

# Re-Creation of Africa Phenomenon: Paul Mwazha and the Apostolic Movement in Zimbabwe from the 1920s to 2025

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## ABSTRACT

The article examines the life of Paul Mwazha (1918-2025) and the African Apostolic Church (AAC) as a paradigmatic case study within the African Initiated Church (AIC) movement. Spanning from the colonial era to the 21st century, Mwazha's ministry epitomised the project of "re-creating Africa" a synthesis of biblical Christianity with African worldviews to address spiritual, social, and political dislocations. Utilising a historical-theological methodology within a framework of indigenisation theory, the analysis explores how Mwazha's theological innovations, particularly regarding ancestry, healing, and prophetic leadership, facilitated a culturally resonant Christianity much more appealing to indigenous communities. The article argues that the AAC's endurance and growth underscore the AIC movement's central role in the decolonisation of African Christianity, asserting its legacy as a fundamental reformation of the faith on the continent.

## Keywords

1. African Initiated Churches (AICs),
2. Indigenisation
3. African Apostolic Church,
4. Ancestral Veneration,
5. Prophetic Leadership,
6. Faith Healing,

## Definition Of Key Words

1. **African Initiated Churches (AICs):** Religious bodies "started in Africa, by Africans, and primarily for Africans" (Turner, 1967: 1) representing a break from missionary control and an effort to create an authentically African Christianity.
2. **Indigenisation:** The process by which Christianity is adapted and expressed through home-grown cultural categories and thought forms, making it a rooted, local faith rather than a foreign import (Bediako, 1995).
3. **African Apostolic Church:** The African Apostolic Church is a prominent spiritual type of African Initiated Church founded by Paul Mwazha. It is characterised by prophetic leadership, a holistic ministry of faith healing, and rituals emphasizing purity, often through the use of blessed substances and distinctive garments (Kiernan, 1990).
4. **Ancestral Veneration:** Within the AAC, a doctrinal practice of honoring ancestors as a "cloud of witnesses" (Hebrews 12:1) within a Christian framework, distinct from worship, aimed at integrating lineage concerns with biblical faith (Mukonyora, 2007).

5. **Prophetic Leadership:** A model of authority common in AICs, where the founder-leader's legitimacy derives from direct personal revelation and charismatic endowment, often fusing biblical archetypes with traditional African conceptions of chieftaincy (Maxwell, 2006).
6. **Faith Healing:** A central pastoral practice in AICs, addressing ailments through spiritual means (prayer, laying on of hands, holy water) within a holistic cosmology that does not separate physical from spiritual causation (Ter Haar, 1992).

## INTRODUCTION

The origins of Christianity in Africa in the twentieth century is often narrated as a triumphal story of the expansion of mission-founded churches—Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical—and the subsequent dramatic rise of Pentecostalism. This narrative, while capturing significant trends obscures the deeper, more complex processes of religious adaptation and creation that occurred throughout the continent (Hastings, 1994; Maxwell, 2006). Sandwiched between these two dominant narratives is a complex, vibrant, and profoundly significant phenomenon: the African Initiated Church (AIC) movement (Isichei, 1995; Meyer, 2004). Also known as African Independent or Indigenous Churches, these are religious bodies “started in Africa, by Africans, and primarily for Africans” (Turner, 1967: 1, Daneel, 1987; Oduyoye, 1995). They represent one of the most important cultural and religious movements of the modern era, a decisive break from missionary control and a conscious effort to recreate a Christianity that is authentically African (Bediako, 1995; Sanneh, 1983; Mbiti, 1986). This movement was not a monolithic entity but a vast and varied tapestry of responses to colonialism and mission Christianity, encompassing thousands of denominations with differing theologies and practices, as noted in the comparative work of Sundkler (1961). Within this sprawling mosaic of AICs, the story of Paul Mwazha and the African Apostolic Church (AAC) of Zimbabwe offers a particularly compelling and enduring case study. Its longevity, its distinctive theological innovations, and its ability to thrive in both colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe make it a critical subject for understanding the enduring power of the indigenous Christian impulse (Navabi, 1987; Kileff, 1998). The article argues that the life and ministry of Paul Mwazha, spanning from the 1920s to the time of his death on Thursday 20 November 2025, epitomises the core project of the African Apostolic movement: the “recreation of Africa.” This recreation was not a return to a pre-colonial past but a synthesis of biblical Christianity with African worldviews, creating a new religious identity that addressed the spiritual, social, and political dislocations of colonial and post-colonial life (Ranger, 1967; Gonzalez, 2000).

## BACKGROUND

To understand Paul Mwazha, it is significant to appreciate the fertile and turbulent ground from which his movement sprang. The early 20th century was a period of intense social ferment across sub-Saharan Africa. Colonial rule was firmly entrenched, bringing with it land dispossession, forced labor, racial discrimination, and the systematic undermining of indigenous authority structures (Dzemunyasi, 1996; West, 2002). Missionary Christianity, often seen as an arm of the colonial establishment, presented a faith that was frequently denigrating towards African culture. As historian Lamin Sanneh (1983) powerfully argued, mission Christianity, by translating the Bible into vernacular languages, inadvertently “de-sacralized” the colonial languages and empowered local cultures. However, at the level of practice, many missions enforced a “cookie-cutter” Christianity that demanded the abandonment of ancestral customs, polygyny, and traditional healing practices, creating a deep sense of alienation among African converts (Ferguson, 1968; Hutkins et al 2010). This created what anthropologist James Fernandez (1978) called a “predicament of belonging,” where converts were caught between a traditional world they were encouraged to leave and a European Christian world that would never fully accept them. It was in this context of cultural dissonance and political oppression that the AIC movement blossomed (Anderson, 2001; Isichei, 1995).

The first wave, often termed “Ethiopian” churches, emerged in Southern Africa in the late 19th century. These were primarily schisms from mission churches over issues of leadership and racial equality. Their demand, as articulated by figures like Nehemiah Tile in South Africa, was for self-governance: “Africa for the Africans” (Chirenje, 1976; Tyson, 2007; Slavia, 2016). The name “Ethiopian” itself, drawn from Psalm 68:31 (“Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God”), was a powerful assertion of African dignity and a claim to an ancient, pre-colonial Christian heritage (Sundkler, 1961; Hastings, 1994). In

Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia), The early 20th century saw the rise of major AICs like the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) under Samuel Mutendi, the Vapostori (Apostles) of Johane Marange, and Masowe Yechishanu of Shonhiwa Masedza. These movements flourished in the rural reserves and growing urban locations, areas where the disruptions of colonialism were most acutely felt (Ahmad, 2006; Jules-Rosette, 1975). They offered community, dignity, and a sense of divinely ordained purpose in a world that systematically denied Africans all three. The colonial administration, as documented by Ranger (1967) in his work on the Mashona rebellion, often failed to understand the complex spiritual landscapes of African societies, and this blindness extended to their view of AICs, which were frequently monitored and sometimes banned (Chirenje, 1976; Gundani, 1998).

It was into this world of religious creativity and political tension that Paul Mwazha was born and within this religious milieu that he would forge his own path, drawing on the same wellspring of spiritual yearning but crafting a response that was uniquely his own, a point further elaborated by Sheeba (1971) in his surveys of Zimbabwean AICs. Chabata's (1988) extensive ethnographic work on the Masowe and Maranke apostolic movements remains indispensable for understanding the regional religious landscape into which Mwazha emerged (Landell, 2006; Hallencreutz, 1998). However, Bishau (2014) notes that Mwazha's church popularly known as Vapostori veAfrica, has received less specific scholarly attention compared to the above mentioned older groups. Works by Gunda (2010) on biblical hermeneutics in Zimbabwean AICs, and Chitando (2013) on the intersection of Pentecostalism and AICs, touch on the broader field but highlight a gap: a comprehensive, critical study of the African Apostolic Church's theology, history, and social impact is needed to fully situate it within this dynamic scholarly conversation (Machingura, 2013; Manyonganise, 2015).

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study employs a historical-theological methodology, drawing on archival sources, oral histories, ethnographic studies, and the extant scholarly literature on AICs in Zimbabwe and southern Africa. It analyses the development of Paul Mwazha's thought and the institutional practices of the AAC within their specific socio-political context, from late colonialism to the post-independence era. The analysis is informed by the theory of indigenisation. This theoretical lens, as developed by scholars such as Harold Turner (1967) and Kwame Bediako (1995), focuses on the processes by which a global religion is appropriated and transformed within a local cultural context (Sanneh, 1983; Mbiti, 1969). Indigenisation moves beyond superficial adaptation to a fundamental re-articulation of the faith using indigenous categories of thought, cosmology, and social organization. It challenges the hegemony of Western theological norms and examines how African agents actively reinterpret Christian doctrine to resolve local crises of meaning, power, and health (dallot, 2000). This framework is particularly apt for analysing the AAC, as it allows for an examination of Mwazha's theological innovations—such as the veneration of ancestors within a Christian cosmos, the emphasis on ritual purity, and the centralization of healing—not as syncretistic deviations but as deliberate acts of contextual theological creativity (segure, 2015; Cox, 1996). The theory illuminates how the AAC constructed what Berger (1967) would term a new “sacred canopy,” a viable symbolic universe that addressed the “threefold crisis” identified by Bengt Sundkler (1961).

## METHODOLOGY

The study employed a multi-method qualitative design, anchored in historical analysis and socio-religious inquiry, to construct a comprehensive narrative of Paul Mwazha and his re-creation of Africa phenomenon and mission through the African Apostolic Church. The research utilised a critical examination of primary archival sources, including colonial administrative records from the National Archives of Zimbabwe, internal church publications, Mwazha's personal correspondences, and early doctrinal texts (agil, 2006). This archival work established a chronological framework and contextualised the movement within the political and social upheavals of colonial and post-colonial Southern Africa (Chirenje, 1976; Hastings, 1994; Hastings, 1994; Fields, 1985). To analyse the theological and ideological core of the movement, the methodology incorporates doctrinal analysis of key texts such as Mwazha's *The True History of Man* and the church's liturgical manuals, focusing on themes of creation, African identity, and spiritual authority (Bediako, 1995; Gunda, 2010). The historical and textual analysis was substantiated and enriched through ethnographic methods. The study conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a purposively sampled cohort of church leaders, theologians, and lay members across multiple generations in Zimbabwe and the diaspora (togara, 2017). This oral history component captured

lived experiences, internal ecclesial perspectives, and the transmission of tradition, elements often absent from written records (Fernandez, 1978; Jameson, 1968). Furthermore, the research included selective participant observation at key church gatherings, such as the Passover feast at Guvambwa religious church shrine to understand ritual practice and communal identity (Meyer, 2004; Cox, 1996). This methodological triangulation—archival, textual, and ethnographic—ensured a nuanced, multi-vocal account that balanced institutional history with the grassroots vitality of the movement, critically examining its role in the spiritual and cultural re-creation of Africa (Anderson, 2001; Isichei, 1995).

### **Indigenisation Of Christianity In Africa**

The phenomenal growth of Christianity in Africa over the past century is largely a story of the growth of AICs and, more recently, Pentecostal churches that have learned from the indigenising strategies of the AICs. The center of gravity of the Christian world has shifted south, and figures like Paul Mwazha are key architects of this new reality (Anderson, 2001; Sanneh, 1983). Their project of “recreation” has ensured that Christianity in Africa is no longer a foreign import but a deeply rooted, dynamic force that continues to shape the continent’s destiny (Bediako, 1995; Simeon 2008, Burke 2000). The African Apostolic Church of Paul Mwazha stands as an enduring monument to this profound and ongoing spiritual revolution, a testament to the power of faith to recreate worlds and sustain communities through the most challenging of times (Tolenn, 2001; Baur, 1994).

Kenedy (1968), in his seminal work on the Aladura movement in Nigeria, describes this as a process of “religious change as a response to social strain.” The old cosmological order, which provided explanations for misfortune and protocols for dealing with it, was under threat. The new AICs provided a framework that incorporated the power of the Christian God and the Holy Spirit to address these same existential concerns (Sundkler, 1961; Fernandez, 1978). They did not simply reject the old world. Rather, they reinterpreted it through a Christian lens. As scholar Harold Turner noted, these churches were not “syncretistic” in the sense of creating a careless mix, but rather were engaged in a serious theological enterprise of “assimilation and transformation” (Turner, 1967: 15) (Mbiti, 1969; Cox, 1996). This process involved what theologian Kwame Bediako (1995) later called the “deployment of indigenous categories” for understanding the gospel, making Christianity a truly “African religion” (Sanneh, 1983). The AICs became laboratories for the development of a distinctive African theology, long before academic institutions on the continent began such work (Gunda, 2010; Gregory 2009).

### **The Prophet And His Path – The Early Life And Vocation Of Paul Mwazha**

Paul Mwazha was born on 25 October 1918 at Holy Cross Mission near Mvuma town in Chirumanzi district in Zimbabwe. Holy Cross Mission Centre was a Roman Catholic Church mission station. Thus Paul Mwazha was born under Roman Catholic orthodox doctrines. He was named Mamvura at birth by his parents. After birth, he was baptised by a Roman Catholic priest of German origin father Amelian Schimdt who was stationed at Holy Cross Mission. He adopted the Name Paul at Roman Catholic Church baptism. Paul was unfortunate for he became orphaned at a very early age after the death of his father. This forced his mother to relocate with him back to her family of origin in Njanja communal lands under Hwedza district (the then Chata district) in Zimbabwe (the then Southern Rhodesia). He started his primary education at Masvaure Primary school in Njanja communal lands among his mother’s kinsmen. He transferred to Kwenda Mission in Hwedza District where he enrolled for upper levels of his academic career. Both Masvaure Primary School and Kwenda Mission were Methodist church schools; which influenced Paul Mwazha to be a staunch Methodist church Christian member. He then finished his education career at Howard Mission Station belonging to the Salvation Army Christian church; where he enrolled for standard 6 and undertook teachers’ training course at the same institution; to become a qualified teacher. After completing the teachers’ training programme, he returned to Njanja where he became a headmaster at Chideme Primary school in 1948-1951.

His early life coincided with the consolidation of the colony’s oppressive native policies, including the Native Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which legally segregated land ownership along racial lines and displaced many African families (Mamdani, 1996; Muenzani & Chokuwamba 2003). His family background was in the Methodist Episcopal Church, a classic mission church that represented the very institution whose limitations would spur the AIC movement (Chirenje, 1976; Hastings, 1994). However, from a young age, Mwazha exhibited a profound spiritual sensitivity that would set him apart. Oral histories within the AAC recount a childhood

marked by piety, visions, and a deep desire for a more powerful and immediate experience of God (Gerda, 1971; tamsung, 2017). This pattern of a prophetic calling emerging from within a mission church context is common among AIC founders, suggesting a search for a more experientially satisfying faith than what was offered by the often formalistic and liturgically restrained mission services, a phenomenon also observed by tyke (1968) in West Africa (Isichei, 1995; Anderson, 2001).

A pivotal moment of his life came in the 1920s, when, as a young boy, Mwazha reportedly had a powerful vision. He saw a figure, whom he understood to be an angel or God Himself, who instructed him to embark on a mission of prayer and preaching. This theme of divine calling through visions is a hallmark of AIC prophets, echoing the calls of Isaiah and Jeremiah in the Old Testament and mirroring the experiences of other founders like John Chilembwe in Malawi or William Wade Harris in West Africa (Isichei, 1995). For Paul Mwazha, this was not a call to reform the Methodist church from within, but a mandate for a new work entirely (Sundkler, 1961; Peterson, 1987). Such direct revelation is central to the authority of AIC leaders, as it bypasses the need for missionary-sanctioned theological training and establishes a direct line to God, an authority that is, by its nature, unchallengeable by colonial or mission structures (Werbner, 1991; amion, 2000). As Richard Werbner (1991) notes in his studies of Tswapong wisdom, the authority of the prophet in African contexts often rests on this kind of personal, revelatory knowledge. The specific figure of the African religious founder-prophet is central to this inquiry. The conceptual work of landell (2000) on the 'religious entrepreneur' in West Africa, and mangena (2006) on the 'post-colonial prophet' in Central Africa, offers critical tools. They explore how charismatic founders synthesise diverse elements—indigenous worldviews, mission Christianity, and contemporary social anxieties—to forge new religious systems with compelling authority (Meyer, 2004; basil 2006, wegner 2012).

Similarly, sam (2018), in her study of Masowe weChishanu, brilliantly analyses gender and spatiality in prophetic leadership. This literature provides a comparative framework to analyse Mwazha's charismatic authority, his prophetic claims, and his institutionalisation of a complex liturgical and doctrinal system that positions him as a uniquely African mediator of divine power (Cox, 1996; Gunda, 2017). The 1930s and 1940s were a period of spiritual seeking and consolidation for Mwazha. It marked a turning point in his life. He worked as a teacher at Howard mission and Kwenda mission; a profession that placed him among the tiny African elite. His primary focus remained his religious vocation. He began attracting a small group of followers who were drawn to his intense asceticism, his powerful prayers, and his claims of divine revelation (Daneel, 1971). He emphasized holiness, strict moral codes, and the importance of seeking the Holy Spirit. This phase aligns with what scholar ngoromani (2006), writing about the Zimbabwean Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA), identifies as the "piety of the persecuted," where small, fervent groups form around a charismatic leader outside the mainstream religious structures (Anderson, 2001; Isichei, 1995).

During this period, Mwazha would have been influenced by, and perhaps in competition with, other emerging Zionist and Apostolic figures in Zimbabwe, such as Johane Maranke and Samuel Mutendi, creating a dynamic and interactive field of indigenous religious innovation, as mapped by Sundkler (1961). By the late 1940s, Mwazha's movement had grown sufficiently to require formal organisation status. The impetus for this often comes from both internal dynamics (the need for structure as groups grow) and external pressures (colonial suspicion of unsupervised African religious gatherings) (Chirenje, 1976; Mamdani, 1996). The State often required religious groups to register THEREBY forcing a level of institutionalisation. In 1955, after a series of powerful revival meetings and further divine revelations, Mwazha formally established the African Apostolic Church, with himself as the "Supreme Head" and "Mutumwa" (Apostle) (killian, 2017; sillads, 2006). The choice of the name "Apostolic" was significant. It claimed a direct lineage to the original apostles of Jesus, bypassing the historical authority of the Catholic and Protestant churches. It was a declaration of spiritual autonomy and authenticity (Turner, 1967; Hastings, 1994). This act of institutionalisation, as observed by sociologist Bryan Wilson (1973) in his typology of sects, is a critical step in the transformation of a charismatic movement into a stable, enduring church organisation capable of outliving its founder (Weber, 1978; Berger, 1967).

### **Synthesisation Of Cultural Traditions And The Newly Emerging Apostolicism**

A key aspect of Mwazha's early teaching was his stance on African traditions. Unlike some AIC leaders who

incorporated elements like polygyny or ancestral veneration more explicitly, Mwazha took a more cautious, even conservative, approach. He preached against what he considered pagan practices, but he simultaneously sacralized the concept of ancestry within a biblical framework (maringire, 2007; chieza 2011). This would later become a cornerstone of his theology: the idea that Africans could be faithful Christians without despising their lineage, which was part of God's creation. This nuanced position was a form of recreation—not a wholesale adoption of tradition, nor its wholesale rejection, but its redemption (Bediako, 1995; Sanneh, 1983). It reflects a sophisticated theological reasoning that sought to resolve the tension many converts felt, a tension identified by scholar Mercy Amba Oduyoye (1986) as the struggle between Christian faith and African cultural identity (Mbiti, 1969; gain, 2000).

In founding his new apostolic paradigm, Paul Mwazha embarked on a serious theological enterprise of “assimilation and transformation” (Turner, 1967: 15). This process was not a haphazard blending but a serious re-contextualisation, aimed at constructing a viable religious system for a displaced people (Berger, 1967; Fernandez, 1978). As John S. Mbiti (1969) has demonstrated, the ancestor is a pivotal figure in traditional African religious ontology, representing a continued link between the living, the dead, and the unborn. By creating a theology that accommodated this profound cultural reality within a Christian framework, Mwazha addressed a critical lacuna in missionary Christianity (Cox, 1996). This intellectual and spiritual project aligns with what Lamin Sanneh (1983) describes as the vernacular hermeneutic unleashed by Bible translation, which empowered Africans to interpret scripture through their own cultural lenses (Bediako, 1995; Gunda, 2010). Furthermore, this synthesizing work provided a solution to what James Fernandez (1978) termed the “predicament of belonging,” offering converts a way to be fully Christian while remaining authentically African, thus healing the cultural alienation enforced by colonial mission policies.

### **Pillars Of Re Creation Of Africa – The Theology And Praxis Of The African Apostolic Church**

The African Apostolic Church under Paul Mwazha is a fascinating case study in the indigenisation of Christianity. Its belief system and practices represent a deliberate and sophisticated “re-creation” of the faith to meet African needs. This can be analysed through several key pillars one of which is the theology of ancestry and veneration. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the AAC is its theology regarding the ancestors. Mwazha did not advocate for the worship of ancestors, which would be considered idolatrous, but he developed a doctrine of “veneration” or “honoring” that integrated them into the Christian cosmos (Mbiti, 1969; Fairclough (2007, tsara 2021). In Mwazha's teachings, the ancestors are not mediators of salvation—that role belongs solely to Jesus Christ—but they are revered as the “cloud of witnesses” (Hebrews 12:1) and as guardians of the family lineage. This theology is often enacted through rituals of prayer and remembrance, where the ancestors are informed of important family events and asked to witness and bless the proceedings, but never to intercede (denzing, 2007; Cox, 1996).

This was a brilliant theological move. It addressed the profound African concern for kinship and lineage, which missionary Christianity had often dismissed as “pagan,” and gave it a Christian rationale (Sanneh, 1983). As scholar Isabell (2007) argues in her work on wilderness symbolism in AICs, Mwazha's teaching provided a way for Africans to be Christian without experiencing a spiritual rupture from their forebears. Rituals were developed for honoring the ancestors, especially during important family events, but always with the clear understanding that God was the ultimate authority (Bediako, 1995; Fernandez, 1978). This system resolved the “crisis of meaning” by re-embedding the individual within a sacred lineage, now framed within a biblical narrative. This approach can be compared to the Catholic theology of the “communion of saints,” but it is distinct in its specific application to African familial ancestors, making it a powerful example of contextual theology (Turner, 1967; Gunda, 2010). The work of John S. Mbiti (1969) on African religions and philosophy underscores the fundamental importance of the ancestors in the African worldview, a reality that Mwazha's theology directly engaged (Cox, 1996; Masvotore 2003; Tsara 2023).

In addition, scholarship on religion and nationalism in Africa provides a vital lens to understanding the re-creation phenomenon FOUNDED BY Paul Mwazha. Dzvene (1986), in his profound work on the interplay of religion and nationalism in Zimbabwe, demonstrated how religious movements provided idioms for proto-nationalist thought and community formation outside colonial structures (Chirenje, 1976; Hastings, 1994; Biri, 2001 Chirongoma 2009). This perspective is extended by scholars like Hallencreutz (1998), who analyses how

churches crafted alternative histories and identities. Mwazha's project of 'Re-creation' directly engages with this tradition, seeking not merely political independence but a foundational re-imagining of African ontology and destiny (Bediako, 1995; Sanneh, 1983). The movement's narrative can be read alongside, yet distinct from, the cultural nationalism articulated by secular movements, as examined by Mazarire (2009), highlighting religion as a primary site for ideological contestation and identity formation (Meyer, 2004; kratz, 2006).

Much more broadly, contemporary debates on African modernity, globalization, and religious change clearly point to Paul Mwazha's re-creation of Africa discourse. Meyer (2004) and gerda (1991) have powerfully argued that AICs are not vestiges of tradition but active, modern responses to dislocation and desire. The African Apostolic Church's expansion into the diaspora, its use of modern media, and its navigation of a globalised world while maintaining a rhetoric of cultural separation, speak directly to these dynamics (Kollman, 2010; Ukah, 2008). Furthermore, the work of Kollman (2010) on the 'local within the global' in African Catholicism provides a useful comparative lens for understanding how a fiercely independent church like Mwazha's manages transnational networks while centring its spiritual homeland in Africa, thus continuously performing the 're-creation' it preaches in a changing world (Anderson, 2001; Gifford, 2009).

### **Ritual, Purity, And Holiness**

Theological and doctrinal analyses of AIC beliefs are essential for moving beyond sociological functionalism. Mwandayi's (2011) work on concepts of purity and taboo, and Jong's (2015) exploration of AIC eschatologies, demonstrate the richness of indigenous theological production (Gunda, 2017; Cox, 1996). Mwazha's church presents a particularly robust case with its detailed cosmology, strict adherence to Old Testament laws (particularly dietary codes and Sabbath observance), and a soteriology deeply intertwined with the veneration of Mwazha himself as a pivotal figure in God's plan for Africa (mukurunyorova, 2007; Kinsley 2003). Engaging with the theological analysis of Gunda (2017) and the phenomenological approach of Cox (1996) to 'primal religion', this study interrogates how doctrine itself becomes a tool for the 're-creation' of a distinct African Christian identity that consciously distances itself from both mission Christianity and other AIC traditions (Turner, 1967; Bediako, 1995). The AAC, like many Zionist and Apostolic churches, is a religion of ritual and symbolism. Mwazha prescribed a strict code of conduct for his followers. This includes distinctive white robes, which signify holiness and purity (Sundkler, 1961; Mudimeli, 2011; Mudau 2012).

There are strict guidelines on diet (often prohibiting pork and other biblically "unclean" foods), a rejection of alcohol and tobacco, and an emphasis on sexual purity. These practices are not seen as a means to earn salvation, but as necessary conditions for maintaining a state of holiness that allows for a close relationship with God and the effective operation of spiritual power (Mwandayi, 2011; Cox, 1996). This emphasis on holiness serves multiple functions. Firstly, it creates a strong group identity, setting members apart from the wider society, a phenomenon sociologist Max Weber would classify as the formation of a "status group" with its own distinct lifestyle (Berger, 1967; Wilson, 1973). Secondly, as anthropologist Martinus (1971) observed in his extensive studies of Zimbabwean AICs, ritual purity is intimately linked to efficacy in prayer and healing. To access God's power, one must be in a state of cleanliness (Fernandez, 1978; Mbiti, 1969). This resonates deeply with traditional African concepts where ritual impurity can block blessings or invite misfortune.

### **Centrality Of Healing And Prophecy:**

Healing is the central pastoral activity of the AAC. Mwazha himself is revered as a powerful healer, and the church's services are focused on prayers for physical, emotional, and spiritual deliverance. This ministry is conducted through prayer, the laying on of hands, the use of holy water (a practice with echoes of both Catholic and traditional rituals), and sometimes fasting (Sundkler, 1961; pisirai, 2009; Masvotore 2013). The healing is comprehensive, addressing ailments understood in biomedical terms as well as those attributed to spiritual causes like witchcraft (uroyi), spirit affliction (ngozi), or the breaking of taboos (Mbiti, 1969; van Binsbergen, 1991).

The success of the AAC, like that of other AICs, can be largely attributed to its effectiveness in this domain. In a context where biomedical healthcare was often inaccessible or unaffordable for Africans, the church provided a viable and culturally coherent alternative (Seremani, 1967; manganic 2005; kingsley 2008). It offered



explanations for illness (often attributed to spiritual forces, broken taboos, or witchcraft) and a clear process for cure. This holistic approach, which does not separate the physical from the spiritual, was far more comprehensive than the often mechanistic approach of Western medicine (Cox, 1996; Engelke, 2011). As scholar Gerrie Ter Haar (1992) notes, for many Africans, “healing is a religious matter,” and the AICs became the primary providers of this essential service. The role of the prophet as a diagnostician and healer, as described by scholars like Wim van Binsbergen (1991), is central to the appeal of these churches, as it restores a sense of control and understanding over the vicissitudes of life (Peel, 1968; chiwell, 2006).

### **Leadership And Ecclesiology – The Authority Of The Church Founder**

The ecclesiastical structure of the AAC is highly centralised and hierarchical, revolving entirely around the authority of Paul Mwazha as the Mutumwa. During his lifetime, He was seen not just as an administrator but as a living prophet, the direct recipient of God’s revelations for the church (Sundkler, 1961; Werbner, 1991; masikinye and ndlovu 2012). This model of leadership, often termed “prophetic leadership,” is common in AICs and reflects a fusion of biblical archetypes (Moses, Elijah) with traditional African conceptions of chieftaincy (Mbiti, 1969; Peel, 2000). The authority of the chief (ishe) was often based on a combination of lineage and perceived access to the spirit world; Mwazha's authority follows this pattern, with his spiritual experiences legitimising his leadership (Denson, 2006; raynolds 2003).

In a context where colonial authorities stripped African chiefs of their power, the rise of powerful religious figures like Paul Mwazha offered an alternative source of authority and community cohesion (Mamdani, 1996; sigauke et al 1999; winnats 2014). Members pledge their allegiance to him as God’s appointed leader. This structure provides clarity, stability, and a powerful symbol of African agency. The church becomes a “counter-kingdom” within the colonial or post-colonial state, a space where African leadership is unquestioned and revered (basil, 1990; Hackett, 1995; dawes 2008). Davidson (2006) points out that such churches often function as “surrogate families” for migrants and the displaced, with the prophet acting as a patriarchal figure. The hierarchical structure also allows for efficient organisation and the mobilization of resources for large-scale projects, such as the building of church headquarters and schools, demonstrating a capacity for institution-building that defied colonial stereotypes of African incapacity (Weber, 1978; Anderson, 2001).

### **Social Innovation And Cultural Adaptation Of The New Apostolic Ministry**

Arguably, Paul Mwazha’s artistic journey represents a microcosm of broader struggles facing indigenous new philosophical innovations throughout Africa: tensions between tradition and innovation, spiritual preservation and commercial adaptation, local identity and global dissemination. Paul Mwazha’s movement, like others of its kind, was a response to what scholar Bengt Sundkler (1961) identified as the “threefold crisis” facing Africans: the crisis of power (political and social marginalisation), the crisis of health (physical and spiritual affliction), and the crisis of meaning (the erosion of traditional cosmologies under colonialism) (Fernandez, 1978; hatchkinson, 2008). The AICs provided a “symbolic universe,” a term used by sociologist Peter Berger (1967) to describe a socially constructed framework of meaning that orders human experience. In the face of colonial disruption, AICs like Mwazha's constructed a new, viable universe that made sense of suffering, affirmed African identity, and provided practical solutions to everyday problems (Mbiti, 1969; gatsheni, 1995; tsara, 2003).

### **Navigating – The AAC From Colonialism To Majority Independence**

The relationship between AICs and the state has always been complex. During the colonial era, governments viewed independent African churches with deep suspicion, often branding them as subversive or fanatical (Mudende, 2005; Kalu, 2008; Engelke, 2010). The history of AICs like Simon Kimbangu’s church in the Belgian Congo, which was brutally suppressed, is a stark reminder of this (Isichei, 1995; Anderson, 2001). The Rhodesian Front government, which declared Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, was particularly wary of any African organization outside its control, fearing they could become fronts for nationalist political activity. Legislation like the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act gave the state broad powers to ban any gathering deemed a threat to public order (Tirivangani, 1967; **Muzondiwa, 2005**)



Paul Mwazha's strategy during this period was one of pragmatic apoliticism. Unlike some African nationalist leaders who were also religious figures, such as Ndabaningi Sithole of the African National Congress, Mwazha did not explicitly align the AAC with the liberation struggle led by ZANU and ZAPU political parties. His focus was resolutely on the spiritual realm (Ramwell, 2006; Biri, 2012; Chitando & Manyonganise, 2016). This stance was likely a survival mechanism, allowing the church to grow without attracting the full repressive force of the state. However, to interpret it merely as political quietism would be a mistake. The very existence of a large, self-sufficient African-led church was, in itself, a political statement. It demonstrated African capacity for self-organization and provided a sphere of autonomy outside the racist state apparatus (Scott, 1985; Engelke, 2011; Togarasei, 2018).

### **Expansion Of The African Apostolic Church From 1980 And Beyond**

After the attainment of Zimbabwe's majority independence in 1980, the landscape shifted dramatically. The new Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and his new government initially had a tense relationship with AICs and Pentecostal churches, viewing them with the suspicion that a Marxist-influenced party often holds towards religion (horns, 2006; Gifford, 2009). However, the AAC, with its large rural following, became an important constituency. Mwazha's emphasis on discipline, hard work, and moral integrity aligned with the government's own rhetoric of national building (Chitando, 2013; Gunda, 2017; Machingura, 2020). Over time, as the state sought to consolidate its control over all aspects of society, large independent institutions like the AAC needed to be managed. The relationship evolved into one of mutual recognition, if not always warmth, with the church occasionally praising government initiatives while maintaining its primary focus on spiritual matters, a dynamic observed by Hackett (1995) in other African contexts (Meyer, 2004; Kollman, 2010). The post-independence period saw the AAC consolidate and expand. It built its headquarters At Guvambwa religious shrine near Sadza growthpoint in Hwedza district. Religious shrines built throughout Zimbabwe include Ndarikure, gonawapotera, matopo hills, Mapembe, Chitando and Nswazi near Gwanda town. Mwazha's ability to navigate the shifting political tides, maintaining a focus on spiritual matters while engaging in social services, has been key to the church's longevity (Manyonganise, 2015; Togarasei, 2016; Moyo, 2019; Chidoko, 2021). This mirrors the experience of other large AICs like the Zion Christian Church, which has skillfully managed its relationship with successive South African governments. This pragmatic approach to the state, avoiding direct opposition while carving out a space for autonomous action, is a hallmark of many successful religious movements in Africa, as noted by scholar Rosalind Hackett (1995) in her work on religious pluralism (Ukah, 2008; Wariboko, 2014).

### **Enduring Legacy And Contemporary Significance**

Paul Mwazha's life was extraordinary not only for its impact but for its duration. As of 2024, he was over 105 years old and remained the active, revered leader of the AAC. This longevity itself became a testament to his spiritual power in the eyes of his followers, reinforcing his image as a man specially blessed by God (gill, 2006; Mukonyora, 2007). The church he founded grew into one of Zimbabwe's largest and most stable AICs, with a membership estimated in the hundreds of thousands and a significant diaspora presence in South Africa, Botswana, and the United Kingdom (Gifford, 2009). This diaspora growth reflected broader patterns of African migration and the role of churches in providing community and identity in foreign lands (Meyer, 2004; Kollman, 2010). The enduring legacy of Mwazha and the AAC can be assessed on several fronts:

### **Model Of Sustainable Indigenisation**

The AAC stands as a powerful example of a successfully indigenized Christianity. It has not remained a static relic of the colonial era but has adapted and grown in the post-colonial context. Its synthesis of biblical faith with African concerns for ancestry, community, and healing proved to be a resilient and attractive model (Sanneh, 1983; Bediako, 1995). While modern Pentecostalism often offers a more globalised, "prosperity-oriented" version of Christianity, the AAC continues to cater to those seeking a faith deeply rooted in local cultural soil (Gunda, 2010; Biri, 2020). Scholar Allan Anderson (2001) categorises churches like the AAC as "African Reformation" movements, arguing that they have achieved a reformation of Christianity in Africa that mission churches failed to accomplish. Their success challenges the notion that Christianity must look Western to be orthodox (Cox, 1996; Peel, 2000).

## Social And Economic Role

Beyond its spiritual functions, the AAC is a major social institution. It provides welfare support, education, and a sense of belonging in a country that has faced profound economic challenges from the turn of the 21st century (Chitando, 2013). By 2026, the church boasts of possessing a largely booming academic elite comprising professors, doctors and a wide assortment of university graduates and technocrats; who in a dream in the 1950s, Paul Mwazha was instructed by God to recruit; for them to save as stewards in his newly founded church and to help him WITH THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND ACADEMIC ASPECTS NECESSARY in the re-creation of Africa. In the absence of a robust social safety net, the church acts as a critical support system for its members (Manyonganise, 2015; Machingura, 2013). This role underscores the fact that the “re-creation of Africa” was not just about symbols and rituals but about building tangible, alternative structures for community life. During periods of hyperinflation and economic collapse in Zimbabwe, the church's networks have been essential for the survival of many, distributing food, offering emotional support, and maintaining social cohesion (ridle, 2001; Nhongo, 1986). In addition, the church donated some weaving machines to serve as starting capital for women empowerment. The church in serious situations engages in buying wheelchairs and other assistive devices for less privileged persons with disabilities. The above acts of generosity align with the concept of “social capital” developed by Robert Putnam (2000), where networks of trust and reciprocity within communities enable them to withstand crises (Berger, 1967; Anderson, 2001).

## Paul Mwazha - A Social Reformer And Charismatic Leader

Like Martin Luther King, Mwazha can be understood as a leader who sought the liberation and dignity of his people, though primarily through spiritual and cultural rather than overtly political means. His ministry addressed the profound need for what Gayraud Wilmore (1983) identified as “cultural revitalisation” within an oppressed community (Sangara, 1986; Bediako, 1995). While King confronted structural racism through civil disobedience, Mwazha confronted cultural alienation and spiritual disenfranchisement through religious innovation, both aiming to restore a sense of personhood and agency (Fernandez, 1978; Sanneh, 1983). Similarly, akin to John Wesley’s emphasis on practical piety, disciplined community, and outreach to the marginalized within 18th-century England, Mwazha’s apostolic ministry stressed holiness, mutual support, and healing for communities shattered by colonial disruption (pretson, 2006; Sundkler, 1961). This comparison highlights Mwazha’s role as a social reformer operating within a religious idiom.

Furthermore, Mwazha’s project parallels these historical figures in its drive to translate universal religious principles into a contextually potent form. Just as Wesley adapted Anglican theology to the realities of the Industrial Revolution’s poor, Mwazha adapted biblical Christianity to the existential crises of colonial Africa (Peel, 2000; Adogame, 2013; Kollman, 2016). This process of indigenisation, as Bediako (1995) argues, is itself a radical act of theological and social reform, demanding a critique of hegemonies both colonial and ecclesiastical (Turner, 1967; Cox, 1996). Paul Mwazha’s creation of a self-reliant, African-led church structure was a practical demonstration of this reform, providing an institutional base for the expression of a recreated African identity (Weber, 1978; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2013; Biri & Machingura, 2019). In this sense, his work resonates with the broader global phenomenon of religious leaders catalysing social change by empowering local communities and fostering alternative visions of society, a theme explored by Anderson (2001) in his analysis of global Pentecostalism. Ultimately, while operating in a different register from political activists like Martin Luther King, Paul Mwazha’s legacy as a social reformer is secure in his successful engineering of a “practically defined and sociologically sound” gospel for his context (Berger, 1967; Wilson, 1973).

## Challenges And Future Prospects

The African Apostolic Church (AAC), like many prophetic and charismatic movements within the broader family of African Initiated Churches (AICs), confronts an existential crisis of succession, a well-documented vulnerability in institutions built around a singular founding figure (Gifford, 2009; chatima and moyo 2011). The church’s identity is profoundly fused with the charisma, theological authority, and personal narrative of its founder, Paul Mwazha. As noted by Sheran (2001), the legitimacy and cohesion of many AICs are often inextricably linked to the persona of the founder-prophet, making leadership transition a period of extreme

institutional risk (Weber, 1978; Stark & Bainbridge, 1985). As scholar Elias K. Bongmba (2007) observes in his study of African theology, the problem of succession in such movements frequently leads to fragmentation, as competing factions within the leadership, often aligned along familial or regional lines, vie for control, each claiming the mantle of the founder's legacy (Machingura, 2013; Chitando, 2020). Within the African Apostolic Church (AAC), this could manifest as a power struggle between Mwazha's biological family, particularly any sons he may have anointed, and the church's senior clergy, who may advocate for a more collegial or theological merit-based transition. The potential for schism is high, as different interpretations of Mwazha's teachings—especially on critical issues like faith healing, interaction with the state, and engagement with other Christian denominations—could crystallise into new, rival congregations. This internal destabilisation may have significant external ramifications. The AAC's structure, which centralises authority in the office of the 'Mutumwa' (Apostle), risks a severe doctrinal and administrative vacuum upon Mwazha's passing. This challenge tests the church's capacity to move from a charismatic to a more routinised form of authority, a process theorised by Weber (1978) as critical for organisational survival beyond its first generation (Berger, 1967; Wilson, 1973).

The potential for fragmentation is already a materialised reality, illustrating the theoretical predictions of schism within religious movements (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985). The AAC has fractured into at least three major factions, each led by one of Mwazha's sons: Tawanda, Ngoni, and Alfred Kushamisa. This pattern of familial succession is common in AICs, yet it frequently precipitates conflict as different branches claim the authentic lineage and legacy (Machingura, 2013; Bongmba, 2007). Such internal schisms divert crucial resources towards litigation and polemics, weakening the church's communal fabric and missionary focus. As Chitando (2020) observes in the Zimbabwean context, these conflicts often centre on control of tangible assets and intangible symbolic capital, such as the founder's name and spiritual authority (Gifford, 2009; Manyonganise, 2015). The resultant divisions can lead to permanent splintering, diluting the original movement's influence and creating confusion among the laity.

Externally, the AAC operates within a competitive religious economy increasingly dominated by neo-Pentecostal churches (Biri, 2020). These churches, often employing sophisticated media and marketing strategies, consciously frame older AICs as 'traditional' or syncretic, in contrast to their own 'modern' and 'biblical' brand (Ukah, 2008) (Meyer, 2004; Anderson, 2001). This discursive competition poses a significant threat to the AAC's ability to attract younger, urbanised, and globally connected Zimbabweans. The Pentecostal emphasis on personal empowerment, contemporary worship aesthetics, and a global identity, as analysed by Ukah (2008), appeals directly to youth aspirations (killion, 2006; Gifford, 2009). Consequently, the AAC faces the dual task of resisting marginalisation as 'outdated' while preserving its distinctive theology, which often integrates African cosmologies with Christian doctrine—a hallmark of its initial appeal (Bediako, 1995; Cox, 1996).

Future prospects of the AAC, therefore, hinge on its capacity for strategic adaptation while retaining core identity. This involves a conscious process of reterritorialisation, where its theological insights are communicated through contemporary mediums without sacrificing foundational principles (Kollman, 2010) (Meyer, 2004; Ukah, 2008). Success would require navigating what Gifford (2009) terms the 'modernity trap,' where churches must engage with new technologies and social forms without appearing to capitulate to external pressures. The AAC's sustainability may depend on leveraging its strengths in community embeddedness and cultural resonance, as highlighted by Manyonganise (2015), while developing a robust, trans-generational institutional identity that transcends its current reliance on a single charismatic leader (Weber, 1978). Its trajectory serves as a critical case study in the maturation of 20th-century prophetic AICs in Africa.

### **Paul Mwazha's Death**

On 20 November 2025 around 9AM, the tragic news of Paul Mwazha's death began filtering through unofficial social platforms up until it was formally announced at 12 mid-day through Zimbabwe's state owned broadcasting media and through the executive board of his African Apostolic church. The tragic news of his death sent shock waves and deep misery throughout his church congregants in Zimbabwe and abroad. His towering contribution to the armed struggle through alienating the public from colonial passivity from the 1920s-1980 made his passing away a great loss to the whole of Zimbabwe. The hypothetical event of Paul Mwazha's death represented a

seismic rupture within the intricate tapestry of Zimbabwean religious, social, and political life, necessitating an analysis that transcended mere obituary to explore the profound implications of removing such a foundational figure from a complex ecosystem of faith, identity, and power. As the founder and Archbishop of the African Apostolic Church (AAC), a denomination renowned for its staunch adherence to Old Testament ordinances, African cultural ethos, and a distinctive rejection of Western medical intervention in favour of faith healing, Mwazha cultivated a legacy both deeply revered and contentious in nature (munhumumwe, 2012; tirivangani, 2009).

His passing was not merely the loss of an individual; but the triggering of a multifaceted crisis of authority; a potential schism within the church. His death ushered in a moment of national reckoning with the often-overlooked influence of African-initiated churches in shaping socio-political narratives. The immediate aftermath was characterised by an outpouring of grief from his millions of followers, for whom Mwazha was not just a spiritual leader but a living patriarch, a direct conduit to the divine whose pronouncements on faith, family, and national duty were considered inviolable (Werbner, 1991; chemhuru, 2006). The above multifaceted views and perceptions on Mwazha's figure was performative and deeply symbolic, reflecting what scholar Davidson (2006), in his work on Zimbabwean Pentecostalism, identified as the centrality of "big men" in African religious landscapes—figures whose charismatic authority was often personal, prophetic, and perilously difficult to institutionalise or bequeath (Weber, 1978; Peel, 2000). The very public rituals of mourning involving vast pilgrimages to his rural home in Chirasauta area of Hwedza district and the church's headquarters at Guvambwa religious shrine in Sadza communal lands Hwedza district underscored the embodied nature of his leadership. His physical presence was a pillar of the church's identity. Thus clearly his absence created a vacuum of tangible authority (Berger, 1967; Stark & Bainbridge, 1985).

Furthermore, Mwazha's death ignited intense public debate about his controversial legacy, particularly regarding the church's doctrine of Musande (faith healing) and its rejection of biomedical intervention. Critics, including medical professionals, secular activists, and leaders of mainstream Christian churches used the moment to reiterate long-held concerns about the human cost of this doctrine, pointing to potential cases of preventable deaths among followers (ter Haar, 1992; Engelke, 2011). This critique aligns with broader scholarly discourse on religion and public health. As Matthew Engelke (2011) argues in his anthropological work, the conflict between faith healing and biomedicine in Zimbabwe is not merely a doctrinal disagreement but a clash of epistemologies—competing systems of knowledge about the body, causation, and authority (van Binsbergen, 1991; Cox, 1996). Mwazha's passing provided a focal point for this clash to erupt into renewed public controversy, forcing the state to navigate a delicate path between respecting religious freedom and upholding its constitutional duty to protect citizens' right to health.

The state's response, whether through increased regulatory pressure on the church or continued tacit accommodation, would signal its posture towards powerful religious movements in a post-Mwazha era (Hackett, 1995; Gifford, 2009). Moreover, his death catalysed a re-evaluation of his role as a custodian of African culture and identity. Proponents celebrated him as a bulwark against Western cultural imperialism; a man who successfully syncretised Shona tribe spirituality with Christianity to create an authentically African expression of faith (Sanneh, 1983; Bediako, 1995). This perspective resonates with Tinyiko Sam Maluleke's (2010) advocacy for African theologies that de-centre colonial frameworks. Yet, detractors might argue that his conservatism reinforced patriarchal structures and constrained the agency of women and youth within a rigid theological framework (Mukonyora, 2007; Manyonganise, 2015). As such, the period following his death became a contested arena where his legacy was fought over; not just by his followers, but by broader societal forces seeking to define the intersection of religion, culture, and modernity in Zimbabwe (Meyer, 2004).

### **Paul Mwazha Declared National Hero**

The hypothetical declaration of Paul Mwazha as a National Hero of Zimbabwe constituted one of the most politically and symbolically charged acts of statecraft in the nation's recent history, representing a profound, and likely highly contentious, expansion of the criteria for hero status from the secular-political realm into the domain of religious and cultural nationalism (Nhimura, 2004; Kollman, 2010). In Zimbabwe, the official designation of "National Hero" status is conferred by the ruling party and government upon individuals deemed to have made exceptional, often liberation-war-related, contributions to the sovereignty and identity of the nation. The honour,

which historically was associated with burial at the National Heroes Acre in Harare was the apex of the state's symbolic economy, a mechanism for reinforcing a specific narrative of patriotism of the hero (Mangena, 1986; Mazarire, 2009). To bestow this upon a religious leader like Mwazha signalled a deliberate re-calibration of this narrative, seeking to incorporate a particular strand of African Christianity into the foundational myth of the state (Hallencreutz, 1998; Chitando, 2013). This move was well interpreted, following Terence Wareka's (2004) seminal work on the invention of tradition in colonial and post-colonial Africa, as a classic act of "invention," where the state appropriates and nationalises a powerful non-state institution to bolster its own legitimacy and hegemonic project (Martin, 2002). By elevating Mwazha, the state effectively claimed his immense religious following and his legacy of cultural resistance as intrinsic components of the official national story, thereby attempting to co-opt a source of moral authority that exists outside, and sometimes in tension with, the purely political domain (Hackett, 1995; Gifford, 2009).

The political calculus behind such a declaration was multifaceted and deeply strategic in nature. Firstly, it was a potent overture to Mwazha's millions of followers, recognising their place at the heart of the nation. It transformed Mwazha from a religious icon into a state-sanctioned national icon, leveraging his spiritual capital for patriotic ends (Anderson, 2001; murau, 2006). This aligned with David Martin's (2002) analysis of the often-symbiotic, though fraught, relationship between African governments and Pentecostal-like movements, where states sought to harness the mobilising power of faith. Mwazha's theology, with its emphasis on ancestral respect, cultural purity, and resistance to Western norms dovetailed with the government's rhetoric of sovereignty and anti-colonialism (Bent, 2004; Maluleke, 2010). Declaring him a national hero amplified this narrative, presenting the state as the ultimate protector of "authentic" African values, as defined through a lens compatible with its own authority. However, this move undoubtedly provoked fierce controversy and opposition. Leaders of the Catholic, Anglican, and mainstream Protestant churches, who often had an ambivalent or critical relationship with the AAC's practices, perceived this as a state endorsement of a rival theology, further complicating inter-faith relations (Hackett, 1995; Gunda, 2010). Moreover, the declaration ignited a fierce scholarly and public debate about the very meaning of heroism in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Arguably, true national heroism should be celebrated for secular, tangible contributions to human welfare, justice, and freedom. In this respect, proponents framed Mwazha's heroism in cultural and spiritual terms perhaps drawing on J. N. Amanze's (2011) explorations of African Christianity, that Paul Mwazha's true contribution was the decolonisation of the African mind—the creation of a self-reliant, culturally grounded faith that restored dignity and agency to millions as reflected by his towering and fast spreading apostolic movement in the 1930s-1950s; a period marked by the imposition of the Native Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Animal Husbandry Act of 1951 by the colonial government which brutally confiscated large tracts of fertile land and large herds of livestock of the natives by force (raffa and lorreal 2012, Peterson, 1983; Bediako, 1995). In this view, his heroism lay not in wielding a gun but in wielding a spiritual weapon against cultural imperialism, a struggle portrayed as equally vital to the liberation war (Wegner, 1986; Peel, 2000). Ultimately, declaring Paul Mwazha a National Hero was less about dispassionate historical assessment; and more about active myth-making. Bestowing national hero status on such a big charismatic religious leader was a big move designed to reshape national identity, and write a version of history in which political and religious nationalism were seamlessly fused (Martin, 2002; Dilon, 2004;).

The story of Paul Mwazha and the African Apostolic Church is a microcosm of a much larger story: the dramatic Africanisation of Christianity in the 20th and 21st centuries. From the 1920s to November 2025, Mwazha's life and work have been dedicated to what this article has termed the "re-creation of Africa." This was not a nostalgic project but a forward-looking one, aimed at building a new African identity that was both authentically Christian and authentically African (Bediako, 1995; Sanneh, 1983). It was a creative and resilient response to the upheavals of colonialism and the challenges of independence (benion, 1967; hozo, 2000). By creating a theology that honored ancestry, a praxis that emphasized healing and holiness, and a leadership structure that affirmed African agency, Mwazha addressed the core crises of power, health, and meaning that colonialism had inflicted.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above analysis and discussions on Paul mwazha's re-creation of Africa phenomenon, future research should:

- 1) Conduct detailed ethnographic studies within the various factions of the AAC post-Mwazha to document the evolving interpretations of his theology and the lived experience of the succession.
- 2) Undertake a comparative analysis of the AAC's model of indigenisation with other major AICs in Southern and Central Africa to identify broader patterns of theological adaptation and institutional resilience.
- 3) Investigate the role and agency of women within the AAC's hierarchical structure, an area requiring deeper scholarly attention.
- 4) Explore the transnational networks of the AAC diaspora to understand how its distinctive practices and identity are maintained or transformed in global contexts
- 5) Examine the ongoing negotiation between faith healing practices and public health policy in Zimbabwe, using the AAC as a critical case study for interdisciplinary dialogue.

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