

***Women and Spirituality: The Case of Yoruba indigenous Orò Cult
and Pentecostalism***

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Abstract

This paper is a comparative investigation of the *Orò* cult and the Ikoyi Pentecostal prayer mountain, both in Southwest Nigeria. Among the indigenous Yoruba of Southwest Nigeria, women are not allowed to be part of *Orò* cult and the attendant rituals. Women are not also allowed access to partake of the spiritual activities on the top of Ikoyi prayer mountain. This striking semblance of practice between the two traditions motivates a comparative study of the two traditions. The paper, therefore, investigates spirituality and its disruption in the two traditions. It investigates the practice of alienating women from revered roles in the religious practices of the two traditions. The study adopts both comparative and ethnographic methods of investigation, hence scholarly works on Yoruba indigenous religion and Pentecostalism were consulted; the paper makes use of archival materials on the indigenous Yoruba *Orò* cult and the origin and practice of Pentecostalism in Nigeria; quantitative data were used, in this context fifty people responded to questionnaire and twenty people responded to interview. The study was carried out in four stages: planning and desk work; base line survey; writing; revision of draft and demonstration. The findings, presented through simple descriptive method of data analysis, shows an amazing similarity in the believe of the two traditions on spirituality. Both believe in alienating women from revered roles in religious practices

Keywords: Women, Spirituality, Comparative, Pentecostalism, Indigenous, Prayers, Traditions

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1. Introduction

'Women and spirituality: The case of Yoruba *Orò* cult and Pentecostalism' is a study that was necessitated by a long time experience among the Yoruba, both as an indigenous Yoruba man and also as a scholar with keen interest in the study of both African religion and Pentecostalism. The study embarked on a comparative appraisal of the concepts of spirituality and its disruption in the indigenous Yoruba *Oro* cult and Pentecostalism. It investigated the practice of alienating women from revered roles in the religious practices of the two traditions. Seemingly striking semblance of practice in the two traditions was interrogated. The study, therefore, purposed to contribute to the global scholarly discourse on spirituality and women.

The *Oro* cult in Ifetedo, and the Ikoyi prayer mountain in Ikoyi, both in Osun state, southwest Nigeria were investigated. The research questions are: What constitute spirituality in the two traditions? To what extent are women a disruption to spirituality in Pentecostalism? To what extent are women a disruption to spirituality in the indigenous Yoruba *Orò* cult? To what extent are women allowed revered roles on the top of Ikoyi Prayer Mountain? To what extent are women allowed revered roles in the *Orò* cult among the Yoruba? To what extent is gender significant to the practice of Pentecostalism? To what extent is gender significant to religious practice in the Yoruba *Orò* cult?

The first question, 'What constitute spirituality in the two traditions?' was interrogated through personal interview while both questionnaire and personal interview were adopted in examining the remaining research questions. These research questions served as area of focus in the study. It has to be stated outright that not much has, so far, been documented on *Orò* cult among the Yoruba; hence, this study depended largely on primary sources of information on that aspect of work. Fifty persons responded to questionnaire on the two traditions while twenty persons responded to interviews. Scholarly works and archival materials were duly consulted. The study adopted both ethnographic and comparative approaches in arriving at its findings. The findings of the research were projected using simple descriptive method of analysis.

2. Review of related literature

2.1 *Oro* in the indigenous Yoruba literature:

It could be averred from the review of related literature that much have not been written in the scholarly circle on the Yoruba *Orò* cult. This study, therefore, fills the gap of inadequate information on the theme of study. That notwithstanding, little piece here and there, in some cases, disjointed form of information, are available. *Orò* is a secret cult among the Yoruba. When one received death sentence for wrong doing in the society, it was the *Orò* society that would carry out the sentence. In that context, the Yoruba will say *Orò gbe*, meaning *Orò* has carried him or her into the spirit world. They say further that, *akì írí àjekò Orò*, meaning no one see the remains of *Orò* victim (Awolalu and Dopamu 1979). The visible instrument or representation of *Orò* is the bull-roarer. This is usually a perforated bamboo or a wooden lath with a hole. The seize varies depending on the sound that it is meant to produce. The instrument has a high shrill note. The large bull-roarer has a deep, guttural note.

Whether a small or big *Orò* instrument, the sound produced could be strange and awe inspiring. The sound from *Orò*, during their nocturnal outing, or during the day suggests an impression that the air is impregnated with doomed and aggrieved spirits. The instrument function when a string is passed through the hole on the bamboo and with it, the bamboo or wooden lath is swung round and round, producing terrible sound. Women are forbidden to witness the ceremonies or outing of *Orò*. The *Orò* has its shrine or cult in the grove (Awolalu and Dopamu 1979).

Aderibigbe and Laguda confirm the opinion of Awolalu and Dopamu cited above when they write that the *Orò* secret society were usually regarded as the traditional cultic police; that *Orò* cults are found in different forms in most part of Yoruba land; that they kill and consume their victims, who are mostly non-initiates that refuse to abide by the restrictions placed on the society and community during socio-cultural, political and economic ritual festivals. A popular dictum among the Yoruba that *akii ri àjekò Orò*, meaning no one sees the remains of *Orò* victim already quoted above confirm the dastardly act of killing victims by members of the *Orò* cult. Aderibigbe and Laguda clarifies on this Yoruba dictum that the dictum does not implies that the members of *Orò* secret society are carnivorous or cannibalistic. They only execute the decision of the society when it comes to capital punishment (Aderibigbe and Laguda 2015).

In a society where women's role is limited to that of child-bearing, it becomes imperative for the female sex to put up offensive and defensive strategies so as to counter psycho-social and political lop-sidedness, hence the involvement of women in witchcraft (Ibitokun, 1993). Further, in Yoruba societies, there are important religious ceremonies such as *Orò* and *Egúngún*, in which women play either no roles or significant ones. Men's predominance in the cultic responsibilities of the community seems to establish an unwarranted male dominance. Hence, it is confirmed that the men's predominance in the cultic responsibilities is a reason why women are not allowed to see *Orò* (Ibitokun, 1993, Omoyajuowo, 1998). Idowu (1973) is optimistic that the cults of *Orò* and *Egúngún* and what in Benin is called *Agwe* prefixes an ancestral festival. *Orò* or Egungun represent either the fact of the spirit-ancestors in general or a particular ancestor.

Olademo (2015) reiterates women in the context of spirituality. She avers that women spirituality essentially could be linked with motherhood. In that perspective, all women are mothers; they are linked with *awon iya mi cult*, meaning the cult of our mothers. *Awon iya mi* is a popular appellation for witches in Yoruba land. The mothers are, therefore, respected for their natural role as mothers and for their powers which the society perceive to be inherently associated with witchcraft. They could not be underestimated because of the powers which the society believe they hold. She posits further that the ban on menstrual blood in Yoruba ritual space is due to respect for our mothers as they are fondly called. The Yoruba very much believe that blood is a conveyor of life and power, thus it is banned to avoid a clash of powers.

2.2 Pentecostalism:

Pentecostalism and the indigenous African religion in Nigeria provides elucidation on Pentecostal practice in Nigeria. The editors assert that Pentecostalism is popularly regarded as the fastest growing stream of Christianity in the world today. In Nigeria, Pentecostalism is reshaping Christianity through various trends like born again

experience and the pneumatic phenomena such as speaking in tongue, exorcism, prophecies and miracles. These phenomena have come to be accepted, valued and encouraged by Christians in the country irrespective of denomination affiliations. Apart from the forays of classical Pentecostalism brand which was exported from the west to Nigeria, there are the indigenous spirit experiences and encounters which led to the emergence of indigenous Pentecostal Churches such as the Christ Apostolic Church World Wide with origin in Nigeria (Asaju and Babalola, 2016). Archival material further substantiates the foregoing claim, especially at the onset of Christ apostolic Church, when the foremost apostle of the Church, J. A. Babalola demonstrated healing virtues (National Archive).

Alabi opines that the founding fathers of Pentecostalism in Nigeria took a cue from the indigenous traditionalists by establishing prayer mountains in various places in Nigeria. This is to seek the face of God in an exclusive manner to receive healings and miracles from God. These prayer mountains are given various name such as Akinkemi prayer mountain in Olorunkole village, Ikoyi prayer mountain, Erio prayer mountain and more. Christians retreat to such prayer mountains to pray. They believe that through the prayer on the mountain, their spiritual powers, insight and performance would be renewed (Alabi, 2016). It is interesting to note that in most of these prayer mountains, only men are in attendance. Apart from this, 2018 pastors' conference proceedings of Christ Apostolic Church reveals that the entire 17000 thousand pastors of the Church are all men (pastors' conference, 2018).

Oduyoye's reminiscence of late professor E. B Idowu is of great value to this study. It hinges on the unrecognized role of women in African world view. She recollected her encounter with the late professor as follows: as a member of the academic staff of the Department of Religious Studies, Idowu, the head of the Department, who was on the panel that interviewed me for the position requested two things of me, both of which I refused. On both occasion I found a way of refusing without being rude. He was older and we are both Africans. The first time it was, 'could you bring tea for me?' The second time he met me on the corridor, stopped me and asked, 'could you type some papers for me?' The cultural basis of these requests was that of African women being at the service of African men... Idowu was an African man with traditional view of what African women are good for. The third instance, it was me, an African woman, a younger person and in the University hierarchy a junior, asking him to do something for me. I went to him with a request to deliver the keynote address to a conference of women in theology... Idowu looked at me, amused and said something to the effect that there were no theologians (meaning men) in Africa (Abogunrin, S. O. and Ayegboyin, I. D.: 2014).

Akintunde, writing on the position of women in Pentecostal Churches in Nigeria maintains that women are often restricted from certain areas of ministry that have to do with speaking and leadership. She distinguished between the indigenous Pentecostal Churches such as Christ Apostolic Church who remain orthodox in their disposition to what they think the role of women should be in the Church and the new Pentecostal Churches such as the Living Faith Church who allow more roles to women. According to her, some of these new Pentecostal Churches even ordain women into priesthood. She observes that, generally, women are allowed roles such as prophesying and teaching during Church services (Akintunde, 2015). Spirituality and its disruption in the two traditions (Pentecostalism represented by the Ikoyi prayer

mountain and African indigenous religion represented by the indigenous Yoruba *Orò* cult) is a major gap which this study seeks to fill. The concept seems vague in the literature. This study, therefore, depends majorly on the field work for its findings.

3.1 Field work on Yoruba *Orò* cult and Ikoyi prayer mountain

Presented below is the report of the field work conducted on both *Orò* and Ikoyi prayer Mountain. Ikoyi prayer mountain is in Ikire, Osun State of Nigeria. *Orò* cult is in Ifetedo, also in Osun State of Nigeria. They are two hundred kilometres apart from each other. Primary data were gathered through field work on both traditions. Fifty people responded to questionnaire and twenty people responded to interviews on both traditions, making a total of seventy respondents to both questionnaire and interviews.

3.2.1 *Orò* cult among the indigenous Yoruba

Myth of Existence:

First, it is of ultimate importance to note that *Orò* is an indigenous religious practice that is prevalent throughout the southwest Nigeria. Second, it is worthy of note that there appears to be a common myth of origin of the concepts of *Ògbóni* fraternity; Masquerade and *Orò* among the Yoruba. A myth which is not commonly reported, traces the root or origin of the three concepts. The myth has it that a woman, Ajibola by name, in Iseyin, Oke Ogun region of southwest Nigeria went far into the forest to fetch fire woods for her domestic use. The woman had a sick husband at home whose name seems to be lost in antiquity. The myth has it that the woman was sexually assaulted by an ape in the forest. Shortly afterward, the husband of the woman died and the woman conceived as a result of the union with the ape. The child delivered by the woman was later crowned as the king of the land. The town went into crisis after his coronation

The elders of the town therefore inquire from the oracle on the issue. The oracle proclaimed that the king should perform certain rituals at the tomb of his father. The king did exactly what the oracle instructed, but of course, at the tomb of a wrong person. The man he knew as his father was not the biological father. The crises went on unabated in the town. The elders went back to the oracle for further consultation. The oracle now told the elders to call Ajibola, the king's mother to questioning about the hidden history of the king. She related the story to the elders. The biological source of the king was an abomination. The subjects must not hear about the story and the king must perform ritual at the tomb of his biological father who remains the ape in the forest. The elders agree to make good the advice of the oracle but this must be done in outmost secrecy. To make it a secret, they use the mensuration flow of Ajibola coupled with some other items to make a potent curse inflicted on whoever reveal the secret. That is why it is, till today, a common invocative saying that *Ajibólá ló bí àse*, meaning Ajibola originated ase, a very potent curse. This statement remains in the cultic circle to trace the origin of curse. The curse and the secret to be kept by the elders is the origin of *Ògbóni* fraternity. *Ògbóni* literally means elders or aged people who are in the custody of secret. The elders also made the robe that today is the symbol of the Masquerade. They also made a wooden instrument which when swung, will produce a strange sound.

All these were in preparation to go into the forest to bring the ape, who originally, is the biological father of the king. They (the elders) went into the forest in the company of hunters, in search for the ape. The ape was captured and brought home. There were three categories of the group that went into the forest – the elders, a group of initiates that put on the masquerade robes and another group of initiates that were to swing the wooden instruments. On the way back to the town, the elders were chanting incantations, the initiates in the robe which now represent the masquerades were making sound through their noses and the other initiates who swung the wooden instrument to produce strange sound. This was to create fear in the heart of the people so that nobody would come out to see the clothed ape that was brought into the town. The myth has it further that the ape was treated really like human being and accorded fatherly respect for a period of three Months before it was killed and accorded full funeral ceremony. Then the rituals commanded by the Ifa oracle was performed by the king at the tomb of the ape (biological source of the king). Ever since, the town of Iseyin was at peace.

Summary of report on *Orò* cult in Ifetedo:

Ifetedo is a town in Osun State, Southwest Nigeria. *Orò* is one of the deities being worship by the people of Ifetedo. Other deities include Aluku, Masquerade and Ogun deities. The Ayanyemi family was selected as a place for the conduct of the field work. This was because the family is the custodian of *Orò* cult in Ifetedo. Akintunde Ayanyemi, Basiru Ayanyemi, Abayomi Adesigbin and Moses Ayanyemi were the family members who responded to interviews. It was gathered during interviews that the worship of *Orò* as a deity, among the people of Ifetedo was age long, deep down in antiquity. It was an ancient practice among the people (Ayanyemi, Personal Interview). Our team of researcher were not allowed into the premises of the cult which is within the family compound either to view it or to take any picture. According to Ayanyemi, the chief priest of the cult, only the initiates can be allowed access to the place.

The bamboo instrument which represent the *Orò* deity was, however, brought out for our view. The picture is, hereby presented: Figure A is the *Orò* chief priest with the instrument representing the *Orò* deity. Figure B is the wooden instrument that represent the *Orò* deity. No woman sees the *Orò* in action, during *Orò* celebration.



Figure 1: Oro bamboo instrument with the chief priest



Figure 2: Oro bamboo instrument

Orò festival begins with worship at the family *Orò* alter during the day time. The priest and the elders of the family, exclusively males, will gather at the alter within the enclosure where *Orò* deity is housed (*Orò* cult). Alcohol and kola nuts will be brought to the cult. The instruments representing the *Orò* deity will be assembled at the cult (see figure 2 above). The chief priest will embark on divination and conjuration to invoke the spirit of *Orò* deity. During this process, it was claimed that messages would be received from the deity. It might be messages of hope on some particular desires of the family and the town generally. It might be message of warning against an impending danger to an individual, the family or the town. It might be messages that have to do with directives on certain issues that have to do with the peace and wellbeing of the family or the town at large. The only role of women during this period is to cook the food for *Orò* celebration.

In the night, *Orò* proceeding round the town will commence. *Orò* festival is done for seven days, but the proceedings will only be during the first, third and the seventh days. During this proceedings, no woman is allowed to witness the happenings. They must stay indoors. To guide against any ugly situation, the king's town crier would have gone through out the town to sound warning of restriction to women. Spirituality of the *Orò* has to do with the Prayers said at the cult for the family and the town. Every requests of the family and the town will be made known to the *Orò* deity through prayers. Again, it was affirmed that character is an essential part of spirituality in the worship of *Orò*. Hence, the people say *iwà lèsin*, meaning character is synonymous to spirituality (Adesigbin). The chief priest, when asked whether women constitute disruption to spirituality, answer in the affirmative. His response was supported by every member of the family been interrogated. Their reason was that in the realm of spiritual power, there is a level that one could only attain to if such a person abstains from sexual relationship. In *Orò* cult, women constitute a serious taboo (Akinyinka). According to Bashiru (Personal Interview), when asked the

consequence if a woman see *Orò*, he said it could be very devastating. In the first instance, the woman may never be able to menstruate again in life. Again, if such a woman is caught, the consequence is death. She would be killed. Apart from the interview conducted within Ayanyemi compound some other people were also interviewed in Ifetedo town.

3.2.2 Ikoyi prayer mountain: a Pentecostal prayer resort

Ikoyi prayer mountain in Osun State, Southwest Nigeria is one of the prayer mountains owned by Christ Apostolic Church, the pioneer Pentecostal Christian Church in Nigeria. History has it that the prayer mountain was discovered by late prophet Joshua Olaoluwa Alalade; that evangelist D. O. Babajide, the second General Evangelist of the Christ Apostolic Church had his initial evangelical ministry on Ikoyi mountain and that the mountain was officially inaugurated as a prayer mountain for the use of Christ apostolic church and other Christians by Apostle J. A. Babalola, the first General Evangelist of Christ Apostolic Church in 1936; that at the beginning, the prayer mountain was opened to the use of both men and women. Later women were banned from getting to the top of the mountain. The reasons, according to Adeyinka, have to do with women's menstruation and that women could easily make men who came for prayer on the mountain to fall into the sin of adultery and fornication.

Activities on the mountain top are majorly continuous prayers, worship and at times, prophetic consultations. Deep personal religious activities are encouraged. There are buildings on the mountain for worships and prayer gathering. The prayers centre around issues that are exclusively pertaining to men. Such prayers go together with discussions on women and the damage they can do to men and their ministries; hence, they emphasize caution in dealing with women. It is a known fact that women are not allowed to get to the top of Ikoyi prayer mountain. A very germane question is that why are women not allowed to the top of Ikoyi prayer mountain? Women are only allowed to pray at the bottom of the mountain. Alalade Jnr. (Personal interview) has it that women will infect the mountain with impurity; that women could be diabolic; and also that they are not far from involvement with witchcraft. To him, women could be considered disruption to spirituality and their presence will affect the spirituality of the atmosphere on the prayer mountain.

On gender as a consideration in apportioning very revered religious roles such as ordination into the office of a pastor to women, Alalade Jnr. thinks that women could easily sink under the yoke of such roles. To him, this is so because of the very emotional nature of women. He has it further that women need the support of men to succeed in the Christian ministerial appointments such as pastoring. Many of the men interviewed on the top of Ikoyi mountain are of the opinion that there are prayers that must be said in utmost secrecy on matters that have to do with men; hence, the need to dissuade the presence of women on the mountain. On the top of ikoyi mountain, those who came for prayer when our team of researchers visited the mountain were all men.



Figure 3. Ikoyi mountain: distant view from the ground



Figure 4: Exterior view of the buildings on the mountain top



Figure 5: Interior view of Church auditorium



Figure 6: Sacred spot on the mountain top

3.3 Report on respondents to questionnaire

Responses to the research questions:

Fifty questionnaire were administered. Only six questions were asked. Figure seven to twelve below show the questions and the graphs of responses.

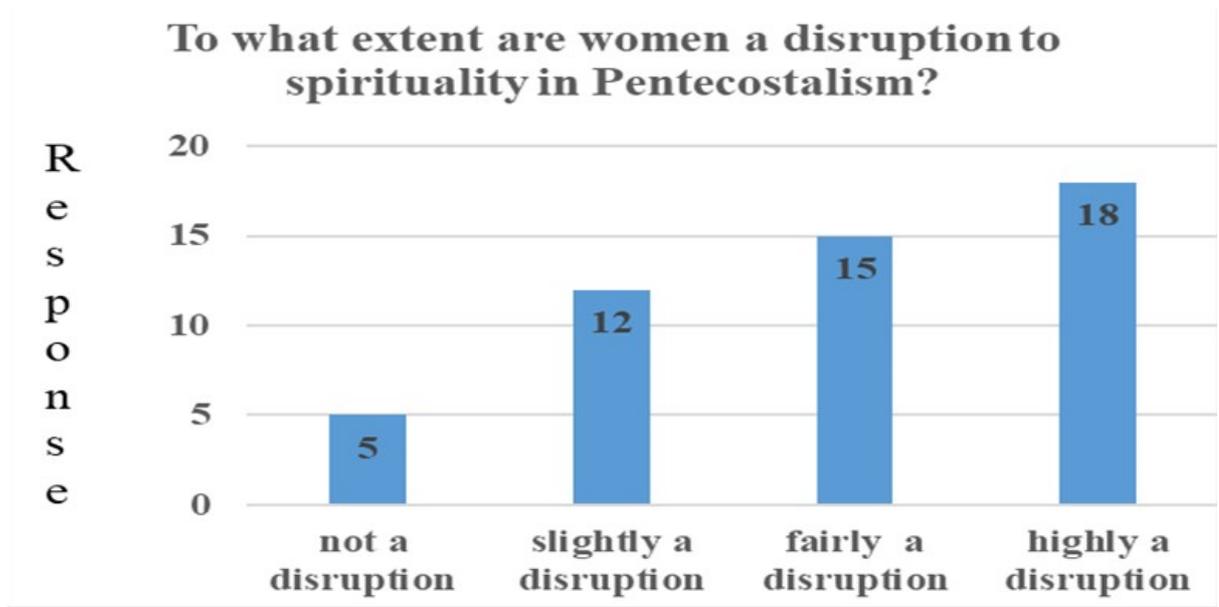


Figure 7

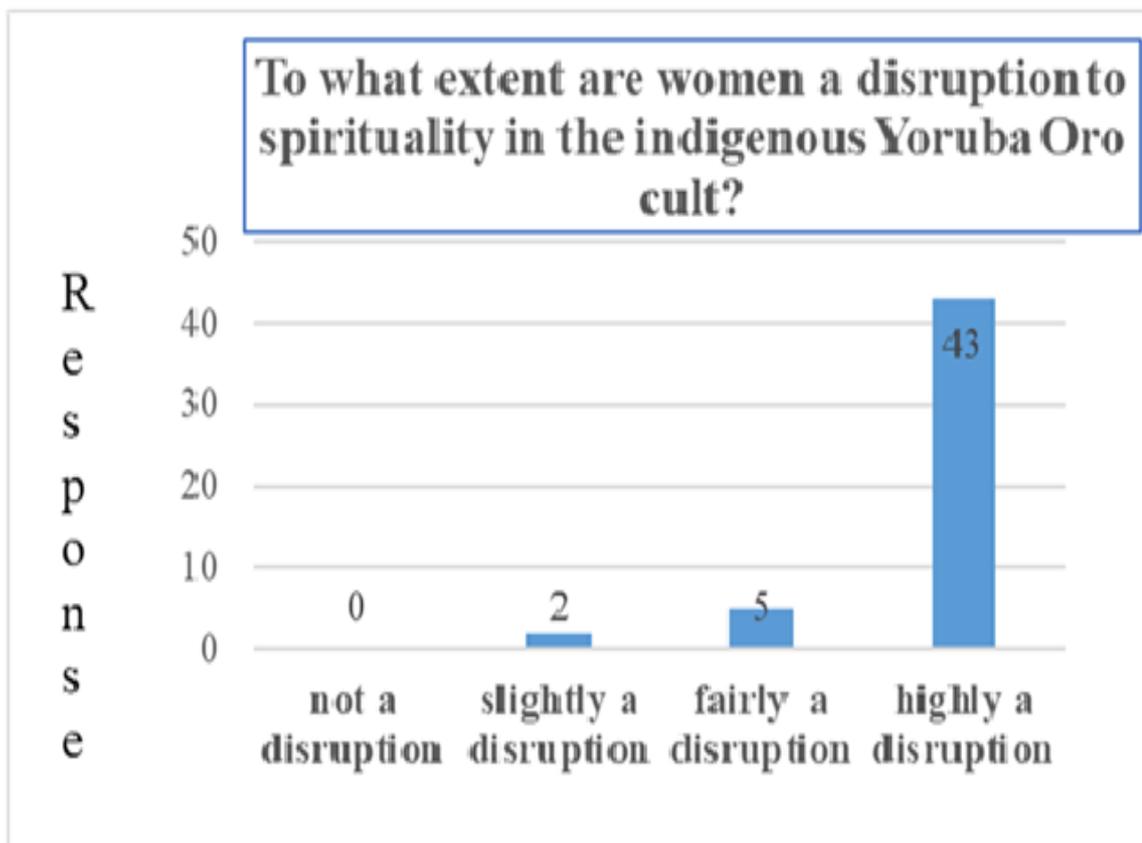


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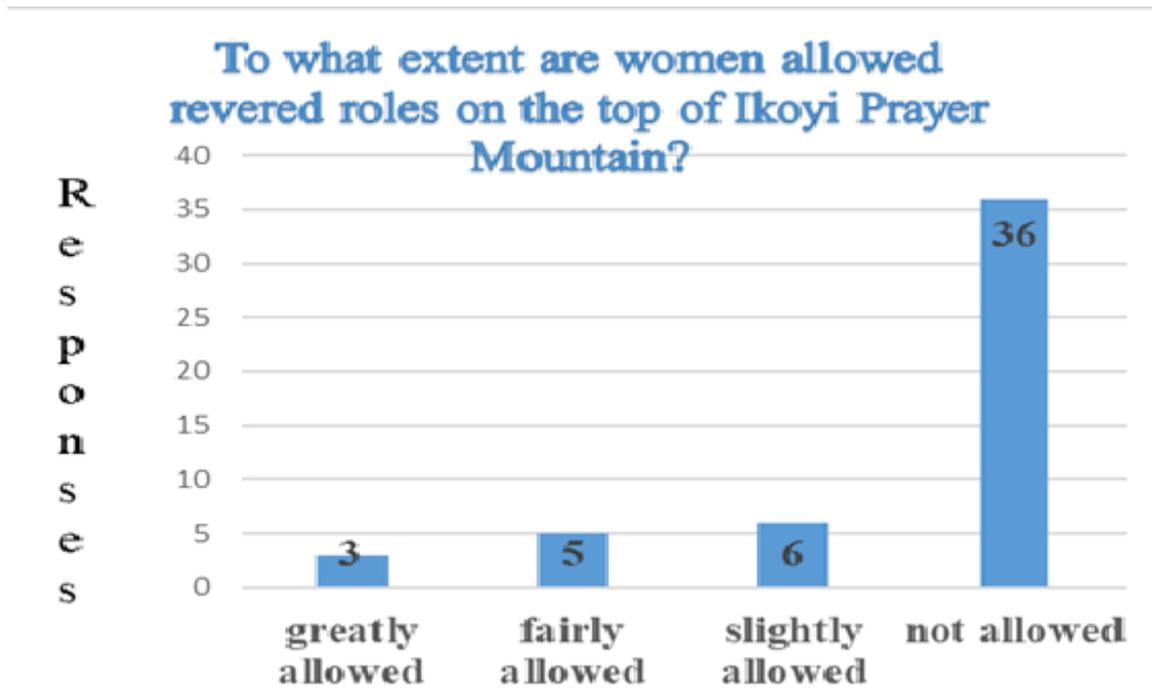


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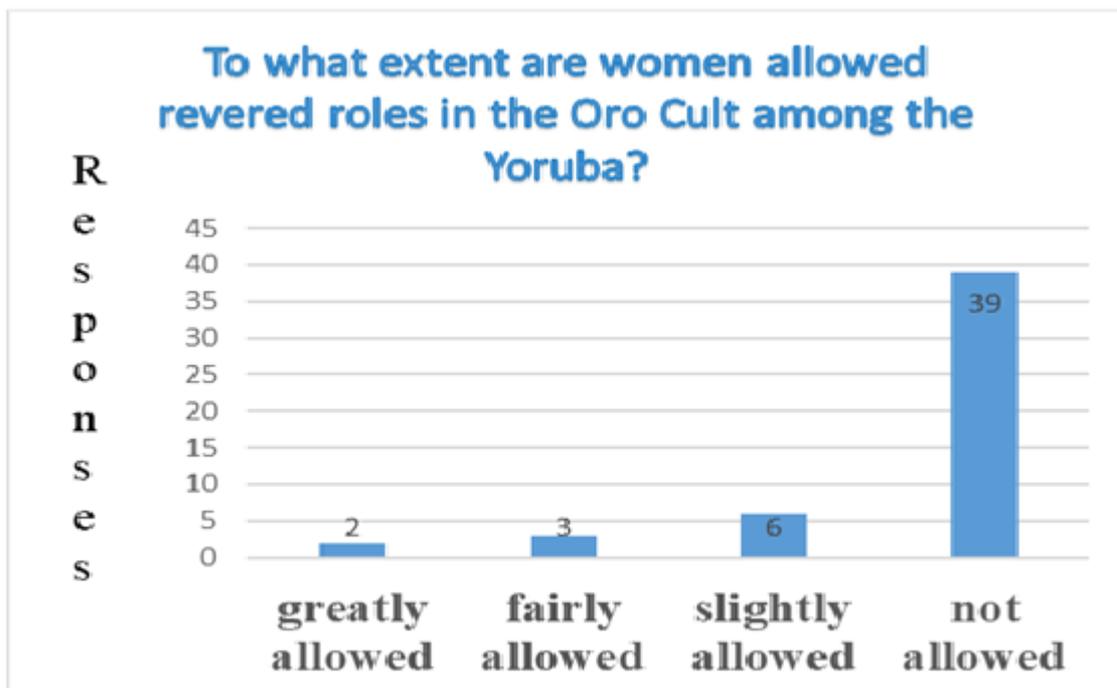


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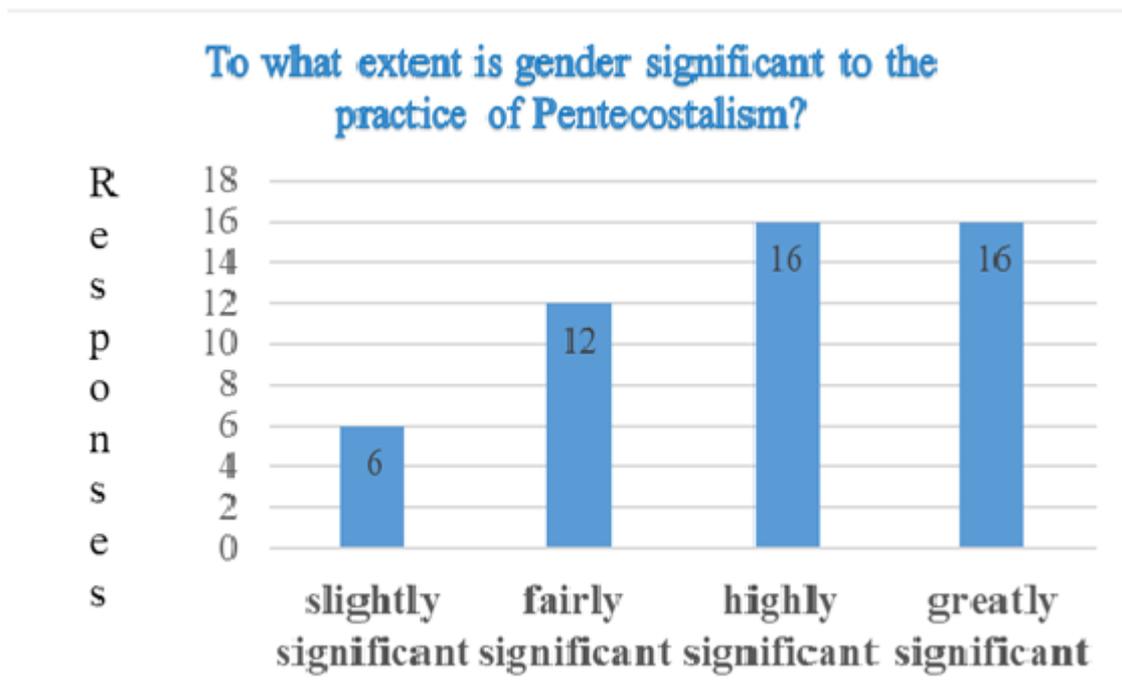


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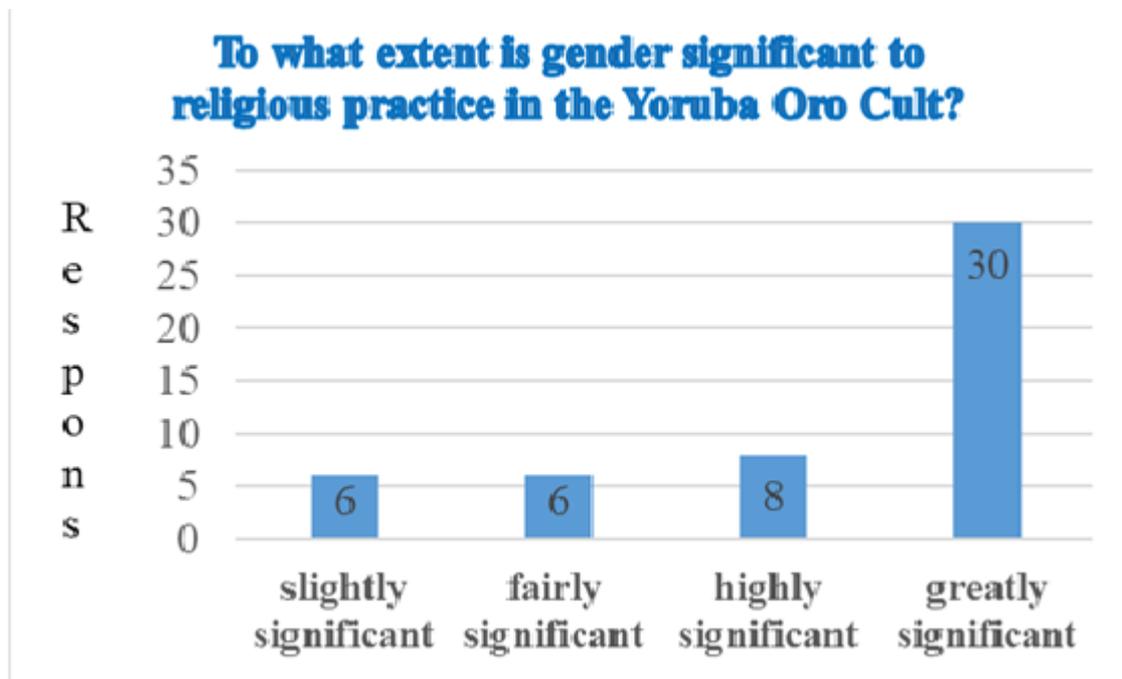


Figure 12

4.1 Women and spirituality in Yoruba indigenous Oro cult and on Ikoyi prayer mountain: comparison

Spirituality

The concept of spirituality is germane to the two traditions. The two traditions however discuss spirituality differently. In the Oro cult, Ayanyemi, the priest of Orò cult in Ifetedo town, in a personal interview, affirmed that character constitute spirituality to the worshippers of Oro. In his words, it is a believable thesis that character is synonymous to religious practice. He has it further that there are other things that constitute spirituality such as regular worship attendance, prayer, unity and intimacy with the gods and ancestors, but good character is of utmost priority. His views were supported by Akinyinka, Adesigbin and Amodu, during personal interview. On Ikoyi prayer mountain, spirituality has to do with abstinence from women; the use of prayer water for healing; in-depth study of the word of God; prophetic intervention to solve human problems and more. This is supported by the archival materials of Christ Apostolic Church that owns the prayer mountain. (Nigerian national archive report: file 1146, Alokun 2017).

Women and spirituality:

In the two traditions, women are not allowed to participate in their activities. In the indigenous Orò cult in Ifetedo town, the only way women participate is to cook the meal for the festivity. At Ikoyi mountain, women are only allowed a portion at the bottom of the mountain. Why this alienation against women? The two traditions are of the opinion that women constitute a disruption to spirituality. In the practice of *Orò*, respondents' opinion reveal almost a total disruption of women in the cult's practice and rituals. (figure 8 above). In Ikoyi prayer mountain, respondents' opinions reveal women as disruption to spirituality in various degrees (figure 7 above). This is further discussed in the latter part of this study.

4.2 A critical discourse of spirituality in both traditions:

The two traditions, Ikoyi prayer mountain, a Pentecostal front of Christ Apostolic Church and the indigenous *Orò* Cult of the Yoruba, have definite concepts about women and spirituality. In the positive aspect, the practitioners of *Orò* cult among the Yoruba attach the relevance of women in the worship of *Orò* to cooking food for the festival. See figure ten with only eleven respondents out of fifty, holding the opinion that women are allowed revered roles in the *Orò* Cult. They simply refer to the useful roles of cooking during the *Orò* festival.

Figure nine shows that only fourteen out of fifty respondents are optimistic that women are allowed revered roles on Ikoyi mountain. The fourteen respondents are simply referring to the fact that women are allowed a portion at the bottommost part of the mountain. They are not allowed to reach the top of the mountain. In the negative perspective, figures seven to ten show that respondents are sceptical of women when it comes to the concept of spirituality. The fact that women are not allowed revered roles in the practice of both traditions show the people's negativity to women as far as spirituality is concerned.

In the actual fact, to a large extent, both traditions consider women to be a disruption to spirituality. Although, opinion varied on this in many Pentecostal circles. In the indigenous Oro Cult, the opinion is almost an absolute negativity as far as women and spirituality is concerned. Figure eight shows that forty-seven out of fifty respondents believe that women constitute a disruption to spirituality. The respondents in figure seven (about women in Pentecostal circle) show that women constitute disruption to spirituality in various degrees. Five respondents believe that women are not a disruption to spirituality; twelve respondents believe that they slightly constitute a disruption; fifteen respondents hold the opinion that women constitute a fair disruption to spirituality and eighteen respondents have the opinion that women are highly a disruption to spirituality.

Why this varied opinions, expressed by respondents concerning women and spirituality in the research on Ikoyi prayer mountain? The majority of people who attend Ikoyi mountain are from Christ Apostolic Church, Nigeria. In the Church, women are allowed some roles which are not considered mostly important. Women, for instances, serve as prophetesses, evangelists and teachers in the Church. They are, however, not ordained as Church assembly pastors, consequently, they are not allowed any position in the top hierarchy of the Church. Again, in the Executive Council and in the General Executive Council of Christ Apostolic Church, women are not allowed any position. The 1964 and 1966 general executive council meetings of the church which expounded the membership of the church executive council excluded women (Alokan, 2014).

Why are women considered a disruption to spiritual activities on Ikoyi mountain and by extension, Christ Apostolic Church? In a personal interview with Oshun, it was gathered that right from the beginning of Christ Apostolic Church, the owner of Ikoyi prayer mountain, the founding fathers have great fear for women. This fear, in his opinion, is partly a function of the carryover of their perception of women in African religion which is the religious root of Africans generally. In African religion, it is widely believed that women are very much connected with witchcraft. Omoyajuowo a professor of Religion (1998: 320), has it that it is generally believed in Africa that witches are predominantly women... flying about at night. He expressed his opinion further that women get involved in witchcraft to enable them fight the dominance of men in the African society. The relegated role which women are subjected to in the African society is simply abhorring and they need to fight and regain their esteem. This perception of women in African world-view is what Oshun refers to in the personal interview.

Again, there is a profound believe among the Pentecostals of Christ Apostolic Church that women could be dangerous in that they could fall into the sin of adultery through them. In essence, the founding fathers of the Church have deep phobia about women. Oshun discussed further that the inclusion of women in high committee of the Church in the 1988 draft constitution met with failure due to this same phobia. Many in the church are, therefore, of the opinion that women may not be trusted to justify inclusion at the very revered position in the Church hierarchy where they will sit side by side with men.

To the same question, why are women considered a disruption to spirituality in the practice of the Yoruba indigenous Oro? Mr. Akintade Ayanyemi, in a personal

interview maintain that in the spiritual sphere, women constitute a great disruption. He believes that there is a level of power that one may never attain to if he continues to have sexual intercourse with women. It is also the opinion of many that menstruation is a disruption to spirituality.

5. Conclusion/Finding

The two traditions, Pentecostalism and African Indigenous Oro Cult have different opinions on what constitute spirituality in religious practice. Both traditions also believe that women constitute a disruption to spirituality. This study reveals that the believe of women as a disruption to spirituality is peculiar to the two traditions.

An important finding of this study however is that among the Pentecostal Christians who patronizes Ikoyi prayer mountain however, the claim of women as disruption to spirituality is based on the premises of fear – fear of witchcraft which is prevalent in their religious and social world-views. So far, there is no any empirical study that concludes to the fact that women constitute a disruption to spirituality, either in African religion or in Pentecostalism. This study may, however not be used to generalize on the practice of Pentecostalism and African indigenous religion as a whole.

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Respondents to personal interviews

Respondent Date	Town
E. O. Alalade, 18/1/2019	Christ apostolic church, Ikoyi prayer mountain, Ikire
C. O. Oshun, 22/1/2019	Christ apostolic church, LASU Ojoo, Lagos
T. Adeyinka 12/1/2019	Christ apostolic church Baakun, Ipetumodu
D. O. Alabi 12/1/2019	Ikeji-Arakeji
B. Olagundoye, 12/1/2019	Ikeji-Arakeji
A. Ayanyemi, 10/1/2019	Ayanyemi compound, Ifetedo
B. Ayanyemi, 10/1/2019	Ayanyemi compound, Ifetedo
A. Adesigbin, 10/1/2019	Ayanyemi compound, Ifetedo
Yinusa Amodu, 11/1/2019	Ayanyemi compound, Ifetedo

Note: Only nine of the respondents to interviews could be listed here because the rest pleaded anonymity.

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