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## **Emergence of the “Revival Churches” in the Congo, Kinshasa – What challenges does the Catholic Church face?**

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Our study will focus on the churches that are known as “*les Églises de reveil*” or “revival” in Kinshasa, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These Movements of Pentecostal inspiration are more successful in the popular sphere because of the space they accord to prayer for the grace of healing. Their apocalyptic proclamation of the immanent end of the world and the space attributed to satanic forces arouse the anxiety of the population which also explains, in general, their present success.<sup>1</sup> In 2011, Benedict XVI wrote in his Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation:

“Various syncretistic movements and sects have sprung up in Africa in recent decades. Sometimes it is hard to discern whether they are of authentically Christian inspiration or whether they are simply the fruit of sudden infatuation with a leader claiming to have exceptional gifts. Their nomenclature and vocabulary easily give rise to confusion, and they can lead people in good faith astray. These many sects take advantage of an incomplete social infrastructure, the erosion of traditional family solidarity and in- adequate catechesis in order to exploit people’s credulity, and they offer a religious veneer to a variety of heterodox, non-Christian beliefs. They shatter the peace of couples and families through false prophecies and visions. They even seduce political leaders” (*Africae Munus*, n. 91, 19 November 2011).<sup>2</sup>

The re-emergence and the vitality of these movements leave priests, bishops and lay people, politicians and anyone who wishes to grasp the meaning, the trends, as well as the implications of this on social life for the Christian faith, perplexed. In view of this situation some go so far as to ask themselves whether we are going towards a post-Catholic era.<sup>3</sup> May this not represent a great pastoral challenge to the Catholic Church which sees herself stripped of adherence. How can she react to this phenomenon?

After having analysed the reasons for the emergence of the Revival Churches in Kinshasa, we shall explore the challenges this expansion represents for our Catholic Church today, as well as the perspectives that this situation opens for a new evangelization.

### **Context of the appearance of the “Revival Churches” in Africa**

Although the Pentecostal Movement has been present in Africa since the 1920s, just two decades after the famous “*Revival*” (awakening) of Azusa Street in the United States, it has retained a relatively marginal institutional form for half a century, especially in the former French Colonies or in the regions where the Catholic Missions were in the majority. Inspired by the intensification of American Evangelism in Africa at the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s, this Movement first put its roots down in the Colonies with a strong Protestant Tradition namely in, Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Zambia, and naturally in South Africa. The Evangelical trend, central to the British missions,<sup>4</sup> was later radically transformed within post-colonial Christianity by

the Pentecostal Renewal. Thus, in the middle of the 1990s this renewal had spread over the whole continent with phenomenal growth, including in the French-speaking colonies with a high Christian population, such as in the Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Bénin and in Burkina Faso. Many of these countries were then "evangelized" by their neighbouring countries which started to implant churches, in the respective diaspora, that the local population gradually enlarged.

### **A new conception of salvation**

Strongly influenced by American "faith", usually qualified as "neo-Pentecostalism" by sociologists of religion, this new wave was distinguished from the old wave of "holiness" by its preaching, most often centred on "the doctrine of prosperity" and the "faith of the Gospel". In contrast to the previous one which recommended retirement from the world, this new global wave, became the dominant force of Pentecostalism in Africa and in Latin America during the 1980s. It laid stress on miracles, especially the miracle of prosperity, of instant health and "global spiritual healing".<sup>5</sup> While continuing to be very active in their churches, the Neo-Pentecostals took part in Prayer Groups within which the members manifested or awaited the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>6</sup>

After having accused the new Pentecostal Churches for ten years of having "stolen their ewes", many of the established Churches started to accept the communities and the Pentecostals' work. In a final effort to stop the exodus, the Catholic hierarchy became more and more tolerant of the "charismatic renewal" which many of their faithful and even members of the Clergy had embraced. This wind, which has been blowing over the world since the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, did not spare Kinshasa, capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo, which is abounding in Neo-Pentecostal Churches called "réveil" (Revival).

### **The background to the "réveil" (revival) trend in Kinshasa**

Just a few words about this evolution in the local context.<sup>7</sup> Before the "discovery" of the Congo by Diégo Cao in 1492, the peoples settled in this region at that time belonged to the Kingdom of Kongo, and they practised a certain form of religiosity linked to the so-called Traditional African Religions for whom the Supreme Being had a name: Almighty God.<sup>8</sup> This discovery was the occasion for the first contact between the Congo and the West and it unleashed a wave of evangelization. But this was countered on the missionary level because, among the many people who turned to Catholicism, very few were true converts. The second wave took place in about 1880. This was linked to the Protestant trend in the East of the Congo, with the un-avowed intention to stop the Arab sympathizers' invasion of this area.

In recalling the history of the religions in the Congo, one should remember the remarkable role Simon Kimbangu played. Today he is considered the forerunner of the renewal movement in the Congo. In fact, in 1921 this old Protestant catechist launched a particular reform based on the new African Catechism, with singing, dance and trance<sup>9</sup> against the background of socio-political demands. Later other movements arose, such as the *kitawala* and the *ngunzisme*.<sup>10</sup>

### **Changes after Independence**

Following Independence the religious landscape of the Congo underwent some profound changes. As regards the Catholic Church: the inculturation movement Cardinal Joseph Malula promoted was eventually successful, and adopted a form of religious worship which included some local cultural elements: language, song and dance: known as the Congo Rite. The Protestants of the different communities, namely: the Pentecostals, Baptists, Adventists, Presbyterians and

Lutherans, regrouped in the Church of Christ in the Congo. Meanwhile, the *kimnanguisme*, considered a subversive movement in the Colonial period, gained in dignity and became a fully-fledged church: The Church of Jesus-Christ on the Earth according to the prophet Simon Kimbangu.<sup>11</sup>

These religious regroupings, initially called *independent churches* and considered as such, today are called ‘neo-pentecostalist’, are an illustration of the globalisation of religion. Two important events mark their history, first, the arrival of American missionaries in the 1980s. In fact in 1980, a crucial year, Tommy Lee Osborn, the American Evangelist, arrived in Kinshasa. He was to have a powerful impact on the religious landscape of the DRC, then known as the Republic of Zaire, following a great campaign of evangelization and miraculous cures on Pont Kasa-Vubu Square, during the International Fair in Kinshasa. The second event happened in 1990, a pivotal year for the DRC, when a political breakthrough took place. With the crisis of the national economy and, especially the fall of Mobutu’s regime, the population of the Congo felt helpless as they searched for reliable reference points, identity, and pointers likely to resolve their numerous difficulties.<sup>12</sup>

The leaders of the ‘réveil’ (revival) trend announced that they felt they had been deceived by the established Churches. On the one hand, they reproached the Catholic Church for having hidden the Bible Truths for a long time, and the Protestant Church for being disorganized and, on the other, both of them for failing to express charisms, spiritual gifts, at their centre. However they admired the good organization of the Catholic Church and respected the readiness of the Protestants to show the Holy Scriptures to the faithful. Guided by the American missionaries, some bold Pastors founded some churches. At the start it was more a re-grouping of the faithful around a Shepherd, called Prayer Groups. These Shepherds claimed they could lead the Church with the help of spiritual gifts rather than a proper formation. Besides they did not give much importance to classical theological formation in order to reach the rank of *moto na nzambe, mosali na nzambe* or *mowumbu na nzambe*.<sup>13</sup>

### **The DRC is an over-Christianized country**

Some sociologists of religion maintain that the people of the Congo are “over-Christianized”.<sup>14</sup> In fact God is prayed to everywhere; it really is a fiesta for religions. As regards the reasons behind the up-surge of these religious movements, we will mention four basic points: man’s desire for self-realisation, the socio-economic and political factors, the effects and consequences of rapid industrialization and urbanization, and lastly the introduction of Christianity and its influence.

In the first place, regarding man’s desire for self-realisation, we shall simply recall that, due to his finitude, the human being is marked by a lack; it is as though he bore within himself a flaw constantly demanding to be filled. Thus, in his attempt to realise his aspirations, man sees fertile ground in religion, especially in the religious sects. His desire reaches exasperation in certain well-known situations that lead him to seek an immediate remedy to: illness, moral misery, material poverty, insecurity, which put his faith to the test. To distinguish between functional or spontaneous religion and the authentic Christian experience then becomes difficult.<sup>15</sup> Hence, this parching thirst and his aspirations drive man to find a religious or spiritual solution at all costs. So, he allows himself to be attracted by the miracle market of healing which certain religious groups with a

syncretic tendency propose. Here, in general, we shall refer to them as New Religious Movements (NRM) or “Revival Churches”.

### **Socio-economic and political crisis, Industrialization and Urbanisation**

In the DRC, as in other African countries, degradation is evident in various areas of life linked to the socio-political and financial crisis as well as to the State’s bad government which has failed to establish distributive justice. In this socio-political depression, the African feels seriously neglected. The African, in despair sometimes gives in to the proselytism of the sects and other religious movements. In such a state of bewilderment the African, in search of salvation, becomes an easy prey. For example, it is not surprising that sick people demand, at times at whatever cost, immediate relief from their suffering; that they be truly healed.

Linked to colonization, the phenomena of rapid industrialization and urbanization have deeply marked the mental framework and behaviour of many Africans.<sup>16</sup> The result of this is that, in the large cities and industrial centres, these people feel uprooted from their former group context and collective village life; deprived of valid reference points and of the dynamic clan community life on which they had previously depended. They have lost their social landmarks, their basic reference points. Therefore they are in search of a framework which can offer them beneficial human relations and help them to achieve the hoped-for well-being.

### **Method and effects of the introduction of Christianity**

In the opinion of the experts in these “new religions”, on its arrival from the West Christianity did not make any cultural compromises with the existing Traditional African Religions. The foreign missionaries brought the Bible, and straight away condemned without appeal the ancient beliefs and practices in order to substitute them with the Christian Tradition. The Christian religion, as the medium of a new cultural model, was not adequately interiorized.<sup>17</sup> As Daniel Dory has stressed, for the African, this conversion to Christianity implied a profound re-arrangement not only of his daily life with, for example, the prohibition of polygamy, but also of his outlook on life.<sup>18</sup>

In the face of their disrupted social fabric, the spiritual disarray and the profound socio-religious crises, the mass of Africans, in whom traditional knowledge survived, had recourse to the “prophets” of the new Churches in an attempt to recover the vital elements of their ancient cultural models that formerly upheld their overall behaviour.<sup>19</sup>

### **Doctrinal weakness and manipulation**

The Revival Churches found they were unprepared, had no consistent doctrinal corpus. Their pastoral action was often limited to: spontaneous reactions, the liturgy and the preaching of the Word as well as in the theological principles. Above all the theology of prosperity was preached, the ideology of spiritual combat, the philosophy of struggle against the customary submission to the family, the practice of deliverance, the technique of “sowing”.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, rather than promoting unity, the action of these Churches created perpetual division between members of the same family or of the neighbourhood. Thus, the Revival Churches caused a veritable social stale mate.<sup>21</sup>

Their catechesis and their pastoral service are mainly characterized by miraculous healing and spectacular conversion. When it is a question of converting the political élite, we would stress that such an attempt on their part aims, by deviant means, at obtaining the forgiveness of a naïf people, and indeed, according to a subtle political calculation, at recovering the power lost. Some élite groups think that, all in all, these Churches present an ideal area for political socialization; a favourable sphere for all sorts of political mobilization and propaganda.

### **Psychological and social havoc**

The psychological manipulation of the faithful by the pastors causes significant havoc in society. We shall merely cite as an example the phenomenon of “child sorcerers”, the spiritual or material swindling, homicide, sacred fornication, family break-ups, social marginalization or mental alienation; so much destruction that, as yet, has gone unpunished. In his song “*Elongi ya Jésus*” (the Face of Christ), Papa Wemba, the singer, derides the mercenary behaviour of these religious leaders, their deceptive business attitude.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, today some people view these Churches as shady places for receiving resources. In fact, on the basis of dimes, gifts, donations and various collections, these structures accumulate significant amounts of revenue, not subject to taxation. The off-hand mundane attitude of some of the religious leaders, who receive the illicit gains, seems to pass unnoticed. It is true, some of the leaders are starting to open public institutions, like hospitals or schools, financed by their respective Church; but any surplus goes to boost certain structures masked by such and such a reason, a public “foundation” for example.

### **What are the challenges for the Catholic Church?**

As Léonard Santedi has remarked, the high number of independent “sects” and movements among the masses reveals the peoples’ great spiritual unrest. Almost every African bears an emblem of his identity or of his religious crusade on the back of the lapel of his jacket. For many the upheaval and changes in the society of today has aroused uncertainty, confusion and the search of salvation/health in line with the Traditional models, read in accordance with certain truths and aspects of Christianity freely interpreted.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, despite the easily identified deviations of the movements that have just been mentioned, it is possible to credit them with some positive aspects. One observes the creation of new fraternities and symbols, the appearance of new values or virtues: work, sobriety, solidarity, self-reliance. There is a real effort to re-think the doctrine by bringing the figure of Christ the Saviour, Redeemer, Healer, etc., to the fore. The intensity and fervour of prayer are indisputable. There is a really serious re-examination of the Traditional African Cultures. A better integration of the positive values or the oral tradition employed as a plurality, a polysemy, of the message which facilitate its communication, once the exchange is coupled with an effort to match it to life, so that it corresponds to the needs and existential endeavours of the faithful. This means that all the members of these Churches share in the responsibility of the difficulties. Each one of whom, through witness, has a real opportunity to express him/herself in all freedom.<sup>24</sup> Some fairly important aspects of the neo-Pentecostal spirituality should also be stressed because they invite reflection on the way to live the Christian faith.

### **“Positive Mental Attitude” and the power of the word**

One element of this spirituality is positive thinking/“Positive Mental Attitude”.<sup>25</sup> This attitude is based on the conviction that in order to receive “spiritual deliverance” one must do whatever is necessary and do one’s best, one must think in terms of “gaining everything”. Even if our physical eyes see no proof and our senses feel nothing, one must believe that, in conformity with the word of God and his will, we are healed of our sickness (*cf.* Mk 9:23). To think positively, means to be self-confident. It is a way of imbuing one’s unconscious to the point of transforming it into spiritual energy.

In other words, positive thinking is a spiritual technique that strengthens faith in God and confidence in self. According to its advocates, everything that happens to man is the result of these thoughts. Such positive thought presents some similarities with “positive faith”<sup>26</sup> which perceives poverty, set-backs, illness, death and fear, as factors provoked by the daemon. Thus, by believing in one’s heart and by confessing with one’s lips, each human being can obtain not only salvation but everything else desired, especially health and prosperity, because “All things are possible for one who believes” (Mk 9:23).<sup>27</sup>

In encountering what he sees and what Satan suggests to him, the believer must assert that he has obtained everything he asked for. “Positive faith” is justified by the following logic: the physical state depends to a large extent on the emotional state and the affective life is profoundly guided by positive thoughts. Any negative attitude blocks and cancels the effects of positive faith.

According to neo-Pentecostal hermeneutics, the creative power of the human word influences the life and success of the human being; who experiences all that he has said in a positive or negative way. The word obeys a logic which goes beyond simple communication, and affects daily human life. To pronounce a word releases its power of suggestion. Thus, has a positive word the same power over healing and deliverance? “Let the children first be fed, for it is not right to take the children’s bread and throw it to the dogs’. But she answered him, ‘Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs under the table eat the children’s crumbs’. And he said to her, ‘For this saying you may go your way; the demon has left your daughter’” (RSV, Mk 7:27, 28). Many seem to think it does on the strength of the Syro-phoenician woman’s response to Jesus.

### **The background to African thought**

In the African Religions too, the word “word” is a key word. In Africa, the pre-eminence of the word is linked above all to its psychosomatic function. The different African societies actually consider the word, well-being, as a fundamental element of cohesion of the group and of human life.<sup>28</sup> The everyday word, with its stereotyped expressions, quotations and references, still today appears as a privileged medium of the well-being of humanity. The word, namely its customary link to sacred power, linked to action, has equally an important magical function; for example the incantations during the traditional rites of healing, of sorcerers, or the proclamation of taboos; actions susceptible to exercise an influence on the physical world, on events or on the life of human beings. One also uses words to curse.

Through the word, both the African’s body and psyche are involved in healing. Body and word are strictly linked, both are perceived as elements belonging to the very essence of man which they represent or shape. Such a conception implicitly leads to the idea of a creator word: to evoke

something by pronouncing the word is to call it into existence. Thus, as in the neo-Pentecostal hermeneutic so in African thought, the power of the word has a fundamental place.

### **A renewed approach to pastoral work**

It is clearly in the challenges to human life and in the awareness of the realities of life that the sects' "success" lies. It is an incontestable fact. Indeed, even if one were to refer to rationalism or to the progress of psycho-analysis and of modern medicine, to seek to ignore this reality would be hypocrisy, ignorance or cynicism. But, on the other hand, this apostolate cannot be left to the free initiative of certain pastors who, anxious to play the guru or appear to be miracle workers, hurry to hold, in any situation of suffering, without discernment, interminable sessions of deliverance and of prayer for healing, even resorting to exorcism.<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, it is urgent that the Catholic Church set up a renewal pastoral programme for health and healing. To avoid improvisation and anarchy, this ministry demands that the African Bishops visualize and draw up a sound, appropriate pastoral theology programme in this area. Meinrad Hebig has even suggested at the level of the Bishops' Conference, the creation of African rituals. He stated: "It is time to set up a diaconate to minister to inculturated patients/people. We must not take refuge in vapid scientific language, in the name of psychoanalysis or of the demythicisation of the evangelized. Let us trust in the powerful word of Jesus Christ, and let us fulfil the ministry he entrusted to us".<sup>30</sup>

Naturally all this must be done in a sensible way. Our firm conviction is that to be faithful to the Gospel perspective, any triumphalism, propaganda tendencies, a taste for pathos and gain must be left aside. It should also be noted that to absolutise sickness would be to put the faith in danger. In a very deep study, someone as well informed as René De Haes has suggested that the response to the attraction of the sects in the area of illness and healing would be found in the holistic and eschatological perspective.<sup>31</sup> Avoiding to concentrate uniquely on the bodily aspect, the Christian must also attend to the healing of the soul, of the total human healing by Jesus Christ, in line with St Paul's view (II Cor 4:16 – 5:1). In this sense, we can only uphold a pastoral of health care which views man in each of his dimensions, as much cultural as social, somatic as spiritual, and in the perspective of the Coming of the Kingdom.<sup>32</sup>

### **An indicator on the instrument panel**

To summarise, we agree with many authors in placing the causes for the exponential appearance of the sects on two levels. On the one hand, the post-colonial industrialization and urbanization of the Traditional African Societies, coupled with a particular form of evangelization which developed in Africa and, on the other, the confusion of individuals assailed by a mass of unforeseen difficulties when they were almost totally deprived of the community support of their collective social group life, synonymous of havens of peace. Thrust into an anonymous society where distance distresses, marginalizes and engenders fear; whereas proximity gives security, soothes and pleases. Instead of bearing their questions and existential difficulties alone, the people turned to these Churches "*de reveil*" which promised them immediate and miraculous solutions.

Regarding the syncretic movement of these sects, Benedict XVI wrote further in his Apostolic Exhortation:

"The Church's theology and pastoral care must determine the causes of this phenomenon, not only in order to stem the haemorrhage of the faithful from the parishes to the sects, but also in order to

lay the foundations of a suitable pastoral response to the attraction that these movements and sects exert. Once again, this points to the need for a profound evangelization of the African soul” (*Africae Munus*, n. 91).

The success of the “*Églises de réveil*” (Revival Churches) in the Congo-Kinshasa is certainly a beacon that should be taken into account when plotting the course of the established Churches. Thus, we are called to keep in mind the practical reality the people experience and so set up appropriate theological as well as pastoral infrastructures to instruct and to form the population on the meaning of sickness and suffering. A reflection on the sudden emergence of the neo-Pentecostal Churches should involve us, in line with Benedict XVI’s proposal, in a serious, sustained effort to spread the Gospel.

#### FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> See Éric De Rosny in *Citadins et ruraux en Afrique subsaharienne*, Cahier de l’U.C.A.C., n. 4, Karthala, 1999, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict XVI, *Africae Munus*, 19 November 2011, n. 91.

<sup>3</sup> See Joseph Ntedika Konde, in “*Les nouveaux mouvements religieux: évangélisation et développement*”, FCK (*Facultés Catholiques de Kinshasa*), 1997, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See Ruth Marshall, “L’explosion des pentecôtismes”, in *Esprit*, March-April 2007, p. 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>6</sup> See Gabriel Tchongang, in L’harmattan, Paris, 2009, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> See José Mvuzolo Bazonzi, in CEP (*Centre d’Études Politiques*), Kinshasa University, 2006.

<sup>8</sup> See Paul Mbunga Mpindi, in “*Perspectives Réformées Internationales*”, Conference in Kinshasa, 15 July 2004, pp. 5-8.

<sup>9</sup> Trance is a common phenomenon during services. It can be obtained by simply relaxing the body and concentrating on one’s breathing; stage two is to empty one’s mind, but its use can lead to some confusion with other modified states of awareness.

<sup>10</sup> See José Mvuzolo Bazonzi, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 4

<sup>12</sup> See Émilie Raquin, in Didier Pidika Mukawa and Gérard Tchouassi, (dir.), *Afrique Centrale: crises économiques et mécanismes de survie*, Dakar, Codesria, 2005, p. 289.

<sup>13</sup> In the Lingala language these appellatives literally mean: “man of God”, “servant of God”, and “slave of God” and are in current use in Kinshasa to designate a pastor. This expression is popular with the leaders of the churches “de réveil” (revival).

<sup>14</sup> We have borrowed Vicky Elongo Lukulunga’s expression, in *Congo-Afrique*, n. 368, Kinshasa, CEPAS, 2002, p. 463.

<sup>15</sup> See Nicolas Djomo Lola, in *Sectes, cultures et sociétés; les enjeux spirituels du temps présent. Actes du quatrième colloque International*, CERA, FCK, 1994, p. 485.

<sup>16</sup> See Gaston Mwene Batende, in *Philosophie africaine face aux libérations religieuses, Actes de la XI<sup>e</sup> semaine philosophique de Kinshasa*, FCK, 1990, pp. 122-124.

<sup>17</sup> See Gaston Mwene Batende, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup> See Daniel Dory, in *Mondes en développement* XVII-65, 1989, p. 50. Also Joseph Bouchaud, in *L’Église en Afrique Noire*, La Palatine, Paris, 1958; and especially Joseph Mathiam, in *L’Afrique Noire depuis la Conférence de Berlin*, CHEAM, 1985, pp. 211-224.



- <sup>19</sup> Gaston Mwene Batende, in *Sectes, cultures et sociétés. Les enjeux spirituels du temps présent*, CERA, FCK, 1994, pp. 37-38.
- <sup>20</sup> “Semer” / to sow, as used by the Evangelical Churches in the DRC means to donate money or other goods to one’s church. Since more than 70% of the people live on less than \$ 1 a day, they are attracted by the “Gospel of prosperity”.
- <sup>21</sup> See José Mvuzolo Bazonzi, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- <sup>22</sup> See Fadiey Lovsky, in *Réveil, Digeste Chrétien*, n. 15, Paris, April 1952, p. 14.
- <sup>23</sup> See Léonard Santedi Kinkupu, *Les défis de l’évangélisation dans l’Afrique contemporaine*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, p. 30.
- <sup>24</sup> See Joseph Ntedika Konde, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- <sup>25</sup> In English the phrase “Positive Mental Attitude” (PMA) means that a thought, in harmony with the universe, is positive if it obtains well-being for oneself. It should be sought through relaxation, visualization, affirmation.
- <sup>26</sup> See Jimi Philippe Zacka, *Possessions démoniaques et exorcismes dans L’Évangile de Marc*, Paris, Institut protestant de théologie, 2007, p. 64.
- <sup>27</sup> See David Yonggi Cho, *Une direction spirituelle pour un nouveau millénaire*, Felleries, Eternity Publishing House, 2004, pp. 113-114.
- <sup>28</sup> See Pierre Diarra and Cécile Leguy, *Paroles imagées. Le proverbe au croisement des cultures*, Rosny-sous-Bois, Bréal, 2004; Dominique Casajus, Paris, in *La découverte*, 2000, p. 31; Geneviève Calame-Griaule, in *Ethnologie et langage*, Paris, Institut d’ethnologie, 1987, p. 360.
- <sup>29</sup> See Léonard Santedi Kinkupu, *Les défis de l’évangélisation, op. cit.*
- <sup>30</sup> Meinrad Pierre Hebga, in *CRA (Cahiers des religions africaines)* 1993-1994, p. 419; *et al.*
- <sup>31</sup> See René De Haes, “*Sectes et guérison*”, in *CRA*, 1993-1994, p. 417.
- <sup>32</sup> See Léonard Santedi Kinkupu, *Les défis de l’évangélisation... op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>33</sup> Benedict XVI, *Africae Munus*, n. 91.  
In *SPIRITUS*, “*Revue d’expériences et recherches missionnaires*”, n. 216, September 2014.