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AFRICAN THEOLOGY: *Its History, Dynamics, Scope and Future*

Paul Bowers

AFRICAN THEOLOGY

The term "African Theology" commonly refers to the lively conversation within the African Christian community that, beginning early in the 1960s and increasing unabated to the present, seeks to address the intellectual and theological issues which concern that community. This conversation has attracted interest and significance owing not least to the rapid growth of the Christian community in Africa, which is now the majority faith in large portions of the continent and is apparently set to become a principal centre of world Christianity.

The diversity of the Christian community in Africa, and of its theological practitioners, has produced numerous divergent

Dr. Paul Bowers has taught in theological education in Africa since 1968. He has also been involved with the Accrediting Council for Theological Education in Africa (ACTEA) since 1976, with *AJET* since 1982 and with *BookNotes for Africa* since 1996. Currently he is the International Administrator of the International Council for Evangelical Theological Education (ICETE). Dr. Bowers holds a PhD in biblical studies from the University of Cambridge in England. This article on "African Theology" appeared last year in the revised edition of the widely used *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* edited by Walter A. Elwell (2nd edition. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2001), under the title, "African Theology", and is reprinted here (with minor corrections) by permission of the publisher, Baker Book House (PO Box 6287, Grand Rapids, MI 49516, USA).

approaches to African Theology. This in turn makes the description and assessment that much more challenging. Thus Africa's influential university departments of religion have usually approached the theme in terms of establishing correlations between Christianity and Africa's traditional religions. Missiologists have worked more broadly on a correlation of Christianity with African culture as a whole, speaking in terms of an ethnotheology. Roman Catholic contributions have frequently introduced a philosophical note, seeking correlation with the implicit world views of traditional Africa. Ecumenists have pursued not a correlation of Christianity with Africa's past so much as an activation of the Christian community in shaping Africa's future, towards greater liberation and humanisation. Church leaders and theological educators as often as not have assumed that African Theology denotes little more than providing traditional Christian theology with an African face, furnishing Christian truth with contextually-sensitive illustrations and applications.

While all of these approaches doubtless have a measure of relevance, and together serve to enrich and enliven the common dialogue, perhaps none offers an adequate frame in which to assess the whole. The ongoing phenomenon of African Theology in the present day is probably best interpreted not in terms of one or more of these approaches but in terms of the patterns of modern African intellectual life. It is from within such a frame of reference that the history, dynamics, scope, and future direction of African Theology can perhaps best be recognised and assessed.

1. History

The distinguishable roots of the modern-day movement reach back more than a century to Henry Venn and others who, attempting to establish appropriate objectives for the 19th century European missionary movement, called influentially for an indigenization of the Christian faith in mission lands. However poorly this was actualised in missionary endeavours in Africa, it nevertheless set in motion those values and prospects which rendered the core questions of African Theology inevitable. Thus the proto-Africanist Edward Blyden of Liberia utilised the very

phrase "African theology" in 1897 in expressing his vision for Africa's future; the mission statesman Edwin Smith in 1936 produced a theological handbook with intentions entirely congruent with what is now designated as African Theology; and the Catholic father Placide Tempels set off a discussion of the implications of Africa's traditional religious "ontology" for Christian faith, with publication of his *classic La Philosophie Bantoue* in 1945.

The values of Venn, appropriated within 19th century West African consciousness, have also been recognised as an essential strand in the emergence at the beginning of the 20th century of the political and cultural movement called Pan-Africanism, in which the expectations of Africa's educated elite increasingly merged with those of Africa's Diaspora, in pursuit of the liberation of the continent from colonial rule and the emancipation of the African spirit from the domination of the colonial mindset. By mid-century, as the prospects for imminent independence seized the imagination of the continent, the movement was functioning vigorously on two fronts, the political and the cultural. The latter found expression especially in two consequential congresses, in Paris in 1956 and in Rome in 1959, through which it undertook to identify the scope of its intellectual agenda for Africa. Reflections published by a group of African Catholic priests attending the first congress attracted keen interest among their peers, and the second congress then incorporated into its program a subsection for African theologians. Stimulated by such events, a public debate was organised the following year at the influential Faculté de Théologie Catholique in Kinshasa, expressly on the validity of developing an "African Theology." The spirited debate, between the dean of the Faculté Alfred Vanneste and a leading student Tharcisse Tshibangu, was published that same year, 1960.

Meanwhile Protestant missionary thinking in the early decades of the 20th Century, still influenced by the vision of an indigenous African church, began to reflect more deliberately on the relevance of African culture. The positive valuation of African culture at the first Africa-wide conference of missions, held in 1926 in Le Zoute, Belgium, led in due course to a greater emphasis on training African clergy. This resulted in turn in an evaluative survey of

Protestant theological education in Africa, and the missionary scholar Bengt Sundkler was tasked to summarise its findings. When his pioneering study, *The Christian Ministry in Africa*, appeared in 1960, it moved the reader beyond the issues of clergy formation, and included an entire chapter entitled "Christian Theology in Africa."

When one traces back through the interactive links in the earliest phase of the African Theology movement, it becomes apparent that the conversation emerged as an articulate entity largely from these two precipitative events in 1960, the one from within Catholic francophone Africa and derivative of the principal mid-century events of Africa's intellectual life, and the other from within Protestant anglophone Africa and functioning at the cutting edge of the century-old quest for an effective indigenization of African Christianity.

In the years immediately following the Kinshasa debate and Sundkler's seminal publication, the streams of reflection generated by these two events quickly coalesced. Especially through papers read at consultations and through articles published in journals, but also through several foundational monographs, the movement began to grope towards identity and definition. Among representative contributors in the earliest years were Harry Sawyerr of Sierra Leone, who in an article in 1963 first addressed the issues raised by Sundkler; Vincent Mulago of Congo/Zaire, the first African lecturer appointed to the Kinshasa faculty, who published his *Un visage africain du christianisme* in 1965; and Bolaji Idowu of Nigeria, whose *Towards an Indigenous Church* also appeared in 1965. In 1966 a pioneering conference for African theologians held at Ibadan, Nigeria, resulted in the publication of one of the formative books of the movement, *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs* (1969). Among the participants were Sawyerr, Mulago, and Idowu; and also the Kenyan scholar John Mbiti. Mbiti soon achieved a special status in the early movement with publication in successive years of: *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969), *Concepts of God in Africa* (1970) and *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background* (1971). In subsequent years Mbiti

continued to maintain a singularly distinguished, articulate, and prolific output.

In the 1970s the discussion rapidly expanded into multiple venues and divergent emphases, and by the 1980s a succession of monographs had begun to appear. Among the more prominent contributors from this period have been: Kato, Nyamiti, Pobee, Dickson, Tiénou, Ela, Ukpong, Eboussi Boulaga, Oduyoye, and Mugambi. In addition, the essential literature of African Theology now includes annotated bibliographies, collections of conference papers, readers in principal sources, and surveys of the literature.

As the diffuse outpourings continued, the conversation in the 1990s seemed if anything to gain in sophistication and depth, a fact perhaps most readily represented by two publications. In 1992 the Ghanaian scholar Kwame Bediako published his magistral *Theology and Identity*, in which he compared the role of culture within second century Christian thinking and within modern African Christian thinking, especially in the latter's quest for theological self-understanding. And in 1993 the British scholar Gordon Molyneux published his remarkable study, *African Christian Theology*, which traced out in fascinating detail and critically assessed three very different manifestations of Christian "theologizing" in Africa. With such publications the African Theology movement has clearly reached a vigorous maturity. The highly varied conversations are now best tracked through ongoing bibliographic surveys such as those found in the *Revue Africaine de Théologie* (Congo/Zaire) and the *International Review of Mission* (Switzerland), and through the abstracts and reviews offered in journals such as *Missionalia* (South Africa) and *BookNotes for Africa* (Zambia).

2. Dynamics

While African Theology has significant links with earlier missionary thinking on "indigenization", in its essential characteristics and dynamics the movement is best construed as a phenomenon of modern African intellectual life. Studies of modern Africa concur that the central motifs of its intellectual life have revolved for more than a century around the one formative

experience common to almost all parts of the continent, namely Africa's traumatic encounter with the West and its multifaceted response/reaction to that encounter. The imposition of colonial rule over most of the continent by the end of the 19th century meant for Africa a deprivation not only in political control but also in fundamental self-understanding. The old regime of political leadership and intelligentsia in traditional Africa was swept aside. The new intelligentsia emerging during the colonial period attained that status largely through superior achievement in western education. It was principally this class, Africa's new educated elite, who then effectively organised the overthrow of western colonial domination and assumed the political and intellectual direction of the continent.

The modern Africa that resulted was therefore shaped to the needs and intentions of Africa's new educated elite, and Africa's intellectual life in the post-independence period has been representative of the preoccupations, commitments, anxieties, and values of this new class. Having superseded the old order of traditional Africa, and in open and successful conflict with a domineering West, they effectively evolved the new order of modern Africa. At the material level the new order sought above all for African "development," for a rapid modernisation conceived largely along western lines, in order to withstand and supersede western economic and political dominance on the continent. At the ideological level the new order sought by every means to assert an African identity over against the West, while affirming its own identification with Africa's traditional heritage, in order to contest and overcome western intellectual hegemony in Africa.

And thus the issue of African authenticity and self-reliance, the issue of African identity and selfhood, in combination with a comprehensive critique of the West and its role in Africa, has functioned as the principal dynamic of Africa's intellectual life in almost all fields of learning and expression in the latter part of the 20th century. This has been true not only for literature and sociology, political science and anthropology, philosophy and history, but for theology as well. The characteristic preoccupations of African Theology, the implicit agenda, the necessary themes,

even the rooted conflicts and discontinuities, have almost exactly matched the dynamics of the larger intellectual life of Africa.

This can be usefully recognised not least in the debate of a past generation between Négritude and African Marxism. Founded by Leopold Senghor and others in the 1930s, Négritude was a literary, cultural, and philosophical movement especially influential in the francophone world, which attempted to address the "dilemma of the spirit" of Africa's westernised intelligentsia, their sense of inner alienation, dislocation, and loss of identity, by means of a sustained evocation and affirmation of African traditional values and culture. The two Pan-African congresses on African culture in the 1950s were direct derivatives of this movement. The most trenchant critiques of Négritude came from African Marxists (such as Franz Fanon in his *The Wretched of the Earth*), who charged that the vision of Négritude would lead Africa up a dead-end alley. To accent traditional culture might satisfy the hunger of the modern African's soul, but it could not bring effective change within the oppressive realities of colonial Africa. Only an ideology for the political liberation and radical social restructuring of the continent could serve the needs of Africa's future.

This particular conflict in African intellectual life helps illuminate the development of African Theology. If a critical identity question functions at the heart of modern African intellectual life, then African Christianity has found itself faced with a doubly-critical identity question. African political nationalism refused to differentiate between the coming of colonialism and the coming of Christianity to the continent; it became axiomatic to treat the two as one. Modern African consciousness therefore readily perceived African Christianity as an alien western importation. Thus educated African Christians at the commencement of the independence era found themselves encumbered with a problematic identity. What could it possibly mean to be an African Christian? In what sense at all could "African Christianity" be construed as legitimately African?

Thus the agenda of the educated African Christian came to embrace not only Africa's political and intellectual release from western dominance, but also African Christianity's release from

western missionary dominance. And if an affirmation of Africa's traditional heritage had become a central function of African intellectual life, then a fresh appraisal of Africa's religious heritage was also essential. Only by these means could the pressing demands of African Christian identity begin to be addressed, an authentically African Christianity be justified, and an acceptably authentic African Theology be achieved. Thus evolved, at first hesitantly but increasingly with assertive confidence, the twin foci of the earliest movement, namely (i) the attempt at a more responsible theological apprehension of African traditional culture--and especially of Africa's indigenous religions, combined with (ii) a sustained critique of the western impact on Africa--and not least of the western missionary role in Africa.

By the early 1970s a separate theological movement had made its appearance on the continent. The "Black Theology" movement of South Africa (distinct from the North America movement of the same name), sought theological resources for investing South African blacks with a sense of human dignity in the face of apartheid, and for empowering them to achieve social justice and liberation. Among the most prominent early spokesmen were Manus Buthelezi, Allan Boesak, and Desmond Tutu. Almost immediately the relationship between Black Theology and African Theology became a point of vigorous debate. To read the variant viewpoints is to read a theological replay of parts of the earlier debate between Négritude and Marxism. In effect Black Theology contended that African Theology, immersed in its devotion to Africa's cultural past, had no effective word for Africa's future. African Theology responded that Black Theology seemed to lack any effective word for Africa's heart. Because the South African movement accorded much more readily with theological trends in the larger ecumenical movement after Uppsala (1968), and in particular with Liberation Theology in Latin America and Black Theology in North America, the venues of ecumenical action in the 1970s became a principal locus of efforts to "manage" the debate and to coopt African Theology into a larger global agenda, principally achieved by asserting the complementarity of Black and African theologies.

While these assimilative efforts met with spirited resistance from some, including Mbiti, African theologians in general did not find it difficult to embrace the language of liberation theology if specifically referencing the ongoing western economic and political exploitation of Africa. Whereas by the 1990s "Black Theology" scarcely remained a functioning movement, by then African Theology had largely accommodated a third fundamental focus, derived from its encounter with Black Theology but adjusted to its own inner dynamic, namely a political theology in support of the liberation of Africa from ongoing western oppression. Generally speaking, the further south the theological discussion is in Africa the more this dimension is evident, and the further west the discussion occurs in Africa the less it is evident.

3. Scope

The multiplicity of perspectives, agendas, and venues now represented in African Theology makes any thematic description problematic. Indeed most typologies of the movement thus far proposed tend to prove inadequate when tested against a sufficiently broad range of relevant contributions. Nevertheless certain dominant or recurrent themes do appear, and help clarify something of the inner demands and momentum of the movement.

Led by the university departments of religion, African Theology has generated considerable attention to African traditional religion, resulting in significant advances in that field. Not least a mindless western denigration of African religion has been reversed, and the possibilities of a more responsible theological assessment implanted. Indeed some prominent theologians, including Mbiti and Bediako, have proposed that the acceptance of traditional religion as an effective *praeparateo evangelica* for African Christianity, and of African Christianity as an appropriate fulfilment of traditional religion, should be considered central to the enterprise of African Theology.

One potential shortcoming of such an approach which has been noted almost from the beginning, especially by evangelical Africans, has been the persisting inclination both to disregard appropriate theological questions relating to syncretism, and to

neglect the theological task of affirming an identity for African Christianity that is not only African but also in some way distinguishably Christian. Similarly, although the normative character of scriptural revelation for any Christian theology has on occasion been affirmed by some African theologians, any sustained application of such a standard has been only rarely pursued within the literature. A second potential shortcoming of this approach has been highlighted by secular scholarship, which has increasingly charged African theologians with fundamentally misrepresenting African religion, by a habit of screening and "baptising" the data in order to project a traditional religion that is compatible with Christianity. These two lines of critical challenge, placing in question central tendencies within the movement, will merit more responsible consideration if African Theology is to prove itself intellectually sustainable for the future.

African theologians serving in church leadership roles have been in the forefront, along with missiologists, of those tending to focus on African culture as a whole, not just on African religion, reflecting theologically on the necessary "contextualization" of Christianity within African culture. Catholic reflection has vigorously debated whether adaptation or incarnation is the more appropriate theological methodology, while one strand of Catholic reflection has also probed usefully into the underlying world views or "implicit philosophies" of traditional Africa. Protestant reflection has often led the way in looking for points of contact between standard themes of Christian theology (such as revelation, sin, Christology, or eschatology) and those values, institutions, concepts, and symbols which underlie African culture. Church leadership participating in the theological discussion has tended to frame its reflection much more directly in terms of the pastoral and catechetical needs of the believing Christian community in Africa, especially as it is affected by traditional culture, for example with respect to rites of passage, polygamy, liturgical custom, divination, traditional healing, or the role of ancestors. The range and calibre of contributions called forth by African Theology as it has explored the interface between Christianity and African culture has been exceptionally fruitful.

Reflecting a rooted need to disentangle African Christianity from its immediate antecedents in order to achieve a separate indigenous identity, and echoing the standard perceptions of African nationalist ideology, African Theology has almost from the beginning also felt impelled to deploy a set critique of the missionary movement in Africa, and of its destructive impact on traditional values and culture. The charges have not been without cause; so much in the western missionary effort in Africa has been demonstrably wrong, and deserves to be exposed. Yet it must also be granted that a balanced judgement has not always been achieved, so that it has often fallen to the professional historians rather than the theologians to provide a more reliably nuanced appraisal of this complexly diverse movement (e.g. in the work of Adrian Hastings or of Lamin Sanneh). Nevertheless, African Theology has here been working from assumptions that are very widely shared within African consciousness, and if it has tended to echo rather than interrogate such assumptions, it is nevertheless reliably reflecting powerfully-felt concerns which cannot be summarily side-stepped by academic findings.

From a similar impulse the earlier concern for indigenization became transmuted into an insistent call for the independence of African churches from their sponsoring mission agencies, and even for a "moratorium" on continuing missionary presence. The requirements of autonomy have also directed much useful attention to that large body of African church groups founded solely by African initiative, the African Independent Churches, among whom African Theology has been eager to discover beliefs and practices representing a more authentically African sensitivity.

From the mid-1970s onward African Theology increasingly included a political theology of liberation as part of its agenda. Unlike Black Theology in South Africa, for the most part this has not attended to forces of oppression within Africa, but has rather addressed the western political and economic exploitation of Africa. While African church leadership, especially in eastern and southern Africa and not least within Roman Catholic circles, has often found it necessary to speak against the injustice and repression practised

by various African governments since independence, little of this has been reflected in the theological discussion.

Evangelical participation within the African Theology movement began with Byang Kato of Nigeria, the first African to head the Association of Evangelicals in Africa. In his *Theological Pitfalls* in Africa (1975) Kato offered a critique of the incipient syncretism and universalism which he detected in the African Theology movement at that time. Kato called vigorously for a contextual theology attuned to the cultural realities of Africa, but he also affirmed the normative role of Scripture for authentic Christian theology in every context. He also taught that traditional African belief contains authentic truth about God and prepares the African heart for the Gospel, but he staunchly denied a salvific function for Africa's traditional religion. Regrettably, Kato's untimely death in 1975 prevented him from ever developing a positive theological expression in keeping with his call for an African Christianity that would be "both truly African and truly biblical."

Tokunboh Adeyemo of Nigeria subsequently contributed an important study on *Salvation in African Tradition* (1979, 1997); Richard Gehman's *Doing African Christian Theology* (1987) offers stimulating reflection on the task; and the textbook *Biblical Christianity in African Perspective* (1992, 1995) by Wilbur O'Donovan is now in wide use. Tite Tiénou of Burkina Faso would be a principal example of an African evangelical who has been regularly participating within the larger theological discussion, with a still growing corpus of articles and papers. His doctoral dissertation (1984), assessing methodologies in African Theology, argued plausibly that any appropriately contextual theology for Africa must find its defining matrix in the local African Christian community; and his *The Theological Task of the Church in Africa* (1982, 1990) is a popular text in many African evangelical theological schools. Most other evangelical reflection on African Theology is to be found in journal articles, with *the Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* (Kenya) serving as the principal forum.

African evangelicalism has managed to deploy a range of effective continental initiatives in theological education; but, with notable exceptions, the intention of Kato to foster a constructive

critical evangelical participation within the larger discussion of African Theology has not been sustained. Only in the theological colleges does one discover a continuing interactive familiarity. Yet the average educated African evangelical would probably resonate with many of the themes and preoccupations of African Theology, even if he would expect to modify the answers given on these issues. On the whole it would seem that theological expression within African evangelicalism has yet to achieve an effective interaction with the intellectual and theological needs within its own community, and especially among its educated classes.

4. Future

The achievements of African intellectual endeavour in the decades since independence have been extraordinary. In multiple fields of inquiry and expression Africa has thrown off alien dominance and asserted its own energetic perspectives. Yet as a new century commences, the continent is increasingly gripped by a sense of disillusionment, of failed dreams and lost opportunities. As the African novelist Chinua Achebe has eloquently put it: "We have lost the 20th century; are we bent on seeing that our children also lose the 21st?" The urgent question now emerging among Africa's educated elite is whether the ideological underpinnings of Africa's post-independence era are sufficient for securing Africa's future. The collapse of a bipolar world order and the almost simultaneous collapse of South Africa's apartheid regime have marked a shift in basic circumstances for the continent, with a corresponding alteration in intellectual requirements. And the notion has begun to take form, that whereas authenticity and self-reliance were essential in securing Africa's political and cultural independence in the 20th century, these emphases are now proving themselves insufficient for preventing the marginalization of Africa within the emerging world order of the 21st century.

This intellectual transition accents one of the principal challenges facing African Theology. The constructive contributions of the movement in its first four decades have been immense. But as the credibility of Africa's post-independence ideology begins to erode, how will this movement fare which till now has so

effectively tracked with the intellectual trends of its context? Can it surmount the limitations that have been inherent in that affinity, and restructure for the requirements of a new era? Africa did indeed need to reclaim its past and affirm its cultural heritage; but the Marxist critique was also not without point. Africa has also urgently needed the aid of critical reflection in coping with a modernity already pervasive within contemporary Africa, and in negotiating its future within the increasing interdependency of the world community. For these needs African Theology for the most part has had little to say. The affirmation and defence of the "otherness" of Africa has been essential, but it will likely prove insufficient for addressing either Africa's present crises or its future expectations.

And if African Theology is to have a sustainable future, it will also need to give greater heed to responsible criticism of its more characteristic limitations. Such criticism may be resolved into two substantive judgements: (i) that African Theology has tended to misconstrue its foundational question; and (ii) that African Theology has then generally attended to answering only half of the question it has framed.

In the nature of the case the defining matrix out of which a valid African Christian theology is to be constructed, and against which its achievements should be measured, is neither Africa's modern intellectual quest, nor Africa's cultural context, nor Africa's traditional religions, important as each of these may be. As Tiénou and others have proposed, the nature of the enterprise requires that the defining matrix should be the present Christian community of Africa, with the full range of its needs and expectations, its requirements and preoccupations. This allows for all the issues raised by the agenda of African Theology to date, but it suggests others as well, some of considerable consequence, including Africa's present and its future. To the extent that African Theology has formulated its fundamental task in terms of correlations with African culture, or with Africa's religious heritage, or with the preoccupations of the educated African, it has functioned from an inadequate axis. Its parameters should be construed to encompass the theological reflection required by the life of the contemporary

African Christian community, as that community seeks to fulfil its calling under God within its context.

Within such a construal of the task, the issue of Christianity's correlation with its African context has been rightly taken as cardinal. But this ought to have been simultaneously recognised as only half of the foundational theological question of African Christian existence. As African evangelicals and others have argued, the equally essential issue for theological reflection is the correlation of African Christianity with its Christian heritage. For this purpose it is not enough to ask, as African Theology has rightly and insistently done, how may African Christianity become more authentically African? It must also insistently be asked how African Christianity may become ever more authentically Christian. Without the maintenance of such a double-frame for defining appropriate theological reflection, both the realities of human nature and the history of Christianity suggest that theological reflection can arrive all too readily at an over-realised contextualization, where the essential identity, purpose, and value of African Christianity for Africa—and for God's good will in Africa—has been lost.

Does then the remarkable movement of African Theology begun in the 1960s have a future? Yes. And also possibly no. The Christian community in Africa is so vibrant and prolific that an ongoing life, including theological reflection, is inevitable. Will that ongoing reflection be a continuation of the movement begun in the 1960s? Perhaps. But perhaps only if the movement now finds within itself a capacity to transcend the role it formulated for itself and the limitations which have characterised it during Africa's post-independence period. The lived realities of Africa's vigorous Christian community in the decades ahead will implicitly require this, and if the present movement does not adjust to meet these requirements, a new movement of African Christian reflection may supersede it, with inner dynamics more authentically tuned to contemporary African Christian realities and expectations.

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ABSTRACT

Kisau, Paul Mumo. *"As Many as the Lord our God shall Call to Himself": A Study of the Theme of Inclusiveness in the Acts of the Apostles.* Aberdeen University: Thesis, PhD. 2000.[1]

This study investigates the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles in relation to its description of the earliest community of the followers of Jesus Christ.

The first chapter discusses literary terms used by the author of Acts that reflect inclusiveness. The identification terms used either by the community itself or those outside it, such as Jews and Gentiles, are analysed in an attempt to see if there is any inclusiveness in their usage. The theme of inclusiveness is also investigated in terms of persons mentioned as inviting or enabling others to become part of the Christian community; these are labelled in this study "personal links." The exclusive tendency of the Christian community as described in Acts is also investigated.

The next five chapters provide examples of incidences of inclusiveness in the narrative of Acts.

Chapters two and three investigate the racial inclusiveness of the community of believers. The inclusion of the Gentiles forms a significant part of this investigation, since their inclusion posed a real threat to the Jewish exclusive community. After the Gentile inclusion, the narrative of Acts seems to suggest a total rejection of the Jewish people, and therefore warrants a discussion of the inclusion of Jews in the Christian community.

The fourth chapter investigates regional (geographical) inclusiveness. The multitude of regional and city names is investigated. The narrative hints at geographical inclusiveness by use of terms/phrases that indicate that the gospel was for the whole world.

The fifth and sixth chapters investigate social inclusiveness. In chapter five people mentioned in the narrative are studied and their social level identified. In the sixth chapter, the sharing of goods is investigated as an example of social inclusiveness.

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[1] Copies of this thesis can be obtained from Scott Theological College Library and Queen Mother Library in University of Aberdeen, Scotland. Contact the author: mumo@maf.or.ke