within the PCEA and works hand in hand with the pastor in matters pertaining to the pastoral, worship and discipline. Such a person is usually knowledgeable in the affairs of the Church.

**Gospel:** Christianity not embodied in Euro-American culture.

**Herbalist (Medicine person):** A person who uses different herbs, leaves, roots, barks and various objects such as minerals and bones to cure diseases.

**Inculturation:** The process of disengaging the supracultural truths of the gospel from one culture and incorporate them within the cultural setting of another, transforming Christianity on some levels and, at the same time, taking on, the unique characteristics and concerns of that culture.

**Misfortunes:** Anti-life forces that reduce existence to a continuous and painful struggle for survival. These include childlessness, accidents, sudden illness, insanity, livestock infertility and bad omen. The expression “misfortunes” is used in this study to refer to those anti-life forces taken to Ago for divination.

**Mission Christianity:** Predominant imperial understandings and belief systems of Christianity brought by Western missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to Africa.

**Mündū Mūgo (Diviner-doctor):** One who combines functions of a herbalist, a seer and a diviner to heal diseases and counteract misfortunes.

**Mūragūri (Diviner):** One who practices the art of divination, administer healing, interprets supernatural and mysterious causation and future events.

**Mūrathi (Seer):** A person who relies on intuition or sharp foresight to describe things yet to come.
**Mūrogi (Sorcerer):** One who uses mystical powers which may be in-born, inherited or bought to cause harm on people. It also involves the casting of spells, poisoning, or causing others physical harm.

**Parish:** One church or more churches grouped together to form an administrative unit under the parish minister, within the PCEA Church in the study area.

**Presbytery:** Several parishes grouped to form an administrative unit, under the Presbytery Moderator within the PCEA Church. The term in this study refers to the area covered by the Nyeri Presbytery.

**Session:** The administrative body of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa that manages affairs of the parish, it comprises of elders elected by the local congregations, and the pastor in charge of the parish.

**Ūgo (Divination):** The art of determining or discerning supernatural and space-time events particularly with respect to their cause, effects and how they can be prevented for the purpose of guidance, healing and counteracting. The word “Divination” in this study refers to the use of pebbles in explaining the aforementioned events after initial intervention fails.

**Wholistic:** That which includes spiritual, physical, emotional, intellectual, psychological and social development of a Christian. In this study, the expression refers to an internalized religion that is fully lived and able to answer existential questions among Gĩkũyũ.
# ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSM</td>
<td>Church of Scotland Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>EATWOT</td>
<td>Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNA</td>
<td>Kenya National Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.I</td>
<td>Oral Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCEA</td>
<td>Presbyterian Church of East Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCM</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPCK</td>
<td>Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.</td>
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ABSTRACT

The beliefs and practices in ūgo remain an issue for the Church in Kenya. In particular, the Gikūyū have been evangelized and indeed have lived with Christianity for over a hundred years, but most of them have continue with beliefs and practices in ūgo. This scenario precipitates dualism. In this regard, the study sought to address religious dualism among Gikūyū PCEA Christians of Nyeri Presbytery; which has been perceived by the church as hindrance to spiritual growth. It aimed at resolving dualism and offer Gikūyū PCEA Christians wholistic living. The study employed three theoretical models, namely; Turner’s ritual symbolism theory. The theory was useful in describing the functional and structural aspects of the beliefs and practices in ūgo (their organizations, values and meanings). Horton’s theory of African religion as one of prediction, control and manipulation of mystical powers to work in their favor; this was instrumental in evaluating and identifying Gikūyū religion as one entailing a quest for achieving control of events in the current world. Niebuhr’s missiological model was vital in evaluating and identifying the beliefs and practices in ūgo that merit inculturation. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative data. Four levels of sampling procedures were used: purposive, random, stratified and snowball. A total sample size of 342 respondents, which comprised of six ago (diviner-healers) was used. The instruments for data collection were observation, in-depth interviews and self-administered questionnaires. The research findings reveal that beliefs and practices in ūgo are deeply rooted within the Gikūyū religio-cultural worldview. This is a view that gives credence to the interrelatedness between material and the spiritual world. The Gikūyū continue to perceive Ago as divine agents in charge of the entire medical discipline. Further, the community has a “disease-theory system” which identifies, classifies and explains diseases and misfortunes in physical and spiritual dimensions. However, the Church of Scotland Mission condemned this reality, equating it with Satanism and therefore unfit for inculturation. As such, they transposed their home brand Christianity, culture, education, denominational organizational structures and medicine and planted them indiscriminately among the Gikūyū. Resilient to beliefs and practices in ūgo makes Gikūyū Christians revert to the same to obtain spiritual nourishment that lacks in Mission Christianity. This reversion precipitates a situation of religious dualism, spurred by the Gikūyū PCEA Christians understanding of health, illness and healing from an African perspective that takes into account both physical and spiritual aspects. This has devastating effects upon the PCEA. In order to bridge religious duality and offer Gikūyū PCEA Christians an integrated wholistic life, this study has proposed and inculturation procedure. This process involves integrating cultural elements, that are in tandem with Biblical teachings into Christianity and replacing those that are incompatible. Such integration not only enriches the Presbyterian Church by overcoming dualism among the Christians, but also gives them wholistic Christian life.
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

The belief in mystical powers is found throughout the world, even though expressed differently from continent to continent (Horton, 1993, Bahemuka, 1982, Turner, 1977). Millions of North Americans seek knowledge about their personal futures from the daily horoscope columns (Mitchell, 1977). Gallup polltakers for example, in a survey conducted in 1975, found that 22 percent of the adult population in the United States of America believes in astrology. That is, the pseudo-science of telling the future by the movement of the stars (ibid). Gehman (1989) points out those mystical powers such as sorcery, witchcraft and divination have proven to be more resilient and adaptable than expected in the Western world. What may have disappeared are the rituals and public practices of such beliefs. However, the philosophy which underlined them has been renewed in the last three hundred years under the label of “idealism” and “solipsism” philosophical discourses (Horton, 1993).

In the contemporary Western world today, there is resurgence of occult beliefs and practices despite scientific knowledge and modernization (Holmes, 1974). This is similar to the scenario in Africa where mystical beliefs in witchcraft, divination and ancestral veneration persist despite colonial and missionary
agencies repudiation of such practices as superstitious. Thus, Africans like the
other communities in the world, believe in mystical powers to resolve anxiety and
tensions in life (Bahemuka, 1982). In addition, since the world has become a
global village through information technology, Africa has imported from the
West, mystical powers practices such as astrology, horoscopes and Satanism
(Gehman, 1989).

According to Mbiti (1969), beliefs in mystical powers pervade every sphere of the
African worldview. Mystical powers tapped through divination, sorcery,
witchcraft and mysterious phenomena are experienced on a daily basis by both
those who claim to have adopted Christianity, and non-Christians as well. Stories
depicting abilities to ‘walk on fire’ ‘change into animals’ and stupefy thieves in
order to catch them easily, are common in Africa. The first comprehensive
exploration of mystical powers was documented in Melanesia by Codrington in
1891; which he referred to as *mana* (Gehman, 1989). He alluded that *mana*
operates behind all human activities in the world for good and evil and it is of
great advantage to possess and control. Temples (1959) wrote about it in mid 20th
Century. After studying the Bantu of Central Africa, he came to the conclusion
that the supreme value of the Bantu is the great Vital Force, which pervades the
universe, residing within humans and all other things. Further, Temples asserts
that Vital-Force is important for health, wealth, power and success. To have it, is
to be healthy and strong, to lose it is to grow weak and die.
Besides the Vital Force, Temples delineates the concept of a hierarchy of mystical powers. This concept has been expounded and developed in modified forms by Kagame (1956), Turner (1977), Bediako (1995) and Gehman (2005). Within this fundamental belief of hierarchy of power, God enjoys the highest and greatest position. Below him are spiritual beings (the lesser divinities, non-human and ancestral spirits). At the bottom of this ladder is the world of nature, with human beings standing between these hosts of mystical powers. Persons such as diviner-healers and sorcerers possess objects or by purely spiritual means can tap mystical powers from the ontological order, either to promote the wellbeing of an individual or to bring them distress. The key assumption that underpins this hierarchy of power is the belief that there is no dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual reality. For this reason, Africans respond to God and spiritual agents according to their position in the hierarchy of power through the mediatory role of diviner-healers.

Turning to the focus of this study, life in Gikuyu religious worldview is held to exist in two planes: the human and the immaterial world of the spirits (Kenyatta, 1938, Macpherson, 1970). While men and women live in this human or tangible world, they cannot visit the other plane until they have passed into immortality. The spirits, however, can appear to the living any time they want and possess

1 The word "Gikuyu" in this study refers to the people whom ethnic group is Bantu. The name is used interchangeably to mean the people and their language; "Mugikuyu" is an individual member of this ethnic group.
powers to do good or evil to the inhabitants of the human plane. There are good and evil spirits and the success or failure of people's activities in this world does not necessarily depend on their own efforts, rather but linked to the dispositions of these spirits. There is also a belief in mystical powers that pervade the universe. These powers are mysterious, hidden and are only available to ancestral spirits and certain individuals such as Ago (diviner-doctors), witches and sorcerers (Mbiti, 1969). Ancestral spirits use these powers to intervene in human affairs in order to draw attention to any deviation from established custom on the part of the human or out of malice cause harm to people (Kīrika, 1988). Sorcerers, wizzards and witches utilize the powers to harm people. Ago (sing. Mündũ Mũgo) use mystical powers to diagnose diseases and misfortunes, detect thieves, witchcraft and eradice it, thereby helping people and fostering life.

Whatever the case, it is in the interest of the living to establish harmony and friendship with the spiritual world in order to have peace and prosperity, security and protection from a possible hostility that would arise. This is done through Ago's rituals (Kenyatta, 1938; Macpherson, 1970; Wachege 1992; Karanja, 1998). It also explains the basis for the existence of religious specialists such as; prophets or seers (Arathi) and diviner-doctors (Ago) who are the most respected persons in the Gĩkũyũ community. They are instrumental in mediating between the living and the spiritual world. Observably, Ago double as seers and medicine persons, but the two offices are quite distinct (Kenyatta 1938, Kibicho 2006).
Unlike *Ago*, *Arathi* (prophets) do not use divination in interpreting God’s will. *Arathi* receive *ũrathi* (prophecies) and their interpretation from God in a form of special inspirations or visions. *ũrathi* is not a form of profession such as *ũgo* and there was no stipend for it (Kibicho, 2006). On the other hand, the functions of *Ago* are numerous and diverse, including preparation and administration of herbal medicines, divination, ritual purifications, manufacturing of charms, witchcraft detection and eradication. *Ago* also give instructions on all matters regarding sacrifices and wars, thereby acting as the fulcrum for infusing community life with good health and security from evil forces (Kenyatta, 1938; Hobley, 1938; and Leakey, 1977).

The Christian Missionaries looked down upon, and greatly discouraged the beliefs and practices in mystical powers, which included *ũgo* and *ũrathi* (Motherwell, 1909). *Ago* in particular were considered as specialists who practiced black magic (Philip, 1913). The confusion was perhaps caused by the multi-dimensional approach adopted by *Ago*, their multi-disciplinary service, and sometimes the more than one name referring to the same specialists such as herbalists, diviners, magicians, witchdoctors and healers. The missionaries therefore, unfairly lumped *Ago* together with witches and sorcerers and were
tagged “witchdoctors” because of formers crusade against witchcraft (Oxenham, 1927; Galgalo, 2001).

Missionary Churches admonished the new converts to refuse and disown all beliefs and practices of ūgo (Hiuhu, 1938; Irvine, 1938). In addition, teachings against beliefs and practices in ūgo ware incorporated into various catechisms used for baptisms and confirmations. Catholic and Church of Scotland Mission catechisms of 1918 and 1926 respectively stated that their missions disallowed pagan practices such as indigenous healing and divination (“Ministers” File 1918; Chepkwony, 2006). Notably, a significant number of Converts at Tumutumu mission were excommunicated in 1924-25 for consulting Ago (“Miscellaneous file”, 1925). Such narratives were common throughout missionary era and were recorded in “Kikuyu News”, (1898- 1941). Further, the colonial government, through the Kenya ordinance of 1928, penalized any person who claimed to have mystical powers (Parrinder, 1958). Kenyatta (1938) observes that due to this development, Ago ware banished; beliefs and practices of ūgo labelled illegal, and anyone who claimed to be a Mündū Miūgo risked imprisonment by the colonial government. It was during this time that many Ago were forced to publicly burn their divining paraphernalia and declare their art evil

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2 See, for example, Kikuyu, 1898-1923: Semi-Jubilee book of the CSM, Kenya Colony (Edinburgh: Blackwood,1923); Tumutumu Hospital (Church of Scotland Kenya Council,1926)
3 The file contains the syllabus for instruction of those being prepared for baptism, 14Jan.1918.
4 Minister’s file of parishioners’ names at Tumutumu, 1925.
(Arthur, 1938; Kimondo, 1938). As a result, they resorted to private practice in utmost secrecy.

In place of the beliefs and practices in ũgo, Missionaries introduced Western doctors, medicine and hospitals, an approach in total disregard of the Gĩkũyũ healthcare system. Of importance, is the observation that, Western diagnosis explains diseases in rather impersonal terms, thus attributing illness to microorganisms such as germs, fungi and viruses (Chepkwony, 2006). The Gĩkũyũ system on the other hand, assumes that diseases and misfortunes have both physical and personalistic causes which include; witchcraft, breaking taboos and violating ancestral spirits. Further, Gĩkũyũ believe that disease theory system and healing process form an integral part of their religion and lifestyle. As such, Ago and other specialists are an inevitable link to a religious worldview that is treated with respect and reverence.

Traditional medicine is energized through rituals, and Ago considered persons endowed with mystical powers through whom powers diffuse to others (Leakey, 1977). Thus, Gĩkũyũ believe that many diseases, misfortunes and death emanate from a spiritual realm, whose cure or solution should be sought in the same. In this regard, the spiritual healing that lacked in western medicine forced the early converts to oscillate in ũgo despite missionaries’ condemnation of such practices. The quest for wholistic cure at all levels of the Gĩkũyũ, and the prominent role
played by *Ago* in healing and disease-theory system could not be replaced by western healthcare system.

Although concepts of witchcraft (*ūrogi*) and sorcery fall outside the scope of this study, it is noted that both are closely related. The distinction between witchcraft and sorcery is very subtle and generally hinges on the methodology used but the penultimate outcome is the same. Evans-Pritchard's (1976) distinction between a witch and a sorcerer holds that, a witch uses hereditary psycho-psychical powers to attain his/her purpose while, a sorcerer resorts to magic and derives power from medicine and spells. Kenyatta (1938) and Leakey (1977) note that witchcraft and sorcery are the most hated and unpopular magic among the Gikuyū. In the community worldview, witchcraft and sorcery is used to attack people, “tie” (bind) people not to prosper and make life uncomfortable. Kenyatta (ibid) remarks that those who possess this magic are looked upon as dangerous and destructive and any one convicted of witchcraft is punished through burning alive or by being banished from the community. The major difference between *Ago* and practitioners of black magic is that the latter are perceived as the human embodiment of evil while the former are seen as persons who use supernatural powers in favor of life. Thus, while witches and sorcerers are enemies of the community, *Ago* are friends. This implies that belief in the powers of witchcraft and sorcery is the source of deep-rooted fears and superstitions that generally
breed suspicion. Gikūyū generally seek the counsel of specialists such as Ago when this suspicion comes to the fore (Kibicho, 2006).

Ago are intrinsically linked to the ethos of culture, religion and morality of the Gikūyū than any other religious specialists. In fact, Ago are to central that it is impossible to grasp the meaning of the religious foundation of Gikūyū without going through the thought pattern they occupy. Ago are the hope of the Gikūyū, symbolized in good health, protection and security from evil forces, prosperity and good fortune, and a means of cleansing when harm (thahu) has been contracted. In addition, are witch detectors and busters, intermediaries between the living and spiritual world (Kenyatta, 1939, and Leakey, 1977).

Ago epitomize the Gikūyū quest for salvation (ritual cleansing when harm or impurities have been contracted), goodness in the society (hope of good health, prosperity and good fortune), and relationship with one another (by combating witchcraft and sorcery and preventing their actions). Further, they unite the community with the spiritual world due to their capacity to mediate between the supernatural and the physical. Their office enables them to translate the divine into human terms (Kibicho, 2006; Kīrika, 1988, and Karanja, 1999).

The Church of Scotland missionaries coming into Gikūyūland in 1898 (Githieya 1997), found unfamiliar mystical powers manifested in the practices of sorcery,
witchcraft, magic, divination and traditional healing. Kibicho (2006:32) notes that missionary’s reaction to these resilient beliefs and practices were guided by two “pre-judgments” regarding non-European people. That was a “cultural – racialist prejudice” which made them conceive their culture as superior, the most civilized on earth, and “a religious prejudice” that placed Christianity at the apex of other religions and which “all others point as their fulfillment and completion”. Similarly, Githieya (1995) argues that the conflict with the Gikuyu culture occurred mainly because missionaries brought a different worldview in terms of socio-political, historical, theological, doctrinal, and philosophical factors. In their evangelization endeavor, once the indigenous religious tenets, such as divination, failed the scientific and intellectual tests of the West, they were dismissed as “primitive, pagan, savagery and satanic”. The Gikuyu were considered as people “lost” in the abyss of darkness, irreligious and uncivilized (Karanja, 1999).

In their evangelization, which was highly influenced by the Enlightenment ideologies such as scientific discoveries, scientific theories of racism, competition for colonies, and the desire to convert souls, allegedly headed for perdition, the missionaries adopted the approach of outright rejection of Gikuyu cultural and religious beliefs (Kalu, 1979). No wonder, the early converts were supposed to abandon their religious and cultural life and embrace Christianity and Western lifestyles wholly. To ensure that converts were not contaminated with indigenous religion and cultural practices, the missionaries confined them at the mission
stations, where they were allegedly “cut off from other pagans”. Eventually, a nuclear Christian community bound together by Christian’s rules and European lifestyles, emerged at the mission station. Their lifestyle included daily Church attendance, presence in Sunday worship, and adoption of European mannerism and clothing (Stevenson, 1915; Macpherson, 1970 and Wilkinson, 1994). Subsequently, missionaries introduced education and medical services, which attracted a large community beyond the confines of the mission station (Nthamburi, 1995).

Kibicho (2006) notes that many converts were not attracted to mission stations by the desire to know about western Christian morality, but by that for education, which was seen as key to a better and more secure future within the new colonial order. It is perhaps for this reason that many unwillingly abandoned their deep-rooted religious belief system, which was more life encompassing than Christianity. However, those who dared abandon that system and convert to Christianity needed a similarly strong religious order to give them security in the face of dangers posed by beliefs in curses, oathings and witchcraft. Unfortunately, missionary Christianity did not meet needs of the early converts. Ironically, they termed these needs as superstitions while on the other hand, the early converts often consulted Ago secretly for answers to dangers posed by the aforementioned beliefs (Kirika, 1988, and Karanja, 1999).
In the view of the early Gikuyu converts, answers sought from Ago were more effective than the Western medicine, because the former, unlike missionaries who were abstract in healing, dealt with the mystical causes of illness and misfortunes, such as curses, witchcraft and broken vows (Gatu 2006). Leakey (1977) observes that unlike the Western mode of treatment, the Ago, in the act of treatment, invoked God, not only to reveal the root cause of the disease, but also to provide healing. Further, Ago invoked mystical measures to forestall any recurrence of the problem. In this regard, Western medicine served rather temporary measures while Ago provided a more lasting healing (Gatheru, 1966). The practice of adhering to Christian teachings, while at the same time reverting to ūgo beliefs due to a spiritual vacuum not filled by missionary Christianity, spurred a dual personality disorder in which converts lived in two religious worldviews— one official, and the other, secretive (Karanja, 1999).

This duality of ūgo and Christian faith remains present in the depths of the spiritual experience of most contemporary Gikuyu PCEA Christians. Many devote themselves not only to Jesus Christ but also to ūgo (Gatu, 2006). Observably, while in the Church and at the vicinity of Christians, they sing songs and pray in the ways that express their allegiance to Jesus Christ, but once out of Christian visibility, revert to ūgo, where their trust and beliefs are. Unfortunately, once found out by the Church leadership, they are subjected to disciplinary action, sometimes leading to excommunication (PCEA, 1999, Gatu, 2006). This being
In the case, the PCEA Church has had to bear with the secret duality of some of its members, a practice that has continued to pose a challenge to evangelism. This study sought to investigate the reasons that continue to make Presbyterian Christians continue to adhere to a dual religious thought system, with one foot in ñgo, and the other in contemporary Christian thought.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The foregoing background reveals that, despite adherence to ñgo having been deeply condemned by missionaries, it continues to resurface in contemporary Christianity. Missionaries branded ñgo as “satanic” and strongly antagonized Ago more than any other religious specialists. As such, they had to be overcome, a belief still held. Consequently, there has been a continuous “demonization” and condemnation of the beliefs and practices of ñgo since the inception of Christianity in Giküyūland.

Seen in this light, one would have expected that with such repudiation and evangelization against it, beliefs and practices in ñgo would have been obviated. However, despite strong condemnation, many Giküyū Christians continue adherence to ñgo, a practice that poses serious theological challenges. Why would Giküyū Christians, having been evangelized for over 100 years continue adherence to ñgo? What religious significance does ñgo hold in Giküyū worldview? What aspects of ñgo practices continue to appeal to so many
Christians despite the Church's strong condemnation of the practice? How can the Church intervene? These questions made it imperative for this study to investigate.

Besides, many Christians adhere to iigo, albeit in secret, thereby spurring a dual-personality among Gikuyu Christians. Besides excommunicating such believers, the Church has not come up with concrete ways to address the problem. Gikuyu Christians, like many others in Africa, continue living a double life, on one side, under sanctions and on the other, in secretive cultural practices ultimately prohibited by the Church. This has a negative impact not only on the spiritual growth of the individual, but also of the Church. No wonder, Christianity remains superficial among Gikuyu Christians. It is in this regard that this study set out to investigate what satisfactory intervention services the Church can put in place to replace the roles played by iigo.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This study aimed at investigating causes of duality problem created by consultation of beliefs and practices in iigo by Gikuyu PCEA Christians of Nyeri Presbytery. Broadly, the study sought to find out possible strategies to resolve the dualism by inculturating beliefs in iigo, so that Gikuyu PCEA Christians may have a wholistic Christian living.
1.4. Objectives of the Study

The study endeavoured to:

1. Examine the extent of adherence to ūgo in Gikũyũ indigenous beliefs and practices.

2. Evaluate the Church of Scotland Missionaries' interpretation of ūgo in their evangelization process among the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians.

3. Investigate the determinants of vulnerability of Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to the beliefs and practices in ūgo despite Christian evangelization.

4. Identify strategies the PCEA Church can put in place of inculcating Christianity into beliefs and practices in ūgo.

1.5. Research Questions

The study interrogated the following research questions:-

1. Are there beliefs and practices in ūgo among the Gĩkũyũ Community?

2. How did the beliefs and practices sustain Gĩkũyũ Community before the coming of Christianity?

3. Did the methods of evangelization of the Church of Scotland Mission integrate beliefs and practices in ūgo into Christianity?
4. What determines vulnerability of Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to the beliefs and practices in ũgo despite Christian evangelization?

5. Are there strategies the PCEA Church can use to inculturate Christianity into beliefs and practices in ũgo

1.6. Research Premises

1. The beliefs and practices in ũgo are central in Gĩkũyũ religious and cultural thought.

2. The Church of Scotland Missionaries’ interpretation of Gĩkũyũ’s beliefs and practices to ũgo was that of denigration rather than theological elucidation.

3. Gĩkũyũ Presbyterians Christians are vulnerable to beliefs and practices in ũgo despite Christian evangelization

4. There are strategies the PCEA Church can put in place to inculturate Christianity into beliefs and practices in ũgo.

1.7. Justification and Significance of the Study

First, the findings of this study are useful to African Church leaders, lay-evangelists and Christian educators as well as, the general laity in understanding why Christians continue to consult Ago, and what themes of the beliefs and practices in ũgo should be inculturated for effective evangelism. This body of knowledge contributes to theological education in the area of inculturation and
missiology. The study also provides the Church ministers with information on how to inculturate the African spiritual dimension typified by beliefs and practices in *iigo* in their worship and teaching services in form of health and ritual purification, hence making their Churches relevant and indigenous. Further, this work will act as a guide for Christian educators to teach the laity in a way that the Christian message becomes relevant in terms of theology, liturgy and the general life of the Church.

Second, the study addresses the dualism problem. The Gĩkũyũ Presbyterian Christians live a dual life, a phenomenon that inhibits the growth and genuine expression of the Christian faith. This study therefore, makes a contribution in resolving a religious schizophrenia among the Christians by proposing an inculturation procedure.

Third, the study makes a significant contribution to the on-going debate in the global arena for the construction of local theologies, which take into account the Gospel, Church, and indigenous cultures. The work responds to this need by suggesting that some cultural elements in Africa communities as well as in others in the world can be inculturated, thus giving Christians of all cultures a wholistic living.
Finally, this work has practical relevance, in that its findings are helpful in revealing the need for inculturation of other religious and culture themes that make Gikuyu Christians live in duality. The study therefore responds to Gikuyu-felt needs of inculturating belief and practices in ūgo that have left them operating in two thought systems for over a hundred years of evangelism.

1.8. Scope and Limitation

The study covers the period between 1908 and 2008. The year 1908 is notable since it’s the time the Church of Scotland Mission (CMS) opened a mission centre in Tumutumu, Nyeri. The year also marks the beginning of the Western theological hegemony and cultural imperialism that accelerated the disintegration of Gikuyu beliefs and practices in ūgo. The year 2008 is important for it coincided with the first centennial celebration of the establishment of the Tumutumu Mission by the CSM. Thus, one hundred years is a good time frame to examine the belief and practices in ūgo in the study area. However, the study being historical, and covering such a long period, finding respondents especially for the formative years of the missionary station was such a challenge. Therefore, the study had to depend on archival materials for instance, Kikuyu News journals and historical books to countercheck information from the field.

The study also focused on all Ago as a group without looking at specific areas of specialization. There is a possibility that if such aspects were considered
separately, they may yield different findings. Besides, the scarcity of genuine Ago was a challenge, for some have turned commercial and unwilling to give information freely, without “nduhi” (payment for consulting Mündü Mígo). Others posed as being more knowledgeable than they actually were. This was overcome by the formation of a committee of two Ago who counter-checked all information.

1.9 Conclusion

Mystical powers are common beliefs all over the world although practiced differently from continent to continent. In Africa the belief pervades all aspects of life, but mainly experienced in form of divination, sorcery and witchcraft. Ironically, despite Christian condemnation, belief in mystical powers is inherent among Christians. This has been observed among Presbyterian Christians of Nyeri Presbytery, which was the core focus of this study. Chapter one therefore introduces the problem of religious dualism, observed among PCEA Christians. The chapter observes that missionary Christianity ignored African belief systems rendering them superstitious and Satanic. By so doing, they (missionaries) ignored the deep rooted African worldview in a religious thought pattern experienced through ūgo beliefs and practices. As such, Christians revert to mystical powers in beliefs and practices in ūgo, especially in times of crisis, thereby seeking solutions to their problems, a vacuum Christianity does not seem to quench. The chapter concludes by observing that, solutions to the problem lie
in the principle of inculturation, a subject whose theoretical concept will be addressed in the next section of literature review and conceptual framework.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews literature related to the study. The literature is arranged thematically under, the beliefs and practices in divination among the African indigenous communities, Western missionaries' interpretation of beliefs and practices in divination, their evangelization process among the Africans and factors that make African Christians susceptible to beliefs and practices in divination and inculturation of the same. Further, the chapter indicates the gaps that still exist in the literature reviewed vis-a-vis the salient issues related to the study.

2.2 Adherence to āgo in Gĩkũyũ indigenous beliefs and practices.

Some scholars have concentrated on the study in divination at continental level. They include Parrinder (1962), Mbiti (1969), Idowu (1971), Mitchell (1977) and Schoffeleers (1989). These writers give an account of divination and diviner-doctors involved. They observe that these religious specialists above others embody the presence of God, beliefs and practices of their communities and their moral values. The aforementioned specialists are also custodians of the religious heritage and knowledge of their communities. According to Mbiti, diviner-doctors typify what is best in a given community. In the analysis of divination, these authors seem to agree that diviner-doctors rescue individuals or the community in
matters of health and general welfare. A careful examination of these writers’ work underscores the fact that in some cases, a person may inherit the profession of divination from the parents. In other cases, a person may be called through a dream while another may purchase it from an experienced diviner-doctor. Nevertheless all diviner-doctors achieve their status through their outstanding abilities and intelligence. After being commissioned to the profession, a person associates himself or herself with a skilled diviner to learn the science of the medicine. However, these writers fail to explain if there is an African affiliation to beliefs and practices in divination even after converting to Christianity. This study will go deeper to find out why beliefs in divination have persisted among Gĩkũyũ Presbyterian Christians.

Some anthropologists have emphasized the important place occupied by rituals in African indigenous religious thought. Davies-Floyed (2004:8), for example, defines ritual as “a patterned, repetitive, and symbolic enactment of a cultural belief or value”. Van Gennep (1908), Turner (1967, 1969) and Taber (1981) in their work have actually shown that these rituals can be subdivided according to the functions they perform in the community. Generally, the classifications they give include: 1) life cycle rituals; 2) crisis rituals; and 3) calendrical rituals. The term “rite of passage” has been used widely by the aforementioned scholars to refer to ritual process in first and third category following Van Gennep (1908), who was the first to name and analyze them. The contributions of the
aforementioned scholars thus provide a conceptual foundation to the attention given to the initiation and practices in \textit{Ago} in the present study.

There are also those scholars whose work is based on individual African communities. They include; Buana- Kibongi (1969), Setiloane (1979), Janzen (1978), Shorter (1986) and Gehman (2005). They argue that diviner-doctors are multi- tasked individuals, combining functions whose scope embraces everything affecting an individual or his family, which in contemporary communities is performed by specialists of different fields. Their studies exemplify the dynamics of medicine personnel as counsellors, healers, advisers and defenders of the communities against witchcraft. This study pursued their line of argument through beliefs and practices in \textit{ñgo}.

Most of Literatures that deal in \textit{ñgo} are of anthropological and sociological nature and not on religion. They include; Cagnolo (1933), Kenyatta (1938), Hobley (1938), Middleton (1953), Routledge and Routledge (1968), Verona (1977), and Leakey (1977). However, Scholars such as Cagnolo, Routledge and Routledge, Hobley, Verona and Middleton describe beliefs and practices in \textit{ñgo} as irrational, idolatrous and a form of witchcraft labelling those involved in it as living under the shackles and shadows of irreligion, ignorance and savagely. According to these writers, such devilish practices could only be eliminated through embracing Christianity and Western education. However, as outsiders, it comes out clearly
that these scholars had no insight into the deeper meaning of Ṡgo among Gikikuyū before making their conclusions, hence the need for this study. Kenyatta and Leakey (ibid) on their part contend that Ṡgo profession belongs to outstanding men in the community who are noted for their great wisdom, uprightness of life and other qualities of leadership. They further note that Ago act not only as herbalists, but also often as counsellors and diviners. Their work is significant in that it highlights the office personality and duties of Ago. However, since these writers’ major focus was not on persistence on the beliefs and practices in Ṡgo, among Christians, this work helps to answer the question of why Gikikuyū Christians continue to believe in Ṡgo.

Contemporary Gikikuyū theologians have reflected a considerable portion of their work to the discussion of Gikikuyū religion and culture. They observe that the first converts were reluctant to abandon their cultural framework that determined who they were (Kibicho, 1972; Kang’ethe, 1981, Karanja, 1999, and Kirika, 1988). Aforementioned scholars devote a section on beliefs and practices in Ṡgo. They argue that the conferment of the office of Ago is through special call from God that has to be confirmed through certain signs. They were publicly initiated to the office so that everyone in the neighborhood recognized them as members of the profession. Their training involves some kind of apprenticeship under experienced Ago. Scholars also note that Ago duties involve healing, divination and combating witchcraft. Notably, these writers wrote after Christianity had taken root in
Gikuyuland. Nevertheless, they do not tell us why beliefs and practices in ñgo continue among Gikuyu many years after evangelization. Their analysis is of interest however, to the present study, as they note that majority of the early Gikuyu converts did not abandon ñgo.

2.3. Church of Scotland Missionaries' interpretation of ñgo in the evangelization process among the Gikuyu PCEA Christians.

Okorocha (1992), Mbiti (1969), Idowu (1971) and Oduyoye (1998b) acknowledge that Africans are inherently religious. According to them, religion pervades African entire societies. They also note that nowhere is religiosity expressed more vividly than in divination. Mbiti (ibid) on his part observes that divination is a key phenomenon of African Religion. A number of East African scholars, among them Waliggo (1965) Nyamiti (1984) Wachege (1992) and Magesa (1998) contend that beliefs and practices in divination are so central in African life and being that they resurface in contemporary scientific age even after a century of suppression and negation through colonialism, Western education and missionaries' evangelization. Their work is relevant to this study by stating that Christians have the habit of retreating to divination once they find that Christianity cannot solve some of the mysteries of life. Such notion is the essence of this study.

Several scholars have studied the approach used by Western missionaries in the evangelism of African peoples (Bediako, 1995; Bahemuka, 1989; Shorter, 1994;
Maimela, 1992 and Mugabe, 1994). These scholars observe that the missionaries adopted the condemnation of indigenous religions and cultural heritage of African peoples approach, thus labelling them ‘primitive’ ‘pagan’ and ‘devilish’ and the diviner doctors as agents of the evil one. African beliefs were perceived as incompatible with Christianity. It was reckoned that such practices were steeped in evil religious experiences, thus, they were repudiated (Hiebert, 1994). As a result, African religio-cultural systems such as indigenous healing, ritual practices and religious knowledge were substituted with Western Cultural and religious worldview thereby, creating a disconnection in the people. The aforementioned scholars provide background information in this inquiry of the methods used by the Scotland missionaries in the evangelizing Gikuyu.

Missionaries’ approach of transplanting Euro-centric Christianity in total disregard of local cultures has been noted by scholars and creative writers such as Achebe (1958); Wa Thiong’o (1965), p’Bitek (1967) and Liyong (1971). In their view, Christianity disrupted the African social setup, religious organization and governance. To buttress this argument, Thiong’o (1972) notes that Christianity, “whose basic doctrine is love and equality between all peoples”, brought only confusion to the Africans. It caused Africans to despise their indigenous customs and religious heritage, only to imbibe Western culture indiscriminately, thus leading to the current cultural identity crisis among Africans. This study, though
specific in scope is carried out in constant dialogue with the relevant aspects of the writing of African creative writers.

Gikuyu authors have documented CSM missionaries’ attitude toward Gikuyu culture. Kirika (1988), Kangethe (1981), Kibicho (2006), Githieya (1987) and Gatu (2006), observe that missionaries condemned Gikuyu religio-cultural practices such as ancestral veneration, witchcraft, divination, intoxicating liquor, songs and clitoridectomy without offering an alternative, thus creating a religious vacuum. As such, belief and practices in igo continue to be utilized in explaining events (for example illness, failure of exams, barrenness and child mortality) despite the advent of Christianity, formal education, urbanization and Westernization. However, the scholars do not tell us whether Christianity conceptualized in the Western mindset is adequate in dealing with the beliefs and practices in igo. These scholars contribute to this study in analyzing the missionaries’ approach upon the beliefs and practices in igo. This implies that the missionaries’ evangelism method lacked inculturation thereby contributing to the disruption of the African cultural and religious heritage. This scenario precipitates a dual religious mindset among Gikuyu Christians.
2.4 Determinants of vulnerability of Gikuyū PCEA Christians to beliefs and practices in ùgo

African Scholars, most of them Christian theologians, studied African religion with the subtle motive of using it as a form of “praeparatio-evangelica”\(^5\), intended to make Christianity a replacement in Africa. Their mission-oriented background extensively influenced their writings, which tilted towards crusader-evangelism. Horton (1995) notes that the greatest error of African theologian-scholars was their resort to a defensive oppositional approach in the study of African religion. In this context, there are two groups. The first includes those who see “radical continuity” between the Christian and African concepts of God, such are Idowu (1962, 1972), Ezeanya (1963), Mbiti (1969, 1970) and Kibicho (1972, 1980). The second, Ilogu (1974), Kato (1975), Gehman (1991) and Turaki (2006) see a “radical discontinuity” between African religion and Christianity.

In Horton’s view, African Christian Scholars were largely biased in their primary allegiance to Christian religion. That orientation, according to p’Bitek (1971) and Horton (1995) has made them present largely a distorted picture of goals of African religion. Horton (1995), for this reason, refers to these scholars as members of the “Devout opposition” who, as p’Bitek protests, are noted for clothing African religious views in Judeo-Christian schemes. Their “Devout oppositions” line of argument is that the primacy and centrality of African

\(^5\) A presupposition that African religio-cultural heritage provides a background for interpreting and explaining meaningfully Christianity in the thought pattern of Africans.
religion is the concept of communion with and worship of Supreme Being as against all lesser spiritual beings. By so doing, they ended up making African religion lose its proper identity and image in the whole process. Consequently, they failed in their researches and writings to respond adequately to the functions of African religion whose answers are important, and yet still unresolved as for proper understanding of religious dualism.

According to Horton (ibid), “the devout oppositions” scholars make a very gross error by focusing on the idea of the Supreme Being and its attributes, while neglecting to create proportionate space and attention of the functions of African religion. In Horton’s view, African religious beliefs, practices, rituals, offerings, sacrifices and ceremonies seem to suggest that Africans are preoccupied with their security, needs and wellbeing, in their dealings with the spirit beings and the mystical powers that surround them. Africans are more interested in what they can get from their religion than in what they can contribute. Thus Africans have a utilitarian approach to religion. The present study, therefore, was interested in finding out which of the above conclusions, the “devout oppositions” (African theologians) or Horton’s was corroborative in the beliefs and practices in ìgò.

In the African indigenous worldview, life is generally under threat from a variety of hostile forces. Evans- Pritchard (1976), Turner (1977), Mbiti (1969), Domingues (2000) and Turaki (2006) affirm that, there is much unhealthy fear in
African life. Fear of sickness, death and sorcery, permeate every aspect of life. Evans-Pritchard notes that to a typical African, it is mainly evil forces that rule the earth that make life unsafe for all. These evil forces, as Mbiti (1969) observes, are mystical authorities believed to work against all progress, health and prosperity. These forces are believed to work through evil people who are in alliance with them, who include the sorcerers and witches (Domingues, 2000). However, scholars fail to tell us whether in African worldview, Christianity is inadequate in dealing with the same. This study goes deeper to find out why beliefs in evil forces have persisted among the Gikuyu PCEA Christians.

Turaki (2006) also states that Africans are directly or indirectly affected by beliefs and activities connected with evil mystical powers particularly in their manifestation as magic, sorcery and witchcraft. These encompass beliefs in the work of avenging spirits, curses, taboos and the gratuitous work of angry ancestors. If beliefs and practices in mystical power mentioned above is an exclusively non-Christian problem, it would be less significant, but the religious fear penetrates into the circumference of African Christians (Banda, 2005). Therefore, their work would be helpful to explain why Gikuyu Christians revert to indigenous practices, which is normally related to mystical powers through belief and adherence to ūgo.
African worldview has over the years shaped African Christianity. Africans were enticed to join Christianity and accept Christ, who would allegedly save them from ritual contamination and forces that threaten them (Domingue 2000). For this to happen, converts had to abandon their belief system and practices. However, Shorter (1985) notes that the pre-colonial rituals and public practices have gone but the religious philosophy, which underlined many traditional belief systems remains present in the depths of the spiritual experience of most contemporary African Christians. As a result, converts return to forbidden practices as the situation necessitates. Although their observations may be right, these scholars are propagating a mono-cultural Christianity from the West instead of inculturated Christianity that recognizes the plurality of cultures that Christ must be incarnated to give local Christians wholistic Christian living, wholistic. This study overcomes mono-cultural Christianity by inculturation of belief and practices in ìgo.

Idowu (1971) asserts that African religion is practiced in various forms both in rural and urban settings by African Christians. Magesa (1998) affirms that African Christians operate in two different forms: the “official”, which is sanctioned by the Church and the “popular” which is conditioned by a belief system that has proved impossible to wipe out. Waliggo (1965) demonstrates its persistence among the Baganda of Uganda. He notes that within the Catholic Church, despite the spread of Christianity among the Baganda, many expressions of their belief
system, such as oathings, divination and the use of healing practices still persist. This is irrespective of the Uganda Catholic Church’s condemnation of the practices. Based on the views of the aforementioned scholars, it is hard for some elements of a culture to be changed by external influences such as Christianity. Consequently, this study addressed the dual – personality problem in order to offer Gĩkũyũ Christians a wholistic and integral living.

Kibicho (2006), Karanja (1999) and Kang’ethe (1981) point out that African religion continues to be present in the spiritual experience of African Christians more strongly than had been realized before. Kibicho (2006) notes that despite missionaries’ activities in Gĩkũyũland that resulted in a very significant degree of religious change, beliefs in ũgo has survived to this day. Karanja (2006) and Kang’ethe (1981) allude that to Gĩkũyũ, ũgo provides answers to diseases and misfortunes in terms of personal causality mainly consulted in times of difficulties. According to the scholars above, through ũgo, Ago are not only able to identify the agent that is causing a particular affliction but also prescribe the cure through appropriate measures of treatment and protection. Leakey (1977) adds that ũgo fills a great vacuum in Gĩkũyũ community; its presence gives them the assurance. This study explored these issues for effective inculturation.

Observably, scholars do not show in details why beliefs in ũgo continue to wield such great power and influence among Gĩkũyũ Christians who have embraced
Christianity for more than 100 years. This study has evaluated the underlying factors that continue to render Gikuyu Christians susceptible to the beliefs and practices in ūgo.

2.5. Inculturation Strategies for the PCEA Church for Incorporating Christianity into beliefs and practices in ūgo

A number of scholars at continental level support inculturation. They include; Kraft (1979), Idowu (1973), Bediako (1995), Pobee (1979) and Oduyoye (1989). In their view, Christianity should be related to the local culture to remove the foreignness associated with it. It should also be freed to grow within the African cultural heritage so as to have an African imprint. Their work is extremely useful in inculturation beliefs and practices in ūgo.

A number of scholars have examined the terminologies which best describe the appropriate relationship between Christianity and culture. They include Shorter (1977), Waliggo (1986), Nasimiyu (1986), Nthamburi (1991) and Kiaziku (2009). The terms are: indigenization, accommodation, adaptation, contextualization, acculturation, enculturation, incarnation and inculturation. According to Nasimiyu (1986), Waliggo (1986 and Kiaziku (2009), the word inculturation is favoured over other terminologies as it is inclusive of all the others. It describes the type of Christianity in which the Gospel is inserted into the local culture, thereby facilitating simultaneously the transformation of culture and the transmission of
the Gospel. The work of these scholars is useful in suggesting that the term inculturation provides the best procedure of giving Gikuyu Presbyterian Christians a wholistic living.

There are other scholars whose work is based on individual communities of East Africa. They include; Mbiti (1970), Kibicho (1972) and Nasimiyu- Wasike (1986). The significance of their work is that they take a subject such as eschatology (Mbiti, 1970), the concept of God (Kibicho, 1972) rite of passage (Nasimiyu- Wasike, 1986) and relate them to Christianity. Mbiti for example, made an attempt to inculturate the biblical concept of eschatology into the Akamba religious worldview. Kibicho (67), for instance shows that the Gikuyu conception of Ngai (God) constitutes a genuine revelation of God and is “as completely and fully salvific as any religion could be”. Throughout, African people knew God long before missionaries came and referred to him by various names, worshipped and turned to him in times of difficulties. Nasimiyu (1986) also suggests inculturation of Catholic catechism of instruction into the Abaluyia puberty rites of passage. This work has greatly enriched the study in inculturating the indigenous healing and ritual purification themes in ìgo.

Jesus, fashioned in the images of the colonial masters, arrived in Africa with Western workers with the intent to capture African land. To qualify as disciples of Jesus, Africans had to drop their unique identity and adopt a theological mindset and religious hermeneutic of the West. To the Africans, a serious implication of the imperialist Jesus as proclaimed by the missionaries is that Jesus is foreign and absent in several life crisis such as; birth, puberty, marriage, illness and death (Appiah – Kubi, 1977).

To this end, many African Christians experience a religious vacuum. To them, Christ is either absent, indifferent or insufficient to deal with their problems. The religious vacuum is reflected in the African Christians’ persistence in indigenous religious practices among them beliefs in curses, oathings and traditional healing (Kahindi 1988, Wamue, 1988 and Mwaura, 2001). In this connection, this study agrees with these scholars that African Christians have suffered from a form of religious schizophrenia emanating from the way Christ was packaged to them. This study addresses the issue of religious dualism in connection to evangelization of the Gikuyu by CSM missionaries. It has explored some of the beliefs and practices in ūgo that should be inculturated to give Gikuyū Christians a wholistic life.

However, in the examination of the content of African Christologies, Nyamiti (1998) identifies two main schools; inculturation and liberation. Inculturation
Christologies attempt to elucidate the work of Christ by employing cultural themes, based on African communities. He delineates two of the most promising approaches that have been advocated by African theologians. Liberation Christologies is defined as a discourse to situate the work of Christ into the sociological and political experience of Africa people. Black Christology⁶ and African Women’s Christology⁷ belong to this school of liberation Christology. However, these two prongs of liberation Christology lie beyond the scope of this study. On Inculturation Christologies, there are those who attempt to elucidate their titles by focusing on the biblical teaching about Christ and strive afterwards to confer to Jesus some African religious titles and concepts. This has been advanced by Mbiti (1972) and Appiah Kubi (1977). On the other hand, there are those whose approach utilizes African cultural images and concept to construct an African Christology. This method can either be analogue, that is, identifying an African theme such as an ancestor with Christ; or even dialectical, where Christ is presented in contrast to a given African idea, for example, a witch (Nyamiti 1994). This former approach is what is popular with many theologians.

⁶ Black theology is concerned with racist oppression, exploitation of black people and how they can be liberated from the same (King 1994). Boesak (1976), Mufokeng (1983), and Maimela (1992) delineate their Christologies from premises of black people experience of suffering, oppression and exploitation under colonialism and apartheid and continually struggle with the prevailing realities of poverty, diseases, under development and social inequalities.

⁷ Akpev & Smith (2004) situate African feminist Christology between African Christology and Black Christology. Evidently, they indicate that African feminist Christology arose out of the concern that both African Christology and Black Christology do not address the issues of oppression of women in Africa. Africa Women theologians really use titles for Christ drawn from African categories like their male counterparts. As their voices indicate, they begin their Christologies from experiences of women and search for parallels and solutions in the person and work of Christ.
The mostly widely used title is ancestor. This concept is particularly common among Bantu people, who see ancestors as the highest link after God in the ontological order of beings. The divine life force flows from God through ancestors to the living. To qualify as an ancestor one must have lived a virtuous life and contributed to the wellbeing of the community. A number of African theologians have used this image in developing the subject among different lines. Among these are Pobee (1979), Bujo (1992), Nyamiti (1984) and Kabasele (1998a). Equally, a concept proposed by many African theologians is that of Christ, as traditional doctor or healer. Early on, Kibongi (Dickson 1969) proposed the use of this model and Setiloane (Appiah-Kubi & Torres 1979) reinforced it. Needless to say, no theologian heeded the call; the proponents who use this approach in formulation African Christology are Shorter (1982) and Schoffeleers (1994), while Manu (1979), Pobee (1987), and Kabasele (1998b) use chief, Udoh (1978), Guest Sanon (1998) master of initiation and Wachege, (1992) ideal elder. The Inculturation Christologies are relevant to this study. They deal with a need throughout Africa for inculturation of Christianity in order to overcome the religious duality experienced by African Christians for effective evangelism. This study goes a long way in filling this gap.

2.6. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the present study was drawn and adapted from three important theories, namely ritual symbolism enunciated by Turner (1967, 1969),
Horton’s African religion as a one of manipulation (Horton, 1995) and Niebuhr’s (1951) Evangelistic model. Turner’s theory focuses on the rituals and symbols, and the roles both play in the life of a community. Horton’s elucidates that the African religion is of manipulation and communion to achieve an ulterior motive. Niebuhr’s explores five possible models to define the nature and the relation between Christianity and cultures. The three theories are summarized below;

In study of the Ndembu, a Central African community in Zambia as his ground for structural analysis of ritual symbolism, Turner (1967) offers two rituals; the Isoma and Wabwang’u. To him, a ritual is required either when a social norm is violated or when different social norms come into conflict with each other. In the Isoma ritual, the Ndembu cure married women suffering from reproductive troubles and in Wabwang’u, energizes a woman who would give birth or has born twins.

Turner deals mostly with dichotomized attributes of rituals objects- the symbols. He expresses this in the definition of a ritual: Ritual, he notes, is “a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors’ goals and interests” (Turner, 1977: 183). He further notes that rituals are “storehouses” of meaningful symbols by which information is revealed and regarded as authoritative, as dealing with the crucial values of the
community. Likewise, a symbol is the smallest unit of a ritual which still retains the specific properties of a ritual behaviour. It is "a storage unit" filled with a vast amount of information, a "basic building block", and a "molecule" of a ritual (Turner; 1967:19). Symbols are thus objects, activities, words, relationships, events, gestures, or spatial units. Furthermore, turner points out that, not only do symbols reveal crucial social and religious values; they also transform human attitudes and behaviour. The handling of symbols in ritual exposes their powers to act upon and change the persons involved in the performance (Turner, 1967).

Turner draws a distinction between dominant and instrumental symbols. Dominant symbols appear in many different ritual contexts, but their meaning possesses a high degree of autonomy and consistency throughout the total symbolic system. Instrumental symbols are the means of attaining the specific goals of each ritual performance. They can be investigated only in terms of a total system of symbols which make up a particular ritual, since their meaning can be revealed only in relation to other symbols. A dominant symbol, according to Turner (1967:31-32), has three separate but closely related properties. First, condensation means that one single dominant symbol represents many different things and actions. Second, unification of disparate referents- symbols in this case represent concepts drawn from different domains of social experience and ethical classification. Third, polarization of meaning, in which dominant symbols possess
two distinct poles, is at the ideological or normative pole. This meaning is drawn from physiological, social and moral experiences.

Based on the above, Turner (1967:50-52; 1969; 11-12) infers that the properties of symbols come from three levels of meaning: the exegetical, operational and positional meanings. On exegetical level, the meaning is obtained from questioning indigenous informants such as ritual specialists and other categories of informants about the observed ritual behaviour, so that a symbol’s manifest sense can be revealed. Operational meaning is derived from observing not only what is said about a ritual, but also what is done with it and how it is used. This includes inquiries about why certain people are involved while others are excluded in particular ritual ceremony. Positional meaning of a symbol refers to its relationship with other symbols in the total ritual complex and reveals the symbol’s hidden senses. That is, the symbol becomes fully meaningful only in relation to others of different ritual performance.

Turner makes the distinction between life-crisis rituals and rituals of affliction (Turner, 1967). Each type, however, shares the characteristics noted in the definition of the ritual he gave above. Life-crisis rituals refer to those classes which mark the transition of one phase to another in person’s growth. Those phases such as birth, initiation, and marriage are important points in the physical or social development for a person destined to be a Mündū Mūgo. Rituals of
affliction, on the other hand, are performed to rectify misfortunes in life such as illness, childlessness, drought and war. Diviner-doctors tend to ascribe the aforementioned misfortune to mystical agents such as evil wishes of sorcerers and witches, anger of neglected living-dead, breaches of taboo and rightful curses by appropriate persons.

According to Turner (1979: 469), misfortunes never happen entirely by chance; they always have “why?” and “who?” behind them. “Why?” is the ever-present question when a misfortune strikes. The answer to the question “why?” can only be answered by diviner-doctors through divination. The diviner-doctors not only identify the mystical agent as the immediate cause of affliction, but also relate that agent’s activities to specific disturbances in the patient’s social environment. Divination as Turner notes, becomes a kind of social analysis, and the patient’s treatment requires tensions and aggressions in the group’s system of relations to be brought to light and exposed to ritual treatment. Such a ritual is intended to restore harmony to a cosmic and social order which has been disrupted or broken. The crisis provides the evidence for such disruptions. Turner, thus conclude that “rites of affliction relate directly or indirectly to the current state of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts in a demarcated field of on-going social relations” (Turner, 1967: 58).

Moving on to ritual process, Turner, found the basis to develop his processual view from Van Gennep’s rites of passage. Van Gennep (1960: 14) defines rites of
passage as “rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age”. He indicates that all such rites generally consist of three principle stages namely: separation (when a person or group becomes detached from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or from social condition or status), transition or liminal (where the ritual subject is in the state of ambiguity since he/she is not in the old state and has not yet reached the new one), and finally, the integration (when the ritual subject enters a new stable state with its own rights and obligations).

According to Turner (1969: 94-97, 125-130), the most salient feature of all rites of passage is their transitional nature; which involve “liminality”. The stage of being “betwixt and between”- is no longer part of the old and not yet part of the new. It is a state characterized by overlapping meanings and lack of order. In the liminal state of initiatory rites of passage, the ritual subject passes through a realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. One of the chief characteristics of this liminal period is the gradual psychological “opening” of the initiates to profound interior change. In initiation rites involving major transitions into new social roles, this “openness” is achieved through rituals designed to break down the initiate’s belief system- the internal mental structure of concepts and categories through which they perceive and interpret the world and their relation to it (Turner, 1977).
Ritual techniques that facilitate this process include; first, “strange-making” such as immersing into the river the candidates of ṭgo before initiation into the profession. Second, “hazing” - the imposition of physical and mental hardships (in initiation rite of a Mündū Mügo, the candidate takes vows of office while the mentor and the assisting Ago are lying on top of him). Finally, symbolic inversion, which works by metaphorically turning specific elements of the belief system upside-down or inside-down, so that high is brought low, the low is raised high, and the world in general is thrown into disarray (such as when the candidate is walked naked by the mentor Mündū Mügo to be immersed into a river).

Turner’s theory is useful in that it helps the study to infer that life cycle and afflictions rituals contained in the preparation, call, initiation and practices in reverence to Ago employ symbols in repeated patterns to effect transformations in the lives of participants. Thus, they have the potential of attracting Gĩkũyũ Christians back to them since in liminal phases of these rituals; the symbolic messages conveyed are engrained in their psyche like a seal.

According to Horton (1995), one of the definitions of African religion is credited to Taylor (1871), who defined religion as the belief in spirits or in the supernatural. However, Horton terms this definition as vague, for religion is more than just a belief in mystical powers. Similarly, he observes that the definition of African religion by scholars such as Geertz (1973) is inadequate. Horton argues
that one element of African religion is missing if the aforementioned definition is to be plausible, and thus adds "manipulation". By manipulation, he means "a social relationship in which one partner treats the other as a means to achieving an ulterior end" (Horton, 1995:23).

Horton states that African religion is essentially a religion of predication, control and manipulation among other goals. That is, a religion in which rituals is engaged as a mean to an end and not an end in themselves. The end in this case, is the protection of the Africans' welfare in the world, progress, survival and health, and security and triumph over their adversaries. Horton stresses the fact that although Africans believe that a person in his/her earthly existence cannot negatively influence the spiritual beings of his/her religion by causing them harm, he/she can manipulate them through prayers and rituals. This elaboration shows that Horton's theory sees African religion as pragmatic; a faith made by humans to serve their interests and needs. The converse meaning of this theory is that, African religion is what it is because an African person is what he/she is: non-self-sufficient, a fragile being, vulnerable to the influences and caprices of the agents of the spiritual plane. Hence, African religion is, for Horton, a this-worldly religion and therefore, intended to favour human's effort in their existential battle with the difficult problems and inadequacies of being in the world. In this view, African religion is therefore understood as a problem-solution focused or indeed a preventative or life management faith (Horton, 1995:24).
He further indicates that African religion is one of prediction, control and manipulation, and does not agree with the views of other African theologians influenced by Christian categories who concluded that communion with God is the overriding aim of life. This in their opinion is achieved through praise and worship directed to Him, as well as a yearning to live with God forever in a heaven after graduating from an evil ridden world. In Horton’s view, African theologians seem to suggest that in the African mindset, there is an idea of a flawed temporal world from which the individual longs to “escape into the perfection of eternity” (Horton, 1995:166).

Horton findings on the goals of African religion did not support the above conclusions of African theologians. His findings showed that the goals of the African are worldly-oriented and concerned with humankind’s immediate needs. These contradict the goals of Christianity as portrayed in the mainline Churches, which seem only sufficient to lead a believer to heaven but unable to address the contemporary dilemmas of life. Thus, the aims of African religion manifest a framework, where practionners focus not on graduating forever from this world, but on the image of “the ideal after-life in which a man, having achieved high status as head of a large family or lineage, enjoys similar status in the after-life thought, the continued attention and deference of his living descendents” (Horton, 1995: 167). On the base of the above, Horton therefore, concludes that the goals of African religion must include the idea of a yearning for achieving control of
events in the current world, and for making an investment for eventual citizenship in the world of their fore-bearers. Consequently, African religious rituals and practices, should, operate simply as the potent means of securing the goodwill and blessings of the members of the spiritual plane. Thus, African religion is essentially a pragmatic religion aimed at prediction, control and manipulation of the spiritual world.

This theory was useful in guiding the study to understand that Gĩkũyũ Christians’ worldview is grounded on their indigenous religion and its goals in life is to predict, control and manipulate their spiritual beings through the services of Ago to get good results. Further, their neglect of God and ancestral spirits leads to punishment through diseases and misfortunes. The theory also informed the study in formulation of questionnaires.

The third model for this study is Niebuhr’s (1951) missiological motifs. Niebuhr (1951) conceptualizes five theological paradigms showing relationships of Christ to culture since the beginning of Christianity. These motifs are Christ against culture, Christ of culture, Christ above culture, Christ and culture in paradox and Christ the transformer of culture.

The approach that Niebuhr identifies as Christ against culture stresses the opposition between Christ and culture. This implies a negative attitude to culture
as something hostile to Christianity, an approach that was used by the missionaries. Its consequence is the idea of embracing Jesus Christ, which deprives one the indigenous framework and adopts a Western worldview. The Christ against culture paradigm was used in this study to eliminate without purification elements in the beliefs and practices in ūgo, which are incompatible with the word of God, among them; witch hunting and charm making.

The second typology is that of Christ and culture. Jesus in this approach is not at variant with cultures but a purifier, the fullfiller of hopes and aspirations. Jesus confirms what is best in the past and guides the process of civilization to its proper goal (Niebuhr, 1951:41). Christ of culture paradigm employs the Logos spermatikos approach, that is, the ‘seed of the word’, which has been present at all times, and in all cultures inspiring humanity to godly life (Ukpong 1994). Christ of Culture was used to select those themes in the beliefs and practices in ūgo which have total support of the whole biblical witness\(^8\). Therefore, Jesus fulfills the beliefs and practices in ūgo on the basis of Matthew 5:17. Jesus told disciples that “he did not come to destroy the law or the prophets” but instead to “fulfill them”. In this connection, it is possible to contend that Jesus does not abolish the preparatory work in ūgo but fulfills it. Thus some beliefs and practices in ūgo such as indigenous healing methods are compatible with Christianity.

\(^8\) Whole biblical witness or truth in this case means that the said themes are agreeable with the Old and New Testament.
Niebuhr's third paradigm is Christ above culture. In this model, Christ is delinked from every culture so that he is not monopolized or trapped by the evangelizer's customs. In this approach, Christ enters from above with gifts that people aspire to acquire. The ethos of Christ above every culture means that Christ is not opposed to culture or absorbed into it. He is rather coming to perfect it. In spite of the fact that Christ is considered to be discontinuous with culture, he remains able to fulfill its aims and aspirations. In this study, we introduce Jesus as the only one who can bring a total fulfillment of religious aspirations of Gikuyu which they struggle to satisfy through the beliefs and practices in ūgo.

In the Christ above culture motif, Jesus does not need to destroy the core values and beliefs of indigenous religion. There is need to recognize the existence of Jesus' imprints in the beliefs and practices in ūgo and examine how they relate to Christianity. This motif should be applied to the beliefs and practices in ūgo that need purification and replace them with equally encompassing Christian rituals thereby create a transformed worldview. The themes of the beliefs and practices in ūgo such as ritual purification which are not agreeable to the whole biblical truth should undergo a refining process before their positive elements are incorporated into corresponding Christian rituals such as baptism.

Niebuhr’s fourth paradigm is Christ and culture in a paradox which addresses religious duality. The nature of the paradox is that Christ is good and some
elements of human culture are sinful and corrupt. The motif concedes that Gikuyu indigenous religio-cultural beliefs and practices in ũgo need to be eradicated. Underlying this paradigm is the belief that the work of Jesus Christ is unique and stands opposed to ũgo's ideology. The motif emphasizes the discontinuity between beliefs and practices in ũgo and Christianity. The application of this view by CSM did create a dual religious mindset among Gikuyu Christians.

Niebuhr's last typology is that of Christ the transformer of culture. This is a more hopeful and positive attitude towards culture, which implies that there is a need for conversion or transformation. It takes cognizance of the impact of sin on culture. According to Niebuhr, this fact is well articulated in 1 Corinthians 18:23 in which Paul describes the cross as a judgment to culture and resurrection as a resource to a new life. Transformation in this study takes into consideration the inadequacies and weaknesses of fallen human nature. Applied to this study, the motif shows that beliefs and practices in ũgo can enrich and transform Gikuyu Christianity in alignment with Jesus' redemptive revelation thereby creating a Gikuyu Christian community that is truly Christian and fully rooted within Gikuyu religio-cultural heritage.
2.7. Conclusion

This section concludes by observing that the content of African religion provides fertile ground for inculturation. However, Christian missionaries ignored it and opted to cast their Westernized Christianity to the African mindset. This impacted negatively on Africans, as it developed a religious vacuum. It must be noted that many Christological scholars have constructed their theological concepts within the context of the ambivalent interaction between African and Western missionaries of the 19th and early 20th centuries. By so doing, they have ignored the contemporary issues that many African Christians wrestle with in their day-today lives, and how such inform or shape their worldview. Their work fails to show that African Christians face the challenge posed by pragmatism. In this connection, Africans tend to explain Christianity only in terms of what it can do for them, which is, provide solutions to their cultural, political, economical, social, and religious problems. This explains why many resort to iigo when Christianity fails to address their needs. The section notes that, any inculturation study that hopes to be relevant in the 21st century needs, on one hand, be relevant to its immediate context and, on the other; address Africans’ existential needs. This study addresses this challenge.

The theories used namely Turner’s ritual symbolism. Turner’s theory offers a set of tools to discover the meanings of ritual performances within beliefs and practices in iigo which are dominated by myth and religious beliefs. Therefore, this theory explores the manner in which ritual symbols are manipulated and
handled by Ago. Horton’s theory on the other hand, notes that African religion as one of prediction, control and manipulation. The theory shows that the aims of the beliefs and practices in ñgo among Gĩkũyũ Christians are to predict, control and manipulate the spiritual beings and supernatural powers in order to secure their goodwill and protection. This framework precipitates religious dualism among Gĩkũyũ Christians. In utilizing two of Niebuhr’s missiological models namely Christ of Culture and Christ the transformer of cultures to illustrate the inculturation paradigm, the study posit that Jesus reconstructs beliefs and practices in ñgo by challenging, sifting, transforming, and rebuilding them. In this, any element within beliefs and practices in ñgo, which is not supported by Biblical teachings, is deemed incompatible with Christianity, and therefore should be replaced. In respect to Christianity, the element that is found agreeable with Biblical teachings is therefore perceived as compatible with Christianity, and consequently adapted for integration process. The suggested theory is referred to as “inculturational paradigm theory”. It is hoped to reconstruct the Gĩkũyũ Christians’ worldview radically with the intent of creating a new understanding of God and creation- that is, it incorporates Gĩkũyũ beliefs at the same time reflecting Christianity. The following chapter on methodology will shed light on how this is demonstrated through the usage of both primary and secondary data.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter presents the methodological concepts utilized in this study. It discusses the research design, site of the study, target population, sampling techniques and sample size. It also highlights the research instruments and data collection techniques, as well as data analysis procedures. In addition, the chapter gives the ways data was management and concludes with ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive cross-sectional survey design. The cross-sectional survey approach was preferred because of its advantages such as being applied to generalize given variables (beliefs and practices in ãgo), its ready acceptance of statistical data analysis methods and its economy and efficiency drawn from its data collecting strategy and its effectiveness in collecting descriptive data (Marshall and Rossman, 2007). The cross-sectional design was the most appropriate for this study since it dealt with different categories of people; pastors, elders, ordinary Christians (laity) and Ago simultaneously. Data collection was guided by the objectives of the study.
3.2 The Study Area

The location of the study was Nyeri Presbytery in Nyeri County (see maps 1, 2 and 3 in the appendixes). For a long period, Nyeri town has served as the Provincial headquarters of the former Central Province. Nyeri Presbytery falls within Nyeri town, and currently Nyeri County. Consequently, it offered a cosmopolitan population with varied backgrounds and values. Nyeri Presbytery is one of the 47 Presbyteries that form the PCEA Church. It is made up of 10 parishes. Owing to the fact that PCEA is a fairly big denomination and has many presbyteries, it was considered appropriate to purposively select one. Nyeri presbytery was chosen for various reasons. First, it has both urban and rural settings, thereby offering an excellent field laboratory for the study.

Second, the Presbytery is closely located within the area where two Western missionary societies confined their work. These were the Church of Scotland mission (CSM) at Tumutumu and the Consolata Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Missions (RCM) at Mathari. As such, one expects Christianity to have taken deep root. Third, Nyeri Presbytery is centrally located with easy communication as compared to other presbyteries that split from Tumutumu mission. Nyeri presbytery’s Christians have more access and may be influenced by new ideas and values. This advantage is relevant in investigating the persistence of beliefs and practices in ãgo.
3.3 Target Population

The target population for this study was the 12,796 ordinary members including youth and children, 20 Church Elders who were evangelized by missionaries and 18 Pastors in the membership rolls of ten parishes that form Nyeri Presbytery and 15 Andu Ago within the bound of the Presbytery. These were the targeted in the study to make better and reliable presentation of the population for the study.

3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Respondents were selected on various criteria such as gender, age, and education levels and membership duration in the PCEA Church. It was assumed that these variables have influenced the attitude of the members towards beliefs and practices in ñgo. The study was aware of the difference in socio-economic status of the residential areas in which the parishes are located. This was used in sampling parishes to cater for different categories of social economic status of the target population.

3.4.1 Sampling Technique

(a) Parishes

The study employed stratified sampling approach. This method catered for three strata of the population so that each was included in the sample. Nyeri Presbytery is divided or stratified into rural, semi-urban and urban. The rural parishes are; Thegenge, Gura, Kagumo, Gaki, Giakanja, and Wandumbi, while the Urban ones are St. Cuthbert and Nyamachaki, Riamukurwe and King’ong’o are semi-urban.
Through a simple random technique, three parishes were selected, one from each zone. This being a descriptive study, 10% of the accessible population was enough (Kasomo 2007), but the study selected 30% of the parishes in Nyeri Presbytery in order to minimize the standard error in the sampling frame and also to give the study a wide diversity. The parishes were selected using the simple random method. Each name of the parish in the stratum was written on a piece of paper and dropped into a container, where a parish from each stratum was picked. These were, Wandumbi Riamukurwe and Nyamachaki.

(b) Congregations

Churches were classified into three categories; rural, semi-urban, slum and urban. Out of twenty Churches that form three parishes, six Churches were selected using a combination of simple random, stratified and purposive sampling techniques. These represent thirty percent of the accessible population of Churches. The criterion used for stratification method was their location in rural, semi-urban, slum or urban. This was the reason the study declined to select the six congregations randomly though it had a clear basis for such a possibility. The study was restricted by the fact that random sampling gives every variable equal chance of selection, yet the scope of the study was also guided by the socio-economic status of the residential area a Church is located. As such, Kiawara (being low social economic area) and Nyamachaki congregations (in an affluent
area), were purposively chosen to cater for different categories within the social-economic status. This represented the slums and urban categories and helped avoid bias in the selection of respondents. The four congregations in Wandumbi (rural) and Riamukurwe (semi-urban) parishes were selected using the simple random. The name of each congregation was written on a piece of paper and dropped into a container. The pieces of papers were mixed well and two congregations from each parish picked, namely: Thunguma and Githenya memorial. The six selected congregations had a membership of 1,219 as recorded in the registers.

(c) Respondents
This study selected thirty percent (30%) respondents from each category of accessible population. Based on a sample of 1,219 ordinary members from six congregations, 20 Elders evangelized by the missionaries, 18 Pastors and 15 Ago found within the three parishes under study. The sample constituted 364 Church members, six pastors/evangelists, six elders and six Ago. Thus, there were 382 respondents in total. Sub-samples were chosen as discussed.

(i) Church Members
The sampling frame consisted of 1,219 Church members. Using the select of 30% criteria, 364 Church members were selected from the six congregations. This study targeted persons aged 18 and above as they were thought to have vast
experience and knowledge on the beliefs and practice of ūgo. Gender balance was taken into consideration, 151 were men and 213 were women. This could be attributed to the fact that there are more females than males in the general population. They were selected randomly from the parishes’ registers. Information from the Church members was significant to this study, as it served to provide factors that make Gĩkũyũ Presbyterian Christians susceptible to beliefs and practice in ūgo.

Table 3.1  **Sampling Table for Church Members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONGREGATION</th>
<th>TOTAL POPULATION</th>
<th>ACCESSIBLE POPULATION</th>
<th>RESPONDENTS 30% FROM EACH CONGREGATION</th>
<th>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</th>
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<td>MALE FEMALE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatumbiro</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Githakwa</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Nyeri Presbytery
(ii) Church Elders

Six Church elders (three men and three women) from a list of 20 (30% of those who were evangelized by missionaries) were selected. Purposive sampling was used to select Church elders that were likely to give the required information on missionaries’ interpretation of the beliefs and practices of ūgo in their evangelization methods. The criterion for selection was based on missionary’s evangelization. Information from elders is important regarding the initial encounter between Christianity and Mündū Mūgo.

(iii) Pastors/Evangelist

Six Pastors/Evangelist (three women and three men) were selected. The pilot survey indicated that at the time of the research only two women were serving in Nyeri Presbytery. As such, one woman evangelist was selected. This was basically done to achieve a gender balance. Purposive sampling was used to target five pastors and one evangelist. The criterion for selection was based on the fact that these people had served in the Church for more than 5 years. Information from the pastors/evangelist was crucial for this study, because it helped clarify the Church’s policy regarding beliefs and practices in ūgo.

(iv) Diviner-Doctor
This study selected diviner doctors in Nyeri Presbytery, at the time of the research; there were 13 men and 8 women serving as Ago. This difference may be attributed to the fact that women were not initiated into this profession of ūgo in the indigenous Gikuyū community. Consequently, the study selected 4 men and 3 women in the Ago’s category based on 30% of the accessible population and gender representation. They were identified through snowball method. Information from Ago was vital to this study since it helped to clarify the call, initiation, beliefs and practices in ūgo.

3.5 Research Instruments

The research instruments used in this study were observation, self administered questionnaires and interview. There were separate questions for Ago, elders, pastors and ordinary Church members. Data was collected by use of self-administered questionnaires from Church members who formed the largest group of all categories. The questionnaires were open (for qualitative data) and closed-ended (for quantitative data). According to Roberts (2004) blending of qualitative and quantitative approaches allow greater depth of understanding and insight than what is possible with just one approach. It also helps to overcome biases contained in each method. The interview schedule was used where members of a category were less than 20 and to ordinary Christians who did not know how to read and write. Further, other follow-up questions based on the interviewees’ responses to the schedule with the intention to probe their views were also posed.
3.6  **Pilot Survey and Pre-testing of Instruments**

During the pilot survey, it was established that there was a big number of Christians involved in *ügo*. However, the Church condemns these practices and associates them with "Satan" (Practice and Procedure manual of PCEA, 1999). It was also found that there were 21 *Ago* in Nyeri Presbytery. Further, pilot study revealed that there were only 19 surviving Church elders in Nyeri Presbytery who had been evangelized by the missionaries. Nyeri Presbytery's office also indicated that there were 12,796 members including youth and children, and 18 pastors recorded in its register. In addition, the study was informed that there were eight congregations in Riamukurwe, five in Nyamachaki and seven in Wandumbi parishes with a membership of 4,783 Christians recorded in Churches’ registers.

This pre-assessment of the target population and knowing in advance that it was a specified type of population helped to select an appropriate method of preparing a sampling frame (Peter, 2010).

A pilot test of the instrument was conducted in Thegenge parish to facilitate pre-testing of the data collection instruments and its effectiveness in data capture. Two randomly selected Churches namely Gathuthi and Kagio-ini with membership of 123 and 98 respectively in Churches’ registers were picked. There were also two elders who were evangelized by missionaries, one pastor and 2 *Ago* within the area under pilot survey. The sampling frame thus consisted of 221
ordinary Church members of whom, using the table of random numbers, 75 respondents, 2 elders, 1 pastor and 2 *Ago* were selected. This represented thirty percent of the accessible population. Using stratified sampling the researcher got a proportionate sample from each of the aforementioned Churches ensuring a proportionate number of males and females from each congregation (see table 3.2 below). These parish respondents were not included in the final sample of the study. The various research instruments were administered to the different categories of respondents to test the extent to which they would be understood and elicit the expected responses during the actual study. This was necessary to ascertain the validity, reliability and objectivity of the instruments. For example, unclear/ ambiguous questions and those difficult to answer or eliciting unintended information were detected and were either reworded or deleted. The instruments, after adjustment, were hence used in the entire data collection exercise.
Table 3.2 Sampling Table for Pre-Testing Instrument on Church Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Accessible Population</th>
<th>Respondents 30% from each congregation</th>
<th>Total Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thegenge Parish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathuthi</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagio-ini</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Nyeri Presbytery

3.7 Data Collection Procedures

Both primary and secondary data were used. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews and questionnaires. The study engaged four research assistants (two males and two females) who came from the study area and were holders of bachelor’s degrees. They were first trained on how to collect data especially in-depth interviews. In each parish, a brief explanation of the study, stating the objectives, purposes and the significance of the study were given to the parish administration and respondents. Using the Local Church Committee (LCC), questionnaires were given to all respondents in one Church at the same time. On completion, questionnaires were collected immediately to ensure high completion and return rates. The in-depth interviews were on a one-to-one basis and follow-ups given where necessary. All the interviews were recorded on
audiotapes. Secondary data was derived from various libraries: Kenyatta University, University of Nairobi, Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Presbyterian University and Hekima College.

3.8 Data Analysis

To achieve objectives one and two, qualitative data was used. This entailed coding and assigning labels to various categories and themes. This was done using Kvaløs (2007) methods of data analysis. He identifies eight modes, namely; meaning coding, meaning condensation, meaning interpretation, linguistic analysis, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, discursive analysis and deconstructive analysis. The study employed both “conversion analysis” (to examine the minute details of talk-in-interaction, which has become widely accessible with the advent of a tape recorder) and “meaning interpretation” (Interpreting the interview texts in a deeper and more critical way). These methods provided the hermeneutical framework and context to engage in a rigorous interaction with the data. Inferences were made from particular data under each theme and conclusions drawn from findings.

To accomplish objective three, quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics of means, frequencies and percentages were used to describe and present the analyzed data. Descriptive analysis was utilized to suggest inculturation strategy to be put in place to address
a dual-personality problem prompted by ūgo beliefs and practices so as to
achieve objective four.

3.9 Data Management and Ethical Consideration

Permission was sought from all relevant authorities involved in the research
Presbytery officials, pastors of parishes under the investigation, and Ago were
given the official letter authorizing the research from Kenyatta University. We
also gave them the informed consent form that the researcher designed for the
research. The form contained the ethical codes, objectives and purpose of the
research.

In addition, due to the sensitive nature of information, respondents' consent was
sought. Their participation was voluntary. In each parish, a brief explanation of
the study, stating the objectives, purposes and significance was given to the
parish administration and respondents. The respondents were requested to
voluntarily spare between 25-35 minutes from their busy schedules to respond to
issues raised in the research instruments. Respondents were assured on
confidentiality of responses and spoke on anonymity. The researcher/assistant
appreciated the cooperation of the respondents.

3.10 Summary

The chapter focused on the research methodology used to achieve the study
objectives. It comes into view that dual to the nature of the present study,
descriptive cross-sectional survey design was adopted. Further, the process that was used to collect data for this study is discussed in the chapter. Both primary and secondary data was used. Primary data was collected through, observation, in-depth interviews and self- administered questionnaires. Secondary data was derived from various libraries. It is also clear that both qualitative and quantitative data analysis were used. The next Chapter focuses on persistence of beliefs and practices in ūgo among the Gikuyu and the inculturation process.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter presents the methodological concepts utilized in this study. It discusses the research design, site of the study, target population, sampling techniques and sample size. It also highlights the research instruments and data collection techniques, as well as data analysis procedures. In addition, the chapter gives the ways data was management and concludes with ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive cross-sectional survey design. The cross-sectional survey approach was preferred because of its advantages such as being applied to generalize given variables (beliefs and practices in ìgo), its ready acceptance of statistical data analysis methods and its economy and efficiency drawn from its data collecting strategy and its effectiveness in collecting descriptive data (Marshall and Rossman, 2007). The cross-sectional design was the most appropriate for this study since it dealt with different categories of people; pastors, elders, ordinary Christians (laity) and ìgo simultaneously. Data collection was guided by the objectives of the study.
Christianity is integrated with the beliefs and practices in Ṣugo in order to give Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians an unbiased, wholistic and integral way of life.

The chapter is divided into three key sections. Section one gives the background of Gĩkũyũ beliefs and practices in Ṣugo. It analyses the initiation process and healing methods of Ago, information that serves as background to a deeper understanding of the beliefs and practices in Ṣugo. Section two examines the religio-cultural background of Western missionaries who evangelized Africa. This shows the origin of the negative attitude of the missionaries towards the African religio-cultural heritage, which made CSM missionaries dismiss Ṣugo beliefs and practices as superstition and Ago as charlatans. Such knowledge is vital in determining the mindset of CSM’S approaches in the evangelization process to the Gĩkũyũ. This section highlights the concept that Church of Scotland Missionaries’ interpretation of the beliefs and practices in Ṣugo among the Gĩkũyũ was that of denigration rather than theological elucidation. It also investigates the existential needs that prompt Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to continue in the beliefs and practices in Ṣugo and Church leadership’s attitude to the same. The third and final section explains the theological basis of inculturation, the necessity of inculturation and finally, inculturation of Christians rituals into the beliefs and practices in Ṣugo’s ideology, hence overcoming dualism problem, leading to wholistic Christian living.
SECTION 1

4.1 Background to Gikuyu Beliefs and Practices in Ugo

4.1.1 Social -Political Organization of the Gikuyu

The Gikuyu are part of the Bantu – speaking, people of North Eastern Equatorial Africa (Macpherson 1970). Although they are scattered all over Kenya, their ancestral home comprises of five counties namely, Murang’a, Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nyeri and Nyandarua. The Gikuyu community is patriarchal (Murage, 1995) and is a basically agriculturist generally keeping livestock such as cows, goats and sheep. In the pre-colonial period, these provided skins for clothing and acted as a currency for dowry payment. They also acted as indicators of a person’s wealth (Kenyatta, 1938; Wachege, 1992; Leakey, 1977; Karanja, 1999). Goats in particular had ritual significance. Their blood, fat, flesh, and even bowel contents were believed to possess mystical powers. The goat, therefore, was believed to have protecting prowess that accompanied a Mugiikuyu from birth to death and thereafter.

Prior to the coming of Europeans to Kenya, Gikuyu had no centralized government in terms of chiefs, kings or “highly centralized hierarchical social or political organization” (Githieya 1997:21). In place, their identity and social organization was maintained by two interrelated main principles; the mbari (house or agnatic kinship) and riika (age-group) (Macpherson (1970). The first organizing principle of mbari embraces all those individuals who are related by
blood. It is based on two pillars, one, the nuclear family (*mucII or nyũmba*), referred to as a man and his wife (wives) and their children, and two, the lineage (*mbarī*), which comprises of a descent group extending to six or seven generations, often named after its founder and a jointly owned piece of land. Each *mbarī* elected from among its able males a *mūramati* (trustee of lineage land), who was usually the senior member. His key responsibility was to control the allocation and the use of the land. He also arbitrated on behalf of his *mbarī* if they were involved in external disputes with another *mbarī* (Githieya, 1997, Karanja, 1999). As *mbarī* membership increased, members spread out in wider areas, it divided into several *mbarī* (lineages), each headed by a new *mūramati*. However, this division was only possible to the lineage, and the consciousness of the common origin from one clan was maintained, since clans do not sub-divide.

Besides being the basic social and economic unity, the *mbarī* was also the basic religious unit. Gĩkũyũ family included not only the living but also the departed especially those who remained in the memory of the living, thus referred as the “living-dead”. To sustain good will, offerings and sacrifices were regularly made to the living-dead. The family acted as the basic link between the living, the unborn and the departed. The head of the *mbarī* usually presided over all family religious ceremonies, by making offerings, sacrifices and prayers. However, where misfortune or crisis was beyond the expertise of the *mbarī* head, the services of *AgO* were sought (Macpherson, 1970; Kenyatta, 1938).
The second principle of the age-set [Riika pl. Mariika] cuts across mbarī (lineages) and clans (mīhūrīga) affiliations, thereby linking all Gĩkũyũ people. Both males and females, regardless of their mbarī or mīhūrīga (clans) were admitted into riika (age-group) after reaching adolescence, through the act of circumcision (for boys) and clitoridectomy (for girls). This was effected by aruithia (circumcisers) who played a very significant role that impinged on mystery. Their duty was vocational and this was identified by Ago. Those circumcised at the same time were referred to as andu a riika rĩmwe (one age set) which carried a powerful obligation of a lifetime bond of brotherhood and sisterhood towards each other. This transcended clans or mbarī. Riika became not only the most effective vehicle for education, ethnic cohesion and social control but also provided the framework within which the democratic form of government was reflected. There existed two councils in the community namely, njama ya ita (the war council) and kiama kĩa bururi (the national council) (Kenyatta, 1938; Lambert, 1954; Githieya, 1997).

The war council comprised of all community warriors and was involved with affairs related to war, law, peace and tranquility. Before undertaking a war or raid, the war council had to engage the services of Ago to ascertain whether victory would be on their side. After initiation, the young men were to serve in war council as junior warriors under the tutelage of senior age-group members. In
such service, they were trained on basic duties of defense, religious, principles of leadership and community ethos, which they had to employ later in their respective careers such as, either ritual elders or Ago. They would later be promoted to senior ranks as the others progressed to junior elders (Githieya, 1997).

The national council had three grades of elder hood. Membership was based on age, wisdom and the ability to convey that wisdom. Gikuyū political and religious authority was vested within the national council. At the lowest were junior elders, and comprised all those who had retired from active military duties and consequently recently married. The second grade was that of elderhood. It consisted all of those who had been promoted from junior eldership and on training grade. One assumed this grade after his children attained circumcision (Wa Kangethe, 1981). The third and the highest grade was that of senior elders or sacrificial council (Kiama kĩa Matũrangũrũ). This consisted of the oldest age group who had recently been promoted from the second grade. The main function of sacrificial council was to lead and preserve the religious traditions of the community. As such, these elders were supposed to be morally upright and served as examples to the entire community. Githieya (1997) notes that the Sacrificial Council in all cases, worked in conjunction with Ago “to enhance the life of the community in totality”. It was therefore, within the mbarĩ and riika systems that the knowledge, history, myths, legends, beliefs and tradition of the community
were imparted to the young and the old (Wa Kangethe 1981). These ethoses were necessary for one to be initiated as a Mündū Mūgo.

4.1.2 Gĩkũyũ Religious Beliefs System

The Gĩkũyũ religious belief system can be grouped into four separate but related areas. The first is belief in God, the Supreme Being called Ngai (the greatest divider and provider) who is also referred to as Ngai Mūmbi (God the creator), Mwathani (the final authority and overlord of the society) and Ngai Baba (God the father). Further, He is called Mūrungu (to suggest the otherness, mystery, power, and mercy of God all combined), Nyene (the great owner) and Mwene Nyaga (the owner or possessor of brightness), conceiving Him as the holiest and purest over and above His creation. The Gĩkũyũ also talked of God as Gĩthuuri which according to Wachege (1992) signified the owner of mountains, which accordingly never die. As such, He is referred to as immortal (Kenyatta, 1938; Kibicho, 1972; Murage, 1995 and Karanja, 1999). Gĩkũyũ conceive Ngai as Divider, Provider, Creator, Almighty, Holy, Supreme, Eternal and Comforter. A fundamental characteristic of Ngai is that He reveals the secrets of his nature and will to the Gĩkũyũ through special inspiration of seers and Ago (Kibicho, 2006). Such persons are to be in closer contact with Ngai.

Gĩkũyũ religion is monolithic right from the very beginning of the community. Myth has it that when humankind started to populate the earth Ngai (God) took
the man Gikũũ the progenitor of the community to the top of one holy mountain, Mt. Kenya (Mountain of splendour). He showed Gikũũ the whole country below and gave it to him. As such, land has a religious significance to the Gikũũ. Land was perceived as a mother who produced their food as well as the resting place for ancestral spirits. Before Gikũũ left, Ngai explained to him how to pray and sacrifice, to call upon Him whenever the man was in need, by making sacrifices and raise hands to Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya). That way, Ngai would come to his assistance (Thiong’o, 1965; Murage, 1995; Kenyatta, 1938). Kibicho (2006:18) states; “in a way similarly to the ancient Hebrews, the Gikũũ located the origin of their faith in God Himself, in His own initiative and not merely in human projection or invention”.

The second area of Gikũũ religious belief is the ancestral spirits. According to Macpherson (1970:7), “the Gikũũ world, with its kinship and age group obligations, was mirrored in an inter-communication work of ancestral Spirits, with the same structure and outlook as that of the earthly Community”. The Gikũũ recognizes three types of ancestral spirits. First, is the spirits of the living-dead comprising of the departed fore-bearers among them departed parents’ spirits as the most important. These are known as the parent spirits (ngoma cia aciari) to whom living family members made offerings of food and drinks as a fellowship offering. The second is that of the clan spirits (ngoma cia mihiriga), whose main concern was the welfare of the whole clan. These were
consulted on matters involving the clan. Third, is the belief in the spirit concerning age-group (*ngoma cia riika*). Their main concern was the well-being of community as a whole and had to be approached by leaders of the living age-grade (Kenyatta, 1938; Macpherson, 1970; Wachege, 1992; Karanja, 1999).

Gikuyu sacrificed to both Ngai and ancestral spirits. However their approach to both differed. Kenyatta (1938) distinguishes this form of sacrifices. The phrase used for sacrifice to God was *Gūthathaiya Ngai* (to beseech God), while that of ancestral spirits was *Gūthīnfīra na gūitangīra ngoma njohi*” (to slaughter a goat and pour out beer to the ancestral spirits). He saw the latter as “constituting a “prayer” and the former as “appeasing”. The sacrifices were the most sacred form of worship. Their primary function was to maintain a healthy relationship between God and people, the departed and the community. Sacrifices were thus offered to either God or ancestral spirits in order to seek their interventions against those forces that make life unbearable (Middleton, 1953; Kīrika, 1988).

Notably, in all cases, the offended spirit had to be identified by *Ago* from whom counsel was sought before one could resort to sacrifice.

The third facet of Gikuyu religious belief is that of the mystical power of the universe and the items in the ontological categories. Observably, it is difficult to know exactly what it is or how it works. This finding is consistent with Mbiti’s (1969) assertion that belief in mystical power is a phenomenon that cannot be
explained scientifically. The Gikuyu believe that the earth, the sky, the mountains, trees, the sun, the moon and the stars have mystical powers, with the mountains occupying a more unique place than the rest and consequently referred to as God’s special abode. There are four large mountains surrounding Gikuyuland, namely; Kiri-nyaga (Mt Kenya) in the North, Kia-njahi (Kilimambogo) in the East, Kia-mbiruiru (Ngong hills) in the South, and Kia-nyandarua (Aberdares ranges) in the West, all reflecting God’s power. During rituals and prayers, the officiating person faced each of these mountains, raising their hands or ceremonial gourds of milk or beer towards them (Wachege, 1992; Murage, 1995 and Kibicho, 2006). Power derived from the mountains according to Wangechi (O.I 2010), is used by religious specialist like Ago in their ministry, such as healing, counteracting misfortunes, bringing good health and fortune or prosperity.

Gikuyu also believe in the “power of words”, particularly those of parents uttered in relation to children and Ago’s to clients. The “words” of parents are believed to carry mystical powers that would cause either good fortune or misfortunes and especially after the parents’ death. Consequently, formal curses and blessings especially from parents are believed to be highly potent. Children, naturally desire to receive blessings from parents especially before death and would be extra careful to avoid parental curses. Equally potent were the words of Ago who worked through medicines and rituals they performed to the afflicted to effect
healing (Cagnolo, 1933; Kenyatta, 1938; Kirika 1988). Gíkúyũ also believed that human beings have these mystical powers which can be increased or decreased. For example, if one was prosperous, his mystical power was increasing and vice versa. In addition, religious specialists such as Ago and arogi (witches) could manipulate such mystical powers for either good or bad of the community. However, while Ago are pro-life and their profession is to reverse the bad effects of this power, witches were the opposite. It was for this reason that Gíkúyũ resort to consulting Ago whenever faced with unpleasant life situations (Wanjao, O.I, 2010).

A final feature of the Gíkúyũ religion is the concept that health or wholeness of life consisted of a person’s harmonious relationship with both God and ancestral spirits, on the one hand, and with kinsgroup as well as the community on the other. In response to this belief, the Gíkúyũ have various methods of maintaining and promoting relationships, or dealing with consequences of broken relationships. Consequently, to a large extent, the main goal of Gíkúyũ religion is to safeguard wholeness of life by maintaining a harmonious cosmic balance, a belief deeply rooted in the fact that diseases and misfortunes emanate from injured cosmic order. Moreover, from their disease-theory, illnesses and misfortunes are caused by spiritual agents such as annoyed ancestral spirits or jealous/evil human beings, sorcerers and witches. In case of illness, the suggestive perspective almost always entailed a herbal mode of treatment. If the desired
result failed, the next cause of action was divination; which would explore the mystical cause to alleviate the situation. The community used both physical and spiritual remedies to deal with diseases and misfortunes (O.I, Wanjau and Wangechi, 2010).
Figure 4.1: Diagrammatic representation of Gikuyu cosmology.

Adapted from Macpherson (1970: 8)
The above diagram explains the Gikuyu worldview in a more detailed form. In Gikuyu religious outlook, the universe is three-dimensional as follows; first, the sky, Ngai’s dwelling place and a powerful space- a source of mystical powers. Second, the earth, human’s habitation place where they exist in families and age groups, and finally, the spiritual underworld, the ancestral spirits’ abode some of which are benevolent while others are malevolent and unpredictable to the living. One important characteristic of this spatial ordering of Gikuyu’s worldview is that activities of ancestral spirits and mystical powers often directly encroach on the affairs of people in the human world. For that same reason, human existence is perceived as precarious in the effort to tap the resources of good spirits to ward off the machinations of evil ones.

The community then maintained a good relationship with God, harmony with one another, the living and the dead and all important knowledge to the same was passed through generational education system conveyed by story-telling, proverbs and traditional songs. Further, elders took it upon themselves to educate the young people during rites of passage. Lack of this balance is believed to bring not just diseases but also misfortunes. If this happens, Ago are sought to discern the cause of the misfortune, prescribe the course of action to counteract it and avert its future recurrence (O.I, Ndogo, 2010) (Macpherson, 1970; Karanja, 1999). To the Gikuyu, religion is more than a concern with “total well being” of life, its
ultimate goal being to live in the “sacred presence where no destructive forces dwell” (Okorocha, 1994: 75-76).

Gĩkũyũ religion, however, hardly draws any distinction between the sacred and the secular (Kĩrika 1988). The culture and religion are so inter-twined that it is not possible to separate them. A good deal of communal activities and other social institutions are bound up by religion and the spirit-world. Birth, initiation, marriage, death, planting, harvesting and installation to traditional offices (elder or Mündū Mūgo), all take a religious nature. Observably, a correct perception of Gĩkũyũ religion can be summarized in the words of Isizoh (1999:2) who notes;

> The traditional African people have a very high sense of the sacred. There is reverence for sacred places, persons and objects. Religion enfolds the whole of life, and there is no dichotomy between the secular and the religious, the sacred and the profane, the visible and the invisible. These distinctions are to them artificial. A completely secular world does not exist for them. There is no borderline between this life and afterlife. Life itself is cyclic, going from birth to death and to rebirth. The emphasis on a person’s enduring happiness is not concentrated on the afterlife but rather on the totality of his or her well-being in this life and in the afterlife. For the Africans, man is not just homo religious in the classical sense. He eats, drinks, sleeps, and works and does practically every thing religiously.

From the above discussion, several conclusions can be drawn. It is observed that the Gĩkũyũ social, political and religious organization form the basis of their cultural heritage, ethnographic history and worldview. Thus, their ethnographic history and worldview are the foundation stones that precipitate such fundamental beliefs as the concept of God, ancestors, agnatic kinship, age group, mystical
powers and wholeness of life. These beliefs are in turn the source of adherence to Ṣogo. The study also observes that, the Gĩkũyũ had internalized these beliefs in their cultural norms and hence taught their children. Children grew up knowing their place in both the family and the community and matured to take up various roles thereby creating a repeated cycle of beliefs.

The above information corroborates Horton’s theory in regard to African religion as one of prediction, control and manipulation. Gĩkũyũ religion is therefore characterized by affirming faith, a religion of health and prosperity, which placates God and ancestral spirits and consequently gains favour from them. In regard to the findings above, Gĩkũyũ religion is pragmatic; intended to serve humans’ needs in the world and within a remote distance of an after-life.

In summary, this section has examined the religio-cultural heritage of Gĩkũyũ prior to the influence of Christianity. Missionaries introduced a new system of religion, education and social aspect of life. By so doing, the Gĩkũyũ community was directly interfered with and beliefs in Ṣogo were not only regarded as outdated, but also evil. The next section, gives an analysis of Gĩkũyũ beliefs and practices in Ṣogo.
4.1.3. Gikuyu Beliefs and Practices in Ugo

4.1.3.1. Mündū Mūgo Identity among the Gikuyu

To understand ūgo in the indigenous Gikuyu worldview, respondents were asked first if they know the professionals in this field. This approach was used because "naming" is a powerful tool Gikuyu employ to describe nature, character and actions of things, human beings and spiritual beings (Kibicho, 2006). Wanjiru’s (0.1 2010) response to the question: Who is a Mündū Mūgo? was; “Mündū Mūgo refers to a wise person, well versed in religious knowledge, myths, beliefs, traditions and religious practices. The term Mūgo comes from the verb mūgī (wise). So, Mündū Mūgo is a person who is wise”. Ndogo’s (0.1 2010) response to the same question was “Mündū Mūgo refers to a person of God, an instrument of higher powers, which come from Him.”

Both answers are a representative of the predominant responses that majority of the respondents gave, in regards to question. Asked whether they knew the origin of Gikuyu beliefs and practices in ūgo, Wanjau, King’ori and Wamucii (O.Is 2010) were at first hesitant in explaining the source of ūgo. However, probed further, they all agreed that ūgo originated from God and has existed since time immemorial, and has always been there and Ago have been making its presence part and parcel of Gikuyu history. Its beginning is with the origin of the community. Basing our argument on the above responses, one can conclude that,
the beliefs and practices in ūgo were usually interpreted as the work of the Supreme Being.

4.1.3.2. Prerequisite Rituals for one to Qualify for the Office of Ūgo

In an attempt to unpack the complexity involved in the process of initiating Ago, respondents (O.Is Mwaniki and Wanjiru, 2010), to the question: What rituals are necessary for one to qualify for the office of ūgo? noted that the process was a long one, it called into play numerous rituals. According to Turner's (1969) theory, the rituals involved in the initiation of Ago can be classified under two categories. First, life cycle or age-linked rituals, which mark the passage from one stage to another.9 Examples are birth, “second birth”, circumcision, marriage and initiation elevating individuals to high office such to “guild” of ūgo profession. Second, crisis rituals aim at rectifying misfortunes in life such as, illness, childlessness, and drought. The aforementioned rituals are undertaken usually in response to information provided by Ago who explain why afflictions have occurred.

Birth

It is important to point out the long process of initiating Ago commenced right from birth. Wanjau and Wanjiru (O.Is 2010) revealed that there was a belief that

9 The term “rites of passage” has been engaged since the publication of the book with the same title in 1908 by the French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep to refer to the aforementioned rituals.
if one was born with some abnormal appendages in his hands, such as a sixth finger it was taken to mean that such person was born “holding a divining pebble”. The exact origins of this belief may have been lost in antiquity for no respondent could explain its genesis. However, this phenomenon was considered a pre-destined birth for one to be a Mündū Mūgo. Kareri (Miano 2008:61) makes some categorical statements about the same:

Since my father was a medicine man, I learned about the profession since I was very young. My parents would tell me often that I was born holding the divining pebble in my right hand. That meant that I was predestined to be a medicine man. The reason why they told me so is because on the last finger in each of my hands, there was a sixth finger and according to Gikūyū tradition, that is a sign of one born to be a medicine man. The sixth fingers were usually cut off and mine were cut too but if one looks carefully the scars are still visible.

The argument behind such birth associated with Ago is well explained by Turner (1975:24), that many diviner-doctors are marginal people, who suffer from “physiological abnormality, psychological aberrancy or social- structural inferiority or outsiderhood”. Similarly, Gikūyū children born with little defects in their hands were probably seen as marginal persons in the society and so regarded as Ago, and had no social class in the society. Thus through this belief, that birth marked the recognized milestone in the person’s journey in life and was designed to help the child make a transition from childhood all the way to assume the office of ògo. Consequently, through a birth rite, an unequivocal differentiation was made between those called in the profession of ògo and those not.

10 Muhoro Kareri was the first African PCEA Moderator.
"The Second Birth"

Gikuyu beliefs dictates that between ages 3- 10, depending on a father’s ability to provide the necessary goat, a child “re-enacts its birth”, a process known as guciarwo kerî, (the second birth), or guciarwo rîngî (to be born again) or guciarwo na mbûri (to be born through a goat). This ritual typically follows an African social drama that can be broken into three time-frame periods namely separation, transition and incorporation (Turner, 1967). The period of separation covered the duration from actual birth to the “second birth” ceremony, marking the period the child was still regarded as a part of the mother. The transition period entailed the process and the preparation of the ceremony. The incorporation stood for the period the child is separated from its mother and is integrated into the family and the community. During the ceremony, the child is symbolically placed between the legs of its mother, and is tied to her by a piece of a goat’s intestine, which upon cutting, the child is made to imitate the cry of a baby. This rite represented the time the child was symbolically “born” into the family and, ready to be incorporated into the activities and responsibilities of womanhood or manhood.

Giving the significance of this ritual Wanjiru (0.I 2010) notes that “unless someone has gone through this ‘second birth’ he/she cannot participate fully in the life of the community. If a child is a male, he cannot assist in the burial of his father, be circumcised, get married, inherit property or take part in any ritual”.

Kingori (0.1 2010) also notes that it was believed that a person who had not undergone the “second birth” is still in an unclean position, and participating in any ritual would be an abomination. The “second birth” was a major rite and of great significance. It gave the child permission and full rights to participate in family affairs and rituals. Besides, it brought the child to the gate of full participation in the life of the whole community, thereby preparing one for circumcision. Notably, no one could be initiated as a Mündū Mūgo unless he/she had undergone the ritual of “the second birth”.

Circumcision

For the Gǐkũyũ, circumcision was one of the rites of passage mandatory for every person in order to be incorporated into the community, without which one was not considered a full member. An uncircumcised member was despised and considered to be still a boy or a girl, who could not assume any office. Circumcision therefore was a prerequisite for a Mündū Mūgo. Kenyatta (1938) has correctly described the initiation rite as the sine qua non of the whole teaching of the Gǐkũyũ way of life, their history, folklore, religion, morality, social structure and the individual’s role in the community. Wa Kangethe (1988:44) corroborates this by saying:

The religious and social – physiological nature of rite of initiation formed the roots of the Gǐkũyũ society. This rite guaranteed the maintenance and survival of the educational, religious and social instructions of the Gǐkũyũ society. It was through this rite that the individual was introduced to the core beliefs and values of the Gǐkũyũ.
Kenyatta (1938) notes that *maambura* (rituals) denoted divine services that symbolized the unification of the whole tribal organization. These rituals roughly followed the process as described by Turner (1969) and Taber (1981) who observe that typically, circumcision rite is classifiable into four mutually related categories, namely preparation, seclusion, instruction and integration. Each category is of symbolic significance to an individual, however, this study only decodes the real meaning of initiation and its relevance to a *Mündü Mügo*’s initiation.

The significance of initiation is that it marked a new beginning of incorporating the initiates into adult life. The initiates were collectively recognized in the new status of adulthood by a new name (the age-set name). They had new rights and obligations which allowed them later if they married or got married to progress to other offices such of religious specialists. Thus circumcision ritual was also a vital preparation for one to be initiated as a *Mündü Mügo*.

**Marriage**

The next rite was marriage. This was inevitable for one to be initiated as a *Mündü Mügo*. King’ori (O.I 2010) points out that, the circumcision rite pointed to marriage as the most basic expression of the desire to maintain life. Without marriage and subsequent consummation, initiation remained incomplete. That is
why the Gikũyũ say, *kũrua nĩ kwara itara* (to be initiated into manhood or womanhood, incorporates the responsibility of building the structure above the fireplace where wet firewood is spread to dry). The meaning was that on being initiated, the young men and women should marry and start families. Whatever else a person had or was, one was nothing without marriage. Failure to get married under normal circumstances meant that, the person concerned had rejected the society and vice versa. In other words, without marriage and procreation, a person was already “dead” in the religious sense. Everybody, therefore, was expected to get married and bear children. It was the greatest hope and expectation of the individual and the community.

According to Gikũyũ, marriage especially to the first wife was a prerequisite for one to initiated in *īgo*. If the husband married other wives, the senior wife retained a certain privileged position with her husband, and her children enjoyed priority in all major affairs of the family. This legal prominence of the senior wife is well illustrated by Wangui, wife of a Mündũ Mūgo, Ndgo (O. I 2010) as follows,

The senior wife was the pillar of the family, the husband only married co-wives with her permission. In some way, she was regarded as the head of the domestic affairs. Her house was the most prominent of all and faced the gateway. If her husband was a Mündũ Mūgo, he kept his personal objects such as divining gourd and magical powders in her house. When the husband came from a journey, he normally stopped first at her house and if he brought something along, he handed it over to her to share it with her co-wives. In all major ceremonial occasions like initiation of a Mündũ Mūgo, she was the one involved.
In view of the foregoing, marriage was a very serious affair because in the Gikũyũ community everybody was expected to be married and fecundity was highly valued. Marriage signified fruitfulness and ability to bear children. It was the social drama in which a person could prove his or her fecundity of keeping life alive and transmitting it through procreation. For that reason, since ũgo is pro-life it was a condition for one to be married to qualify for the office.

4.1.3.3. Initiation of Ago

In order to understand the rituals and symbolisms involved in Ago’s initiation, the study sought to document the various stages. The process of initiating Ago to the office was long and vigorous\(^\text{11}\). Mwaniki, Wanjiru, and Wamucii (0.1s, 2010) indicate that it was characterized by nine stages, namely (1) “calling”, (2) preparation and purification, (3) prayer and libation, (4) immersion of the candidates in the river, (5) sacrifice of a healthy he-goat without blemish and oathing, (6) communion of Ago, (7) blessing of tools, (8) dedication, and finally training. Presented below is a ‘U’ shaped model of the nine stages.

\(^{11}\text{In the course of the fieldwork conducted from June to December, 2010, it was noted that the initiation rites of Ago are virtually gone. Nowhere were we able to witness such ceremonies. Similarly, we did not witness the ritual purification as it was done in the pre-Christian Gikũyũ society, it only exists in a modified form, whereby believers in ũgo normally have their homes cleansed. This involves Ago visiting their clients’ homes either to sprinkle the blood of slaughtered animals or the families are cleansed by chickens being moved round them a number of times while Ago utters words believed to cushion their clients from the effects of uncleanness as a result of curses or taboos. The possible causes of this scenario are numerous, during the colonial era, particularly Mau Mau uprising, most public gatherings of whatever nature were banned, except for Church meetings. Others are, urbanization, modernization, globalization and the influence of individualism.}
As presented in the model above, the nine phases followed in the order shown and covered a span of nine \(^{12}\) days. The classification neatly fits into Turner’s (1969) liminal phases. Like Turner’s structure, Ago’s initiation rituals consist of a pre-liminal (separation), liminal (transition) and post-liminal phases (reincorporation). Further he notes that the meaning and significance of rituals are primarily embedded and transmitted through them. Therefore, one way of reinforcing the

\[^{12}\text{It is important to note that number nine among the Gik\-iyu\-\-yi is a number of completeness. They trace their origin from Gik\-iyu and M\-umi, their progenitors. The two gave birth to nine daughters, who became the mothers of nine clans. It is from this premise that number nine gained prominence and became the symbol of fullness. It was associated with rituals and used in solemn rites with social or psychological implications.}\]
understanding of Gikuyu beliefs and practices in ũgo is by focusing on both initiation rites and practice rituals. These rituals contribute to a personality change and help legitimize Ago's practice. Observably, it is important to note that the calling, preparation and purification as well as prayer and libation are rituals of separation. Immersion of the candidates in the river, and the sacrifice of the he-goat and oathing are rituals of liminality and the last four are rituals of incorporation:

(i) Ago's "Calling"

The key argument about Ago's "calling" that emerged from respondents was that among the Gikuyu there was no fixed method that governs the process. According to Ndogo and Wamucii (2010), there were four ways that Ago received the "call", believed to be from God; and the confirmation had to be through certain signs:

First, the "call" could come through birth; King'ori and Wangeci (2010) remark that it was believed to be the most powerful (see section 4.3.3 on birth for more clarification on this belief). The second important "call" was through heredity. Wamucii (2010) affirmed that in ũgo profession, like a monarchy system, the first born was number one in line to inherit the "powers" while other children would consequently follow. As the child grew up, he would be introduced to the ũgo ministry. However active partnership commenced when a
child matured, that is at the age of 20 and above. At this age, one was perceived to be a mature and responsible person to carry out duties performed by adults. Despite a father giving a son ūgo lessons, the son was to receive a “special call” from God in order to be initiated. He has to “begin dreaming” seeing people coming to him for divination or purifying people as a Mûndû Mûgo. Summarizing this “calling”, Routledge and Routledge (1903:251) says: “A father may teach, but it is God who chooses the medicine-man. He talks to him in the night. It comes into his head”.

Seen in this light, Ndogo (0.1 2010) gives a vivid account of his “call” through heredity.

I inherited my father’s mystical powers when I was thirty-one. That was ten years after my marriage. I had associated with my father in his work since I was a small boy and he had taught me everything concerning ūgo. At first, I had no interest in it, but as time went on, I became hooked and all my interest centered on this work. I then started dreaming practicing ūgo and of things that came true. When I told my friends about these dreams, they were all in agreement that God was “calling me” into the profession. My father consulted other Ago on my behalf, and it was confirmed that I had the “call”. The next course of action was to be initiated into the profession.

In keeping with the belief that someone has to be “called” by God to be a Mûndû Mûgo, it is rare for a one to admit to have been introduced to ūgo by another. The analysis of Ndogo’s story leads us to that direction. His call might have been due to the stimulation of the mind which he was continually exposed to by observing
his father perform works of healing using herbal medicines, divination and purification rituals. This may have predisposed him to the profession.

The third way was through apprenticeship under an experienced Міндї Mіго. A successful Міндї Mіго, who was a specialist in a certain field took one or two young persons to be his assistants. The assistants were assigned the job of carrying his bags containing divining gourd and magical powders. As it used to happen, one of these assistants was so imbued with the influence of the ŭго profession and asked his master to consult other diviners to ascertain that indeed he was being ‘called’ to the profession.

A case in point is that of King’ori (0.1 2010) who was an assistant to Міндї Mіго, Kiere. His “calling” came in the form of dreams. He continually dreamt of events that were going to take place, many of which came true. He then started sharing his dreams with people who urged him to be initiated as a Міндї Mіго. Once other Andї Ago were consulted by his master, it was agreed that, indeed, God was calling him into the ŭго profession and consequently he should take the necessary steps towards initiation.

The ŭго profession was not necessarily, always a hereditary one. A person could become a Міндї Mіго without ever having a relative or ancestors who had the magical powers. One reason for dreaming about healing events and other episodes
may be a subconscious working on past training and experiences. This came as a result of repeated healing ritual episodes that become ingrained in the mind. The ability to call on past experiences in this way, and reliance of the assistant on this skill, was possible to be developed in a tradition that does not rely on written records but on retention of the mind. Hence a person could dream performing rituals of ūgo.

A fourth way was through experiencing afflictions and misfortunes. Wamucii (0.1 2010) notes that if a series of calamities afflicted a person and could not be treated by herbs; he had to consult a Mündū Mūgo. In some cases, Mündū Mūgo could divine that the root cause was that God had chosen the person to be a Mündū Mūgo, and hence he would never prosper or have peace of mind unless he was initiated into the profession. Such information would however be confirmed through a different Mündū Mūgo, particularly from another locality. In case one got the same information, then it was certain that God was “calling” him to be a Mündū Mūgo and therefore such a person had to seek the profession, otherwise his woes would continue.

This “call” may refer, to the neurotic disposition of some diviner-doctors described by Turner (1975), Sundkler (1961) and MacGaffrey (1983). The aforementioned scholars are of the opinion that an influential majority of diviner-doctors seem to show paranoid tendencies in their operations. This study rejects
this explanation and suggests that some Ago who join the profession through “a call of afflictions” are people who have suffered, and therefore understand their clients suffering. This trait enables them to be sensitive to stresses and strains in social relationships.

From the foregoing, this study observes that it is only the call through birth that does not require recourse to divination, since it is a life-crisis ritual that finds a solution in analyzing the cultural structures that give rise to the belief. However, the other three can be regarded as rituals of affliction effected through the explicit use of subconscious associations through dreams and are confirmed by divination. Thereby, giving a Mündū Mūgo skills in manipulating social and psychological states of clients. Nevertheless the base of his operation is rooted into mystical belief that his call is from God. This makes a Mündū Mūgo feel that he is not primarily operating on his own behalf, but on that of God.

(ii) Preparation and Purification

Wanjau (0.1 2010) observes that after receiving and accepting “the call” the candidate went through a period of preparation and purification, and progressed into another steps, which were carefully and closely supervised by an experienced Mündū Mūgo. First the mentor, Mündū Mūgo, was to ascertain that the candidate had undergone all necessary rites of passage such as “second birth”, circumcision and marriage. Further, the candidate had to have virtues such as being
trustworthy, morally upright, friendly, sober and dedicated to serve and discern people's needs. Wanjau (ibid) opines that "these were the appealing qualities for one to be initiated into the office of a Mündū Mūgo". He was expected to be a person of integrity. These virtues suggest that a Mündū Mūgo was expected to be a believer in the social system that governed the community's values, and was supposed to detect the breach or deviation from such moral prescriptions. Ndogo (O.I 2010) further notes that the mentor advised the candidate considerably beforehand on how to go about the initiation ceremony. According to him, the mentor directed the candidate to gather major essentials for the purification and initiation rituals.

Plate 1: A Bag containing the five gourds for magical powders

Source: Photograph Taken at Wandumbi by Author, June 2010
Wanjau (0.1 2010) posits that those items include: divining pebbles (in which stones, seeds, beads, bones, cowries shells and small pieces of metals that would be used as objects of divination, are contained). It also includes a divining gourd (*mwano*) (about fifteen inches high with a thick round base of four inches in diameter and a narrow neck in its upper five inches) in which divining pebbles are contained. In addition, there are five small gourds (*mbūithu*) (about ten inches long and a width of a cucumber fruit) each of these would contain the following magical powders: *Ruthuku*, *ngondu*, *ūimū*, *thenge* and *ira* (see glossary). These magical powders were used for the ritual cleansing ceremonies. It should be noted that initiation ceremony involved the setting apart of the ritual items that would be used in the practices of *ūgo*. As will be explained later, the aforementioned items for this ceremony have their symbolic meanings (Turner, 1968).
The candidate also acquired honey and sugarcane for the beer that would be brewed for the rite. Beer had religious connotations and was used in all ritual ceremonies. It symbolized communality, commensality, and family solidarity with God and ancestral spirits (Wangechi, O.I, 2010). A young he-goat, believed to have no blemish was also required, which symbolizes “purity

13 The common belief about sacrificing is that Ngai asked Gikuyu and Mumbi the progenitor parents of Gikuyu always to sacrifice to Him a sportless ram, or he-goat whenever they come to Ngai with a request. Gikuyu being a patriarchal community, this is understandable
and holiness” and characterized any offering made to God. Other paraphernalia included two string baskets, one that would be used to hold the divining gourd and the other for carrying magical powders. The preparation stage also included the candidate and his senior wife’s household cleansing (in case he was in polygamous marriage). As already explained, the senior wife was regarded as the head of domestic affairs and it was in her house that the candidate would be keeping ūgo objects. This action was believed to rid the family any impurities that might defile the mwano, especially any times the senior wife’s family entered the house. This ritual was intended to reconnect the candidate and his senior wife’s family to God, ancestral spirits of departed Ago and departed parents’ spirits probably broken by human omissions and imperfections. As will be seen later, several of these symbols used by Ago are linked to values attached to openness, honesty and truthfulness.

The phase ended with an invitation to the members of ūgo profession to grace the initiation rite the following day and was made formally through word of mouth by the mentor. The mentor summoned seven Ago to come early and assist in the ceremony, and together with the candidate raised the number to nine, believed to be one of completeness. The candidate also invited his/her clan members, friends and neighbours and further requested his/her friends and relatives to assist in providing food for the ceremony. The initiation was a public ceremony so as to give the new Mūndū Mūgo credibility and authority to practise his/her profession.
The cleansing process was to prepare the candidate for a life of dedication to the beliefs and practices in ūgo and the intense experiences of training that would deeply be entrenched in his/her mind. The ritual gave testimony to the Gikũyũ’s belief in the frailty of human beings, thus no person should be initiated into ūgo profession without first going through the ritual purification that absolves and purifies him/her from his natural state of unworthiness and imperfections. This aspect transformed him/her to an agent of good moral virtues among the Gikũyũ.

(iii) Prayer, Invocation and Libation

A third significant ritual according to Ndogo, King’ori and Wamucii (0.1 2010) was prayer and libation mainly performed on the material day of the initiation. Following the mentor’s instructions, the initiate and his senior wife or husband drew ceremonial honey beer and filled both a horn and a gourd to the size of a drinking cup. Raising hands, they went to the courtyard and held the horn and gourd towards Kirinyaga (Mt. Kenya), and prayed to Mwene-Nyaga (God) saying:

*Ngai baba, we hoti ya maĩndũ mothe, nindagukũngũra, na kĩrathimo,ngũkũhoya ngigũkũngũagĩra ndathĩmĩra igongona rĩri rĩa ngũmũrano naũŋjehererie ũru wothe: ndathĩmĩra andũ, ũhiũ na ũndathĩmĩre wĩraini ũyũ wa ũgo. (God my father, almighty and omnipotent, I beseech you to bless me; bless the initiation ceremony and protect me from evil; bless my family and make me prosper in ūgo profession).*
This done, he/she splashed some of the beer from the drinking horn into the air and uttered this invocation: “Receive this God”. Together with his/her wife/husband, they both faced all the other three “sacred’ mountains (Kilimambogo, Ngong hills and Aberdares ranges) in turn, using the aforementioned litany and splashed beer as an offering to God invoking him to bless the ceremony. According to Wangechi (O.I 2010), the Gĩkũyũ believed that the four sacred mountains (Mt. Kenya, Ngong hills, Kilimambogo and Nyandarua) were God’s resting place due to their height, which they construed increased their nearness to Him. They were also revered because of the belief that God used them whenever He wished to view Gĩkũyũland. Of the four, Mt. Kenya was the most important for it was from there that God was believed to have revealed himself to Gĩkũyũ and Mũmbi the progenitors of the Gĩkũyũ.

In the event the candidate’s parents were deceased, he and his wife would go to the centre of the courtyard and offer libation to them. Likewise, libation would be to the departed and Ago spirits. King’ori (O.I 2010) pointed out that the prayer, offering and libation ceremonies were acts of making and renewing contact between God, the ancestral spirits and the candidate, thereby, establishing an ontological balance. Further, he notes that the spirits of departed parents were central in the family and were thus appeased to bestow prosperity and blessings to their son, who was about to be initiated. The libation to the departed spirits of Ago was embedded in the belief that they can give instructions and advice especially
in healing. The prayer was a plea to God for health, protection and prosperity in ūgo. The beer offering was a way of paying homage and seeking help from the Almighty to show favours to the candidate during the initiation rite. These rituals attest to the Gikuyu belief in the interrelatedness of the universe and that their actions and activities in the world are fully followed and reckoned by God and ancestral spirits.

From the foregoing, we can deduce that the prayer, invocation and libation in this respect are pragmatic with one thing in common: they are a plea of petition geared towards practical needs that comply with the situation at hand. They aim to seek protection or removal from all afflictions. These include evil spirits, sorcery and ill-wishers. This confirms Horton’s theory where he takes African religion as one of manipulation.

(iv) Candidate’s Immersion in the River

The fourth ritual as described by Wanjau (0.1, 2010) involved the immersion of the candidate in a river. The naked candidate, who led a sacrificial he-goat escorted by his mentor – went into the nearest river with a deep pool in the locality for a ritual bath. The act of leading the goat signified that the candidate identified with the sacrificial he-goat. In other words, the candidate “became” the sacrificial victim. Gikuyu believed that river water had transforming power, with washing away the former state of the candidate and bringing him/her to the
threshold of the new state of Ago. The seven assisting Andū Ago followed at a
distance and waited at the top of the hill. At the river bank, before the candidate
was thrown into the pool, he was instructed to hold the he-goat tightly with his
left hand by passing his left arm around its chest and neck, and to shut his eyes
and not breathe as he plunged into the water. The candidate was also instructed to
grab with his right hand a handful of pebbles when he got to the river bed. These
pebbles formed the nucleus of a collection of divining pebbles that Mūndū Mūgo
kept in his/her mwano. When the candidate and the he-goat emerged from the
water, together with the mentor, they proceeded to the top of the hill where the
seven assisting Ago were waiting for them. Together, they made a colorful
procession back home for the next ritual.

The study established that the ritual of immersion of the candidate and emerging
from the river signified the “death” of old self and “resurrection” to a new
personality. The, ritual symbolized purification and alluded to a new life of a
Mūndū Mūgo that the candidate was entering.

(v) The Sacrifice of the He-Goat and Oath Taking
Wangechi and Wanjau (0.1s, 2010) observe that the fifth aspect of the ceremony
involves the sacrifice of a he-goat, that a candidate was immersed with in the
river, besides oath taking. The candidate was told to place his hands on the he-
goat as the assisting Ago slaughtered it. The action by the candidate symbolized
that the sacrificed he-goat took with it an element of his life, the he-goat had
assimilated by associating with him in the process of initiation. In Gĩkũyũland, as Wanjau (O.I 2010) notes, goats were kept for ready sacrifices that would be offered to God and ancestral spirits as substitutes for their lives, often threatened by mystical agents. The same is collaborated by Kirika (2002:20),[“indirectly and figuratively speaking, animals in this category share Gĩkũyũ indoor-life they were reared in houses. When they are offered up for sacrifice, Gĩkũyũ are indirectly or symbolically offering part of their own life”]. As such, the sacrificed goat acted as a substitute for the candidate’s life, thus demonstrating his/her self-giving aspect to the profession he was about to enter. The death of the he-goat signified the death of the candidate’s former self.

The blood of the he-goat was collected into a calabash, and reserved for the Ago’s communion. The candidate was then laid on the skin of the slaughtered he-goat and in that position took the professional oath of office. This study found that no initiated member of the profession would disclose the information regarding the oath. Even those who later converted to Christianity refused vehemently to disclose what actually happened for fear of being attacked by misfortunes or death. The study notes that such information can only be disclosed under an oath of secrecy, implying that a person has to be initiated to get access to the specialized knowledge in regard to ũgo. The finding suggests that oathing during Mũndũ Miũgo’s initiation is a secretive affair shielded with mystery. Mbiti (1969)
argues that some of the knowledge in regard to ūgo can be acquired only by the initiated or probably somebody under an oath of secrecy.

The candidate surrounded by Ago pleaded: “Nĩndurwo mwĩrĩ hanane na Ago!” (“May I be pierced in my body so that I can resemble diviner–healers!”). Then the seven ago rubbed the blobs of mud all over the candidate’s face and body at intervals of about 2 inches. Next, the mentor repeated the process with ira powder, rubbing in between the mud blobs so that the whole body was covered with mud and ira spots. The smearing of the body with mud and ira powder symbolized a new birth for the candidate. Finally, the mentor’s wife threaded the cowries’ shells on two sinews of the sacrificial he-goat and made two necklaces. These were put on the necks of the candidate and his senior wife as insignia of ūgo’s office and as a symbol of mystical powers vested upon them. The candidate was hence given his/her clothes to put on, signifying permission to participate fully in all affairs within the ūgo profession.

(vi) The Communion of Andu Ago

A sixth ritual involved the communion of Ago. This was a central ceremony which shared intricate aspects of Gikũyũ religion (Ndogo O.I 2010). The honey beer was ceremoniously poured, half full into the new divining gourd. The blood and a little taatha (stomach contents from the sacrificed goat) were hence added and mixed well with the honey beer. The mentor, the assisting Ago and all fully
qualified Ago present, sat down round the goat skin of the sacrificed he-goat on stools provided by the candidate’s family. The candidate, followed by the mentor and other Ago, all in turn drunk the concoction from the divining gourd. Once every Mündū Miigo present had taken it, the divining gourd was handed over to the mentor who drank some of the dregs. He/she handed over the divining gourd to the candidate saying: Wanyua (drink) and the candidate answered: Wanyua mūngū (drink the dregs). These greetings were an indication that the candidate had been accepted as an initiate into ùgo profession. The drinking of this communion meant the status transformation of a candidate from a lay person to a Mündū Miigo. This communion ritually bound the candidate to the ùgo guild, thus making him/her one of their own or member.
Plate 3: The photograph below showing various tools (a divining gourd, shells, a divining mirror, a medicine guard, a horn and other magical-religious objects) of a Mündū Mūgo

Source: Photograph Taken by Author in Kiawara, December, 2010

(vii) *The Blessings and issuing of Work's Tools*

The seventh aspect of the ceremony included the blessing and issuing of tools of trade. According to Wanjau (0.1, 2010), these tools symbolized Mündū Mūgo's authority and blessings from the Ago guild. The study noted that these tools included: the divining pebbles, divining gourd, the five small gourds for magical powders and the forked stick of the mutero wood where the new divining gourd would always be hung. The nine (symbol of completeness) pebbles cut from the
he-goat\textsuperscript{14}; nine pebbles the mentor and the seven assisting Ago had collected for the initiate were placed on the skin together with the pebbles the candidate had scooped from the bottom of the river. These pebbles comprised of animal vertebrae, nuts, shells, stones, pieces of metal and seeds, each with a specific significance to human needs.

The mentor Mündü Mügo then filled a gourd drinking cup from the gitete (bottle like gourd). While still standing, he addressed the spirits of the departed Ago saying:

\begin{quote}
“you Ago on the ground see that we are initiating this man into the ūgo profession and we are about to give him diving pebbles. We ask you to bless and accept him into the profession, make all counters that we are about to give him agree with each other and bond successfully”.
\end{quote}

Having said this, the mentor poured out some honey beer from the drinking gourd cup on the four sides and on the middle of the hide-skin, as a libation to the spirits of departed Ago. Next, the mentor poured out honey beer all over the counters saying “may you bond well with each other”. The divining pebbles were then put into the divining gourd for the next ritual.

The second sets of tools given to a Mündü Mügo were the divining gourd and five gourds of magical powders. The new divining gourd was corked with a special stopper made from a cow tail which would be used in future to clean the new

\textsuperscript{14} The mentor and the initiate cut nine divining pebbles from the carcass of the sacrificed he-goat—two, each from hooves of the right foreleg and the right back leg. Two from both ankles of the right foreleg and the right back leg, one from the tip part of the right horn, another from the hard part of the light eye and the last from right hand rib.
gourd and sometimes in the cleansing ceremonies for making clients “vomit thahu” (ceremonial uncleanness). The divining gourd was put into one of the new string bags (kĩondo), while the five gourds of magical powder were put in the other string bag.

The third tool given to the newly installed Mũndũ Mũgo was the Kĩhanya (forked-stick) where string bags containing the divining and magical powers gourds were to be hung. The mentor, and the initiate took the two new string bags (cĩondo), one containing the new divining gourd and the other five small gourds of magical powders and hung them ceremonially at the senior wife’s house. The Kĩhanya was dedicated using the following prayer: “We Ngai rathima kĩhanya ġĩkĩ kĩrĩhaicagio cĩondo cĩa mwano na mĩthaiga” (God bless this forked stick on which will be hung string bags containing the new divining gourd and the magical gourds). They then offered honey beer and finger millet grains to the spirits of the departed Ago saying: “Inyuĩ Ago arıa mũri thĩĩ rũmia kĩhanya ġĩkĩ kĩa mwano na mĩthaiga” (Spirits of departed diviner – healers strengthen this forked-stick on which will hung string bags containing the divining gourd and magical powders).

They poured beer over the base of the forked stick and prayed to God to bless the new divining gourd and magical powders in the service of the initiate. They appealed to God to prevent the divining gourd from turning against the initiate’s family.
The words used in the blessings of the tools were believed to be extremely potent and effected the power desired in the divination objects. The invocations thus served to energize the tools and invite God and the benevolent spirits to bless the new Mündū Mūgo. Hence under the power bestowed on the tools of trade, a Mündū Mūgo would be feeling secure, endowed with authority and confident.

Further, the study noted that the different sacred tools of a Mündū Mūgo were believed to help one gain mystical power from the spirit world. They were also supposed to prevent illness and calamity in the community. This study confirms Turner’s ritual symbolism theory (1968:197). For example in his analysis of Ndembu cults of affliction, he found that the tools of diviner-healers “turn painfully destructive impulses and social tensions and even mental and physical illnesses into affirmative communal experiences”. Symbols (ritual items) in a religious context reflect social ideals and every item for healing is charged with a significant act referred to as supernatural values or forms. In the Giküyū context, Ago’s tools of work are ritually energized and utilized in a manner to redress or eradicate the effects of physical and mystical causes of diseases and misfortunes.

(viii) Mündū Mūgo’s Dedication

The eighth and most significant ritual was the dedication of a Mündū Mūgo. As Wanjau (O.I, 2010) recounts; “this involved the covering of the candidate’s head with specially prepared raw fatty lining from the sacrificed he-goat (rüambo). The
protruding parts were cut out to appear like a cap. When this was done, the mentor dedicated the candidate into the ūgo profession and wished him/her prosperity. As the rūambo began to dry and harden on the candidate’s face, the mentor cut it open starting from the section covering the eyes. This act, to some extent summed the symbolic meaning of the ritual, the name given to the initiation rite was; gūkunūrwo kwa Mūndū Mūgo (“the opening or uncovering of a Mūndū Mūgo). The words contain the implication of a revelatory process. This was believed to symbolize the unveiling of his eyes in order to see secrets and mysterious things connected with the ūgo profession. First, a Mūndū Mūgo was supposed to keep his/her eyes and ears open to what was happening in the community so that he/she had a store of working knowledge which he/she would use in ūgo profession. In support of the above, Turner (1969) points out that many healing rituals refer to conflicts within the community. Thus, Mūndū Mūgo is supposed to see those social disharmonies and organize rituals to overcome tensions and restore some kind of order and harmony in the community, maintaining an ontological balance.

Second, a Mūndū Mūgo in symbolic sense was supposed “to bring into open what was hidden or unknown”. This was the theme that pervaded Ago’s healing rituals. The cure was essentially a process of what Gĩkũyũ call “making the invisible known” (kũragũria or kũragũra), albeit in a symbolic way. Thus for example, when a Mūndū Mūgo confronted witchcraft, he sought to expose the secret deceit
and malice, to reveal the identity and the motives of the sorcerer. Thus his/her roles in a way shaped much the symbolic meaning of the eighth stage of gūkūnūrwə kwə Mũndũ Miũgo (the revealing of a Mũndũ Miũgo). From that day on, the new Mũndũ Miũgo should see things with “the new eyes” arising from the transformation he/she has undergone.

(ix) The Training

The final aspect of the initiation involved training. Mwaniki (0.1, 2010) noted that training of the initiated Mũndũ Miũgo was central since it equipped him/her with necessary skills for the profession. It involved some kind of apprenticeship that went far beyond the day of initiation. Ndogo (0.1, 2010) adds that the newly initiated Mũndũ Miũgo was instructed on how to divine using pebbles, to make and energize magical medicines (mithaiga) from various substances such as minerals, bones and herbs. These were presumed to have both magical efficacy and pharmaceutical value. The curriculum also involved the knowledge of the causes, diagnosis of diseases and misfortunes and their cure. He/she was also trained on how to combat witchcraft and sorcery. Further, the initiate was acquainted with the knowledge of ancestral spirits and how to appease them. Notably, the newly initiated Mũndũ Miũgo worked closely with his/her mentor until he/she eventually gained experienced that gave him/her independence to practice on his/her own.
From the foregoing, the training and healing practices of Gikũyũ is part of wider system of concepts that constitute their cultural worldview. The study deduces that the source of diseases and misfortunes can be attributed to ancestral spirits, witchcraft, and sorcery and from normal causes. It was the duty of a Mũndũ Mũgo to discover the root cause of the problem and counteract them.

4.1.3.4 **Ago’s Religious Roles in Gikũyũ Indigenous Community**

The study also sought to establish and document the religious roles of Ago in the Gikũyũ indigenous community. The aim was to find out their duties and mode of operation and why Ago’s roles were believed to symbolize the hope of good health, protection, and security from evil forces in Gikũyũ indigenous community.

The study notes that in the Gikũyũ society, there was practically a Mũndũ Mũgo in almost every village who attended to the needs of the community. Ndogo (O.I, 2010) observes the study that Ago were divine agents of healing and the Gikũyũ recognized them as divinely appointed and empowered to undertake that role within the community. Ago roles were many sided, according to Mwaniki (O.I, 2010), they were herbalists, diviners, ritual healers, charm makers for use in agriculture, hunting, love, power and businesses, protectors of warriors, finders of lost property, witch busters and witchcraft eradicators among others. Wangechi (O.1, 2010) adds that, among the many roles that Ago held are healing and divination. This finding concurs with the observation by Kibicho (2006: 22)
who categorizes Ago's roles as: psychological healing and divination. Turner's (1967, 1969) study describes these two roles as essentially “crisis rituals”, geared to rectify misfortunes in the life of an individual or community. According to Turner, they are usually undertaken in response to the information provided by a diviner-doctor who explains why the affliction has occurred. Therefore, Turner’s ritual symbolism theory was instrumental in understanding, these two Ago’s roles.

On one hand, the healing function touched on the health and whatever else in the social environment was making an individual liable vulnerable to ailment. Divination, on the other, helped Ago to decide what was right and wrong, to establish innocence or guilt in a situation of misfortune, and to prescribe well-known remedies.

(a) Ago’s Healing Methods

The study sought to highlight the methods used by Ago in healing. It notes that if a Mūgīkūyū became sick or had any other need that required the attention of a Mūndū Mūgo, nobody approached him/her alone. The head of the family, a brother or wife accompanied by another male relative, always consulted the Mūndū Mūgo on behalf of the patient. Wanjau (O.I, 2010) observes that the indigenous healing, was not only concerned with the act of treating the patient, but was also keen to investigate the cause of illness. In the investigation, Mūndū Mūgo examined all possible causes of illness among them; curses within the family circles, calamities emanating from broken taboos and oaths and
misfortunes culminating from witchcraft and sorcery. Diseases such as small pox, chicken pox and measles were perceived to arise as a result of mihümû (breath) that is, being passed from one person to another (Ndogo, 0.1, 2010).

In view of the foregoing, almost all diseases and misfortunes were usually ascribed to tensions in the local kin group in the light of social problems and conflicts, irrespective of how particular symptoms manifested themselves. A Mündû Mügo looked at a problem in its total social and psychological context, unlike the western medicine that situates the diseases between the knowledge of anatomy and germ theory.

Mwaniki (0.1, 2010) explains that Mündû Mügo's diagnosis of illness was a long and arduous process. It involved detecting the possible causes of the illness, who might have inflicted the illness, what appropriate treatment was best, and finally, what preventative measures should be taken to ensure non-recurrence. This methodology, therefore, was a form of social analysis, in which hidden conflicts were to be revealed so that they might be dealt with through established community systems.

The study further noted that Mündû Mügo in his/her diagnosis, not only referred to unseen spiritual forces, but also related the patient's condition to a whole series of disturbances in his/her social field. These concerned the following: was it the
spirits of the patient’s departed mother or father who were causing the trouble? Was it some thahu (impurity) which had come upon the family through breaking community law? Had the illness followed due to a quarrel? Was the trouble caused by some living person who was an enemy? What were the patient’s expectations and future plans? How had the illness affected these plans and future relationships? On being questioned about the cause of sickness a person did not point directly to what was ailing one physically, but instead related all the circumstances including people, ancestral spirits, places and things surrounding the origin of one’s malaise, all of which were significant for Mündū Mūgo.

We can note again that the probing refers to conflict within the family or the community. Mündū Mūgo, in order to pinpoint areas of tension, often sought unconscious impulses behind anti-social behavior. To discover these, he/she used intuition as much as wisdom that is in line with one derivative of his name, “a wise person”.

According to Wanjiru (0.1, 2010) the next step involved identifying the cause of illness from several possible causes. For example, if it emerged that the cause of the illness was a curse through interfering with land boundary, the culprit was probed further to disclose the specific details of the dispute. Identification of the cause of the illness led to the diagnosis of the disease and consequently appropriate treatment would be applied. The above findings indicate that Mündū
Miigo in his/she treatment procedure did not just refer to a spiritual agency, he/she used ideas given by the victim about the conflict to link disease to a cause in the world of visible tangible events. Psychologically, the afflicted person left satisfied that a solution had been found.

Wamucii (0.1, 2010) opines that Mundū Miigo basically applied two types of treatment, physical and spiritual. In the physical, herbal medicine made from trees, plants, seeds and roots was the prescription applied depending on the type of the disease. In regard to the spiritual aspect, the patient was asked to provide a goat or sheep to offer a sacrifice for cleansing, hence restoring the ontological order injured by his action. Other cases demanded appeasing ancestral spirits through the ceremonial slaughtering of a goat or libation. In case of a curse, the animal was slaughtered and the stomach entrails and water drawn, beginning upstream then sideways and downstream using the sign of the cosmic cross\(^\text{15}\) were used to cleanse the patient from it's effects. According to Kingori (O.I,2010), the water, drawn as mentioned signified purity and holiness and had power to cleanse and nullify the evil power, brought about by the curse. The Mundū Miigo emptied the stomach entrails and ritual water into a basin made of banana leaves. He/she then added magical powders to the mixture to give it some kind of

\(^{15}\) The respondents of the study indicated that every ritual of Gikũyũ involves praying facing the four sacred mountains in turn. As time went on the sign of the cross evolved within this religiosity as a representative of these four sacred mountains. According to Ndogo (O.I,2010), north facet of the cross represents Mt. Kenya, while east, south and west facets stand for Kilimambogo, Ngong hills and Arbedares respectively.
mystical protection against the influence of evil spirits and curses, then, he/she requested the person to squat around the basin. He dipped the foot of the sacrificial animal or a fly - whisk into the mixture in the basin, and placed it on the lips of the patient saying: “Nindagūtaḥikia kīrumi” (I cause you to vomit out the curse). When he/she had finished the process of purification, he threw the foot over his shoulders saying: “nindatee kīrumi” (I discard the curse). Afterwards the walls of client’s house were sprinkled with the same mixture, an action symbolizing that the curse had been removed. Further, Mūndū Mūgo tied a fatty meat to a captured life mole, which was returned back to its hole, “with instructions” to take it to the departed person who had cursed the person. That way, the Mūndū Mūgo counteracted the effects of the curse on the culprit’s life. This scenario was attributed to the fact that in Gikūyū’s worldview, to know the name of the spiritual agency or thing was to have some degree of control over it. Thus, in the invocation of ancestral spirits, it was essential for Mūndū Mūgo to establish their names in order to correctly appease or seek their favour using the right ritual.

It is worthwhile observing that the Gikūyū indigenous healing process did not know the germ theory as causes for diseases like in Western medicine. Thus, when a disease was serious enough to threaten life, or persisted beyond normal expectation, then it called for the service of a Mūndū Mūgo, for it demanded some kind of supernatural explanation. Mūndū Mūgo in his/her treatment, made the
invisible appear through sacrifice, and then tamed it through rituals to restore the ontological balance broken. The ritual symbols (small units of rituals) used, related to the fundamental Gikuyu values and ethics, which are brought into play in everyday rituals of curing. The study infers that the Gikuyu healing process was mainly concerned with personal relations and known causes of illness, both of which a Mündū Mūgo could manipulate through the use of his/her healing paraphernalia.

Thus, in the practice of healing, Mündū Mūgo combined herbal medicine (physical treatment) and sacrificial acts or ritual purification (spiritual treatment) and in both cases, he/she always uttered a properly framed spell or incarnation to effect healing mystically. This finding concurs with Mbiti (1969:165) that, “the medicine-man is in effect both a doctor and a pastor to the sick person.” For this, Mündū Mūgo gave much time and personal attention to the patient, which enabled him/her to penetrate the psyche of the sick person and give the psychosomatic healing.

Mündū Mūgo, according to Wangechi (0.1, 2010), concluded the process of healing by applying preventative medicine to ensure that the sickness did not recur. To do this effectively, he/she tackled the root cause of the problem, by dealing with the media that caused the sickness. In the aforementioned curse for boundary interference, the culprit was advised to have the boundary restored to its
original state, otherwise the sickness would strike again. Mūndū Mūgo counselled the culprit’s family and relatives to consult clan elders for the guilty person to remorsefully confess the mistake of unjustifiably claiming ownership of the disputed potion of land. The clan elders would then arrange for the restoration of the boundary. The business of restoring the boundary back to its rightful position reconciled the culprit with the departed members of his family, thus, restoring the broken link between the physical and spiritual world.

In this respect, Mūndū Mūgo, through healing became a source of hope of good health, moral virtue, agent of good neighbourliness and security from evil forces. This is clear from the way Mūndū Mūgo explores likely causes of illnesses, which pointed to a broken relationship with a neighbour, a parent, a relative or departed members of his/her family. Therefore, restoration of good relationship brought good health or wholesome life in the community.

(b) Divination

Divination was yet another of Ago’s main function. The study sought to find out its meaning, how it was done and what calamities it involved in Gĩkũyũ indigenous community. Kingori (O.I, 2010) observes that divination was a way of knowing the hidden causes of an affliction that affected an individual, the family or the society after the mundane means of enquiry by a Mūndū Mūgo failed to diagnose the cause of sickness. It was used when an initial treatment had failed to heal the disease or calamity. It also revealed how to deal with illness and
misfortunes in order to re-establish the broken link in the community, spiritual and environmental realms.

When told to describe the philosophy that involved divination, Wanjau (O.I, 2010) noted that in the indigenous Gikuyu community, there were various types of calamities such as sudden and violent illness, persistent disease, when bewitched, sterility or delayed pregnancy, impotence, sudden insanity, death by lightning, lack of productivity in cattle, recurring poor harvest, bad omen and epidemics. In addition, divination was also sought to gain more influence (power) to succeed in businesses and success in raids and wars. Further, to discover which communal sacrifice would end a drought, before a Mugiikuyu undertook a journey, to gain more love from a girl or a wife and whenever there is doubt. These implied that Ago's scope of competence was wide and touched various spheres of human life. Having no hospitals and an established judicial system, this was the best method of diagnosing diseases and restoring order in the community.

Mwaniki (O.I, 2010) notes that when a calamity occurred, the affected family or relative consulted MUNDI MUGO to decipher what was indeed behind the problem. Ndogo (O.I, 2010) pointed out that in the Gikuyu world view, the source was usually ascribed to tensions in the local kin group, expressed as personal grudges charged with the mystical power of sorcery and witchcraft, or as a curse from an aggrieved departed parent or parents, or even a broken taboo. MUNDI MUGO tried to elicit from clients responses which gave him/her clues to current tensions in
their groups of origin. Divination, therefore, became a form of social analysis, in the course of which hidden conflicts were revealed so that they could be dealt with by the traditionally prescribed methods as explained below.

Plate 4: The photograph below, shows the divination house of a MUNDU 

MUGO

Source: Photograph Taken in Wandumbi by Author, December 2010

In order to discover the forces behind the calamity, MUNDU MUGO used divination instruments: MWANO na MBUGU (divining gourd and pebbles). The question on how divination was done provided a platform to investigate the steps
followed by a *Mündu Múgo* in the process which to Kingori (O.I, 2010), attributes to five stages:

**Plate 5: A Mündu Múgo seeks divine intervention in order to decipher correctly the root causes of her clients’ afflictions**

Source: A Photograph Taken at Riamukurwe by Author, December 2010

First, *Mündu Múgo* held the divining gourd in both hands with the top part facing Kirinyaga (Mt. Kenya), then he turned the divining gourd to Nyandarua (Aberdares ranges), then Kïambírûrû (Ngong hills) and last, Kïanjahi (Kïlíambahogo), each time invoking God to give him/her insights to decipher the
afflictions of his/her clients. Thereafter, he/she invoked the spirits of departed Ago to give him/her wisdom to interpret correctly clients’ needs. These findings suggest that Gĩkũyũ people were aware of a mystical power that pervades the universe that comes from God and can be tapped through physical objects like the divining gourd for the wellbeing of an individual and the community. This may mean that the universe is not static or ‘dead’, but a dynamic ‘living’ and powerful. It is a religious universe and nature in broadest sense of the word is not an empty, impersonal object, but is filled with religious significance. Leakey (1977) Kibicho (2006) have supported this information. The two authors observe that God manifested His presence and power through wonders and mysteries of his creation such as, the earth, the sky, the mountains, the sun, the moon and the stars.

Second, Mũndũ Mũgo divined by shaking the divining gourd to mix well the pebbles therein and emptied it so that they formed three heaps on the divining mat. The three lots were not counted but he/she simply examined the top three or four pebbles from each heap, individually, in combination, and with reference to their special meaning to a Mũndũ Mũgo. His/she skill as an individual lay in the way in which he/she adapted his/her general exegesis of the pebbles to the given circumstances. For example, a pebble that was cut from the sacrificial he-goat during his initiation signified conflicts emanating from livestock. As such, the three heaps cast, made him form a certain opinion on which social relationship
could have been injured. However, this opinion had to be determined by further probing and two other rounds of divination.

Plate 6: A Photograph of pebbles used by a Mündū Mūgo for divination

Source: Photograph taken by Author in Kiawara, November 2010

Third, Mündū Mūgo resorted to psychological probing to get the insight on what might be the problem. He/she carried out diagnostic in-depth interview in which actual physical examination played a quite insignificant part in order to relate the client’s condition to a whole series of disturbances in his/she social field. The study found out that the clients did not know the cause of the illness or
misfortunes being diagnosed. In this sense, they were ignorant of the situation and therefore at the mercy of the Mündū Mūgo. But in the first place, as revealed by the initial three heaps of pebbles and the interrogation, Mündū Mūgo clearly knew that he/she was investigating within a social context of a particular kind. Gĩkũyũ believed that in their community, there were sorcerers and witches. In reality, as the Mündū Mūgo well knew, there were also rivals who might stand to benefit if the sick person died.

He/she then probed the relations of those who came on behalf of the sick person to know if one of them had grudges with the sick. He/she was assisted in this task by his/her knowledge of the categories of persons who make up the village and the sick person’s kinship. By the time he/she finished his interrogation, he/she had a complete picture of the current structure of the village, the position occupied by the sick person and by those who came to consult him/her. However, Mündū Mūgo had learned through experience the Gĩkũyũ divinatory procedure to reduce the social system to a few basic causes, and to juggle with these until he/she arrived at a decision that agreed with the views of the majority of his clients. However, it was clients who revealed what they were going through during the probing session.

Fourth, in line with the aforementioned, Mündū Mūgo divined further to determine the patient’s problem using five short sticks, where each designated a
cause of affliction that the clients believed might be the cause based on his/her probing. The client was not supposed to disclose to a Mündū Mügo what affliction each stick represented. The correct stick bearing the client’s problem had to be isolated from others by a Mündū Mügo through divination. He/she was guided to this stick, however, not by an objective analysis of pebbles, but rather by an intuition into what was just and fitting in terms both of Giküyũ moral values and an ethical code which would be recognized as valid by all the people. Thus, if he/she divined the cause of affliction as witchcraft or sorcery, it was usually for him/her to add something about the human hatred, jealousies and misdeeds that had brought such agents into play. If he/she divined the wrath of ancestral spirits as the cause, it was typical for him/her to point out to the client’s breach of community taboo or family morality which had attracted the wrath.

Fifth, having known the cause of affliction, the client went back to the bush and picked again several five short lengths of green sticks. He/she labeled each stick to represent a different solution of the problem given by the Mündū Mügo. He/she divined for a third time and selected a stick that the divining pebbles revealed. The sticks are the key to the entire system of Giküyũ divination. The short sticks may be said to stand for the sifting of the true cause of misfortune from falsehood. And since it was the clients who assign a certain cause to each short stick, Mündū Mügo was reluctant to admit that his/her divination failed if the problem was not solved through the prescribed rituals. Consequently, he/she resulted to laying
blame on his/her clients that they had failed to observe the recommended taboos or refused to follow to the letter instructions given.

Eventually, through the process of divination, Mündū Mięgo “discovered” the force behind the calamity, which then paved the way to prevent further trouble. If, for example, the calamity arose due to bewitchment caused by an aggrieved neighbour, as a result of stolen property, Mündū Mięgo assumed the role of a doctor, pastor, psychiatrist, lawyer, police person and a mediator between human beings and the spiritual world (Mbiti 1969:166 and Schofféleurs 1989: 160). Wairimu, (O.I, 2010) notes that Mündū Mięgo counselled the culprit (the thief), to seek reconciliation with the owner of the stolen property, for the witchcraft to be counteracted. According to Ndogo (O.I, 2010), in order to prevent future theft, the owner of the property, was also advised to have his/her home “treated”. This usually involved Mündū Mięgo visiting the home at odd hours of the night, and going round the homestead sprinkling blood of a slaughtered goat of one color, burying some magical concoctions mixed with stomach entrails and body parts of the goat on the ground or within the boundary line. This was believed to cushion the person from any attack, be it physical or spiritual. Thus, in his/her role as diviner, he/she imparted reconciliation, good neighbourliness and justice. By so doing, he/she played a sacrosanct role in Gĩkũyũ religiosity.
Observably, Gikuyu healing process was concerned with personal relations and the personal causes of diseases and misfortunes, both of which could be manipulated through the use of rituals. Thus, since Gikuyu did not know of natural causes of serious diseases, they resorted to divination rather than diagnosis method of contemporary science. Second, the effectiveness of Gikuyu healing was believed to be in efficacy of communication. Messages of factual knowledge in regard to the illness and remedial measures were passed to patient (in the above case, the thief) and the complainant (the owner of the property) for the healing process to take place. The communication attitude of the sick was enhanced by the use of ritual (divination) which often derived its power from repeated use in a variety of contexts, and which had an effect on the psychology of an individual. Even where an allowance is made for conjuring tricks, superstition, manipulation and hidden means of communication, and other skilled use of laws of nature by a Mündu Múgo, one is left and confronted with phenomena which cannot be scientifically explained. Turner (1967) supports these conclusions by observing that the African healing system is a logic of communication, affecting people’s attitude through symbolic associations.

4.1.3.5 Conclusion

The above discussion has shown clearly that Gikuyu had developed beliefs and practices in ūgo, which was believed to have kept the community healthy and vibrant prior to the influence of Christianity. These practices were steeped into the
community’s religio-cultural background and served as a seedbed for such fundamental beliefs Ago as God’s agent in healing, wholeness of life, divination, and purification.

The section also demonstrates that from ũgo’s rituals, Gĩkũyũ religion consists of both animal sacrifices and placatory gifts such as beer honey. Important symbolism in Gĩkũyũ religion has also been noted in the course of the study, showing that beliefs and practices in ũgo are covered within Turner’s ritual symbolism theory. The results show that beliefs and practices in ũgo were an organized process that comprised of a number of stages that open out in consistent fashion, showing an enormous element of order in their function. All the rituals discussed in this section systematically follow the pattern propounded by Turner.

In addition, the study demonstrates that the major goal in Gĩkũyũ religion was that of a search for protection against diseases and misfortunes and the support of their God and ancestral spirits. From initiation rituals and ũgo practices where the aforementioned spiritual beings are addressed, it became essential to agree with Horton (1995) that Gĩkũyũ religion is indeed one of manipulation. The above observations also provide sufficient support that beliefs and practices in ũgo are central to Gĩkũyũ religious and cultural practices. Resulting from the study are five Gĩkũyũ religious beliefs: God, ancestral spirits, mystical power, power of words and the conception that health or wholeness consisted of a person’s
harmonious relationship with spiritual, fellow human beings and the environment. All these form the central basis of Gikuyu religiosity that missionaries never understood as will be discussed in the following section.

SECTION II

The Church of Scotland Mission: Its Evangelization and Interpretation of Beliefs and Practices in Õgo

4.2: Religio-Cultural Worldview of the Christian Missionary Organization

Nthamburi (1995) points out that the Christian Missionary Organizations that worked in Africa came from Spain, Portugal, England, Italy, France and Germany among others. Their intention was to Christianize, civilize and provide medical care to Africans. As a result, Turaki (2002) states that a “mixture of Western Christian Worldview” was what the missionaries transmitted to Africa. Similarly, Kibicho (2006) argues that the conflict with African cultures occurred precisely because missionaries came with a different worldview informed by their social-political, historical, theological, doctrinal, and philosophical factors. In Kalu’s (1979: 17) brief rendering of what most African scholars refer to “Western Worldview”. He observes:

Reasons for the nineteenth century revival of the missionary enterprise include scientific discoveries, voyages of exploration, new and aggressive mercantilist
economic theories, scientific theories of racism, and competition for plantation of colonies, as well as humanitarianism, anti slavery movements, resettlement of liberated slaves and the desire to convert souls allegedly headed for perdition.

These then, were some of the factors which determined to a very great extent missionaries’ impression and evaluation of Africans. However, the study’s concern is the religio-cultural ideology of the missionaries occasioned by the era of Enlightenment. Thus, the mindset that underpinned the scholarship in the eighteenth century Europe is well articulated by Said (1993: 50): “The belief that mankind formed a marvelous, almost symphonic whole whose progress and formations could be studied exclusively as a concerted and secular historical experience not as an exemplification of the divine.”

This worldview is chiefly what undergirded the course of the Enlightenment that commenced with the works of people like Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and Rene Descartes (1596-1650). As advocates of the Enlightenment, they proposed the principles that anchored the scientific method and unleashed the forces that would undercut the political and cultural dominance of the Church. To them, the West for a long time, lived under the yoke and darkness of religious beliefs generated in part by the Reformation, but new age approached as observed by the archpriests of Enlightenment. This compelled some Westerners to seek for an alternative hermeneutics to understand the world.
Therefore, the ground was set for the quest of a scientific way “to know” and “to explain” the universe from the perspective of “individual self”. With the breakthroughs in both science and in philosophy, the Age of Reason was inaugurated in the West. Greene (2003: 74-75) states that “science replaced religion as the final arbiter of truth” and became the most acceptable way of understanding the world and manipulating it for human purposes. Consequently, “Omni competent human reason” became the universal test of all knowledge.

The Enlightenment permanently and radically disrupted the theological worldview created in the Middle Ages and eschewed by the Reformation. A new cosmology replaced the hierarchical ordering of reality, and an enterprise displaced the theological outlook. However, it suffices to note that the relationship and influence of Enlightenment on Christianity is a complex matter that goes beyond the scope of this study. Similarly, Newbigin (1986) posits that the extent to which the Enlightenment has shaped Western Christianity is ambivalent. Nevertheless, some theologians demonstrate correctly that Enlightenment ideologies have influenced Western Christianity. For instance, McGrath (1996: 165) observes that Western Christianity imbibed the Enlightenment’s deceptive theme of “supremacy of human reason” which reflected on its views of scripture, spirituality, apologetics and evangelism.

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16 The missionaries came from different missionary agencies which were connected with some Church denominations that had different theological and anthropological views.
Regarding the influence of the Enlightenment on Western Christian’s understanding of Mission, he observes: -

Evangelism, on the basis of an Enlightenment worldview is about persuading people of the truth of the Gospel – with that crucial word ‘truth’ being understood in a strongly rational manner as “propositional correctness”. Evangelism thus concerns the proclamation of the cognitive truth of the Gospel with a demand for its acceptance. (McGrath 1996: 177)

Becker (1932) argues that the extent to which Western Christianity absorbed the Enlightenment ideologies has remained a subject of massive debates. However, it is important to recognize that the Enlightenment forced most Western theologians to make some theological adjustment in order to become relevant to the intellectual culture that the Enlightenment brought about. Ng’weshemi (2002), observes that this adjustment had a dual effect on the Western missionary expedition to Africa.

On the one hand, the intellectual and scientific understanding of life as demarcated into religious and secular spheres, made missionaries feel that the future of Christianity was under serious threat by the spread of secularism and other consequences of Enlightenment. Thus, there was urgency to reach out to the un-Christian population to Christianize them as a way of checking the aforementioned threat. On the other hand, the Enlightenment mindset made some
missionaries\footnote{It is important to note that the attitudes of missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries expressed toward Africans were different. Some of missionaries such as Parrinder, Evans Pritchard and Victor Turner due to their theological anthropology, viewed and treated Africans in a more humane manner while others construed Africans as lesser-beings.} to view Africans as living in darkness and backwardness and as a "people who were irrational, ignorant, irreligious, and uncivilized" (Ng’ Weshemi, 2002: 40-41).

The negative attitude toward Africans was also occasioned by Darwin’s theory of evolution. The theory was an expression of faith in progress referred to as the natural sciences. Not only was humankind progressing but also all nature and development was part of the structure of the universe. As is the case with social progress, this is not easy to advance, “but a harsh struggle in which the fittest survive and in the very act of surviving, contribute to the progress of the entire species (Ferrel, 1967).

Since progress is an important value in human life, and even for other creation, Africans, according to 19th Century European missionaries, remained at virtually the same level of culture without making any progress for thousands of years. They seemed idle among major races of the world to have halted in the Stone Age, too comfortable to go any further (Jenkins 2002:40). Like his comrades back home, Tylor a disciple of Darwin, believed the advanced European culture represented the most obvious signs of their superiority. Conversely, Africans were inferior because they did not show tangible evidence of progress. There
were no railways, steamships, factories and not any sign of industry. It followed, according to Tylor, that Africans were “primitive” (Greene, 2000). By this he meant that they were at “a rudimentary stage in the supposed process of evolution of humanity” (Kibicho 2006:2). In regard to the general attitude of missionaries towards African beliefs and customs, Parrat (1991: 4) states that:-

> Western missionaries stressed aspects of discontinuity between Christianity and African cultures and traditional religion to such an extent that they excluded the aspects of continuity between Christianity and African cultures and traditional religion. They condemned, without proper evaluation, African religious beliefs and practices and substituted them with Western cultural and religious practices.

This is an example that in many respects points to the fact that such attitudes were influenced by the Enlightenment mindset, for in many ways missionaries were the offspring of their age (Enlightenment era) and a product of the intellectual worldview. Thus, when the indigenous religious tenets such as divination failed the scientific and intellectual tests of the West, many missionaries dismissed them as mere superstitions, claiming that they were incapable of contributing positively to Christianity (Bujo 1992:43-49). What many Western missionaries failed to take seriously, to quote Karkkainen (2003:248) was the fact that “the average African Christian takes the story of Jesus at face value”. The kind of critical – historical questioning that is so common in the West is foreign to African Christians. African culture is at home with the stories of unusual events such as divination, miracles, visions, prophecies and healing.
Greene (2003) argues that Jesus ceased to be acknowledged as the Logos incarnate or the Divine Son of the Father and became instead the great example of moral excellence or the simple teacher of common sense religion. The Western missionaries set off on a mission journey to the sub-Saharan Africa holding tenaciously unto their intellectual worldview that was deeply shaped by the Enlightenment. Bosch (1987: 42), laments this state of affairs:

> By the time the first European missionaries arrived in Africa, they... were children of the Enlightenment and tended to deny the existence of supernatural forces located in human beings as well as the reality of spirits in general and the ‘living-dead’ in particular. They thought that, with education, these ‘superstitions’ would disappear. It took a long time before they understood that, for Africans, these forces were a reality and had to be accepted as such.

As a result, Western missionaries worked at suppressing this worldview instead of equipping the African Christians to address it in accordance with the Biblical witness. The subjugation of Africa implied erasing most of what Africans held dear. The missionaries, in their part, sought to create a spiritual and cultural empty slate upon which they could inscribe a new culture and a new spirituality, thus discouraging Africans from creating the “African Church”. It is in this vein that Hastings (1979: 119) asserts:

> The three combined bodies – missionaries, government and companies, or gainers of money – do form the same role to look upon the native with mockery eyes. It sometimes startles us to see that the three combined bodies are from Europe and along with them there is a title “Christendom”. And to compare or make a comparison between the master of the title and his servant, it pushes any African away from believing the master of the title. If we had power enough to communicate ourselves to Europe we
would advise them not to call themselves “Christendom” but “Europeandom”.

The influence of Enlightenment ideology on Western missionaries will become more evident through exploration of CSM missionaries estimation of the beliefs and practices in ūgo. They did not realize the need for spiritual reformation of the Gĩkũyũ worldview empowered by the beliefs and practices in ūgo.

4.2.1: Missionaries’ Attitude towards Gĩkũyũ Belief System

In the backdrop of asking about the CSM perception about beliefs and practices in ūgo, it was vital to obtain general attitude it had on the Gĩkũyũ belief system. The study revealed that it was at first friendly, but later changed to condemnation. Muriithi (0.1 2010) notes that CMS missionaries started joining African dances and even borrowed skin dresses to wear while dancing. Munge (0.1, 2010) adds that:

The first missionaries mixed with the Gĩkũyũ and did not consider their traditional belief system as sinful and contrary to the word of God. They ate Gĩkũyũ food and drunk the liquid gruel (ūcũrũ). They did many other things done by the Gĩkũyũ, such as; snuffing tobacco, dances and participated in their rituals.

Munge (0.1, 2010), whose father, Wohoro was in the first class of Tūmūtūmū mission hospital that was trained in medicine by the hospital superintendent Dr. Philip, affirms that his father informed him that missionaries did not object Gĩkũyũ cultural practices such as dances, female circumcision and ūgo. However, “Nothing was said of dress or the food the Gĩkũyũ ate during those
early days” he reckons. Wambui (01, 2010) notes that this complacency was short lived, for CSM developed a negative attitude towards Gikuyu religious belief system, denouncing most of the indigenous customs and traditions. Wakiredu (0.1, 2010) observes that their belief system was viewed as not capable of teaching some truths and spiritual values of Christian living.

In addition, Mathenge (0.1, 2010) informed the study that: *Maändù ma ündũøre wiũ monirwo mari ma ngoma* (our heritage was equated with Satanism). This finding is consistent with the observation of Githieya (1997) and Kibicho (2006) that according to CSM, conversion to Christianity meant dissociation of Gikuyu social-religious traditions, customs and rituals. This shows that, CSM missionaries’ dominant attitude was that Gikuyu belief system had no divine imprints worth retaining. As Niebuhr (1951:1) has pointed out, the relationship between Christ and culture has been “an enduring problem” throughout the history of the Christianity expansion. Notably, this will be evident as we explore the CSM’s evangelization methods. The CSM approach utilized two of Niebuhr’s(1951) models; missiological theory namely Christ above culture and Christ against culture. According to Christ above culture motif, Christ is not against any culture or absorbed into it. Instead, he is viewed as coming to perfect it. Thus the use of vernacular in the evangelization of the Gikuyu people was considered good by the CSM, despite the fact that Christ was considered to be
discontinuous with the culture. Christ against culture implied a negative attitude to Gikuyu’s belief system.

4.2.2: Denigration of Beliefs and Practices in Ûgo in the CSM Missionaries

Evangelization Process

In order to analyze the CSM’s negative evaluation of the beliefs and practices in Ûgo, the study sought to highlight the evangelism strategies used by CSM and their effectiveness and weaknesses. These were categorized into the following: evangelization through mission stations, out schools, Churches, and western medicine.

i) Evangelism through Mission Stations

Chiuri (0.1, 2010), who was a recruit of the Tumutumú mission station in the 1930s observed that from the beginning of the mission station, missionaries separated converts from Gikuyu traditionalists. According to Jusufu (0.1, 2010) another recruit, the objective was to have a Christian community composed of converts who would stand out as separate from their perceived Gikuyu evil environment such as beliefs and practices in Ûgo. Joseph (ibid) added that it is in this context that missionaries at Tumutumú mission station started a boarding school for both boys and girls. The Mission subsequently developed a village inside the mission station comprising of dormitories and other buildings. This was to educate converts in the Western standards that would contribute to Church
growth and empower them with knowledge necessary to develop their community. The boarding schools were referred to as *mambere*. The word *mambere* may be interpreted in many ways. One meaning is genesis or beginning (Chiuri 0.I, 2010), but Jusufu differs and says the word is taken from the expression ‘Babel’ in Genesis 11:9. When people tried to build the tower of Babel to reach heaven, God punished them by making it impossible for them to understand each others’ language. As there was confusion in the Biblical Babel, so it was in *mambere* as converts had not lived together before and were not of the same age-group. Despite the varied interpretation, *mambere* was the ‘first’ school in Gikuyu land and truly as informants have noted, there was ‘confusion’ at the beginning.

These findings are consistent with Githieya’s (1997) and Karanja’s (1999) observations that one of the strategies of evangelism used by CSM missionaries was to create a community of believers in their mission stations known us *mambere* and *icai* for boys and girls respectively. The aforementioned scholars report that *mambere* literary meant “the first” and were actually the initial schools used for promoting the Gospel and building up Christian converts in Gikuyu land.

Gikuyu parents at the beginning did not see the need to send their children to *mambere*. As such, Jusufu (0.1 2010) notes, almost all the young girls and boys who formed these first groups of *mambere* were children of the workers in the
mission centre. As Chiuri (0.1 2010) puts it, *mambere* interfered with the assigned gender roles in the society. For instance, the Gĩkũyũ culture dictated that boys herd cattle, and keep the birds away from millet fields, while girls catered for homes and gardens. Mission attendance was fiercely resisted because it interfered with the Gĩkũyũ economic activities.

In order to gain more students, missionaries with the help of African teachers - evangelists from the Kikuyu mission station, conducted evangelical meetings and pastoral visits in the villages neighboring Tũmũtũmũ mission station thrice a week (Baragu, OI, 2010). However, this move was also resisted for the children who joined *mambere* could no longer provide required labor in the community. More so, converts were being accused by the unschooled villagers of drinking water with “human skulls” and eating birds like partridges and other wild animals such as duiker and gazelle. According to the Gĩkũyũ, these things were taboo to be consumed only by the *Aathi* (hunters) family who ate wild animals (Miano, 2008). Joseph (O.I, 2010), who attended the *mambere* school in early 1940, had to be cleansed on returning home for holidays because attending *mambere* and practising the aforementioned “evil” was seen like touching a dead body.

As a result, missionaries resorted to other methods of befriending the Gĩkũyũ. Wacu (0.1 2010), adds that they started offering little gifts such as sugar, salt, sweets and money to parents during their evangelistic visits to the villages. The
missionaries also lured the Gikuyu to reciprocate by visiting the mission and also participate in its activities such as worship and literacy. Moreover, those children who had been recruited by the first African teachers-evangelists were provided with clothes, food and other gifts which they took home in order to attract other parents to send their children to school. These gifts Wacu (0.1, 2010) says were nicknamed *mwokoko* literally meaning, "coming closer", due to their drawing power to the mission station.

According to Munge (0.1, 2010), besides missionaries impressive connection, wit and geniality, they continued to crusade for children to join *mambere*. They approached the local chiefs to assist them in recruiting school children. Some chiefs co-operated, hoping that the colonial government would show favour for their support to the mission. More often, as Wambui (0.1, 2010) notes, when chiefs were asked to provide boys for instruction, some brought those from the homes of their enemies. They did this probably as a way of exercising their authority over their rivals, to annoy them and also to destabilize their (rivals') families. Such children after gaining education played an important part in the growth of the church in the future, thus making others realize the importance of education.

The study notes that initially, there were no prerequisites for entry to *mambere* schools. First, the missionaries ensured that *mambere* school in their evangelization strategy utilized the method of separating their new converts from
their “heathen” brothers and sisters. They based this separation on the ground that to be a Christian meant to break away from one’s culture. Thus, the converts were confined to the mission station and therefore cut off from their relatives and community. Kareri’s memoirs on how he joined Tūmūtūmū mission reveals this cultural alienation. He states that:

I recall the morning of 4th of September 1913 vividly as it was the day I left home determined to go to school, and the way I arrived at Tūmūtūmū Mission where I was welcomed by Nyamachaki (Miss Stevenson)( italics mine). I remember how she glowed with happiness ... Nyamachaki gave me one shirt with white and black stripes and one sheet for strapping myself in and a piece of soap ... When I came to river Iraguma... I got clean and then dressed in the shirt and bound myself with the sheet... I left Iraguma like a ‘Europeanized’ person ... After leaving Iraguma and going back to the Mission I was given a blanket and allocated a dormitory where I would be sleeping... Nyamachaki was a very time conscious person and as her pupil, I have inherited that practice from her. Everything she did such as, eating, sleeping, going to school and even playing was according to set times. She made sure that everyone went to class (Miano 2008:78).

The testimony of Kareri highlights that at the mambere, which was viewed as the model of Western Christian literacy, morality, discipline, spiritual formation and conduct were geared to teach converts the European manners in eating, dressing and character. Further, the converts were also compelled to avoid the cultural practices such as dances, songs, polygamy, initiation rites in particular clitoridectomy, sacrifices, communion with ancestral spirits, magic, taboo and ūgo. This was done with an aim of converting Gĩkũyũ to fit in the totality of missionaries’ mindset. It was based on the assumption that Africans once devalued would be easily manipulated. These findings concur with Githieya’s
(1997) observations and Karanja’s (1999) that missionaries’ policy of isolating their *mambere* converts from the rest of the Gikuyū was an attempt to create a community that could not be sanctioned by the traditional norms, so that it could be colonized easily.

*Mambere’s* curriculum according to Chiuri (O.I, 2010) was designed in Gikuyū language and included the following subjects; Christian education, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Geography. It was implemented within an atmosphere that provided for daily church attendance in the morning and before retiring to bed, Sunday worship, acquiring European manners and clothing, as well as attending catechumen classes. The missionaries at Tūmūtūmū favoured the syllabic method of teaching. It required students to learn syllables until they could read individual words fluently. Besides reading, converts were also taught how to count and be efficient in arithmetic. As they progressed in learning, Mathenge (O.I, 210) indicated that the next primer text taught was *Karirikania: Kabuku ga Kuririkania Andu Maundu*18-The reminder: A booklet to remind people about important lessons) drafted by Stevenson in 1910. The teachings were as follows: “God has given the Kikuyu a good country that lacks neither food nor water or forests. It’s therefore good for the Kikuyu to praise God, for he has been very generous to them”. Missionaries further taught moral lessons by telling pithy biographical stories about Christ and other characters. The standard reading book

was *Ng’ano cia Tene Tene* ¹⁹(OT Stories), composed by Barlow and printed in 1909 (with several editions later). It was a collection of morality plays. The story of Nebuchadnezzar, the proud king who was humbled by God was featured prominently and, the story of the strong man, Samson, whose weakness was his pride. These stories were supposed to illustrate a moral lesson. Missionaries narrated them to encourage their students to reflect on their own lives, to measure themselves against the characters in the book. As Stevenson (1910:21) explains:

(The stories) can be used as a help to raise their ideals. I remember the almost amused surprise with which tales of self-sacrifice used to be received; the other day the story of the Roman soldier at the gates of Pompeii roused a very different emotion. They are being helped to realize that a man’s greatness is not always and everywhere measured by the number of wives he possesses.

The biographies were the means by which missionaries modelled morality, good conduct, self-sacrifice to their students, thus reducing Christianity to ideological propaganda that the Gĩkũyũ coverts were supposed to imbibe without raising questions. Jusufu (O.I, 2010) further notes that the Gĩkũyũ converts were also taught skills of trade such as agriculture, carpentry and masonry or bricklaying. Tũmũtũmũ mission station had to employ the Gĩkũyũ converts in construction work, as house servants and in tilling mission gardens. Girls were taught tailoring and handicrafts such as; weaving bags and baskets, sewing and knitting, hygiene, nutrition and childcare. This was geared to make them good wives of male

¹⁹ First published as *Ng’ano cia Tene Tene* (OT stories), then revised and re-titled *Mohoro ma Tene Tene* in 1917.
converts and serve as an example to non-believers. The assumption on the part of the CSM missionaries was that literate converts educated in western standards could contribute to church growth and equip the Gikuyu to participate in the activities of the society. Wamue (1999: 96) confirms this by observing that missionaries' intention through western education was not only to develop Christian communities that were economically self-supporting but also for formal employment.

According to Munge (O,l, 2010), in their enthusiasm to acquire new knowledge, most converts adopted wholesomely and without discrimination what their missionary teachers taught. A major effect of mambere education was that it was heavily dominated by Western values such that the Gikuyu cultural and religious systems were largely ignored. On returning home, the converts, to the dismay of their people, utterly disregarded their cultural way of life and imitated the missionaries thereby perceiving the Gikuyu way of life as backward and irreligious. By so doing, the converts started disobeying their parents and elders whom they perceived as illiterate, naive, outdated and un-christian. These findings are consistent with Muita's (2002: 33) observation that missionaries' intention of creating mambere was to disrupt the Gikuyu communal bond, by introducing new notion of community based on individual rights and freedom. According to Muita, missionaries' intention was to help coverts have freedom to
renounce aspects of traditional worldview which seemed to contradict Christian teaching.

According to Chiuri (O.I, 2010), converts who graduated from *mambere* school, were encouraged to live together in distinctively Christian villages, before being allowed to rejoin their 'heathen' brothers and sisters. Thus, they (converts) became separated from their relatives and neighbours. Despite the negative aspect of this move, Christian communities would not have emerged without such separation. As Joseph (0.1. 2010) indicates, converts developed a distinctive form of togetherness, in which all cases among them were settled by their leaders, failure to which such matters would be taken to the missionaries. Every morning and evening Christians met in small groups for prayer, and once a week, in the home of one of them for spiritual encouragement. On Saturdays, leaders inspected their homes to check on cleanliness and also to remind them about Sunday worship. These observations also, concur with the observation of Karanja (1999) that these Christians villages brought with them a new concept of community in which the head of *mbari* was no longer the authority figure.

In stark contrast to the above, Jusufu (O.I, 2010) notes that despite missionaries' efforts to convert Africans, their worldview continued to be shaped and informed by Gikuyu culture. To the Gikuyu missionaries were similar to *Ago* in matters of healing. They set up hospitals and dispensaries in which they treated the sick.
Nevertheless, though the power to heal physical diseases surpassed that of Ago, the early missionaries could not radically replace them in the Gĩkũyũ worldview. Missionaries’ mode of treatment did not address itself to illness and misfortunes attributed to curses, sorcery, witchcraft and ancestral spirits. It also lacked the spiritual aspect and did not deal with the question of diseases counteracting to avoid future recurrence. As such, many converts continued to secretly consult Ago during crisis thereby strengthening beliefs and practices in ũgo, which continued despite CSM evangelism through mambere.

This leads the study to infer that the Gĩkũyũ worldview continues to wield great fear and control in the lives of many Gĩkũyũ Christians. This is clearly observed by Bottignole (1984: 45) that many Gĩkũyũ Christians feel more secure in beliefs and practices in ũgo. There is undeniable truth in this remark, but it is essential to realize as we have indicated in Horton’s theory that the problem lies in the ways African religion and Christianity envision the functions of each faith. As we saw, African religion is both functionalistic and utilitarianistic, thereby addressing African’s existential needs while Christianity deals with communion with God and eternal life. This difference therefore, questions the sufficiency of Christianity to deliver and secure Gĩkũyũ Christians from the fear of witchcraft, curses, taboo and ancestral spirits. This will become evident in the next section.
On the other hand, evangelization through mission stations had some amiable benefits. Translating teaching material into Gĩkũyũ language was helpful, not only in assisting the converts to read and write but also creatively serving their pastoral, political and cultural needs. Before the translation, converts’ knowledge of the Bible was mainly derived from missionaries, who imparted it selectively. Bible translation into Gĩkũyũ language, for example, later created a sense of pride among the early Africans for it affirmed that God also “spoke” in their language. Further, the new converts had full access to God’s word without intermediaries which contributed to the growth and development of the Church. However, this development did not facilitate the process of Africanizing the Church since it was done in total disregard, of Gĩkũyũ culture.

The isolationist strategy was a great impediment to the process of indigenization, since Christianity was not interpreted from the perspective of the religio-cultural context and historical experiences of the Gĩkũyũ. Kiaziku confirms this by observing that:-

Inculturation does not mean living in a ghetto, being closed in or marginalized, it means rather, a participation, dialogue, pluralism, and constant openness to the future. Animated by the Holy Spirit, the Church, universal and particular, grows in the understanding and putting into action of the Gospel of Christ in the world; thus, growing in faith and charity, and in continued purification and conversion (Kiaziku 2009:75)
The isolationist strategy was an obstacle to inculturation, instead of promoting it, the method became a hindrance. Consequently, universality remained abstract, with its uniformity becoming the exclusive strategy for ensuring that the converts were not contaminated by 'heathen' brothers and sisters. Thus, isolationist strategy contributed to Christianity devoid of cultural garb. As will be noted, the missionaries used a similar approach in their evangelization in the out-schools.

(ii) Evangelization through the Out-Schools

Anderson (1974:80) states that, “Education is so much a part of Christianity in East Africa that it is difficult to believe that there was ever any Christianity without it”. In Tūmūtūmū, Christianity was a literacy movement right from the beginning. The converts were referred to as called athomi (Singular Mūthomi) which, according to Kibicho (2006) is translated “literates or sophisticates”. As Karanja (1999:42) explains “the word is formed from the infinitive gūthoma (to read) which is a corrupted transliteration of the Swahili infinitive verb “kusoma” (to read), and early mission converts were called athomi due to their ability to read. The Gīkūyū word for education is gūthomo, which is also used for a Church service. As such, a person going to either school or church would say “I am going to gūthomo. Kibicho (ibid:76) notes that, acceptance of the new religion was described as gūthoma “to be a literate” or “to be a Christian” which are synonymous to the Gīkūyū".
Mathenge (O. I, 2010) notes, as time progressed, many youth from far and wide started flocking to *mambere* school, until it was considered prudent to open day schools in the villages as an extension of the main *mambere* at the Tūmūtūmū mission. In addition, Christians who graduated from it requested missionaries to be allowed to start schools in their “new villages”, known as “out – schools”. As Wacu (O.I, 2010) observes, missionaries discovered that converts were won, not so much by the preaching in the villages, rather by the out - schools. A pattern was thus developed on how to start the out – schools as follows. as Jusufu (O.I, 2010) posits; first, the chief’s consent was to be sought. Second, students, teacher-evangelists and missionaries went round creating awareness to the community or village. However, students would be withdrawn when their parents realized the out – school was aimed at condemning the cherished Gīkūyū culture. And third, parents discovered the social-economic benefits of education, thereby creating a greater demand for literacy. Students enrolled in big numbers while people in villages beyond demanded for more schools.

Chiuri (O.I, 2010) adds that at first, these out-schools were huts made of wattle poles, mud and grass roofs, with beaten earth floors used during the week as school and on Sundays as the churches. However, according to the pattern above, Mathenge (O.I, 2010) provides a valuable insight that the spread of schools was intimately linked with evangelism and preaching. These schools became centers of evangelization. Chiuri (O.I, 2010), observes that the out – schools’ curriculum
was modeled on the *mambere* mission school. Prior to the start of the lessons, the usual morning prayers were conducted by the African teacher — evangelists in charge of schools. Wambugu (O.I, 2010), notes: “the service marked the key-note of the day. Everyone went about his/her work thereafter with a quiet reverence that made one feel that the little mud and wattle school was truly the house of God”. Muriithi (O.I, 2010) opines, “the schools were traps used by the missionaries to convert the *Gĩkũyũ* to Christianity”. Blakeslee collaborates this by noting:

> In that primitive school [the out- school] the way that leads to the village of God, the truth that makes wise unto salvation, would be made clear to all those who would come to hear and then go their ways through the African world (Blakeslee 1956: 77)

It is obvious from the above that the out- schools were indeed used as springboards to evangelism. The carefully crafted programs were meant to impress *athomi* (readers) to renounce their former life and embrace Christianity, thus disinheriting their cultural outlook and clothing them with the western worldview.

Wacu (0.1 2010) notes that in the quest for education (which also served as a major criterion for formal employment), *Gĩkũyũ* children flocked to schools. Due to shortage of teachers and other facilities necessary for the successful running of the schools, it was necessary to give preference to children whose parents were either already converted or willing to convert. This method was influential in
encouraging the unconverted parents to choose Christianity for the sake of their children’s education. Kibicho (2006: 94) further observes that: “education was the primary motivation which brought the African to missionary Christianity even before European occupation was well established.”

Mathenge (O.I, 2010) points out that in the beginning, the CSM depended on the services rendered by Gikuyu teachers who had received their elementary education for a few years in Tumutumui mission. The Tumutumui mission graduates were the ones who, in cooperation with the missionaries, started and maintained the out- schools, where most Gikuyu converts were won. Prior to being recruited, teachers were given special training to ensure that they understood the CSM’s approach of evangelism through formal education. This training was done in the afternoon while in the morning they taught in the out – schools. This is clearly observed by Kareri (in Miano, 2008):

I went ahead well with my education and by the end of 1914, I became a teacher/pupil. As I have said above that one went to teach in the morning and then came back to be taught in the afternoon, so it was with me. I went on well such that by 1918 I signed for apprenticeship; that was to make a covenant with the mission, with the government as a witness, that would stay for three years as a pupil/teacher and all that time I was to be under the authority of the mission, day and night (Miano 2008: 203-204).

Missionaries visited the village schools regularly for inspection to ensure that the teachers adhered to the approved curriculum and performed their duties with devotion (Wakirendu O.I, 2010). These local teachers had a dual role of teaching
and propagating the Gospel. Through out-schools, missionaries’ intention was to eradicate “heathenism” and convert many into Christianity, besides gaining employable skills.

According to Baragu (O.I, 2010), the implication of all these was that the youths who availed themselves to the opportunity of getting missionary education, were able to possess material rewards given by Europeans, thereby placing them higher than other members of the community. As a result, most of them accepted the contemporary scientific worldview advocated by the missionaries that rendered traditional beliefs and practices outdated. As time went on, some of the early Christians, especially those who were generally young, were appointed as teachers and lay evangelists, in order to undermine the role of the Mūramati (trustee) and the traditional elders. This was a deliberate move to disrupt Gikũyũ leadership system. It also presupposed a different understanding of the family and community (Githieya, 1997).

Against this background, it was among the athomi that welfare organizations found their supporters. The first was Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), formed in 1921 under the leadership of Harry Thuku, a muthomi from Kikuyu mission. Its influence spread even to athomi of Tūmūtūmũ mission in Kiambu. The primary purpose of the YKA was to highlight Africans grievances against
colonial forced labor, land policies, denigration of Gikuyu customs and African education. YKA was later changed to East African Association (EAA) in order to broaden the base and bring other communities on board. In a very short time, EAA\'s activities, which were viewed by the missionaries and the colonial government as subversive, led to political agitation everywhere and succeeded in disorientating colonial and missionaries\' leadership. Not willing to allow a welfare with a national outlook, Thuku was arrested in 1922 and deported to the Kisimayu island. EAA was again renamed Kikuyu Central Association and became the mouthpiece of the Gikuyu with Jomo Kenyatta as its secretary general in 1928. In 1929, the KCA ran into serious conflict with missionaries over clitoridectomy, which was the main reason why many athomi broke up with CSM and other mission societies, built their own school system and founded their own independent churches in Nyeri, Murang\'a and Kiambu areas (Githieya, 1997; De Jong, 2000; Kibicho, 2006).

It follows from above, that most of the leaders of these welfare organization were athomi. Another important point to note which heightened the estrangement between the athomi and the CSM was the fact that the welfare members emphasized that conversion to Christianity did not make one cease to be a Mugikuyu. Consequently, those who broke away from missionary Christianity continued in ügo beliefs among other cultural practices in their Churches and
schools (Chiuri O.I, 2010). This view is well expressed by Kibicho (2006) that in Gikuyu culture, education, religion, and politics were integrated.

Nevertheless, as Wacu (O. I, 2010) points out, significant success of the out-schools came as a result of the World War II (1939 – 1945)\(^20\). Young men, especially those who were not in school were being recruited to join King's African Rifles. While there might have been genuine cases of athomi, in need of schooling, the vast majority of the young joined in order to escape conscription into carrier corps. Those who joined the war, however, interacted with people from other parts of the world, and that way discovered the value of education. Upon return from war, they became village advocates of the value of education.

By 1945, the thirst for education had reached its climax and the village elders were now taking the initiative to appeal to missionaries to establish out-schools in their villages. Although the missionaries in principle agreed to set up more schools in many villages, they were no longer able to maintain strict control on how students behaved when out of the school’s environment. Consequently, beliefs and practices in ūgo, continued unabated among students in out-schools.

\(^{20}\) The actual dates indicated in this work were not given by informants. They approximated the dates when the mentioned events took place. The actual dates were got from the secondary sources.
Despite the condemnation and suppression of KCA\textsuperscript{21}, it was consolidating Gikũyũ resistance through oathing. When KCA leaders were released from prison after the Second World War, they became active under a different name, Kenya African Union (KAU) as a political organization and Jomo Kenyatta as its president. KAU continued to champion for African rights until 1950, when it became more militant and resorted to violence and armed resistance. The KCA oath of allegiance was adapted to become the Mau Mau oath of initiation and those who refused to take it were maimed or killed (Kibicho, 2006).

This culminated in the anti-colonial uprising known by the name Mau Mau revolt in 1952, when it was realized that independence could not be achieved through constitutional means. As a result, the phenomenal growth of out-schools was halted when the Mau Mau uprising broke out and many out-school students joined the movement. Consequently, KAU was banned the same year, a state of emergency declared and KAU’s leaders detained. Those who escaped arrest ran to the forests where resistance units were formed on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Aberdares ranges. The Mau Mau revolt continued until October 1956, when field Marshal Dedan Kimathi was captured. However, the state of emergency was officially lifted in January 1960 (De Jong, 2000).

\textsuperscript{21} In the thirties, the KCA gained more support among the Gikũyũ of Central and Rift valley region. A strong bond was formed among its members by having them to swear an oath in the traditional manner. However, during the Second World War, the KCA was proscribed as subversive, leaders were detained and its activities in Kenya went underground. Fortunately, the association had sent its secretary general, Jomo Kenyatta to England thereby escaping detention and continued championing for the KCA until his return to Kenya in 1946.
Notably, as Joseph (O.I, 2010) observes, *athomí* who joined the Mau Mau movement continued with the beliefs and practices in *ũgo* in the forest. Mathenge (O.I, 2010) confirms this by stating that *ago* used to give guidance where to raid and if attacks would be successful. Barnett and Njama (1968: 108) agree that *ũgo* played a pivotal role during the Mau Mau movement especially in healing and military tactics. Further, because of the strong bond formed through the oath to the Mau Mau group, chiefs of Gikuyu land advised the colonial government that such bonds could only be broken by the ritual pullification by *Ago*. Interestingly, though the colonial government was against beliefs and practices in *ũgo*, it contracted this services to a large scale to cleanse the oath partakers using the format illustrated in section 4.2.4. On the contrary, missionaries rejected the services of *Ago* and organized public rallies where cleansed adherents were cleansed through prayer and confession.

It did not matter whether rituals of purification services were offered by *ago* or missionaries; nevertheless, they helped in giving currency to the beliefs and practices in *ũgo*, which as far as *athomí* were concerned, ritual cleansing was the preserve of *Ago*. As such, in the eyes of the converts, missionaries, by the act of ritual cleansing, were equated to *Ago*. The Mau Mau movement therefore acted as a catalyst to the growth and expansion of *ũgo* ideologies among converts who joined it, and those who could not be reached by mission hospitals because of
insecurity created by the war (Chiuri O.I, 2010). All the same, missionaries continued to manage the out-schools until 1964, when the responsibility of running them was taken over by the Kenya government. Therefore, Churches were entrusted with the role of sponsorship and thus supervise Religion Education in Schools (Nthamburi 1982:115).

Ndanyu (0.1 2010) states that, despite the condemnation and suppression of Gikuyu culture by CSM missionaries, youths were attracted to out-schools by the social and economic benefits that education offered. That is why the young people did not abandon *mambere*, but on finishing, went on establishing more out-schools so that their children could reap the enviable benefits of education and thus, secure a better future. Mathenge (0.1 2010) observes that education then was viewed as the vehicle in which formal employment was guaranteed not only during the colonial period, but also in the latter years.

In conclusion, out-schools were tools that CSM used to evangelize the Gikuyu. The effectiveness of this method was that it was not limited to the converts, as was the case with the *mambere*, but, it addressed all the students in the schools as well as their parents. Evangelization through out-schools also helped the missionaries and teacher-evangelists to check the character formation of the students to ensure that their behaviour conformed to Biblical teachings. The PCEA has noted the usefulness of evangelization through out-schools and has
continued to evangelize students through the Christian Education Department today in her sponsored schools (Muita, 2002: 93).

The major weakness of evangelizing through out-schools was the proselytizing of students against their religio-cultural heritage in patronage of Western lifestyle. This evolved out of missionaries’ attempt to preserve the purity of athomi (literates) against the encroachments of the larger Gikuyu community. This was done through impressing athomi neither to mix with the local people nor participate in their religio-cultural ceremonies. This teaching hindered the growth of a strong Gikuyu church with African trappings.

(iii) Evangelization through Churches

As noted above, churches were established as places of worship on Sunday and schools during the week. Teachers performed an extra role of catechists. Eventually as more youth joined the literacy movement, the schools expanded and required additional facilities such as classrooms, teachers’ houses and playing fields. Consequently, churches developed as a separate entity but continued to serve the schools and the village community in which they were situated.

The CSM advised missionaries to, in their evangelization through churches, to teach the Gikuyu the rudiments of Christian doctrines which were required for baptism (Muita 2003: 108). The doctrines outlined the following: that every
person was born with an immortal soul, which was affected by an original sin. The soul had been redeemed by Jesus Christ; and that baptism was necessary for entrance into heaven; that such knowledge would be of immense help when one is called upon to administer baptism of a dying person (Miano, 2003). This presupposition meant that no genuine dialogue could take place between Christianity and Gikuyu culture.

Administratively, Tumutumu was supervised by the head of mission station under the direction of the Superintendent of the mission at Kikuyu who was supervised by the foreign committee of the Church of Scotland. The Superintendent’s work entailed that the stations adhered to the administrative structure of the mother Church- the Church of Scotland. He ensured that the heads of Mission stations were submitting periodical progress reports and financial statements to the foreign mission office in Scotland on grants received. This structure presumed that Gikuyu traditionally had no religious structure to act as a point of reference.

Tumutumu mission station was growing in its pastoral work and many congregations were opened up in surrounding areas such; Nyeri, Kirinyaga and lower Murang’a. Miano (2008) notes that this astronomical growth was attributed to the first converts and missionaries’ pleading with the Gikuyu to believe in the word of God. In 1913, people began joining the Church through baptism. Miano (2008:108) gives four main reasons that triggered this movement. First, there was
conflict in the area of the relationship between individuals and the community which was caused by an individual who failed to observe a particular custom or broke given laws of the community: such a person risked bringing shame and possible disaster to the family, clan or community. The community imposed tough sanctions on such an offender. The mission provided a safe haven for such an individual. Second, some converts were attracted to the mission by the desire to learn “the magic” of reading and writing. Third, the colonial rule greatly influenced the Gikuyu reaction to Christianity.

After Mathira region was “pacified” by a force of British soldiers under Colonial R. Meinertzhagen in 1906, the chiefs and headmen were appointed to assist the colonial masters in administration. Their main duties included maintenance of law and order, recruitment of communal labour and settling minor disputes besides collection of hut tax. In order to raise this tax, individuals went to the mission for employment and subsequently many of them became converts. Finally, medical treatment also drew many to the mission. When patients were in the queue waiting to be treated, missionaries urged the people to consider joining the Church and enrolling their children in schools (Githieya, 1997, Kibicho, 2006).

As the number of converts attending Church increased, the need for greater spiritual shepherding increased. By 1915, a system of government on Presbyterian lines was set up, in the meantime through a document called Church Polity. It
was prepared for the guidance of the informal church committees that were to be set up in the upcoming congregations. The regulations dealt with catechumens' instructions, Holy Communion, Christian marriage, polygamy, divination, drunkenness, sexual offences, circumcision, confession of offences and the restoration of disciplined persons back to fellowship. It also contained some guidance on how to conduct worship. The document borrowed heavily from the Practice and Procedure Manual of the Church of Scotland. In the same year, Mr. Barlow translated the Gikuyu hymn book, Nyimbo cia Kūinīra Ngai from the Consecration and Faith hymn book of Church of Scotland (Muita, 2003: 135; Macpherson, 1970: 35). From the foregoing, the regulations document and hymn book were geared to repudiate or disregard Gikuyu culture and superimpose Scottish notions into the converts.

Despite the development, Africans were needed to take up leadership roles and responsibilities alongside missionaries in the growing church. While missionaries occasionally visited these congregations for sacramental purposes, the pastoral oversight of the new churches was in the hands of teacher-evangelists who had only received a few years of elementary schooling. As a result, their knowledge was limited to reciting catechism and reading the Gospel. Consequently, there was an urgent need to train and equip Gikuyu Christians to ordained ministry. The shortage of ordained ministers was mainly due to the high intellectual and moral standards set by the missionaries, and the Church of Scotland's reluctance to
increase its grants to the CSM for training (Muita, 2003: 88). This mainly was due to the derogatory and prejudicial attitude the West had on Africans. The prevailing mindset was that Africans had no religion and moral system of their own and the closest they came to the faith was animism. Such a belief had presupposed that missionaries needed more time with the converts to deepen their spiritual life, as such, the yardstick of spirituality was the missionaries.

Against this background, an informal pastoral committee formed at Tūmūtūmū in 1915 using the guidance of Church laws, identified some Gĩkũyũ persons as potential leaders of the church. The first important activity of the Church in 1916 was to ordain several of these persons as elders of Tūmūtūmū mission station so that they would assume leadership roles alongside the missionaries. In 1916 a request was sent to the Church of Scotland for permission to set up an overseas presbytery and Kirk (Scottish word for parish) sessions in East Africa. However, the First World War delayed this setting until 1920. James Ogilvie a former moderator of the Church of Scotland was sent on a mission to Kenya to oversee how the new church was doing. Besides visiting and checking the progress of the mission, he had three other tasks to perform; ordination of elders of St Andrews, Kikuyu and Tūmūtūmū missions, creation of the new Kirk sessions and setting up an oversees Presbytery of the Church of Scotland (Macpherson, 1970:63).
Ogilvie arrived in early September 1920 and on the 16th of the same month, ordained Ruffell and E. Stanley Jones, both mission staff, and McClelland Wilson a local settler from Scotland into eldership. The first Kikuyu Kirk session was convened that day in the afternoon. On 17th September 1920, first Presbytery of British East Africa was formed comprising of St. Andrews’ Kirk session (inaugurated for the whites serving in the colony in 1919) and a new Kikuyu Kirk Session under the auspices of Ogilvie. The first Presbytery was given the mandate to become the final court of Appeal of the Africans. The new Presbytery gave authority for the ordination of Africans elders both at Kikuyu and Tumutumui missions (Miano, 2008).

On 19th September Ogilvie ordained twenty seven African elders at Kikuyu to be added to the roll of the three white elders. On 26th September, he further ordained, twenty five Africans to the Presbyterian eldership at Tumutumui. On the same day, Ogilvie inaugurated the new Tumutumui Kirk session and was linked with the other two under the new presbytery. The Church laws prepared in July 1915 for the informal pastoral committees formed in both Kikuyu and Tumutumui missions were revised for use by these courts. The refurbished document was then ratified by the new presbytery at its first meeting on 11th October 1920.

The new Presbytery of East Africa under Church of Scotland was given an operating document modeled on the latter’s constitution, which defined the role of
the Presbytery and that of its members. It had pastoral oversight of the Kirk sessions, the licensing and ordination of local candidates for the ministry and their oversight during training among other duties. One important conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing was that, the Presbytery of East Africa was modelled in such a manner that the affairs of the church were still under the control of the missionaries. As further evidence, there was no ordained African minister at the time. However the setting up of the Presbytery and ordaining Africans as Presbyterian elders was a new beginning of establishing African leadership in the church. As such, the new presbytery had an enormous task for setting up a course of instruction for those who were to be ordained at a later date.

Courses of instruction for evangelists had been organized at Tûmûtûmû by Marion Stevenson. The newly trained evangelists were sent out to preach and start congregations in various parts in Nyeri. However, as already mentioned, there was great need for African ordained ministers to carry on the work of the church, which was in the hands of few missionaries. It was precisely for this work that an astute theologian, Rev. Dr. Calderwood was appointed in 1921 to organize training course of study for senior evangelists. In readiness for the ordination of the first African ministers, the Presbytery produced a book for public worship in Gîkîyû language *Mbûku ya Mahoya ma Kûhoithia* (Service Book).
This book was a translation of the selected portions of Book of Common Order and Ordinal and Service Book, both of the Church of Scotland. It was urgently needed by the ministers for worship services, as there was no other literature other than the Gĩkũyũ hymn book earlier mentioned and Bible translation work that had been carried on throughout the years since 1909 when Mr. Barlow produced the first Gĩkũyũ version of the Gospel according to St Mark. He then translated the psalms and many other portions of the OT. In that process, the NT translation that Mr. Barlow and the Rev. Harry Leakey of Church Mission Society (CMS), Kabete had been doing in conjunction with inter-mission team of translators was completed and published in 1925. These books, the Book for Public Worship, the Gĩkũyũ NT Bible and other translated portions of the OT Bible and Gĩkũyũ hymn book were to be important tools for the ministers in their pastoral work. However no African was involved in this noble task of translation that was based on the missionaries’ assumption of cultural and religious superiority, albeit mistaken.

On 14th March, 1926, Paulo Kahuho, Solomon Ndambi, Jeremiah Waita, Joshua Riunge and Simeon Karachu were ordained as ministers at Tūmūtūmū. Undoubtedly, this event marked the end of an era and the beginning of another in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Kenya. It brought to the young church the first African ordained ministers who were to lead the church in inculturation

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22 Barlow was a gifted learner of language, in a short time after arriving from Scotland, he could use the Gĩkũyũ language well. He translated the scriptures and many songs from hymns of consecration and faith into the Gĩkũyũ language.
process, that is, rooting the message of Christ in every sphere of African life for better understanding and living in a genuinely Gĩkũyũ context. However, this did not happen for missionaries acting through CSM continued to dominate in policy and theological issues of the church (Miano, 2008:208). This was as a result of missionaries’ arrogance and condescending attitude that Africans had no religion of their own prior to the introduction of Christianity and even if they had, it was of no consequences for their cultures were permeated with devilish thinking.

In 1956, a number of remarkable events in the history of the PCEA took place. Necessary steps were undertaken to unite all Presbyterians in Kenya for the church was divided along racial lines. There was the Overseas Presbytery of the Church of Scotland in Kenya whose membership and leadership was whites only and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa for the blacks, but with white leadership. In order to unite the two Presbyteries, a committee representing both churches was set up to formulate proposals for the same. A scheme of union for a united church was prepared by the Committee. The response from the two churches was favourable for the union, thus, the Overseas Presbytery of the Church of Scotland in Kenya severed its connection with the Church of Scotland and joined Synod of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. The General Assembly of the United Church (the current PCEA) was inaugurated by the Moderator of the Church of Scotland on 11th Feb 1956 at St Andrews Church, Nairobi. A new constitution modelled in many ways to that of the Church of
Scotland was ratified, and Rev. Dr. R.G.M Calderwood was elected its first Moderator.

Under the new Presbyterian system of government, transposed from the Church of Scotland, each parish has a session made up of elders, with a pastor as the moderator. The Session governs the local churches within the parish, receives and discipline members as well as manages churches’ welfare. The presbytery, made up of parishes within its bounds, examine, ordain and install ministers, review reports from Sessions, listen to any complaint, organize new parishes and help administer denominational matters. The highest judicial body is the General Assembly (GA), which meets once in three years and is made up of lay and clergy commissioners elected by their Presbyteries on a proportional plan of representation.

The GA settles all matters of policy and doctrine referred from the lower governing bodies, establishes new presbyteries, appoints standing committees and commissions, receives reports from presbyteries and Standing Committees and reviews all appeals. The GA’s decisions are final except that it cannot in itself amend the Church constitution- this has to be adopted by 2/3 of all Presbyteries. There are three officers of the General Assembly. A Moderator is chosen for a three year term and may be re-elected for a second and final term. The Moderator presides over GA meetings and is the official spokesperson of the church. The
Secretary General (the chief executive officer of the church) is elected for a term of six years and the Deputy Secretary General is elected for a term of four years.

Nevertheless, evangelism through the churches was crucial in the evangelization of the Gikuyu community. This was done through worship, preaching and teaching, all three roles used in propagating the traditions of Presbyterianism, Christian doctrines and various ways of adoration. The strength of this method was in establishing a Presbyterian community with indigenous leadership whose task was to participate in the process of contextualization indigenous worship such as clapping hands, dancing and usage of African musical instruments. This is well illustrated by the PCEA proceedings of the First General Administration Committee (GAC), of the Eleventh GA of 1986 under resolution 3747 as follows:

In view of enriching contributions to worship that were mushrooming in the whole church, the GAC instructed the Business Committee with the following terms of reference:

1. To find ways and means of collecting and exchanging such practices between PCEA churches.

2. To find ways and means of helping to improve the spiritual and theological thrust of the same.

3. To work with the Pastoral Institute in the production of any future material connected with indigenization of church worship.
4. To provide such literature as would be possible for wider circulation.

5. To take the question of hymn book revision as instructed by the GA 1985.

6. To undertake any other matters in the opinion of the church, this would enhance the indigenization of worship in PCEA.

The strength of missionaries’ evangelization through the church was the provision of the books of liturgy called *Mbůku ya Mahoya Ma Kūhoithia* (Service Book), a hymn book and the Holy Bible. They were translated by the missionaries in Gĩkũyũ language to cater for the order of worship. Notably, indigenization of worship was done through Gĩkũyũ language, locally trained evangelists and pastors who continued to translate the Presbyterian faith in vernacular. Further, the Presbyterian doctrines were also put into expressions, idioms and metaphors which were readily intelligible to the Africans. This created a distinct community of believers within the family of Presbyterianism in Kenya.

The missionaries had a variety of weakness in evangelization. First, they transposed the Scottish theological education and philanthropy to the Gĩkũyũ people and used it comprehensively without conditioning it to fit the aspirations and the needs of the Gĩkũyũ. Regrettably, the PCEA Church has continued with the Western theological education and a general mentality of dependence to date, despite the PCEA being independent of the Church of Scotland for over fifty years. Second, missionaries introduced the Church of Scotland administrative
structure and institutions to the Gikuyu indiscriminately without any adjustment to fit the social structure. Unfortunately, the basic leadership structure has continued to be modelled as the parent body in Scotland even after PCEA became autonomous in 1956. Third, the order of service, the book of liturgy and hymns were all transplanted from Scotland. Consequently, the continued uses of these tools of worship, have greatly hampered the process of inculturation since they are incompatible with aspirations and needs of the Gikuyu. In this way, missionaries transplanted their home grown Christianity in terms of liturgy, hymns and Church structure and embedded it wholesale among the Gikuyu. This led to a Christianity without integrated cultural values.

In view of the observations above, many Gikuyu rites and ceremonies were abandoned as the people embraced Christianity. Yet, Christianity as was presented by the missionaries was deficient of the provision of adequate security and protection from ancestral spirits, witchcraft and sorcery. Consequently, many converts did not know what to do with it while it dismally failed to meet their emotional needs, as Gikuyu religion did. To fill this emptiness, that was created by a dissatisfaction in Christianity, many converts were compelled to augment their religious vacuum with the beliefs and practices in ûgo.

This view is supported by Kraft (1979: 178) and O’Donovan (1996: 234) who indicate that this occurs largely due to the ineffectiveness of the medical science
and the mission Christianity in diagnosing and prescribing remedies for some cultural problems. As mentioned earlier, Conversion involved change from traditional ways to Christians/Western lifestyle where physical outlook was more emphasized e.g. cleanness/hygiene, Western mannerism and dressing code.

Wa Thiongo (1972: 83) concurs with this view in his address to the General Assembly of 1970 and urges the Church, to become an agent of indigenization. He states that:-

If the Church in the past has been the greatest cause of misshapen Africans souls and cultural alienation, it must, today work for civilization: It must examine the African traditional forms of worship, African forms of marriage, and African traditional forms of sacrifice. Why were these things meaningful and wholesome to the traditional African community? What was the secret of Mündū Mūgo (diviner doctor), of the rainmaker? What of mountains, the moon, the mugumo tree (Gikuyū sacred tree) for instance? What of drums and dances and even ceremonial drinking and forms of oath taking? Can the core of Christian faith find anchor in some of these symbols or must the Christian faith be forever be clothed in the joyless drab and dry European middle class culture?...Why is wine at Holy Communion more ceremoniously clean and Christian than njohi [Gikuyū traditional brew]? These are not idle questions: for the symbols with which we choose to identify ourselves are important in expressing the values held by a community.

It should also be noted that the main reason for missionaries in transplanting their homegrown Christianity was to destroy the value system of Gikuyū culture. This was done through missionaries’ presupposition, via preaching and teaching that what was good for Europe must be fine for Africans, and what was evil for West was iniquity for others. As a result, Gikuyū’s rites, customs, beliefs and practices in ūgo were reckoned as permeated with devilish thinking and had to be replaced
with Western rituals. As will be noted, a similar approach was also used through Western medicine as a means of evangelization.

(iv) Evangelism through Western Medicine

Miano (2008) points out that Western medicine was introduced at Tūmūtūmū mission to heal yaws, dysentery, small pox and other diseases that were very prevalent at the time in order to entice converts to the mission. Gitonga (2005:95) observes that Western medicine was also introduced by missionaries as “a means of evangelization strategy in three ways; to attract people to the mission station, to combat polygamy and to combat traditional healing”. Western medicine was thus one of the strategies that CSM used to evangelize the Gĩkũyũ in order to suppress beliefs and practices in ḳo. In line with Niebuhr’s (1951) first model of Christ against culture, missionaries and western medics believed that Gĩkũyũ medicine was evil and ḷo were charlatans.

In the place of African healers, the CSM introduced western doctors, contemporary medicine and hospitals wherever they established a mission station (Cox, 1998). It was in this sense that the establishment of the medical facility, was given a high priority at Tūmūtūmū Mission Station. Like the ṹambere school and the mission church, the hospital was built in October 1909, immediately after Barlow’s arrival together with Mr. Gitoto the first medical assistant at Tūmūtūmū.
When Dr. Philip arrived in 1910, he expanded the small unit into a fully fledged hospital with wards.\(^{23}\)

As a prelude to this, the missionaries and western medical practitioners were convinced that the contemporary medicine would play a crucial role of attracting Gĩkũyũ to the mission station and also combat all traditional healing practices. As such, it became apparent that in the recruitment of medical personnel, advice was given to ensure that such employees primarily were first transmitters of the Gospel and second medical practitioners. Miano (2008) explains the evangelization role of Dr. Philip who was the head of Tũmũtũmũ mission hospital:

On top of all that, Dr. Philip was a preacher and a bible teacher. About 1913 he used to say that he had read the Bible from Genesis to Revelation over forty times and I trust that before he died he had read the Bible more than fifty times from Genesis to Revelation. He was our teacher in the bible class and as far as I am concerned, most of the verses that I know too well came from him. He used to give us many verses to learn by heart and many of his students can still say those verses without looking at the Bible text.

It is obvious that, western medical practitioners and contemporary medicine were instrumental in propagating the Gospel and healing, thereby greatly affecting beliefs and practices in ĩũgo.

At the beginning, it was difficult to convince Africans to go to hospital. Chiuri (0.1, 2010) says that the Gĩkũyũ were not sure whether “spider eggs” referring to

\(^{23}\) Barlow, “Beginnings at Tumutumu”, in Kikuyu News 14 (Oct. 1909)
pills given to them from the Mission Hospital, were poisonous or good for healing. Many buried them in the ground, or simply threw them away. However, as time went by, some African converts became immensely helpful in introducing Western medicine to their villages and thus breaking the prejudice against contemporary drugs through teachings. When these medicines showed power to heal the aforementioned diseases which were widespread and killed many people, the hospital gained great reputation and people started going there for treatment in big numbers.

Chiuri (O.I, 2010), further observes that as the patients gathered in the centers and mission hospitals for treatment, the missionaries made use of the opportunity to teach them lessons from the Bible and encouraged them to accept Christianity; thus as they were cured, they also got converted. Further, Joseph (0.1 2010) adds that parents of sick children were requested to enroll them in the mambere school at Tūmūtūmū station or any other out-school near them when they sought treatment in mission hospitals.

A case in point is the story of a girl named Wangechi, who was among the first girls in mambere at Tūmūtūmū. She was taken to the hospital while very sick and had to be confined to the hospital for three months. Her own experience of the disease and the Gospel preached to her while at the hospital, became a driving

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24 The hospital drew 35 people or more daily during its second week of operation after the arrival of Dr Philp (Barlow, “Beginnings at Tumutumu,” in Kikuyu News 14 [Oct. 1909]).
force to join the mission school. Later, she used to say that she experienced Jesus upon her life as a great healer (Chiuri, O.I, 2010).

Munge (0.1, 2010) observes that Western medical practitioners and missionaries were preaching that their medicine was superior and stronger than ūgo, which they perceived as un-Christian, old fashioned and outdated at the time of Wangechi’s sickness. The same onslaught was also championed by hospital assistants as they went round the villages to bring those who had been taken to the “bush to die”\(^\text{25}\). These hospital assistants and converts used to teach people to refuse and disown all Gikũyũ healing practices, in particular, ūgo. Philp\(^\text{26}\) records the kind of sermon that the first evangelists used to teach in their evangelistic tours in the villages. They admonished the villagers to trust in God and Western medicine and not in ūgo beliefs and practice.

It is no wonder that the teaching against the beliefs and practices in ūgo was incorporated in the catechism book that was used to induct new converts into Christianity. Those who wanted to join catechumen classes for baptism were asked the following questions: Gikũyũ

\[
\text{Wee rĩ niũkuga atĩ niwaregana na Shaitani na mohoro make mothe na marirĩria mothe moru ma mwiri? Wee niũkuga atĩ niwaregana na mitũgo ya bũrũri ũyũ ũrĩa ũtaringaine na ũhoro wa Ngai, ta}
\]

\(^{25}\) In Gikũyũ indigenous community, death really happened in the house. Those who were perceived about to die were taken to the bush to await their end. This was so, because touching a dead body led to ritual impurity.

Those who were to be baptized after excelling in catechumen classes were asked to answer the following question:

*Niwatwa rìngî atì nîürìregaga Shaitani na mohoror make mothe, o na merirïa moror ma mwûrî, o na ìtìganage na maiindî mothe mataiguanîte na ìhoro wa Ngai ta kîhoya ngoma, ìrogi, ìugo, ìðharia, njohi, nyîmbo cia ìra thoni na ìrua ìrìa andû anja?*

[Do you resolve a new to reject Satan and all his work, with all evil lusts and that you will eschew all things not agreeable to the word of God, such as things pertaining to departed spirits, witchcraft, divination, sexual immorality, intoxicating liquor, evil songs and female circumcision? (CS 1926)].

Similarly, parents who wanted their children to be baptized as infants were asked to “abstain from all customs contrary to the word of God” aforementioned above. Joseph (O.I, 2010), collaborates the same by saying that once a person became a member of the Church, he or she would be disciplined for consulting Ago.

Further, pressure was brought to bear on the people enlisted in mission schools to have nothing to do with beliefs and practices in ìugo and visit missionary-run hospitals when sick. To enforce this, the Tûmûtûmû mission started opening dispensaries as outstations such as: Ihûrûrû, Wandûmûbi, Mahiga and Mathaithi. Similarly, the colonial government through the Kenya Ordinance of 1928, declared it illegal for any one to be a healer, and anyone who did so, risked imprisonment (Parrinder, 1958). It is during this time as Kareri (2003), observes
that beliefs and practices in ūgo suffered most, with some Ago being forced to publicly burn their healing paraphernalia and confess that their practice was evil. Consequently, others went underground.

In view of the foregoing, we deduce that due to such developments, ūgo was threatened but not extirpated. During this period, Ago treated their clients under great fear, and propagated their trade, in private backrooms in utmost secrecy. At the same time, however, Muriithi (O.I, 2010) indicates that, many converts realized that Western medicine did not take care of their daily misfortunes, practical problems of evil and witchcraft, bad luck, poverty, childlessness and in short, all their concrete social problems. This is because it is the inanimate physical efficacy of chemical or surgical treatment that is emphasized in Western healing while the indigenous medicines are administered because of their physical properties as well as their spiritual efficacy. The emphasis on dreams, revelation and divination in indigenous healing, together with the ways in which herbs are used, suggests that this method pays more attention to spiritual efficacy. Such may comprise the attempt to control the material and spiritual world; an aspect of spiritual healing lacking in Western medicine that compelled the converts to continue with beliefs and practices in ūgo.

This demonstrates that any frustrations that converts underwent under Western medicine, therefore, drove them to beliefs and practices in ūgo. Dualism served
as double insurance for Western medicine, which dealt with physical aspects, and beliefs and practices in Ũgo addressed spiritual aspects, thus, protecting them from the pangs of curses, ancestral spirits and witchcraft. As will be demonstrated in the next section, it is important to realize that the Gĩkũyũ relate their experiences to the outer transcendental world through forces beyond the natural realm. They believed that there are spiritual beings in the non-material world potent with powers that are either malevolent or benevolent, a philosophy that forces the Gĩkũyũ to search for answers from Ago and other intermediaries.

In essence, failure of Western medicine to differentiate between spiritual and physical efficacy in indigenous Gĩkũyũ healing was a cognitive error, resulting in branding it as superstition and unworthy. By repudiating traditional way of healing, missionaries were presenting a Western approach to sickness and healing which rejects the centrality of the supernatural in all healings. According to this view, sickness is caused by microscopic organisms and the sick become well through natural medicine. However, nothing was said about the spiritual aspect. Thus, despite the important and tremendous contribution Western medicine has made the wellness of Gĩkũyũ Christians, there was, a problem. As noted earlier, sickness in Gĩkũyũ worldview has physical and spiritual dimensions. Against this background, the healing the Western medicine gave did not exactly correspond to the disease theory among the Gĩkũyũ, for there was no cure for people under a curse, haunted by spirits of departed parents and under shackles of witchcraft.
Consequently, this shortcoming of Western medicine has formed religious dualism in the minds of Gikuyu Christians as will be expounded.

In evaluating evangelization through Western medicine, the study indicates that the missionaries' approach was effective in that, the Gospel was presented to Gikuyu as an act of grace, when they were physically ill. The mission hospital played a pivotal role during the 1918 famine, followed by influenza which struck Nyeri region, forcing many people to flock to the mission station in search of food and treatment. In the process, the non-Christians were evangelized (Macpherson, 1970). The major weakness of Western medicine is its lack of the spiritual aspect in treatment.

The function of hospital chaplains, which addressed the spiritual aspect that lacked in Western medicine, was also insufficient for they did not have a say in admission, treatment and discharging of patients. Their role was inadequate since it lacked the invocation of God either to counteract the root cause of the illness or to energize the drugs in order to make them effective. This led Gikuyu converts to revert to beliefs and practices in ãgo, which offered a satisfactory and wholistic treatment. As such, missionaries transposed the ministry of healing from their home country to the Gikuyu. This hindered the incorporation of the spiritual aspects found in the beliefs and practices in ãgo into Western medicine, thus making Gikuyu Christians revert to the same.
4.2.3 Conclusion

In view of the foregoing missionaries’ key approaches to evangelizing were only effective in reaching and winning many converts to Christianity. The main weakness however, was that the methods adopted in preaching the Gospel as have been noted were aimed at uprooting the Gikuyu body and soul from their old customs and beliefs. By so doing, the Gikuyu traditions were distorted and their cultural institutions trampled upon, thereby leaving them vulnerable to the new faith. As such, other than instilling high morality and better living standard to most Gikuyu, Christianity was not utilizable in circumventing and subduing life’s threats. Such insufficiency of meeting their daily needs, forced Gikuyu Christians back to ūgo, thus, syncretising it with Christianity, hoping therefore, to have the best of both.

Further, it can be inferred that missionaries’ approaches of evangelizing Gikuyu ignored the process of inculturation by deliberately excluding beliefs and practices in ūgo. This supports the conceptual framework in this study. In relation, Niebuhr’s (1951) missiological theory and especially Christ against culture motif, the negative attitude of missionaries towards the beliefs and practices in ūgo in favor of their culture, shaped their strategies to evangelization. In order to avoid beliefs and practices in ūgo, they transplanted their home-grown Christianity and strategically planted it wholesale among the Gikuyu without adjusting to fit the
new religio-cultural environment. These strategies spurred religious schizophrenic
in many Gĩkũyũ Christians. This will be evident in the next section.

4.2.4: Factors leading Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to Ūgo beliefs and practices

This section affirms the premise that Gĩkũyũ Presbyterians Christians are
vulnerable to beliefs and practices in ūgo despite Christian evangelization. In
accordance with the study’s conceptual framework, it is necessary to examine if
Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians understanding of health, illness and healing is
influenced by Gĩkũyũ religion.

4.2.4.1: Respondents Familiarity with Ūgo

To assess the above, the study sought to investigate respondents’ knowledge in
ūgo. The findings are presented in figure 4.3.
The results in figure 4.3 showed that there was a high level of awareness in *úgo* with 92.0 percent of the respondents reporting having heard of it, 4.9% claimed to have never heard of *úgo* while 2.1% had no comments. These results are congruent with Mbiti (1969) and Gehman (1989) who argue that there is a high level of awareness of mystical powers in Africa. This implies that respondents were likely to interpret the questionnaires correctly and give authentic information.
4.2.4.2: Basis of Ŭgo Knowledge

The study further investigated the basis of Ŭgo information in Nyeri Presbytery. The results are presented in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Frequency distribution of the source of Ŭgo information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>76.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>70.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print media</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public meetings (barazas)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funerals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weddings</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Multiple responses were allowed

The main source of information about Ŭgo was friends (81%) followed by electronic media (radio) with 76.9%, Church (70.2%), television (65.4%) and print media (35.5%) respectively. Other sources of information, which included public meetings (barazas), funerals, weddings and others accounted for 39.4%. The results clearly indicate that many people in the study area can easily access information about Ŭgo through various communication channels. Accordingly, the respondents' way of life entails interaction and networking with friends, social events, print and electronic media. This implies that beliefs and practices in Ŭgo have taken root among Gikũyũ PCEA Christians in the area of study.
4.2.4.3: Respondents Familiarity with Gikuyu PCEA Christian’s involvement in Ûgo

The third question of analysis focused on whether respondents were familiar with Christians who consulted Ago. Their responses are presented in figure 4.4;

![Fig. 4.3 Respondents familiar with PCEA Christians who consult Ûgo](image)

Figure 4.4 shows that at least 53.1% of the respondents know PCEA Christians who consult Ûgo while 46.9% did not know of any. It appears that Ûgo is a philosophy used by Gikuyu PCEA Christians to explain events and circumstances that lack scientific explanations. This phenomenon according to Banda (2005), eventuates in syncretising Christianity and African religion. In buttressing this point, Mugabe (1999: 240) asserts that:

> In fact, the reason why many African Christians embrace both Christianity and African traditional religions is because they

---

27 Baum (1996: 97) defines syncretism as a state of maintaining “dual allegiance by recognizing two sources of religious authority.” In this state of mind, the person determines that each tradition possesses “areas of knowledge and expertise as well as its own areas of ignorance or error”.

---

perceive traditional religion as being able to meet real needs in procuring salvation in this real world while Christianity merely concerns itself with the hereafter. An understanding of salvation that is preoccupied only with the salvation of souls from eternal damnation has left this impression on the bulk of African people. It is this seeming insufficiency of Christianity to grant Gikuyu PCEA Christian true salvation, mostly of their existential needs, that forces them into religious syncretism. Instead of rejecting Christianity altogether, they opt to remain in both Christianity and also follow the beliefs and practices in ūgo. As such, they live in duality hoping to gain “double insurance” from both religions.

4.2.4.4: Detection of PCEA Christians who Consult Ūgo

The study also sought to find out how PCEA Christians who consult ūgo are detected. Findings are indicated in Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Frequency distribution on how Christians who consult Ūgo are detected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source/ information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Through friends</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through hearsay</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintances who accompany them to Ago’s place</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidants of those who have consulted Ago</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Multiple responses were allowed.

The findings in Table 4.2 indicate that main source of information about those who the consult Ago were friends (56.7%), acquaintances (46.4%), and (16.5%) from confidants who had accompanied them. It is significant to note that 54.6% came to know those who consult ūgo through rumours, thereby showing that
beliefs and practices in ūgo are common talk. This also shows that there is openness in regard to the information, even among Christians. As such, ūgo beliefs and practices in the area of study are alive despite the Church’s rejection of the same. This concurs with Mbiti (1969), Gehman (1989) and Chepkwony (2006) who observe that, it is not uncommon to meet African Christians who revert to their indigenous remedies when faced with difficulties.

4.2.4.5: Spiritual fear of mystical forces among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians

The study sought to find out the depth of the beliefs in curses, witchcraft, ancestral spirits and taboo among the respondents. Figure 4.5, shows the results;

![Fig. 4.5: Spiritual fear of curses, witchcraft, ancestral spirits and taboo](image)

Results shown in figure 4.5 depict that 90.2% of PCEA Christians in Nyeri Presbytery have overwhelming fear of curses, witchcraft, ancestral spirits and
taboo while a paltry 9.5% said they do not. The results show that the fears of
curses, witchcraft and taboos wield great control in the lives of many Gikuyu
PCEA Christians. The spiritual fear is rooted in the indigenous cosmology which
assumes that the spiritual and human worlds interpenetrate and also that spirits
can influence the lives and experiences of human beings, thus, occurrences in life
are not accidental. These findings support the observation by Banda (2005) that
many African Christians live in consuming fear of the aforementioned forces, just
like their non-Christian counterparts.

The findings imply that like their forebearers, Gikuyu Christians live in great fear
of mystical forces. Since this problem permeates Christian conversion, the results
suggest that Christianity as presented by the CSM missionaries was deficient of
the provision of adequate security and protection of Gikuyu Christians' spiritual
fear. This implies that Gikuyu Christians' cultural substratum has not been
penetrated by the Gospel. Christians are yet to be sufficiently convinced that the
protective power of salvation brought by Christ vanquishes that of witchcraft,
curses, ancestral spirits and taboos. Any African theology designed for Gikuyu
(and most Africans) Christians that hopes to be relevant, should neither overlook
nor underestimate mystical forces.
4.2.4.6: Source of Refuge for victims of Mystical Powers

The study also sought to establish the source of help for persons inflicted by misfortunes linked to mystical powers. The results are presented in figure 4.6:

Figure 4.6 indicates that 48.6% believes the Church is a refuge for victims of mystical forces while 37.9% resorted to ìgo, 8.6% went to hospital, 1.5% consulted all, while 3.4%, did not respond. Considering the fact that a large number seek help in the Church and from ìgo, it implies that the understanding of afflictions among Gkïyï PCEA Christians is derived from Biblical teachings and indigenous religion. It is necessary, therefore, to examine both views in regard to misfortunes. First, on Biblical ideas, the work of Jesus as the savior of the world includes solving existential problems and restoring people back to fellowship. The subsequent responses of two respondents epitomize this view:
The words of Mwangi and Wairimu highlight the solution oriented mindset that underlies majority of Gikuyu PCEA Christians. Their responses underscore the readiness of most Christians to locate Jesus in the context of total wellbeing, thus, many primarily see Jesus Christ as a solution to their spiritual, economic, ethical, and even political problems. What is worthy noting in the testimonies above is that many Christians do not make a conscious distinction between Church, God and Jesus Christ. Majority of respondents quickly drifted from Church to God and Christ and vice versa. Consequently, most of them being laypersons are not able to make ontological dichotomy between Jesus, God and Church.
Second, reliance in ūgo when inflicted by mystical powers is explained from the Gĩkũyũ indigenous healing viewpoint that used both physical and spiritual aspects while dealing with difficult situations. Driven by this mindset, when the first attempt in addressing the problem has failed, it is suggested that mystical dimension is involved. The victim is then forced to reflect again whether the Church or the hospital really solved the problem once and for all or if other causes were at work simultaneously. This make the afflicted person resorts to ūgo for advice on how to deal with the invisible agent suspected to be the cause of the problem. This phenomenon means that the Church is one solution among others in Gĩkũyũland. This is illustrated by Kamau’s response (O.I, 2010):

\begin{quote}
Akristiano machokago ūgo-ĩni rirĩa mona Jesu taikara tonɗũ ūgo nĩguo moi wĩ wĩnya wakũmaninira mathĩna mao na nĩgwo wateithagia maithe mao me haĩka-ĩni.
\end{quote}

(Gĩkũyũ Christians opt to return to beliefs and practices in ūgo when Jesus appears to be too slow to answer their prayers since they consider it inherently powerful and familiar, having been solutions their forebears depended on when in crisis).

A similar trend was observed in a study by Ezigbo (2008: 178) in Nigeria.

He observes:

The act of temporarily deserting Jesus Christ in order to use other sources of solution is not a phenomenon that occurs only among Christians in North Nigeria. This phenomenon is happening among many Christians in all parts of Africa. The majority of the interviewees, regardless of their Church denominations and ethnic backgrounds, said that many Christians are consulting native doctors or other indigenous agencies when Jesus delays to give them children, to heal them, to protect them from spiritual attacks, and to bless them with material things.

A key argument that emerges from the above discussion is that Gĩkũyũ Christians expect their religion to be utilizable in conquering and gaining advantage over life’s challenges. When Christianity and contemporary medicine fail to meet their
needs, Christians are compelled to seek solutions from ūgo. What is lacking, therefore, is a theology that questions and seeks to discover and interact with the cultural, religious and theological presuppositions that underlie Gĩkũyũ Christians' beliefs and attitudes towards mystical forces.

4.2.4.7: Cases Handled by Ŭgo that Defy Contemporary Medicine
The study then sought respondents' perception on cases handled by Ago that defeat contemporary medicine. The results are presented in figure 4.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majority believes</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the data above, it can be seen that majority believe that there are cases handled by ūgo that cannot be dealt with by contemporary medicine. The results in figure 4: 7 reveal that 49.7% of respondents agreed that some cases handled by ūgo defeat contemporary medicine while 46.9%, did not agree and 3.4% said they did not know.
These findings are due to the fact that, in Gikũyũ indigenous worldview, diseases and misfortunes were believed to be caused by spiritual forces such as ancestral spirits and human agents, among them sorcerers and witches. This mindset seems to permeate the thinking of the majority of Gikũyũ PCEA Christians. It can be seen that respondents have carried on the idea of wellbeing as construed in Gikũyũ indigenous religion into Christianity.

The following responses were common opinions expressed by respondents:

*Conditions such as infertility, impotence, epilepsy, mental illness and wasting away with no plausible cause are generally attributed to mystical agents among them ancestral spirits and witchcraft (John Mwangi, O.I, 2010).*

*Contemporary doctors do not deal with the root cause of diseases and misfortunes, hence, the chance of recurring (Bilha Wangechi, O.I, 2010).*

*The illnesses and misfortunes which defeat contemporary doctors are mainly associated with curses, witchcraft and ancestral spirits (Esther Wanjiru, O.I, 2010).*

*Unlike contemporary doctors who mainly deal with diseases, Ago offer solutions to all types of problems taken to him (Philip Thiongo, O.I, 2010)*

These findings concur with Lamanna in Welbourn’s (1966) observation where he claims that his father who worked in Mulago hospital in Uganda for 35 years as a medical practionner could enumerate a number of diseases such as epilepsy and mental illness that defeat contemporary medicine. This finding is also in agreement with the assertion of Yoruba healers, Akinnuli (in Dopamu, 1985: 74). He observes:

*The main objective in any art of healing is the ultimate achievement of a lasting cure. In fact, there have been many cases*
where orthodox medicine failed and the traditional medicine proved useful in the treatment of chronic diseases.

It is evident from the above findings that illnesses and misfortunes are attributed by many African Christians to a spiritual agent and personalistic causes, hence, the method of cure or treatment equally stems from the same realms and Ago and other religious specialists may be good curers.

The respondents who indicated contemporary medicines as best suited to handle all medical cases cited the following reasons:

Contemporary medical personnals' diagnostic methods are more explicit and use current scientific testing techniques and not guesswork as with Ago (Naomi Wanjiku, O.I, 2010).

Doctors are more knowledgeable in regard to treating diseases while Ago seem to be addressing symptoms (Joan Waitherero, O.I, 2010).

Contemporary doctors are truthful in their healing profession while Ago are liars (Peter Kinyua, O.I, 2010).

These arguments could be based on missionary teachings for they equated Ago practices with superstition and evil, thus, they must be repudiated. Consequently, some Gĩkũyũ Christians have continued to hold the same belief. Chepkwony (2006) collaborates the idea by noting that some Christians in the mission founded Churches and African medical personnel have maintained the negative attitude held by Western missionaries that African traditional healers are liars and their curing practices are superstitious. To such Christians, the difference between indigenous and contemporary medicine is similar to the difference between superstition and science.
4.2.4.8: Existential needs that make Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians Persistence in Beliefs and Practices in Ūgo

The study sought to document the existential needs that make Gĩkũyũ Christians consult Ūgo. The data analyzed were from elders, pastors and Church members (N=326). The results are shown in table 4:3:

Table 4.3: Frequency distribution of reasons for consulting Ūgo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diseases</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family conflicts</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land disputes among neighbours</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love potions</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital conflicts</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childlessness and impotence</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power and prosperity</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To acquire protective charms</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicion of having been bewitched curses</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of enough faith in Jesus’ power</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To recover lost property</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insanity</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ensure opponent/enemies are destroyed</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysterious death in the family</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To appease ancestral spirits</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,608</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Multiple responses were allowed
From a sample of 326 respondents, a total of 2,608 existential frequency needs were given. The findings of this survey indicate seven key reasons. Top in the list were diseases (56.4%), followed by family conflicts (54.9%), love potions (51.1%), marital conflicts (47.3%), childlessness and impotence (44%), power and prosperity (24.8%), to get protective charms (21.8%). Other reasons include: suspicion of having been bewitched (19.8%), being under a curse (19.2), Lack of enough faith in Jesus (19.2), power to recover lost property (18.8%), insanity (16.9%), to ensure opponents/enemies are destroyed (11.3%), mysterious deaths in the family (11.3%), to appease ancestral spirits (7.5%) and others (6.9%).

These findings imply that Ago’s scope of operation is broad and covers every aspect of human life. The list above indicates that among Gikuyu Christians, suffering and misfortunes go deeper than they may appear on the surface with afflictions having physical and spiritual dimensions. This understanding stems from indigenous worldview of ìgo beliefs and practices. As such, we can deduce that Ago’s main concern in healing is to ascertain that the force of life prevails over the powers of evil that attempt to destroy it. In comparison to the needs that were taken to Ago in indigenous community in section 4.5.2, we can point out that the beliefs and practises in ìgo are quite rampant in the study area, although in a more modernized form. This is essentially an adaption of traditional beliefs tailor made for the contemporary milieu. This suggests that Gikuyu PCEA Christians, literate and illiterate, still see the world with the lenses of their forebearers, and seek solutions for their problems and uncertainty of a changing world from the same source – that is Ago.

These results are consistent with Muchiri’s (2000) and Mbondo’s (2006) studies on life situations where Christians among Gikuyu and Kamba seek the services of diviner-doctors. These findings are congruent with Mwaura (2001) and Domingues (2000) who observe that there is an overriding belief in Africa that
throughout one’s day to day activities, one is confronted by various evil forces that militate against life’s endeavours, causing diseases and misfortunes. Such forces, in African indigenous context, were connected to beliefs in witchcraft, sorcery, curses, spirits of ancestors and taboos and had to be counteracted through diviner-doctors (Magesa, 1998).

Since these forces permeate beyond Christian conversion, the PCEA Church has not realized fully the hold these beliefs have over Christians in Nyeri. This has resulted in feeble efforts by church leaders through pulpit ministry warning Christians not to be involved. By so doing, they fail to offer concrete solutions to PCEA Christians’ existen tial needs. Because of the failure of the church to offer alternative practices to counteract these forces, Christian rituals and Western medicine seem an inadequate replacement of beliefs and practices in ūgo. This could mean that Gĩkũyũ Christians are driven to ūgo because Christianity does not offer an equivalent substitute to their spirituality.

This observation corresponds with Maimela’s assertion that because of this vulnerability, “many African Christians believe that the Church is not interested in their daily misfortunes, illnesses, problems of evil, witchcraft, bad luck, poverty, barrenness and in short, all their concrete social problems” (Maimela’s 1991: 112). As such, rather than reject Christianity altogether as insufficient, they opt to remain both in Church and at the same time continue with beliefs and practices in ūgo. Similar findings are documented by Karanja (1998) that many African Christians are considered to be living a double life. He argues that the underlying reason for this duality can probably be due to the fact that Christianity, as presented by missionaries, does not address the deepest needs and fears of Africans. The results indicate that in the mindset of Gĩkũyũ Christians, which is influenced by an indigenous worldview, religion is the essence of life and is the answer to all concrete social problems, spiritual and material. Consequently, as
Horton's theory of African religion as one of prediction, control and manipulation indicates, to many Gikuyu Christians, religion is both functionalistic and utilitarianistic and must address existential needs, a basis of dualism. Gikuyu Christians need a theology that engages with their existential needs to give them a wholistic Christian living.

4.2.4.9: Respondents who have benefitted from Ùgo

The respondents were then asked: Have you ever benefitted from the services offered by Ago? The results are presented in Figure 4.8:

Figure 4.8 indicates that majority, one hundred and eighty four (58.5%) had not benefitted from the services offered by Ago. Only fifty eight (18.6%) of the respondents had, while seventy two (22.9) muzzled their comments. This implies that, very few Christians are willing to admit openly that they consult Ùgo in time of crisis. The underlying reason for this secrecy is that the Church condemns Ùgo beliefs and practices and encourages her members to believe in the power of prayer whenever misfortunes and illnesses strike. Consequently, those involved in Ùgo are excommunicated or barred from participating in Church activities in particular Holy Communion. As result, such Christians conceal their lifestyles in
a way that no one could suspect them to avoid Church discipline. These findings are consistent with the Theron’s (1996) and Magesa’s (1998) observation that diviner-healers’ consultation enjoins secrecy since those who are found out by the Church are subjected to Church discipline. This indicates that Christianity as brought from the West or “mission Christianity” has not penetrated deeply into the consciousness of a number of African Christians for it to become an integral part of their religiosity.

4.2.4.10: Ûgo Ideas or Images that Embody the Ministry of Jesus Christ

The study further sought to find out the ideas or images that Jesus Christ and Ago share. Their images or ideas are presented in Table 4.4:

Table 4.4: Frequency distribution showing respondents ideas or images that Christ and Ago share

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images or ideas</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Healing</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purification/sanctification</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual guidance</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exorcism</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediators between God and humanity</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselling</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple responses were allowed**

Table 4.4 reveals that beliefs and practices in Ûgo have some images or ideas in common with those of Jesus Christ with 64.7% of the respondents citing healing, followed by purification (60.2). Other themes included Spiritual guidance (27.1%), exorcism (14.3%), mediation (8.3%) and counselling (3.0) respectively. These results imply that respondents’ ideas stem from an indigenous worldview
on the roles of Ago as well as from Biblical teaching on the work of Christ. The study deduces that understanding similarities between Jesus and Ago among Christians derive from the amalgamation of indigenous religion and Biblical teachings that both of them are divine agents in healing and wellbeing. The striking parallels can provide good common ground between Christianity and Gĩkũyũ Culture if the Gospel is going to have an impact on Christians’ life. The issue of concern is; what make Gĩkũyũ Christians in the PCEA so susceptible to ūgo despite Christian evangelization? The foregoing factors give answers to this question:

i) Many Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians understanding of diseases and misfortunes is influenced by their religio-cultural heritage, a basis of dualism problem. In their view, illnesses and misfortunes have both physical and mystical causes, thus, healing should also be mediated in a wholistic manner that takes into account both physical and spiritual aspects.

ii) In Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ worldview, Jesus is one among many solutions to their spiritual and material problems. When Christianity fails to meet spiritual and material needs, they are compelled to look for alternatives; which are mainly in ūgo.
iii) Christian rituals and contemporary medicine seem not to be an adequate replacement for beliefs and practices in ūgo. Christianity is therefore not utilizable in circumventing and subduing all life’s threats.

iv) Christianity has failed to penetrate sufficiently into Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians religiosity in away that would influence them like ūgo. This is evidenced by lack of transformation of Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ worldview from beliefs and practices in ūgo to Christocentric. A worldview that is centered on Christ empowers Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to place trust on Christ only.

As indicated above, the impact of the aforementioned factors has led to a reversion into beliefs and practices in ūgo in order to satisfy existential needs, unmet by Christianity. This scenario accounts for dualism among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. Based on these findings, the study concludes by following Horton’s (1995) theory, that Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ worldview is steeped in the indigenous religious experiences: it is pragmatic or problem solving unlike Mission Christianity.
4.2.5: The Attitude of the PCEA on the Beliefs and Practices in Úgo

The study investigated the views of Church leadership (elders and pastors) on the beliefs and practices in Úgo. The results are presented below.

(i) The Perception of the PCEA on Úgo Beliefs and Practices

To ascertain how beliefs and practices in Úgo are perceived and interpreted by the Church, the study sought the reasons that prompt prohibition of members from consulting Ago. Their responses are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Frequency distribution of reasons that prompt the PCEA Church prohibition of members from consulting Ago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Frequency (N=12)</th>
<th>% **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lumped Ago with witches and sorcerers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úgo as a form of religious syncretism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ago as charlatans who use deception on troubled people</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ago as devil agents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úgo as primitivity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple responses allowed**
The results in Table 4:5 reveal that, majority of the respondents (86%) indicated that *Ago* are lumped together with witches and sorcerers and 60% mentioned that consulting *Ago* is equated to religious syncretism, and 50% cited that *Ago* are referred to as charlatans. The other reasons for the Church’s prohibition of beliefs and practices in *ūgo* are; equating *Ago* with devil’s agents (35%) and perceiving consultation of them as equal to going back to the primitive era (20%). The results indicate that *Ago* are associated with negative connotations in terms of definitions and roles. These perceptions were created by missionaries in their endeavour to eliminate *ūgo* thereby equating *Ago* as witches, sorcerers and agents of Satan. Consequently, those who took over from missionaries equally viewed *Ago* with the same lenses. These results correspond with the observation by Davidson (1978:147) on missionaries’ first encounter with diviner- healers as:

> The missionaries did not understand what they saw. They thought specialists in anti-witchcraft, who were fierce-looking figures, wearing masks in strange ceremonies, were “making” witchcraft, not fighting it, and so they called them “witchdoctors”. Nearly always, these specialists were anti-witchcraft doctors calling on the powers of good; they were working against what they believed to be powers of evil.

Shorter’s (1984) and Stinton’s (2004) colloborate these sentiments in their studies that the term “diviner- healer” has negative denotations and connotations in Africa, particularly due to missionary teachings that they are charlatans. By so doing, missionaries reprimanded the new converts and forced them to refuse all Gĩkũyũ healing methods and rebuff *Ago*. Similar results were also reported by Schoffeleers (1994) who states that the African diviner healers have pejoratively
been referred to as embodiments of evil by both missionaries and African Christian ministers. These findings are in agreement with Swantz (1990: 7). He notes that:

Over the first 100 years, the medicine person and his/her work has been grossly misrepresented and misunderstood. Western sensationalism has attached to the person the name “witch-doctor”, which calls up visions of bizarre stereotypes of Africans which are both inaccurate and offensive.

Given these contrasting interpretations of the same category of specialists, it is not surprising that the PCEA prohibits members from consulting Ago. However, this study observes that despite the Church repudiation of ūgo beliefs and practices, the quest for both physical and mystical healing, and prominence of Ago in this regard is generally indispensable among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. Hence, for the Church to be successful, it needs to take into consideration the two aspects of healing. Overlooking one of the dimensions only result in persistence in beliefs and practices in ūgo amidst Christian practices.

(i) Disciplinary Measures taken by the Church on those who Consult Ago

The study sought the respondents’ views on disciplinary measures taken by the Church on those found to have erred by consulting Ago. Interestingly, all respondents including those who had not encountered members who have consulted Ago, did not deny the existence of such practices. Muindi (01,
2010) representing the view of the Church leaders, indicated that the PCEA employs its rules and regulations in enforcing moral discipline among the members who consult *Agō*. These are enshrined in the Church constitution known as PCEA Practice and Procedure Manual. The main steps followed in dealing with those who contravene the Constitution especially first offenders is counselling. In case the problem persists, offenders are either denied certain services like the rite to baptism, partaking Holy Communion or excommunication.

These findings confirm that missionaries’ evangelism through the Churches where the structures and teachings of the PCEA were transposed from the Church of Scotland without any adjustment to fit the local situations. It implies that the aftermath of the encounter between CSM and *ūgo* is still evident today in the Church’s rules and the regulations. The reason for this was basically due to the Western theological hegemony and imperialism. In the quest to convert the Gikũyũ to Christianity, certain cultural practices were discouraged or ultimately prohibited by the missionaries. Unfortunately, the Church has maintained the same attitude and perceptions of beliefs and practices in *ūgo* as they were proclaimed by the missionaries over a hundred years ago. However, within the Christian theological circle, the quest to reconstruct African theology that is designed to undo missionaries’
destructionist presupposition has been voiced. In this connection, Ng’Weshemi (2002:82) observes that:

African theology comes out of a search for freedom from the domination and imperialism of Western theology, which not only has been dumb on the African experiential reality, but also has perpetuated the disorientation and oppression of African people, and the expansionist agenda and attitude of the West.

Mugambi (1995:23) collaborates this by noting that “African Christians can be liberated from missionaries’ domination legacy on which they have been nurtured to enable them participate as full members of the international community.” These results imply that the Gĩkũyũ received the Gospel within an environment where it was more or less “a set of rules to be observed, promises to be expected in the next world, rhythmless hymns to be sung, rituals to be followed and a few other outward things”(Mbiti, 1969:233). As a result, mission Christianity has probably not penetrated deep enough into the consciousness of a large number of Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians for it to become an integral part of their religiosity. If Gĩkũyũ Christians are to have a wholistic living, Christianity must pervade their language thought patterns, fears, social relationships, attitudes and philosophical disposition for it to make a mark upon their lives.
(ii) **PCEA Leadership’s Awareness of Members Adherence to Õgo**

The study also sought to establish if the Church’s leadership is aware of members’ indulgence in Õgo. The results are presented in Table 4.6:

**Table 4.12: Church Leaders who know PCEA members consult Õgo**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in Table 4.6 indicate that the Church leadership is aware that her members consult Õgo, an indicator that the Church is in denial of the reality presented by Õgo adherence by her members. Consequently, rather than continue condemning the practice, the Church needs to wake up to the reality and attend to the needs of its members within a Gĩkũyũ worldview. This compares with Stinton’s study (2003) and Mbondo (2006) who note that although Africans have converted to Christianity, their worldview has not been transformed. In times of crisis, they revert to beliefs and practices of diviner-doctor because the Church has ignored their past and no attempt has been made to penetrate it with the Gospel. As such, like many other Africans, converted Gĩkũyũ live in two worlds - one Christian and the other traditional.

This finding is corroborated by Moyo (1996) who found that African pastors who are close to their members know those who have consulted traditional experts in
both rural and urban settings. As such, it should dawn on the Church leadership that the mere dismissal of ūgo as superstition, is of no consequence with many members. Instead, the Church leadership ought to understand the underlying factors that lead to ūgo adherence among Gĩkũyũ Christians. By so doing, wise counsel, based on Biblical teachings and Gĩkũyũ culture should be given so that Christianity becomes an internalized religion that is lived and answers existential questions. This could lead offenders to repentance without necessarily harassing them through rules and regulations. Such practice would enable culprits to reform and possibly be reintegrated to the Church.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the Church has not responded seriously to the persistence of beliefs and practices in ūgo among PCEA Christians. It is in this light probably that beliefs and practices in ūgo are considered as a dominant feature in the lives of Gĩkũyũ Christians. The Church ought to use other approaches such inculturation of Gospel into the beliefs and practice in ūgo to address Christian dualism without compromising Christian teachings.

(iii) Detection of Christians who consult Ago by the Church leadership

The study further investigated how the Church leadership detects those who consult Ago. Their responses are shown in Table 4.7:
Table 4.7: Frequency distribution on detection of Christians who consult *Ago* by Church leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of information</th>
<th>Frequency (N=12)</th>
<th>%  **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informed by other Christians</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confession during counseling</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business rivals or competitors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple responses were allowed**

The results in Table 4.7 reveal that (85%) of Church leaders are able to detect Christians who consult *Ago* from information provided to them by other Christians. Others identify them during counselling sessions (60%) where they confess the “vice” while 40% such information is through errant’s’ rivals. This implies that there is free flow of information oscillating from Church members to leaders. Unfortunately, despite this knowledge, the Church has not taken further steps to liberate members from syncretising Christianity and *ūgo*, a grave oversight by the Church. It indicates that the failure to equip Gĩkũyũ Christians with concrete roots in Christianity has led to dualism, which has failed not only the Church, but also Gĩkũyũ Christians. In conclusion, it is paramount, for the Church to recognize African spirituality as manifested in *ūgo* beliefs and practices as *preparatio evangelica* in order to liberate its members from syncretism.
(iv) **PCEA Policy on Inculturation**

The study further sought to establish from Church leadership if the PCEA has a policy on inculturation. It was observed that the PCEA policy on inculturation is rooted in the premise of the latent presence of Christ in the culture in question (*preparatio evangelica*)\(^{28}\), which entails raising His presence to the surface. At this juncture is good to note that the relationship between the African religion and Christianity has created fierce theological heat among scholars. While some lean heavily towards a separation of the African religion and Christianity, others call for a dialogue between them. However, the key problem has been how to take seriously the divine imprints that are manifested in the African religion and the command of Jesus to his disciples to go all over the world and make disciples. It is in view of the above that the PCEA has come up with inculturation policy.

“In the last twenty years, the PCEA has developed a framework that attempts to understand and view culture as a gift of God’s grace in creation and revelation in order to tap Christ’s presence” (Kihumba 0.1, 2010). Mercy (0.1, 2010) noted that at the first General Administrative Committee (GAC) of the Eleventh General Assembly (GA) of 2001, the PCEA took a decisive step towards inculturation. For the first time, it acknowledged the importance of indigenous cultural elements as inherently “good” and “worth” to assimilate.

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\(^{28}\) In this context there are two groups of scholars, the first like Mbiti (1969) and Idowu (1963) see radical continuity between the Christianity and African culture, a view that has been adopted by PCEA. The second, such as Kato (1975) and Ilugu (1974) favor a radical discontinuity between African religion and Christianity.
According to Muindi (O.I, 2010), the policy on inculturation exemplified the penultimate underlying principles that were to guide the process of inculturation. The process, as Muindi (ibid) notes, was broken down into three critical steps. First, Church members should examine and evaluate how indigenous cultural elements to be inculturated were understood in indigenous communities. To help Christians examine their cultural practices, the PCEA Theological panel on doctrinal affairs should facilitate the process. Second, the Bible’s view on cultural element under discussion should be examined. In this, the panel must guide on how to evaluate relevant scriptures related to the element exegetically and hermeneutically. This is a critical and discernment step because unless the Biblical view is understood correctly, there can be a danger of syncretism. Finally, church members should examine their indigenous cultural element in light of their newly gained Biblical understanding, and decide how to inculturate it to church rituals.

By adopting this policy, the Church has recognized that inculturation can be enrichment to the Gospel, since it brings to light aspects of truths of her members’ cultures which may have remained hidden by Church policies that were set by missionaries. Missionaries used the policy of radical replacement of African cultures, instead of a model of continuity, which is in essence a better option of inculturation. The PCEA policy on inculturation thus can facilitate evangelism and bring the Gospel to reality in relation to the African context. To this end,
those cultural practices that have been ignored can be carefully examined and utilized to enrich Christianity, leading to wholistic living.

In lieu of the above, the Church has seen it necessary to incorporate in its calendar of events the communities' rites of passage (referred to as ROPES) whereby young boys and girls are initiated and incorporated into their respective societies. This is an opportunity for young Christians to learn the importance of being the "body of Christ" and at the same time uphold values that transcend their cultural heritage. In communities that upheld the traditional circumcision rite, young boys and girls are today gathered in boarding facilities for a number of days for the rite. Whilst boys receive the cut, most teachings are in line with indigenous knowledge of transmission of boys and girls to manhood and womanhood respectively, and in addition, Christian values and life skills necessary in the contemporary setting. 29

(v) Respondents' awareness of the PCEA Policy on Inculturation

The respondents (ordinary Church members) were asked whether they were aware of the PCEA policy on inculturation. Table 4:8 presents the results:

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29 For ten years running, members of Presbyterian Church Men Fellowship (PCMF) and PCEA Woman’s Guild in Nyeri Presbytery have organized Christian initiation programmes that run in December at Dr. Kamundia high school. The aim has been to bring together young boys and girls in the Presbytery, circumcise the boys and teach all key life skills among them Christian virtues, respect for one another and responsible, sexuality amidst avoidance of HIV/AIDS.
Table 4:8: Frequency distribution of respondents who were aware of PCEA policy on inculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>benefited</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comment</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 shows that 70.5% of ordinary Church members exhibited knowledge of the policy as opposed to only 25.4% who were unaware of it, while 4.1% did not respond. The results show that there is comparatively a high proportion of Christians with adequate knowledge on the PCEA inculturation policy. Those who responded in the affirmative were further asked to indicate their source of information. The results are shown in Table 4.9 below:
Table 4:9: Frequency distribution of respondent source of information on PCEA inculturation policy

| Source of information                                      | Frequency | %  **
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------
| N=221                                                     |           |      |
| Through Church Seminars                                   | 174       | 78.9 |
| Through Preachers                                         | 133       | 60.2 |
| From General Assembly or General Administrative Committees’ circulars to congregations | 79        | 35.8 |
| PCEA “Jitegemea” magazines                                | 21        | 9.7  |
| Others                                                    | 14        | 6.5  |

**Multiple responses were allowed

The results on Table 4.9 above reveal that of those respondents who knew of PCEA policy on inculturation (N=221) a higher number (78.9%) said that their source of information were Church seminars. One hundred and thirty three respondents (60.2%) indicated preaching as the source, while 35.8% claimed their source of information was through General Assembly or General Administration Committee’s circulars to congregation. Twenty-one respondents (9.7) gave PCEA *Jitegemea magazine* as their source of information and 6.5% indicated other sources.
These findings suggest that the level of awareness of the policy on inculturation by ordinary Christians could be the key to successful inculturation given that the process needs to be people-driven. As such, it needs the participation of all Christians on what cultural elements should be inculturated and what should not. In view of the above results, this study submits that PCEA continue to disseminate information on the inculturation policy to members through seminars, sermons, magazines, workshops and retreats in order to sensitize its members on its importance. It is only when the members are fully involved that they will appreciate inculturation process, which would be for their own good. This would enhance their faith, an act that would target their spiritual and cultural needs. All these should be aimed at bringing dialogue between Christianity and Gikũyũ culture in order to bridge duality, leading to wholistic Christian living

(vi) **Factors that Hinder Christianity being Inculturation in beliefs and practices in ũgo**

The study sought to investigate the factors that hinder Christianity inculturated in ũgo beliefs and practices despite the knowledge of the PCEA policy on inculturation. The results are presented in Table 4:10 below
Table 4:10: Frequency distribution of factors that hinder inculturation of beliefs and practices in ñgo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=221</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherent wrong interpretations of ñgo, e.g.</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regarding it as witchcraft and sorcery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of syncretism</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñgo steeped in evil practices</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñgo seen as a form of superstition</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple responses were allowed

The results in Table 4.10 reveal that a large number of PCEA Christians (64.7%) have inherent meanings, albeit wrong that they associate with ñgo. Among these are equating it with witchcraft and sorcery. This observation, especially from the respondents’ point of view is the greatest impediment to inculturation. The fear of syncretism was cited by 60.2% of the respondents. Other reasons that curtail inculturation include: ñgo being considered as rooted in evil (27.1%), fear of resurrecting an outdated anti-Christian culture (14.2%) and Ago being seen as liars (8.3%). The study notes that the negative connotations associated with ñgo beliefs and practices are as a result of false assumptions and teachings by the CSM missionaries, who literally demonized everything African.
As a result, wrong meanings and definitions of beliefs and practices in ūgo continue to feature prominently in contemporary Christianity, thereby inhibiting inculturation. A serious implication of missionary Christianity is that many Church leaders have continued to see Christianity as an enemy of beliefs and practices in ūgo. In addition, the effect of anti- ūgo worldview resulted to dual religious minds among many Gĩkũyũ Christians. As such, the Church must find ways and means of eliminating duality, which can only be through inculturating Christianity in beliefs and practices in ūgo. The ultimate aim of this is to help Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians internalize both the relevance and adequacy of Christianity within their context. This in turn would enable Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians place their confidence in Christ only, for all their existential and spiritual needs.

(x) Inculturating Christianity in Beliefs and Practices in Ŭgo

The study further sought to investigate the possibility of inculturating Christianity to beliefs and practices in ūgo themes. Views were sought from pastors, elders and ordinary Church members. The results are presented in Table 4.11 below:
Table 4.11: Frequency distribution of themes in beliefs and practices in ūgo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Healing</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purification</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exorcism</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple respondents were allowed

Interestingly, respondents among them pastors, elders and laity were of the view that beliefs and practices in ūgo embody the ministry of Christ. Majorities saw them as preparatio evangelica, in other words, as legitimate preparation for the Gospel of Christ and would make a cogent and important contribution to African Theology. The findings in Table 4.17 above reveal that 65.1% of respondents isolated healing as the most desired theme. Other themes included purification (54.4), exorcism (46.1%) and others (13.4%) respectively. The study sought to understand the rationale behind such views. The results are given below.
Table 4.12: Frequency distribution of factor influencing indigenous healing practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of influence</th>
<th>Frequency (N=212)</th>
<th>%**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical and Spiritual Healing service</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>72.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of protective medicine</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicines to enhance fertility to land, livestock and people</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple respondents allowed

Table 4.12 shows that 72.8% respondents favour healing practices in ūgo as a possible inculturation strategy since indigenous healing involves physical and spiritual aspects. 53.1% cited protective medicine, 33.2% said that it provides medicine to enhance productivity to people, land and livestock, while 18.2% cited other reasons. These findings support Kolie’s observation (1992) that diseases and healing are the first concern to African peoples. These views stem from the traditional Gĩkũyũ worldview, which see diseases and misfortunes as having a physical and mystical dimension. Healing is also mediated in a wholistic manner that addresses these two aspects and Ago, according to this approach, may be a good source of cure. Consequently, the study concludes that Gĩkũyũ traditional worldview on diseases and illness has lingered among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians despite Christian evangelization and consequent conversion. This mind frame has created religious dualism as Christians attempt to adhere to the faith and at the
same time to ūgo’s worldview in dealing with illnesses and healing. This aspect has been articulated by Tutu (1987: 47) who notes:

The fact is that up to fairly recently, the African Christian has suffered from a form of religious schizophrenia. With part of him he has been compelled first to play lip service to Christianity as understood, expressed and preached by the white man. But with an ever greater part of himself, a part he has been ashamed to acknowledge openly and which he has struggled to repress, he has felt that his African-ness has been violated. The white man’s largely cerebral religion was hardly touching the depths of his African soul; he was being given answers, and often splendid answers to questions he had not asked.

The study submits that many Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians live on untransformed religious worldview, where they see the world through Christian eyes and at the same time interpret health, illness and healing according to their indigenous worldview.

**Table 4.13: Frequency distribution of factor influencing ritual cleansing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of influence</th>
<th>Frequency (N=177)</th>
<th>%**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purification of an individual when harm or impurities have been contracted</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>84.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual purification protects a person or family from ritual impurities</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual purification used to readmit into regular society the cleansed person or persons</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Multiple responses allowed
These findings show that (84.9%) of respondents consider ritual cleansing once contaminated with harm or impurities (*thahu*) as 51.5% of the respondents said they favor it as it protects them from *thahu* (ritual impurities). 14.4% of respondents favoured ritual cleansing as it reinstated the affected back to the community while 10.6% gave other reasons. The study observes that understanding ritual purification is influenced by both Gĩkũyũ religio-cultural worldview and Judeo Christianity. From the Gĩkũyũ indigenous worldview, ritual purification was aimed at rectifying various illnesses and misfortunes thereby bringing to resolution and reconciliation either to an individual or family in response to instructions given by Ago. As such, ritual purification has permeated beyond Christian conversion. This state of affairs has resulted in less commitment of Gĩkũyũ Christians to their churches and at times revert back to ritual cleansing to seek religious satisfaction that lacks in Mission Christianity. In conclusion, the study observes that the Church should adjust its rituals to accommodate elements of ritual purification that are in tandem with Biblical witness in order to make Gĩkũyũ Christians engross wholistic Christian living.
Table 4.14: Frequency distribution of factors influencing the exorcism to be inculturated into Christianity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of influence</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protection against evil spirits</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invoking spiritual world’s favor</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanquishing deadly regions of spiritual forces</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Multiple responses were allowed

The findings in Table 4.14 shows that majority of those who favored exorcism to be inculturated into Christianity (65.1%) considered ūgo practices of protecting people against gratuitous and maverick evil spirit as a core reason. 54.6% favoured it in order to invoke the spiritual world to act in their favor while 46.4% considered the practice of vanquishing deadly regions of spiritual forces that constantly harass Christians and entangle them in great pain. These findings are derived from the Gikũyũ traditional as well as the Judeo-Christianity worldviews. To the Gikũyũ, every phenomenon in the human world was as a result of an action or decision made by some spiritual beings. As noted, this mindset has permeated into Christianity promoting many Christians to interpret daily occurrences in their lives from a spirits-human interrelation perspective.
Observably, on the other hand, Gĩkũyũ Christians have been influenced by the NT religiosity in which, belief in demons and unseen supernatural powers is inherent. Jesus after all, exorcised many and literally gave powers to His disciples to do the same.

This state of affairs is underpinned in two beliefs; first, by using the right technique, appropriate power and approach, human beings can transform or confuse evil spirits, thereby make them favorable, or at least stop them from causing illness and misfortunes (Kenyatta, 1938). Second is the belief that, most effective and safe way to deal with evil spirits is to confront them by rebuking, binding and exorcising them (Ezigbo, 2008). The study observed that both beliefs have informed Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ attitudes toward evil spirits. These findings correspond with Abogunrin (1991) assertion that the African worldview is similar to Biblical one, in particular the first-century Palestine in which Jesus lived and ministered. This was also a world where people would be possessed by evil spirits and other kinds of demons that were often seen as causes of physical and spiritual diseases. These findings corroborate Okorocha’s (1992) who observes that Africans see life as a recurring battlefield between evil and good forces, a view that compares with Domingues (1999) who notes that Africans believe their cosmos to be populated by malevolent spirits locked in a cosmic battle at the center of which is humankind. These forces inflict sickness, death and all kinds of misfortunes. As such, any African theology that hopes to be relevant
to Gĩkũyũ Christians should neither overlook nor underestimate ūgo beliefs and practices.

4.2.6: Conclusion

To conclude this sub-section, it is important to emphasize that missionaries displayed negative attitude toward the office and practices ūgo. Ago were branded as agent of Satan and their practices were described as “paganism”, “primitive”, “devilish”, and “superstitions” and therefore unfit for inculturation. This negative attitude shaped the strategy that the missionaries adopted in their evangelization methods of Gĩkũyũ. In order for one to become a convert, he/she was required to abandon their cultural beliefs and ūgo practices in favor of the Scottish cultural lifestyle. Thus, this approach had negative effects on the converts for it inevitably exemplified an identity crises through “imported form of Christianity”. When in crises, converts reverted in beliefs and practices in ūgo. This occurred largely due to the ineffectiveness of contemporary medicine and mission Christianity in diagnosing and prescribing remedies for some cultural psychological problem.

It was noted that many Gĩkũyũ Christians live on untransformed indigenous worldview. They are yet to come to position where they see the world through Christ and interpret it according to Him. Rather than see the diseases and misfortunes through Christianity, they persist to see it through the beliefs and
practices of ūgo. Therefore, the study confirms our third premises that Gĩkũyũ Presbyterians Christians are vulnerable to beliefs and practices in ūgo despite Christian evangelization. It was established that the PCEA church has set up Theological panel on doctrinal affairs to guide the church on inculturation and other theological issues. The study observed that on inculturation, the panel has laid down three critical steps to be followed namely; evaluation of the cultural element, Biblical analysis of the issue at hand and the analysis of the same by church members and finally adoption of the cultural practice.

This is a good development since the Church has come to a realization that the cultures of its members are legitimate preparation for the Gospel of Christ, and they can make a cogent and important contribution to inculturation. The study also confirmed that Christianity has not been inculturated in beliefs and practices in ūgo because of wrong connotations and denotations of the term Ago, and fear of introducing syncretistic practices in Christianity. Regarding integrating Christianity in beliefs and practices in ūgo, the study identified three themes which were ranked most highly as: - healing, ritual purification and exorcism in that order.
SECTION III

An Inculturated Understanding of Beliefs and Practices in Ūgo from a Christian Perspective

4.3 Meaning and Importance of Inculturation

While considering the concept of "inculturation", the terms "adaptation", "accommodation", "indigenization" and "contextualization" are in some instances used interchangeably with "inculturation" (Oyama 1999). Van der Merwe (1996:671) and Nasimiyu (1986:96-122) note that notions of these terms evolved in the concepts of ‘Gospel’ translation amongst peoples and cultures of the “Third World”. As Nasimiyu (ibid) and Kiaziku (1999) point out, despite positive reflections on some aspects of these terms, they gradually gave way to the term that was becoming more and more accepted; ‘inculturation’. Waliggo (1986) states that ‘inculturation’ has become an important missiological concept within the Christian Church. ‘Inculturation’ is the process by which the Christian Gospel infuses itself into a new culture, transforming it on some levels and, at the same time, taking on, the unique characteristics and concerns of that culture. The

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30 Schineller (1990) mentions that these terms resurfaced within the context of an ongoing endeavour to evangelize across different cultural settings of the third world. However due to the limited scope of this thesis, we will not deal with these concepts. A more detailed study of these concepts can be found in the works of scholars such as Shorter (1974), Buswell (1978), Nasimiyu (1986) and Nyoyoko (2004).
objective of "inculturation" is to enable the Gospel message to be readily understood, accepted and lived out in the thought-forms of culture as is expressed in local idioms, language and imagery (Kiaziku, 2009). As a result, diversity is unavoidable because the "inculturation" of one Gospel in numerous cultures gives rise to plurality.

As Shorter (1989: 67) explains, "inculturation implies that the Christian message transforms a culture. It is also the case that Christianity is transformed by culture, not in a way that falsifies the message, but in a way in which the message is formulated and interpreted anew". Through this process, the Christian experience is transformed from the status of a "foreign religion to one incarnated into the local culture (Stanton, 2004).

Waliggo (1986: 9) defines "inculturation" as; "the honest and serious attempt to make Christ and his message of salvation evermore understood by people of every culture, locality and time". Shorter also cites another and may be perhaps a deeper meaning of "inculturation" in practical terms (1974:69) as follows: -

What really happens is that Christianity in one cultural dress encounters a non-Christian culture, and then tries to incarnate itself in the new culture. In doing this it challenges and transforms the culture. Two processes are involved; the "undressing" of Christianity from the foreign culture, and the "dressing" of Christianity in the indigenous, culture. These processes; however are simultaneous since, Christianity cannot exist without some dress or other. You cannot have a culturally naked Christianity"
Collaborating this view, Arrupe\(^31\) (1978) describes “inculturation” as an incarnation of Christian life and message in a particular cultural context. The “incarnation” of the Christian message happens in such a way that the experience finds expression through elements particular to the culture in question and becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies it by transforming it into a “new creation”. In other words, as Kiaziku (2009: 54) points out, “Arrupe’s definition highlights the dynamic dialogue and interaction between the Christian faith and culture”.

Nissen (2004), also argues that “Inculturation” is a kind of ongoing “incarnation” just as Christ chose to live in a particular time, culture and setting, so must the Gospel be “incarnated” in the contexts of all communities in the world. In this approach, it is not so much a case of the Church being expanded. Rather, it is one of being born a new in each new context and culture (Mondithaka 2007).

Kiaziku (2009) remarks that while “inculturation” is founded on the mystery of the “incarnation”, it also implies that God is the originator of Missions (Mission Dei). Christ was sent by God to the world where he assumed a human form thereby adopting a human culture in order to reach humankind with his message (Dom Nwachukwu 2000). As shorter (1988) points out, Christ accepted the dynamics of cultural exchange as a consequence of his own “inculturation” and as

it were, encouraged the Church to follow his example. The Church received from Him the command to "go to all Nations and make disciples" (Mathew 28:19). This is a universal Mission. The Church, therefore, must put into effect its Catholic character by following the steps of Jesus, that is "self-emptying incarnation" to the very end (Phil. 2:7-8). All this is achieved through the help of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, promised by Jesus as a guide for His Church.

Described thus, incarnational model has two prongs; embodiment and confrontation of the local culture that Gospel is incarnated. As far as the Gospel is clothed in cultural images, language and concepts which its people readily identify, the embodiment process is at work. Further, the Gospel also confronts some cultural elements in local culture incompatible with its super cultural truth in order to transform the culture. Second, inculturation should also embrace the reconstruction paradigm. According to Mugambi (1995), reconstructive motif includes personal, cultural and ecclesiastical reconstruction.

This motif construes Jesus as the one that has come not to destroy the African peoples' identity, culture and ecclesiastical formation, but to reconstruct them. As a result, inculturation must be done in a way that befits the cultural, religious and social needs of the African people. The reconstruction paradigm of inculturation according to Ryan (2009: 59), can help to bring out "aspects of the Gospel that were previously undiscovered, undeveloped, hidden or simply abandoned" in the mission
Christianity. This aspect brings mutual enrichment of the culture and the Gospel, and consequently overcome dualism, so as to give the PCEA Gikuyu Christian wholesome living.

One final observation of the inculturation process, is how the implantation of the Christian message is related to the conceptual framework. According to Niebuhr’s (1951) missiological model, and especially “the Christ of culture motif”, the theory of inculturation presented here is a process of introducing the Christian Gospel to new cultures, without the insidious notions of superiority, often associated with the missionary Christianity. Through this process, converts are able to experience the Christian faith in relevant and culturally specific ways. The investigation of the meaning of “inculturation” and its cognitive terms gives clarity to our proposed inculturation process of beliefs and practices in ūgo according to the study’s conceptual framework.

4.3.2: Necessity for Inculturation

For too long, mainline churches in Africa have been speaking a “foreign language” in their effort to evangelize. As observed, their creeds, liturgy, hymns, worship, ways of life, witness, thought forms and theology have a Western orientation. In addition, clerical robes, Christian rituals and symbols are alien to

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32 Mainline churches are those denominations which were established in Africa by western missionaries in the nineteenth and part of twentieth centuries such as Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian.
Africans. A good example is the element which many African churches use when they celebrate Holy Communion. In Western Christianity, wine signifies the blood of Jesus. Missionaries did not encourage the use of traditional brew, such as *mūratina* (Giküyu traditional beer) which they labeled as sinful, in the cerebration of the Lord’s Supper. Instead, they imposed some Western brands of altar wine on African Christians. The PCEA is no exception, for over 100 years, it has never used African brew and food stuffs to replace bread and wine during Communion while African Instituted Churches like the Kimbanguist church of Democratic Republic of Congo has done (Hastings, 1994). This is due to the fact that Christianity in mainline churches is still lived and conceptualized in Western mindset despite a denomination like PCEA having an inculturation policy. For Christianity to be relevant to the Africans, it must “speak” the idioms and use symbols and materials of their cultures in order to share “the Good News”. According to Arbuckle (1990: 26-45), for inculturation to have a meaning, it must use their symbols since they are nothing but signs of communication.

From the observations above, it can logically be concluded that inculturation is an essential tool of mission engagement and unless the Gospel is reincarnated in cultural context, it will not be seen and experienced as “Good News” by Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. For example, the study notes, inculturating Christianity in beliefs and practices in *ũgo* has an important implication for incarnation and indigenizing principle of transformation, that is, applying God’s truth in a
culturally relevant and sensitive manner without compromising the supracultural truths of the Gospel. By introducing Christ as the fulfiller of beliefs and practices in *ūgo*, Gĩkũyũ Christians would move from the unknown to known in their faith’s journey.

4.3.3: Biblical Basis for Inculturation

Inculturation is a very old subject, probably as old as the Bible itself (Waliggo, 1986). From the beginning, the Biblical message has been expressed in cultural idioms, first, in Jewish and second, in Greek languages (Chepkwony 2005). God has always spoken to people through their contemporary cultures. Properly understood, the Bible is thus a record of inculturated revelation of the way God interacted with humans in space, time and history in the totality of their own cultural milieu (Musasiwa 2007).

Biblical characters understood God’s message in their own cultural context, and shared and passed it in their particular local idiom. In this regard, Waliggo (1986:20) postulates that the OT formed the Israelites into the nation of God for it incarnated their worldview, aspirations, histories and culture. Further, the OT “was expressed in words, similes, symbols and proverbs that people understood. It was not a mere sacred book to show them the way of life to be lived but part of their culture” (ibid). In any case, language is the collective bank of people’s culture (Wa Thiong’o, 1991).
In the OT, God used cultural images, language and concepts as He spoke through the Prophets. Expressions of the OT are thus culturally oriented and familiar to the people of their time. In the NT, the parables of Jesus are simply truths about the “Kingdom of God” as narrated in the cultural language and mindset of His time. Further, the “Kingdom of God” was a potent idea for Jews who expressed their belief that their real King was God. The expression “Kingdom of God” also fuelled Jews’ expectation that one day God would come to deliver His people from alien rule and establish them again as the Lord’s chosen people. The stories, figures of speech, words and analogies that Jesus used in different contexts were particular to those contexts and immediately resonated with his listeners (Mondithoka, 2006). By speaking then, Jesus was inculturating the supra-cultural truths about God, giving them meanings, life and reality.

The apostles, particularly Peter, James and Paul recognized the importance of inculturation, albeit in a difficult way. Their experience and efforts recorded in Acts 10-11, 15 demonstrate how such challenge was resolved. According to the narrative, the crisis was precipitated by believers who came from Jerusalem to Antioch in Syria- and taught that gentiles were to be circumcised in order to be admitted into the Church (Acts 15:24). As a result, Paul and Barnabas were appointed to go to Jerusalem to discuss the matter with the apostles (Acts 15:2-4). The events culminated in a Council of Jerusalem and the nature and occasion of
this meeting was to determine whether Gentiles converts were to be circumcised like their Jewish counterparts in order to identify with Christianity. After considerable debate, it was concluded that Gentiles need not follow the customs common to Jewish Christians in order to join the community of Faith. The conclusion seems to suggest that the Gospel must be inculturated into any culture it comes into contact with as it spreads to non-Christian across the world.

In line with this principle, the early Christians transposed from the Hebrew religion, the “temple imagery” and gave some of its feasts and festivals new names and significance such as “Passover” and “Pentecost”. Similarly, the apostles spoke in familiar Jewish categories as they inculturated the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In addition, Paul used Greek imagery when he preached the Gospel in a Hellenist context such as “fighting a good fight”, “running the race” and “winning the crown which does not fade away” to express the Christian life as “pilgrim to heaven”. Such images powerfully communicated the supra-cultural truths of the Gospel that Paul wanted to convey. To the Greek audience, he inculturated and reinterpreted concepts such as “covenant” and “circumcision” according to their cultural milieu (Turaki, 1999, Bediako, 1992, 1995). Such a process of inculturation by a host culture that brings to light new meanings has always been considered a natural and necessary process of the Gospel (Waliggo, 1986). According to Niebuhr’s (1951) model of “Christ of culture”, the Christian
message is translatable. As a result of this fundamental characteristic, Bediako (1995:119) states:

It is possible to say that the earlier concern to seek an “indigenization” of Christianity in Africa, as though one were dealing with an essentially “western” and foreign” religion was, in effect, misguided because the task was conceived as the correlation of two entities thought to be unrelated. Such an effort was bound to lead to a dead end...precisely because it fastened too intently on the “foreignness” of the western modes of the transmission of the Faith, and correspondingly paid too little attention to actual achievement “on the ground”.

There is therefore, no culturally neutral form of the Gospel as both Newbigin (1995) and Walls (1976) point. Further, numerous scholars (Bediako 1995; Shorter, 1994; Nasimiyu, 1986 and Waliggo, 1986) have indicated that missionaries thought that their Western oriented Christianity had not only supra-truths but also supra-cultural elements to be transmitted to the Africans. However, as shown earlier, western understanding of certain components of; “rationalism”, “individualism”, “mannerism”, “materialism”, “forms of prayer” and “praise” was already inculturated. This is to say that the Gospel was already inculturated to the Enlightenment principle long before it came to Africa. As a result, it was exported and transplanted, with little effort to inculturate it to the African way of life. This is what Mondithoka (2007) calls “a cultural imposition” and which made it difficult for the first generation Christians to inculturate the Gospel.
With this in mind, the inculturation process suggested in this study incarnates the Gospel into Gikũyũ culture and at the same time facilities its transformation in bridging religious dualism. On the basis of Niebuhr’s theory, the study develops an inculturation paradigm theory that follows three stages. Stage one consists of a critical evaluation of the cultural element of beliefs and practices in ũgo to be inculturated on the basis of Biblical teachings. The second, is a descriptive analysis of the core ingredients of the cultural theme of the beliefs and practices in ũgo as is understood in the Gikũyũ culture. The third deals with the actual method of integrating and replacing or rejecting any ũgo theme.

The integration process helps to recognize the missioner’s culture and supra-cultural components of the Gospel acknowledged in OT and NT as universal truths. The supra-cultural components without being distorted are extracted from the missioner’s culture. The extracted supra-cultural are then integrated with indigenous culture. The replacing process involves substituting the indigenous element with Christian rituals while integrating supra-cultural elements they both share, expressed in cultural images, concepts and figures of speech. The rejection indicates that the cultural element is not compatible with the Gospel and thus it is eliminated without purification. In the three approaches, there is transformation and enrichment of both Gospel and culture. Similarly, when a culture receives supra-cultural components, it provides the Gospel with a local base since Christianity, as Shorter (1974) indicates, cannot remain without a cultural dress.
The study employs this procedure in inculturating the ritual of Baptism into the Gĩkũyũ ritual purification. It also inculturates contemporary healing into Gĩkũyũ indigenous treatment system, both serving as examples of replacement and integration methods. These serve as an illustration in the application of the inculturation theory among the Gĩkũyũ. The same procedure can be used in inculturating the Gospel in other Gĩkũyũ cultural elements such as exorcism. This study confirms our fourth premise that there are strategies the PCEA Church can put in place to inculturate Christianity into beliefs and practices in ūgo.

4.3.4: Inculturating Christian Baptism and Contemporary Healing into Gĩkũyũ Indigenous Ritual of Purification and Healing

To respond to the above challenge, the study raised several questions. Among them, how should the Church make the Gospel accessible to people whose worldview and culture implies opposing principles and values? How does one reach a people entrenched in their thought systems without compromising the basic principles of the Gospel? In some ways, the study noted that the PCEA leaders and laity in the study area have wrestled with these questions, albeit through different approaches. Notably, the PCEA church has not provided concrete answers to these questions, and consequently, members tend to oscillate between Christianity and ūgo, a move that resorts to religious dualism. The inculturational paradigm theory proposes a remedial measure to the dualistic tendencies among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. In inculturating Christian baptism
rite into Gikuyu ritual purification, the study adopts the three tier theory discussed above.

As observed earlier, within ñgo beliefs and practices, ritual purification was ranked second to be inculturated. Consequently, the study has chosen it as an example to illustrate how inculturation process can be done through a replacement method. This is in line with Burke’s (2001:193) recommendation that inculturation starts from the bottom up, whereby people produce cultural raw material, while the theologians produce doctrinal material. By so doing, Christianity is expressed in analogies, concepts and language from a people’s culture.

4.3.4.1: Inculturating Christian Baptism into Gikuyu Purification Rites

(A) Theological Evaluation of Ritual Purification

(i) Ritual Purification in the OT

The OT refers to acts of purification involving water as an expression of cleansing from pollution and guilt of sin (Ex. 19: 14). The law prescribed persons deemed to be unclean to bathe (Lv. 14: 8-9 and Lv. 15). For example, Aaron and his sons bathed at their ordination to priesthood (Lv. 8: 5-6) and on the Day of Atonement, Aaron had to bathe himself on entering the most Holy Place, as well as when leaving (Lv. 16: 3-4). The person who released the scapegoat in the desert, similarly had to bathe and burn his clothes (Lv. 16: 26-28). Such ritual
acts led to a symbolic moral cleansing. Flemington (2000: 3) explains this by observing that:

The Jews made frequent use of water for the purposes of religious purification ... in so far as the object was explicit; this "washing" seems to have aimed at what we should term a ritual rather than a moral purification. The purpose was to recover the Levitical purity without which a share in worship was forbidden. [However] ... certain ... passages, especially in the prophets, suggest that sometimes at least those acts of lustration were interpreted as in some way morally significant: Isaiah 1: 16; "Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean, remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes, cease to do evil. Learn to do good..."Ezek 36: 25f; "I will sprinkle clean water upon you and you shall be clean from all your uncleanness, and from all your idols, I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and new spirit I will put within you, and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh" Psalms 51: 7; "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean wash me and I shall be whiter than snow".

The symbolic act of using water for washing can be seen as symbolizing moral cleansing used by Jews who incorporated this connotation into the idea of the New Covenant relation. They used proselytes baptism as a rite of initiation and ritual bath as reflected in the practices of the Qumran sect. The proselytes, according to Flemington (2000:19), were God- fearing Gentiles who desired to come into religious fellowship with the Israelites. Jewish morality and monotheism appealed strongly to many Gentiles who therefore desired to come into a covenant relationship with God. They had to recant their pagan rituals and embrace the Jewish religio-cultural system, and in most cases, but not all, be
circumcised, a sign of God's covenant with Abraham (Gen 17: 9). Proselytes, through baptism, were initiated into Judaism.

Children of proselytes below age thirteen for boys and twelve for girls, and born before the rite was administered, were also baptized at the request of their father, but if they were above age, only at their own request. Children born after their parents' baptism were accounted as clean and therefore, did not require it. Proselytes' baptism by immersion in water (either in a river or in a baptismal font) symbolized cleansing from a past world of and that also renounced pagan life. It served as a rite of entry to Judaism (Beasley-Murray, 2000:19). The study infers that this baptism was also a form of ritual cleansing, similar in nature to the purification rites of other communities in the world.

Prior to the Christian era, a kind of purification movement took place in the Jordan valley, the most notable instance being the monastic community of Qumran. Berkhof (1994) thinks that this community had its origin among priests who rejected Temple worship, perceiving it as corrupt, and members emphasized maintenance of ritual purity through daily baths accompanied by repentance. This

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33 Qumran community dated between 140 BC to AD 67. The members were almost all males, although the dead Sea scrolls contain provisions for the admission of women and children. The number of people living there at any given time numbered two hundred to four hundred. The community devoted itself to the reading of the scripture. The live of the community was ascetic, and their practices included ritual bath. See also, Douglas J.D, Merrill C. T, et all., eds. 1986. New International Bible Dictionary. Grand Rapids. Zondervan. Pg 260-263.
community structured its organization around ritual washing and ceremonial purity.

Three observations arise from the above discussion regarding ritual purification in the OT. First, belief in ritual purification using water as a cleansing agent was an integral part of OT religiosity. Second, Proselyte baptism was used as an initiation act for those Gentiles attracted to Jewish morality and monotheism as a means of incorporation to the community. Finally, by implication, both Jewish's ritual of purification and proselyte baptism were to remove a ceremonial defilement, and to restore a person to his/her normal position within the ranks of the Community.

(ii) **Ritual Purification in the NT**

In the NT, John the Baptist replaced ritual purification with water baptism. As noted earlier, Jews were already familiar with repeated ritual purification rites, and demanded a once for all ritual to be administered only to Gentile converts. Following this tradition, John infused into the ritual act of initiation and purification an ethical quality lacking in baptism. John however, took the unprecedented step demanding a once for all baptism even for the Jews (Mat 3: 1ff. Mk 1: 4ff. Luke 3: 1ff. and John 1: 29ff.).
Lambert (2000) posits that whatever historical relation there may have existed between the two (John’s baptism and Prostate’s baptism), it is quite evident that, the former was loaded with new and more spiritual meanings. Its significance is made clear in Mark 1: 4 and Luke 3: 3, which see it as a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins, and that which expresses repentance on the part of the one baptized and an assurance of forgiveness. It also prepared the way for the coming of Jesus, John’s successor, who would baptize not just with water, but also with the Holy Spirit and fire (Mt 3: 11, Luke 3: 16) thereby inaugurating the “Kingdom of God” on earth. However, John’s baptism was limited in that it was intended for Jews only and excluded other nations of the world. It was nevertheless, only a transitory baptism of repentance, preparatory and identification.

Jesus took up this rite and gave it not only a new meaning but also universalism. He authorized baptism on the part of the disciples at the beginning of his public preaching ministry when John was still active (Jn. 3:22; 4:1). Jesus also spoke of His mission as baptism, a drowning under waters of great anguish (Lk.12:50) and “Can you drink the cup I drink or be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with?” (Matt 20; 22, Mark 10: 38). As the risen Lord, He sent out the Church to make disciples and to baptize all such in the triune name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (Mat 28.19-20). By so doing, He gave baptism the
universalism that was lacking in John’s. This new meaning and efficacy can be understood only in the light of Christ’s redemptive death and resurrection.

Baptism in the NT is therefore a confession of faith in Christ (Rom. 6:3-4; I Pet.3:21), associated with public acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior (Acts 2:38; 10:48; 8:16). It is also an experience of communion with Christ (Col.2:12). Through it, the candidate is linked by faith with the Lord in whose name he or she is baptized so as to enter in some sense into the very death and resurrection of Christ (Rom. 6:3-5). Further, Baptism is a dedication to live for Christ (Rom.6:4-21). Sinful living, therefore, is seen as denial of Baptism. In addition, Baptism is a promise of consummation through Christ (Rom. 6:22) which points to the candidate’s great Gospel events of the past, and forwards his/her share to the future consummation of the Kingdom of God (Packer, 2004, Hodgson & Robert, 1994).

To these meanings, Jesus added the promise of baptism with the spirit as the means by which His redemptive work is applied to human beings (Matt 3: 11, Mark 1:8, Luke 3: 16 and Acts 1: 4ff). Using the purificatory meaning found in water baptism, Christ made spiritual baptism (by the Holy Spirit) synonymous with the actual application of the virtues of His death and resurrection (Migliore, 2004 and Kelly, 1958). Spirit baptism, thus, gives the believer entry into the righteousness of Christ through identification with him. Through Spirit baptism
the redeemed sinner is incorporated into the spiritual body of Christ not merely as an act of initiation, but as a state or condition of personal righteousness. Douglas (ibid) therefore, concludes that Jesus’ baptism is the only access to identification with the redeeming Christ. Consequently, Beasley –Murray (1962) argues that Paul in Romans 6: 3-5 relates the actual spiritual conditions of his readers to such a participation in Jesus death and resurrection through spirit baptism.

This identification is not merely to the death of Christ in which one symbolically has died for being a sinner, but to the resurrection of Christ, in which a believer has found “newness of life”. Spirit baptism is therefore an entry into the new life in Christ – “a passage from the old creation into the new” (ibid: 346). This involves not merely forgiveness of sins but also an impartation of the life and righteousness of Christ to the believer (2 Peter 1: 4). The believer is in Christ, and Christ is in him/her. Moreover, the identification effected through spirit baptism cleanses the believer through the blood of Christ (Titus 3: 5-6), thereby incorporating him/her into the latter’s righteousness and an infusion of the same into the former. This understanding remains the basis for baptism in the contemporary Church. As such, baptism confers to a believer a higher righteousness than ritual purification both in the OT and Gĩkũyũ culture.

An examination of ritual cleansing within the Gĩkũyũ, in the light of Biblical analysis leads to a variety of views. First, in both Gĩkũyũ and OT beliefs and practices, ritual cleansing was a common feature and used water to remove
defilement. In both cases, the main purpose was to restore a person to his/her normal position in the community, thereby maintaining individual and communal integrity. Consequently, OT and Gikuyu worldview are in agreement on beliefs and practices of ritual cleansing.

Second, in the inauguration of new dispensation, Jesus Christ replaced ritual purification and John's baptism with Christian baptism for three reasons: first, they both belonged to the old dispensation, and as such pointed forward to Him. Second, they were intended for those wishing to join Judaism (Proselytes baptism) and Jews only (John's baptism), and therefore represented the OT particularism rather than NT universalism. Finally, since the Holy Spirit had not yet been poured out in Pentecostal fullness, they were not yet accompanied with as great measure of spiritual gifts as the later. As such, those who accept Christ by faith are to be baptized by His divinely appointed followers in the name of triune God, as a sign and seal of the fact that they enter into a new relationship with God and are obliged to live according to the laws of His Kingdom (Mt 25: 29-30). This means that they are bought under the ministry of the Word, not merely as proclamation of the Good News, but as an exposition of mysteries, privileges and duties of the New Covenant (Berkhof 1994: 624).

(iii) Illustrative Analysis of Gikuyu's Ritual Purification (Ndahikio)
Indigenous Gikuyu believed in the purification ritual that brought remission of causes and effects of thahu (ritual contamination). The concept of thahu is closely related to the Christian understanding of sin, both of which are caused by separation and alienation between the offender, the community and God (Mwaura, 2001). A person contracted thahu as a consequence of one’s action against a prohibition (mūgiro), the major causes being mūgiro and kirumi (curse). According to Kahindi (1988), thahu, mūgiro and kirumi were related, since a person’s acts, which contravened a prohibition, whether the ban was mūgiro or kirumi, led the doer into a thahu condition. As such, thahu can be said to be the consequence of an act performed in contravention of a mūgiro or a kirumi.

Mūgiro were the moral codes of Gikuyu’s conduct or their do’s and don’ts that governed such things as sacred places, land use, food, marriages and procreation, and their relation with God and ancestral spirits. Some of these mūgiro were held sacred and were believed to have been instituted by God through the Council of elders, a belief that gave them sanctity (Wanjiru; Ndogo O.1s, 2010). Kirumi, was a ban imposed by an older person upon a younger relative. It was pronounced as a prohibition and mostly became a curse after the announcer’s death.

Mwaniki (0.1 2010) states that mūgiro were the basis of morality among the Gikuyu and every person had to observe the moral code to maintain cosmic harmony. Mūgiro conditioned and maintained the social order as well as harmony
in the society (Mwaura, 2001). Breaching or breaking any of the *migiro* brought ritual status called *thahu* (ritual pollution). According to Mwaniki (O.I, 2010), when one had broken a ban, the offender’s status got disturbed leading to misfortune, sometimes displayed in illnesses. In most cases, as Wanjau (O.I, 2010) notes, the victim withered away in illness or his/her children and livestock died mysteriously, and crops shrunk.

Mwaniki and Wamucii (O.Is, 2010) state that there were a number of circumstances that could render a person defiled or ritually unclean (Routledge and Routledge, 1906; Kabetu, 1966; Hobley, 1967 and Gathigira, 1969), among them contamination with blood (murder and menses). Blood prohibition was based on the fact that it was viewed as both a source of life and a gift from God. However, the scope of this work did not cover that. Others involved contact with corpses and carcasses or food, farming and livestock. Equally, there were those that referred to relations among relatives, friends, age-mates and interactions with animals. In addition, prohibitions also resulted when an entire homestead encountered numerous disasters like diseases, loss of livestock or continue poor crop yields. Observably, among the Gikuyu, wholeness of life is required in totality within material things, family, clan, age set, among ancestral spirits and God, a factor that makes them God-fearing. Disturbing the ontological balance by breaking *migiro* was and still equated to offending God.
King'ori (O.I, 2010) observed that many of the mğiro were well known to adult Gıküyü Christians as they had been inculcated from childhood through the processes of socialization. However, according to Ndogo (O.I, 2010), it was the rite of initiation that imprinted mğiro into the body and mind specifically during the unforgettable ndemengo (physical initiation) and through Kiganda (the temporal home for the initiates as they recuperate). Without this instruction, Gıküyü children would neither become responsible adults nor able to pass the same knowledge to the future generations.

In addition, breaking a mğiro was believed to have dire consequences on a person, the family, clan and the entire community. To restore the cosmic balance, after contravening a mğiro, a victim had to undergo a purification rite called ndahikio. The word ndahikio literally means to “cause to vomit” out the uncleanness. The elaborative purification ritual is well explained in section 4.4.4. Purification ceremonies performed by Ago with assistance of ritual elders varied considerably depending on the nature of the mğiro broken and thahu incurred (Leakey, 1977). However, water ritually drawn in a sign of the cross and mixed with magical medicine was used in Ndahikio rituals. Ago concluded these ceremonies by counseling the victim on how to avoid thahu in future.

According to Wamucii (O.I, 2010) the purpose of ritual purification was to reconcile the offender with the family, clan, the ancestral spirits and God so as to
re-incorporate him/her back into the mainstream of the community. As noted earlier, missionaries condemned Gĩkũyũ moral system that constituted mĩgiro, thahu, and ndahĩkio equating them with superstitions, irreligious and unworthy beliefs; they had to be replaced them with prayer, counselling, Church rules and regulations.

Unfortunately, the Church systems did not address daily misfortunes, illnesses, practical problems of curses, mĩgiro, thahu and all social problems. It was these life threatening issues that frustrated many Gĩkũyũ PCEA converts making them revert to their erstwhile ritual purification rites performed by Ago. In their faith, however, they inwardly believed in mĩgiro and were always in spiritual fear of thahu. As a result of this vulnerability, when it became evident that diseases and misfortunes were caused by thahu, they resulted to Ago for the much needed purification rituals. The underlying reason for this duality was because mission Christianity did not address Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ deepest needs of reconciliation, moral order and restoration after ritual contamination. Since this vulnerability persists in times of crisis emanating from thahu, most Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians continue to revert to Ago, once confronted by such problem.

Observably, due to the fear instilled by PCEA Church, this is done secretly. Culprits fear ex-communication and denial of Church privileges among them Holy Communion. Once this occurs, most opt out of Church or move to other
denominations, only for a cycle to continue. The move demonstrates that Christianity has neither penetrated into their worldview nor has it been inculturated in their lives, and has thus missed the central mission of inculturation; that is to present Christianity in the thought pattern of Gikuyu; provide answers to all their social, spiritual and material struggles; and make them recover from “religious schizophrenia” (having one “foot” in the Church and the “other” in beliefs and practices in ūgo). Inculturation as established in the study serves a worthwhile solution to Gikuyu Christians’ double lives, a rather hard task albeit of primary importance.

In view of the foregoing, this study suggests a replacement of philosophical issues underlying Gikuyu purification ritual’s with Christian baptism, an act that signifies higher righteousness in form of union with Christ. In addition, as a rite of initiation, a Baptized person is brought into a wholly new relationship with Christ and His Church (Ferguson and Wright 2003). However, purification rituals have the following underlying philosophical elements: first, it was led by Ago believed to be divinely appointed by Ngai (God). Second, they served a useful purpose of removing defilement (thahu) from the offender with ritually drawn water in a sign of the cross that symbolized the power to annul evil. Finally, Mündū Mūgo counseled the victim extensively especially on how to avoid defilements in the future. These three ideological elements are lacking in missionary Christianity, which promote Gikuyu PCEA Christians recourse to ūgo. There is a need to
incorporate them in baptism, a move that would not only overcome dualism but also give Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians wholistic living. Seeking Christian baptism on one hand serves simultaneously as a fulfillment of the philosophy which underlie the ritual purification, and on the other, a better substitute the same as a form of higher righteousness. The section that follows provides the basis of replacement of ritual purification with Christian Baptism.

(iii) Replacement of Ritual Purification with Christian Baptism.

On the basis of the above framework, Gĩkũyũ’s purification ritual, like that of Judaism and John’s baptism, becomes a *praeparatio evangelica* to Christian baptism. The result is that baptism, by its very nature, must bear the stamp of Gĩkũyũ’s ritual purification elements, a move that would make Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians remain faithful to Jesus without necessarily augmenting their faith with *ũgo*. In supporting this view, Kato (1976: 146) argues that:

The attitude of Christians toward cultural renaissance need not be negative. Culture as a way of life must be maintained. Jesus Christ became a man in order to save men. In becoming incarnate, He was involved in the Jewish culture wearing their clothes, eating their food and thinking in their thought patterns. But while He went through all that, He was without sin, addressing both Jewish and Gentile people authoritatively as the Son of God. Jesus would not have come to make Africans become American Christians [or] to cause Europeans to become Indian Christians. It is God’s will that Africans, on accepting Christ as their Saviour, become Christian Africans. Africans who become Christians should therefore remain Africans wherever their culture does not conflict with the Bible. It is the Bible that must judge the culture [not Euro-American way of life]. Where a conflict results, the cultural element must give way.
The point that Kato makes is that the three elements of Gikuyu’s ritual purification tandem with Biblical truth be incorporated in baptism as a means of evangelizing PCEA Christians and transforming them through Gospel message. This however, involves a challenge to those Christians who according to the Church live double lives, to rethink their basic beliefs, hopes and inspirations in order to create a new religious worldview that incorporates Gikuyu and Christian worldviews without contradiction. If Christianity is understood this way, it would become Good News to the Gikuyu PCEA Christians, and not a foreign religion, as it is. By so doing, PCEA Gikuyu Christians would not be under the spiritual fear of cultural and religious desecration that denies them their identity. In addition, a crucial element in Christianity that needs emphasizing is what Waliggo (1986) calls Gospel elasticity nature which has the capacity to make room within its inherited body of traditions for new realities of foreign worldviews. The replacement of ritual purification with baptism explores this Gospel openness and proposes adjustment in PCEA catechumen materials and baptism liturgy to include elements of Gikuyu ritual purification.

(a) Replacement of Ago’s ideology with Church ministers

As observed in section one, ritual purification rites are always led by Ago. There are specific qualifications that allow Ago to lead in those rituals which includes being divinely appointed and trained to serve and discern people’s needs. This way, Ago are aware of the offenses and their magnitude in disturbing cosmic
balance. They are also knowledgeable on the kind of punishment or retribution involved in offenses committed.

One important qualification of Jesus Christ is the nature of being fully God and Human thereby understanding the nature (people) and the Divine (God). As one who is consubstantial with God, He embodies divine deliverance which surpasses restoration of the physical or the moral. Jesus’ cleansing includes the spiritual condition of the people. He is not only able to expulse the effects of curses and *mīgiro* from people; but also able to cure everything that separates them from God. As such, Jesus has the ability to deliver people once and for all from physical and spiritual bondage and to bring them into a relationship with God. This is the key element that distinguishes Him from *Ago*. Similarly, the replacement of the philosophical underlying *Ago* in the Christian realm should include a personality who has understanding of both divinity and humanity of Jesus. Consequently, this study proposes that the PCEA Church embraces Gikuyū cultural understanding of purification rituals as used by *Ago*. This way, ministers should be able to get the new meaning of baptism within the Gikuyū cultural milieu, such that the theology of baptism would interact with cultural meanings of purification thus producing deep understanding of both rituals. This would bring to light aspects of their truth which were condemned and outlawed by missionary Christianity. In view of the foregoing, the study suggests that PCEA church,
embraces Ago's ideology in curses and mĩgiro and incorporates it into Christian baptism.

(b) Inculturating Gĩkũyũ's water symbolism in purification rituals with Christian Baptism

In both traditions water is used as a cleansing agent. According to Hartley (1992: 126-140), water cleansing in Biblical sense is a symbolism that emphasizes the purity of life expected from the people of God. Based on the above view, the study proposes that if the underlying philosophy of water symbolism in Gĩkũyũ purification rituals is incorporated in baptism PCEA Christians would be able to internalize the Gospel in their worldview. For example, the use of water by Ago during purification rituals acts as a means of cleansing, absolving effects of curses and mĩgiro, bringing about the freshness of life. As seen earlier, water drawn in the symbol of the cross has the power to cleanse and nullify evil powers, brought about by thahu. The deeper spiritual hunger that drives Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians to ago affirms there is a spiritual vacuum within the Christian ministry. In order to fill this vacuum, inculturation is suggested.

Having looked at the water symbolism in ritual purification ceremonies, the study suggests that it be inculturated into Christian baptism. Just as water for purification rituals was drawn in a sign of the cross and energized with magical medicine, the ministers likewise should be drawing the water, and before baptism
energize it through prayer, in order to nullify the effects of curses and mĩgiro. By so doing, thus, cover the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians with a shield of God’s protection. This way, Gĩkũyũ’s water symbolism in ritual purification is replaced by Christian baptism, giving Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians wholistic living.

(c) Adjusted catechism incorporating Ago’s counseling in baptism.

Nasimiyu (1986) and Ntetem (1983) have suggested how the baptism liturgy and catechumen curricula can be adjusted for the purpose of inculturation for the traditional initiation ceremonies of their people. It is on this basis that this study proposes that the PCEA catechumen curriculum and baptism liturgy be adjustment to underscore the ideologies behind the aforementioned element of ritual purification that is missing in missionary Christianity. Such a curriculum can emphasize Pastoral counseling, which is necessary as it aims not to expose the guilt of one’s breaking a taboo or Church rule, and thereby be subjected to the consequences of segregation and or excommunication, but at transforming the person. It distinguishes between the person on the wrong and the wrong committed which must be condemned at all times, without the doer losing dignity. This understanding of pastoral counseling is well articulated by Lartey (1987: 115). According to him:

By Pastoral counseling therefore we wish to refer to a helping activity undertaken by people who recognize a spiritual or religious dimension to life, which by the use of verbal or non-verbal, direct or indirect, literal or symbolic modes of communication, aims at preventing or relieving the anxieties of persons and fostering their growth as fully
functioning human beings and the development of a society in which all persons can live a human life.

Counseling is mainly to do with improving relationship with God, oneself, and with the community. In a pastoral sense, baptism is given two meanings: a rite of purification and of entry. Both elements form an essential unity - moral purity, which is referred to as purity of the heart, a necessary requirement for entry into the sanctuary of God, which is a living symbol of a full and blessed relationship. The purpose of baptism is to build the person and to restore the broken relationship with God and others, not to condemn and banish. For instance, a person who has not known the gracious acts of God is taken through catechism classes where the positive elements of ritual purification are included. He/she is made to realize that he/she is a sinner and in need of renouncing old ways and by faith in God, is baptized, born a new in a family of God’s people. By so doing, his/her sins are forgiven (removing defilement) and, he/she is restored to God, the church and nature (reconciliation). In this, ritual purification is replaced by Christian baptism as an attempt to express the Gospel in the thought-forms of Gĩkũyũ culture.

It is vital to highlight that in Gĩkũyũ culture, a person was in constant need of ritual purification for numerous reasons. However, this desire is well addressed in baptism as buttressed in the larger catechism of Westminster confession of faith (1996: 279) in which question 167 is as follows:

Question: How is our baptism to be improved by us?
Answer:
The needful but much neglected duty of improving our baptism is to be performed by us all our life long, especially in the time of temptation, and when we are presented at the administration of it to others, by serious and thankful consideration of the nature of it and of the ends for which Christ instituted it, the privileges and benefits conferred and sealed thereby, and our solemn vow made therein; by being humbled for our sinful defilement, our falling short of, and walking contrary to the grace of baptism and engagements; by growing up to assurance of pardon of sin, and of all other blessings sealed to us in that sacrament...

This mindset is principally what underscores the replacement of ritual purification with Christian baptism since there is a way of renewing vows during the baptism service.

4.3.4.2: Inculturating Contemporary Healing into Gikũyũ Indigenous Healing Ideology

(i) Biblical Teaching in regard to Healing
The study uses the paradigm theory outlined above for inculturating contemporary healing into Gikũyũ indigenous disease worldview. Unlike Gikũyũ purification ritual, both Old and NTs clearly support indigenous healing. In connection to healing in the OT, Vermes (1983: 59) states that healing is God’s exclusive prerogative, “to Him alone belongs human life”. Wilkinson (203: 287) agrees with Vermes, adding that “all healing is God’s whether provided through creation (by health care professions) or Providence, that is, through redemption”
(by forgiveness of sin, reconciliation with God and renewal of all human relationships). God heals through redemption just as He delivered the Israelites from Egypt and led them to Canaan. No sooner had this momentous event taken place than they faced critical test of bitter water at Marah (Ex. 15 22-25). However, people complained and Moses cried out to God, who responded by sweetening the water. Such experiences were to teach Israelites that their health would be maintained by constant enjoyment of God’s presence and loyalty as revealed in the laws and commandments. In this respect, God was depicted as concerned with their well-being.

The OT language of healing in redemptive ways shed further light on fundamental notion of God as a healer. In particular, is the “healings” of the broken down altar (1 King 18: 30) a drought stricken and locust infested land (2 Chr 7: 14), a mildew infected house (Lev 14: 48), earth’s fissures (Ps 60: 4) and a smashed piece of pottery (Jer 19: 11). In the above contexts, the source of well-being was God and the scope of health covered human beings and the environment. Humans were expected to preserve and positively relate with the environment in order to enjoy total well-being. As such, the relationship with cosmos was an essential element in the concept of health.

It is also noted that God heals diseases by His own powers to alleviate human sufferings. This recourse to healing is profoundly expressed in Ex. 19: 26: “If you
diligently heed the voice of the Lord your God and do what is right in His sight, give ear to His commandments and keep all His statutes, I will put none of the diseases on you which I have brought on the Egyptians. For I am Lord who heals you...” Obedience to God’s law meant freedom from diseases and good relation with one another, while disobedience meant affliction (Lev. 26: 14-16; Deut. 28:59). Obeying God’s law was the best form of preventative medicine, while disobedience resulted to diseases which disturbed the relationship between God and humans (Deut. 28:15fff.). Consequently, the wicked would suffer while the righteous enjoy health and prosperity.

It is therefore clear that there is a vital connection between people’s health and ethical and spiritual obedience. This understanding is undoubtedly attested by the Psalmist (Ps6:2, Ps103: 3), Chronicler (2 Chr 16: 12-14) and the prophets (Isa 19: 22, Jer 17: 14, Hos 7: 1, Zech 11: 16). One further relevant element regarding healing in the OT is that God also appointed healing agents. In regard to healing by redemption, for example, God appointed Moses to deliver the children of Israel out of bondage (Ex 3: 10, as He appointed a number of agents to heal. If any person in the OT was able to heal another, it was because he/she had received such power from God. Such was the case of Prophet Elijah, who was able to restore the life of Zarepeth widow’s son (1 King 17: 8-24). Similarly, his successor Elisha, revived the Shunammite’s son (2 Kings 4: 17-37) and cured Naaman off leprosy (2 Kings 5: 1-14).
In the OT, agents of healing procedures were diverse and performed curative activities upon patients. For instance, Elijah raised the Zarephath’s widow son from the dead by invoking God’s power (1 Kings 17: 21), while Elisha used water to cure Naaman (2 King 5: 14). King Hezekiah got cured by “a cake of figs” through the intercession of prophet Isaiah (2Kings 20:7). Cure in the OT consisted of wholeness (physical) and holiness (spirituality).

This study reveals that Gikuyu indigenous healing practice is consistence with the OT as demonstrated by the fact that in the latter as in the former’s, God is regarded as a healer. In both, God appointed agents of healing such as Elijah and Ago respectively. Furthermore, health in both is not restricted to the body but to peoples’ whole being, their relation with God, with one another and also their environment. This wholistic approach to health characterizes both worldviews.

The NT (NT) presupposes the OT teaching about healing and also regards God as a healer. However, God is seen to be the actual healer in the person of Jesus Christ. Mark underlines this view:

They brought to him all who were sick or possessed with demon’s ... and he cured many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons; and he would not permit the demons to speak, because they knew him (Mk 1:32 – 34).

The understanding of health in the NT is equally both physical and spiritual. This view is abundantly attested in the Synopsis where Jesus healed all kinds of
diseases (Mk. 1:21 – 28; 6:5, Mt.4:23; 9:35; 14:14; 14:35-36; 18:7;19:2, Lk. 4:18 – 19; 9:11). We can infer from the foregoing that both physical and spiritual illnesses were brought to Jesus. The former manifested themselves as fevers (Lk. 4:38-39), lameness, paralysis and other crippling infirmities (Mk 1:40 – 45; 2: 3-4; 5:1 – 20). Others were blindness (Mk 10:46 – 52), hemorrhage (Mk 5:24 – 34), deafness (Mk.9:14-29) and leprosy (Lk. 5:12-14). In addition, spiritual ailments were generally described as demon possession (Mk. 1:23-27; Mt. 8:28-32; Lk. 9:38-42), among them epilepsy and mental illnesses (Mk. 9:17-27; Mt. 17:14-18; Lk. 8: 26-39).

According to Abogunrin (1998), an African worldview is similar to the Biblical one, especially the first-century Palestine in which Jesus lived and served. He notes that many Africans still live in the world of the NT- where people believed in demons and a host of unseen supernatural powers. In view of the foregoing, the study submits that beliefs and practices in ügo among Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians are complex and delicate and should not be dismissed as mere superstitions or as a psychological condition of those who indulge. Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians need Christianity that interacts with spiritual forces as Jesus did during his earthly ministry.

In His healing, Jesus utilized a variety of methods. The approach is wholistic and included medical (use of saliva which was a common healing remedy at the time),
a social-ethical (bringing people to repentance and good relationship with neighbors), and above all, the spiritual dimension. In this, He offered salvation through preaching and casting out evil spirits. Jesus also raised the dead for example Jairus’ daughter (Mt. 9:18fff.; Mk. 5:22fff.; Lk. 8:41-), Lazarus, and the son of the widow of Nain, Luke 7:11-15). It is clear from the above accounts that Jesus healing method restored not only physical health but also relationships. He too, following the trend of OT, appointed and empowered agents of restoring health. For example, He commissioned the 12 disciples (Mk 6:7-13), Paul (Acts 14:8; 16:18; 20:10) and Church elders (James 5:16) to heal and cast out demons by invoking His name.

It is evident that the NT takes up from the OT in understanding God as the healer. Wilkinson (2003: 287) collaborates this by noting that; “in Christian understanding, health is the complete wellbeing of a person who is in a right relationship with God, himself, fellow human beings and environment”. This concept provides this study with a basis for analyzing Gikuyu indigenous healing. It is in tandem with the Old and the NTs for they acknowledge God as the healer who appoints agents to carry out the healing mission. Similarly, Gikuyu believes that Ngai is a healer and provider, who appoints Ago as healing agents.

The CSM condemned indigenous healing as evil and Ago as devil’s agents. However, as observed in the above analysis, Gikuyu indigenous healing is
consistent with the Word of God. In place of Ago, missionaries and colonial government introduced Western medical personnel, contemporary medicine and hospitals. Unfortunately these institutions lay emphasis on physical cure at the expense of the spiritual, contrary to Biblical view. Due to such development, Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians continue to receive physical treatment from them and for spiritual cure resort to Ago, albeit in secrecy. Chiuri (O.I, 2010), observes that at times relatives of a hospitalized person smuggles medicine consecrated by Ago, believed to be energized by divine powers from God to supplement contemporary drugs. To such people, contemporary medicine alone would not offer the double cure (physical and spiritual) as expected. Alternatively, relatives would request the doctors to discharge their sick so that they may take them to Ago for proper and meaningful treatment (Baragu, O.I, 2010). This means that contemporary medicine is not a substitute to Ago since it seemingly lacks divine elements or spiritual aspects in its application. Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians, thus, recognize Ago (dual role of a doctor and pastor) as healers who combine physical and spiritual dimensions in regard to healing, unlike contemporary doctors whose role is only physical.

In responding to the spiritual and physical aspects of healing, missionaries introduced Chaplaincy in Mission hospitals. Rather than provide pastoral care to those undergoing life’s crisis and divine element in treatment, the chaplain’s role
concentrated on the former to the detriment of the healing. Westberg (1961: 61) affirms this by observing that the role of the chaplain is more of a care provider placing them at the periphery of the centrality of healing in contemporary methods.

He notes:

The hospital chaplain merely makes pastoral visits to the hospital, the visits are almost entirely pastor centered indicating indifference to the patient’s needs, the chaplain has little or no knowledge as to his/her position on the healing team and the chaplain’s theological education prepared him to counsel patients not to heal them...the doctor is a scientist who works on the body, while the chaplain is a type of philosopher/theologian who cares for the troubled soul. It is the doctors and the nurses who can aid him in finding such people, for in their conversations with the patients they can often detect hidden needs which can be helped considerably by the kind of care which a chaplain can give.

Observably, the chaplain is not seen as a decisive element in the healing activity: “diagnosis tests, treatment plans, length of hospitalization, prognosis, pain control, diet, medications, costs and discharge” (Holst 1985:14). On this basis, chaplains are not substitutes for divine healing either from a Biblical or ūgo perspective. As a result, despite their presence in hospitals, dual religious lives among the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians persist. In this regard, the study suggests that chaplain be included in the healing plans so as to play the ideological roles of Ago, to overcome duality.
(ii) Integration of Contemporary Healing with Indigenous Healing Practices

Analysis of indigenous healing practices in section one revealed that there were three main philosophical elements underlying its application that lack in contemporary treatment and need to be integrated in Christian medical centers: Ago as divine agents in healing, invocation of the divine to effect healing, and incantation of divine power to prevent future recurrences of illness.

(a) Ideology of Ago as Divine agents in healing

In Gĩkũyũ community, Ago control two disciplines, that is pastoral and medical. In their dual-role, their patients have great faith in them as divine agent in healing and this contributes immensely to the healing process. To capture this trust, the study submit that PCEA church needs to recruit chaplains who have the same capability as Ago and believe that God is the healer and they themselves should portray an ideology as God’s agents of healing. This would make Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians perceive them in the light of Ago. By so doing, chaplain would take the philosophy underlying the image of Ago as divine agents of contemporary healing, thereby, mutually enriching Christianity, and, thus overcoming dualism problem

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34 This study, proposes to use mission medical facilities in an endeavor to inculcate indigenous healing practice as representative.
b) Philosophy underlying Invoking Divine Power in Healing

It was noted that Ago in their healing process evoke God to intervene in patients’ life. They do this prior to divination, probing the sick to know possible causes of the illness and when administering herbal medicine, thereby invoking God in the treatment process. By so doing, God takes the centre stage in the patient’s healing process. To inculturate divine healing in the treatment plans of Christian health centers, it is suggested that chaplains be the first to receive the sick, pray with them to invoke divine intervention in healing process. Second, like Ago, they should struggle to penetrate the subconscious level of their patients by carrying out diagnostic interviews before doctors embark on physical examination. The prayer and diagnostic interview become the first act of healing, invoking God to take the centre-stage as is always done by Ago. By so doing, God is perceived by patient as the healer and the Chaplains as agent in treatment, thus bridging dualism problem.

c) Ideology of Invocation of Divine power to prevent illness recurrence

As noted, Gikuyu believes that diseases have physical as well as spiritual causes and Ago have to take preventative measures in the course of treatment to insure non-occurrences of the illness. These are provided in form of charms, or Ago performing rituals in clients’ homes to offer them mystical security. In the same

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35 This healing procedure is only proposed for Christian’s patients and not of those of other faiths.
way, once the cause of illness is discovered either through physical examination or laboratory tests and prescription made, the study suggests that chaplains, by holding sessions with patients to examine suspected cultural root causes of illness, and thereby develop a strategy on appropriate measures to prevent future recurrence.

If for example it is discovered that the cultural root of illness is due to a curse for interfering with family land boundaries, the chaplain should recognize this to be the problem of broken relationship. As a result, he/she advises the patient or a relative present, to initiate a reconciliatory meeting with family members, an action that leads to the restoration of boundaries disputed and consequent forgiveness. This would counteract the curse and ensure non-recurrence of illness. The transformation of the Ago into Chaplains go along way in overcoming dualism problem since the patients would be receiving both physical and spiritual healing in Christians mission hospitals.

4.3.4.3 Conclusion

The third section of the study is to suggest a process of inculturating beliefs and practices in Ago in order to give Agikuyu Christians a wholistic Christian living. The study observed that the inculturation is a process which is Biblical and relevant to the church live. In view of the foregoing, the study suggests an approach of inculturating based on the Niebuhr's missiological theory in which
beliefs and practices in ĕgo are subjected to a critical evaluation procedure so that the cultural elements, which are found to be incompatible with the Biblical teaching, are replaced and those, which are found to at tandem, are adopted. The method of inculturation had three phases namely theological assessment of culture element to be inculturated. A detailed analysis of the element as understood in the culture, and an integration or replacement of the same. The study suggest that, the PCEA church, through the inculturation procedure proposed should reconsider it’s attitudes toward the beliefs and practices of ĕgo and distinguish the good from bad, the truth from the false, and the divine from evil. In making such analysis, the church would liberate Gǐkũyũ Christians from living with dualism, characterized by, living hypocritical and unfulfilled lives. The graphic illustration of inculturation paradigm theory is depicted below-

**Figure 4.9: Gospel Interaction with Gǐkũyũ Culture and Missionary Christianity**
The above representation shows that inculturated paradigm theory is a polished product of Gĩkũyũ Culture, Bible and Missionary Christianity. It shows that one can be truly a Mũgĩkũyũ and bona fide Christian. Accordingly, one does not need to abandon his/her culture to be authentic Christian, but rather to let Missionary Christianity, the Bible and Gĩkũyũ Culture interact, to produce an inculturated Gospel. This understanding underpins the whole process of inculturation, leading people to respond to the Gospel in a manner that is fulfilling, enriching and authentic. The next chapter focuses on summary, conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0: Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings as well as the recommendations of this study besides giving suggestions for further research. The study investigated beliefs and practices in ūgo among Gikũyũ PCEA Christians in Nyeri Presbytery. The study accomplished its four objectives by looking at various issues and making suggestions arising from analyzed data. Conclusions in all the sections pointed to the fact that beliefs and practices in ūgo have created religious schizophrenic phenomenon among Gikũyũ PCEA Christians.

5.1: Summary of the study

The focus of this study was to investigate why Gikũyũ PCEA Christians have continued with the beliefs and practices in ūgo when in crisis. This religious dualism prompted the need to investigate factors that make Christians revert to the forbidden practices by the church. The study aimed at finding possible solutions in an attempt to resolve the dual-religious mind by inculturating beliefs and practices in ūgo in order to give Gikũyũ PCEA Christians wholistic living. To the Church, the study provides a monogram not only for Christians, Church leaders, Christian educators and pastors, but also to others involved in cross-cultural evangelism across the world. The study is thus useful to missiologists,
forbidden practices by the church. The study aimed at finding possible solutions in an attempt to resolve the dual-religious mind by inculturating beliefs and practices in āgo in order to give Gikũyũ PCEA Christians wholistic living. To the Church, the study provides a monogram not only for Christians, Church leaders, Christian educators and pastors, but also to others involved in cross-cultural evangelism across the world. The study is thus useful to missiologists, anthropologists and theologians interested in African theology. It is hoped that this study has thrown light to the understanding of inculturation and wholistic healing.

The objectives of the study were to; examine the extent of adherence to āgo in Gikũyũ indigenous beliefs and practices; evaluate the Church of Scotland Missionaries’ interpretation of āgo in their evangelization process among the Gikũyũ PCEA Christians; investigate the determinants of vulnerability of Gikũyũ PCEA Christians to the beliefs and practices in āgo despite Christian evangelization; and Identify strategies the PCEA Church can put in place of inculturating Christianity into beliefs and practices in āgo.

The premises of the study were that: the beliefs and practices in āgo are central in Gikũyũ religious and cultural thought; the Church of Scotland Missionaries’ interpretation of Gikũyũ’s beliefs and practices to āgo was that of denigration rather than theological elucidation; Gikũyũ Presbyterians Christians are
vulnerable to beliefs and practices in ūgo despite Christian evangelization; there are strategies the PCEA Church can put in place to inculturate Christianity into beliefs and practices in ūgo.

The conceptual framework for the study is based on three theories. Turner’s (1968) theory of ritual-symbolism. It was helpful in understanding that the rituals involved in the beliefs and practices of a Mūndū Miūgo are not meaningless. They are systematized in stages and their contents couched in symbolic meanings. Horton’s (1995) theory of African religion as of predication, control and manipulation aided the study to infer that Gīkūyū religion is influenced by the quest for and manipulation. This framework was relevant for the understanding the basis of the persistence of the beliefs and practices in ūgo. Niebuhr’s (1951) missiological theory’s two motifs were found appropriate, and consequently adapted. Christ the transformer of culture and Christ of culture motifs were used to refine, retain or eliminate some elements of the beliefs and practices in ūgo for the purpose of inculturation. The three theories supplemented each other and provided a theoretical framework for the whole study.

Data for the study were obtained through observation, in-depth interviews, self-administered questionnaires methods and secondary sources. The qualitative data was categorized and thematized according to the objectives of the study to form the basis for analysis and interpretation. Quantitative data was analyzed using
Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics (means, frequencies and percentages) were used to present the analyzed data. The following is a summary of the study objectives.

5.2: Summary of the Main Findings

The first objective of this study was to examine the extent of adherence to ūgo in Gĩkũyũ indigenous beliefs and practices. It was based on the premise that the beliefs and practices in ūgo are central in Gĩkũyũ religious and cultural thought. The findings indicate that ūgo is grounded in the Gĩkũyũ worldview, a mindset that gives credence to the interrelatedness between the material world and the spiritual universe. In addition, the study noted that Gĩkũyũ had religious specialists referred to as Ago and who were perceived as men of God with immense wisdom. Their office originated from God and Ago were taken as God’s agents especially in addressing diseases and misfortunes.

Qualifications to the ūgo’s office demanded that one go through the rites of passage among them; second birth, circumcision and marriage. This condition was based on the Gĩkũyũ’s belief that, for one to be a Mūgĩkũyũ, he had to have undergone all transition rituals. Ago were expected to be sober and kind to all people. Their recruitment process was a rigorous exercise with initiation rituals
systematized in stages and contents embedding ritual symbolism as laden in the
mode propounded by Turner (1968). Ago transversed nine stages to assume ūgo's
office, a number established to signify completeness. The study discovered that
the basis for the dominant number nine was accounted for through the Gĩkũyũ
myth of origin.

This study also found out that Ago controlled indigenous healing practices.
Consequently, they were considered divine agents in charge of the entire
discipline of the community's medical care. Further, the study observed that the
Gĩkũyũ had a "disease – theory system" which identified, classified and explained
diseases and misfortunes. According to this theory, the study noted, diseases and
misfortunes were caused by curses, broken taboos, oaths, witchcraft, and mǐhũmũ
(breath). The theory placed the problem on a wider causal context of social,
physical, psychological, spiritual and environmental aspects of Gĩkũyũ culture.

The study underscored the fact that the disease theory system was pivotal to Ago's
healing process. Unlike in contemporary practices, it went beyond mere
diagnostic enquiries employing both physical and spiritual methods in treatment.
On the physical dimension, Ago applied medicine mainly derived from natural
ingredients, while on the spiritual aspect, they asked patients to perform various
ritualistic actions either to neutralize or avert any personalized agents that may
have caused the diseases or misfortunes. Further, Ago had to advise clients on
counter-measures in the form of charms or ritualistic acts familiar to the patient. In their treatment procedure, *Ago* not only referred to spiritual agencies but also linked diseases and misfortunes to invisible and tangible events. Similarly, *Ago’s* healing methods resonated with spiritual agencies and observable physical things of the material world.

This study also observed that an equally important duty for *Ago* was divination which was a way of diagnosing hidden causes of afflictions. It operated in the same way as contemporary medical laboratories and revealed the difficult and hidden causes of illnesses and misfortunes that routine methods within *Ago’s* inquiry could not. As such, *Ago* employed divination to ensure that all relevant information was brought forward before treatment was undertaken. By so doing, they acted as contemporary laboratory technicians.

This study also sought to identify the calamities involved in divination within indigenous Gikuyu community. It was discovered that *Ago’s* sphere of influence was extremely wide and encompassed various dimensions of human life. Many people sought divination services once afflicted by all forms of illness such as insanity and gradual physical deterioration. Such were to have been caused by bewitchment or curses. Some visited *Ago* to seek answers to diminished prosperity especially once they compared themselves to other siblings, relatives and neighbours. Others sought love potions; fertility measures in particular to
explain, impotency, delayed pregnancy as well as other suspicious events in their lives. Elders sought divination to discern the kind of sacrifice to offer when a calamity had bedeviled the community. It was such activities that made Ago’s role in the community not only religious but also central.

The study notes that beliefs and practices in ūgo were a systematized faith with highly symbolized rituals arranged in stages (Turner, 1969). Further, each of the activities conducted and ritual objects used were highly influenced by prevailing myths. Ūgo, therefore, was the bridge between the living and ancestral spirits; as it mediated both natural and spiritual worlds, restoring cosmic balance, thus rekindled back a situation that once prevailed. This entailed that life continued harmoniously. These conclusions confirm the first premise that beliefs and practices in ūgo are central in Gikũyũ cultural and religious thought.

The second objective sought to evaluate the Church of Scotland Mission’s interpretation of Gikũyũ Christians beliefs and practices in ūgo. The premise was that CSM missionaries’ interpretation of beliefs and practices in ūgo was that of denigration rather than theological elucidation. The study revealed that missionaries displayed a negative attitude towards beliefs and practices in ūgo branding Ago as Satan’s agents. They also equated their practices with “paganism”, “primitivity”, “demonism”, and “superstitious” and thereby
declaring them unfit for inculturation. This negative attitude guided the strategy that missionaries adopted in their evangelization methods to the Gikũyũ.

An investigation of the background of the CSM revealed that the negative attitude towards African cultural heritage was undergirded by the scientific and cultural development that swept Scotland and other European countries in the 18th and 19th centuries. The scientific discoveries, philosophical and anthropological theories of the time, influenced the life of the Church to an extent that religious beliefs and practices were subjected to science and reason. As such, the corollary of this intellectual mindset was that any religious belief system that did not meet Western standards was “savage, ignorant and superstitious” (Bediako, 1995: 23) and therefore unworthy.

A consequence of this estimation was that missionaries considered their culture as the basic criteria upon which Gikũyũ cultural heritage could be gauged. The Scottish missionaries’ negative attitude towards Gikũyũ culture shaped the evangelization strategy. Instead of treating Christianity as a “fulfillment” to the aspirations of Gikũyũ indigenous religion, missionaries transported their homegrown Christianity and strategically planted it wholesale to the Gikũyũ. In the context of this study, this was achieved through the Tũmũtũmũ Mission Station, Out-Schools, Churches and Western medicine. In all these, the study found out that converts were required to abandon their indigenous religious
heritage and embrace a Scottish lifestyle as a condition of being accepted to the Church.

This strategy led to a transplanted Scottish’s administration structures, liturgy, form of worship, education system and medicine. Missionaries transposed the latter without adjusting them to conform to any indigenous form of worship, education and healing. Observably, the study found that some efforts were made to promote the process of inculturation, in particular translating the Bible, Hymn and Liturgy books and elementary learning materials into Gikuyu language besides appointing local personnel to the Church leadership. This action created a local community of believers within the Presbyterian Church in Kenya.

The study also noted that the approaches used by CSM had negative repercussions on the early Christians. In particular, Presbyterian converts on one hand, cling to Christianity and on the other slipped back to beliefs and practices in ñgo whenever there was a spiritual void not addressed by the Church. This created a religious duality. These results confirm the second premise that the CSM’s interpretation of the beliefs and practices in ñgo, practised by Gikuyu PCEA Christians, was that of denigration rather than theological elucidation.

The study also explored, as third objective the determinants of vulnerability of Gikuyu PCEA Christians to the beliefs and practices in ñgo despite Christian
evangelization. This was based on the premise that Gikuyu Presbyterian Christians have recourse to ūgo beliefs and practices despite continuous denunciation by the Church. The study noted that there was a high level of awareness of ūgo among Christians concerning adherences. On the other hand, the study observed, despite the awareness, Gikuyu PCEA Christians still fear activities connected with mystical powers, in particular curses, witchcraft, ancestral spirits and taboos.

In this frame of thought, the study revealed that many Gikuyu Christians live in an untransformed indigenous worldview where they are yet to interpret the world through Christ. Rather than interpret diseases and misfortunes through scientific perspectives advocated by mission Christianity, they continue to pursue an ūgo dimension. The study also revealed that in Gikuyu understanding, regarding health, illness and healing, there are some cases that defeat contemporary methods of treatment. These are a reserve for Ago. This view is rooted in Gikuyu indigenous’ disease-theory, which still lingers deeply in the minds of Christians, despite more than 100 years of evangelization.

An analysis of existential needs that lead Gikuyu PCEA Christians to consult Ago yielded various underlying reasons among them diseases, family conflicts, barrenness and impotence, bewitchment and quest for power and prosperity. Such issues and many others prompt Gikuyu PCEA Christians to continue indulging in
ūgo. In this regard, this study is in tune with the third premise that Gikũyũ Presbyterian Christians have secretly continued to adhere to beliefs and practices in āgo despite continuous condemnation of the practice.

The study further noted that, the Church can effectively handle Christians’ needs, if the Gikũyũ worldview is transformed to experience Christ’s sovereignty. Consequently, inculturating Christianity into beliefs and practices in āgo is not primarily a theoretical problem in an academic sense; rather, a theological concern in a practical manner. As was demonstrated in ritual purification and indigenous healing, the practical outcome of theory becomes a lived experience.

The fourth objective was Identify strategies the PCEA Church can put in place of inculturating Christianity into beliefs and practices in āgo. The study proposed an inculturation paradigm theory based on Niebuhr’s missiological supposition. Regarding beliefs and practices in āgo, the study identified three themes which were ranked most highly as healing, ritual purification and exorcism respectively. These would be ideal for inculturation.

The study purposively identified two themes in āgo beliefs and practices for the purpose of inculturation, that is, ritual purification, which is incompatible with biblical teaching and Baptism was found to be an appropriate replacement for it. The study noted that such replacement could be achieved through an
incorporation of three positive elements of ritual purification that otherwise lack in baptism. These are (i) *Ago* as divinely appointed by *Ngai*, (ii) use of water to annul effects of curses and taboos and, (iii) counseling victims on how to avoid future defilement. By so doing, inculturating ritual purification would be achieved, hence bridge duality.

The study also suggested inculturation of contemporary healing into indigenous healing through application of a similar theological analysis as followed in ritual purification. However, unlike ritual purification, an indigenous healing process was found to be compatible with the entire biblical investigation. It was therefore suggested that integrating physical and spiritual aspects in the indigenous healing process be exercised. This would be through recruitment of chaplains who have spiritual capacity to play the role of *Ago*. These would also act as divine agents in healing, as well as doctors and pastors, thereby penetrating the subconscious levels of patients. In addition, the study noted, once prescription is made, chaplains could be advising patients or relatives on the effect of prayer to be used alongside medicine. Such acts, the study noted, would invoke God’s power in healing. The study also suggested that chaplains should be holding pastoral counseling sessions with patients as a way of counteracting the root course of the disease. By so doing, they would deal with the belief inherent among Gìkìyùì PCEA Christians that diseases would recur if mystical causes are not addressed. Such actions would address an important fact in healing that portrays the spiritual
dimension of diseases, but rather lacks in contemporary medicine. By so doing, Gikuyu PCEA Christians would have wholistic lives.

5.4 Recommendations

In view of the study findings, the following recommendations are made:

First, the PCEA Church should develop policy guidelines through the Theological Panel on doctrines that would provide central principles on inculturating Christianity into beliefs and practices in ñgo. Such a blueprint should not only expound the intent of inculturation, but also the strategy of implementation. It would portray the Church’s commitment to inculturation. The document would be useful to its’ training institutions, among them Presbyterian University, Lay Training Centre, Theological Education by Extension Department (TEE) and Mission hospitals in particular, medical schools. Such a policy guidelines would help the latter design courses for inculturation in their curricula, a move that would equip graduates with adequate skills to undertake the task of inculturation in their respective institutions.

Second, the PCEA should identify and appreciate the inculturation Christianity into beliefs and practices in ñgo and other indigenous cultural practices that do not contravene biblical teaching. This would ensure that the Christian faith
becomes internalized and able to answer the existential needs of Gikuyu PCEA Christians.

Third, inculturation being an ongoing process in any given culture, the PCEA should be organizing seminars, retreats and workshops for pastors, elders and group leaders\textsuperscript{36} to impress on them the importance of inculturation. Experts on inculturation should be engaged to facilitate such fora in order to guide leaders in promoting inculturation in their Churches. The PCEA parishes should also have local persons as clergy who understand beliefs and practices in \textit{ũgo} and how they can be inculturated. Such people should be trained on African culture and Biblical interpretation in order to teach members the purposes and benefits of inculturation.

Four, the theological Panel of the PCEA on doctrine should revise catechumen materials on baptism with a view of integrating elements of Gikuyu ritual purification that are missing in missionary Christianity. Views like perception of \textit{Ago} as divinely appointed by \textit{Ngai}, use of water to annul effects of curses and taboos and, counseling victims on how to avoid defilement in future. By so doing, Christianity would become an internalized religion among Gikuyu PCEA Christians as it would address their needs and aspirations.

\textsuperscript{36} Group leaders: A term used by the PCEA Church to refer to those who lead church group committees such as Woman's Guild, Youth, Presbyterian Church Men Fellowship (PCMF) and Church school.
Five, the study also recommends that the PCEA Health Board should recruit chaplains with spiritual capability to play the role of Ago as divine healing agents. These chaplains should incorporate spiritual aspects typified by the indigenous healing missing in contemporary medicine such as; advising the sick or relatives on the power of prayer and read Biblical exhortations on healing in order to energize medication. In addition, chaplains should be holding counseling sessions with patients in order to deal with root causes of illness and take defensive measures to prevent future recurrence. By so doing, the purpose intended by Ago would be met. Consequently, a reversion to the same would be overcome, thereby leading to wholistic Christian living.

5.5: Suggestions for further Research

First, the study addressed beliefs and practices in Ũgo as practiced by Gikũyũ PCEA Christians. However, there are other cultural elements that were condemned by missionaries but still continue to make Gikũyũ PCEA Christians live in dualism. These include polygamy and dowry payment, among others. There is need for further research to investigate how Christianity could be inculturated into these elements to bridge the dual-religious mindset observed among Gikũyũ PCEA Christians for Christianity to get meaning.
Second, this study also noted that Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians suggested Christianity be inculturated in exorcism. It is important to explore how this can be inculturated. The aim is to put in place measures that can curb abuse of exorcisms that are ubiquitous in many PCEA Churches, and which equally contribute to religious dualism.
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## GLOSSARY OF GİKÜYŨ TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athūngū:</td>
<td>All foreign white people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatahi:</td>
<td>Midget horn used for rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gīkūyũ:</td>
<td>The ancestral father of the Gīkūyũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gīkūyũ:</td>
<td>One of the ethnic groups of the Central Bantus of Kenya that is predominantly found in Central Province of Kenya. Gīkūyũ is also their language, as well as geographical area they inhabit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūkunūra Mūndū Mūgo:</td>
<td>The process of initiating a diviner-doctor (Mūndū Mūgo) to the office of ḫogo Profession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ira:</td>
<td>A white magical powder extracted from the ground and it looked like diatomite. Used in almost all purification ceremonies and every Mūndū Mūgo possesses some.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīa Mbirūrũ:</td>
<td>Ngong hills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīa Njahi:</td>
<td>Kilimambogo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīrīnyaga:</td>
<td>Mt. Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīrūmi:</td>
<td>A curse or a ban imposed by an older person to a younger relative. In most cases, Kirumi becomes effective after the announcer’s death, hence it is irreversible unless through ritual cleansing. Kirumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was known to consume somebody slowly until he/she wither and if cleansing was not done, the sufferer eventually dead.

Magongona ma mucii: Rituals involving sacrifices and offerings used to cleanse a house and its inhabitants.

Magongona ma Ngoma: Rituals involving sacrifices and offerings for the departed members of the community.

Mbūgū: Pebbles used during divination.

Mbūũthū ya Ndahikio: A small calabash in which purification water is carried, and used to help the victim mockingly vomit in to demonstrate ritual cleansing.

mbarī: A lineage, family group.

Mūgiro (pl mīgiro): A ban, a prohibition (taboo), or defilement.

Mūgĩkũyũ: Refers to an individual member of the Gĩkũyũ ethnic group.

Mūgumo: A sacred tree, parasitic wild fig under which sacrifices are offered to Ngai. Anyone who desecrated mūgumo tree by cutting or breaking of any of its branches or clearing the bush around it was heavily fined and a sacrifice of purification had to be done.

Mūmbi: The ancestral mother of the Gĩkũyũ

Mwano: Gourd used by Mūndũ Mūgo for divination

Ndahikio: A ritual purification ceremony used to cleanse types of ritual uncleanness because of one’s action against probations (taboos).

Ngai: Gĩkũyũ name for Supreme Deity-God.

Ngoma: Spirits of the departed members of the community.
Missionaries used the term to refer to Satan/Devil

Ngoma cia aciari: Spirits of departed parents.
Ngoma cia ago: Spirits of departed medicine personnel.
Ngoma cia riika: Spirits of departed members of a certain age-set.

Ngondu: The ingredients of undigested stomach contents and bones of sacrificial goats or lamb, papyrus salt, sugar canes, roots of sweet bananas, roots of the wild raspberry among others.

Rūthuko: A yellowish powder made from the bark of the roots of the plant known as Mūhukuura.

Ūgo: The art of interpreting supernatural and mysterious causation and future events.

Ūrogi: Dangerous and destructive poison used for nefarious purpose.

Ūūmū: Red powder made from the bark of roots of the flowering creeper called mutenda- mbogo.

Thahu: The consequences of one’s action against prohibition or sin.
APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for Ago

("I am Hezekiah Muraya, a doctoral student in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, of Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on beliefs and practices in Ḫ̖̄g̃̄o among the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. I am doing research to establish the factors that have led Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ adherence to beliefs and practices in Ḫ̖̄g̃̄o, the initial encounter between Christianity and Ḫ̖̄g̃̄o and inculturation process. Kindly, therefore respond to this questionnaire by ticking/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. The outcome of which will be a PhD thesis. Your views would be of great help in this respect. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use for no other purpose except for this academic research. Thank you in advance for your assistance.")

Name)............................................................................................................Age................................................

Marital status......................................................................................sex ........................................

Educational level..........................................................................................

Date..........................................................Duration of interview.........................

1. Who is a “Mũndũ Mũgo?”

2. How did Ḫ̖̄g̃̄o come into existence among the Gĩkũyũ?
3. What rites of passage are necessary for one to qualify for the office of ūgo?

4. What stages are involved in the initiation of Ago?

5. In which ways do Ago receive "calling"?

If there is an inheritance system for Ago, how does it work? E.g. which child inherits—the firstborn or the junior one?

6. How long does apprenticeship process take before a person qualifies to practice as a Mūndū Mūgo?

7. Would you be able to explain the rituals and ceremonies involved during Mūndū Mūgo initiation ceremony?

8. How many clients do you see in a day? (a) 1 – 10 (b) 11 – 20 (c) above 21

9. What are some of the issues they bring to you?

10. (I) What kind of people come to you? (a) Christians (b) Non-Christsans
(ii) If the answer to number 11 is (a) how do you know them?

(iii) What are their problems?

________________
________________
________________
________________
________________

11. What services do you offer to your clients?

________________
________________
________________
________________

12. Where does your power of dealing with people’s problems come from?  
(a) God 
(b) ancestors  
(c) devil  

Tick where appropriate

13. What are causes of diseases and misfortune among the Gikuyu people?

________________
________________
________________
________________

14. What methods do you use to deal with diseases and misfortunes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diseases</th>
<th>Misfortunes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ii) How do these methods differ from Western form of treatment?

15. Are there diseases perceived as mysterious among the Gikuyu people?
(i) Which are these diseases?
(ii) What causes these diseases?
(iii) How are the mysterious diseases treated?

16. At what instances were taboos applicable in traditional life?

17. (i) What is witchcraft?
(ii) How can witchcraft be prevented?
(iii) What protection do you give to those who seek protection against witchcraft from you?

18. (i) What are curses?
(ii) Why were people cursed in Gikuyu traditional society?
(iii) How was the effect of a curse removed from a victim?
(iv) In what circumstances are curses applicable today?

19. (i) Who are the Ancestors?
(ii) What roles did the ancestors play in Gikuyu traditional belief system?

20. (i) Are there instances where diseases and misfortunes are caused by ancestral spirits? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
(ii) If the answer is yes, please explain?
(iii) How were the ancestral spirits appeased in the traditional Gikuyu
community?

21. (i) How were the mystical powers that pervade the universe perceived by the traditional Gĩkũyũ Community?

(ii) Who were able to tap mystical powers in the traditional Gĩkũyũ Community?

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire for Pastors

(“I am Hezekiah Muraya, a doctoral student in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, of Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on beliefs and practices in ūgo among the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. I am doing research to establish the factors that have led Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians’ adherence to beliefs and practices in ūgo, the initial encounter between Christianity and ūgo and inculturation process. Kindly, therefore respond to this questionnaire by ticking/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. The outcome of which will be a PhD thesis. Your views would be of great help in this respect. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use for no other purpose except for this academic research. Thank you in advance for your assistance.”)

Name)..........................................................age ........................................

Name of the parish............................................Sex .................................

Highest education level attained:-

(a) Secondary    (b) College    (c) University    (d) Others (specify)

1. How does the Church deal with those who consult Ago?

2. (i) Have you encountered members in your parish who have consulted Ago?
(a) Yes □ (b) No □

(ii) If the answer is yes, how did you “detect” them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of information</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informed by other Christians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confession of members during counseling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposed by their business rivals or competitors in matter of love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. (i) Give as many reasons as possible why you think Gĩkũyũ Christians consult *Ago*.

______________
______________
______________
______________

4. What is the policy of the PCEA Church regarding inculturation of Christianity?

5. Are there some efforts of inculturation of Christianity in the local Churches in PCEA Church?

6. (i) Are there beliefs and practices in *ũgo* that have been inculturated into Christianity? (a) Yes □ No □
(ii) If Yes, which ones?

(iii) If No, which of the following reasons given below would you think have hindered the inculturation of the beliefs and practices in ūgo? (Tick the appropriate answers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Inherent wrong meanings of ūgo, e.g. regarded as witchcraft or sorcery.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fear of syncretism – some beliefs and practices in ūgo are too riddled with mysticism and magical elements.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Viewed by the Church leadership as steeped in evil practices.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fear of reviving the bygone era in name of inculturation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ūgo viewed as a form of superstition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Others (i) (ii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Which images or ideas given below do you think Ago share with Christ (Tick the appropriate answer[s])
Images or ideas that {	extit{Ago}} share with Christ. | Tick where appropriate |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Purification/sanctification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Spiritual guidance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Moral leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mediators between God and humanity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Counseling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) Which beliefs and practices in {	extit{Ago}} given below would you like be inculturated into Christianity? (Tick the appropriate answer[s])

Beliefs and practices in {	extit{Ago}} | Tick where appropriate |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Exorcism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Purification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indigenous Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) What reasons would you give for the answers in no.9 (i)? (Tick all that apply)
1. **Exorcism**

   **Nature of influence**

   1. Protection against the gratuitous, maverick evil spirits
   2. To invoke the spiritual world to act in their favor
   3. To vanquish deadly regions of spiritual forces that constantly harass Christians and entangle them in great pain

2. **Ritual Purification**

   **Nature of influence**

   1. When harm or impurities have been contracted by an individual
   2. Protect a person or family from the effects of
3. To re-admit into regular society the cleansed person or persons

4. Others (i) (ii) (iii)

3. Indigenous Healing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of influence</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Physical and Spiritual Healing service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Provider of protective medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Medicines to enhance fertility of land, livestock and people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others (i) (ii) (iii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3

Questionnaire for Church Elders

("I am Hezekiah Muraya, a doctoral student in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, of Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on beliefs and practices in ũgo among the Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians. I am doing research to establish the factors that have led Gĩkũyũ PCEA Christians' adherence to beliefs and practices in ũgo, the initial encounter between Christianity and ũgo and inculturation process. Kindly, therefore respond to this questionnaire by ticking/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. The outcome of which will be a PhD thesis. Your views would be of great help in this respect. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use for no other purpose except for this academic research. Thank you in advance for your assistance.")

Name..................................................age .................

Name of the Parish............................................Sex ..................

Education level.................................Occupation ....................

Congregation..............................Parish ............................

Date ..................................................Duration of Interview ............

1. (i) What was the general attitude of the missionaries towards the indigenous beliefs and practices such as ũgo? (a) Negative ☐ (b) Positive ☐

   (ii) Give reasons for your answers.
2. (i) Did the missionaries require the converts to abandon the beliefs and Practices in ūgo?  a)Yes □  (b) No □

(ii) Give reasons for your answers.

(3) Which of the following approaches given below did the missionaries use to ensure that the converts abandoned the beliefs and practices in ūgo? (Tick the appropriate answers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approaches used in evangelizing the Gikuyu</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tumutumu Mission Station</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Churches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mission Out- Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Western Medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) How was each approach effective in eradicating the beliefs and practices in ūgo? (explain, giving reasons)

4. How does the Church deal with those who are involved in ūgo?

5. (i) Have you encountered any member in your parish who have consulted Ago?
   (a)Yes □  (b) No □

(i) If the answer is yes, how did you “detect” them?
Source of information

Tick where appropriate

Informed by other Christians

____________________

Confession of members during counseling

____________________

Exposed by their business rivals or competitors in matter of love

____________________

Others

____________________

6. (i) Give as many reasons as possible why you think Gikuyu Christians consult Ago.

____________________

____________________

____________________

7. What is the policy of the PCEA Church regarding inculturation of Christianity?

8. Are there some efforts of inculturation of Christianity in the local Churches in PCEA Church?

9. (i) Are there beliefs and practices in ñgo that have been inculturated into Christianity? (a) Yes  □  (b) No  □

(ii) If Yes, which ones?
(iii) If No, which of the following reasons given below would you think have hindered the inculturation of the beliefs and practices in ūgo? (Tick the appropriate answers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Inherent wrong meanings of ūgo, e.g. regarded as witchcraft or sorcery.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Fear of syncretism – some beliefs and practices in ūgo are too riddled with mysticism and magical elements.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Viewed by the Church leadership as steeped in evil practices.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Fear of reviving the bygone era in name of inculturation.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ūgo viewed as a form of superstition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Others (i) (ii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Which images or ideas given below do you think *Ago* share with Christ? (Tick the appropriate answer[s])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images or ideas that <em>Ago</em> share with Christ.</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Purification/sanctification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Spiritual guidance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Moral leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. Mediators between God and humanity

11. Counseling

12. (i) Which beliefs and practices in ūgo given below would you like inculturated into Christianity? (Tick the appropriate answer[s])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beliefs and practices in ūgo</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Exorcism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Purification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indigenous Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) What reasons would you give for the answers in no.12 (i)? (Tick all that apply)

1. Exorcism

**Nature of influence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Protection against the gratuitous, maverick evil spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To invoke the spiritual world to act in their favor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To vanquish deadly regions of spiritual forces that constantly harass Christians and entangle them in great pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Ritual Purification

Nature of influence

Tick where appropriate

1. When harm or impurities have been contracted by an individual

2. Protect a person or family from the effects of ritual impurities

3. To re-admit into regular society the cleansed person or persons

4. Others (i) (ii) (iii)

3. Indigenous Healing

Nature of influence

Tick where appropriate

1. Physical and Spiritual Healing service

2. Provider of protective medicine
APPENDIX 4

Questionnaire for Ordinary Church Members

("I am Hezekiah Muraya, a doctoral student in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, of Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on beliefs and practices in ūgo among the Gikũyũ PCEA Christians. I am doing research to establish the factors that have led Gikũyũ PCEA Christians' adherence to beliefs and practices in ūgo, the initial encounter between Christianity and ūgo and inculturation process. Kindly, therefore respond to this questionnaire by ticking/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. The outcome of which will be a PhD thesis. Your views would be of great help in this respect. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use for no other purpose except for this academic research. Thank you in advance for your assistance.")

Name .................................................. age ............................................
Name of the Parish..........................Sex ............................................
Education level..........................Occupation ............................................
Congregation..........................Parish ............................................
Date ............................................Duration of Interview ......................

1. Have you ever heard of Ago? (a) Yes (b) □ □

2. Which of the following mass media given below has been your source of information on Ago?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Radio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Television</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Print media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Public meetings (barazas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Funerals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. weddings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Others (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. (i) Are there Christians today who still consult *Ago*? (Tick where appropriate)
   (a) Yes ☐ (b) No ☐ Tick where appropriate

   (ii) If the answer is yes, how did you “detect” them?

4. (i) Do Christians fear curses, witchcraft and taboo? (Tick where appropriate)
   (a) Yes ☐ (b) No ☐

   (i) If the answer is yes, where do they go to seek for help when cursed or bewitched? (Tick where appropriate)
(a) Church  □  (b) Hospital □  Ago □  (d) All of the above □

(iii) Give reasons for your answers.

5. (i) Some of the cases handled by Ago defeats conventional doctors
(a) True □  (b) False □

(ii) Explain your answer

6. (i) Give as many reasons as possible why you think Gikuyu Christians consult Ago

__________________________
__________________________
__________________________

7. (i) Have you ever benefited from the services offered by Ago? (Tick where appropriate)
(a) Yes □  (b) No □

8. Which images or ideas given below do you think Ago share with Christ? (Tick the appropriate answer[s])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images or ideas that Ago share with Christ.</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Purification/sanctification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Spiritual guidance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Moral leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mediators between God and humanity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Counseling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. (i) Have you ever heard of PCEA inculturation procedure?
   (a) Yes    (b) No

10. (ii) If the answer is yes, indicate your source of information (Tick the appropriate answer[s] below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seminars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Assembly or General Administrative Committees’ circulars to congregations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCEA Jitegemea magazines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (i)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) Which beliefs and practices in ūgo given below would you like be inculturated into Christianity? (Tick the appropriate answer[s])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beliefs and Practices of ūgo</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Exorcism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Purification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indigenous Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii)

(ii) What reasons would you give for the answers in no. 11 (i)? (Tick all that apply)

A. Exorcism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of influence</th>
<th>Tick where appropriate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Protection against the gratuitous, maverick evil spirits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To invoke the spiritual world to act in their favor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To vanquish deadly regions of spiritual forces that constantly harass Christians and entangle them in great pain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others (i) (ii) (iii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Ritual Purification

Nature of influence

1. When harm or impurities have been contracted by an individual
2. Protect a person or family from the effects of ritual impurities
3. To readmit into regular society the cleansed person or persons
4. Others (i) (ii) (iii)

C. Indigenous Healing

Nature of influence

1. Physical and Spiritual Healing service
2. Provider of protective medicine
3. Medicines to enhance fertility of land, livestock and people

4. Others (i)  
   (ii)

**APPENDIX 5**

**LIST OF RESPONDENTS**

These are the list of names of respondents who accepted that their particulars be included in this work. Following are their particulars in this order: Name, date of interview, Occupation and age.

**List of Ordinary Church Members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE OF INTERVIEW</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Robert Wamathai</td>
<td>1/8/10</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Joseph W. Ndumia</td>
<td>1/8/10</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Miriam Kamaau</td>
<td>1/8/10</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Damaris Maina</td>
<td>1/8/10</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kenneth Muturi</td>
<td>1/8/10</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Irene Muturi</td>
<td>1/8/10</td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Catherine Nyambura</td>
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28. Andrew Wamai 1/8/10 Businessman 57
29. Susan Wambui 1/8/10 Businesslady 57
30. Moses Muigithia Njogu 1/8/10 Businessman 49
31. Mary Ng'iru 1/8/10 Businesslady 45
32. Rebecca Nyokabi 1/8/10 Farmer 79
33. Sophia Kimani 1/8/10 Farmer 92
34. Mercy Murithi 1/8/10 Businesslady 65
35. Edwin Kimani 1/8/10 Civil Servant 57
36. Keziah Wangari 1/8/10 Businesslady 46
37. Esther Wangechi 1/8/10 Civil Servant 34
38. Agnes Njeri 1/8/10 Civil Servant 35
39. Mercy Waiganjo 1/8/10 Civil Servant 26
40. Marion Muthoni 1/8/10 Farmer 63
41. Peter Mburu 1/8/10 Farmer 71
42. Rose Waitetu 1/8/10 Businesslady 29
43. Ann Njoki 1/8/10 Teacher 34
44. Julius Gathogo 1/8/10 Teacher 30
45. Jacob Warurui 1/8/10 Civil Servant 51
46. Margaret Murigi 1/8/10 Civil Servant 48
47. Peterson Gitahi 1/8/10 Farmer 68
48. Marion Ndoria 1/8/10 Businessman 48
49. Grace Kanagu 1/8/10 Businessman 44
50. Ann Nganga 1/8/10 Teacher 38
51. Winfred Kariithi 1/8/10 Teacher 39
52. Isaac Ikaria 1/8/10 Teacher 40
53. Eric Kuria 1/8/10 Civil Servant 41
54. James Ndungu 1/8/10 Businessman 42
55. Jacob Githiora 1/8/10 Civil Servant 47
56. Enoch Kinuthia 1/8/10 Civil Servant 49
57. Ann Kahianyu 1/8/10 Doctor 66
58. John Njuguna 1/8/10 Teacher 21
59. John Mwangi 8/8/10 Student 22
60. Joel Gachau 8/8/10 Student 20
61. John Gachau 8/8/10 Student 19
62. Nancy Njoki 8/8/10 Teacher 41
63. Ephraim Karimi Minja 8/8/10 Teacher 34
64. Teresa Kimondo 8/8/10 Businesslady 27
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Wakabochi
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MAP 2: MAP OF CENTRAL REGION SHOWING NYERI PRESBYTERY 2010

SOURCE: PHILIPS S.E.A.E.P. ATLAS
MAP 3: MAP OF NYERI PRESBYTERY 2010

THE STUDY AREA
SOURCE: NYERI PRESBYTERY OFFICE