

**TITLE: THE STORY OF THE BIBLE AMONG
OVAKWANYAMA: THE AGENCY OF
INDIGENOUS TRANSLATORS**

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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Theology in the School of Religion and Theology at the
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.**

DECLARATION

I, Martin Ngodji, hereby declare that this whole thesis, unless specially shown to the contrary in the text, is my own original work.

Signed: 

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Ovakwanyama in northern Namibia and southern Angola, especially the members of The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), and the members of The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Angola (ELCA).

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BSSA	Bible Society of South Africa
CMS	Church Missionary Society
BSN	Bible Society of Namibia
ELCIN	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia
ELOC	Evangelical Lutheran Church Owambo-Kavango
EPI	Engela Parish Institute
FELM	Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission
FMS	Finnish Missionary Society
OPO	Ovambo People's Organisation
RMS	Rhenish Missionary Society
ST	Source Text
SC	Source Culture
SL	Source Language
SWAPO	Southwest Africa Peoples Organisation
TC	Target Culture
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target Text
TL	Target Language
UBS	United Bible Societies
UNO	United Nations Organisation

ABSTRACT

This research deals with Bible translating into Oshikwanyama between 1891 and 1974. People who live in northern Namibia and southern Angola speak Oshikwanyama. The research will focus on the stages of translation projects and the work done by translators, co-ordinators and the translation committee, as from German missionaries from the Rhenish Missionary Society to Finnish missionaries from the Finnish Missionary Society. However, the focus will concentrate more on the agency of African indigenous translators.

The German missionaries started the translation of the New Testament into Oshikwanyama with the assistance of the indigenous people when they arrived in Oukwanyama in 1891. The New Testament was printed in 1927 in London. The Finnish missionaries started the translation of the whole Bible into under the auspices of the BFBS Oshikwanyama in late 1958, and it was published by the BSSA in Cape Town in 1974.

In line with the focus of this research, little has been documented up to now about African missionary identities and their contributions. The present research on Bible translation into Oshikwanyama aims to correct this by giving their biographies in some detail.

The issue of Bible translation into Oshikwanyama went hand in hand with the development of the language in written form. Therefore at the end the Ovakwanyama were very happy because God now speaks to them in their language and at the same time their language has been recognized.

In this research you will find out that indigenous people were not only behind the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, but they were involved in that translation process. They played a significant role especially in translation, proofreading and the correct appropriation of words. The 1974 Bible in Oshikwanyama is the product of African missionaries. After reading this thesis you will know them by their names and individual contributions.

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Firstly, I would like to thank the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN) leadership, and The Eastern Diocese, where I served as Executive Secretary for five years (1998-2003). The Head Office, which approved my scholarship application, and the ELCIN Secretary of Education and Training, who processed and made all the arrangements so that I could further my studies.

Secondly, I thank my beloved wife Saima and our children Iyaloo Pendapala, Asser Nghidipohamba Shimweefeleni, Mwahafa Lineekela, and Wilhelmina Ndafapawa, who decided to accompany and assist me, making my studies possible.

Thirdly, I must thank the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM), which sponsored my studies. It was only because of their financial support that I managed to finish this work. I must also acknowledge the assistance provided for the year 2004 from the NRF of RSA.

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank God who made everything possible for me.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Background to and motivation for the research

The Bible has been translated into many tongues, Oshikwanyama¹ included. This means the Bible is culturally infinitely translatable, capable of being at home everywhere without loss to its essential nature (Bediako 1994:244). The Bible itself advocates that God be praised in many tongues around the globe (Acts 2:8). Translation is also incarnation and each incarnation has been different and yet each has managed to preserve elements, which unite them all as sharing in common reality (Walls 1996:27,28). The Bible in any language carries the same message as in the original languages. This is true of the Bible in Oshikwanyama also.

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successful translation? Surely there were indigenous people involved in the translation, making the transmission of the message possible.

The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was started by German missionaries of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS), who came to Oukwanyama in 1891, with the help of indigenous Christians. Missionary Paul Schulte translated the *Etamenti Lipe nOmapisalme* (New Testament and Psalms] into Oshikwanyama, and this was printed in 1927. The German missionaries also prepared *Okatikisa Kanini kaMartin Lutheri* [Small Catechism of Martin Luther] and *Omahepaululo omOmbiibeli* [The Stories of the Bible] in Oshikwanyama. Besides the translation of the Holy Scriptures, they also produced Oshikwanyama literature like *ABD*, the *Oshikwanyama-Deutsche Wortbuch* [Oshikwanyama-German Dictionary] and *Omukanda wOmaimbulilo mOshikwanyama* [The Book of Songs in Oshikwanyama]. All this literature was of great help to later missionaries who came to work among the Ovakwanyama. Finnish missionaries completed the translation of the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama in 1974 (Buys and Nambala 2003:91; Laukkanen 2002:30,31).

Telling the story of the Bible among the Ovakwanyama is very important to the author, as a pastor and Oshikwanyama speaking person, and also to the whole Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). There is no insider who has done such research. The missionary Pauli Laukkanen (2002) did his research from a missionary perspective. This author took up the challenge of doing this research, because there are many dimensions in which the story of the Bible could be told. Bediako claims “dimensions of the story of the Bible in Africa can only be effectively told by Africans themselves” (Bediako 1994:243). Thus the story of the Bible among

the Ovakwanyama will only be effective when told by the Ovakwanyama themselves. This thesis explores how the existing Oshikwanyama Bible came about, focusing specifically on the contributions and the role played by the indigenous translators, rather than the European missionaries.

The information contained in this thesis should help as a point of departure for those who will do further research in the subject matter. Written records last longer than oral records and can be accessed by many researchers; therefore the contributions of my fellow Kwanyama countrymen and women must be recorded before their history disappears.

1. 2. Preliminary literature study and the location of this research within existing literature

There are many theologians who have written about Bible translation and its impact on the people and their lives. They have shown how important it is to have the Bible translated into as many languages as possible. Translation of the Bible into the vernacular has been a motto of the Protestant Christian missionaries around the world. The Bible was and still is at the centre of Christian teaching and life. Eric Fenn confirms this notion when he talks about the threefold cord, which means that the missionary is bound by:

His own spiritual life and his authority as a messenger of the Gospel depended on his own knowledge of the Scriptures; the message he [the missionary] sought to proclaim and the Church into which he brought to his converts was centered on the Bible; and the written Scriptures were means by which the Gospel could lay hold of the minds and hearts of men and women, sometimes more effectively than by any word of his own. (Fenn 1963:383)

What he says obviously applies equally well to lady missionaries.

Since the inception of Christianity, the translation of the Bible has been done in many countries and communities with the purpose of planting Christianity. Besides aiding in the conversion of people and the planting of Christianity, translation also made the communication of the message of Christianity possible. Bediako asserts that:

It came to be recognized early that for effective communication of the faith, converts should have access to the original Christian sources in their mother tongues. The possibility of vernacular Christian Scriptures as the functional equivalent of the original source-materials in itself demonstrated that the Christian faith is 'culturally translatable'. (Bediako 1994:246)

Eric Fenn confirms the missionary commitment to the translation of the Bible into unwritten languages and the impact of the translation on the people. He writes:

Until they translated the Bible into the language of the people among whom they were working, there could be no stability for the Church they were trying to build, and until their people had literature, they would never truly be people. So, wherever the Gospel was carried, men made scripture available and taught the people to read. (Fenn 1963:395)

This means that having the Word of God in the language of the people allows Christianity to grow and become rooted in the hearts and minds of the people, and, at the same time, promotes the target language. This is exactly what was done by the missionary agencies in the Oukwanyama area. Translations in Oshikwanyama were imperative for the missionaries. Bediako supports this claim when he writes that: "the Bible had become an independent yardstick by which to test Christian ethics and morals and provides the basis for developing new forms of Christianity". He furthers his argument by saying "Africans, with access to the Bible in their tongues, could truly claim to hear God speaking to them in their own language" (1994:246).

Lamin Sanneh in his book, *Translating the Message* (1989) shows how effective and imperative it is to translate the Bible into the vernacular. He points out that from the beginning of Christian enterprises there was a need for translation of the message into different languages.

In his recent book, *Rough Road to Dynamism: Bible translating in northern Namibia, 1954-1987: Kwanyama, Kwangali and Ndonga*, Pauli Laukkanen (2002) shows how Rhenish and Finnish missionaries translated the Bible into the vernacular languages in Namibia. He pointed out differences and similarities, progress and setbacks, and the weak and strong points encountered by the translators in translation, particularly in Oshikwanyama. Laukkanen asserted in his book that:

I am happy if this book can give directions for translation projects in the future, so that not all mistakes have to be repeated, and translators could also learn from what was done in the past. (Laukkanen 2002:11)

Laukkanen points out that the local pastors, preachers and teachers helped a lot to make translation and communication possible, but he does not give details about their identities, specific contributions and roles. Sometimes he refers to them as assistants, local pastors and teachers, implying they are given no names or backgrounds. These omissions are not helpful, and they are what the present researcher is trying to rectify.

In their recent book, *History of the Church in Namibia 1805-1990: An Introduction*, Buys and Nambala (2003) give details of the work of the missionary agents and churches in the whole of Namibia, from the missionary period to the independent church in Namibia. They highlight the role of missionaries, but they fail to establish their information or acknowledge the role the indigenous people played in the process of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama. They intimate that the Bible was

translated into Oshikwanyama by missionaries from Germany and completed by missionaries from Finland, with the help of unidentified indigenous persons (Buys and Nambala 2003:xiv,364,365).

This work will be located between these two pieces of literature, which analyse the historical work of missions and the translating of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The main focus will be on the agency of indigenous translators. These are the people who this research will attempt to trace, in order to document their details and specific contributions.

1. 3. Research problem

When the German missionaries arrived in Oukwanyama in 1891, they started with the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, with the help of indigenous Christians (Buys and Nambala 2003:91; Laukkanen 2002:30). According to Natanael Shinana, a retired pastor who served for a long time as an ELCIN evangelist, Schulte did his translation work with the help of indigenous people like Mika Nghiyoonanye and David Nghilokwa, who were teachers in the Engela ELCIN parish. Later, the Finnish Mission Society (FMS) appointed Walter Björklund to carry on with the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama after the German missionaries left the Oukwanyama in 1914. The then Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo Kavango (ELOC), now ELCIN, seconded local pastor Natanael Nghatanga, evangelist Andreas Shapota, and teacher Sakaria Tuhadeleni to be co-translators to Björklund. Besides their names, no further information about them has been given (Kaulinge 2004; Laukkanen 2002:55-59; Nakanwe 2004).

Instead of being referred to by their names, it is surprising that the indigenous people are sometimes referred to as co-workers, pastors or assistants. They are important people, who need to be identified, because their work resulted in the Bible in Oshikwanyama being accepted by the Ovakwanyama.

As Laukkanen put the emphasis on the missionary translators, this thesis will place the emphasis on the indigenous translators. The main focus, in this project, will be the role of the indigenous translators, who in most cases have been overlooked. Who they were, and how it was possible for them to do this great and valuable work in those early days of development, when many indigenous people did not know how to read and write. This is my prime concern in this thesis.

The whole project will explore this question: Who were the indigenous translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama and what was the extent of their contribution?

The indigenous translators have done a great work in translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama, in teaching the missionaries the native language and in furnishing them with local language usage. They have also helped considerably in educating the missionaries about the people's culture. It is impossible to translate properly if one does not know the language and the culture of the people.

1. 4. Theoretical framework

This work hopes to explore the agency of Africans in the history of translation in general, and in Oshikwanyama in particular. Therefore it will concentrate more on what indigenous African translators did as far as translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama is concerned. These are people to whom Maluleke refers in his article on “The Rediscovery of the Agency of Africans”, who need to be rediscovered. For those people who portray Africans as poor, helpless and successfully brainwashed victims of the powers that be, Maluleke argued that:

There is a new realization that the African poor, and African Christians in general, are not without intellectual, material and spiritual resources for survival and resistance. This being the case even if such resistance may be covert and coded rather than overt and public. In other words, the agency of African Christians and the African poor are being rediscovered, explored and respectfully interpreted. (Maluleke 2000:31)

Maluleke promotes Africans and their contributions to the Africanization of Christianity. Therefore the African’s role and contribution in translating the Bible, and the Gospel as a whole, needs to be valued, and those who participated in this transaction, identified. Lamin Sanneh contributes to this claim when he writes that:

The importance of translation and its priority in missionary work, is an indication that ‘God was not disdainful of Africans as to be incommunicable in their languages’. Therefore, translation ‘imbued African languages with eternal significance and endowed them with a transcendent range’; it also ‘presumed that the God of the Bible had preceded the missionary into receptor-culture’. (Sanneh 1983:166)

In fact translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama does not only make Oshikwanyama locally and internationally accepted in religious world literature, but it also gives local theologians the chance to theologize in local terms, idioms and culture. This process of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama also enables the

indigenous translators to join the worldwide translation family. Therefore this research project aims to have all the available information regarding African agency among the Ovakwanyama documented.

1. 5. Research design and research methodology

This research project is based on the historical analysis of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. This includes translation studies, theories of translation and the history of translation in general and of Oshikwanyama in particular. The existing material related to the subject matter is located in libraries and archives. Reading this material gave the relevant information. .

The reading of secondary books and the existing material could not solve the problem completely, because not all the information has been recorded. I then conducted interviews with people like old pastors, old teachers and lay preachers who were engaged in the translation work. The relatives and colleagues of those who had passed away also gave me information about their roles.

This researcher visited the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), at Oniipa, where materials, manuscripts and other correspondence are kept. The Bible Society of South Africa in Cape Town, which owned the project of translations and published the Oshikwanyama Bible in 1974, was also visited. Consultation with the ELCIN leadership, who spearheaded the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages in northern Namibia, also took place.

The minutes and materials of the Oshikwanyama Translation Committee meetings were obtained, as well as the correspondence between the Bible Society in South Africa, Cape Town, and the ELCIN translators.

This research project is thus based on a combination of a variety of related approaches; that is: reading books and old manuscripts, and doing research in the form of interviews and consultations with the indigenous people who were involved in the translation work.

This research will cover the period between 1891, when the German missionaries arrived in the Oukwanyama country/kingdom, up to 1974 when the whole Bible in Oshikwanyama was translated and published. The Oukwanyama country/kingdom will be the main area of focus, but other areas like Ondonga, where the Finnish missionaries worked before taking over from the German missionaries who left in 1914, will also be kept in mind. This researcher is a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), and an Oshikwanyama speaking person. The emphasis of the research will primarily be on the African translators, although the Europeans translators will not be ignored.

1. 6. Looking ahead

In chapter two we deal with the issues and perspectives of translation as introduced by theologians. The famous translation theorist is Dr Eugene Nida who introduced well-defined ideas of dynamic equivalence. The chapter will touch on issues of culture, language and other related issues and how they affected the translation. In chapter

three we cover the period of mission work and the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama from 1891, when the German missionaries arrived in the Oukwanyama, to 1974 when the Oshikwanyama Bible was published. The chapter focuses mostly on the role played by African missionaries.

Chapter four covers the African missionaries and translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The researcher establishes the identities, biographies and the contributions of each indigenous missionary. Chapter five covers the views of selected contemporary Ovakwanyama, how they responded to Oshikwanyama as a language and to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The reception of the Oshikwanyama Bible is also dealt with. Chapter six is the researcher's conclusion, observations and recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Background to and motivation for the research

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The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was started by German missionaries of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS), who came to Oukwanyama in 1891, with the help of indigenous Christians. Missionary Paul Schulte translated the *Etamenti Lipe nOmapisalme* (New Testament and Psalms) into Oshikwanyama, and this was printed in 1927. The German missionaries also prepared *Okatikisa Kanini kaMartin Lutheri* [Small Catechism of Martin Luther] and *Omahepaululo omOmbiibeli* [The Stories of the Bible] in Oshikwanyama. Besides the translation of the Holy Scriptures, they also produced Oshikwanyama literature like *ABD*, the *Oshikwanyama-Deutsche Wortbuch* [Oshikwanyama-German Dictionary] and *Omukanda wOmaimbulilo mOshikwanyama* [The Book of Songs in Oshikwanyama]. All this literature was of great help to later missionaries who came to work among the Ovakwanyama. Finnish missionaries completed the translation of the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama in 1974 (Buys and Nambala 2003:91; Laukkanen 2002:30,31).

Telling the story of the Bible among the Ovakwanyama is very important to the author, as a pastor and Oshikwanyama speaking person, and also to the whole Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). There is no insider who has done such research. The missionary Pauli Laukkanen (2002) did his research from a missionary perspective. This author took up the challenge of doing this research, because there are many dimensions in which the story of the Bible could be told. Bediako claims “dimensions of the story of the Bible in Africa can only be effectively told by Africans themselves” (Bediako 1994:243). Thus the story of the Bible among

the Ovakwanyama will only be effective when told by the Ovakwanyama themselves. This thesis explores how the existing Oshikwanyama Bible came about, focusing specifically on the contributions and the role played by the indigenous translators, rather than the European missionaries.

The information contained in this thesis should help as a point of departure for those who will do further research in the subject matter. Written records last longer than oral records and can be accessed by many researchers; therefore the contributions of my fellow Kwanyama countrymen and women must be recorded before their history disappears.

1. 2. Preliminary literature study and the location of this research within existing literature

There are many theologians who have written about Bible translation and its impact on the people and their lives. They have shown how important it is to have the Bible translated into as many languages as possible. Translation of the Bible into the vernacular has been a motto of the Protestant Christian missionaries around the world. The Bible was and still is at the centre of Christian teaching and life. Eric Fenn confirms this notion when he talks about the threefold cord, which means that the missionary is bound by:

His own spiritual life and his authority as a messenger of the Gospel depended on his own knowledge of the Scriptures; the message he [the missionary] sought to proclaim and the Church into which he brought to his converts was centered on the Bible; and the written Scriptures were means by which the Gospel could lay hold of the minds and hearts of men and women, sometimes more effectively than by any word of his own. (Fenn 1963:383)

What he says obviously applies equally well to lady missionaries.

Since the inception of Christianity, the translation of the Bible has been done in many countries and communities with the purpose of planting Christianity. Besides aiding in the conversion of people and the planting of Christianity, translation also made the communication of the message of Christianity possible. Bediako asserts that:

It came to be recognized early that for effective communication of the faith, converts should have access to the original Christian sources in their mother tongues. The possibility of vernacular Christian Scriptures as the functional equivalent of the original source-materials in itself demonstrated that the Christian faith is 'culturally translatable'. (Bediako 1994:246)

Eric Fenn confirms the missionary commitment to the translation of the Bible into unwritten languages and the impact of the translation on the people. He writes:

Until they translated the Bible into the language of the people among whom they were working, there could be no stability for the Church they were trying to build, and until their people had literature, they would never truly be people. So, wherever the Gospel was carried, men made scripture available and taught the people to read. (Fenn 1963:395)

This means that having the Word of God in the language of the people allows Christianity to grow and become rooted in the hearts and minds of the people, and, at the same time, promotes the target language. This is exactly what was done by the missionary agencies in the Oukwanyama area. Translations in Oshikwanyama were imperative for the missionaries. Bediako supports this claim when he writes that: "the Bible had become an independent yardstick by which to test Christian ethics and morals and provides the basis for developing new forms of Christianity". He furthers his argument by saying "Africans, with access to the Bible in their tongues, could truly claim to hear God speaking to them in their own language" (1994:246).

Lamin Sanneh in his book, *Translating the Message* (1989) shows how effective and imperative it is to translate the Bible into the vernacular. He points out that from the beginning of Christian enterprises there was a need for translation of the message into different languages.

In his recent book, *Rough Road to Dynamism: Bible translating in northern Namibia, 1954-1987: Kwanyama, Kwangali and Ndonga*, Pauli Laukkanen (2002) shows how Rhenish and Finnish missionaries translated the Bible into the vernacular languages in Namibia. He pointed out differences and similarities, progress and setbacks, and the weak and strong points encountered by the translators in translation, particularly in Oshikwanyama. Laukkanen asserted in his book that:

I am happy if this book can give directions for translation projects in the future, so that not all mistakes have to be repeated, and translators could also learn from what was done in the past. (Laukkanen 2002:11)

Laukkanen points out that the local pastors, preachers and teachers helped a lot to make translation and communication possible, but he does not give details about their identities, specific contributions and roles. Sometimes he refers to them as assistants, local pastors and teachers, implying they are given no names or backgrounds. These omissions are not helpful, and they are what the present researcher is trying to rectify.

In their recent book, *History of the Church in Namibia 1805-1990: An Introduction*, Buys and Nambala (2003) give details of the work of the missionary agents and churches in the whole of Namibia, from the missionary period to the independent church in Namibia. They highlight the role of missionaries, but they fail to establish their information or acknowledge the role the indigenous people played in the process of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama. They intimate that the Bible was

translated into Oshikwanyama by missionaries from Germany and completed by missionaries from Finland, with the help of unidentified indigenous persons (Buys and Nambala 2003:xiv,364,365).

This work will be located between these two pieces of literature, which analyse the historical work of missions and the translating of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The main focus will be on the agency of indigenous translators. These are the people who this research will attempt to trace, in order to document their details and specific contributions.

1. 3. Research problem

When the German missionaries arrived in Oukwanyama in 1891, they started with the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, with the help of indigenous Christians (Buys and Nambala 2003:91; Laukkanen 2002:30). According to Natanael Shinana, a retired pastor who served for a long time as an ELCIN evangelist, Schulte did his translation work with the help of indigenous people like Mika Nghiyoonanye and David Nghilokwa, who were teachers in the Engela ELCIN parish. Later, the Finnish Mission Society (FMS) appointed Walter Björklund to carry on with the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama after the German missionaries left the Oukwanyama in 1914. The then Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo Kavango (ELOC), now ELCIN, seconded local pastor Natanael Nghatanga, evangelist Andreas Shapota, and teacher Sakaria Tuhadeleni to be co-translators to Björklund. Besides their names, no further information about them has been given (Kaulinge 2004; Laukkanen 2002:55-59; Nakanwe 2004).

Instead of being referred to by their names, it is surprising that the indigenous people are sometimes referred to as co-workers, pastors or assistants. They are important people, who need to be identified, because their work resulted in the Bible in Oshikwanyama being accepted by the Ovakwanyama.

As Laukkanen put the emphasis on the missionary translators, this thesis will place the emphasis on the indigenous translators. The main focus, in this project, will be the role of the indigenous translators, who in most cases have been overlooked. Who they were, and how it was possible for them to do this great and valuable work in those early days of development, when many indigenous people did not know how to read and write. This is my prime concern in this thesis.

The whole project will explore this question: Who were the indigenous translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama and what was the extent of their contribution?

The indigenous translators have done a great work in translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama, in teaching the missionaries the native language and in furnishing them with local language usage. They have also helped considerably in educating the missionaries about the people's culture. It is impossible to translate properly if one does not know the language and the culture of the people.

1. 4. Theoretical framework

This work hopes to explore the agency of Africans in the history of translation in general, and in Oshikwanyama in particular. Therefore it will concentrate more on what indigenous African translators did as far as translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama is concerned. These are people to whom Maluleke refers in his article on “The Rediscovery of the Agency of Africans”, who need to be rediscovered. For those people who portray Africans as poor, helpless and successfully brainwashed victims of the powers that be, Maluleke argued that:

There is a new realization that the African poor, and African Christians in general, are not without intellectual, material and spiritual resources for survival and resistance. This being the case even if such resistance may be covert and coded rather than overt and public. In other words, the agency of African Christians and the African poor are being rediscovered, explored and respectfully interpreted. (Maluleke 2000:31)

Maluleke promotes Africans and their contributions to the Africanization of Christianity. Therefore the African’s role and contribution in translating the Bible, and the Gospel as a whole, needs to be valued, and those who participated in this transaction, identified. Lamin Sanneh contributes to this claim when he writes that:

The importance of translation and its priority in missionary work, is an indication that ‘God was not disdainful of Africans as to be incommunicable in their languages’. Therefore, translation ‘imbued African languages with eternal significance and endowed them with a transcendent range’; it also ‘presumed that the God of the Bible had preceded the missionary into receptor-culture’. (Sanneh 1983:166)

In fact translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama does not only make Oshikwanyama locally and internationally accepted in religious world literature, but it also gives local theologians the chance to theologize in local terms, idioms and culture. This process of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama also enables the

indigenous translators to join the worldwide translation family. Therefore this research project aims to have all the available information regarding African agency among the Ovakwanyama documented.

1. 5. Research design and research methodology

This research project is based on the historical analysis of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. This includes translation studies, theories of translation and the history of translation in general and of Oshikwanyama in particular. The existing material related to the subject matter is located in libraries and archives. Reading this material gave the relevant information. .

The reading of secondary books and the existing material could not solve the problem completely, because not all the information has been recorded. I then conducted interviews with people like old pastors, old teachers and lay preachers who were engaged in the translation work. The relatives and colleagues of those who had passed away also gave me information about their roles.

This researcher visited the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), at Oniipa, where materials, manuscripts and other correspondence are kept. The Bible Society of South Africa in Cape Town, which owned the project of translations and published the Oshikwanyama Bible in 1974, was also visited. Consultation with the ELCIN leadership, who spearheaded the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages in northern Namibia, also took place.

The minutes and materials of the Oshikwanyama Translation Committee meetings were obtained, as well as the correspondence between the Bible Society in South Africa, Cape Town, and the ELCIN translators.

This research project is thus based on a combination of a variety of related approaches; that is: reading books and old manuscripts, and doing research in the form of interviews and consultations with the indigenous people who were involved in the translation work.

This research will cover the period between 1891, when the German missionaries arrived in the Oukwanyama country/kingdom, up to 1974 when the whole Bible in Oshikwanyama was translated and published. The Oukwanyama country/kingdom will be the main area of focus, but other areas like Ondonga, where the Finnish missionaries worked before taking over from the German missionaries who left in 1914, will also be kept in mind. This researcher is a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), and an Oshikwanyama speaking person. The emphasis of the research will primarily be on the African translators, although the Europeans translators will not be ignored.

1. 6. Looking ahead

In chapter two we deal with the issues and perspectives of translation as introduced by theologians. The famous translation theorist is Dr Eugene Nida who introduced well-defined ideas of dynamic equivalence. The chapter will touch on issues of culture, language and other related issues and how they affected the translation. In chapter

three we cover the period of mission work and the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama from 1891, when the German missionaries arrived in the Oukwanyama, to 1974 when the Oshikwanyama Bible was published. The chapter focuses mostly on the role played by African missionaries.

Chapter four covers the African missionaries and translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The researcher establishes the identities, biographies and the contributions of each indigenous missionary. Chapter five covers the views of selected contemporary Ovakwanyama, how they responded to Oshikwanyama as a language and to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The reception of the Oshikwanyama Bible is also dealt with. Chapter six is the researcher's conclusion, observations and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

TRANSLATION ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

2. 1. Introduction

Among the Ovakwanyama the word translation is understood in different ways. It may be translated *efatululo*. The word *efatululo* literally means 'interpretation'. According to Shinana, however, translation cannot be understood as interpretation, because interpretation includes explanation (Shinana 2004). Translation may be translated *elundululo*. The word *elundululo* literally means 'changing' or 'to change'. *Elundululo* carries the connotation of changing the whole meaning or making something different. This may be true because when translating takes place, change is also taking place. This means you change from one language to another. Translation may be translated *etoloko*. The word *etoloko* is derived from the Afrikaans word *tolk* (interpreter). This word is used when someone is addressing people in one language and another person is changing it into another language without changing the meaning, in order to communicate the message to the audience. Ovawambo now generally accept the noun *etoloko* and the verb *okutoloka* when they wish to convey the meaning of the word "translation".

Shinana (2004), however, prefers the word *elundululo* because, in the process of translation, the translator is changing from one language to another, whereas Bishop Kaulinge (2004) prefers *etoloko*. In his opinion when doing this, the translator is not changing the meaning, but the words. The meaning remains the same.

Rev Eino Amaambo (2004) prefers *efatululo*. In his opinion the translator carries the sense of interpretation and explanation. I understood this because, when doing revision of the New Testament in Oshindonga, a lot of explaining was done in order for the correct meaning of the text to be discovered. Personally, I prefer to use *etoloko* when I refer to the translation of the Bible. In my opinion *etoloko* includes *elundululo* and *efatululo*, which all mean translation. During the course of this work we will see which term others use to mean translation.

In Namibia, before the Bible was translated into Oshikwanyama, there were Bible versions in Nama (1866), Otjiherero (1879 New Testament and 1988 whole) and Oshindonga (1954). Translation is an ongoing process, which never ends. By translating the Bible into any language it becomes a part of that language. Translation entails a certain transformation, enculturation or indigenization of the biblical culture (Mojola 2002a:1).

According to Martin Luther, translation is to bring the Bible “to the language of the common men and an affirmation of the power of the common men to read the Scriptures for themselves” (Mojola 2002a:3). Sanneh contributes to this argument that translating the Scripture makes it available to ordinary people like the Ovakwanyama, in their own tongue. In this way the religion of Christ is imbued with a populist, republican principle (Sanneh 1993:74). The nations who have the Bible translated into their language feel that God also speaks their tongue and therefore feel close to God. Vernacular translation also allows the people (target group) to make a unique contribution to Christianity (Sanneh 1993:78). Africans having the Bible in the vernacular contributed to the growth of Christianity. They are now no longer on the

receiving end of Christianity, but also on the giving end. Therefore, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular makes it possible for all men and women to read and understand the Word of God, in their languages and to convey the message to others. I agree with Mojola who claims that translation is a necessary component of Christian mission and ministry (Mojola 2002b:203).

2. 2. Translation Theories

Despite the need for translation in general there are various perspectives and motives behind every translation. Before we engage in the translation itself we need to look into some of these critical factors in order to understand what they entail.

2. 2. 1 Formal equivalent translations or literal translation

Literal translation is the rendition of the source text in the target language with complete adherence to the vocabulary, style and structure of the former regardless of whether or not such are meaningful in the target culture. This means that the translator is changing words from source language to target language. This kind of translation is rendering word by word and sentence structure for sentence structure wherever possible. This method was the one most used by the first missionary translators, as it was how they had been taught to translate the Classics (Hermanson 2002:7). Tymoczko describes formal translation as that where the role of the translators is minimized, but the translator is required to work hard with a good dictionary. The translator will be involved in interpretation. This means that the translator will have less input to the text (Tymoczko 1985:63-65).

With regard to the Bible reality is different. Literal translation is difficult because it requires the translator to be faithful to the source text (ST). The source text is regarded as the only frame of reference for the translator, claiming uncompromising literality in the sense of the 'pure language' (Wills 1996:140). Literal translation has its value for the readers. Its points target readers to the original contexts and culture. Literal translation is always contrasted with dynamic equivalence translation. While literal translation concentrates on word-by-word, dynamic equivalence concentrates more on the meaning or message of the text.

2. 2. 2 Dynamic Equivalence of Nida

Dr Eugene Nida introduced a new way of translation, which seeks to convey the meaning of the text rather than rendering word by word. In dynamic equivalence, the translator has more input in the text, because the main aim is to convey the message to the audience not just words (Tymoczko 1985:63).

The translations Nida helped by using dynamic equivalence shaped over 200 languages, making it easier for many millions of lay Christians and non-believers to grasp the meaning of the Bible (David 2002:1). According to a recent interview, Nida insists that his reason for introducing dynamic equivalence was "to help people understand what the text means and not just what the words mean" (David 2002:1). The meaning of the text is more important than the meaning of the words and it is more interesting for Bible readers to understand the meaning rather than just the words. The words have meanings within their cultural settings and not in general. That is why Nida emphasised that "words only have meanings in terms of the culture of which they are part" (David 2002:2).

The Oshikwanyama translators were introduced to the theory of dynamic equivalence at a seminar arranged by the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Bible Society of South Africa and held at Turfloop, South Africa, in July 1967 (Laukkanen 2003:85). Dr. E. A. Nida was one of the persons who gave lectures in that seminar and many other seminars conducted by Nida and others, followed in the next few years. In these seminars, existing revision and translation committees were introduced to the theory of dynamic equivalence. Training seminars were held when it became necessary for churches and missions to obtain practice in the application of the theory. Rev J. Mufeti, one of the representatives of ELCIN to the consultation and the chairperson of the Oshikwanyama Bible translation committee, pointed out that the consultation provided the translators with a new method of performing translation, which was to look for the meaning of the text rather than just the words.

It is difficult to understand the text as is. This problem cannot be solved by literal translation. Thus “the whole point of dynamic equivalence is to make it possible for the present-day reader to understand what the original reader must have understood. It must read insofar as possible as though originally written in English [Oshikwanyama], rather than in Greek or Hebrew” (Nida 1982:428).

There are differences of expressions in languages. Therefore dynamic equivalence is the best option to produce a better translation. Thus Nida has to say:

Unfortunately, many people assume that translation is merely a matter of matching words and, as a result, they go about the task of translation by trying to find the closest literal correspondence in meaning between terms. This can be disastrous. (Nida 1984:91)

The meaning of the words has to do with the culture of the people and is not in a vacuum. Furthermore, it has to do with the context in which it is spoken or said. Nida argues further that obviously translation cannot be made by merely paying attention to seemingly corresponding words, for words only have meaning in terms of the culture of which they are a part (Nida 1984:92).

Paraphrase is inevitable in the process of translation; it goes hand in hand. It is not a mistake to paraphrase the meaning of the text from source language to target language. One can find that the text in target language is longer than in source language.

All good translations are inevitably longer than the original, for translations must express not only what is contained in the source text, but also incorporate those syntactic and semantic categories, which are required by the receptor language. In a sense all good translations therefore inevitably involved paraphrase, but this does not mean that any paraphrase is necessarily a good translation. (Nida 1984:93)

This means that what is important in translation is not rendering words by words, but the meaning of the text in target language as it was first understood in source languages.

Translating the Bible differs from translating other literature. The Bible is a guide to life. Its message must be convincing and clear for all people, who come across it, to understand. There are those who have believed in the message of the Bible and there are those who do not yet. Both parts should be considered carefully in translation. Nida called them: 'insider' and 'outsider'. According to Nida, insiders tend to be conservative with regard to any possible revision or new translation and some are quite resistant to the idea of making the message completely clear (Nida 1984:122).

Rev N. Shinana, a long serving pastor of ELCIN, is one of these people. He is not in favour of new revisions. His argument is that many kinds of translation simplify the Bible. In his opinion the Bible must be as it is and people must just do their own interpretation. The Bible cannot be a Bible dictionary or interpreter. It must give room for the people to interpret it within their own context (Shinana 2004). I partly support his idea, but I also believe in new translations and revisions.

For Nida, the translation of the Bible aimed at outsiders, in order for them to understand the content of the message, can have a very salutary and dynamic effect upon an insider (Nida 1984:122). Every translation must have a goal and target group. It needs to be clear right from the beginning that this translation is meant for a particular group of people. If a person happens to read a portion of the Bible to the wrong target group, the message will be meaningless to them. There must be questions like: to whom, why and how is a particular translation carried out?

2. 2. 3 Cultural translatability and incarnation of Andrew Walls

Translatability means the capacity for the transference of meaning from one language to another without radical change within a given culture. If 'Christianity is infinitely culturally translatable', the Bible, as the book of Christians, is also infinitely culturally translatable. I believe the Bible is culturally translatable, because whenever and wherever translation took place it merged into cultures. The language, which the Bible is translated into, is the identity of the culture. The Bible can also be accommodated to any culture and transformed to match any message. When the message enters into the culture and its context, it could be understood to mean incarnation. There is a connection between translation and incarnation. That is why

Walls asserts, “there is a history of translation of the Bible because there was a translation of the Word into flesh” (Walls 1982:97,98).

Andrew Walls describes the incarnation of God in Christ and culture as follows:

When God became man, Christ took flesh in a particular family, member of a particular nation, with the tradition of customs associated with that nation. All that was not evil He sanctified. Wherever He [Christ] is taken by men in any time and place, He [Christ] takes that nationality, that society, that culture and sanctifies all that is capable of sanctification by his presence. (Walls 1982:97)

This is what happened to the Word of God, the Bible. It can take form in any given language and culture without discrimination whatsoever. This means that what incarnation/translation does to any language/culture is the same to another. Graham confirmed what Walls said on translation to mean incarnation of the Word. In his opinion the Bible translation is a process whereby the written Word is moved from its Hebrew and Greek settings into a new cultural milieu (Graham 2002:312). Translators are channels through which this phenomenon materialized, and language is the medium of communication within the cultural settings.

All is conveyed in the language and thought forms of ancient people, culturally far removed from any present day community. Bible translators seek to convey these various theological materials across the time and culture gap that separates them from the original communities. Their goal is to ensure that the Word of God communicates effectively across that gap. In that way the Word can become incarnate in the new context. (Graham 2002:313)

The translation of the Bible into any language is different from another because each language is from a culture, which differs from another. But even so, the contents must be the same. As Bediako writes,

Each incarnation has been different and yet each has managed to preserve elements, which unite them all as sharing in a common reality. (Bediako 1997: 109)

This means that God has changed from his divinity, which is holy, to humanity, which is exposed to evil. The doctrine of incarnation teaches that God becomes flesh and dwells among us. God did this to show the world that he (God) loved them. This also means that not only the Word of God could change, but also the whole Christianity can change and take the form of any culture. Therefore, translatability may be said to be in-built into the nature of the Christian religion and capable of subverting any cultural possessiveness of the faith in the process of its transmission (Bediako 1997:110). Bediako maintained that the Bible translated into whatever language remains essentially and substantially what it is believed to be in its original autographs (Bediako 1997:109). Furthermore Tshehla contributes to this argument referring to the Sesotho Bible when he says that “the Word of God is just as potent in Sesotho or Spanish or [Oshikwanyama] as it is in Hebrew or Aramaic or Greek” (Tshehla 2003a:86).

“Translatability is also another way of expressing universality. Hence, the translatability of the Christian religion signifies its fundamental relevance and accessibility to persons in any culture within which the Christian faith is transmitted and assimilated” (Bediako 1997:109). This means that the language in which translation took place forms part of other languages, whose translation already existed. It is also counted, not only locally, but universally as well.

2. 3. Translation, language and culture

There is nothing more important than to hear the wonders of God in our own tongue. This is the importance of translation. God initiated it first on the day of Pentecost.

Bediako praised language as a medium in which the divine realm manifested itself to people. He writes:

The ability to hear and express in one's own language the message which one receives must lie at the heart of all authentic religious encounters with the divine realm. Language itself becomes then, not merely a social or a psychological phenomenon, but a theological one as well. Though every human language has its limitations in this connection, yet it is through language, and for each person, through their mother tongue, that the Spirit of God speaks to convey divine communication at its deepest to the human community. ... The significance of Pentecost is that God speaks to men and women always in their vernacular. (Bediako 1997:60)

That event on the day of Pentecost clearly shows that God does not have disdain for any language. That event also shows clearly that any language on earth has an equally bestowed spiritual significance. It means that any language can be used when speaking spiritual matters, that is, the Word of God. Therefore there is no reason not to translate the Word of God into any language.

In order to allow translation to reach its goal it must carefully consider a people's culture. Therefore culture plays an important role in the process of translation. Translation cannot be fully understood outside a culture. Language and culture are related. Language is an integral part of culture. What is applied to language translation also applies to cultural translation. Wills notes "Language is as much a cultural product as a linguistic product" (Wills 1996:85). According to Bishop Kaulinge, the language keeps the culture and the culture is expressed in the language.

The meaning of the language is within the culture. In other words the language is bound to culture (Kaulinge 2004). This is very clearly brought out by the fact that the word "Oshikwanyama" can be translated as "the Kwanyama language", "Kwanyama culture", or "the Kwanyama way of doing things". In addition to the relationship

between language and culture, Nida said: “Language became as much a part of culture as spirit is a part of the body”. He expounds on this statement to by saying that people understand a text on the basis of the relevant contexts, a fact integrally related to all types of verbal communication (Nida 1998:6). Wills, Kaulinge and Nida demonstrate the importance of language within a culture, which means we cannot separate the two. We can obtain the meaning or the message of the text within a particular language and culture.

We can transmit the message from one particular language and culture to another. Here we are talking about the source language/culture to target language/culture.

Wills further asserts that:

Translation, as a specimen of socio-culturally determined linguistic behavior, contains both culture-specific and cultural-universal components, and that culture-specificity and cultural meaning may vary a great deal from one cultural community to the next... But in order to avoid cultural (pragmatic) failure, and to obtain in the target culture the same level of impact and appeal as the original text has had in the source culture, the translator may have to adopt, at least in a certain translation environments such as Bible translation, rather intricate and sophisticated roundabout or adaptive strategies. (Wills 1996:90)

2. 4. Translation and inclusive language

When speaking about inclusive language we touch the issue of gender. “Gender marking in a language can include feminine, masculine, and neuter. Gender is often marked on nouns in agreement with verbs, in most Western languages” (Leman 2004:1). African languages differ in this case. The world now is dealing with gender sensitivities. Bible translators need to take this challenge seriously. Gender accuracy needs to be considered in order to translate the original text according to its intended meaning with regards to gender, not simply according to its literal gender form

(Leman 2004:1). Strauss, in the debate about gender-inclusive language argued that “the real issue of gender-inclusive language is not about the role of men and women [in the Bible], but it is about translating the Word of God as accurately as possible. It is about rendering the meaning of the original Hebrew and Greek into the most precise English equivalents possible” (Strauss and Wegener 2004:1).

Strauss concludes his argument by saying, “if contemporary Bible translations are to remain accurate, they must keep an eye on the current state of the language” (Strauss & Wegener 2004:3). This means that translators must watch out for what kinds of words are appropriate in any given situation. There are cases when the Bible use masculine it meant so, but there are also cases when the Bible use masculine in mean both sexes.

For instance Mt 7:9 Oshikwanyama Bible use the word, *omunhu* (person), for Greek *anthopos* and *omona* (child), for Greek *ho huios*, whereas many English versions would have man and son (Revised Standard Version) or father and son respectively. In Oshikwanyama Bible this verse does not carry a sense of gender, whereas in English translation it does carry.

Wegener contributed to the gender inclusive language debate with the term gender-neutral. Gender-neutral translation is a version of Scripture that systematically attempts to eliminate masculine terms that are used to express general truths (Strauss and Wegener 2004:3). Gender-neutral does not do justice to solve the problem of inclusive languages; it just complicates the issue again, because in most cases it

replaces feminine or masculine words with neuter unnecessarily. Words in masculine, feminine and neuter form exist in the Bible, and they need to remain as they are.

Modern translators, therefore, must consider the usage of inclusive language, at this point in time, with the preference for using neutral terms instead of masculine terms. Nowadays the principle of inclusive language has been widely accepted by the translating institutions (Simon 1996:124-130).

2. 5. The role of a Bible translator

According to Laukkanen the task of the translator is to transmit images from the original language to the target one and this requires a thorough acquaintance with both the world of the Bible and the life and culture of those who should use the new translation. He adds that a translator should be a member of the cultural group for which a Bible translation is being made (Laukkanen 2002:49).

It is ideal to have translators who know the original languages, i.e. Hebrew and Greek. Furthermore, a translator must have access to the commentaries of Old and New Testaments scholars and to the Translators' Handbooks and other helps published by the United Bible Societies (Hermanson 2002:10). Theologians and organizations will help the translator to find the meaning of the text in its own settings and transform it to the relevant context. To confirm this ideal Tshehla quotes Stine as follows:

According to Stine, a good Bible translator in addition to having a thorough knowledge of the source and target languages, will at some point in the work employ at least the following: text criticism, canon criticism, various tools of exegesis, history studies, culture and sociological aspects of peoples of the Bible, communication science, etc... Each one of these tools helps the translator to either understand the meaning of the text or to find the best way

to communicate the meaning in the receptor language or both. (Tshehla 2003b:38)

Mojola points out some of the challenges facing Bible translators, he asserts, “Translators have to grapple with all the complex problems arising out of the need to express the ancient and eternal message of the Bible in their own language. They face the challenge of how to translate biblical concepts, ideas, practices, festivals, rituals, spiritual beings, cultural artifacts, metaphors, beliefs, etc. in terms that make sense in the local vernacular. How to do this meaningfully, accurately, faithfully, clearly and with genius and natural rhythms is the challenge that faces every translator” (Mojola 2002b:202,203). This is a very difficult task for the translator, but Bible readers want all these met. Failure to achieve all these challenges will mean that the translation will not be accepted.

According to Wills, “a translator is supposed to be a bridge between two linguistic and cultural communities, but at the same time must be different from both the ST [source text] author and the TT [target text] reader(ship)” (Wills 1996:143). This means that the translator must help both SC [source culture] and TC [target culture] to cross its limitations and merge and formulate something new.

According to Simon the task of the translator is to communicate the message from source language to target language. He claims “translators communicate, re-write, and manipulate a text in order to make it available to a second language public. Thus, they can use language as a cultural intervention or as part of an effort to alter expressions of domination, whether at the level of concepts, of syntax or of terminology” (Simon 1996:9).

Wills concludes his investigation on translation and the translator and writes:

There is no generally acceptable and definable concept of translation skills; neither, correspondingly, is there any generally acceptable and definable concept of translation equivalence. Any translator has at least micro contextually, his own purposes, attitudes, and interests in shaping the translation process... (Wills 1996:141)

The translator cannot end with source text or target text or dictionaries, he/ she must go beyond, to investigate the context of related discourses and to corresponding cultures (Nida 1998:5).

For the question of accuracy which is in my opinion a difficult task for the translator, Kubo and Specht contributed to the argument by saying that “the translator should seek to grasp the message of the original and then attempt to put it into whatever English or language he feels will express it most accurately and satisfactorily” (Kubo and Specht 1983:342). All these characteristics of the translators show that they must be educated people. However some translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, the Ovakwanyama in particular, were people of low academic level. It is therefore very interesting that the Ovakwanyama translators are among those who translated the Bible.

2. 6. Indigenous voices on translation issues

Rev Eino Amaambo (Appendix V) was born on March 19th 1939 at Oneumba, Ondjondjo, Ondonga. He married Ester Festus Shikolo in 1960. Amaambo attended primary school at Onathinghe. He enrolled for boarding school at Ongwediva and

Oshigambo High School. Amaambo studied at a Teachers' Training College at Ongwediva from 1955-1957. He went for pastoral training at Paulinum Lutheran Theological Seminary in Otjimbingwe from 1963-1965 and was ordained as a pastor in 1965. He then studied further in the USA from 1966-1968. Amaambo attended a training course in translation in London from 1969-1970. Amaambo was involved in many public and church activities and he taught at Onathing Primary School from 1958-1962. As a pastor and theologian he served in various parish and church institutes. He was a lecturer at Paulinum Lutheran Theological Seminary from 1982-1999. Since 1971 Amaambo worked as a translator, especially in revision of the Bible in Oshindonga. He is now a retired pastor and lives in Ondando, Oniipa, Ondonga.

In an interview in 2004, Rev Amaambo said the task of the translator is a difficult one. In his opinion the translator has to have a clear understanding about what he wants to convey to the readers. The translator needs to know the language and culture of the people in which the Bible was written. This refers to the Jews and Greeks and their environment. When the translator brings the message to the people he or she must know which culture or environment the message came from. Amaambo pointed out the statement in the Bible, which says that women and children were not counted (Mt 15:38). It is dangerous to say this in Namibia, as people will become angry. This is true for Jewish culture, not Namibian. In Namibia, women are counted, although there were some reservations on responsibilities in the past. Amaambo agreed with Nida when he writes that:

A translator first needs to discover what were the cultural contexts that evidently prompted the author to write as he did in order to communicate effectively to an audience that he evidently intended to influence... the translator must bear in mind the different audience and the diverse features of the language-culture into which he is translating. (Nida 1998:7)

According to Mrs. Tuuliki Nghatanga-Hamunyela (Appendix VI), a retired teacher and a daughter of Natanael Nghatanga who was one of the translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, a translator should have an understanding of Oshikwanyama (the target language) and know how to read and write. Being able to do this will enable the translator to write meaningfully in Oshikwanyama (Nghatanga-Hamunyela 2004).

According to the Rev J. Mufeti (Appendix VII), a retired pastor of ELCIN, the translator must understand the source language, target language and the original languages in which the Bible was first written, namely Hebrew and Greek. A little knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and other languages like Afrikaans, English and Finnish, helped him to understand the texts and appropriate them into Oshikwanyama (Mufeti 2004). The Ovakwanyama translators and proofreaders of the Bible manuscripts shared the same understanding. This means that all translators and proofreaders had a common understanding in translation issues. The main aim was to convey the meaning of the Bible to the people in the same way the first reader of the Bible understood it. So they were building a bridge between the Bible and the readers.

Wills quoted Powis Smith who proposed the ideal translator to be like this:

He would be a man who knew... the mind of the original author in its entirety, and was in full possession of the social, political and spiritual background of the author's own period and people. Of course, he should know the language and thought of the present age to completion. No man can fully attain this ideal. To the extent to which he fails short of the knowledge called for by this ideal, a man inevitably fails in his work as a translator. (Wills 1996:144)

This statement would obviously also apply to a female translator.

Tshehla suggested that an insider, not an outsider translator would make the Bible, in the vernacular, a quality publication. He noted that the time has come for insiders to further the aims of translation and to take the discipline more seriously. He writes:

The efforts of missionary translators are admirable. Although the time has come for insider-translators to take matters further. This will ensure the preservation of cultural values and will also enable the most natural presentation of the material, while simultaneously allowing the insider translator to be at home in his or her own mother tongue as well as in any other. (Tshehla 2003a:183)

2. 7. Bible Translators and ideology in Africa

Bible translators need to be neutral. They must not take sides or ascribe to a particular ideology. The message of the Bible is for all nations irrespectively their race, colour, gender or any system. Ideology causes the message of the Bible to go with the prevailing powerful stream instead of being what it is supposed to be within the particular system. In the past in Africa, Southern Africa in particular, white translators, or those working with whites, were alleged to be part of the colonizers' goal. The Ovakwanyama hated Erkki Hynönen, the Finnish missionary and member of the Oshikwanyama Bible Translation Committee, because of his attitude toward them. He dominated and demeaned the African contributors. Some members of the Oukwanyama community threatened to kill Hynönen. He was seen as a sympathizer of the South African administration, the main opponent of the liberation movement in Namibia. Bishop Auala of ELCIN intervened to calm the situation down. Hynönen had to be sent far away from Oukwanyama for a certain period (Laukkanen 2002:79-81). "These dramatic events may have influenced the Bible Translation Committee, which reduced the use of vocabulary borrowed from Ndonga that Hynönen had strongly favored" (Laukkanen 2002:80). That is why Christianity has often been charged with being an instrument employed by European colonial powers to enslave Africans (Pobee 1979:15). We cannot repeat the mistakes of the past, we must rather

learn from them. We need to liberate Christianity and translators from the snare of colonial power and its ideology.

Therefore I support Tshehla when he asserts that colonial era Bible translators “remained children of their own particular epochs who believed that colonial hegemony was beneficial to the indigenous people. They [the translators] were often too negatively critical of traditional African customs and simultaneously often naively uncritical of many aspects of European or western culture and customs” (Tshehla 2003a:185). This ideology led to the understanding that European or Western culture and traditions are ‘Christian’ (superior) whereas Africans are ‘pagan’ (inferior). The Gospel and the Bible does not prove this conception. The Bible is not a product of a particular culture. The gospel or Christianity went through different cultures; therefore, it can still accommodate any culture. Culture is a God given gift to human beings. We must also understand that culture is not static it is actually dynamic. It could be transformed then and it can still be transformed now. The gospel is something that transforms culture. That is why in areas where the gospel has been heard and obeyed, cultures have become further ennobled and enriched (Walls 1982: 93-105).

2. 8. Conclusion

The fundamental understanding of the translation of the Bible is the incarnation of the Word into flesh. This is a clear indication that the Word of God can also change into any language and culture. God does not disdain African culture. African languages and cultures, as many as they are, are gifts from God. The event of Pentecost implied

that each nation's language could be heard and could portray the wonders of God. The concept of the culturally indefinite translatable gospel (Bible) of Walls plays an important role in translation theories. It opens the way for translation to take place. Dynamic equivalence translation makes translation easier, because it reminds the translator to avoid placing too much emphasis on words and to concentrate more on delivering the message to the readers. The translators are then required to be faithful to the source text.

I suggest that translation may be a two-way process. Translators may do interlingual translation from an African language to a European language and not only from a European language to an African language. Now is the time to hail the shift as Mojola called it "The era of Non-Missionary Translation", which marks the change from translation done by non-native speakers, to those largely done by native speakers (Mojola 2002:205). Tshehla shared the same sentiments when he emphasized his belief that: "The process of producing competent translation in all African tongues has begun, I believe. I wish though, that all stakeholders could play a more meaningful role instead of delegating the entire responsibility to the various national Bible Societies as such". Pointing to the Church in Africa he adds, "the African Church will have positively come of age when she can boast renditions of the Bible inspired by and articulated through indigenous perspectives" (Tshehla 2003b:30). Therefore in order to make Bible translation a success, indigenous African theologians are encouraged to study the original Bible languages.

As we turn to mission and translation work among the Ovakwanyama, we shall keep these matters in mind, first in relation to the German and Finnish missionaries, but

also and, more importantly, with regard to the agency of indigenous Ovakwanyama role players.

CHAPTER THREE

EXPATRIATE MISSION AND TRANSLATION WORK IN OUKWANYAMA

3. 1. Introduction

The coming of the missionaries in Ovamboland was not a surprise. The seer, Shishaama shaNdunge, who lived in Oukwanyama during the reign of King Haimbili yaHaufiku (1811-1858), predicted the coming of missionaries in Oukwanyama. Shishaama prophesied during 1850-1856:

The descendants of the kingdom of God
Are off in this direction
I do not see where they come from
I can only see where they go
They come and settle in Ondonga
They also go to Uukwambi and Ongandjera
Even the Oukwanyama greet them

This is the translation of Abednego Nghifikwa (2001:2), who interprets the prophecy of Shishaama to mean: “The descendants of the kingdom of God” are the missionaries. The Finnish missionaries from Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) arrived in Owambo first, in 1870, and the German missionaries from Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS), followed in 1891. ‘Even the Oukwanyama greet them’. The missionaries did not settle permanently in Oukwanyama. The Finnish missionaries stayed for a short while only, and the German missionaries, who settled in Oukwanyama, had to leave in 1916, after 25 years (1891-1916). This was just enough time for the people of Oukwanyama to “greet” them before they moved elsewhere (Nghifikwa 2001:2). The historical background will show us how the prophecy unfolded.

Mission work in Oukwanyama was divided into two periods, that of the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS), which originated from Germany and that of the Finnish Mission Society (FMS) originating from Finland. Each mission had its objective and goals toward its missionary work in Oukwanyama. The main objective was to introduce Christianity in Oukwanyama, and to convert the Ovakwanyama. To achieve these goals the missionaries engaged in preaching the gospel, and translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama. Kijne confirmed that wherever evangelism took place, it went hand in hand with the translation of the Bible. He asserts that: "As soon as a Christian community was established, the need for a translation of the Holy Scriptures in the language of this new church was felt" (Kijne 1961:328). This is what happened in Oukwanyama. Once they received the gospel, the need for the translation of the Holy Scriptures arose. The need for the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Oshikwanyama has been fulfilled by the Ovakwanyama themselves.

3. 2. German missionaries in Oukwanyama, 1891-1916

The German missionaries arrived in Oukwanyama on September 3rd, 1891. They were RMS missionaries and started mission work in the southern part of Namibia in early 1840. Their work spread throughout the southern and central parts of Namibia, resulting in many successes. The third of September is observed as mission day in Oukwanyama. Their work was made possible through the influence of three young Ovakwanyama students from the Augustineum Secondary School in Windhoek: Josef, Christof and Lappland. These students helped the old missionary, Peter Heinrich Brincker, at Otjimbingwe, who made significant contributions to the study of the

Oshikwanyama. Furthermore they prepared the way for missionaries Wulforst and Meisenholl (Buys and Nambala 2003:91). These students need to be promoted by the Ovakwanyama, because it was only because of them that missionaries found the way to Oukwanyama.

It took 25 years (1866-1891) for the German Lutheran missionaries to arrive in Oukwanyama after the visit of Hugo Hahn to the area as a result of the invitation of King Mweshipandeka yaShaningika in 1866. The German missionaries worked in Oukwanyama 25 years (1891-1916) (Shinana 2004). They settled at Ondjiva and later established mission stations there.

The first missionaries who arrived in Oukwanyama include Friedrich Meisenholl, August Wulforst (nicknamed *Hashipala*²), Herman Tönjes, Heinrich Welsch, Albert Hochstrate, Schar, and Paul Schulte (nicknamed *Nakale Keshuku*³). These first missionaries established mission stations at the following places and years. Meisenholl established Ondjiva in 1891, Wulforst established Omupanda in 1893, Tönjes established Onamakunde in 1900, and Welsch established Omatemba in 1905. All these places are in Oukwanyama on the Angolan side of the border. The established mission stations later became the first four parishes in Oukwanyama (Nambala 1987:242; Laurmaa 1949:132).

Besides preaching and building mission stations, the Rhenish missionaries also began to study Oshikwanyama, its culture and traditions. This enabled them to prepare Oshikwanyama literature and to do some Scripture writings in Oshikwanyama.

² Hashipala means a person with an open or wide face.

Missionaries were not welcomed in Oukwanyama. Suspicions towards them existed. They were regarded as spies of the colonial powers that wanted to take over Oukwanyama. Owambo people discovered plans that Germany wanted to colonize the whole of South West Africa, now Namibia, as they had already taken the southern and central part of the country. Therefore all whites and the Germans in particular were regarded as colonizers or spies of white imperialists (Nambala 1996:81).

It was the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS), which invited the Finnish Mission Society (FMS) to do mission work in the Ondonga kingdom in Ovamboland. Finnish missionaries were not happy when German missionaries began to do mission work in the Oukwanyama kingdom in Ovamboland. Nevertheless, the Finnish missionaries were co-operative. It can be noted here that Ondonga and Oukwanyama were countries/kingdoms, each kingdom had its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

3. 2. 1 Ondjiva

King Weyulu yaHedimbi, king of Oukwanyama in 1885, invited German missionaries to visit Oukwanyama. On September 3rd, 1891, missionaries Wulfhorst and Meisenholl, arrived in Ondjiva escorted by F. Bernsmann and Pettinen, a Finnish missionary from Olukonda. This day marked the arrival of missionaries in Oukwanyama. During this visit Pettinen preached in Oshiwambo, Bernsmann in Otjiherero, while Joseph Unyula, one of the indigenous Christians who had been baptized in the southern part of Namibia, translated into Oshikwanyama.

³ Nakale Keshuku is a tall person with hair combed forward on the face.

According to Shinana (2004), Ondjiva was the centre of development in Oukwanyama. In Ondjiva the first parish was established. Here people started to read and write in Oshikwanyama. It was also in Ondjiva that the Ovakwanyama started to sing Christian songs.

3. 2. 2 Omupanda

King Weyulu Hedimbi allowed the second mission station to be established at Omupanda. There were people who thought that it was wrong for the whites to be among them. Even Ndatjooli, the mother of the king and Hedimbi the father of King Weyulu were against the move, but the king himself and his councilor, Shihajo, agreed on the issue. On August 16th, 1892, missionary Wulfhorst started to erect a mission station at Omupanda. At Omupanda they erected many buildings; unfortunately, in October 26th, 1892, the main building was burnt to ashes, including all the materials. In 1893 a new building was completed and the work resumed in Omupanda. They also erected a classroom. The worship services were conducted under the tree. Omupanda became the first mission station where holy baptism was conducted in Oukwanyama. In 1908 a school building was constructed at Omupanda. Local Christians offered much support to the construction of the school. The number of Christians increased and the church buildings had to be extended. (Nambala 1996:84)

Baptism was not simply done; according to the catechumen, before baptism, a person must be able to read and write. In order for a person to be baptized, reading was a

prerequisite. This process helped many people, who wanted to become Christians, to learn how to read and write. The indigenous persons who first learnt how to read and write were helpful to others. Table 1 shows how baptism took place at Omupanda.

Chronological order of baptism	Date of Baptism	Number of people baptized
1	21 July 1895	14
2	15 November 1896	18
3	30 October 1898	19
4	27 July 1899	7
5	29 July 1903	16
6	11 November 1904	24
7	30 December 1906	20
8	21 June 1908	20
9	05 December 1909	25
		Total 163

This table shows that in the nine times baptism was conducted at Omupanda over a period of 15 years there were 163 Ovakwanyama baptized (Nambala 1996:84)

3. 2. 3 Onamakunde and Omatemba

Missionary Hermann Tönjes established Onamakunde in 1900. The first baptism was conducted at Onamakunde in 1903. Onamakunde became headquarters of German missionaries after Ondjiva. It was at Onamakunde where most of the translation work was done. Tönjes developed Oshikwanyama literacy from Onamakunde. Omatemba was the last parish established in 1907. The first baptism at Omatemba was conducted in 1909. Many Christians, who came to establish the church at Omafo, in Namibia, came from Omatemba (Nambala 1996:96,97; Shinana 2004).

According to the historians the year 1915 is characterized with destruction in Oukwanyama, politically, spiritually and socially. Politically, Portuguese and English soldiers attacked Oukwanyama and burnt the palace of King Mandume Ndemufayo at Ondjiva. Spiritually, the Ondjiva and Omupanda mission stations were completely destroyed. This led to the departure of the last German missionary, Heinrich Welsch, from Oukwanyama (Nambala 1996:97,98).

3. 2. 4. The Remarkable work of German missionaries in Oukwanyama

In both Ondjiva and Omupanda the missionaries put emphasis on the teaching of baptism and confirmation. According to Rev Shinana (2004) the German missionaries in Oukwanyama did many things that the Ovakwanyama will not forget. Firstly, they established a Lutheran Christian church in Oukwanyama which they left in 1916, with 1 200 members, 900 of them in baptism classes. These members were stationed in four parishes, Ondjiva, Omupanda, Onamakunde and Omatemba. Secondly, the German missionaries were the first to translate Oshikwanyama writings and literature. Therefore it is because of the German missionaries that Oshikwanyama is a written language today. We will deal with the language issue later. Thirdly, the German missionaries translated the Holy Scripture into Oshikwanyama. Fourthly, the German missionaries taught the Ovakwanyama how to sing Christian songs and they translated songs and formulated new songs in Oshikwanyama. They are still sung today by many Ovakwanyama, especially the older generation (Shinana 2004). According to Shinana, Wulffhorst (*Hashipala*) was a singer. He taught people how to sing Christian songs in baptism and confirmation classes. He also knew how to play

the organ or piano and, because of his musical talent, the Ovakwanyama recite his praises as follows:

*Hashipala shaNaindjebe naHefolo
Shomunwe wa twa momboloto
Ongula yoShoondaha ohau ka twa mokaxumba
Mongeleka yaMupanda⁴ (Shinana 2004).*

It is true that the German missionaries who arrived and first started the mission work among the Ovakwanyama did a significant work, which remains in the minds and heart of the Ovakwanyama. Therefore, when the story of mission work in Namibia is told, German missionaries will not be excluded. Because of Christianity and the church, the missionaries in Oukwanyama, came to stay. The aims of missionaries were to teach Christianity and to establish the church in Oukwanyama. It would be incorrect to praise German missionaries alone, however, for indigenous people were behind the work although their names do not appear in the recorded history.

Erkki Laurmaa describes German missionaries as follow:

They were good preachers and they were talented craftsmen and builders. Therefore their education focused handwork and to fulfill human needs... Men and women [missionaries] educated their servants in homes. Many servants [Ovakwanyama] became dedicated and wise and trustworthy Christians in the Church in Owambo. (Laurmaa 1946:133)

Ovakwanyama Christians took part in mission work together with their German counterparts, but exactly what they did was not explained. People like Wilhelm Kafita, Simson Shituwa, Jonathan Shiwayu, Mika Nghiyoonanye were actively involved in mission work among their fellow countrymen and women, but they were not recognized as missionaries (Shinana 2004). It was alleged that the missionaries

⁴ English translation: Hashipala of Naindjebe and madam, with finger in bread, Sunday morning in organ. In Omupanda Church.

did not want to give much power to indigenous converts. Ndamanomhata pointed out the reason why the missionaries did not want to transfer duties and power to the indigenous converts. The reason was that if they did so, it would weaken their control over the entire range of activities of their followers. The missionaries wanted to keep their leadership role (Ndamanomhata 2000:125).

3. 3. Four years of indigenous leadership, 1916-1920

There was a time when there were no expatriate missionary activities in Oukwanyama on the Angolan side. German missionaries were banned from Portuguese Angola in 1916. The established parishes (Omupanda, Ondjiva, Omatemba and Onamakunde) were left in the hands of two indigenous elders, Simson Shituwa and Wilhelm Kafita (Kasita). These years were characterized with the absence of white missionaries and pastors in Oukwanyama. The leadership was squarely on the shoulders of indigenous elders.

There were two major factors, which led the RMS leaving Oukwanyama on the Angolan side. On the one hand the Portuguese government was not in favour of Protestants in their territory. On the other hand King Mandume Ndemufayo was not happy with Germans, because they were imperialists and he feared they would probably take over the Kingdom of Oukwanyama (Nambala 1996:92-94). It was fortunate that the missionaries working in Oukwanyama trained indigenous people, who later took on the responsibility of leadership. This is true as is seen in the Oshikwanyama expression which says that *Kalunga iha dipaelwa ovana*⁵, which

⁵ Kalunga is the name of God in Oshiwambo. The missionaries adopted this name as equal to God.

literally means 'you cannot kill the children of God'. Although little has been written about the activities of indigenous leaders, they did a lot and their work still bears much fruit for Christianity in the area today. During this period African leaders proved that they also had leadership skills. They were doing mission work just like western missionaries did. They could therefore also be called missionaries.

At Omafo, indigenous Christians erected a church supported by Oukwanyama King Mandume Ndemufayo, who supplied them with wagons for transportation and building materials. Major Fairlie, of the South African government in Namibia, also supported them and enabled them to build a church at Omafo. This building was completed in 1918. In the same year a visiting Finnish missionary Liljeblad from Olukonda, Ondonga, baptized the first group of 55 adults on November 10th, 1918 while second baptism was done on May 4th, 1919 (Buys and Nambala 2003:194-195; Shinana 2004). Many other activities like confirmation or marriage followed. The Ovakwanyama were not satisfied with this kind of service from afar, they therefore requested Finnish missionaries to come and settle in Oukwanyama (Shinana 2004).

Because they were not ordained, they could do nothing, unless they were told to do so. In Oshikwanyama traditional religion no one could take responsibility on his/her own unless it was conferred upon him/her. So these elders could not take on these responsibilities without help. This belief probably prevented them from taking on the responsibilities of an ordained pastor, although it was necessary. It is stated now in ELCIN Constitutions, that a Christian who has no impediment could offer Christian services if they are asked to do so.

Omafo is a great place for Christianity in Oukwanyama, on the Namibian side. Bishop Kaulinge, one of the children whose parents were baptized at Omafo, in his speech during the special service at Omafo on April 18th, 2004, emphasized that at a particular spot, Omafo, there was a 'fire' where all parishes in Oukwanyama took fire to light their places. This fire is still burning. The preacher of the day, Martin Ngodji, emphasized that Omafo is where the 'placenta' of Christianity in Oukwanyama was laid. There is a strong belief among the Ovawambo that no one can separate a person from the placenta. Therefore when the history of the Christianity in Oukwanyama is told, Omafo will not be forgotten. Christianity in Oukwanyama on the Namibian side originates from Omafo.

Under the leadership of Simson Shituwa and Wilhelm Kafita, the church in Oukwanyama on the Namibia side expanded; thirteen church and school centres were established in the area. Hundreds of people received catechism classes. These elders expanded the work to south of the international border and established various mission centres, each with its own church and school. Engela became the main centre for this work (Buys and Nambala 2003:93). Many training activities were later introduced at Engela. By 1923 there were already 4 200 members of the Church in Oukwanyama. This shows that indigenous people were capable of running the church on their own. Buys and Nambala write:

The Ondjiva mission experienced unparalleled growth during these four years of independent leadership by two indigenous Namibians. From 1916 they built their ministry on the foundations laid by the Rhenish missionaries, and submitted the work again to the Finnish Mission in 1920. (Buys and Nambala 2003:95)

In 1923 Simson Shituwa and Paulus Hamutenya, who was an elder and lay preacher at Ondjiva, arrived at Oniipa for their theological education. They were among the

first group of African pastors ordained by the Finnish Mission Church in 1925 (Buys and Nambala 2003:195). After ordination Paulus Hamutenya was placed at Eenhana where he established the parish in 1927, while Simon Shituwa established the Endola parish.

Before the Finnish Mission came to Oukwanyama, there were two important mission centres, Ondjiva on the Angolan side and Omafo on the Namibian side. When the Finnish missionaries came they established a new centre, Engela, which is now a main centre in Oukwanyama.

3. 4. Finnish Missionaries in Oukwanyama

The Finnish Missionary Society (FMS), now Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM), was founded in 1859. The principal of Finnish Mission Institute, Sirelius attended the general European missionary convention at Bermen. There he met Hugo Hahn who was his friend. He was informed about the need for missionaries in northern Namibia, Ovamboland (Buys and Nambala 2003:25). From that moment he decided to send missionaries who had just completed missionary training in 1866.

The director of the RMS, a German, Hugo Hahn, visited the northern part of Namibia in 1866. He went so far as to the Kunene River and passed through Oukwanyama. King Mweshipandeka yaShaningika of Oukwanyama met with him and discussed the possibility of sending missionaries to his area. Mweshipandeka asked Hahn to send missionaries to Oukwanyama. Hahn took up the matter. The RMS then invited Finnish missionaries to Ovamboland to do mission work (Nambala 1996:75).

In his letter to Sirelius, Hahn wrote:

This will tell you, the Finnish Mission Society, it is time you remember your promise to come over and help us. Trusting that this request will not be denied, I come to you in God's name, who wills that all shall be saved; and in our Lutheran Mission's name, that is so little known in this land; and in the poor heathen's name, to whom God has opened the door, and ordered me to speak. "Come over and help". I have, in God's name dared to give three tribes the promise that before two years they shall have missionaries and Christian workers. (Nambala 1994:80)

When the FMS received the invitation to the international mission field, they were eager to do mission work so they rose up and went. Buys and Nambala write:

The Finnish Mission Society saw the invitation of Hahn as the calling of God, at a time when the first missionary candidates were just finishing their studies at the mission institute. Before the end of 1868, a group of eight – of which two were artisans – arrived in Cape Town. They stayed at Otjimbingwe for a year of orientation... Only in 1870 was their journey continued to the north. On 9 July 1870, the Finnish missionaries pitched their camp under a wild fig tree, at the village of Chief Shikongo of the Ondonga tribe. ...This is seen as the date of origin of the Finnish Mission in Ovamboland. (Buys and Nambala 2003:26)

It was over five years since the king made his request before the Finnish missionaries arrived in Oukwanyama. In 1869 the Finnish missionaries arrived in Namibia, and in 1870 they arrived in Ondonga, Ovamboland. From Ondonga they went to Oukwanyama. It was because of the request of King Mweshipandeka that the mission work started in Oukwanyama. On July 10th, 1871, missionary Tolonen went to Oukwanyama and entered into discussions with King Mweshipandeka. Tolonen was given a place near the palace to build a house. There was a reason why Mweshipandeka wanted missionaries close to him. He wanted to acquire weapons from them.

In 1872 Tolonen went back to Oukwanyama accompanied by Skoglund. This time they brought weapons to King Mweshipandeka, so he was very happy. In the same year the German and Finnish missionaries agreed that the Finnish missionaries could take care of Oukwanyama as their mission field (Namabala 1996:75-77).

3. 4. 1 Omafo

It was at Omafo that Finnish missionaries met Ovakwanyama from the four parishes in Angola. They catered for them, served them, baptized those who were in catechumen, confirmed those who were in confirmation classes and officiated at marriages. The first baptism at Omafo was done on November 10, 1918 for 55 people. The second one was done on May 4, 1919. From Omafo they moved to Engela, established by the Finnish missionary Haninnen in 1920. From Engela the church in Oukwanyama extended to the west, Okalongo/Onandjaba, to the east, Okongo and south Ohalushu and Endola (Shinana 2004). Now in 2004 there are about 31 parishes in Oukwanyama. These parishes are part of ELCIN church in Namibia.

3. 4. 2 Engela

Engela as a centre in Oukwanyama was developed to be a kind of training centre in 1950. It was called Engela Parish Institute (EPI). Engela Parish Institute was responsible for the training of church workers other than pastors, such as evangelists, deacons, youth and women leaders and other trainees. Engela Parish Institute is also used to train caretakers, catering workers and in home economics. The office of the dean of Oukwanyama Circuit is at Engela. At Engela there were boys' and girls'

school, and a hospital. There are still many church activities happening at Engela today although some have changed while other institutions, previously run by the church, have been taken over by the present government, like for hospital and school (Buys and Nambala 2003:93,169).

The missionary work in Oukwanyama took a holistic approach to human needs. The church sees her calling in a broader and deeper perspective, becoming involved in the educational, social, economical and even political spheres of life. The mission of the church in the world is the comprehensive well being for all people. This can only materialize when a holistic approach is applied to its mission. Buys and Nambala describes the holistic approach of the church as follows:

A holistic mission approach states that the gospel is meant for the 'whole man', for the 'whole situation' (context), for the 'whole world', as the task of the 'whole church'. It refers to the integration of all dimensions of the gospel, without narrowing mission down to selective preferences of specific brands of Christians. (Buys and Nambala 2003:29)

In my opinion this holistic approach to mission work meant that effective work was done among the Ovakwanyama, and other Ovambo people. If the missionaries had embarked on spreading the gospel without doing translation, then it would have been impossible for the gospel to put down roots among the Ovakwanyama converts. The holistic approach towards missions was also effective in other parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world.

3. 5. Translation work in Oukwanyama

The Bible is the most precious heritage of Christians of all ages all over the world (Oduyoye 1995:33). The translation of the Bible is an important indicator of the

spread and establishment of Christianity; therefore it is imperative for missions all over the globe. When the gospel crosses a language barrier, a new translation of the Bible becomes necessary (Laukkanen 2002:17). Translation is an ongoing process, which never ends. By translating the Bible into any language it becomes a part of that language.

It is not clear who initiated the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, whether the missionaries or the indigenous people. I am convinced that both the African and the European missionaries needed the translation, but the Ovakwanyama needed it most. They demanded and worked for it. On the one hand, the European missionaries wanted to convey the message to the people in their own tongue, while on the other hand, the indigenous people wanted to read the Word of God in their own tongue.

The Ovakwanyama first saw and read portions from the Bible in other tongues especially in Oshindonga. These readings motivated them to demand their own Bible translation. Senior pastors in Oukwanyama namely Vilho Kaulinge, Paulus Nailenge, Simson Shituwa and others, stood together in the early 1950's, and demanded the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. Their voices were heard by the Finnish missionaries, who were in control of mission fields at that time. The Finnish missionaries were reluctant to accept the request of translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama from the beginning. The Ovakwanyama pressurized them. Later they accepted the request and the programme of translation started (Kaulinge 2004).

The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama went through different stages namely, the Germany Missionary Era and the Finnish missionary and Bible Societies

era. In each of these stages of translation, the indigenous people played a vital role. This section explores what happened in each stage and all the parties involved at the various levels.

3. 5. 1 Translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama during the German Missionary Era

The German missionaries under the Rhenish Missionary Society were the pioneers in translating. It was noted that before the RMS sent missionaries to Oukwanyama, they gave them an introduction to the indigenous languages. First they learnt Otjiherero, which has some words similar to words in Oshikwanyama and the related languages of Ovamboland. With the help of the Ovakwanyama who were working on farms especially around Otjimbingwe, where one of the mission stations of the RMS was located, they were introduced to Oshikwanyama (Shinana 2004). There were also students who were at that time studying in Augustineum; they introduced Oshiwambo to the missionaries (Buys and Nambala 2003:363). With this slight knowledge of Oshiwambo, they were able to begin their mission and translation work.

When the German missionaries arrived in Oukwanyama in 1891 they started to learn Oshikwanyama. Their study of Oshikwanyama was aimed, on the one hand, at making communication possible, and, on the other hand, at the translation of the Word of God. Africans were very helpful in this transaction. They welcomed the missionaries and co-operated with them. Some of the Africans became so-called

'servants'⁶ to the missionaries. They stayed with them and traveled with them. These people were the ones who taught the missionaries the language and the culture of the Ovakwanyama. People like Simson Shituwa, Timoteus Shiwayu, Wilhelm Kafita, and Mika Nghiyoonanye were among those who were servants of the German missionaries and who taught them Oshikwanyama. These people later became useful in spreading the gospel among their fellow Africans. With their help the German missionaries managed to achieve Oshikwanyama literacy and make a preliminary translation of portions of the Bible. This is not clearly indicated in any book, but it is quite obvious according to the people the author interviewed (Shinana 2004; Kaulinge 2004; Nghiyoonanye 2004). These African Christians who worked side by side with the missionaries must also be called missionaries instead of being referred to as servants. What they did was more than what they were required to do.

The German missionaries were the first people to write in the Oshikwanyama dialect. They also produced books in Oshikwanyama and recorded its grammar. Missionary Herman Tönjes attempted to deeply examine the structure of the language. Tönjes was associated with the Ovakwanyama at Onamakunde and they taught him the language. He wrote books on Oshikwanyama grammar and produced a German-Oshikwanyama dictionary⁷. These books were very important to all those who learned Oshiwambo in general, and Oshikwanyama in particular (Shinana 2004).

⁶ The word used in Oshikwanyama is '*omukalele*', which literally means 'one who stands for someone'. The word could refer to a servant, which is the appropriate word nowadays. Servants or domestic workers felt proud for living closer to the '*Ovahongi*', [expatriate pastors] at mission stations. The missionaries started with their *ovakalele* [servants] to test what they wanted to introduce to their converts.

⁷ *Lehrbuch der oshiwambo sprache-oshikwanyama*, and *Worterbuch der Oshiwambo sorache Oshikwanyama Deutsche*

Missionary Dr. Peter Heimrich Brincker of the RMS played a vital role in translating the Bible. He never visited Oukwanyama; he stayed with the Ovaherero at the mission station at Otjikango (now Cross-Barmen), in Okahandja district in central Namibia. According to Rev Shinana, Brincker learned Oshikwanyama from Ovakwanyama contract labourers who were working on the farms. He was able to speak Oshikwanyama like an Omukwanyama. He translated the *Small Catechisms* of Martin Luther into Oshikwanyama. He produced a first literature book in Oshikwanyama called *ABD*, which was first used to teach the Ovakwanyama how to read and write. He translated *The Acts of the Apostles*, and the *First Epistle of John*. He completed these works within a period of one year (1902).

According to Smith, Brincker worked among Ovaherero and their language has certain characteristics reminiscent of Oshikwanyama. This made it easier for him to understand Oshikwanyama, because he had already translated the Bible into Otjiherero. In his translation of the Bible, two young men belonging to the Ovakwanyama tribe assisted him. Their names were not mentioned anywhere (Smith 1970:220,221). Probably one of them may be Josef Unyule who came with the first German missionaries to Oukwanyama as their interpreter. It is possible that they might have been the students from the Augustineum Secondary School in Windhoek, mentioned earlier.

ELCIN historian Dr Nambala writes that the first missionaries who arrived in Oukwanyama (namely August Wulforth and F. Meissenholl) translated the Four Gospels into Oshikwanyama. Wulforth (Hashipala) wrote a book of the stories of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation with pictures. Herman Tönjes wrote an

Oshikwanyama grammar book and proofread the translation of all four Gospels. These books were very helpful to the Ovakwanyama. They helped them to understand the Bible well. The book of the stories of the Bible motivated them to have the whole Bible translated into their mother tongue (Nambala 1996:94).

When the German missionaries left Oukwanyama in 1916, they were eager to hear what was going on after them. Their concerns were the Oshikwanyama writings, (which were in the making) and the uncompleted translation of the Bible. Therefore the Rhenish Missionary Society sent Paul Schulte to Oukwanyama, this time to Engela. Schulte stayed in Engela with Finnish missionary Hänninen between 1925 and 1940. The task of Schulte was to complete the translation of the whole Bible. Before they left, the New Testament and Psalms in Oshikwanyama were finished. According to Shinana (2004) when Schulte arrived at Engela, he greeted people in Oshikwanyama, and delivered sermons in Oshikwanyama. It was a miracle for the people to hear a foreign person speaking their tongue fluently. It was the first time Schulte came to Oukwanyama. According to Shinana this was a clear indication that somewhere in Germany or in Namibia, there was training in African languages for European missionaries, before they came to the area of operation, in this case, Oukwanyama (Shinana 2004).

Schulte stayed at Engela teaching people the Bible, Christian songs and carrying on with translation. Schulte moved from Engela to Omafo with his Finnish wife, a nurse, Edla Maria Savola, whom he married in 1933. He continued his task of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama again at Omafo. He did the work of translation with the assistance of teachers Mika Ngiyoonanye and David Nghilokwa from Engela parish.

These teachers worked directly with Schulte. The terms of their appointment are not clear. What is very interesting is that they were teachers, they were speakers of the language and above all they were dedicated Christians. Schulte and his African co-translators continued to translate the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama until they completed it. It was in manuscript form by 1940 (Shinana 2004).

During World War I, all Germans had to go into concentration camps, Schulte included. While Schulte was in camp, the building in which the manuscript was kept in Karibib caught fire and part of the manuscript was burnt. When Schulte came back from the camp he replaced the part which had been burnt. When the time came for printing the translation, it could not be done, as the print-ready manuscript was stored at Karibib, by the RMS. Only the Oshindonga Bible could be handed in for printing because its manuscript was kept by the FMS at Olukonda and it was sent to London for printing. Although the Finnish missionaries were aware of the Oshikwanyama Bible manuscript, they did not pay attention to it; instead they paid attention to Oshindonga, which was their own product.

One cannot blame them for not handing in the Oshikwanyama manuscript because it was not in their possession, but in the hands of the RMS at Karibib. One can also notice that some of the missionaries, like Hynönen did not recognize the Schulte translation. While attending theological Seminary, Rev Shinana confronted Hynönen and asked him why they were making another Oshikwanyama Bible translation when there was one already done by Schulte. Hynönen replied that the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama done by Schulte was not recognized, because one person had done the work. Shinana was told to keep quiet because it was none of his business

(Shinana 2004). Laukkanen pointed out that in the translation committee meeting held on April 11th, 1958, the committee members read a letter from Rev H. K. Diehl of the RMS, which gave support to the work of Björklund and forbade the approval of the translation of Schulte (Laukkanen 2003:74).

When Walter Björklund was appointed as translator, Schulte visited him and brought the manuscript to him. It was possible that Björklund did use the manuscript from Schulte because it was helpful for him, during his task of translating the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama.

According to Laukkanen the Finnish Missionaries were reminded about the books already prepared by the German missionaries in Oshikwanyama. This means that Schulte's manuscript had been recognized and was helpful. According to this evidence, Björklund did use the materials prepared by Germans during his translation (Shinana 2004; Laukkanen 2002:70-72).

We have also to understand that the German missionaries were pioneers rather than experienced translators. There was no designed programme for translation or a translation committee mentioned during their era. However, according to Nghyoonanye, his father Mika Nghyoonanye and teacher David Nghilokwa did proofreading for the translation of Schulte. He saw his father carrying a bundle of papers (manuscript) (Nghyoonanye 2004). The indigenous people during that time were not aware of what was going on, unless they were asked to do something. I think the primary aim of the German missionaries was to have the Bible translated into the vernacular, to make communication possible, to let Christianity take root among the

people and to introduce literacy into Oshikwanyama. They succeeded with their attempt. They paved the way for their followers to carry on with translation. The German missionaries made the first translation of the Word of God into Oshikwanyama. According to Shejavali, amongst the books produced by the German missionaries, a translation of the New Testament was a decisive help to the Christians in Oukwanyama country or kingdom when the German missionaries left them like sheep without a shepherd (Shejavali 1970:26).

According to this researcher, the Ovakwanyama were not left like sheep without a shepherd because Ovakwanyama missionaries namely Wilhelm Kafita, Simson Shituwa, Paulus Hamutenya and others, were there and carried on the mission work and catered for the Christian community in Oukwanyama.

When the German missionaries left Oukwanyama they left the following books and literature in Oshikwanyama.

1. Small Catechism of Martin Luther [*Okatikisa Kanini kaMartin Lutheri*] (1938)
2. Oshikwanyama Grammar Book [*Emhango delaka lOshikwanyama*] (1938)
3. Oshikwanyama-Deutsche Wortbuch [*Embo loitya*]
4. The Book of the Stories of the Bible [*Omahepaululo Omombiibeli*]
5. ABD, (to teach the Ovakwanyama how to read and write)
6. New Testament and Psalms [*Etamenti Lipe nOmapsalme*] (1927)
(Appendix VIII)
7. Songs Book [*Omukanda womaimbulilo*]
8. The manuscript of the Bible in Oshikwanyama.

These books and literature were not the product of the German missionaries only, but in the true sense of the words they were the products of the indigenous people who

had taught the German missionaries Oshikwanyama. The work and the contributions of the indigenous participants were hidden behind the names of missionaries. Now it is very difficult to find out exactly who the indigenous translators were and what they did. Little has been recorded about them. During the time of the missionaries the works of blacks were not counted or recognized as such in Southern Africa. Therefore what they did had to be labeled with a white person's name in order for it to be recognized. Through my research I found out that the indigenous people were part and parcel of the translation process, which produced these books and literature. I am convinced that behind the successful work done by European missionaries in Oukwanyama there was always an African/Omukwanyama.

3. 5. 2 The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama during the Finnish

Missionary Era

In 1921 the RMS entrusted their former mission field to the care of FMS (Shejvali 1970:26). The Finnish missionaries started with the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama with new strategies. They were more sophisticated, they involved new ways, new strategies, procedures and guidelines of how to translate. The translation was done under the umbrella of the Bible Societies.

If you take something from someone you take it in its complexity. This means that when the Finnish missionaries took over the responsibility of the mission field from the German missionaries in Oukwanyama, they took it as a whole together with all unfinished work including the translation; Oukwanyama was added to the area of Ovamboland where Finnish missionaries were operating. The Germans were doing

mission work in Oukwanyama, while the Finns were doing mission work in Ondonga. This means that after the Germans left and handed over their mission field to the Finns, the Finns now had to work in two kingdoms, Oukwanyama and Ondonga. The Finnish Missionary Society established the ELOC, now ELCIN, and divided it into four deaneries, namely: Ondonga Deanery, Oukwanyama Deanery, Western Deanery and Okavango Deanery. These deaneries were divided along tribal lines and this was not healthy for the unity of the Lutheran Church, because it resulted in favouritism. Some Finnish missionaries favoured the Ovandonga and neglected the Ovakwanyama (Shinana 2004). However, on the other hand, this practice forced each tribe to demand a translation of the Bible. Three tribes managed to secure translation of the Bible into their languages, Oshindonga, Oshikwanyama and Rukwangali (Kavango) (Laukkanen 2003:54-202). ELCIN changed in 1990 when a new demarcation was done throughout the whole ELCIN. ELCIN became a national church instead of just a local church.

Adding the Oukwanyama mission field to the Ondonga mission field meant that the Finnish missionaries also had to learn and use Oshikwanyama and the other indigenous languages spoken in the church. Because the Ovambo could easily understand each other, the Finnish missionaries took up the challenge to learn new languages; but they had an idea of 'common language' that is Oshindonga (Laukkanen 2002:39). The Ovakwanyama were not happy with the idea of a common language. They opposed it totally. Oshikwanyama speaking pastors Vilho Kaulinge (Appendix IX), Paulus Nailenge, Simson Shituwa opposed the motion to use only Oshindonga and demanded the use of Oshikwanyama. For them to relinquish their language was to be uprooted. If people lose their language they will lose their culture as well (Shinana 2004; Kaulinge 2004; Nghiyoonanye 2004).

The meeting held in Engela in 1937, which was attended by the FMS director Uuno Paunu from Finland on a tour of inspection, concluded that the three languages (Oshindonga, Oshikwanyama and Rukwangali) could not be fused into one, and the local people could not be forced to change their native tongue. At the same meeting at Engela it was decided how each language should be used within the Lutheran Church. Another point, which was noted at the meeting at Engela, was that the Finnish missionaries should remember the books prepared in Oshikwanyama by the Rhenish missionaries (Laukkanen 2002:40). This meeting found no way to a common language. Therefore the Finnish missionaries had to learn Oshikwanyama and to do translations as demanded by the Ovakwanyama. Pauno was convinced by the Ovakwanyama and supported their demand for the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama.

The Finnish missionaries began the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama in 1957. Because the FMS is not a translation agency it had to get permission to do translation from the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). In August 1956, the Rev. J T M van Arkel, the General Secretary of the BFBS office in Cape Town (accompanied by Rev. Johannes Petrus Bruwer and Rev. S. H. van der Spuy) visited Ovamboland and became convinced that it was necessary to translate the Bible into Oshikwanyama. The BFBS delegation held a meeting with the FMS workers Birger Eriksson, Alpo Hukka, Erkki Hynönen and Elias Pentti. The outcome of the meeting was that preparation should be made for the translation of the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama. Van Arkel asked the FMS to appoint one of its workers, someone fluent in Oshikwanyama, as a full-time translator. Arvid Walter Björklund was

appointed from three candidates proposed (Laukkanen 2002:55). Björklund knew Oshikwanyama because he had worked among the Ovakwanyama for ten years (1938-1948) at Engela mission station. During that time in Engela, Björklund wrote books in Oshikwanyama, which gave him credit for his appointment as a translator. He was also the second Finnish missionary in Oukwanyama after Haninnen (the first one). Björklund could speak Oshikwanyama like an Omukwanyama (Kaulinge 2004; Laukkanen 2002:55-57).

After all the arrangements between the BFBS and the FMS were finalized and Björklund had been appointed a translator, Birger Eriksson, the head of the FMS field administration, informed Björklund that he was to take up the position of full-time Oshikwanyama Bible translator. The General Secretary of the Cape Town branch of the BFBS, the Rev J M T van Arkel, then contacted the Rhenish Mission, asking for the manuscripts of its former employee, Paul Schulte, who by that time was working as a foreman in a fish processing plant in Walvis Bay (Laukkanen 2002:56).

Walter Björklund accepted the appointment and he was ready to go to Namibia from Finland, as a translator. All parties involved were satisfied, (that is the BFBS, the FMS and Björklund himself). The BFBS took the responsibility to finance the project, while the FMS agreed to take care of the practical arrangements for the work.

In June 1957, Walter Björklund and his wife Edit left Finland. In July 1957 they arrived in Ovamboland (Laukkanen 2002:56). The work could not start right away, the voices of the churches and mission agencies in Oukwanyama were first to be heard. The ELOC synod decided unanimously in 1958 in favour of the proposed

translator in the person of W. Björklund. The synod expressed their confidence in Björklund. The synod also authorized the BFBS to translate the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama (Laukkanen, 2002:58). Laukkanen describes Björklund as follows:

Björklund was remembered as someone who had already worked for a long time among the Kwanyama people [Ovakwanyama] and he spoke the language in the same manner the locals did. Björklund was also tall and, like the Kwanyama people, had an upright posture. For these reasons they held him in high esteem. (Laukkanen 2002:60)

Björklund was liked very much by the Ovakwanyama. He must have liked them too, because he had no problem living among them and working in a remote area like Eenhana, instead of staying at Engela where the other missionaries were staying.

Engela. Missionary Haninnen established Engela in 1920. It was the centre of activities of the Lutheran church in Oukwanyama. Engela was the second mission station in Oukwanyama on the Namibian side after Omafo, where Ovakwanyama gathered from Oukwanyama on the Angolan side. Björklund had earlier already spent ten years in Oukwanyama at Engela. At that time Engela was the main centre for the whole area. Engela was also located at the centre of the Oukwanyama area and it was accessible to all people who came to look for various services and facilities. Another convincing factor, which was helpful to the translator, was that many Oshikwanyama speaking teachers and pastors were in the immediate vicinity of Engela. Therefore it would be easier for the translator to contact them when necessary. Engela was located closer to Oukwanyama on the Angolan side of the border where the Roman Catholic Church operated, as well as Odibo St. Mary Anglican mission. These three churches were all involved in mission work among the Ovakwanyama and formed part and parcel of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. They were all mission agencies among the Ovakwanyama. The supervisor of the Oukwanyama parishes,

Erkki Hynönen, was also stationed at Engela. Therefore Engela was the best location for the translators (Laukkanen 2002:58-60). However another option, Eenhana, was also considered.

Eenhana. Eenhana is located to the east of Engela about 100 km away. Rev Paulus Hamutenya, one of the first African pastors who were ordained in 1925, founded the Lutheran parish at Eenhana in 1932. Paulus Hamutenya was one of the elders from Oukwanyama inside Angola. He came from the village called Oukwanyangali of Hanyangha and settled in Edundja. Hamutenya was a soldier of King Mandume. He moved eastward as a hunter, and found a village called Eenhana in 1927 (Shidiwe 2004). In 1937 a Finnish woman, Linda Hirenius, established a mission station in Eenhana. The mission station includes a hospital and boy's school. According to Shinana, a special building (Appendix X) was erected in the hospital premises for the translators, Walter Björklund, Andreas Shapota, Natanael Nghatanga and Sakaria Tuhadeleni (Shinana 2004). Eenhana was a remote area. Erkki Hynönen was not in favour of placing the translators at Eenhana. He argued that Oshikwanyama as spoken around Engela was different from that which was used in Eenhana. Hynönen was worried that placing the Bible translators in an area where traditional ways still prevailed would load the translation with too many words and concepts which had become obsolete elsewhere (Laukkanen 2002:59).

Besides all that has been said about Engela, Eenhana was seen as the best place for the translation. One advantage of Eenhana it was peaceful and quite. Therefore Walter Björklund and his wife Edit settled in Eenhana. The question of housing was also a factor, because at Engela there was no accommodation for the Bible translators.

Another reason why Björklund was placed at Eenhana is explained in the Oshikwanyama expression *omakipa manene ihaa pi mbiya imwe*, which literally means that ‘big bones cannot be cooked in one pot’. This means that Björklund and Hynönen could not live in one place. It was better to separate them. It worked well that way. Eenhana became the place for translators. Recently, Eenhana became the capital town of the Oshana Regional Council in Northern Namibia.

3. 5. 3 The Search for Indigenous Translators

Foreign missionaries, even though they know the indigenous languages, cannot make a proper translation. This is because each language has certain features, which the speakers of that language consider being beautiful and that person is not considered a good speaker or writer unless he/she uses these features (Hatton 1976:224).

Oshikwanyama as a language has many features, which cannot be understood by foreigners. Therefore there was a need for indigenous translators. This would make the work more effective. It was the same with Björklund. Although he was a gifted person with knowledge of the indigenous language, he was unable to cope with the work of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama alone. It was also impractical. It was hard to find a suitable person because at that time there were no indigenous people who knew the original languages of the Bible like, Hebrew and Greek. It must be noted that the Oshikwanyama Bible Translation was a project of ELOC. ELOC had to see to it that it reached its goals (Kaulinge 2004). Therefore, the ELOC leadership appointed local people to be co-translators with Björklund. They seconded Pastor Natanael Nghatanga, evangelist Andreas Shapota and teacher Sakaria Tuhadeleni to

be full-time co-translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama (Shinana 2004; Kaulinge 2004; Nghatanga-Hamunyela 2004).

According to Kaulinge, one of the long serving ELCIN pastors and now a retired Bishop, these three indigenous translators had special gifts. They were committed Christians. They knew the culture and religious tradition of the Ovakwanyama and they possessed an excellent understanding of the Bible and Oshikwanyama. They were down to earth people who lived out Christianity and they also lived exemplary lives. The church leadership did not hesitate to appoint them as co-translators of the Holy Scripture. One factor which contributed to their effectiveness was their training as teachers, evangelists and pastors. It was a good combination because during the missionary period, teachers were trained to be preachers in their respective parishes. This meant that to qualify as a teacher you needed to know how to preach and lead parish work as well. The teaching profession was a combination of education and parish duties (Kaulinge 2004).

There was a suitable person, a teacher called Gabriel Taapopi, who was extraordinarily gifted with languages. According to Laukkanen, he could translate directly from Hebrew into Oshikwanyama. Unfortunately Taapopi had other responsibilities at that time (Laukkanen 2002:60). Taapopi studied in the University of South Africa, which was probably where he was introduced to Hebrew. The Ovakwanyama did not favour him, because he was associated with whites. According to Shinana, Taapopi made some unnecessary changes in Oshikwanyama because he mixed Oshikwanyama words with Oshindonga (Shinana 2004). Although Taapopi was not selected to be a translator, he was invited to attend translation committee

meetings, like the one held at Engela on July 18th, 1972. Many issues concerning the use of words and the numerical system in Oshikwanyama were discussed (Appendix XI).

Four people Arvid Walter Björklund, Natanael Nghatanga, Andreas Shapota and Sakaria Tuhadeleni combined their knowledge to translate the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama. According to Nida these people formed the translation team (Nida 1982:213). The Oshikwanyama Bible of 1974, the only one we have today, is their product. God used the lowly ones to reveal his great love toward human kind (I Cor 1:26-31).

It was suggested by this researcher that the names of the translators should appear on the preface of the Bible in Oshikwanyama. This suggestion met with objections from Bishop Kaulinge. If their names were to appear there some people might feel that this Bible, being a lay translation, was inferior and they would not take it seriously. In his opinion it is better not to include the names of those who did the translation. However, this author believes that by ensuring that their names are on the Oshikwanyama version, their work will be promoted and their history kept alive.

3. 5. 4 The Bible Translation Committee

Translators alone cannot make good translations. It is not even generally accepted by Bible Societies that translators work alone. The translation committee's main function is to check if progress is being made, and whether the words used in translating are appropriate. The translation committee is required to set up the guidelines and

procedures for the translation and to answer questions pertaining to the translation. It must be clear to both translators and translation committee members as to what kind of translation is taking place. There are two types of translation, formal-correspondence translation or dynamic-equivalent translation (Nida 1982:209).

I understand that the translation committee and translators both form a translation team. They must work in relationship. Nida writes:

It is essential, however, that the members of the translation team themselves work out the principles, since they must feel that the principles they work under represent their own decisions and insights. ...Working out the principles also means that the team members can remember them and their implications more easily. (Nida 1982:211)

The United Bible Societies (UBS) which supports translation is strict in regard to this point and it therefore insists that no translation project will be allowed to proceed until a satisfactory set of these agreed upon guidelines has been adopted (Nida 1982:213). Therefore, in order to meet translation standards, the Bible translation committee has to abide by this regulation.

The translation team, the Finish missionaries in particular, were aware of the translation procedure. They therefore formulated the guidelines and principles and forwarded them to the UBS for recognition. It was clear that the Oshikwanyama translation was a dynamic equivalent translation. Laukkanen notes that “new ideas of seeking for dynamic equivalence instead of translating words and concepts one by one were introduced in Turfloop”, South Africa, in July 1967 (Laukkanen 2002:86). According to the minutes of a meeting held by the translation committee at Oniipa from December 13th–15th, 1965, it elected delegates from Oukwanyama to attend the

Turfloop Conference. They were Rev Josia Mufeti, Apollos Kaulinge and Erkki Hynönen (Appendix XII).

The translation committee allocated different tasks to the members. According to Hynönen, the aim of the translator and the committee was to make a precise representation of the original text, but at the same time the translation should be in contemporary and easily understandable language. He furthers his argument that the language of the Bible should be the language heard, understood and spoken by children and young people, because they were the ones for whom the Bible was being translated (Laukkanen 2003:64). Hynönen was correct, but his claim was a kind of attack upon Gurney, the Anglican representative of the translation committee, who proposed that: “It [Oshikwanyama] must only be the best”. The members of the committee agreed that the translation was meant for the Ovakwanyama and therefore the language should be as pure Oshikwanyama as possible. Hynönen regarded Oshikwanyama across the border in Angola as archaic, but Ovakwanyama speaking people see it as pure Oshikwanyama. Ovakwanyama pastors were in favour of the language used by Schulte rather than that Hynönen had in mind. Rev. Ismael Nhinda noted that Schulte, too, had learnt Oshikwanyama on the Namibian side of the border (Laukkanen 2002:64). It is clear that Hynönen wanted to get rid of ‘pure’ Oshikwanyama, which the Ovakwanyama did not want.

The composition of the translation committee included members from different churches and mission agencies who were working among the Ovakwanyama. The members of the translation committee were: Anglican pastors S. N. Gurney, L. Haihambo and Father Teophilus Hamutumbangela, and Anglican Bishop J. D.

Vincent. Erkki Hynönen and Arvo Eirola represented FMS. Ismael Nhinda and Josia Mufeti represented ELOC, while Rev Eberhard Heuer and teacher Reinhold Jesaja represented the Rhenish Mission. There were also representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. The composition of the committee changed from time to time. Some new members came in and others left. Some people were invited to attend meetings for advice, but they were not full-time members (Laukkanen 2002:61-62). Members of the Bible Translation Committee formed a bridge to cross cultural and denominational diversity. The composition of the Committee made the Bible acceptable to the entire church of Christ in Oukwanyama, irrespective of the different denominations. The BFBS held that participation in the translation by all churches and missions in the Northern Namibia would lead to ecumenical co-operation (Laukkanen 2002:19).

The Bible Translation Committee played an important role in the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. This section shows how the committee functioned throughout the translation work.

Chairpersons

The Committee had two chairpersons: Arvo Eirola, a missionary who was first chairperson of the Translation Committee from 1963 until 1968 (Laukkanen 2002:87). After Eirola returned to Finland, Rev Josia Mufeti, an indigenous pastor, succeeded him from 1969 to 1974. He was the first African to be chairperson of the Bible Translation Committee. Mufeti was elected at a meeting in Oniipa from May 1st to 3rd, 1968 (Laukkanen 2002:87-88). The chairperson signed all the letters, documents and minutes of the translation committee. Another task of chairperson

were to liaison the translators, translation committee members, mission agencies, and Bible Societies throughout the process of translating.

The Meetings

The first meeting of the Committee was held in Engela in 1957 (Laukkanen 2002:61). In 1967 the Kwanyama Bible Translation Committee held four meetings and determined to work more efficiently and to speed up the completion of the translation process. The Committee could ask either the FMS or the Bible Society to give them support in the form of human resources or finance. The committee also looked into the use of language and orthography, which will be dealt with later.

All the people who were involved in translation work worked according to the guidelines of the Translation Committee. Mrs. Laina Kivelä, the Finnish missionary, who was asked to finalize the spelling and the use of orthography of the Bible, worked closely with the committee (Laukkanen 2002:86). The Translation committee was the body appointed to answer questions relating to the translation work. In 1970 Erkki Hynönen visited Ovamboland. He had many questions from the UBS staff in London concerning the translation. On arriving in Ovamboland he called a meeting with committee members in June and July. At this time Hynönen chaired the meetings because answers were urgently needed to the questions. Kivelä mailed answers from these Translation Committee meetings to London. In 1971 the committee met with Hynönen again to answer questions pertaining to translation and the use of language (Laukkanen 2002:90). The UBS advised the Translation Committee with regard to its work. In one instance, the UBS advised the committee to eliminate words borrowed from European languages and to stick to indigenous expressions. Another point of

UBS advice was dividing the text into shorter sentences, which were easier to understand. An expert in translation from the Bible Society also instructed the committee to look for expressions in contemporary Kwanyama speech, best suited to each context in the Bible. Laukkanen summed up the work of translation committee saying:

In Ovamboland, the Bible Translation Committee worked to correct the text in order to satisfy the Bible societies, the Language Bureau and the various churches and mission agencies who still trying to make sure that biblical truths would not be altered. (Laukkanen 2002:91,92)

In July 1972 the Translation Consultant, Dr. J. L. Reyneke and the Secretary for Translation, Rev. J. F. Naudé from the BSSA, visited Ovamboland. They met with the members of the translation Committee at Oniipa. The main question in this meeting was the publication of the Oshikwanyama Bible. One member of the meeting, Abisai Shejavali, suggested that a new translator be appointed to do the work all over again. None supported this suggestion. It was hard to start the work over again. Therefore, the “members of the Bible translation Committee were unanimous in supporting the publication of the translation that had been made. The meeting recommended that the Bible in Kwanyama be published as soon as the most recently decided corrections had been made to the manuscript” (Laukkanen 2002:93). The Translation Committee worked with the world body and, as a result, its work was effective and accepted internationally.

3. 5. 5 The Bible Societies

Bible Societies are non-denominational organizations whose purpose is to translate, produce and distribute the Christian Scriptures in languages that people can

understand and sell at prices people can afford. There are many Bible societies in the world, but the main focus here will be on which societies assisted in translations in Southern Africa. It must be noted here that the work of translating the Bible into the Namibian languages, done by missionaries since 19th century, was supported financially by the various missionary societies and organizations in Germany, Finland, and South Africa (Buys and Nambala 2003:363; Cann 1991:99). In this section we will discover how the Bible Societies developed in Southern Africa and what kind of assistance was offered in translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama in particular.

British and Foreign Bible Societies (BFBS)

BFBS was founded on March 7th, 1804, in London. It was a worldwide movement of Bible translation, printing and distribution. The founders of the Society had their eyes on the wider need of the world. By 1820, Bible Societies has been established on almost all continents, Africa included. Their main concern was the translation, printing and distribution of the Bible. Through Bible Societies, Bible editions were published in translations approved by the various churches and according to their respective canons. The interpretation was left with the churches (Fenn 1963:388,389; Cann 1991:99).

United Bible Societies (UBS)

The United Bible Societies is a federation of the Bible Societies founded in 1946. The UBS is the international Christian organization, which assists the major Bible translation projects around the globe, providing information and technical assistance to all member societies and supporting churches and missionaries in the field with

skills, materials and financial aid on an equal level. Bible Societies under their umbrella body, the UBS, committed themselves to their pledge “openness to assist every Christian church with scripture publications that support, deepen and intensify the church’s life and mission” (Cann, 1991:100). The UBS, consistent with this goal, maintains a close working relationship with the World Council of Churches (WCC) (Cann 1991:94,95).

Bible Society of South Africa (BSSA)

The Bible Society of South Africa was founded in 1820 in Cape Town as an Auxiliary of the BFBS. It was first called South African Assistance Society. The South African Assistance Society took responsibility for the translation and distribution of the Bible in Southern Africa for a period of 130 years. In 1950 it was re-established as an independent Cape Town branch of the BFBS. On November 1st, 1965, the Cape Town branch of the BFBS became the independent Bible Society of South Africa with its own functions. The work of the BSSA was done in three sections namely:

A department of information and media communication;

A department of distribution and production and planning;

A department of translations and revisions (Buys and Nambala 2003:364)

Namibia was part of the BSSA. The project of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama was run by the BSSA. It is the body, which published and printed the Bible. The relationship between the BSSA, the FMS and the ELCIN will be dealt with further in connection with the translations.

Bible Society of Namibia (BSN)

As their influence expanded in Namibia the BSSA established the Regional Council for Namibia in 1974. On the 12th of August 1974, Namibia received its own Regional Council from the BSSA, established in Windhoek. In 1979 the new Bible House in Independence Avenue, Windhoek, was inaugurated. On September 2nd, 1986, the Regional Council for Namibia was re-established and became the independent Bible Society of Namibia. When the Oshikwanyama Bible was translated, the BSN did not exist. In the year (1974) of the establishment of the Regional Council for Namibia, the publication of the Oshikwanyama Bible was complete. At present the BSN has its own translation and revision projects in progress (Buys and Nambala 2003:364).

There has always been a close relationship between the Bible Societies and the missions. In the framework of mission enterprises the translation of the Bible into vernacular was a focal point. The Bible Societies want to promote the translations, print them and distribute them to the people. They need each other as neither one would work effectively without the other. Missionaries physically go to the people to do mission work. Bible Societies go to people through the written word. Eric Fenn asserts that:

From the beginning there was the closest possible co-operation between missionaries in the field and the Bible Societies. This relationship became closer as these societies developed the policy of planting agents in Africa... so that they might be in continuous and direct touch with the needs of the expanding Church. It was always a necessary relationship. (Fenn 1963:393)

This is what happened in Oukwanyama. The Ovakwanyama demanded the translation of the Bible in their tongue. They did the translation work together with the missionaries. The BFBS supported the initial translations and later transferred the work to the BSSA. It is obvious that the BFBS, which is based in London, would not

cater for that part of the African continent. On the other hand, a large number of languages into which the Bible needs to be translated come from Africa. It was therefore necessary to develop another Bible Society in the region. The BSSA in turn could not do everything; therefore, the BSN was established in Namibia.

The Bible Societies do not end with a new translation, because the task of the translation is initially difficult, and it never ends. The language is not static, and people's skills and knowledge of a foreign tongue never complete. Generations are coming and passing, therefore there is always need for revisions. Periodically, Bible Societies are engaged in doing revisions to the existing translation (Fenn 1963:397). The Oshikwanyama Bible (1974) is now under revision. The Bible Society of Namibia took up this task. This time there is no need for foreign translators to do revision. There are well educated Ovakwanyama, who understand the original biblical languages Hebrew and Greek, to do the translation.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Bible Society of South Africa, the Finnish Missionary Society, as mission agent in the field and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia as the established church in northern Namibia, all have a close link. ELOC, now ELCIN, took on the task of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama. All the preparation and translating work was done by ELOC. It was responsible for the whole project of translating the Bible into the vernacular languages in the northern part of Namibia assisted by the above mentioned organizations.

The Chronology of events and co-operation

1. In 1956 the Rev J T M van Arkel, General Secretary of the BFBS office in Cape Town accompanied by Rev Johannes Petrus Bruwer and Rev S.H. van der Spuy, visited Ovamboland and become convinced that it was necessary to translate the Bible into Oshikwanyama.
2. BFBS with FMS delegates negotiated the appointment of the translator. Van Arkel asked the FMS to appoint one of its workers, someone fluent in Oshikwanyama, as a full-time translator.
3. Birger Eriksson, the head of FMS field administration, proposed to the BFBS that Walter Björklund be asked to take the position of full-time Bible translator.
4. The BFBS accepted the proposal of the FMS to the appointment of Björklund and promised to take financial responsibility for the project, while the FMS agreed to take care of the practical arrangements of the work.
5. The BFBS and the FMS could not go on with the project without considering the church, ELOC. In 1958 the ELOC synod approved the preparation of translation done by the BFBS and the FMS.
6. The BFBS proposed that the churches and missions operating among the Ovakwanyama appoint their representatives onto a committee for Bible translation.
7. The BFBS provided Björklund with information and written instruction for Bible translation. The BFBS also mailed Björklund *The Bible Translator*, a quarterly publication that included instructions for translating.
8. When Björklund encountered a problem in his work he was to contact the BFBS for assistance. In 1957 when he encountered criticism about the orthography of

using the letters 'h' and 'x' and numerals in Oshikwanyama, he wrote to the BFBS in London.

9. In 1965 BSSA became an independent society and started co-operation with the umbrella body UBS. This move made it possible for the Finnish Bible Society to begin supporting Bible translation in then Southwest Africa, Namibia, through the UBS World budget in 1967.
10. In 1966, a theologian, Rev Josia Mufeti, was added to the translation committee to represent ELOC.
11. Also in 1966, the BSSA asked the FMS for a worker to assist the Kwanyama Bible Translation Committee and Miss Laina Kivelä, a theologian who had worked in Ovamboland since 1948, was called to the task.
12. In July 1967, the BSSA and the BFBS arranged a seminar for Bible translators in Turfloop, South Africa. Participants from Namibia were invited. ELOC sent representatives of Oshikwanyama Bible translation in the form of pastors Josia Mufeti and Abisai Shejavali. Both of them were Kwanyama speaking people. Rev Teofelus Hamutumbangela represented the Anglican Church.
13. In 1968, the BSSA appointed Dr. J. L. Reyneke as a consultant to all translation projects in Southern Africa. His primary task was to correspond with translators and translation committees and to provide them with advice and guidance.
14. The UBS advised the translation committee to eliminate words borrowed from European languages and to stick to indigenous expressions. The UBS also suggested the use of shorter sentences instead of longer ones.
15. In November 1972, consultant Reyneke visited Ovamboland. He brought the manuscript Kivelä had sent to the BSSA. At the request of the BSSA he invited the pastors and teachers from Oukwanyama to attend the meeting of the

Translation Committee held in Engela. At that meeting the orthography of Bible translation, regarding the use of 'x' and 'h' and Oshikwanyama numerals, was finally resolved (Laukkanen 2002:55-96).

All these points clearly show that the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was done according to the worldwide standard. The Bible Society, which is the overseer of all Bible translation, was at the centre of all preparations. At the end of translation the general secretary of BSSA credited all those who were involved in translation. He said:

Much credit is due to Dean A. W. Björklund, the chief translator, and his dedicated committee for their powers of application; the work was completed in what must be a record time. The Bible Society wishes to record its gratitude to the Translator[s], and his committee, to the Finnish Missionary Society and to St Mary's Anglican Mission for their co-operation. (Appendix XIII)

3. 6. Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the mission and translation work among the Ovakwanyama done by the RMS, the FMS and indigenous missionaries in southern Angola and northern Namibia. The Ovakwanyama encountered European missionaries, received them, accepted them and worked together with them. European missionaries also accepted the challenge to be among people like the Ovakwanyama. The Ovakwanyama contributed to the mission work and they were part and parcel of the leadership of the newly established church in Oukwanyama.

Mission work went hand in hand with the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama and with the introduction of Oshikwanyama into literacy. All the parties involved, mission agencies, missionaries, translators, churches and Bible Societies played their

role. What is surprising now it that only one Oshikwanyama version of the Bible exists. The first missionaries did their part of translation. The new Christian generation are left now with revisions, because translation is an ongoing process. It is fortunate that there are now indigenous people who know the original languages of the Bible, namely Hebrew and Greek. There are theologians who have skills to perform better translations. There are also modern tools like computers, which make translation better and faster.

In my opinion the New Testament and Psalms, which were printed in 1927 and translated during the German Missionary Era, were compiled by translators using formal equivalence translation. In the translation printed in 1974, which was done during the Finnish Missionary Era, the translators used dynamic equivalence translation. Both were Oshikwanyama versions, but they were translated at different times by different translators. In order to make a successful translation, the translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama revised the New Testament.

Praise and thanks must go to whom it is due: First to God who wanted all nations to hear his words in their own tongue, and secondly, to the translators who made it possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFRICAN MISSIONARIES AND TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE INTO OSHIKWANYAMA

4. 1. Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to research the Africans who were involved in the translation of the Bible, particularly into Oshikwanyama. There is already a Bible version in Oshikwanyama, as the previous chapter revealed. Both African and European missionaries did the translation together. Much has been recorded about the European missionary translators, while little has been recorded about the indigenous translators. African translators should be researched and their contributions documented and promoted.

In the story of the Bible in Oshikwanyama we have Africans (Ovakwanyama), who were in the forefront of translation, and did a lot as far as Oshikwanyama was concerned. The European translators relied heavily on them, in order to be successful in their work. This chapter introduces them and their contributions.

The issue of controversy in language will be dealt with at length because it was the cause of a fierce dispute between the Finnish missionaries and the African scholars. The indigenous African translators stuck to the use of Oshikwanyama and won. Their final words spoken by Rev Kaulinge senior were: "If God is now speaking in the language of the people who will then go against it?" (Kaulinge 2004).

4. 2. What is African Agency?

It is not right to call all African Christians agents of enculturation. It is also hard to distinguish among other African agents who were influential. However, it is necessary to look into the history of a specific field and find out who these people were. In this context we are looking at both the religious and cultural spheres. This research concentrates more on African Christians who deliberately took part in the translation of the Word of God into the vernacular.

African Indigenous Agents are those Africans who, when receiving Christianity from missionaries, accepted it and made it part of their culture. Furthermore they started to formulate their mode of Christianity and to understand that they themselves are African Christians. In other words they Africanized Christianity (Lenkoe 1995:78,79).

African Indigenous Translators made it possible for the Word of God to be kept in African culture in the same manner as in other cultures in the Western world. Translation is one method of making this phenomenon possible. Translation involves the changing of the one language to another and certain ways of doing things, but not the changing of the cultural norms.

In South Africa, at the beginning of mission work among Africans, the Anglican Church Mission used the term "Native Agents". The term 'native' is no longer accepted because it carries a derogatory connotation; instead the term 'African agents' is more appropriate. This term identified Africans who took it upon themselves to

spread the Christian faith. These agents were never recruited, but came to the missionaries on their own initiative to request opportunities to undertake mission work. African agents were not merely interpreting white missionaries, but they were also missionaries who were spreading the gospel. They refused to be passive, but were active, although their activities were not always recognized. In the nineteenth century their work became visible. African agents were clearly identified by name and their activities were fully disclosed. The fact that African agents were not identified in the eighteenth century deprived early converted African missionaries of being known as pioneers. African agents play an important role in the mission enterprise. Africans were the backbone of missionary enterprise, although they were mentioned only in the passing (Denis 1995:9-13; Lenkoe 1995:78-82).

What was happening in the Anglican Church was not much different from what was happening in many churches in Southern Africa. Thus Africans although they participated fully in mission work, were not properly recognized. Socio-political factors of that time contributed significantly to their marginalization. The time has come to rediscover them.

Maluleke wished to explore the possible role of theology in interpreting and hopefully enhancing the agency of African Christians in, among others, cultural and religious development. Maluleke noted that ordinary Africans were surviving in the midst of tragedy and that they find ways to survive just as other people do. He wrote:

Africans have been always agents “never simply victims, wallowing in self-pity”; they were always exercising their agency in struggles for survival and integrity. However, their agency has not always been recognized, let alone nurtured. [He furthers his argument from a South Africa perspective] that there is a new wave of awareness of the agency of ordinary marginalized Africans... African theologies have always proceeded on some gut-feeling and almost

stubborn insistence that Africans were agents and not mere doormats trampled upon by civilized, missionaries and colonists. (Maluleke 2000:28)

Maluleke made a call to African theologians to rediscover African agents so that their work may be counted and recorded (Maluleke 2000:21-37). This research is an attempt toward the vision Maluleke envisaged.

Nurnberger uses the term human agency to describe humans who, after receiving the Word of God, participated in the redemptive work of God. Africans, who participated in the translation of the Holy Scripture into the vernacular, played an important role in the spreading of the Word of God and to addressing the particular needs of the people concerned. God's action empowered their action. So God was at work within them (Nurnberger 2002:10).

What is translated is language into language; that is source language and target language. Therefore, language is the most important tool in translation. According to Sanneh, language is not merely a tool fashioned to achieve limited and temporary goals, it is also a dynamic cultural resource, reflecting the spirit of the people and illuminating their sense of value (Sanneh 1989:165). This means that to keep the language you keep the culture of the people and their identity. The language only has meaning within the cultural settings.

I see translation as a fundamental concession to the vernacular, and an inevitable weakening of the forces of uniformity and centralization. Furthermore, I see translation as introducing a dynamic and pluralist factor into questions of the essence religion.... Translation would consequently help to bring us to new ways of viewing the world, commencing a process of revitalization that reaches into both the personal and the cultural spheres. (Sanneh 1989:53)

This is what the African Translation agency did as far as translation into the vernacular is concerned in Africa as a whole and Oukwanyama in particular. The African Agency, in the process of translation, did keep both the language and culture.

We can draw the conclusion as Sanneh asserts that:

Christianity is parallel to culture, but it is not completely proportionate to it. The religion is not culture, but it is not other than culture. (Sanneh 1989:53)

Before we embark on the African agency in Namibia, Oukwanyama in particular, let us look at what happened in other parts of Africa. The example I will use is of Samuel Adjai Crowther of Nigeria. Adjai was a Yoruba boy who at the age of twelve was sold into slavery and ended up in America. Luckily enough he was freed and went to Freetown in Sierra Leone. On December 11th, 1825, Adjai was baptized in Sierra Leone as Samuel Adjai Crowther. In 1827 he became the first pupil in the first secondary school in Africa, called Fourah Bay College in Freetown. The aim of the College was to train pioneers for the new work to do missionary work in the interior. After completing his studies, Adjai remained in the college as a teacher. During his studies he was under the instruction of missionaries (Sanneh 1989:165; Schaaf 2002:51).

Thomas Fowell Buxton, the leader of the anti-slavery movement in England, founded a Society and worked on the principle that Africa's freedom could only be achieved by calling on Africa's own resources. This means that Africans had to come of age and free themselves from foreign resources. In 1841 three ships sailed to Africa and Niger. Its occupants had the intention of setting up a project combining agriculture, medical care, teaching and missions. In Sierra Leone they took African volunteers. One of the volunteers was teacher Samuel Adjai Crowther. Crowther was invited to

England and in early 1843 he was ordained priest in the Church of England. He was welcomed back in Freetown at the end of 1843 as the first African Anglican minister, amidst great enthusiasm. He was the first African, who started preaching the freedom of slaves in Yoruba, as Buxton intended. Crowther studied Hebrew and Greek in the College so that translating the Bible could form part of his pioneer work (Schaaf 2002:52).

When a group of freed Yoruba slaves came across Lagos they recognized that this was the place where they were shipped from. Later they organized repatriation from Freetown to Nigeria, their homeland in 1841. They started mission work in their home country, and Samuel Adjai Crowther was appointed as a pioneer. They started mission work in Yorubaland in 1845. Schaaf describes their approach when he writes:

Their approach was modern: evangelism, teaching, medical care, but also improvement of the economic situation. The missionaries introduced palm oil production and cotton planting. (Schaaf 2002:52)

This means that their approach was holistic. It included development in all spheres of life. Crowther, as a Yoruba and an African, prevented many conflicts and civil war from taking place among the Yoruba. For example, Crowther and Townsend had their hands full preventing and resolving political conflicts. They even prevented one battle with the Adu by simply pitching their tent between the two parties (Schaaf 2002:52).

As far as mission work was concerned, tireless labourer Samuel Adjai Crowther was the key person. For him, preaching the gospel was central. In 1848 he baptized his first Yoruba Christians including his mother. He was the first person who made a first Yoruba reader. He also developed Yoruba writings. In 1864 Crowther received an

honorary doctorate of Divinity in England, and was consecrated in Canterbury as the first African Anglican bishop. He was consecrated Bishop of Niger (Schaaf 2002:53).

Crowther started the translation of the Bible into Yoruba. According to Sanneh, Crowther recognized that translation was more than a mechanical exercise, and that something of the genius of the people was involved. For Crowther, language was not merely a tool to fashion or achieve limited and temporary goals. It was also a dynamic cultural resource, reflecting the spirit of the people and illuminating their sense of value (Sanneh 1989:165). This recognizing of the value of the language made him a good translator of the Yoruba language. In 1865 the Yoruba New Testament was printed. In 1880 the whole Bible in Yoruba was completed. Crowther died in 1889. He was one of the first Africans who translated the Bible himself for his own people (Schaaf 2002:51-53). Although Crowther as a bishop worked hard he did not achieve the standard he was supposed to achieve. That is why Schaaf makes a negative remark when he writes:

However hard he worked as bishop, Crowther could not meet the efficiency standards of his British mission. The basic principles of the CMS, self-support, self-government and self-propagation, went into cold storage, because Samuel Adjai Crowther, the Yoruba slave boy, could not do everything and because modern colonialism, with its 'superior' Europeans, had begun. (Schaaf 2002:53)

The biography of Samuel Adjai Crowther will help us to understand the story of the Bible among the Ovakwanyama. Although Nigeria and Sierra Leone are far from Namibia, both countries are in Africa.

4. 3. African Indigenous Translation Agency in Oukwanyama

In Oukwanyama, when the missionaries arrived, the Ovakwanyama who first converted to Christianity took part in spreading the gospel and took part in translating the Word of God into their tongue. They learnt how to read and write and taught others how to read and write. During the process of interactions the African missionaries Africanized Christianity and in the same way they Christianized Africa. Unfortunately neither was their works nor their identity recorded. Only pieces of the contributions of those who are known to us survived. Some have been mentioned just in passing. In fact, there were Africans whose contributions are still relevant. Those who translated the Bible into Oshikwanyama, although they have died, speak to us today through their work. To mention them briefly will help us to note them in their biographies.

Simson Shituwa and Wilhelm Kafita were associated with the German missionaries at Ondjiva, Omupanda, Omatemba and Onamakunde. They introduced the missionaries to Oshikwanyama and its culture. They later took the leadership when the German missionaries left Oukwanyama. Mika Nghiyoonanye and David Nghilokwa were teachers at Engela parish. They worked together with the German missionary Paul Schulte in translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama at Omafo. Natanael Nghatanga, Sakaria Tuhadeleni and Andreas Shapota were co-translators of the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama with Finnish missionary Walter Björklund, at Eenhana. Teophilus Hamutumbangela was a member of the Translation Committee representing the Anglican Church. Ismael Nhinda was a member of the Translation Committee representing ELCIN (ELOC); Josia Mufeti was the chairperson of the Translation

Committee. Vilho Kaulinge and Natanael Kapofi and other senior pastors fought for the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, as well as for the language to be taught in schools. These are just the few I can mention here.

4. 4. The Biographies of African Indigenous Translation Agency

4. 4. 1. Josia Mufeti (1926-)

Josia Nghiningishiwa Mufeti was born on March 29th, 1926, in Omundudu, Endola in Oukwanyama on the Namibian side. He married teacher Rauna Mwetufayo yaShimweefeleni shaKandjabanga on November 19th, 1957. They have seven children.

Education

Mufeti went to primary school in Omundudu from 1933-1939 and in Onheleiwa in 1946. He then went to the Boy's School at Ongwediva from 1947-1948. He went to Teachers' Training Seminary at Oniipa from 1949-1951. He then went to what was called preparation school at Oshigambo from 1955-1956. Mufeti went to the Pastors' Training Seminary at Elim from 1957-1959. Ordained as a pastor of ELCIN at Engela on August 16th, 1959, he went for further studies to Oscarsburg, South Africa, in 1960. Mufeti was offered an opportunity to further his theological studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland, from 1962-1965. Mufeti is one of the few pastors of ELCIN who had the opportunity to further their studies abroad (Laukkanen 2002:88; Mufeti 2004; Nambala 1995:125).

Activities

Mufeti became a teacher in 1951 and taught for four years from 1952-1954 at Oniipa Teachers' Training Seminary. After he completed his studies in Helsinki he became a director at Engela Parish Institute, from 1965-1974. Mufeti was a member of the church Council and a member of the education committee in the region. According to the letter dated September 16th, 1969 and written by Secretary of Translation J. C. C. Pauw, Mufeti was appointed to serve on the Kwanyama Language Committee of the South West African Language Bureau as the representative of the Bible Society (appendix XIV). He also served as chairperson of Bible Translation Committee. At the end of 1974 he was sent to lead missionary work among the San people in Okongo, east of Ovamboland, from 1975-1990. As a pastor he served at Okongo parish from 1990-1996. He is now a retired pastor at his home at Okongo.

Contribution to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

In 1966, Rev Josia Mufeti was added to the Oshikwanyama Bible Translation Committee as a theologian, after finishing his theological studies in Helsinki, Finland. It was a wise move to have an indigenous theologian in the team of translators. He would be a good help in the process of translation. Mufeti was one of the ELOC representatives to the Turfloop consultation, which was organized by the BFBS and the BSSA in 1967. In this consultation dynamic equivalence, instead of translating words and concepts one by one, was introduced. In 1969 Mufeti, the director of the Engela Parish Institute, became the chairperson of the Oshikwanyama Bible Translation Committee until the work was completed in 1974. He was the first African in Oukwanyama to head the Translation Committee.

As the chairperson of the Translation Committee and a member of the Language Board, he had a good chance to lead the committee in the right direction as far as Oshikwanyama language and Bible translation is concerned. On the other hand the translation committee members were critical and, as a result, he was once accused of not doing enough to speed up the process of translation, according to a letter dated November 19th, 1969 from Secretary of Translation Rev J. C. C. Pauw (Appendix XV). As an Omukwanyama person, teacher and theologian, Mufeti worked hard to ensure the Bible was translated accordingly into Oshikwanyama. His influences were eminent in the process of translation. Mufeti is competent in Greek and, having studied in Finland, he can speak fluent Finnish. (Laukkanen 2002:86-97; Nambala 1995:125; Nakanwe 2004; Mufeti 2004).

4. 4. 2. Father Theofilus Hamutumbangela (1917-1990)

Theofilus Hingashikuka Hamutumbangela was born in 1917 at Onghala, in Oukwanyama. Hamutumbangela was a nephew of the King Mandume Ndemufayo of Oukwanyama, the respected king of the Ovawambo. He was born the day King Mandume was attacked and killed by his enemies at Oihole.

Education

In 1934 he went to boarding school at St Mary Mission⁸ at Odibo. He had been closely associated with the St Mary Mission for many years, first as a learner and later as teacher in the mission school. Bishop Tobias described him as a person of quiet

⁸ St Mary Mission is a mission station of the Anglican Church in Oukwanyama, Namibia. It was a centre of the Anglican Church in northern Namibia. There was a boarding school, church and good facilities. This centre has educated many young Namibians during the time of colonialism. It suffered

intellectual ability. The bishop recommended that he be sent for 18 months to St Bedes, Umtata, South Africa, to prepare for the diaconate.

From 1944 to 1946 he was at St Bedes, Umtata and completed his program. In August 6th, 1946 Hamutumbangela was ordained as a deacon at St Mary Mission, Odibo. During his years of study he had many experiences, which shaped his Christian leadership and politics.

Activities

Hamutumbangela was a teacher at St Mary mission school at Odibo. After his ordination in 1946, as deacon, he served at Onekwaya-West Parish. In 1947 he was ordained as a priest in the Anglican Church. In early 1950, Hamutumbangela became the presiding priest of the Anglican Church at the St Barnabas location in Windhoek. In 1958 he was relocated to Odibo. Later he was the resident priest of the Mary Magdalene Church at Odibo.

Hamutumbangela was involved in politics. He appealed to the UNO for the independence of Namibia from the former apartheid regime of South Africa. While studying in South Africa, his political activities were shaped by members of the African National Congress (ANC) with whom he had been associated since 1946. Hamutumbangela preached against apartheid, racism and injustice perpetrated by the South African government in Namibia. He was a founder member of the Ovambo People Organization (OPO) in 1959, which later became South West Africa People's

under the hands of colonial regime of South Africa in early 1970. It was closed down. Now after independence it has reopened again for its activities.

Organization (SWAPO) in 1960. Hamutumbangela died in 1990 at the age of eighty-three (Buys and Nambala 2003:201-203).

Contributions to the Translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

Rev Teofilus Hamutumbangela played a considerable role in the translating of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. He was a representative of the Anglican Church on the Translation Committee. In 1967, he was appointed by the Oshikwanyama Bible Translation Committee to review the Old Testament translation on a part-time basis. In 1967 Hamutumbangela attended the Turfloop consultation in South Africa, where dynamic equivalence was introduced. He was appointed on the grounds that he was an Oshikwanyama speaking person and an Anglican priest. He was invited on several occasions to attend the Oshikwanyama Bible Translation Committee. He was a talented person who had leadership qualities (Laukkanen 2002:85, 86). According to the letters dated December 11th, 1969 and July 10th, 1970, Hamutumbangela translated the Gospel of Luke (Appendix XVI). Hamutumbangela's contribution made the Oshikwanyama Bible acceptable to Anglicans. He was a channel between the Anglican and Lutheran churches in the process of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama. He loved his people and their language; therefore he fought for the correct use of Oshikwanyama. His theological education shaped him in the discipline of dealing with translation.

4. 4. 3 Mika Nghiyoonanye (1884-1976)

Mika yaNghiyoonanye yaHaufiku (Appendix XVII) was born in 1884 during the reign of King Mweshipandeka yaShaningika of Oukwanyama. Nghiyoonanye

yaHaufiku was from a royal clan. He was associated with the kings of Oukwanyama. He was moved from Oukwangali by the king to Oihole. Nghiyoonye was brought up in king's palace in Oihole and Ondjiva by King Weyulu yaHedimbi. He was married to Aguste yaHaininga yaShaningika. Haininga was a brother of King Mweshipandeka yaShaningika. Nghiyoonye was a soldier of King Mandume yaNdemufayo. After the defeat of Mandume and foreign forces took control of Oukwanyama, the governor asked all soldiers to hand in their weapons to the present government, the government of South Africa, by that time. Nghiyoonye never handed in his gun instead he sent it to Mateus Shikeva, who turned it into a hoe and an ax. Nghiyoonye worked with missionary August Wulffhorst (Hashipala) at Omupanda and Ondjiva. First he worked as a servant and later he became a co-worker. Nghiyoonye was a down to earth person, trustworthy and intelligent person and fluent in Oshikwanyama.

Education

Nghiyoonye was educated under the German missionaries at Omupanda mission station. He taught at Omupanda and Onanime. All these places are on the Angolan side of the border. From Onanime he immigrated to Namibia and settled at Edundja. Because the education he received from Omupanda was not formal, Nghiyoonye was sent to Oniipa in 1928 for teacher's training. After completing this training he was placed at Engela, which was in need of a person of his calibre to work closely with the missionaries in order to assist them.

Activities

Nghiyoonyane was one of the soldiers of the King Mandume Ndemufayo. He was a servant of missionary Wurtfhorst (Hashipala) at Omupanda. Nghiyoonyane was trained as a teacher and taught at Engela. He also worked as a 'teacher-preacher' in the Engela parish. Nghiyoonyane taught baptism and confirmation classes in the Engela parish. Besides these activities, he was an elder, preacher, parish secretary and treasurer of the Engela parish. Nghiyoonyane died on August 27th, 1976 at Engela (Nghiyoonyane 2004).

Contributions to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

Mika Nghiyoonyane worked with missionary Hashipala, guiding him in translating the Gospels into Oshikwanyama at Omupanda in Angola. When he left Oukwanyama in Angola, Nghiyoonyane continued his work with the Christian community in Oukwanyama inside Namibia. Nghiyoonyane and his fellow African teacher, David Nghilokwa, assisted Paul Schulte in the translation of the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama at Omafo. Their translation was not printed because there was no one to process it. Schulte's manuscript was used by the translators who translated at Eenhana after 1958. The manuscripts were a source of reference to the translators (Shinana 2004; Laukkanen 2002:68).

4. 4. 4. Simson Shituwa (ca 1871-1969)

Simson Teteinge Haivela Shituwa was born in ca 1871 in the village called Oilambo in Oukwanyama inside Angola. A German missionary baptized him on March 16th, 1902. According to Shejavali Simson Shituwa's appearance aroused neither fear nor

admiration. He was a small man and not physically strong, but because he was a man of God, he was spiritually strong (Shejavali 1970:26). According to Vilho Kaulinge, the senior pastor in Oukwanyama, Shituwa was a disciple of the German missionaries. Shituwa has his own notable place in the history of ELCIN church.

Education

German missionaries educated Shituwa. He learnt how to read and write. During that time education was neither formal nor informal. This means that first he was taught in-house by his master and later on he enrolled for day school. Reading and writing was the prerequisite to baptism. He was baptized after having being introduced to literacy. Shituwa enrolled in the Pastors' Training Seminary at Oniipa from 1922-1925. On September 27th, 1925, he was ordained as pastor of the ELOC, (now ELCIN). He is one of the first Africans ordained in the ELCIN.

Activities

When the German missionaries left Oukwanyama in 1916, Shituwa became a brave and trustworthy leader of the Christian community until the Finnish missionaries came to work amongst the Ovakwanyama in 1920. According to Abisai Shejavali, Shituwa, and his counterpart Wilhelm Kafita, shared the care of the southern Oukwanyama. Kafita took the eastern part and Shituwa the western part. Under their leadership thirteen baptism schools were founded in which there were many pupils.

After the end of World War I Shituwa, and his assistants, asked the English government officials for permission for Finnish missionaries to come and baptize their catechumens. When permission was granted, missionary Emli Liljeblad from the

FMS came from Ondonga to Oukwanyama and baptized 45 persons in 1919. Shituwa chose the place Engela, where the Finnish missionary August Hänninen built a mission station in 1921. Shituwa continued as a faithful co-worker of the Finnish missionaries.

After ordination he was placed at Endola parish. Besides ministerial work Shituwa built schools in different parts of Oukwanyama. Shituwa played an important role in the society as a minister and countryman, acting as go-between and peacemaker in many disputes between leaders and subjects. Shituwa also served at other parishes like Eenhana from 1941-1944. After a long and productive life, Shituwa died on January 13th, 1969.

After the German missionaries left Oukwanyama, Simson Shituwa helped to disseminate the gospel of God among thousands of people in Oukwanyama. Shituwa started his career with German missionaries, then Finnish missionaries and ended up as a prominent African Christian agent (Nambala 1995:192; Shejavali 1970:24-26).

Contributions to the Translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

Shituwa contributed directly and indirectly to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. He was one of the first Christians who assisted the German missionaries in the translation of New Testament. He worked side by side with German missionaries at Omupanda, introducing them to Oshikwanyama and the Ovakwanyama culture. He assisted the German missionaries in reducing Oshikwanyama to writing. When the Oshikwanyama Bible was translated Oshikwanyama was already a written language.

and confirmation class. After ordination in 1944, he was placed as an evangelist in Engela parish on the eastern part at Onekwaya. He was the first evangelist of Engela parish. Shapota was a dynamic preacher. His sermons were touching, and reflected his knowledge of the Word of God. He lived out his Christianity. According to his nephew, Pastor Filippus Nakanwe⁹ (Appendix XVIII), Shapota was a supportive person. His house was always full of people, and he catered for his household, relatives and neighbours. He was considered an exemplary person in Onekwaya village.

Contribution to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

According to Nakanwe (2004) the ELCIN church leadership, especially the Ovakwanyama, appointed Andreas Shapota to be one of the translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. Nakanwe mentioned the names of Vilho Kaulinge and Paulus Nailenge who were behind his appointment. He was released from parish work so that he could become a translator. There were reasons why he was appointed. Shapota was a committed Christian and lived out his Christianity. With his knowledge of the Bible and his training as an evangelist, he was able to fit into the team of translators. On the other hand Shapota was a Kwanyama speaking person, who was born and grew up in the Oukwanyama kingdom, living in the palace. He had an excellent understanding of the language, the culture and the tradition of the Ovakwanyama. If a person does not know the culture and the target language it would be hard to use the language appropriately. According to Ana Hangula (Appendix XIX), a retired teacher at

⁹ Rev Filippus Nakanwe was born at Eemboo, Oukwanyama on February 12th, 1940. He married Emma Mukombabi on January 06th, 1979. He attended primary school at Onekwaya-East. He enrolled for evangelism training at Engela Parish Institute 1970-1972. Nakanwe attended the course on church administration at Christian College of Zimbabwe. He attended upgrading course at Engela Parish Institute 1991, and was ordained as pastor of ELCIN in May 1992 at Oniipa. Nakanwe served long time in youth ministry in Oukwanyama Circuit 1973-1992, and now he is a local pastor of Onekwaya-East.

Onekwaya, Shapota spoke fluent Oshikwanyama. He could appropriate Oshikwanyama words and expressions correctly. One day Mrs. Hangula asked him what he was doing at Eenhana. Shapota replied: "*Ohatu ka toloka Ombiibeli mOshikwanyama*" [we are translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama]. This was exactly what they were doing at Eenhana. According to Ester Mutileni (teacher), Luise Ndahangwapo (teacher), and Leefa Ndilula (nurse) (Appendix XX), who stayed at Eenhana during that time, they noticed that Shapota, Nghatanga and Tuhadeleni spent entire nights in their house at Eenhana writing. They were asked to provide them with food. They said that they were scared to come close to the house because they regarded the translators as holy people translating the Holy Scriptures.

Shapota joined the team of translators at Eenhana, translating with Sakaria Tuhandeleli, Natanael Nghatanga and missionary Walter Björklund. According to Laukkanen, Andreas Shapota and Sakaria Tuhadeleni helped considerably with the reading and correcting the draft made by Björklund and testing the reading of the translation (Laukkanen 2002:63). According to Bishop Kaulinge, African translators used to come out from their camp at Eenhana to the community with lists of words, terminologies and expressions in Oshikwanyama and ask the Ovakwanyama to see whether they were appropriate. They returned with the correct words and terminology and made corrections to the manuscript. Shapota must not be forgotten with regard to Bible translation into Oshikwanyama. He played a role as a teacher, elder, evangelist and translator. He died on the 30th of October 1966 and was buried in Onekwaya-East (Nakanwe 2004; Kaulinge 2004; Hangula 2004; Mutileni, Ndahangwapo and Ndilula 2004).

4. 4. 7. Sakaria Tuhadeleni (ca1897-1962)

Sakaria Tuhadeleni (Appendix XXI) was born in 1897 in Ouhongo village in Oukwanyama in Engela parish. Tuhadeleni worked as a domestic worker for the Finnish missionary Walter Björklund. He first married Fransiska Wilhelm Kafita. After she passed away he married Paulina Nghipunya.

Education

Missionary domestic workers were taught how to read and write and conduct devotions, therefore all those who worked at mission stations were introduced to literacy. Before Tuhadeleni started primary school, he received an introduction from his master, Walter Björklund, at Engela mission station. He then received his first informal education, which motivated him to obtain a formal education. It was every missionary's aim to indoctrinate their domestic workers to the ways of Christianity. One can say that domestic workers were the yardstick to measure whether the kind of things missionaries wanted to introduce, would work.

Attending morning and evening devotion everyday at mission houses, they learnt all domestic works and the Word of God. They brought this experience to their family and friends. Tuhadeleni started a primary school at Engela. He enrolled for Teachers' Training Seminary at Oniipa in 1931. After completion his training he was sent to Eenhana. Sakaria Tuhadeleni was a teacher-preacher by profession.

Activities

Tuhadeleni was a domestic worker of the missionary Björklund at Engela mission station. As a committed Christian, he was a preacher, an elder and teacher in the Eenhana parish. He worked closely with the pastors who served in the Eenhana parish. He was sent to Eenhana after completing his teacher's training, not necessarily to teach, but to run the parish. His chief goals were to teach Christianity to his people and equip them with a sound knowledge of the Bible. He received his biblical education from the Teachers' Training Seminary at Oniipa. Biblical or religious education, rather than other subjects, was a major subject at Seminary. This was purposely done in order to make it possible for Christianity to spread. Tuhadeleni was a teacher by profession and taught at Eenhana and Okongo.

Contribution to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

Tuhadeleni was a dedicated Christian who lived out his Christianity and understood the Bible well. He was a Kwanyama speaking person born in Oukwanyama and educated as a teacher. As a result of these characteristics the ELCIN church leadership appointed him as one of the translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama.

On the other hand he was a servant of Björklund at Engela. It was therefore a good idea to work as a co-translator with Björklund because they knew each other.

Tuhadeleni and others helped considerably in the translation and in proofreading of the manuscript done by Björklund. They were seen walking around with lists of words and expressions asking Ovakwanyama teachers, and other educated people in the community, for the correct words to use in the translation.

Tuhadeleni stayed at Eenhana parish. Since he had been an elder for a long time, people trusted him. He was an assistant to many pastors who served in the Eenhana parish. He later left Eenhana, went to Okongo and settled at a village called Omulamba. At Okongo he continued his responsibility as a teacher-preacher. He died on July 03rd, 1960. Many of his children are educated. Some are teachers, nurses, and others are serving in public sectors in Namibia (Nangutuwala-Tuhadeleni 2004; Tuhadeleni 2004; Appendix XXII).

4. 4. 8. Vilho Kaulinge (1890-1992)

Vilho Mwadikange Mweshipandeka Kaulinge was born in 1890 during the reign of the Oukwanyama king, Ueyulu Hedimbi (1884-1904). He was born in a village called Ondjedi of Kaulinge near, Ondjiva, Oukwanyama in Angola. His mother was Ndikwetepo Nanyemba Mweshipandeka, a daughter of the Oukwanyama King Mweshipandeka Shaningika. His uncle, Nauyoma Mweshipandeka brought him up. Later he stayed in the palace of Hamalwa Hedimbi in Oshivalanda. After the death of Hamalwa, Mwadikange went to the kingdom of Mandume Ndemufayo, the last king of Oukwanyama. He was one of the military commanders of King Mandume. Mwadikange was baptized on the 8th of August 1920 at Omafo (Nambala 1995:115).

Education

It is not clear where Kaulinge received his first introduction to literacy. It is also not clear whether he was associated with German missionaries, because he was a soldier of King Mandume. He might have had links with German missionaries, because the missionary August Wurfhorst was an advisor to King Mandume. What is clear is that

Kaulinge was an educated person. He attended the Teachers' Training Seminary at Oniipa from 1922-1924 and became a teacher. He went to the Pastors' Training Seminary at Oniipa from 1933-1936 and was ordained on July 25th, 1937 as an ELCIN pastor.

Activities

In the palace of King Mandume Ndemufayo, Kaulinge was a steward, a logistic officer in charge of all weaponry in the palace and a commander of the army. Besides that, Kaulinge was a commander in chief of King Mandume's soldiers. He commanded the battle of Omongwa, which prevented Portuguese soldiers from entering Oukwanyama. He commanded the battle of Oihole where King Mandume was killed. Kaulinge was a teacher at Engela Boy's School in 1925, school inspector of eastern circuit (Engela-Ondobe) from 1926-1933, and an Ondobe parish pastor from 1937-1992. He served for a long period as a member of the Church Council. Kaulinge was once the representative of ELCIN in Finland 1961. He was one of the delegations which met the Prime Minister of South Africa, John Vorster, in 1971. The purpose of this meeting was to hand in the Open Letter from Black Lutheran Churches in Namibia, lamenting the problems in Namibian politics. Kaulinge was also a long serving pastor in Oukwanyama in the Ondobe parish. He served the Ondobe parish for 55 years and, at the same time, was the headman of Ondobe village. Kaulinge died on the October 14th, 1992.

Contribution to the Bible translation into Oshikwanyama

Vilho Kaulinge, as a pastor, was the driving force behind the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. As a teacher he played an important role in Oshikwanyama

literacy. As a Kwanyama speaking person, he made sure that Oshikwanyama was used correctly. He came from the loyal clan of Oukwanyama and was a very influential person. Many Ovakwanyama followed him ensuring the legacy of Oukwanyama. He was born with a strong character and leadership. One of his sons, Apollos Kaulinge, became the third bishop of ELCIN (Nambala 1995:115; Kaulinge 2004).

4. 4. 9. Wilhelm Kafita (ca 1803-1962)

Wilhelm Kafita of Emvula was born in Uukwambi in 1878. He was from a loyal clan of the Uukwambi tribe. The story was told that while he was very young a fight broke out between him and his elder brother while skinning an ox. His mother foresaw the danger to come, so she ordered Kafita to flee to the Oukwanyama kingdom. Kafita reported first to the king and went to stay at mission station with the German missionaries. He married Marta Aaron Nambobola, who was also from the Uukwambi tribe, and lived at Onamakunde in Oukwanyama inside Angola. Because of the change in the situation in Oukwanyama inside Angola, the departure of the German missionaries and the outbreak of the war between the Ovakwanyama and the Portuguese and the South African Forces, which caused the death of King Mandume Ndemufayo in 1917, Kafita and his family left Onamakunde in Angola and settled at Onekwaya-East in Namibia. His house was close to the palace of the female King Ndapona Shikende, the mother of King Mandume. He was placed there so that he could protect the Shikende (Hamunyela 2004).

According to his granddaughter, Leilah J. Seibeb-Hamunyela, Kafita was strict in regard to bringing up his children. He ordered his children not to associate with people or visit other houses except those on the mission station. The reason, perhaps, was that they could be exposed to things he didn't approve of. According to his granddaughter, Auli Sakaria Tuhadeleni-Nangutuwala, Kafita was a committed Christian and pastor, who herded the sheep of God. Peace prevailed in his house because there were no insults or quarreling and no false evidence given. Kafita was a rich person, owning cattle, goats, pigs and *omahangu* (finger millet) stores. He used to feed his household and the community at large during times of difficulties (Seibeb-Hamunyela 2003; Tuhadeleni-Nangutuwala 2004).

Education

Kafita stayed at the mission station at Omupanda. There he started learning how to read and write. The German missionary trained Kafita at Omupanda as a teacher, and as a carpenter. According to his granddaughter, Lydia Hamunnya, Kafita was a quick learner; therefore the missionaries recruited him as their personal assistant and advisor.

Activities

Kafita was an advisor of King Mandume at Ondjiva. He was a mediator between the king and the missionaries. English soldiers, who fought King Mandume, asked Kafita to identify the body of King Mandume. He found the corpse, washed it, and was then ordered to leave. Kafita was an honest person and because of this the German missionaries assigned him the responsibility of taking care of all their possessions. Kafita fled from Onamakunde in Angola to Onekwaya in Namibia. He continued his

work as a preacher in Namibia. Wilhelm Kafita is one of the elders who spread the gospel of Christ after the departure of the German missionaries in 1914 (Hamunyela 2004).

Kafita and Simson Shituwa took over the leadership of the Christian community at Omafo for four years from 1916-1920. Kafita and others established *etwali* (shade) at Omafo, where the Ovakwanyama Christian community worshiped, baptised, confirmed and officiated in marriages for the first time in Namibia. He was responsible for the eastern part of Oukwanyama on the Namibian side of the border. He worked hand in hand with Simson Shituwa. They heeded the call of the Finnish missionaries from Ondonga to come to Oukwanyama to baptize. Kafita did not go for pastor's training when his co-worker Simson Shituwa and Paulus Hamutenya went. He was probably left behind to take care of the Christian community at Omafo. He later settled at Edundja where he died in 1994 (Hamunyela 2004; Seibeb-Hamunyela 2003).

Contribution to the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama

Kafita was associated firstly with the German missionaries and secondly with the Finnish missionaries. His closeness with them meant he was a great source of information regarding the language and the culture of the Ovakwanyama. He assisted the German missionaries in translating the New Testament (Etamenti Lipe). When he emigrated to Oukwanyama inside Namibia, Kafita was helpful to the Finnish missionaries. He is one of the Africans who laid down the foundations of Christianity in Oukwanyama. Therefore, when the story of the Bible in Oshikwanyama is told, his name must not be forgotten (Hamunyela 2004; Buys and Nambala 2003:91,93).

4. 4. 10. Ismael Nhinda (1913-1985)

Ismael Abraham Tomas Nhinda (Nickname: *Haishanga yokambo kaLusia*)¹⁰ was born in January 18th, 1913 in a village called Omupanda in Angola. He married Lusia Xwanda and lived at Engela.

Education

Nhinda started primary school at Onghala Boy's School at Ongwediva 1932-1934, Teachers' Training Seminary at Oniipa 1935-1937, Pastors' Training Seminary 1940-1942 at Oniipa. Nhinda was ordained on November 24th, 1942, as a pastor of ELCIN.

Activities

Nhinda served in different fields; he was a teacher at Oshikango Primary School from 1938-1939; Ongwediva Training College from 1973-1983 and Dean of Oukwanyama Circuit from 1962-1972. He was the first African dean of the Oukwanyama Circuit after missionary Erkki Hynönen. He was a full member of the Bible Translation Committee.

Contribution to the Bible translation into Oshikwanyama

During the period of translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, Nhinda, as Dean of Oukwanyama, was heavily involved in the activities, especially in the proofreading. Sometimes he acted as chairperson. He played the role of co-ordinator between Lutherans and Anglicans in the process of translation. As a member of the translation

¹⁰ The author of the booklet of Lucia

committee, and Dean of Oukwanyama Circuit, Nhinda worked hard to ensure the completion of the translation. According to the reports of the translation committee, Nhinda attended almost all the meetings. According to Mufeti, Nhinda left the translation committee the day before the last day of the meetings. On that day an argument ensued between him and Hynönen over the use of a word in Oshikwanyama. Hynönen wanted to introduce Oshindonga words into Oshikwanyama. Nhinda became upset and decided to leave the discussion. Fortunately they were already doing the last part of Revelation. Mufeti, as the chairperson of the translation committee, only called him after they had completed the last part of proofreading before handing in the Bible manuscript for printing (Mufeti 2004).

Nhinda was a dedicated pastor of ELCIN. He did his work perfectly and was always punctual. I was once his student in 1980-1981 at Ongwediva High School. Nhinda died on December 14th, 1985 (Nambala 1995:168).

4. 5. Analysis and Conclusion

An analysis of the biographies of African Indigenous Translation Agencies shows that they could be divided into three groups. The first group is those who were related to the royal family or from the royal family. Some were associated with the kings of Oukwanyama, whether in extended family or as palace boys. Some were close family members, while others were soldiers of the king. These people were high ranking. Therefore they were people who were influential, having the spirit of nationalism or patriotism. When their earthly kingdom ended, they opted for the heavenly kingdom,

where Jesus Christ is their king. They turned from serving people and instead they started serving God. It was easier for them to understand that the kingdom of earth is a temporary one, whereas the kingdom of heaven is everlasting.

The second group of African translating agents is those who were associated with missionaries. They were servants working for the missionaries at mission stations. These people gained a lot of experience and Bible knowledge from the missionaries. Therefore they become Christian role models in their communities.

The third group became part of the translation team from an academic perspective. These Indigenous African translators acquired their knowledge and skills of translation through their education as teachers and theologians.

These Africans played an important role not only in Oukwanyama, but also in the entire ELCIN church. The work of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama benefited many generations. Two important things to note are: firstly, they translated the Holy Scriptures into Oshikwanyama, and, secondly, their work resulted in Oshikwanyama being recognized internationally as a language of communication.

The biography of Samuel Adjai Crowther of Nigeria shows that what happened in other parts of Africa, among Yoruba, was not far from what was happened in Oukwanyama. Crowther was trained by European missionaries. They educated him and he became a resourceful person among his people. Ovakwanyama missionaries received training from the German and Finnish missionaries and later they become resourceful and respected people among their fellows and in the church. Therefore,

their role could not be forgotten in the history of the church in Oukwanyama. Crowther was an academic and a theologian, who studied Hebrew and Greek. It was possible for him to translate the Bible into Yoruba, his mother tongue. In the case of Ovakwanyama, the translators were people who did not possess the knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. They were not all theologians, except Mufeti who played a role in proofreading. Therefore, people of low academic standard translated the Bible into Oshikwanyama, but their work was nevertheless efficient.

I would like to conclude this chapter with the ideas of Klaus Nurnberger who emphasized that God uses simple people to fulfill his redemptive purpose. Nurnberger writes:

God's ongoing redemptive enterprise constitutes the thrust of the biblical message. Throughout biblical history the message was formulated as God's response to address situations of need. If we want to remain truly biblical, we have to reach beyond the biblical texts and do for our times what biblical authors did for theirs. (Nurnberger 2002:11)

Above all, these Africa missionaries laid the foundation for Christianity in Oukwanyama. They became resource persons for ELCIN and the Ovakwanyama community in particular. In Oukwanyama many people refer to them as faithful witnesses.

CHAPTER FIVE

SELECTED VIEWS OF CONTEMPORARY OVAKWANYAMA ON THE VALUE OF THE OSHIKWANYAMA BIBLE

5. 1. Introduction

Most Oshikwanyama speakers live on the Angolan side of Namibia's northern border. The Ovakwanyama in Angola use a purer language. Their Oshikwanyama retains distinctive features, which differ from those used by the Ovakwanyama in Namibia, where related dialects and languages have mixed with the language more readily (Laukkanen 2002:28). Therefore, the issue of language problems caused a fierce dispute concerning the translation of the Bible. The African Translators Agency, Translation Committee members and the translators and proof-readers, worked very hard in the process of translation, to ensure that the language used was correct in order to serve its purpose. The correct use of the language within its context and culture is the only way to ensure that a successful translation is achieved. Therefore, translators used all available resources and possibilities in order to ensure that efficient work was done. The problems encountered during the process of Bible translation and in Oshikwanyama literacy in general were the orthography, numerical system, and the use of borrowed words. Although not all problems were sorted out immediately, much was achieved. In this chapter the problems concerning the Oshikwanyama language and Bible translation in Oshikwanyama will be analyzed, in order to see how they have been addressed.

5. 2. Orthography

There were two kinds of orthographies. The German missionaries used their own type of orthography, when translating the New Testament into Oshikwanyama (1927), while the Finnish missionaries used different orthography, when translating the whole Bible into Oshindonga (1954). The problem occurred because the Ovakwanyama favoured the orthography used by Germans, while the Finnish-related translators favoured the orthography used by the Finns in Oshindonga, and also a mixed language. Finnish missionaries introduced literacy to the Oshindonga in Ovamboland. It was taught in all Ovamboland schools. The African Christians, who were chosen to take part in translating, had primarily read books written in Oshindonga. The Finns, who participated in translating, had studied and used Oshindonga in their work. For these reasons the translation processes was difficult and slow (Laukkanen 2002:19,20).

It is quite obvious that orthography and the use of language had to change from time to time. The young people saw that the orthography the Germans had used in the published New Testament (*Etamenti Lipe*) in 1927 was outdated; therefore its orthography needed to be changed. Later changes took their course in both languages, but differences remained.

The major difference was using the letter 'h' to represent the sound the Germans and Anglicans spelled with 'x'. Björklund did this with the old orthography without consulting members of the translating committee. His move caused conflict between the Lutherans and the Anglicans and met with many objections. Rev Gurney of the

Anglican Church rejected the new orthography introduced by Finns. He said that his church (the Anglican Church) would not accept it and that the Kwanyama speaking people would not buy the Bible. The first Translation Committee meeting was an attempt to try to agree on the issue of orthography, but this failed. The issue caused conflict between Lutheran 'h' and Anglicans 'x' (Laukkanen 2002:67). The Finns wanted the letter 'h' to be used instead of the letter 'x'. Oshindonga does not have the letter 'x', but Oshikwanyama has. For example the Oshikwanyama words like *oxuxwa* (chicken), *oxulo* (end), *xwema* (snore) and *oxwelo* (shed), all use 'x'. These words and many others cannot use 'h', as in Oshindonga. The Ovakwanyama were right to fight for a purer use of their language. It became apparent that the letter 'x' should be used in Oshikwanyama. The matter was referred to the BFBS for verification. In November 1957 Rev. Bradnock of the BFBS in London recommended that the old orthography, used by Schulte, should be retained. Some letters in this orthography were written with curves and hooks above or below them. Bradnock later suggested that the committee should decide the matter and they decided to use the new orthography (Laukkanen 2002:67).

5. 3. Numerals

Another problem with Oshikwanyama writing concerned numerals. The Ovakwanyama count only up to five and from there they just add to five. For example six is *nanonaimwe* literally five+one, seven, *nanhonambali* literally five+two. This kind of counting was very hard to use. When it came to use many numbers like seventy-seven, *omilongonanho nambali nanhonambali* literally fifty tens and seven+two, a long sentence would result. Because of the difficulties the translators

and the Translation Committee encountered with the use of numbers, another way of counting was introduced. This one was *heimwe* (six), *hembali* (seven)... This kind of counting was regarded as naïve and was not accepted at all. The main problem was that starting from six upward caused confusion. The Ovakwanyama did not favour this kind of counting.

Rev Vilho Kaulinge, a senior pastor in Oukwanyama, rejected this kind of counting totally (Kaulinge 2004). Finally, in 1972 the Translation Committee came to a compromise regarding the use of numbers. The final solution was to write the numbers one to five in words and numbers six to nine in figures. Each one can just say the number the way he/she prefers. The example in the Bible is the text from Mathew 18: 21-22 (Laukkanen 2002:71). The memorandum written to Rev J. F. Naudé, the Translation Secretary of the BSSA, by the Translation Consultant, Dr J L (Kobus) Reyneke on July 26th, 1972, served as a confirmation that the problem of numbers had been resolved. The memorandum states that:

After a lengthy discussion in which various arguments were used, it was decided that: Figures would also be used for the numerical from 6 to 9 just as from 10 onwards.... This would mean that both adults and school children would be able to read the Bible in the form in which they were accustomed. (Appendix XI)

5. 4. The use of words

The use of borrowed words in the Oshikwanyama Bible is inevitable. There are some words, which are not found in Oshikwanyama. Some of the words are only found in the original languages of the Bible, like Hebrew and Greek. Some words could be found in neighbouring languages or in other Oshiwambo dialects. One has to give

careful consideration to this matter. In the Oshikwanyama version there are words borrowed from the abovementioned languages.

It was hard for the Translation Committee and the translators to arrive at suitable words. Some Ovakwanyama, even among the translators, did not favour the process of borrowing words from neighbouring dialects. Missionaries Hynönen and Björklund also differed on this issue. Hynönen was in favour of using only Oshindonga words, while Björklund was flexible; he wanted the words to be used in the proper way. African Translator, Nghatanga, wrote a letter to try and obtain support from the Oukwanyama tribal chiefs to support Björklund in the struggle for the use of correct language. Nghatanga hoped that the tribal authority would stop Hynönen from having a mixed language approved as the language of the Oshikwanyama Bible translation. Although Nghatanga's letter nearly caused a problem among the translators, the issue was successfully discussed and resolved. (Laukkanen 2002:71,72).

At a Bible Translation Committee meeting on April 11th, 1958 (Appendix XXIII) the representatives of the Anglican Church, Gurney and Haihambo, raised issues concerning the biblical language. They stated that the draft brought to the Committee was not Oshikwanyama, but a kind of so-called "Ambo language" or "Mission language". So they insisted that the language must be Oshikwanyama, not a mixed language such as the one Björklund introduced into Oshikwanyama literacy (Laukkanen 2002:73). The problem was later resolved by the intervention of the Language Bureau and the BFBS (Laukkanen 2002:86).

Ovakwanyama expressed the opinion that old Oshikwanyama words should be gathered into the Bible translation as much as possible, in order so that they would not become obsolete. The words would then be kept for future generations. Hynönen wanted Ovakwanyama to use Oshindonga that is why he called their attempt tribalism. Laukkanen writes

Hynönen felt that tribalist attitudes led to avoiding vocabulary of the closely related Ndonga [Oshindonga] language by all possible means; if a new word had to be borrowed from somewhere, many were willing to resort to much more distant languages even when an appropriate Ndonga word was already being used by young Kwanyama people. (Laukkanen 2002:78)

This was not the case. Hynönen wanted to impose Oshindonga words into Oshikwanyama even in impossible cases.

Every person adheres strictly to his/her language. It was hard for the Ovakwanyama to accept anything contrary to theirs. This affected their self-esteem. All these conflicts concerning the use of borrowed words were later resolved when a compromise was reached. In the Oshikwanyama Bible translation there are borrowed words, which are accepted. According to Shinana, some borrowed words were not necessary as they change the meaning of the text. He pointed out that the words *lidiinika* and *lididimika* both mean patient. The right word in Oshikwanyama is *lidiinika* not *lididimika*, which is an Oshindonga word. Another borrowed word is *umana* (indignant) in Mark 10:14, which is taken from the Uukwambi tribe which have the same dialect with Oshikwanyama (Shinana 2004). It is alleged that Wilhelm Kafita, who originated from the Uukwambi, tribe brought the word *umana* into the Bible (Hamunyela 2002).

5. 5. The question of common language

It has been mentioned earlier that when the German missionaries left Oukwanyama in Portuguese Angola, the Rhenish mission asked the Finnish mission to continue the work the Germans had started. The Finnish missionaries found themselves in the situation where they needed to learn Oshikwanyama. One FMS director, Matti Tarkkanen, envisioned the development of a common language, which should be a standard language used throughout Ovamboland on both sides of the border. He further urged the missionaries to work towards the unification of the Oshikwanyama and Oshindonga languages. Another reason for the unified languages was to make the publication of literature easier (Laukkanen 2002:39). This suggestion met with objections from the side of the Ovakwanyama. The Ovakwanyama had previously felt degraded and suppressed. Firstly their territory was divided into two and secondly their language was to be fused into Oshindonga.

In a turning of the tide another FMS director, Uuno Paunu, in a meeting at Engela in 1937, concluded that no language should be fused into another. Local people should not be forced to change from their indigenous tongue. It was decided that both languages should be used within the Lutheran Church. From that point of time the door was open for each language to be developed (Laukkanen 2002:40). The Finnish missionaries went on to develop Oshikwanyama as an independent language.

Walter Björklund was the first Finnish missionary who worked at Engela among the Ovakwanyama to develop Oshikwanyama into a written language after the German missionaries (Kaulinge 2004). Between 1937 and 1954, the FMS published a total of

sixteen first editions of books in Oshikwanyama. In 1928 Anglicans, who also worked among Ovakwanyama, published books in Oshikwanyama in London (Laukkanen 2002:41). This was good news for the Ovakwanyama and a clear indication that their language also now counted for something. Mixed language was inevitable because those who did translation work during the Finnish era studied Oshindonga first before translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama.

5. 6. Selected Views of contemporary Ovakwanyama on the value of the Bible in Oshikwanyama

5. 6. 1. Rev Natanael Shinana

Natanael Shinana (Appendix XXIV) was born in November 1st, 1931 at Edundja, Oukwanyama. He married Teopolina Hamutenya in 1957. Shinana attended primary school at Edundja, Eenhana and Engela. He enrolled for senior primary school at Oshigambo from 1958-1959 and for pastor's training at Elim and Otjimbingwe from 1960-1965. Shinana was previously a lecturer at Engela Parish Institute (EPI) from 1962-1964. He was ordained in 1965 as an ELCIN pastor. After ordination, Shinana served as pastor in Engela parish from 1964-1974. He served for long time as an ELCIN evangelist from 1974-1995. Shinana was a good evangelist. During his retirement, from 1995-2000, he again served as pastor in Engela parish. In that period he also documented the history of Oukwanyama Kingdom. Shinana died on August 20th, 2004.

In his opinion Oshikwanyama Bible was accepted by all the churches and missions operating in Oukwanyama, Angola and Namibia. The Anglican, the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran churches all accepted the Oshikwanyama Bible as their Book. It was accepted despite minor mistakes. They (Ovakwanyama) acknowledged that there are some words borrowed from neighbouring tribes like Oshindonga.

Shinana asserts that the Oshikwanyama language had been listed in London as one of the languages into which the Bible is to be translated. When the Bible translated into Oshindonga reached London, the questions about the Oshikwanyama Bible were asked. It was from that point of departure that the Ovakwanyama insisted that a translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was needed.

There were many problems concerning Oshikwanyama. Some of the Finnish missionaries did not want Oshikwanyama to be an official language. Even some Ovakwanyama were convinced to study only Oshindonga. They wanted Oshindonga to be used by all the people in Ovamboland, Ovakwanyama included. This was impossible because other churches in Oukwanyama supported the translation into Oshikwanyama and also wanted the language to be developed and used in the region.

Shinana pointed out that translation of the Bible was not, is not and will not be an easy task. Referring to the process of Bible translation into Oshikwanyama, Shinana said that it took time, energy, wisdom and knowledge and money. Shinana agreed with Campell and Miller who asserted that translation is a slow and demanding process, which requires skills and training. Translators need to be competent with both their own language and the alternative language (Campell and Miller 2000:1).

He also sees the need for revision because the world is always changing, however he insists that interpretation must ultimately be left with the people themselves.

Shinana is against mixing Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama languages. Examples of some mixed words are *omagano* (Oshindonga) *omaano* (Oshikwanyama). These words do not have the same meaning in both languages. In Oshindonga *omagano* means gift, the related word in Oshikwanyama is *oshali*. *Omaano* (*plural*), *eano* (*singular*) in Oshikwanyama means agreements or promises. Shinana felt that Oshikwanyama must be the same whether spoken in Namibia or in Angola.

Shinana pointed out another problem facing the translators. There are some words and terminologies, which could not be found in Oshikwanyama. These words could only be found in the original biblical languages, Hebrew and Greek. These words are accepted as is. During the process of translation Oshikwanyama gained new words, causing the language to grow. These new words and terminologies required careful consideration and interpretation. The word altar has no similar word in Oshikwanyama therefore, it is just called *oalitali*. Luckily enough, some new words have corresponding words in Oshikwanyama, but they need more appropriation and contextualization. The word redemption, *ekulilo*, in Oshikwanyama, was already used among Ovakwanyama. Ovakwanyama have a practice to pay a certain amount of items or cattle for a person who is captured during the war in order to be released. Therefore it was easier for them to understand the term redemption. Therefore it is very important for the translators to have a good understanding of the two cultural perspectives represented by the two languages, and how they will be reflected in the

text (Campell and Miller 2000:1). Failing to do so, will result in the translation not having the same meaning as the original language.

Shinana reiterated what senior pastors fought for in the Oshikwanyama language. He mentioned pastors like Vilho Kaulinge, Simson Shituwa, Paulus Nailenge and others. He also mentioned the German missionary Herman Tönjes who introduced Oshikwanyama as a language at Onamakunde. He formulated the Oshikwanyama grammar. Oshikwanyama was already on the list of world languages.

Shinana enjoyed reading the Bible in Oshikwanyama. The Bible is the Book of the Word of God. It demonstrates the ways of God to people. In Shinana's opinion, the Bible contains and covers many contexts, situations and how to address many problems. The contents of the Bible educated people about God and pulled people towards him. Many people wanted to be named after brave biblical characters. This is now a worldwide phenomenon. Shinana made it categorically clear that the practice of using biblical names was not imposed on Ovawambo as certain people tended to blame missionaries.

Shinana thanked the German missionaries who laid the foundations of Christianity and the development in Oukwanyama. Secondly, he thanked the Finnish missionaries who picked up from where the Germans had left off. Thirdly, he thanked the indigenous people, pastors and teachers, who dedicated themselves to promoting their language and the Word of God among fellow Africans. It was because of them that this dream came true.

5. 6. 2. Bishop Apollos Manhi Nghilifa Kaulinge

Apollos Mhani Nghilifa (Appendix XXV), a son of Vilho Mwadikange Kaulinge, was born in Ondobe, Oukwanyama, Namibia, on December 22nd, 1934. He married Elina Eheneni Mwaningange on August 24th, 1962. Kaulinge started primary school at Ondobe, boarding school at Engela and was enrolled in the Teachers' Training Seminary at Oniipa from 1953-1954 and at Ongwediva in 1955. He attended preparation school at Oshigambo from 1958-1959. Kaulinge was enrolled for theological training at Elim from 1960-1962, and was ordained as an ELCIN pastor on August 19th, 1962 at Elim. He was enrolled for further studies at the Lutheran Theological College at Maphumulo, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa from 1963-1965.

Kaulinge served in many activities in public and in the church. After completing his teacher's training, he was a teacher and principal from 1956-1957 at Eembaxu Primary School. After completing his theological education he worked as a lecturer at Paulinum Lutheran Theological Seminary, Otjimbingwe in 1965. He served as chaplain and teacher at Ongwediva Education Centre from 1966-1967 and from 1970-1982. Kaulinge was a secretary to the late Bishop of ELCIN, Dr Leonard Auala, from 1968-1969. He was elected as dean of the Oukwanyama Circuit from 1982-1992. Kaulinge was elected as third bishop of ELCIN, leading the ELCIN Eastern Diocese from 1992- March 2004. He is currently bishop emeritus housing at Oshiko, Ongwediva, Namibia.

According to Kaulinge, German missionaries started translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, but the Ovakwanyama were the driving force behind the translation. The Finnish missionaries favoured Oshindonga, but the Ovakwanyama insisted on the translation of the whole Bible into Oshikwanyama. In the early 1950's, pastors in Oukwanyama attempted to translate the whole Bible, dividing among themselves books from the Bible, based on the Oshindonga Bible. However, because they did not have the necessary training and skills, the plan was dropped. They asked the FMS to find a person who would do the work. Björklund was asked to do the job, while the Ovakwanyama appointed African co-translators who knew the language and the culture of the people. They were Andreas Shapota, Sakaria Tuhadeleni and Natanael Nghatanga and the ELCIN leadership seconded them.

According to Kaulinge, both the missionary and the Ovakwanyama translators deserved praise. In his opinion, if missionaries are given 60% of the translation work, 40% will be given to indigenous translators. Both needed one another for successful and accurate work to be achieved. It was the responsibility of both groups of translators to ensure that the original meaning of words was retained. Translators should also ensure that they produce a written language that sounds natural and clear and is easily understood by both younger and older generations, both now and in the future (Campell and Miller 2000:1).

As far as languages are concerned, Bishop Kaulinge noted that from the beginning, the Finnish missionaries did not want Oshikwanyama to be the language that the Bible would be translated into. They wanted the Ovakwanyama to learn Oshindonga. They even changed Oshikwanyama names into Oshindonga. Names like; Nhinda was

changed to be Ntinda, Mhanda changed to Mpanda and so on. Kaulinge reiterated that some Ovakwanyama accepted this move, while the large number of Ovakwanyama resisted the move. Oshikwanyama was greatly suppressed, even in public schools. Ovakwanyama learners refused to use Oshindonga, even though it was a medium of instruction at the Seminary at Oniipa.

Kaulinge also revealed that Tirronen, who developed Oshindonga when he came to Ovamboland, his initial mission was to develop Oshikwanyama, which he learnt from Germans before he came to Ovamboland, Namibia. Because of the language controversy Tirronen waited for a while for the language problem to be resolved and started developing Oshindonga. Kaulinge also mentioned the issues of numerals and the use of 'h' and 'x' letters. Differences on these issues caused a heated debate between the Ovakwanyama and the missionary translators. Two methods of counting were introduced, but they did not serve the intended purpose. The Ovakwanyama stuck to their method of counting; therefore a conclusion was drawn to use numbers for numerals from six to nine. Kaulinge mentioned that senior pastors like his father, Vilho Kaulinge, Natanael Kapofi and Paulus Nailenge fought for Oshikwanyama and its culture. The Ovakwanyama could stand on their feet as far as their language was concerned. Many attempts have been made to suppress Oshikwanyama, but nothing has succeeded in preventing it from becoming an academic language. Oshikwanyama is currently taught at University level in Namibia.

In recent years, Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama language committees used to meet simultaneously, however the Oshindonga committee began to gather alone and managed to have their language accepted by the University of Namibia. The

controversy regarding Oshikwanyama arose again, when the Oshindonga Bible was put forward for publication. Oshikwanyama was also introduced at University level at a later stage (Kaulinge 2004).

Oshikwanyama faced many obstacles before it could be approved as a language worthy to translate the Bible into. Bishop Kaulinge concludes that it is by the will of God that Oshikwanyama was developed into a written language and that the Bible has been translated into the language. In order to obtain a better understanding of the Bible and to further develop the language, he encouraged the Ovawambo to adopt a culture of reading.

5. 6. 3. Mrs Tuuliki Nghatanga-Hamunyela

Tuuliki, a daughter of the translator Natanael Nghatanga, was born on August 16th, 1939 at Engela, Oukwanyama. She married Junias Hamunyela on June 11th, 1965. Nghatanga-Hamunyela attended primary school at Engela, and Okatope. She was enrolled in the Teachers' Training Seminary at Okahao, Ongandjera from 1959-1961. After completing her teacher training she taught at various schools in Oukwanyama; Ohaingu from 1962-1963, Okatope from 1964-1965, Enyana from 1965-1976 and Oidiva from 1977-1999. Tuuliki is now a retired teacher and lives with her family at Oidiva.

In Hamunyela's opinion the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was of great importance to the people of Oukwanyama. She pointed out that some Oshindonga speaking people did not want the Bible translated into Oshikwanyama. They thought

that Oshindonga was sufficient, because the Ovakwanyama had a good understanding of Oshindonga. She felt that the Ovandonga wanted only their language to be used in the translation process. She expressed her happiness about the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama, because it gave people a chance to read the Word of God in their own tongue.

Nghatanga-Hamunyela noted that many Ovakwanyama like the Oshikwanyama version of the Bible because it carries many Oshikwanyama words, which are about to vanish among the younger generation. The Bible is a kind of reference for our daily lives. It does not only carry the Word of God, but also retains the Oshikwanyama language.

Nghatanga-Hamunyela urged the Ovakwanyama to read the Bible, keep Oshikwanyama pure and not to mix it with other languages. She again beseeched the teachers, pastors and preachers not to lose their language, as other nations had done, but to use it properly so that future generations could enjoy it. Language keeps the culture of people alive. She thanked her father, who was one of the translators, and others who participated in the process of Bible translation. She also thanked those who have developed the Oshikwanyama language right up to this date (Nghatanga-Hamunyela 2004).

5. 6. 4. Trougot Mika Nghiyoonanye

Trougot Mika Nghiyoonanye (Appendix XXVI) is the son of Mika Nghiyoonanye, one of the Bible translators. Trougot was born on September 2nd, 1929, at Engela,

Oukwanyama. After attending primary school at Engela, he went to work as a mineworker at the Diamond Mine in Oranjemund, in the south of Namibia. He worked as a trainer and instructor on the mine. His father presented him a rod (knobkierie) a symbol that he must take care of the entire family, *Pater Familias*, once his father died. Now all his brothers have passed away, and he is the only one who is caring for entire extended family. Like his father, Nghiyoonye is a preacher in Engela parish, responsible for the Ouhongo congregation. He is now a retired mine worker and lives with his family in Ouhongo, Engela, Oukwanyama, Namibia.

Nghiyoonye knew about the life of his father and his role in the translation of the Holy Scripture into Oshikwanyama. According to Nghiyoonye, the Ovakwanyama wanted the Word of God in their own language and at the same time they wanted their language to survive. The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was a blessing to the Ovakwanyama, because it promoted their language. The Ovakwanyama were not happy with the Oshindonga Bible, which came to them first.

Nghiyoonye mentioned that there were Ovakwanyama pastors who were against their own language being used as a medium for Bible translation. However, those people who were in favour of Oshikwanyama being used as a translation medium, fought for its use and won. Now all the Ovakwanyama are happy that their language can be written and read. Even the Word of God can be communicated to them in their mother tongue.

According to Nghiyoonanye, the Bible carries the pure Oshikwanyama recorded by the Ovakwanyama. Therefore, those who participated in the wonderful work of translation deserve to be praised.

5. 6. 5. Josia Mufeti

According to Mufeti (see chapter 4), Oshikwanyama has been a formal language ever since the German missionaries reduced it to writing. There was an attempt to ignore it, but the senior pastors in Oukwanyama fought for its recognition. When he visited the Bible House in London, Mufeti was surprised to see books written in Oshikwanyama in the Bible House. It was a clear indication that Oshikwanyama had been listed among the languages in which the Bible has been translated. Mufeti confirmed what Shinana said earlier.

Reflecting on the Bible in Oshikwanyama, Mufeti expressed his thankfulness for its completion. He thanked the proofreaders, because they were very helpful in the process of translation. He, himself, was a part of the proofreading team. Mufeti used the Oshikwanyama proverb, which says: "*Onyika yepumba otai ku twala kwaai yomuhongo*". This means 'a simple thing leads to a really big thing'. With this expression, he refers to the starting of translation until it became a reality. Translation took some time and it was not an easy task. The role of proofreaders and translators were of great importance. During the process of translation and proofreading the presence of the power of God was felt. God was really at work.

Mufeti pointed out that the Ovakwanyama were proud to have the Bible in their language and they read it with pride. Although they had a sound understanding of their Bible, not all of the Ovakwanyama were pleased with the translation done at Eenhana. Some were more familiar with the New Testament translation done during the German Missionary Era. However, they later accepted it.

The process of translation is an ongoing process. In Mufeti's opinion the Oshikwanyama Bible needs revision. He pointed out that there are indigenous people who know the source languages, Hebrew and Greek. They would be able to do a better translation. On the other hand, there are new words from other languages accommodated into Oshikwanyama; these words may have a more accurate meaning nowadays. New words could be used to carry the Bible message across the parts of Southern Africa where it has not yet gone.

Mufeti concluded his remarks with his belief that people need to read the Bible. If a person does not read the Bible, he/she will never know God and His will. There are many books in this world, but it is only the Bible, which carries the words of salvation for the whole world. Mufeti encouraged people to read the Bible and to do so in their own tongue (Mufeti 2004).

5. 7. Conclusion

In Oshikwanyama there is proverb which says: "*Shiwa iha monika nokapala kayela*", which means that 'goodness cannot be found with clean face'. In this context it was not easy to have a version of the Bible in Oshikwanyama. It was also not easy to have Oshikwanyama in written form. It required a lot of effort. The Ovakwanyama and

those who love languages need to express their thankfulness to all who participated in the process. All the languages in the world are the same in God's eyes, because God speaks and understands them all.

The ball is now in the younger generation's court. They need to ensure that the revision of the Bible and the development of the language to suit their needs will be the norm and not the exception.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

6. 1. Introduction

In order to gather information from interviews, the researcher compiled the following questions. These questions played an important role throughout the whole thesis and they received a varied response from different people like teacher, elders, translators and theologians. There were many questions that arose during the discussions, but I have only written down the basic ones. 1. What motivated the Ovakwanyama to want to have the Bible translated into their language? (Chapter V). 2. Who was the Africans/Ovakwanyama who took part in translation? (Chapter IV). 3. What was the task of the African/Ovakwanyama translators? (Chapter IV). 4. According to your observation that has done a lot as far as translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama is concerned? (Chapter IV). 5. What were the feelings amongst the Ovakwanyama on the day of the official handover of the Oshikwanyama Bible? (Chapter VI). 6. What were the major challenges in the process of translation and how were they addressed? (Chapter III).

Christianity came to the Oukwanyama as a package, just like it did in many other communities. This package included the translation of the Bible, education and development. The Ovakwanyama, who had no written language and no literature, were introduced to these concepts through Christianity. Missionaries spread of the Gospel and founded churches based on Holy Scripture.

The reading of the Bible causes change within individuals and communities which, is often unavoidable. This was the case among the Ovakwanyama. The Bible plays an important role in any society in which it has been accepted. The Ovakwanyama accepted the Bible as their Holy Book. The Bible is not accepted simply as a book, but also as a symbol of the presence and protection of God. The Ovakwanyama do not simply accept the Bible, but they also use it in their daily lives.

The celebration of the official handover of the Oshikwanyama Bible was the climax of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. It was a clear indication that the Ovakwanyama accepted the Bible translation. This translation paved the way for the development of theology and interpretation of the Word of God in their own tongue.

6. 2. The Official handover of the Bible in Oshikwanyama.

When the whole work of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was finalized, the members of the translating committee signed the last manuscript for publication. The signatories were: Rev Josia Mufeti of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN); Mrs. Laina Kivelä, the chairperson of the translation committee of the Finnish Evangelical Mission (FELM); and Dr J L. Reyneke, the Translation Consultant of the Bible Society of South Africa. The manuscript was signed on the 19th of July 1972 (Appendix XXVIIa). Other members who approved the Oshikwanyama Bible manuscript were: G. S. Taapopi, from the Language Board; Rev I. Nhinda and Rev F. Shikomba of ELCIN; P. Haihambo and G. Namueja of the Anglican Church; and D. E. Sjameneh (Appendix XXVIIb).

Before the manuscript was sent to Cape Town for publication, Miss Kivelä completed the arrangement of the text into paragraphs, in August 1972, with the help of two Ovambo teachers. Dr J. L. Reyneke, the Translation Consultant, visited Ovamboland in November 1972 to solve the problem of orthography. In the Kwanyama Bible Translation Committee meeting held in November 1972, the problem of orthography was finally resolved and printing could take place. The book was finally printed in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1974 and was financed by the Bible Society of South Africa (BSSA). It was named "OMBIBELI IYAPUKI" (the Holy Bible). The first printing was 50 000. (Laukkanen 2002: 94-97). It must be noted that the process of translating the Bible took considerable time and effort. The translation work of the whole Bible started officially in 1958 and it took about 26 years to complete. The signatories gave their approval for publication in 1972, but the final printing was only completed in 1974.

6. 2. 1 The first launching of the Oshikwanyama Bible in Windhoek,

June 13th, 1974

After the publication was complete the new Book was to be formally launched. The newly printed Oshikwanyama Bibles arrived in Namibia from Cape Town, where the printing work was done, in mid May 1974. The first celebration to mark the publication was held on June 13th, 1974, in the German Lutheran church in Windhoek. On this occasion the President of the Republic of South Africa and the patron of the BSSA, J. J. Fouché, presented the representatives of the churches with copies of the new Bible.

According to the letter from J. F. Naudé dated April 1st 1974 the BSSA Secretary for Translation (Appendix XXVIII), the Bishop of ELCIN the late Dr Leonard Auala, was invited to the launch in Windhoek. Another letter dated May 21st, 1974 indicated that Rev Kleopas Dumeni was to represent Bishop Auala, who was away in America, in Windhoek. Correspondence between the Secretary for Translation, Dr Reyneke, and members of the translation committee and churches involved in translation work, show they were invited to the event. Proofreader Kivelä was deeply involved in the arrangements. The launch took place and the Oshikwanyama Bible was officially handed over in Windhoek.

6. 2. 2. The Official handover of the Oshikwanyama Bible at Engela,

June 23rd, 1974

The official launch in Windhoek marked the publication of the Oshikwanyama Bible. However, the Ovakwanyama did not live in Windhoek. At that time Windhoek was far away. Transportation was poor and there were pass laws, which restricted people to certain areas. The Ovambo speaking people and Ovakwanyama in particular were waiting for their New Bible in Oukwanyama. Engela, which was the centre of the Lutheran church in Oukwanyama, was selected as the venue where the celebration would take place. Eenhana was where most of the translation work was done, but was not selected, probably because of its location. Nor was Oniipa, which was a centre of ELCIN. According to the program on June 23rd, 1974, the festival took place at Engela (Appendix XXIX). This is a clear indication that the translation of the Bible

into Oshikwanyama was done in Oukwanyama, by the Ovakwanyama, for the Ovakwanyama and accepted by all the Ovakwanyama.

The celebration was well organized and the Ovakwanyama were happy to receive the Bible in their tongue. Laukkanen described the celebration as follows:

The Kwanyama people rejoiced, and the members of other language groups were also represented. During a half-hour intermission, all of the one thousand Bibles which had been brought to the celebration were sold. (Laukkanen 2002:97)

Mufeti reiterated the same sentiments, adding that people were eager to receive the Bible. The heads of households came with enough money to buy Bibles for their entire family. There were a number of Bibles, but within a short time all were gone. One of the guards of the representatives of South Africa echoed that he never saw people buying Bibles like that. He said in South Africa there were many big bookshops with many Bibles, but here everyone felt privileged to buy the Bible (Mufeti 2004).

The speaker of the day, the senior pastor, Vilho Kaulinge emphasized that: "If God is now speaking in Oshikwanyama who will be against it?" This statement, on the one hand, covers the victory of the Ovakwanyama in the fight for their language, while on the other hand it shows that God can speak in any language, even Oshikwanyama. (Kaulinge 2004).

According to the report on the festivities, it was described as a joyful occasion. The festival was attended by approximately 1,500 people from various parts of Ovamboland. Many churches, denominations, missions and the Bible Society were

represented. During the service Rev. J. Ries, on behalf of the Bible Societies handed a copy of the Bible to the whole church, and Rev F. Shikomba, the local pastor, received it on behalf of the church. Rev. Shikomba in turn presented the Bible Society of South Africa with a basket especially made for the occasion, which was received by Rev Ries. During the festivities specially bound and inscribed Bibles in Oshikwanyama were presented to various church dignitaries, leaders of the nation, and translators (Appendix XXX). The motto of the day was “God speaks in the language of the people”.

6. 3. The impact of the Bible among the Ovakwanyama

According to Shinana, the Bible taught the Ovakwanyama new ways of thinking in all spheres of life. It becomes a reference book for many, whether they were Christians or not. In sorrow, it is the source of comfort. In happiness, it is a source of gratitude. In distress, it is source of courage and strength. In conflicts, it is the source of problem solving. Shinana noted that the Bible does not change the culture of the Ovakwanyama, instead in shapes it.

When Christianity came to Ovamboland and Oukwanyama, people started to change their names. Some took biblical names, while others took missionary names. Shinana rejected the notion that the Bible or Christianity changed the names of the people. He insisted that people who read the Bible found interesting names in the Bible. Some took biblical names because they wanted to be like people in the Bible. According to Oshiwambo tradition, a person names his/her child after the brave person or after his/her friend. An Oshiwambo proverb says: “*Edhina ekogidho*”, which means a

person is like his/her namesake. Ovakwanyama opted to give themselves the names of good and brave Bible characters like Moses, David, Abraham, Ruth, Tabitha and Mathew to mention just a few. However, none wanted names like Judas or Delilah, which have negative connotations (Shinana 2004).

One cannot deny the fact that missionaries did enforce cultural changes in some aspects. Buys and Nambala charged:

European cultures were seen as 'Christian' while the indigenous cultures were seen as 'heathen cultures'. For this reason missionaries accepted culture change, even when it was unjustified... (Buys and Nambala 2003:31)

Interesting enough, there are similarities in the culture in which the Bible was first written and that of the Ovakwanyama.

6. 4. The daily use of the Bible among the Ovakwanyama

Among ordinary readers the Bible is accepted without question as the Word of God. What it says is regarded as the final truth. No one is allowed to question the Bible, because it carries authority from God. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN) states categorically in its constitution that her teaching is based on the Bible, the Word of God, which never errs (ELCIN 1993:11). Although there are now questions surrounding this statement, it is still believed. The members of ELCIN, of which the Ovakwanyama are part, take the Bible very seriously. Thus they use the Bible in their daily life. Here follow some examples.

ELCIN calls for its members to hold morning and evenings devotions in their homes. ELCIN introduced the use of a calendar (*Ondjalulamasiku*) where each day has its

text, available to all, at an affordable price. According to Bishop Kaulinge, the calendar helps ELCIN members to read the Bible throughout the year. Many church members feel bad when they miss the opportunity to get a calendar at the beginning of the year (Kaulinge 2004).

The Bible is the Book to be read, particularly as it is in the language the people understand. The Bible and reading have become the distinguishing mark of Christians in the community, and they are called “people of the Book” (Oduyoye 1995:33). All Ovakwanyama of different levels have a chance to read the Bible, because it is an open Book for all, but they must bear in mind that the Bible is a Holy Book which none should tamper with. There is no question as to who is allowed to read the Bible. That is why everyone who can afford it buys it.

Martin Luther noted the difficulties common people, who did not have a theological background, faced surrounding the translation of the Bible. Luther’s concern was that all people should be able to read the Bible in their tongue so they could understand it. (Kooiman 1961:87-88). Although all Christians can read the Bible on their own, I agree with Oduyoye who insists that ‘there is a need for the churches to guide believers through the Bible’ in order to prevent misunderstanding (Oduyoye 1995:34). Because of this need, ELCIN opened the Bible School where members of parishes could go and get training on Bible studies, in order to lead others in congregations.

ELCIN church made the Bible available to all. The ELOC printing press at Oniipa has a bookshop nearby where members can buy Bibles. There is a danger of turning the Bible into a new idol, a carrier of the divine presence as Oduyoye so rightly put it

(Oduyoye 1995:34). Some Ovakwanyama worship and venerate the Bible instead of worshipping God.

The Bible also symbolizes the presence and protection of God. Therefore you can find the Bible placed in common places in the houses, especially in the sitting rooms. If not the whole Bible, a portion from the Bible must be there. I happened to be part of the evangelism group. While visiting parishes in remote areas, a house was visited where I saw the Bible hanging from the roof. The owner of the house pointed to it and said: "I am with my God always". It was not clear for me whether he read it or it just hung there. It is also believed that the Bible keeps evil spirits away from people.

Oduyoye writes:

Firm is the belief that the Bible speaks the truth and protects the innocents, so young people have recourse to the Bible as a key for "divining" whenever the dispute arises, especially concerning petty pilfering and gossip. (Oduyoye 1995:35)

The Bible is also used to detect a culprit. If something has gone missing in the house or school, the leaders open the Bible and call all who were present to touch the Bible as an indication that he/she did not do something or steal something. If a person has done something he/she has to reveal immediately herself/himself believing that if he/she did not reveal and touch the open Bible something bad will take place in his/her life. It is a common practise among Christians to swear on the Bible to tell the truth. This happens even in a court of law (Oduyoye 1995:35).

The Bible is also used everyday at public schools in morning devotions. Some people use the text from the Bible as a theme of the day or when they embark on a journey they take the verse/s as their guidance. When a person is building a house he/she

chooses a verse especially a psalm as a foundation for his/her house. It is also alleged that some people bury the Bible in the foundation of the building. The Bible is read at the beginning of each and every church or community meeting. It is true, even among the Ovakwanyama community, which Bible passages, verses and stories relate to every day conversation, even with persons who have never stepped into a church (Shinana 2004; Oduyoye 1995:35). This is very a common practice among politicians in Namibia. They quote the Bible in order to catch the attention of the people, knowing that they love the Bible.

The Bible has a word for each and every situation in this world. So the Ovakwanyama use the Bible in situations like mourning to comfort each other, in situations of distress, in situations of joy, in situations of sickness etc. (Kaulinge 2004). Kaulinge agrees with Luther who encouraged believers to go to the Scriptures to get answers to their problems and worries in life (Kooiman 1961:236). Kooiman demonstrates how there is close relationship between God and persons in the Holy Scripture when he writes:

In and through the Bible God Himself comes to us, speaks to us directly in wrath and grace, and enters personally into the struggle in which we are engaged against the powers of evil. (Kooiman 1961:236)

The above are some examples of what the Ovakwanyama use the Bible for in their community. The elders in the villages carry the Bible from house to house to read, for the people, and with the people.

The church teaches people to read the Bible in the program of Bible studies. Through Bible studies, members of the church start to understand the Bible better. In each and every section of the village there are Bible study groups, who come together, even

under a tree to read the Bible. Bible studies are the way to nourish the members of the congregation with the Word of God. The majority of Oukwanyama Bible readers are ordinary people. They are the ones who put the Word of God into practice in their daily life, without question. If a person does not know how to read, they ask those who know how to read, to read for them. They listen to those who are reading, and they memorize the text. Many illiterate people in the community know the Bible better than those who can read it for themselves.

The Bible is regarded as the source of life and faith. No Bible: no life, no Bible: no God. In some instances the Bible is regarded as God himself. "Only in the Bible do we have the Word of Life" (Hutton 1961:332). Shinana said that the Bible shows us the way of God (Shinana 2004). As a matter of faith we need Scripture to enforce our labour, because without Scripture our work will be in vain (Hutton 1961:332).

The Bible is a symbol of the presence of the God of Life and a source in the struggle for survival, liberation and life. As a result of this understanding, each family possesses a Bible and each individual has his/her own Bible, even those who do not know how to read. If you happen to open the travel bags of the people, every second person would probably have a Bible.

The Bible, among the Ovakwanyama, and in many African communities, 'plays an important role in the lives of many, particularly the poor and marginalized' (West 2003:ix). It is in the centre of their lives as individuals and as communities.

Among trained readers and theologians the situation is different. According to West, trained readers are biblical scholars who have been trained in the use of the tools and resources of biblical scholarship and who read the Bible critically (West 2003:x). This group includes theologians and teachers. Theologians are people who question the Bible. Having theological background and skills, they can begin to contextualize the text. They know how to read ‘behind the text’, ‘in front of the text’ and ‘on the text’, ‘above the text’ and ‘under the text’ (West 1993:26,27; Nurnberger 2002:47-57). They have an opportunity to criticize the Bible and its authority. Even though the Bible is the central source of every theology, one can criticize what is available, but it is hard to create something new.

The Bible in Oshikwanyama gives theologians a chance to theologize the Bible and to make comparisons with other translations. A few Ovakwanyama have been trained in theology and become special teachers. These teacher-preachers are very helpful in the community, because they guide other Christians in reading the Bible and thus spread the Gospel. Those who translated the Bible into Oshikwanyama had these skills, which shaped their understanding of the Bible and made the process of translation easier.

6. 5. The influence of the Bible on the life of the Ovakwanyama

Reading the Bible caused Africans to convert to Christianity. Conversion means change of life; it is therefore central to the living faith of ordinary African Christians (West 2003:49). That is why Christian conversion highlights the importance and responsibility of the individual within the local community and the larger society.

Therefore with Christian conversion a new life principle arrived and an old one disappeared. The radical change was introduced to the African view of the relationship of the individual toward his/her local community (Buys and Nambala 2003:31). This means that wherever the Word of God was read and conversion took place a new community was formed, namely the community of believers (*communio sanctorum*), the Church of Christ. Sanneh quotes anthropologist Monica Wilson who says that:

Acceptance of Christian teaching implied a radical change in the manner of life of converts; the Christian gospel has been a yeast fermenting change in societies.... The writing of the vernacular, the translation of the Bible and teaching converts to read it, was in itself revolutionary... (Sanneh 1989:175)

The converted Ovakwanyama became part of the global Christian community who use the Bible. If there are tools used to change the world, one of these is the Bible. I am convinced that the Bible is an instrument of God developed to change the world. This was expressed by the Oshikwanyama poem indicating that the Bible is like a runner, who ran faster than the world and conquered it (Appendix V).

Maluleke asserts that the Bible is a textbook of African communities, which helped Africans, not only with their faith, but also with the construction of indigenous grammar and texts (West 2003:49,50). Maluleke agreed with Nghatanga-Hamunyela who encourages Ovakwanyama to read the Bible because it contains better Oshikwanyama than much other literature (Nghatanga-Hamunyela 2004). When I was first taught to read by my mother it was from the Bible. This has been the method since the introduction of Christianity. The day I managed to read from the Bible she declared that I now know how to read. This has also been the case in my generation and before.

6. 6. Theologizing and interpretation of the Word of God in Oshikwanyama

It was imperative for the missionaries and the first generation of Christians that the Bible be translated into the vernacular, Oshikwanyama in particular. Sanneh expressed that “translation is primarily the matter of language, but it is not only that, for language itself is a living expression of culture.” He furthers his argument that “language is not just the ‘soul’ of people, but it “is also the garment that gives shape, decorum, and vitality to conscious life, enabling us to appreciate the visible texture of life in its subtle, intricate variety and possibility” (Sanneh 1989:200). Therefore having the Bible in Oshikwanyama allows the Ovakwanyama to understand the Word of God in their own tongue. Secondly, it paves the way for the Ovakwanyama to interpret the Word of God in the culture of the people. Thirdly, it gives the Ovakwanyama theologians a chance to theologize the Word of God in Oshikwanyama. It should be noted here that the Oshikwanyama version covers the theological terminologies. This is an indication that the Bible in Oshikwanyama compares favourably with other translations. It is close to the Hebrew and Greek versions (Kaulinge 2004).

Through reading the Bible, the Ovakwanyama realize, as do other Africa Christians, that there are a variety of theological emphases originating from the Bible. I understand that emphases are dependent on the context in which people live and also on the social and cultural context of the people. Although the message could be the same, the context might be different. So Western and African Christians differ in their approach to the same Bible. In Southern Africa for example, white theologians used

the Bible to conquer, while black theologians used the Bible to liberate. I would like to conclude with the words of Oduyoye when she declared that:

The Bible has brought a message of hope to Africa and African Christians; therefore, we hail and love the Bible. [Therefore], if one finds a Bible in [the roof of the hut] in Africa, one should know that it is a symbolic expression of God's continued presence in and care for the whole of creation, especially of those too weak to fend for themselves. (Oduyoye 1995:38)

6. 7. Conclusion

The Bible shaped the lives of the Ovakwanyama in many aspects of life. It is because of the Bible that Christianity took root in the hearts of the Ovakwanyama, and other Owambo tribes. The teaching of the Bible is a package. The Bible is the life-enhancing Book of Christians. All Christians need to use the Bible for the benefits of the salvation of the whole of humanity. The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was not only for the benefit of a minority and the privileged, but for all the loving people of God in Oukwanyama and elsewhere in the globe. I would like to conclude with the words of Geraldine who writes:

To build the churches the Bible must be available in the language of the people, and must speak their idioms in order to speak to their hearts. No other language, however high the literary quality of its Scriptures is, could speak with the compelling voice of their own language. (Coldham 1966:ii)

The above statement carries the truth that when the Ovakwanyama received the Bible in their language, it changed and shaped their lifestyle, and gave them something to share with other Christians in the world. The Bible became part of the Ovakwanyama culture and tradition. They lived according to its guidelines. The Bible had a great impact on the lives of the Ovakwanyama. A committed and determined Kwanyama

Christian once said: "I will never fall back. I will never end up in hell. I will remain at the cross of Christ, as the Bible says."

Indeed this whole thesis has dealt with the story of the Bible among the Ovakwanyama and the missionaries from the two mission agencies namely the RMS, the FMS, and the African missionaries from within. Although the thesis touched on the mission work done by missionaries, the main focus was on the role played by the indigenous African people in the process of translating the Bible into Oshikwanyama.

Many writers have placed more emphasis on European missionaries. This thesis has attempted to bring about the role African converts play. It established their names, identities and contributions. More needs to be done, but it will take time to have everything detailed and documented. According to interviews conducted with those who participated in the process, pastors and laypersons, they all agreed that African Indigenous Translators did a lot to ensure that the Bible translated into Oshikwanyama was a sound piece of work.

The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama was not all plain sailing. Many obstacles were encountered along the way, and took time to overcome. The Translation Committee worked hard to iron out differences and to reach a consensus peacefully.

The translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama went hand in hand with the introduction of the language into literacy. On its completion, the Holy Scriptures and

literacy in Oshikwanyama were promoted. The Ovakwanyama were therefore very happy on the day of the official handover of the Bible in Oshikwanyama.

It took time, energy, finance, resources and manpower to complete the work of translation as expressed in the interviews, but finally everything was done. The translation work itself started in 1891 when German missionaries arrived in Oukwanyama, and was completed in 1974 when the first Oshikwanyama Bibles were printed. It took 83 years to have the entire Bible translated and published in Oshikwanyama.

Africans, and the Ovakwanyama in particular, may relate to Andre Karamaga who writes:

The Bible is for us both a symbol and the means of the continuing work of the God who exposed himself to the mercy of humankind with the aim of obtaining their salvation. The Bible contains a message of life and hope for the future, which Africa needs so much today. Therefore let Africans congratulate the author [and translators] who helped us to benefit from this thrilling history. (Karamaga 2002:viii)

The following table is the summary of the Bible books translated and printed from 1894 to 1974 as recorded by Coldham in the book: *A Bibliography of the Scripture in African Languages* (Coldham 1966:316-318; 1975:73,74):

Year	Book	Publisher	Place
1894	The Gospel according to St Luke	BFBS	London
1895	The Gospel according to St Mark	BFBS	London
1895	The Gospel according to St John	BFBS	London
1896	The Gospel according to St Mathew	BFBS	London
1902	The Acts of the Apostles	BFBS	London
1902	The First Epistle of John	BFBS	London

1927	The New Testament and Psalms	BFBS	London
1942	Four Gospels and Acts	BFBS	London
1960	Acts of the Apostle (revised)	BFBS	Cape Town
1967	Gospel of St Mark (revised)	ELOC	Oniipa
1974	The whole Bible in Oshikwanyama	BSSA	Cape Town

Praise to God Almighty, who made it possible through translators to make his Word available in the vernacular, Oshikwanyama included.

6. 8. Recommendations and suggestions

This researcher has recommendations and suggestion regarding the translations.

1. It is now time for African theologians to take up the challenge of Bible translation. They must therefore learn original the biblical languages thoroughly.
2. The time has come to minimize the use of outsider translators, and increase the use of insider translators.
3. There is a great need to do research of this kind, because there are many people who have contributed much to the translations and to Christianity as a whole, who are down trodden.
4. All Christians who did mission work, whether European or Africans, may be called missionaries and not only the Europeans.
5. All parishes, congregations and church offices need to keep the records of their workers for future reference and history purposes. The attempt done by ELCIN historian Dr Nambala, who recorded pastors only, needs to be extended even to lay preachers who have been missionaries.
6. Let this thesis be a challenge to those who love history and the church.

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Latest News #232
February 7, 2003

A STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF LANGUAGES WITH THE SCRIPTURES

A summary, by geographical area and type of publication, of the number of different languages and dialects in which publication of at least one book of the Bible had been registered as of December 31, 2002 [A few corrections were made to our language databases and are reflected in this statistical summary.]:

Continent/Region	Portions	Testaments	Bibles	Bibles, DC*	Total
Africa	207	289	151	(26)	647
Asia	218	229	126	(27)	573
Australia/New Zealand/ Pacific Islands	165	207	34	(6)	406
Europe	110	33	61	(47)	204
North America	40	27	8	(0)	75
Caribbean Islands / Central America / Mexico/South America	122	249	24	(9)	395
Constructed Languages	2	0	1	(0)	3
TOTALS	864	1,034	405	(115)	2,303

* This column is a sub-section of the Bibles column - for example, there is a translation of the Deuterocanon for 47 of the 61 languages of Europe in which the Bible has been translated.

Bible Society work in Namibia

Bible Society in Namibia
PO Box 13294
Windhoek 9000
Namibia



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fax: +(264)-61 228663
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Country Data:

Area:	825,118 sq.km.	
Population:	1,827,000 (2001)	
Annual Per Capita Income:	US\$2,060 (2000)	
Literate Population:	78.5%	
Religions in % of Population (2000):	Protestant	74.2%
	Roman Catholic	17.7%
	Traditional beliefs	6.0%
	Non-religious	1.1%
	Bahá'í	0.5%
	Jehovah's Witness	0.1%
	Jewish	0.1%
	Other	0.3%
Official Language:	English	

Bible Society Data:

Beginning of organised work:	1805	
Date of formation of Bible Society:	1986	
Date of Associate Membership in UBS:	2001	
Scripture distribution in 2002-2003:	Bibles	22,238
	New Testaments	788
	Portions	43,608
	Selections	24,538
	New Reader Portions	2,807

APPENDIX III

Poem dedicated to Oshikwanyama
Bible

Omambo omOmbibeli (Oshikwa)

Okwa li ku na omunhu e na ominwe o-39
komadi inwe nokomadi ikwao ominwe 27.
Ohe li tange tati:

Aame Nghituwamhata yaNdeshiuda
Ndi n'onhapo ku he na vali
Ndi dule onyuni koonono

O twe li dengele naMoses wotete
Ndee ta ifana oombushaye vane
Okwe va hanga mooJosua
Tava tokol'eendjovo naRut
Okwa fikila ngoo tati:
Samwel, Samwel. Ino mona Eehamba mbali?
De shi hokolola luvali.

Esra ta pwilikine, Nehemia ota kofa
PooEster onda vilola po ashike
Handi ka ningina mooJob
Nda djala Omapsalome
Handi popi Omayeletumbulo
Handi a Udifa

Salomo ota Imbile Jesaya naJeremia opo e li
Jeremia ota Takuma yee ta Imbi
Mbela a tila Hesekiel
Daniel a kupula nge
Hosea a nhukila nge
Joel okwa umba omukulupe Amos
Obadja yaJona omomeva

Mika okwa hanga hai Humauka pongubu
yaHabakuk
Sefanja e li mekove laHaggai
Sakaria naMalakia ova ka tyuukile kooMateus,
Markus oye te va popi
Omushiinda naLukas

Johannes okwa ya kOilonga yOvajapostoli
kuRoma
Okwa hangako Ovakorinto vavali
Va dja kuGalatia, komukunda waEfeso
Va tumwa kuFilip, vaka talelepo Kolosi, Ova
hanga a ya kooTessalonika yaTessa, xekulu
yaTimoteus yaTimo

Ova tuma ko Titus naFilemon
Shaashi ova tila ko Heberi
NooPetrus vavali hava tetaula ovanhu omatwi
Johannes omutitatu, naJakob yaShinana,
naJudas nomuHolokoli woinima yaMushashi
Naye opo a hangelwe

Books of the Bible (Eng.)

There was a person with 39 fingers on one foot
and 27 on the other. He recites himself as
follows:

I never disputed, I hear
Faster than this world

I fought with first Moses,
he called four namesakes
He found them in Joshua,
Judging with Ruth
He just says
Samuel, Samuel, haven't you seen two Kings
To tell [Chronicles] it twice

Ezra listening, Nehemiah slumbers
I passed Ester
To Job
Dressing Psalms
Speaking in Proverbs
And Preaching [Ecclesiastes]

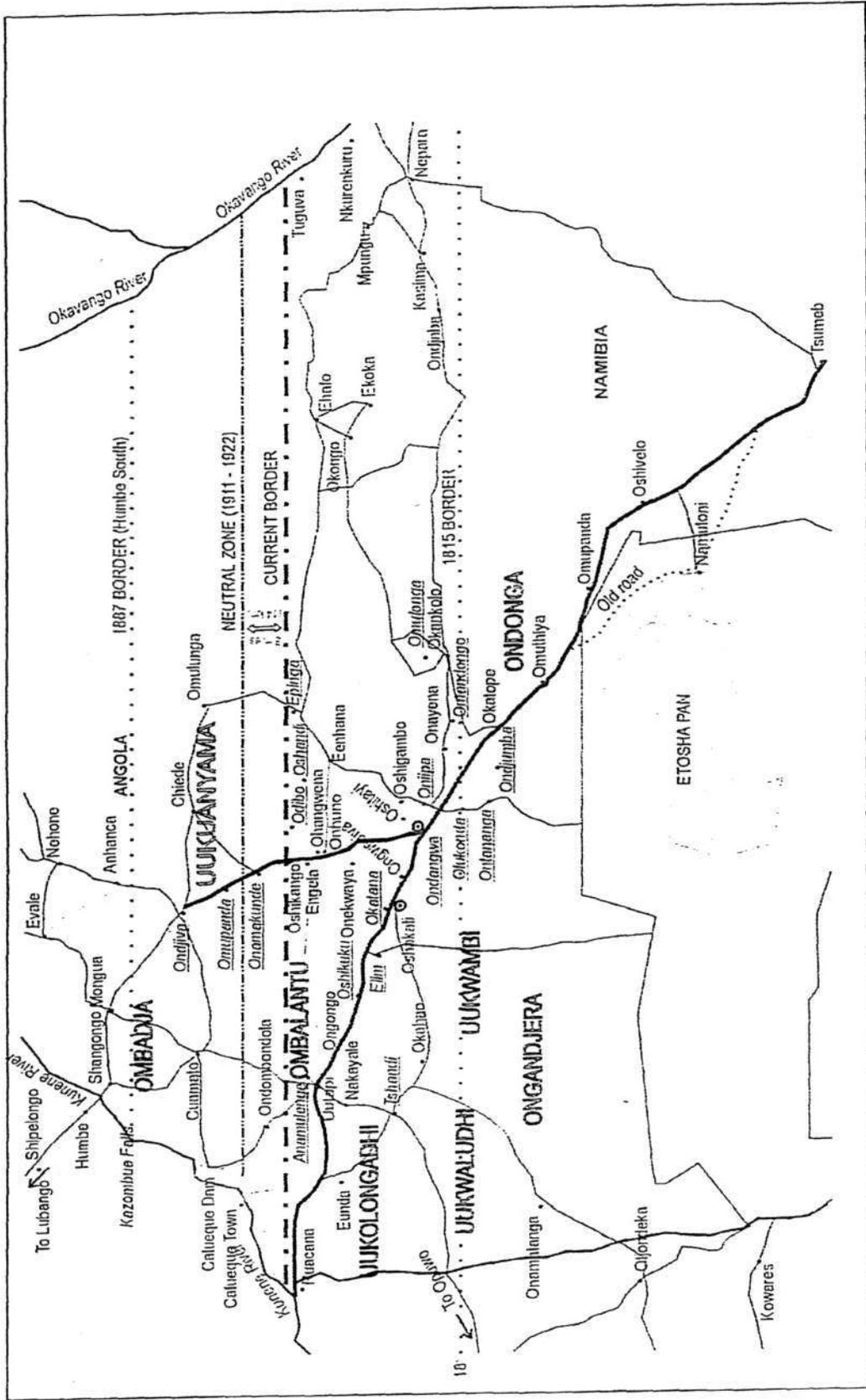
Solomon sang for Isaiah and Jeremiah
Jeremiah Lamented and sang
He fears Ezekiel
Daniel threw me
Hosea confronted me
Joel threw elderly Amos
Obadiah of Jonah in the water

Micah found me with Nahum

Zephaniah in the fence of Haggai
Zechariah and Malachi went to Matthew
Mark now whereabouts them
The neighbour of Luke

John went to observe the Acts of Apostles in
Rome
He found two Corinthians from Galatia, the
village of Ephesians
They send Philip, to visit Colossian, who
Went to Thessalonica of Thessa, uncle of
Timothy of Timo

They sent Titus and Philemon
Because they fear of Hebrew
And two Peters who cuts airs
Three Johns, James of Shinana
Jude, the Revealer of the Baptist
Were present.



Map 1.4: Tribal distribution and early missions in the Ovambo Regions

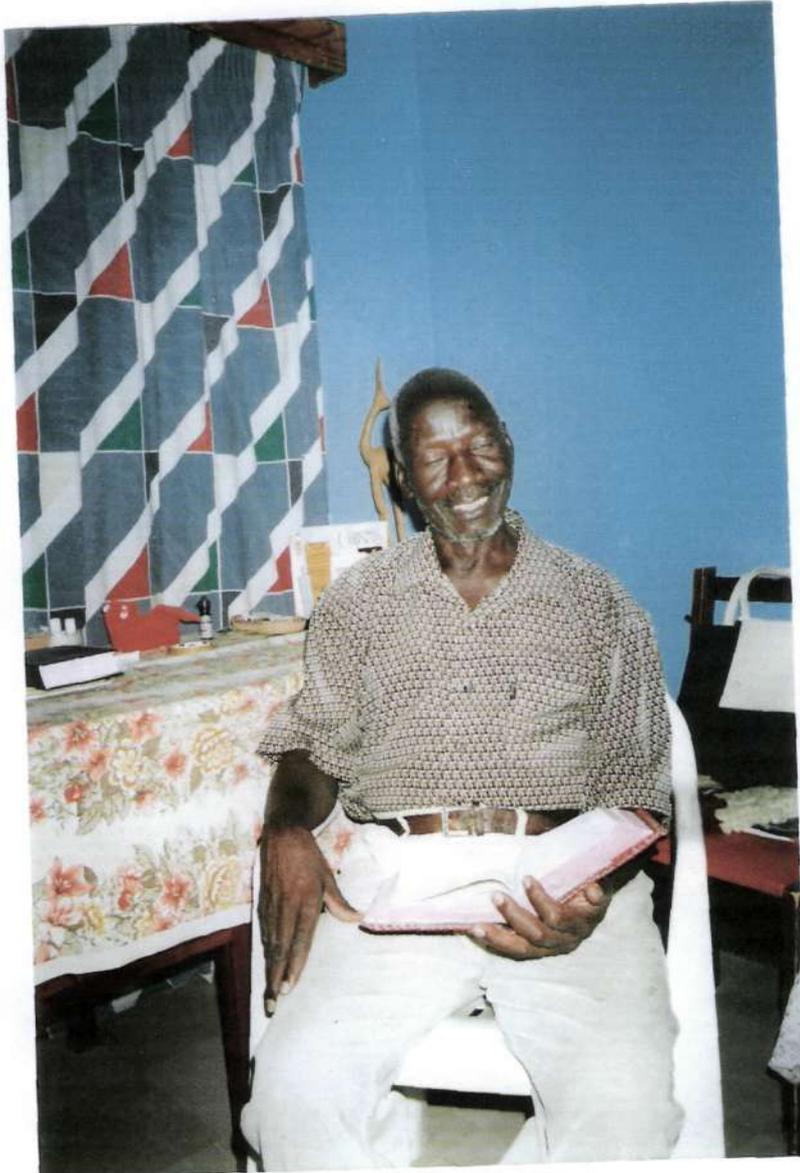
Finnish Missions: Omandongo 1870, 1888, Elim 1870, Olukonda 1871, Oniipa 1872, Omulonga 1874, Ondingwa 1890, Ondjiva 1891, Omupanda 1892, Omamkundu 1900, Ontananga 1900, Onyena 1902, Elim 1908 (Töijes, 1996: 226).

Roman Catholic Missions: Oshikuku 1924, Okatana 1932, Anamulenge 1927 (Beris, 1996: 397, 410, 415).

Anglican Missions: Odibo 1924, Onamutni 1931, Onekwaji 1936, Epinga 1936, Oshandi 1945 (Robson, 1999: 6, 17, 20, 22, 30).

Tribal Centres: ONDONGA - Olukonda, UUKWANYAMA - Ondjiva, UUKWAMBWI - Elim, OMBALANTU - Utapi, ONGANDJERA - Okahau, UUKWALUDHI - Tshandi, UUKOLONGADHI & EUNDA - Ruacum (Kritzinger 1972b: 256)

APPENDIX V



Rev Eino Amaambo, the translator of the Bible into Oshindonga, in his home at Ondando, Oniipa, Ondonga.
Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji, on April 19th, 2004

APPENDIX VI



Mrs. Tuuliki Nghatanga-Hamunyela (right) and her husband Mr. Junias Hamunyela (left), pictured on April 7th, 2004, in their home at Oidiva, Okongo, Namibia. Photo by Rev Martin Ngodji.

APPENDIX VII



Rev Josia Mufeti (left) and his wife Rauna Shimweefeleni sitting in Olupale in their homestead at Okongo, on April 10th, 2004. Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji.

ETAMENTI LIPE

P'Omue ne uetu Jesus Kristus
nomapsalme

The New Testament and Psalms in Kuanyama
373



CAPE TOWN JOHANNESBURG DURBAN
Die Bybelgenootskap van Suid-Afrika

ISBN 304 02302 2

BFBS-1970-6M

APPENDIX IX



Rev Vilho Mwadikange Kaulinge (ca 1890-1992), the father of Bishop Apollos Kaulinge of ELCIN. Photo: Embo lyOndjokonona yaasita yaELCIN (Nambala 1995:115).

APPENDIX X



This is the renovated house at Eenhana where Oshikwanyama Bible Translator, namely Walter Bjorklund, Natanael Nghatanga, Sakaria Tuhadeleni and Andreas Shapota stayed during translating. Photo by Rev Martin Ngodji on April 5th, 2004.

UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES
Translations Consultant to the
Bible Society of South Africa
133 Johann Rissik Avenue
Waterkloof
PRETORIA. SOUTH AFRICA.

July 26th 1972.

MEMORANDUM to: Rev. J.F. Naudé,
Translations Department B.S.S.A.

from: Kobus Reyneke,

c.c.: Ds. J.T.M. van Arkel,
Ds. G.E. van der Merwe,
Dr. Peacock,
B.F.B.S. Translations Department,
Miss L. Kivelä,
Mr. Zimmermann of the Language Board of South-West Africa

SUBJECT: KWANYAMA BIBLE TRANSLATION.

Dear Rev. Naudé,

I am sending you a report on the finalising of the Kwanyama Bible manuscript.

Kwanyama Bible Translation Committee Meeting at Engela in
Owamboland - the 18th July 1972.

The meeting commenced at 9 a.m. with the following people
PRESENT:

Miss Laina Kivelä - Oniipa,
Mr. Gabriel S. Taapopi (Inboorlingtaalburo)
F/S 13236, Windhoek
the Revd. Polycarp A. Haihambo (Anglican),
P.O.Box 527, Tsumeb,
Revd. Ismael Nhinda (Lutheran)
Engela, P.O. Oshikango,
Revd. Josia Mufeti (Lutheran),
Engela, P.O. Oshikango,
Canon G.H. Namueja (Anglican,
Odibo, Oshikango, S.W.A.
Revd. Filippus Shikomba (Lutheran),
Engela, P.O.Oshikango.

The four members of the Kwanyama Bible Translation Committee
are:

Miss Kivelä (Secretary)
Rev. Josia Mufeti (Chairman)
Rev. Ismael Nhinda and
Rev. Polycarp Haihambo.

Mr. Erastus Shamena of the Oniipa Lutheran Press also attended
the meeting.

The Translations Consultant (Reyneke) opened the meeting with devotions and explained to the delegates who were present that the manuscript of the Kwanyama Bible had to be printed without further delay but that it was necessary to have the co-operation of the Education Department. He had met Mr. Zimmermann of the Language Board and Education Department in Windhoek, and Mr. Zimmermann had given his moral support and full confidence in the recommendation of Mr. Taapopi, who was the Kwanyama advisor of the Education Department. The present manuscript had been completed in 1969 and submitted to London for scrutiny, and various valuable suggestions from London had been considered and implemented. We could no longer delay the publication of the Kwanyama Bible, but would like to give Mr. Taapopi the opportunity of making his remarks and also approving the Bible in its present form.

Mr. Gabriel Taapopi: 1) Mr. Taapopi first requested that we should have a look at the numerical system (Telwyse) of the MS. It was found in e.g. Gen. 1:31. "The sixth day" was written in Kwanyama in the shortened form which is at present used by the schools. Mr. Taapopi and also the other gentlemen present stated that the vast majority of Kwanyama people were very unhappy about the shortened form of this numerical system which was being used in the schools. After a lengthy discussion in which various arguments were used, it was decided that: Figures would also be used for the numerals from 6 to 9 just as from 10 onwards as previously been decided. This would mean that both adults and also school children would be able to read the Bible in the form to which they were accustomed.

To implement this decision it was decided that the various books of the Bible would be allocated to different Kwanyama pastors who would be requested to indicate which alterations have to be made. They would have to submit their suggestions before the end of July. A long list of names was drawn up of those people who would be responsible for the different books of the Old and New Testament.

2. "Tax Collectors".

Mr. Taapopi discussed the Kwanyama word which had been used in the translation for publicans or tax collectors and convinced the committee members that the correct word is "obasutifi". The various corrections were made in the Gospels.

... 3)

3) Corrections:

Mr. Taapopi and Rev. Mufeti (Chairman) investigated certain corrections which had already been implemented to the satisfaction of Mr. Taapopi. Several letters dating back to 1969 and further on were reviewed and it was found that most of the suggestions which had been made in those letters, have already been implemented.

4. "Teach" (Onderrig) (Ps. 25:5).

The two words honga and longa were discussed and the committee decided to leave the manuscript in its present form.

5. It was decided to keep the manuscript in its present form in Ps. 22:22 namely eenhuulu (blaauwildebeest instead of buffalo).

6. "Lizard" (geitgie) - Prov. 30:28.

Mr. Taapopi convinced the members present that the word which has been used, namely oshiyengele was wrong, and that shinyengele should be used for lizard. This correction was made in the manuscript.

7. Proverbs 31:15:

"While it is yet night". The manuscript is corrected on Mr. Taapopi's suggestion to read: "ha meneka" : " she gets up early".

Verse 16: "She plants a vineyard with the fruits of her hands". The manuscript reading means "the product of her labours". This is left in its present form.

8. Proofreading:

Rev. Mufeti and Rev. Shikomba will assist Miss Kivelä in reading the proofs.

9. The members present checked on other minor corrections in the Old and New Testament and it was found that these were in order. Gen.30:37-39 was corrected to read 'ku hwika'.

10. Approval of Kwanyama Bible manuscript

The following statement was typed and signed by all the members present:

" Hereby the following members of the Kwanyama Bible Translations Committee and of the Kwanyama Language Board and the Bible Society give their approval and consent to the printing of the attached manuscript of the Old and New Testament of the Bible.

Dated at Engela, Owamboland, 19th July 1972."

Queries from London:

The delegates expressed their grateful appreciation for the valuable and careful questions which have been asked from London on various occasions in connection with the Kwanyama translation. Many alterations had to be made on the suggestions of the B.F.B. S. Translations Department. A further list of questions on the minor subjects were now considered, and careful attention paid to the suggestions.

Joël 1:17. The present rendering is retained, reading: 'The seed did not sprout.'

Joël 2: 2. London suggestion accepted changing to the idiomatic form: " to go to generations to come."

Joël 2:13. - This is corrected.

Joël 2:22. London's suggestion accepted. Kwanyama idiom, 'give their fruits'.

Joël 2:28. Agreed to accept 'All people' instead of 'all flesh'.

Joël 3:4. Changed to Kwanyama idiom: "I will let your evil acts return to (harm) you. (Appreciation for London's suggestion!)

vs.6 : agreed to write Greka instead of JAVAN.

vs.7 : thanks for suggestion from London.

Obadiah vs.3. The Kwanyama rendering is "You speak to yourself in your heart".

vs.5. The whole construction of the sentence was altered to make sense!

Jona 1:2. Text unaltered.

1:8. Text corrected.

2:2. Changed according to London suggestion "The place of the dead".

2:5. - prefer litteral form.

2:9. - the manuscript is in order.

3:8. - the manuscript is in order.

4:11. - yes, end with a "?".

Nahum 1:8. - corrected.

vs.11 manuscript is corrected.

Nahum 2:7. Mr. Taapopi agrees to "denuded" (robbed), to make sense.

Nahum 3:13. - The manuscript is in order.

3:19. yes: a questionmark to be added.

Job 9:9. Orion was 'oshofi', and now changed to: 'okalimbanombwa'.

Pleiades were 'omunghalavili'. This is now changed to 'oshofi"

So also JOB 38:3.

The meeting was closed with prayers after various people had expressed their appreciation for the work which had been done through all these years by various committees and the hope was expressed that the Kwanyama Bible would be printed and made available without any further delay.

KWANYAMA BIBLE TRANSLATION COMMITTEE

Minutes of the meeting held at onippa from the 13th to the 15th of December, 1965.

Present: Rev. E.Eirola (in chair), Rev. E.Hynönen, Rev. G.Namueja, Mr. L.Shemuvalula (subst. of Rev. L.Ninda), Re. I.Ninda (14.12). Apologies were received from Rev. Heuer, Mr. Jesaja and Rev. Mallory.

Minutes of the meeting of 10-12.8.1965 were read and confirmed.

It was discussed about the Bible Translators' Conference planned to be held in Republic of S.Africa by the Bible Society of S. Africa in July 1966. It was confirmed the election of delegates of the Ev. Luth. Ovambokavango Church to attend that Conference from Kwanyama language area as follows: Rev. Josia Mufeti, Rev. Apollos Kaulinge and Rev. Erkki Hynönen. As their substitute it was elected now Rev. Abisai Shejavali, who is coming back from Helsinki University after 3 years study of theology main-subject being the Old Testament and who will become as teacher in the United Lutheran Theological Seminar in Otjimbingue, S.W. Africa. The names of delegates of the other Churches will be sent directly to the Bible House in Cape Town. It was read and corrected the books of Jer. 51:29-52:34 and Ezekiel 1:1-7:14.

The next meeting will be held from 2nd to 4th of February, 1966.

On behalf of the meeting


Arvo Eirola

With the full approval of the Cabinet, the Bible Society had two presentation Bibles, one in English and the other in Afrikaans, expressly made for the purpose. On special pages the full text of the oath of office appears and each President will be asked to attach his signature thereto, with the presiding Chief Justice countersigning.

With each successive president using a separate page, these two Bibles in the official languages of the new Republic will thus form a continuing link and in the course of time will become a national treasure.

The Bibles were decorated in gold and silver. The chamber of Mines very generously donated 128.70 ounces of gold for the purpose.

1. FROM THE REFINERY.

Marvellous is the transformation which takes place in a pagan tongue when it is converted for use in expressing the heavenly truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The lowest and the most paltry languages are purified by Christian uses. Words once degenerated and defiled can be redeemed to transcendental meaning. TRULY BIBLE TRANSLATION IS A REFINERY. The total translations of 860 on the British and Foreign Bible Society's list, and the 330 new projects, go to prove that translation always has been and still is a major task of the Bible Society. The fact that no less than 150 of these translations which are now in hand are languages of Africa is of special significance to us.

In the South African Agency the Old Testament in Kwanyama has been completed, although the MS is not yet ready. The MS of the revised New Testament is in the hands of the Translation Department for inspection and should go to press soon. Much credit is due to Dean A.W. Bjorklund, the chief translator, and his dedicated committee for their powers of application; the work was completed in what must be a record time. The Bible Society wishes to record its gratitude to the Translator and his Committee, to the Finnish Missionary Society and to St. Mary's Anglican

16 September 1969.

Eerw. J. Mufeti,
Finse Sending,
P.K. ENGELA.
Ovamboland.

Geagte Eerw. Mufeti,

Waarnemers van Bybelgenootskap van Suid-Afrika
op Inboorlingtaalkommissies in Suidwes-Afrika

Die Sekretaris van Bantoe-Onderwys in Pretoria het vriendelik toegestaan dat die Bybelgenootskap van Suid-Afrika 'n waarnemer mag benoem op elkeen van die S.W.A. Inboorlingtaalkommissies waarby die Bybelgenootskap belang het. U dien alreeds namens u Kerk (of Sending) op die KWANYAMA taalkommissie maar mag terselfdertyd die Bybelgenootskap verteenwoordig as die Genootskap dit so verkies.

Die doel van hierdie skrywe is dan om aan u mee te deel dat dit vir die B.S.A. aangenaam is om u as sy waarnemer op bogenoemde taalkommissie te benoem en dat u benoeming deur die Sekretaris van Bantoe-Onderwys goedgekeur is. U sal dan as skakel dien om u betrokke Bybelvertalers op hoogte te hou van besluite van die taalkommissie en ook u Bybelvertalingskommissie se vrae of standpunte in die taalkommissie te stel wanneer nodig. Hiervoor wil ons u by voorbaat van harte dankie sê!

Met vriendelike groete en seënwense,

Ds. J.C.C. PAUW
SEKRETARIS VIR VERTALING

cc Ds van Arkel
Pastor Ihmaki
Mej. Kivelä
Hoofinspekteur van Inboorlingonderwys, Privaatsak 13236, Windhoek, S.W.A.

OOFKANTOOR

P.O. Box 215, Kaapstad. Tel. 2-2554 Tel. Ad.: „TESTAMENTS“



HEAD OFFICE

P.O. Box 215, Cape Town. Tel. 2-2554 Tel. Ad.: „TESTAMENTS“

19 November 1969.

Pastor J. Mufeti,
Engela,
P.K. OSHIKANGO - S.W.A.

W

Geagte broer Mufeti,

Ortografie van Kwanyama-Bybel

Daar is iets wat ek nie kan verstaan nie. U is die verteenwoordiger van u kerk op die Kwanyama-taalkomitee van die Taalbuuro en u is dus op hoogte van daardie komitee se besluite oor ortografie en ander dinge. Terselfdertyd is u ook voorsitter van ons Bybelgenootskap se komitee vir vertaling van die Bybel in Kwanyama. Waarom is daar nou so baie ortografiese foute in u vertalingskomitee se Kwanyama-teks? Het u dan nie u vertalingskomitee gelei en reggehelp toe hulle van die offisiële ortografie afgewyk het nie? Dit was tog u duidelike plig! Die Bybel moet tog volgens Standaard Ortografie gedruk word. Of wou u komitee nie na hulle voorsitter luister nie?

Kyk wat gebeur nou as gevolg hiervan? Drie dinge:-

1. 'n Baie groot nuwe werk moet gedoen word om eers die hele Bybel in die regte ortografie te kry.
2. Die Bybel waarna ons al so baie lank verlang het kan nou eers baie later gedruk word.
3. Dit kos vir die Bybelgenootskap groot onnodige addisionele uitgawes om die nuwe werk te laat doen.

Ek wil u vriendelik vra vir 'n verduideliking waarom u vertalingskomitee op so 'n verbasende manier gehandel het in hierdie saak van die ortografie.

Met groete en seënwense,
U medewerker,

Ds. J.C.C. PAUW
SEKRETARIS VIR VERTALING

cc Ds van Arkel
Canon Wootton
Biskop Auala
Pastor Ihamiki ✓

11th December, 1969.

Father Theophilus Hamutimbangela,
St. Mary's Mission,
QDIBO - S.W.A.

Dear Father Hamutimbangela,

Special Translation of LUKE into Kwanyama

We are sending you under separate cover a photostat copy of the Typescript of the above Gospel on the translation of which you and Rev. Mallory worked together. Now that it is in manuscript form we would very much like to have you check it again.

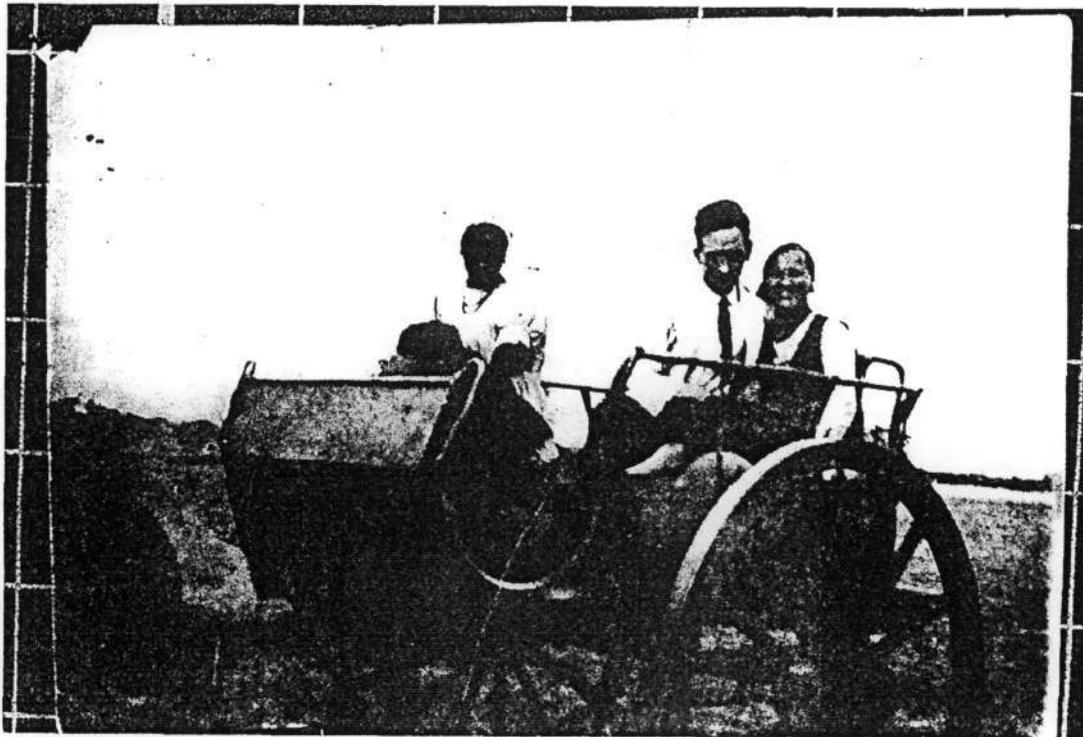
The Bible Society is most eager to publish this particular kind of translation, so may we come to you with a special request please? Viz. will you kindly study this translation of Luke carefully once more and send me written comments on any verses, phrases or words which you feel could still be improved upon?

Please give us your suggestions in writing. We will be very grateful for your esteemed help in this matter.

Hoping to hear from you soon,
Yours sincerely,

Ds. J.C.C. FAUN
TRANSLATIONS SECRETARY

cc Ds van Arkel
Canon Wootton



Above. Mika Nghiyoonanye and his family at Engela, Oukwanyama.
Below. Mika Nghiyoonanye and German missionaries with their chariot at Onamakunde. Photo from his second wife Ngeitokondjo Kasheshe on April 14th, 2004, Engela, Oukwanyama Namibia.

APPENDIX XVIII



Rev Filippus Nakanwe, a local pastor of Onekwaya-East parish. Pictured in his home at Onekwaya on April 17th, 2004. Nakanwe is a nephew of translator Andreas Shapota. Photo by Rev Martin Ngodji

APPENDIX XIX



Nangula (left) Rev F. Nakanwe (centre) and Mrs Aina Hangula (right) at their home in Onekwaya-East on April 17th, 2004. Mrs Hangula is a relative of the translator Andreas Shapota. Photo by Rev Martin Ngodji.

APPENDIX XX



Leefa Ndilula, nurse (left), Ester Mutileni, teacher (center) and Luise Ndahangwapo, (teacher). All three worked in Eenhana during the time of the translation of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. Now all are retired persons. Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji on April 12th, 2004 at Eenhana.

APPENDIX XXI



Mr Sakaria Tuhadeleni (1897-1962). He was one of the translators of the Bible into Oshikwanyama. Picture from his daughter Teopolina Tuhadeleni, Eenhana.

APPENDIX XXII



Above. Lahja Sakaria Tuhadeleni a daughter of Sakaria Tuhadeleni and her grand sons. Pictured at their home at Okamanya, Okongo, Namibia, on April 8th, 2004. Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji.

Below. Auli Tuhadeleni-Nangutuwala and Rauna Sakaria Tuhadeleni, daughters of Sakaria Tuhadeleni. Pictured in their home at Ogongo, Uukwambi, Namibia, on August 23rd, 2004. They are grand daughters of Wilhelm Kafita. Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji.

KUANJAMA BIBLE TRANSLATION COMMITTEE.

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD AT ENGELA ON FRIDAY APRIL 11th, 1958, at 10 a.m.

PRESENT: Rev. Bjorklund (chairman) Rev. Hynonen, Rev. J. Ninda, Rev. Heuer and Mr. R. Jesaja (Rheinisch Mission) Rev. S.N. Gurney, Rev. L. Haihambo.

The meeting ^{opened} offered with prayer offered by Rev. L. Haihambo.

The Chairman explained that the date of the meeting had been changed from February 20th to a later date to allow Ds. van Arkel to attend. He then read a letter stating that Ds. van Arkel would not be able to attend this present meeting owing to presence of work.

The minutes of the meeting held on Oct. 3rd 1957 were read in Osikuanjama by the Rev. L. Haihambo.

The Chairman then read a letter from the Head Office of the Bible Society (London) acknowledging the orthographical alteration noted in the minutes of the October meeting.

Before the discussion of the second Draft of the Gospels commenced the Rev. Gurney asked permission to speak. This was granted.

Rev. Gurney said that he considered that before any discussion of the proposed text was started the Committee should decide what was the best Osikuanjama to use. It must only be the best. He asked whether this translation was meant for the use of the Ovakunbajama, or for all Ovambo tribes? He maintained that the text to be discussed was not Osikuanjama, but a "half-breed" language known as "Ositambo" containing many Osindongo words and grammatical constructions foreign to Osikuanjama. Some called this language "Osihongi" - "Mission language. He said that his Mission people were not taught this, and could not understand it.

The Rev. L. Haihambo added further ~~added~~ further critical remarks and objection to the proposed text and stated that his people did not want such a text.

The Rev. Heuer said that his mission had also found many mistakes but suggested that a solution might be found by helping Rev. Bjorklund in the details. He discussed some of these details. Mr. R. Jesaja also made some remarks on correcting details. A discussion followed.

The Rev. Gurney.....

The Rev. Gurney was asked whether he considered that the committee should help Rev. Bjorklund or whether another translator should be found. Rev. Gurney replied that he would like to pass a vote of no confidence in the Rev. Nataniel Matanga (in his capacity as assistant to Rev. Bjorklund). He suggested that there be a number of Ovikuanjama speaking assistants from each mission for this work. He also said that we should consider "Schulte's" version.

A further long discussion followed on the subject of "a growing language" and the introduction of new and "foreign" words.

Rev. Hynonen said that this happened in every language, and that was why the proposed text contained "new" words. There was a general agreement on this point, but the Rev. Gurney pointed out that new words were necessary for "unknown" things, but for known things this was not the case. He gave the example of "osilando" for "osilango" (town and/or city).

Mr. Hynonen asked the Rev. Gurney whether we should go on to support the Rev. Bjorklund and remove all that displeases in his text. Rev. Gurney said he could not agree. He thought this would be impossible. He said we must scrap all that has been done, revise the small mistakes in the present edition of the Gospels and Epistles and work with Schultes' text. Mr. Jeseja said there were mistakes and criticisms of Rev. Bjorklund's work but he felt that if people would work together to help one another these difficulties could be overcome.

Rev. Hynonen said that he had reviewed the Bjorklund version with over 100 Finnish teachers, all Ovikuanjama, and during Eastertide. There were no objections about the text being Osindonga. Rev. Gurney said that of course they would agree. They were trained in Osindonga territory and soaked in Osihongl, and could not therefore object to Mission teaching. He said that he felt that this whole matter was one of principle. Rev. Hinda said that the people in Angola say that on this side of the border we speak Osindonga, and Mr. Schulte was trained here. Rev. Gurney said that Pastor Hinda was condemned by the words he had spoken. This was proof of the infiltration of Osindonga into Ovikuanjama. In answer to further questions from Rev. Hinda, Gurney went on to say that he felt that the Finnish Mission had changed its policy. It now introduced new words and new spelling. All their pastor agreed, all of them being under the influence of this Mission Osihongl.

Rev. Heuer said that they had found many mistakes in Schultes text, and Mr. Schulte had also agreed with this. Rev. Gurney said that this was true but nevertheless, ~~from~~ a language point of view his Osikuanjama was correct. He added "I think we are exceeding our authority. We have been put here to revise the Osikuanjama text of the New Testament. We are introducing something new".

The Chairman said that it seemed that there were two opposite points of view. He thought that a vote should be taken. "Are we to go on with the text by me, or not?" Rev. Gurney said he could not accept the text. He added that there was no personal animosity intended.

Rev. Hynonen asked "Are we to help the writer to correct it, or to start all over again?"

Rev. Gurney said "we must start all over again".

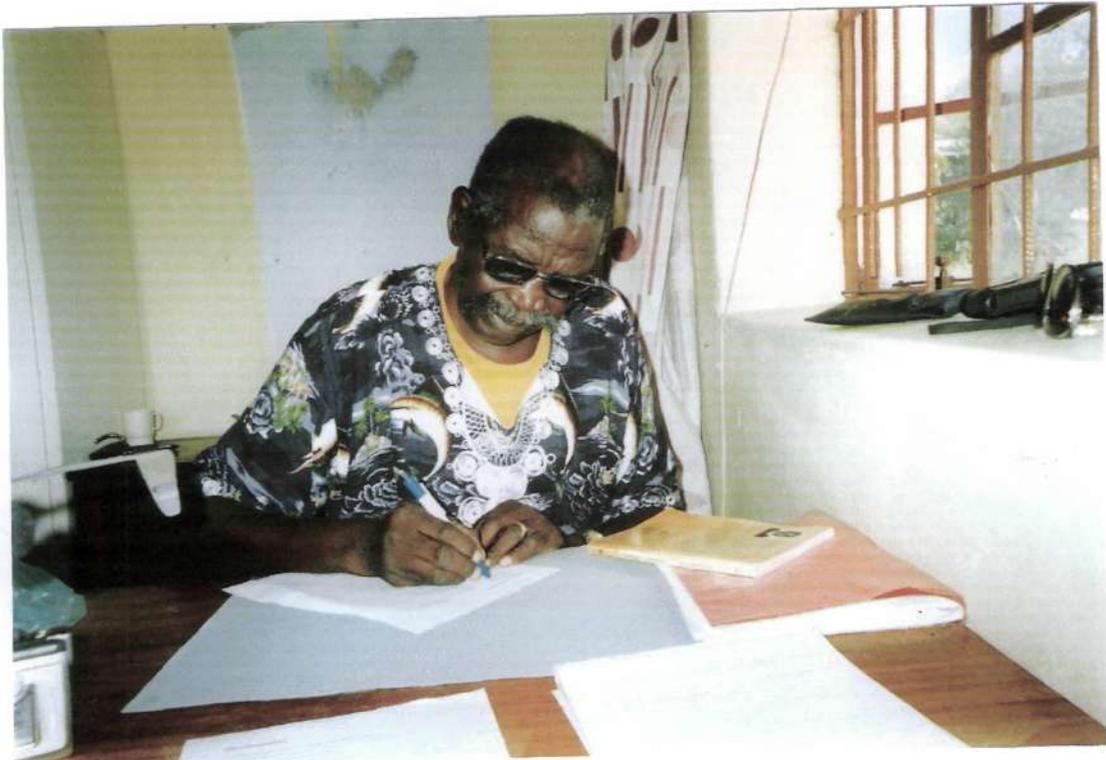
The Chairman then put the matter to the vote. For correction of Mr. Bjorklund copy 4 votes, Against 2 votes.

The Chairman then read a telegram from the Rev. Dheil, Head of the Rheinischer Mission stating his support of Mr. Bjorklund and forbidding the use of the Schulte text.

Rev. Gurney said he thought that this was most unfair, as there seemed no point in the voting in the light of this telegram. How could the Rev. Heuer vote freely, knowing that his Principal was against the Schulte text.

The Rev. Gurney and the Rev. L. Håhambo then withdrew from the committee.

APPENDIX XXIV



Rev Natanael Shinana pictured in his office at Engela Old Mission Hospital on April 15th, 2004, Shinana is busy writing the history of Oukwanyama.
Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji

APPENDIX XXV



Bishop Apollos Kaulinge (left), his wife Elina Kaulinge (center) and ELCIN General Secretary Dr Veikko Muniyika (right) at Ondobe on the day of Bishop Kaulinge's official retirement celebration on December 5th, 2004. Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji

APPENDIX XXVI



Mr Trougot Nghiyoonanye, the son of translator Mika Nghiyoonaye, pictured in his home at Ouhongo, Engela, Oukwanyama, on April 14th, 2004.
Photo: Rev Martin Ngodji.

KWANYAMA.

KWANYAMA: OLD TRANSLATION

Kenya
R. E.

G E N E S I S

Onshangwa wotote wa Noses

This manuscript approved for publication
19th July 1972

Chairman: James Muriuki

Secretary: L. Kirika

Translations consultant: J. R. R. R.

XX

APPROVAL of Kwanyama Bible manuscript.

Hereby the following members of the Kwanyama Bible Translation Committee and of the Kwanyama Language Board and the Bible Society, give their approval and consent to the printing of the attached manuscripts of the Old and New Testament of the Bible.

Dated at Engela ,

Owambo,

19th July, 1972.

Chairman: *Joia Nufeth*

Secretary: *Laina Kivela*

Language board: *J. S. Zupopi*

Other members

+ translators: *Ismael Ninda*

Polycarp H. Haihamba

D. E. SJAMENAH

C. H. NAMUEJA

Rev. F. Shikamba

Translations Consultant: *J. H. Reynders*

DIE BYBELGENOOTSAP
VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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Posbus 215, Kaapstad
Telefoon 2-2554
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Teleks 57964



THE BIBLE SOCIETY
OF SOUTH AFRICA

Head Office:
P.O. Box 215, Cape Town
Telephone 2-2554
Tel. Add. 'Testaments'
Telex 57964

1 April 1974

Biskop L. Auala
E.L.O.K.
Privaatsak 2018
ONDANGWA S.W.A.
9270

Geagte Biskop Auala

OFFISIËLE OORHANDIGING : BOESMAN MARKUS, KWANGALI NUWE
TESTAMENT EN KWANYAMA BYBEL D.V. DONDERDAG 13 JUNIE 1974
TE WINDHOEK

Die Bybelgenootskap van S.A. het die eer om u hiermee uit te nooi na bogenoemde funksie wat D.V. sal plaasvind op Donderdag 13 Junie in die Christus Kirche, Windhoek om 10.30 v.m.

U vind hierby aangeheg kopieë van korrespondensie met Dr. J.L. de Vries en Mnr. O. Eriksson wat meer informasie bevat in verband met die verrigtinge.

Ek het van Dr. de Vries verneem dat u gedurende Mei in Amerika sal wees. Ek hoop van harte dat u in Junie weer terug sal wees sodat u te Windhoek as Biskop van E.L.O.K. die Kwangali Nuwe Testament en die Kwanyama Bybel amptelik in ontvangs sal kan neem.

Sal u so vriendelik wees om self te reël vir u akkommodasie te Windhoek? Die Bybelgenootskap sal noodsaaklike uitgawes wat u in die verband moet aangaan aan u vergoed.

Met christelike broedergroete

Die uwe

Ds. J.F. Naudé
SEKRETARIS - VERTALINGS

c.c. Ds. van Arkel, Ds. Ries, Mnr. O. Eriksson, Dr. Reyneke
Ds. P.D. Strauss

Hoofsekretaris/General Secretary: Ds./Rev. J. T. M. de Jongh van Arkel.

Adjunk-Hoofsekretaris/Deputy General Secretary: Ds./Rev. G. E. van der Merwe.

Kommunikasie Media, Inligting en Jeugwerk/Communication Media, Information and Youth Work: Ds./Rev. P. J. van der Westhuyzen

Sekretaris vir Produksie- en Distribusie-beplanning/Production and Distribution Planning Secretary: Rev. P. A. Kluge

Sekretaris vir Vertalings/Translation Secretary: Ds./Rev. J. F. Naudé

Kantore: Kortmarkstraat 38, Kaapstad. Smithstraat 501, Durban. Breestraat 219, Johannesburg. Madeirastraat 49, Umtata. Maitlandstraat 154, Bloemfontein. Ford Sentrum, Hoofstraat 107, Port Elizabeth. Posbus 660, Maseru, Lesotho. Posbus 550, Manzini, Swaziland. Posbus 251, Gaborone, Botswana.

Offices: 38, Shortmarket Street, Cape Town. 501, Smith Street, Durban. 219, Bree Street, Johannesburg. 49, Madeira Street, Umtata.

OSHIVILO SHOMBIBELI YOSHIKWANYAMA/ The programme of Oshikwanyama Bible festival at Engela June 23rd, 1974. Time 10h00
MEngela eti 23 Juni 1974 potundi 10H00

ELONGELOKALUNGA/ WORSHIP SERVICES

Ovaliturgi/Liturgist: Natanael Shinana na Kristof Shuuya
Omuudifi/Preacher: Kristof Shuuya
Omaimbilo/Hymns: 197, 126, 541, 359
Ongudu yovaimbi veongalo/ Parish Choir

EYANDJO LOMBIBELI/ OFFICIAL HANDOVER OF THE BIBLE

Ovayandji/Presenters: Ovakalelipo vOmbibelihangano/Representatives of Bible Society
Ovatambuli/Receivers: Ovalundululi nokangudu kovaleshululi/ Translators and Proofreaders. Omupashukilishitayingerki/ Dean: F. Shikomba
Elenga/chief: V.Ueyulu nomubishofi/Bishop L.Auala.
Omaimbilo/Offering hymns: 431 na 361 manga ongalo tai umbwa
Okafudo 30min/ Break 30min

ESHUNEMO/ SECOND SESSION

Eimbilo/hymn: 154
Ehovelifo nelesho lOmbibeli, omuwiliki uokangudu kovaleshululi Josia Mufeti/Bible readings by the chairperson of proofreaders Rev Josia Mufeti
Ongudu yeongalo/ Parish Choir
Ekundo/ Greetings: Omukalelipo wOmbibelihangano/ Representative of Bible Society
Eyandjo lEembibeli da mangwa nawa/ Handover of the bundle of the Bibles
Ongudu yEnongelo/ Parish Institute Choir
Ekundo/Greetings Omuwiliki wEhanganotumo la Suomi/ Moderator of Finnish Missionary Mission Alpo Hukka
Ekundo/Greetings, Elenga/chief Vilho Ueyulu
Ongudu yOmupako (Ueyuluskool)/School Choir
Epopifo/Address: Omuyakulilundululi/translator Natanael Nghatanga
Epopifo/ Address: Rev, Teophilus Hamutumbangela (proofreader Anglican)
Ongudu yEluwa/ Special School Choir
Ekundo/Greetings: Pata wokOmupanda/ Roman Catholics
Epopifo/Address: oomufitaongalo/Pastor Vilho Kaulinge
Ongudu yovanashihakulilo/ Engela Hospital Choir
Ekundo/Greetings: Omuminister munene/Minister Filemon Elifas
Ongudu ya Toivo Ndevaetela/ Toivo Ndevaetela Choir
Epopifo nepuniko/Address and benediction: Omubishofi/Bishop Leonard Auala
Eimbilo/hymn 659
Omashiiivilo/anouncements: Omuwiliki woshivilo/master of ceremony Filippus Shikomba

**I LENI AMUSHE TU PANDULENI KALUNGA NOKU MU HAMBELELELA
OUWANGHENDA WAYE MUNENE/ COME ALL OF YOU TO THANK AND
PRAISE GOD AND HIS LOVINGKINDNESS.**

Kwanyama

REPORT ON THE TAKING INTO USE OF THE
KWANYAMA BIBLE

AT ENGELA, OVAMBOLAND ON 23 JUNE 1974

The festivities for this joyful occasion were planned for Engela as this is the centre of the Kwanyama speaking people rather than Oniipa.

The day broke fine and beautiful. People started arriving from early morning from far and wide to gather in the new Lutheran Church, which had been dedicated the previous Sunday.

The day's proceedings began with divine worship at 10 am in the Church which was crammed to capacity with approximately 1500 people, amongst whom were the representatives of the Bible Society of South Africa, viz. Rev P A Kluge, Deputy General Secretary, Rev J Ries, Regional Secretary - Cape Town Region, and Mrs P A Kluge, specially designated by the Ladies' Auxiliary.

The details of the service are as per the attached programme. During the service Rev J Ries on behalf of the Bible Society handed a copy of the Bible to the Church. This was received by Rev F Shikomba, the Pastor of the local Church. Pastor Shikomba then presented to the Bible Society through Ds Ries a basket specially made for the occasion. The word "Dankie" appearing thereon as well as the scene of Calvary.

The text for the sermon was Luke 9: 51-62.

The service started at 10 am and lasted till 12.15 pm. After a break of 45 minutes for tea the programme for the actual festivities started at 1 pm, and finally ended at 3.40 pm! As the programme indicates there were items by several choirs including one from the Engela School for the Blind. A choir which attracted a great deal of attention was that from the hospital. The attraction was not so much the choir but the guitar accompaniment!

A blind man read from Luke's Gospel in Ndonga which had been written in Braille by the Finnish Bible Society.

During the festivities specially bound and inscribed Bibles in Kwanyama were presented to various church dignitaries, leaders of the Nation, and translators. The recipients were:

Rev A W Björklund (in Finland - not present)
Mr Natanael Nghatanga
Rev E Hynönen (in Finland - not present)