

Some New Religious Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa

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For some years now the proliferation of new religious movements in Africa and the search by individuals for new meanings in belief have held the interest of scholars of religion. But their interpretations of the significance of these 'religious flowerings' raise a number of questions, in particular questions about the meaning and applicability of the word 'new' in religion. Instead of taking it literally, we should understand this religious 'innovation' on two planes of transaction with the sacred, the horizontal and the vertical. First, on the horizontal plane this religious innovation may be discerned in the ongoing adjustments made by traditional African religions as they encounter, whether peaceably or violently, religions originating in the West or Asia; these encounters have given rise to neo-traditional and prophetic movements and to independent Churches. We shall touch later on the two-way borrowings and adaptations that have taken place in some prophetic religions as regards their organization, rites, liturgy and charismatic communication of religious truth. On the other hand, religious renewal is discernible in the adjustments and innovative processes of elaboration adopted by such 'travelling religions' as Pentecostalism and Charismatic Renewal in relation to the basic process of making sense of the life of the individual and the community of the faithful.

Any thesis that emphasizes the part religion plays in the evolution of societies, of urban spaces and authorities, assumes that new religious movements are the locus of continuous reassessment, on the one hand, of people's relationship with the sacred – through the performance of ritual and the exposition of dogma in written form – and on the other of people's relationship with their society – through prayer, assumption of charismata and the practice of divine healing. In order to simplify the analysis and choice of the most salient new religious movements, as well as the areas of sub-Saharan Africa where they are most active, I shall start from an operational definition of religion that takes account of its pluralism: the totality of beliefs and practices related to the worship of a force or supreme being through the mediation of the world of ancestors, saints and spiritual entities who assure the integrity and existence of individuals and the community.

Preliminary considerations

These various typologies of African religions will not be dealt with exhaustively here, nor will they be generalized or transposed from one area to another; above all I am concerned to focus on their relevance.

There is a first generation of early twentieth-century independent African Churches that could be classified as new religious movements: the prophetic Churches of southern Africa and West Africa. When Bengt Sundkler studied Bantu prophetism in southern Africa in the 1940s, he discovered more than two thousand independent Churches. He suggests classifying them into two main types according to their historical processes of formation. The distinguishing factor, in Sundkler's view, is the mode of separation, whether institutional or doctrinal, by consensus or amid conflict, from their missionary origins, which can be reconstituted with the help of turn-of-the-century written sources. Using Sundkler's terminology, the 'Ethiopian' type covers the Bantu Churches that seceded from the whites' missionary Churches for racial reasons, claiming their independence but maintaining exactly the same church organisation and interpretation of the bible as the Protestant missions. The 'Zionist' independent Churches refer to themselves as 'of Zion', 'Apostolic', 'Pentecostal'; historically they originate from the American Church, the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, from Zion City (Illinois), and ideologically they make reference to the mountain of Zion in Jerusalem. Sundkler points to their syncretic character as indicated by their practices in healing the sick, glossolalia, purification rites and maintenance of certain taboos. Despite these individual characteristics, they have in common an insistence on their independence vis-à-vis the Churches of Protestant origin, the existence of a black prophet and the rejection of white racist domination. Today Sundkler's work is still an indispensable basis for further study.

Then there are the second-generation Churches, among which can be placed the neo-traditional prophetic Churches such as Ngounzism and the prophetic Churches created under the influence of fundamentalist missions: Assemblies of God, Pentecostals, Baptists, Methodists and Lutherans. Georges Balandier, who sees in African messianism a cultural as well as a sociological significance, emphasizes its ability to respond to the identity crisis caused by the upheaval brought by colonization. He identifies here

an attempt to adapt the message of the Christian missions to the African context or the reuse in a Christianized setting of surviving elements of the traditional religion; this syncretic character is related to another very conspicuous feature: the new Churches are often violently hostile to the old individual cults – thus affirming their unitary nature – as well as to the practice of witchcraft or magic that proliferated in the disrupted societies.¹

Starting from the common set of beliefs and ritual practices that we see today, other authors have attempted to identify, within the African Churches, the link to a local origin which has its roots in both the more or less openly avowed 'traditional' culture and in imported Christian elements. The resulting typologies have highlighted the 'nativist', 'prophetic', 'messianic' or 'revivalist' nature of these religious movements.² In the ideological context prevailing between 1960 and 1970 other studies emphasized the anticolonialist, nationalist and even revolutionary character of the religious movements that eventually gave rise to the independent African Churches.³ With reference to this label, Jean-Claude Barbier points out how ambiguous it is, particularly if the Churches that do not claim to be Catholic or Protestant are thought of as 'independent'. Indeed those separated Churches are defined as independent where, although they became autonomous vis-à-vis the missionary Churches in organizational terms, they nevertheless preserved the latter's original doctrine; the acculturated Churches that, on 'divine injunction' and without missionary

influence, adopted religious forms foreign to their own context, for instance revealed orthodoxy and the Judaic communities; the Churches that emerged from the great prophetic movements of the early twentieth century and that, in addition to organizational autonomy, found in the direct reading of the bible a close compatibility between African cultures and the Old Testament, which was the source of their prayers for exorcism, designed to cast out demons.⁴

Here our intention will be to analyse critically Heavenly Christianity and Ngounzism as two examples of religious innovation which are dynamic in their use of both oral and written traditions. We shall also show how, in both these African religions, there is a demonstration of trans-ethnic culture – and of territory-based culture – that leads to a flexibility of doctrine and religious practices. Then we shall examine how these new religious movements transformed themselves, while at the same time transforming the believer's relationship with religion and society, through a process of deterritorialization and rationalization of the individual's situation.

Heavenly Christianity: a 'travelling' religion and Church?

In 1947, on the border between Dahomey (now Benin) and Nigeria, Jesus appeared to the prophet Samuel Bilewu Joseph Oschoffa, who went on to found the Church of Heavenly Christianity, following the Aladura Churches of the Cherubim and Seraphim branch, which arose in the 1920s. It first spread through Nigeria, where the prophet Oschoffa is supposed to have taken refuge from persecution by Catholic priests; but official recognition of Heavenly Christianity occurred in Dahomey in 1956 and then in the 1960s the movement spread like wildfire to Togo, Ghana and the Ivory Coast. In the 1970s it finally reached Gabon, Cameroon, Congo and Zaïre with the help of fisherman and traders from Nigeria and Benin. Heavenly Christianity also took root in the United States and Britain, where it is said to have twenty-six parishes, as well as in France and its overseas departments and territories, where there are seven parishes, for which the diocese has since 1986 been under the spiritual guidance of the prophet's son, Emmanuel Oschoffa, the founder-prophet Oschoffa having passed away in September 1985. Pastors from the Nigerian branch are in conflict with their opposite numbers from Benin in a struggle over the succession. This relates to the Church's founding text, which was originally written in English (in September 1976 by the prophet, assisted by his council) and was subsequently published in Benin in a French version dated 1972 and entitled *Lumière du Christianisme* ('Light of Heavenly Christianity'). There are estimated to be a total of 8.3 million followers, 8 million of them in Nigeria alone.

As the founder-prophet liked to say, from the point of view of doctrine Heavenly Christianity is a synthesis of Protestantism, Judaism, Catholicism and Islam, as well as emanating directly from the Spirit and the word of God. Advocating an ideal for living reflecting the life of the angels in heaven – which is the meaning of 'Heavenly Christianity' – the Church is distinguished by biblical fundamentalism, the 'whole gospel', and takes its inspiration from both the Old and the New Testament. The emphasis it places on charismatic gifts and spiritual healing as a 'manifestation of the Power of the Holy Ghost' explains its manichean vision of the world in the grip of a struggle between the protective forces of Good and the malevolent forces of Evil, forces which are actualized through the

use of 'fetishes'. Apart from its strong asceticism (the use of alcohol and tobacco are strictly forbidden, sex is restricted, etc.), the Church of Heavenly Christianity is also distinguished by its liturgy of fervent prayer: hymns sung by a choir, dramatic sermons punctuated by calls for personal witness and revelations supposedly inspired by the Holy Ghost. Heavenly Christianity has published a considerable number of liturgical manuals codifying the weekly services, with specific prayers and hymns, special ceremonies, a calendar of feast-days, and also detailing rules for the different orders, strictly regulating the operation of the organization and explaining carefully how practices are to be observed. In other words there is a clear intention to modernize by means of the written text.

The celebration of cults, for example dedicated to the Virgin Mary or St Michael, is accompanied by the observation of many rites such as protection of female fertility, celebration of harvest, the moon, Christmas, Whitsun, Easter and consecration of holy sites (which menstruating women are forbidden to enter). The altar in the churches is often raised, bears a cross and is adorned with flowers, statues, a seven-branch candelabra and a constantly burning candle; silver dominates the whole scene and the main colours are blue, yellow and white (red and black are banned). During the services holy water and incense are used profusely, as are palm fronds and offerings of food, and in the healing sessions use is made of fruit; finally there is the deliberate observation of absolute faithfulness to the biblical message and the Spirit of the primitive Church. The whole indicates a mixing of elements originating from different cultures. This accumulation of strong physical and symbolic resources demonstrates not only Heavenly Christianity's accommodation with all kinds of faith, but also the fact that it has invented new possible meanings through a creative reading of the religions of the book. Now we shall turn to Ngounzism, another prominent prophetic religion in central Africa.

Ngounzism, a territorial religion?

From the 1920s onwards, that is, the middle of the colonial era, central African cities (mainly in Angola, Congo-Kinshasa and Congo-Brazzaville) experienced periods of considerable growth of religion, depending on the political context peculiar to each of these countries. This is true not only of official Churches of missionary origin, but also prophetic, messianic and neo-traditional Churches. The 'prophets', who their followers acknowledged as having a special ability to communicate with God and reveal his word, were often former Baptist or Salvationist catechists, trained in the Christian missions. God's presence in them was made manifest when they performed extraordinary deeds, in particular miracles of healing. These Churches claimed a special character for African Christianity alongside official Christianity, and sometimes proclaimed the emancipation and future supremacy of black people; their activities were monitored and repressed by the colonial power throughout French Equatorial Africa.

The four main movements that emerged during the inter-war period were Kimbangism, Ngounzism, prophetic Christianity (or Lassysm) and Matsouanism.⁵ These movements, which are now old but have become active again in recent years, are still prominent in the religious and political arena in Central African states. At present some of them are struggling with problems of succession following the death of their founder-prophet: succession through the family, development of a priesthood and centralization (as has happened

with the Kimbangist Church), adventism, or expectation of divine intervention designating a successor, in several other (Ngounzist) prophetic Churches. The different branches of Ngounzism have been very little studied, unlike Kimbangism, with which it has sometimes been confused. However, Kimbangism is simply a variant of Ngounzism (*ngounza* in Kongo means 'prophet'), whose dogma and ritual descend in a direct line from the beliefs of the founder Simon Kimbangou, except that in Kimbangism the Ngounzist inheritance is passed on through the family line (from father to son), with the succeeding prophets (founder-prophet and the prophets replacing him) following a tradition of religious and hereditary transmission of 'religious truth'. It is principally this appropriation of Kimbangou's spiritual legacy by one family that most of the other Ngounzist Churches contest.

Since the 1920s these Churches, which are very prominent in Angola and both Congos, have maintained the generic title of Ngounzist. This movement acknowledges Simon Kimbangou, but does not recognize any claim that he preceded or is superior to other prophets (or *ngounzas*). As far as the Ngounzist Churches are concerned, Kimbangou is just one prophet in a line of African prophets, who are mostly Kongo, some of whom were 'fellow travellers' and suffered deportation together. Urged on by the need of poor, hungry people searching for existential security in the face of constant wars, Ngounzist prophets and pastors travel from end to end of all three countries; and they are supported in this work by a common cultural heritage in the lower Congo and a long prophetic tradition created, among other factors, by the 'topos' of colonial and messianic suffering.

The permeability of borders not only encourages migration of people (mainly from Angola and Congo-Kinshasa into Congo-Brazzaville) for socio-economic reasons, but also the creation of cross-border networks for 'religious cooperation' between Churches sharing the same ideology. This is the case with the 'Church of the Holy Ghost in Africa', which is based in Nzieta in the lower Congo region (Democratic Republic of Congo) and has several Churches in Brazzaville (Congo Republic), especially in the southern part (where the WHO is based) and northern part of Talangai, as well as in Luanda (Republic of Angola). Following the death of the founder-prophet Massamba Esaïe his successor, the prophet Mangitukwa, also passed away in 1995. This is taken from the official published announcement:

The Church of the Holy Ghost in Africa, otherwise known as Ngounzist, that is, the Church of the prophets, is a veritable school of spirituality which accepts the bible as the sole source document for faith; the doctrine of the Church is based on the teachings of the prophets Mbumba Philippe, Massamba Esaïe and Mangitukwa Lukombo. The majority of the Church's activities are devoted to preaching the Gospel, healing the sick, casting out spirits and exorcism. It opposes fetishism, witchcraft, magic and superstition, and affirms that Jesus Christ is the one and only saviour of humankind.

The Church is at present without a prophet who can act as a focus for the various parishes scattered over the three countries of Central Africa, but is awaiting a sign from God that, according to a prophecy made by Mangitukwa just before his death, will choose a successor in the year 2000. There is in addition the 'Community of Churches of the Holy Ghost in Africa', led by the prophet Massamba Daniel, who presents himself as a direct disciple of the founder-prophet Mbumba Philippe, as well as the Congo United

Church of the Holy Ghost, led by Mavonda Ntangou, Massamba Esaïe's rival, both of whom were 'fellow travellers' of Kimbangou, who died aged 108 in Brazzaville on 8 July 1996. Despite these personal rivalries, there is 'religious cooperation' between these large groupings of Ngounzist Churches. This maps Ngounzism as a considerable religious movement, with the same prominence in all three countries and conferring on all its followers, through a common tradition of beliefs and healing practices, the strong sense of sharing the same religious identity, transcending national borders.

The principal doctrine of the United Church of the Holy Ghost is based on prayer, whose message comes from the bible. Usually the rite comprises two sections, the first being the service proper. Worshippers and *ngounzas*, all of them in white and wearing the distinguishing emblems of their status, first devote themselves to prayers of praise and exhortation, interspersed with hymns sung by female and male choirs to a musical accompaniment. The second part of the service is taken up with treating the sick. It begins with the blessing 'in the shadows'. With doors and windows closed, the congregation stands in two lines; an evangelist starts to run very fast between the worshippers, waving his white cloth, while psalms from the bible translated into the Kongo language are sung. Only the sick remain in the centre for the breaking of spells. The sick sit with their legs outstretched and their arms hanging by their sides, as each explains the problem to a consecrated *ngounza*, who attends to that individual. The *ngounza* walks round the sick person with his hand on their head, going faster and faster and then waving his white cloth, *kidimbu* ('sign'); next he places his hands on the sufferer's face, neck, shoulders and arms. After this the *ngounza* asks the patient to kneel and covers his head with the white cloth. Finally the *ngounzas* form a circle and pronounce a general blessing over the kneeling sick, who are now supposed to be released from their spells. After the ceremony of spiritual healing begins the spiritual 'weighing in the balance' inspired by the Pentecostalists: the officiating *ngounzas*, known as *muntwadissi*, 'measure' by touch the spiritual level reached by certain worshippers, who claim to have received spiritual gifts: the charisma for healing, hymn-singing, etc. Healing practices are based on prayer, holy water, the use of infusions and the waving of ritual 'handkerchiefs', and the vestments worn are white or red. The healing-confession and the 'weighing in the balance' are the high point of the healing ceremony, since this is the privileged moment when charismata are revealed among the *ngounzas*.

According to this first branch, anyone touched by the holy spirit might be a *ngounza* in the wider sense, whether this refers to an innate faculty of certain leading *ngounzas* or a faculty that comes to other people at a particular time and place, depending on purity of soul, ritual observance or intensity of prayer. The Holy Ghost, which is said to work through the medium of the *ngounza*, is thought to perform miracles, especially of a healing nature. These Ngounzist Churches, also called 'Churches of the Holy Ghost', insist on the bible as their authority and constantly appeal to the Holy Ghost in an attempt to emphasize their modernity. In general they have resulted from a merging of small Churches with a centralized form of organization. Their spiritual unity as regards religious truth, their identical rites and healing practices – whether in Congo-Kinshasa, Congo-Brazzaville or Angola – give them a common heritage of beliefs, despite personal rivalries among pastors. The presence of a personalized prophetic style as well as a pentecostal style, implying the sharing of charismata among all the faithful through the gift of the spirit, is the consequence of a constant to-and-fro between the traditions of the Churches of the

Holy Ghost, those of the Churches of the book and the predominantly oral tradition of the old African Churches, which were founded and led by local prophets largely from the Kongo cultural region.

However, a second branch has a much more radical mode of action: this is the prophet Auguste Tsoula's 'Universal Black Church of the *Ngounza* Way' (ENVUN). The prophet decided to modernize the *ngounza* religion by giving literate disciples the task of setting down the doctrine in writing. As their document 'Philosophical Study of the *Ngounza* religion (ENVUN) and its spiritual therapeutic action: the example of the Universal Black Church (ENVUN)' states:

The *Ngounza* religion is a black people's religion that arose in Central Africa, in particular in Congo-Kinshasa. Simon Kimbangu the '*Ngounza*', the Saviour, is the man through whom black people, especially the people of the Congo, came to know the true word of God for he had received the Holy Spirit from the Father as a subjective essence which leads us to know some of God's good gifts, and acts as an intermediary between the cosmic and human beings living on earth. The *Ngounza* religion rejects the constellation of gods, but accepts those who pray and believe in one God alone, he who created heaven and earth. The *Ngounza* religion is a religion for black people, a weapon in the struggle for peace, health and social justice, it is also the great wisdom of the *Ngounza*. Simon Kimbangu, as a worthy son of the Congo chosen by God to preach God's good news among the Congolese, showed himself to be perfect and obedient to the directions and advice he had received from God his Holy Father. The Holy Ghost come down to us is the one and only servant the *Ngounza* religion should accept (...), for only the Holy Ghost is able to communicate everything to the *Ngounza*. In order to safeguard or promote the sovereignty of religion, certain precepts – the spiritual laws, *Tsiku mia dibundu* – were received from God by Simon Kimbangu. Joining or being received into this religion does not require a financial contribution but rather examination of one's health first and then a pure desire; once they have shown this desire, applicants must be born again, that is, obtain from the religion God's baptism which will bring them within the ranks of God's children; they are considered to be genuine followers of the *Ngounza* religion and will receive the teachings of God's good news from *Ngounza* doctrine, through Simon Kimbangu. The *ngounza* believer must understand the practical value of the religion and its importance in the life of individuals and in society. In addition the *Ngounza* religion does not recognize any foreign saints, for example those from religions imported into the Congo by colonization. The *Ngounza* religion's only saints are the black man whose maturity in the love of humanity was vast, excellent and spiritual, those people who fight for the good of humankind and particularly for the black people of the Congo who believe in it; and the black soul alone lifts up the prayers we offer to God our Holy Father. All these instructions were received from God by Simon Kimbangu. On the social and humanitarian level, the *Ngounza* religion is important because it contains within it healing, [and] growing awareness of experience (...), we achieve health, peace, freedom and love of our neighbours (...). Through this religion we learn that God is also present among black people and black people realize they too were created by God. The Holy Ghost, which is subjective essence, can perceive evil, the good that affects people's lives, nature. To know the Holy Ghost intimately, we must follow God's precepts and act well whatever the situation we find ourselves in. The *Ngounza* Boula Mananga religion gives serenity because when people have been baptized in the spirit they try to act well so as not to fall into impurity; the *Ngounza* religion counsels the *ngounza* to walk alone or to avoid distasteful walks and contacts with those who are not baptized, for the *ngounza* must speak the same language (...) so people inspired by the Holy Ghost seldom walk with unbelievers and people inspired by the Holy Ghost must fix their attention on God. However, *Ngounza* doctrine refuses to treat the sick with infusions, for holy water alone

through the strength of the Holy Ghost is considered as the fundamental element to be used by the *Ngounza* to treat the sick and carry out any spiritual ceremony (. . .). The great richness of *Ngounza* doctrine as regards God's Salvation is teaching itself which brings peace, love, serenity, knowledge, education and health; thus the *Ngounza* religion does not erect any barrier between races, peoples, tribes (. . .). The *Ngounza* believes in one God, who created heaven and earth, and the teaching the *ngounza* receives comes from this one and only God, and all the great spiritual dimensions come from Him alone.

The insistence on the religion's monotheistic character, the allusions to both the Holy Ghost and the black prophets as the only mediators between human beings and God, the rejection of the use of infusions and the fixing of the dogma in writing are all part of the process of group identification of the *ngounza* religion and its constant search for modernity.

The third branch of Ngounzism is represented in all three of the countries already mentioned by the Boulamananga Churches; they also call themselves 'Churches of the *ngounza*', often even 'the true *ngounza*', but they do not give the same definition to the word *ngounza* as the Churches of the Holy Ghost. In the Boulamananga movement, which insists on its descent from the 'ancestors' tradition', the term *ngounza* has a dual meaning: it is reserved for certain religious leaders, evokes the 'powerful ancestors of the past' and the acquisition on initiation of supernatural powers of vision or action. The power of the *ngounza* is said to come from the Holy Ghost via Simon Kimbangu. Its followers also venerate Chimpa Vita (or Dona Beatrice) and André Matsoua Grenard, but the liturgical and therapeutic form are evocative of certain traditional Kongo rites.

These Churches reserve a special place for all the dead, who often have a particular service every week. There are many references to Christianity: neo-traditional food taboos justified by a literal reading of the bible; borrowings from forms of religiosity found in popular Catholicism in the veneration of St Michael, St Rita, St Raphael, etc.

It is important to note the role of new Boulamananga leaders in modernizing the rites and so attempting to make young people autonomous and to affirm a certain religious authority in a particular region corresponding to the Kongo cultural sphere of influence. As a place of memory and representation in the imaginary of the group's values (continuity of the myth relating to possession of the land, which is the property of the ancestors), the territory takes on a unity of meaning that persists over time.

In the final analysis, Heavenly Christianity and Ngounzism (whether from the neo-traditional or the Holy Ghost branch) are still adapting to the evolution of African societies and reassessing their practices, giving them a greater symbolic effectiveness by using saints' images and written texts, and by continuously incorporating into their liturgies and services new arrangements and practices brought by Pentecostalism – another new movement from outside that is very widespread in Africa. The emphasis placed on the value of the individual by the authority of both God and the ancestors, the struggle against malevolent forces (the devil and sorcerers), and the assumption of direct responsibility for individuals' problems through the spiritual work of healing (which acts through the work on the body) take people into a 'new intermediate life space', as Laennec Hurbon has it, because they access a new experience in a make-believe secular family of 'brothers and sisters in Christ'. Nevertheless, there are differences between Heavenly Christianity and Ngounzism. Although both foster a culture of networks, the culture of

Ngounzism is not trans-ethnic but bound up with the local identity, a culture of territory, in this instance the Kongo culture. Today, because of the considerable movement of young people of Kongo origin to Europe and America, one can find in the suburbs of cities such as Paris, Brussels, London and New York little Ngounzist Churches which are very much engaged in writing a unified history of Ngounzism. By contrast Heavenly Christianity, which has been spread more by movements of traders through Africa, Europe and America, is developing a culture that appears more trans-ethnic, less linked to territory.

However, these new African religious movements seem to be less dynamic than those related to Pentecostalism, more generally called Churches of Awakening, which constantly stress to their devotees that they belong to extensive world-wide, pan-African and local networks. It is noteworthy that the networks created as a by-product of religion compete with those that have been set up in the political sphere. So these Churches and their officials increasingly publicize their foreign links, but also the resources these bring in (bilateral cooperative ventures and international funds that are more and more frequently channelled through the Churches). The fact that pastors belong simultaneously to several of these networks, and normally have jobs, means they are able to centralize information, identify where decisions are made, position themselves at the interface and acquire power. These new religious movements in Africa are reaching into all levels of the population, both poor and literate. They are transforming each individual into a site of divine power, introducing new codes to live by and working to create new identities, even if these are illusory.

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(translated from the French by Jean Burrell)

Notes

1. G. Balandier (1953), *Messianismes et nationalismes en Afrique noire*, in *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vol. XIV (Paris, PUF), p. 43.
2. See publications by R. Bastide (1961), V. Lanternari (1962), H. Desroche (1963), W. E. Muhlmann (1968), M. Sinda (1972).
3. For a synoptic perspective the reader is recommended to see A. Kouvouama's preface and J.-C. Barbier's introduction to J.-C. Barbier, E. Dorier-Apprill, C. Mayrargue (1998), *Les formes contemporaines du christianisme en Afrique noire* (Bordeaux, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux, Les Bibliographies du CEAN no. 9).
4. J.-C. Barbier *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.
5. Matsoua himself had never claimed to be a prophet or attempted to found a Church.