

BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY MISSIONARIES IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA. I. TRANSLATIONS INTO SWAHILI

Viera PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ

Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia
e-mail: viera.vilhanova@savba.sk

Johann Ludwig Krapf, a German Lutheran in the service of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, was not only the first modern missionary in East Africa, he was a pioneer in the linguistic field and biblical translation work especially with regard to Swahili. A little later Bishop Edward Steere in Zanzibar translated into Swahili and published the New Testament and in 1891 the entire Bible. The pioneering linguistics of early missionaries, Ludwig Krapf, Bishop Steere and Father Sacleux set a high standard for a succession of Swahili experts and Steere's Swahili Bible provided a basis for Biblical translations into other East African vernaculars.

Key words: East and Central Africa, early Christian missionaries, Swahili, Bible translations.

The first modern missionary who pioneered missionary work in East and Central Africa was Johann Ludwig Krapf, a German Lutheran from Württemberg, educated in Basel, who arrived in East Africa on 7 January 1844 in the service of the Anglican Church Missionary Society.¹ Krapf joined the CMS to participate in new Protestant mission initiatives in Christian Ethiopia² and he started his missionary career in the Tigré province in 1837. Unable to work there, he went instead to the Shoa kingdom where in 1839 he and his co-workers were warmly received by the king, Sahle Selassie, only to be expelled in 1842 for political reasons. Krapf, a gifted linguist, focused his plans on the conversion of the pagan Oromo, often referred to as the Galla, and by preparing translations of the Gospels and publishing together with C. W. Isenberg an introduction to the Oromo language, he hoped to lay the foundations of the Oro-

¹ The German recruits from the Basel seminary played an important role in the early history of the Church Missionary Society founded in 1799).

² Ethiopia had some 1500 years of sacred history and a well-established Orthodox Church.

mo mission.³ Krapf regarded the Oromo as the key to the conversion of north-east Africa and by comparing the mission to be played by the Christianized Oromo to the role of Catholic Germany in medieval Europe he believed that the conversion of the Oromo would open the door to the evangelization of Africa. He was convinced that unless the Oromo were converted to the Christian faith, they would fall into Islamism.⁴ When due to his controversial attitudes advocating British political involvement in Ethiopia in support of the Protestant mission drive there, the Ethiopian government refused to allow him return to the country, he moved to Zanzibar. He hoped to reach the Oromo people from the south, from the island of Lamu, to the north of Mombasa. After meeting the Zanzibari sultan, Seyyid Said, he decided to stay in East Africa. In Ethiopia Krapf had started the work of Bible translation and continued this in Mombasa by translating parts of the Gospels into Swahili and some Mijikenda languages. After the arrival of Johannes Rebmann in 1846, Krapf moved from Mombasa to Rabai near Mombasa, a community of the Mijikenda or Nine Towns, immediately behind the Islamized coast where he continued translating. At Rabai Krapf with two other German Lutherans Rebmann and Erhardt, a missionary with some medical training who had joined them in 1849, began work with freed slaves.

His vision for African missions was far reaching. In the bold missionary strategy Krapf advocated, this outpost was planned to be the first link in a chain of mission stations stretching across Africa from Mombasa or Rabai on the Indian Ocean coast to West Africa or Gabon, on the Atlantic. Krapf's vision of an "Apostles Street" cutting the continent near the southern frontier of Islam inspired many missionary societies "to think in terms of transcontinental strategies".⁵ Between 1844-53 Krapf travelled extensively exploring not only the East African hinterland but also East African languages. His travels and work in this region as well as the entreaties of another missionary traveller and explorer David Livingstone to halt slavery and the slave trade in this part of the African continent by the introduction of Christianity and the so-called "legitimate" commerce, inspired many mission societies and virtually "triggered off a missionary 'scramble' in Eastern and Central Africa".⁶ Within twenty-five years (1863-88) seven mission societies arrived in East Africa, settled first in Zanzibar and in a short time established coastal settlements for liberated or ransomed slaves and other people displaced by the violence of the times.

For African Church history, Zanzibar and the early coastal settlements were crucial points from where groups of missionaries could proceed into the interior

³ Krapf, Johann Ludwig: An imperfect outline of the elements of the Galla language, Preceded by a few remarks concerning the nation of the Gallas, and an Evangelical Mission among them, by C. W. Isenberg, London 1840.

⁴ Krapf, J. L.: Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours. London 1860, 2nd edition London, Frank Cass 1968, p. 122.

⁵ Sundkler, Bengt – Steed, Christopher: A History of the Church in Africa. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2000, p. 510.

⁶ Ibid.

of the continent. Apart from the CMS station at Rabai outside Mombasa, there had been Anglican and Catholic stations on Zanzibar Island since the early 1860s. The Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), formed in 1858 to answer Livingstone's appeal to the Universities, in 1862 temporarily withdrew from the Shire Highlands of Malawi to Zanzibar where under Bishop Tozer they started to educate children obtained from slave ships in Zanzibar. The foundation in France of two new missionary congregations explicitly directed to Africa, Francis Libermann's Congregation of the Holy Ghost, based in Paris, and only a few years later, in 1854, of Melchior de Marion-Bresillac's Society of African Missions (SMA) gave a new impetus to the Catholic African mission movement. When the Propaganda Fide decided to establish the Apostolic Prefecture of Zanzibar, it entrusted this to the Holy Ghost Fathers, or Spiritans, who had rich experience from work on the West African coast they shared with the Society of African Missions and in Réunion. The first members of the Order, Fathers Horner and Baur, and two lay brothers landed in Zanzibar in 1863 and started to care for ransomed slaves, building schools for Catholics, Muslims and Asians and a Catholic hospital in the "Malagasy" quarter of the town. Since 1868 there was also a Catholic mission on the east coast opposite Zanzibar at Bagamoyo, north of Dar es Salaam. The sultan gave the Holy Ghost Fathers a large plot of land at this strategic point of departure for caravans leaving for the interior of the continent, where they established the first large east coast freed-slave settlement. Perhaps under the stimulus of, or as a reaction to Protestant missionary activities on the African continent, two other missionary societies were founded for Africa in the 1860s within the Catholic Church. Daniel Comboni's Verona Fathers, founded in 1864, attempted to revive the work of evangelization on the Upper Nile with his New Plan for the "Regeneration of Africa by Africans". Another Roman Catholic missionary institute of immense importance for the Church History in Africa was the Society of Missionaries of Africa founded in 1868 in North Africa by the Archbishop of Algiers and Carthage, Primate of Africa and Apostolic Delegate for the Sahara and the Sudan, Cardinal Lavigerie. The new missionary order was established in Algiers to maintain a non-proselytising presence among Muslims and this was reflected in the Muslim dress which the members of this missionary order still wear and from which their nickname White Fathers derives, but the principal object of Cardinal Lavigerie's zeal was an apostolate in Africa south of the Sahara and the White Fathers's mission was soon enlarged to comprise the evangelization of the far interior of West and East Africa. When on 24 February 1878, the decree of Propaganda entrusting the organization of missions in sub-Saharan Africa to Archbishop Lavigerie was ratified by the new Pope, Leo XIII, Lavigerie promptly organized the first caravan of ten missionaries to Equatorial Africa.⁷

⁷ Apart from Sundkler, Bengt – Steed, Christopher: *A History of the Church in Africa*, see also Hastings, Adrian: *The Church in Africa*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1996 and Isichei, Elizabeth: *A History of Christianity in Africa. From Antiquity to the Present*. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1995.

The commencement of missionary work in Africa was attended by many hardships and trials. The average life expectancy of early missionaries in Africa was very low, after a very short time many succumbed at a youthful age to the unhealthy tropical climate or had to be invalidated home. In the nineteenth century the life and health of missionaries remained in the foreground of the mission policy and strategy and the shape of the mission was strongly influenced by the requirements of missionary survival. However, by the time of the arrival of first missionaries in Eastern Africa, the knowledge and use of quinine, a better geographical knowledge and experience and the more hospitable climate of many inland areas of Eastern Africa made a positive effect on the deathrate of missionaries and enabled them to live longer. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made the voyage to the east coast quicker and more comfortable. However, difficulties which accompanied the rest of the journey up-country remained unchanged until 1902 when the railway was built into the interior.

In East Africa the situation was different from both West and South Africa. Here the coast was dominated by Islam. In the early period the missionary movement in East and Central Africa was far from successful as far as Christian conversion was concerned. Islam was an encompassing aspect of Swahili culture. Conversions were few at the East African Islamized coast, missionaries were not permitted to convert Muslims but only ex-slaves and non-Swahili immigrants. Attempts to enforce Christianity on the Swahili and win some converts failed. A phenomenon of nineteenth-century Africa was Christian villages that grew up around mission stations in Western, Central, Southern and Eastern Africa. In the East African coastal settlements and on the island of Zanzibar early missionaries cared for redeemed slaves and harboured refugees and marginalized people. Christianity started as a slave religion. The missionary enterprise in East and Central Africa began to succeed later on when mission stations were established deep in the interior. The missionary work during this early period met with success in another field. Krapf became a pioneer in the linguistic field and translation work especially with regard to Swahili. He began work on Swahili and some other coastal languages, such as Nyika and Kamba, and contributed the first linguistic studies of Swahili and translations of the New Testament and Genesis into the Swahili language.⁸ Krapf's linguistic work with regard to Swahili proved to be fundamental. To quote: "His work on the Gospels into Swahili and on a dictionary of this language and related East African languages was important for Bishop Steere's New Testament translation and this again was to be a basis for translations into other leading East African vernaculars such as George Pilkington's Luganda translation in the 1890s."⁹

Other early missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, of the UMCA and other religious bodies represented at the East African coast also recognized

⁸ *Scriptural translations executed in Kiswahili by the Rev. Dr. L. Krapf*. Mombasa 1845, and Krapf, L. CMS – Mohedin, Ali Bin: *Mwanzo*. Chap. I, II, III. In: *Journal of African and Oriental Studies* (JAOS) 1847.

⁹ Sudkler, Bengt – Steed, Christopher: *A History of the Church in Africa*, op. cit., p. 519.

the importance and value of the Swahili language in the process of the evangelization of East and Central Africa. After Bishop Tozer's resignation in 1874, his assistant, a great Swahili linguist, Edward Steere was consecrated bishop of Zanzibar and immediately undertook the translation of the New Testament. Bishop Edward Steere in Zanzibar translated into Swahili and published Christian religious and other texts, including the entire Bible in 1891.¹⁰ By 1880 he managed to finish translation of the whole New Testament and in 1882 he produced a revised text. The first edition of the complete Swahili New Testament in 5 050 copies was in 1883 shipped to Zanzibar. Steere also started the translation of parts of the Old Testament books, the Book of kings, Isaiah and at the time of his death in 1883 there were the corrected proofs of Isaiah.¹¹

Steere's translation into Swahili set a high standard for other Swahili scholars, the later UMCA missionaries as well as members of other missionary bodies. His Swahili version of the Bible became "a great reference book for several Bible translations produced in East Africa during the period prior to the First World War".¹²

Among the Roman Catholic missionaries at Bagamoyo was another well-known Swahili scholar, Father Sacleux. Apart from excellent Swahili-French and French-Swahili dictionaries and a Swahili grammar, he also produced a Swahili translation of several hymns and a book on the Lives of the Saints. Father Lourdel and other early White Fathers in Uganda used biblical texts translated into Swahili by the Holy Ghost Fathers.¹³

The beginnings of Swahili literature in Roman script were connected with Christian missionary efforts which started in the 1840s with the first translations of parts of the Bible into Swahili. However, the Swahili language used by the Swahili people in the coastal towns of East Africa and adjacent islands was a written language using the Old Swahili script or rather the Arabic script adapted to this language. At the time of the arrival of first Europeans it was the only written language in East Africa, and in addition to a rich oral tradition there was a rich written Swahili literature in Arabic script. The Swahili people, who were unique in having developed a written literature, had over the centuries also developed their own individual Islamic culture and Swahili literature was profoundly immersed in its spirit. Christian missionaries working on Zanzibar and

¹⁰ See Steere, Hedgson and coll.: *Kitabu cha Agano la Kale na Agano Jipya*. London, UMCA 1891 For a detailed information see Van Spaandonck, Marcel: *Practical and Systematical Swahili Bibliography. Linguistic 1850-1963*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1965 and Mioni, A.: *La Bibliographie de la langue swahili: Remarques et supplément à la Swahili bibliographie de M. van Spaandonck*. In: *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 7, 3, 1967, pp. 485-532.

¹¹ Sundkler, Bengt – Steed, Christopher: *A History of the Church in Africa*, op. cit., p. 525, also Mbiti, J. S.: *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press 1986, pp. 22-26 and Coldham, A.: *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*. London 1966.

¹² Sundkler, Bengt – Steed, Christopher: *A History of the Church in Africa*, op. cit., p. 525.

¹³ Sacleux, Charles: *Dictionnaire Swahili- Français*. Paris 1939, also his *Grammaire des Dialectes Swahili*. Paris 1909.

the East African Swahili coast therefore neither succeeded in propagating the Gospel nor with their translations of Christian religious texts in Roman script influenced Swahili literature deeply involved in the Islamic tradition. In the 1880s and early 1890s a CMS missionary living in Mombasa, William Edward Taylor or Bwana Tela as he was known among the Swahili, became an excellent Swahili scholar who through his studies of Swahili came to appreciate the beauty and richness of this language.¹⁴ Taylor came to perceive that ordinary translations of the Bible, and especially of the Psalms and hymns could not attract and satisfy the Swahili people who were very fond of poetry and at the same time very fastidious in their appreciation of good poetry. To render the Psalms into acceptable literary Swahili, he made great efforts to master Swahili and the rules and forms of Swahili metre. He also made contact with and consulted prominent Swahili poets and scholars in Mombasa, namely Muhammad Sikujua and Muhammad bin Ahmad Al-Mambasi. In his translations of the Psalms and hymns Taylor observed all the rules of Swahili prosody and rhyme and employed the words characteristic of the Swahili poetry of the religious type, yet his translations have never been published in an unadulterated form and under his own name. In 1979 another Swahili scholar Jan Knappert attempted to do justice to Taylor's translations and reproduced two Psalms and some hymns from papers in Taylor's own handwriting in his anthology of Swahili poetry. To quote him "Taylor's psalms deserve a separate publication in their original form, as he wrote perfect Swahili, observing all the rules of prosody in the literary dialect. He must have been an ardent student of the Hebrew psalms, for several passages are translated in the light of the most advanced knowledge of classical Hebrew that his time could offer. The Swahili flows smoothly and is quite clear, without the obscurity of later psalm translations...At the same time, Taylor stayed remarkably close to the original text of the psalms, surpassing all successive attempts to bring the text into line with the accepted dogma of a particular church."¹⁵

In the process of the formation and development of African literatures in the Latin script started by the activities of the Christian missions, Swahili literature as well as some other literatures in African languages with long written traditions, such as Hausa or Fula occupy a specific place. In virtually all regions of sub-Saharan Africa outside the reach of Islam, Africans were introduced to written literature through Christian propaganda, the very first books in their own African language were produced to advance the Christian cause. Apart

¹⁴ Taylor collected and published Swahili proverbs. Taylor, W. E.: *Swahili Aphorisms, or, Saws from Swahili-land*. London, S. P. C. K. 1891.

¹⁵ Knappert, Jan: *Four Centuries of Swahili Verse*. A literary history and anthology. London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 1979, p. 235. "All the hymnbooks of the Church Missionary Society that were published in later years contain hymns written by Taylor. Unfortunately, the Church authorities found it necessary to alter the spelling and often even the words, so that the beautiful flow of the words, and the fine poetic style are lost in almost all the hymns." *Ibid.*, p. 234.

from Swahili and Hausa and a handful of other African languages using the Arabic script or Christian Ethiopia with its own script and some later African attempts to invent a script,¹⁶ most African languages had first to be reduced to writing before translation and publication of the Scriptures could be made. Unwritten local languages had to be learned and written before the difficult but vital task of Bible translation could be undertaken. Missionaries supplied the vernacular African languages with a written form and provided the beginnings of a translated literature. The linguistic work of early missionaries in Africa is crucial for the correct evaluation of the Christian missionary enterprise. Christianization went with reading and writing and with the rise of literacies and literatures in African vernaculars. The missionary translators naturally began with biblical literature, the Gospel of Mark being often the first choice. Christian missionaries of all denominations spent years or even their lifetime at the task of Bible translation, exploring Swahili and other African languages and then translating portions of the Bible, Prayers and Hymns into these vernaculars. The publication of the Bible in full or in part, and in the British Africa also Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress from This World to that which is to come*, printed in Swahili in 1888 under the title *Msafiri*, were usually the first major publications in these languages and in many cases the Bible remained for the long time the only publication that could people read in their mother tongue. Vast literacy campaigns were based on the translated portions of the Bible. Ability to read a gospel used to be a requirement for baptism in many, mostly Protestant, churches and also in the Roman Catholic order of the White Fathers. Many main missionary bodies, especially Protestant ones, established at their mission stations their own presses and started to produce religious literature locally.¹⁷ As early as the nineteenth century some missions started to publish newspapers in African languages. The first Swahili newspapers which appeared thanks to the UMCA missionaries were *Msimulizi* (1888) and *Habari za Mwezi* (1894?) They were followed in 1910 by the German Protestant Mission's monthly *Pwani na*

¹⁶ The script used for writing the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, Ge'ez, Amharic and some other Ethiopic languages has developed from the South Arabian Semitic script. Besides the Roman, Ethiopic and Arabic scripts, several other writing systems have been used in Africa for local languages. The Coptic language in Egypt was written with the Greek alphabet in the 2nd-7th centuries and it was also the script of the Christians in Nubia. In the last centuries B.C. and the early centuries A.D. local peoples in Libya used a simple script. The script used by the Tuareg people for the Tamashek language is probably developed from it. In more recent times, several scripts have been invented for particular African languages. The Vai script invented in 1833 is the first of several local scripts developed in West Africa. Others are the Mende script from 1921, the Loma and the Kpelle syllabaries invented in the 1930s. The Bamoun script invented by the Sultan Njoya early in the 20th century and the nsibidi script can also be mentioned.

¹⁷ A printing press was set up at Mengo by the C. M. S. missionaries immediately upon their arrival, but the White Fathers had their books published at their headquarters in Algiers where they strived to keep pace with the literary needs of the White Fathers mission in Uganda and elsewhere.

Bara and *Rafiki Yangu* published by the Roman Catholic missionaries.¹⁸ Soon in addition to publishing educational and religious books, missionaries also started to produce history and geography books, ethnographical accounts and collections of the oral literature. Producing the books which were the first documents of the written form of the language, the missionaries thus created the pre-conditions for the building up of the literary tradition and the written literary language. In this aspect the missionary work proved to be a truly creative force within the history of the African peoples and societies, transforming their lives materially and mentally perhaps more radically than any other impact before or after and perhaps more deeply than Africans themselves had imagined and realized at that time. The team aspect of Bible translation work must be emphasized. Without African co-workers and their co-operation the task of Bible translation could never been accomplished.

Early translations of the Bible and other religious texts into Swahili did not play quite the same important pioneering role in stimulating the rise and development of Swahili literature as did the translations into other African languages. On the East African Swahili coast literature had a long tradition and was too deeply immersed in Islamic literary traditions. A by-product of the commercial expansion of Arab and Swahili merchants into the interior of East and Central Africa was also the spread of the Swahili and Arabic languages, Islam and of Arabic script. The Swahili language, which was originally spoken only on the East African coast strip and was a mother tongue to only about a million Swahili people, spread in the nineteenth-century over large areas of Eastern and Central Africa and became a *lingua franca* indispensable to traders, travellers, missionaries and later on to colonial administrators. Penetrating along the trade routes pioneered by some African peoples, Swahili-speaking Muslim traders soon had their representatives scattered everywhere in East and Central Africa. Missionaries located themselves in the major entrepôt towns on the main caravan routes, for example, the Holy Ghosts Fathers at Bagamoyo or the White Fathers at Tabora. The mission stations provided shelter and protection for adults and children redeemed from slavery, and for many marginalized people or individuals who for different reasons lost their way of life. Christian villages which grew around mission stations offered a new way of life where the stress was laid not only on the new faith but also included teaching of literacy and many new skills, artisanship, agriculture and animal husbandry. Swahili which was in the nineteenth century widely used in the East African interior as a trade language and a means of inter-ethnic communication, also became a *lingua franca* of East African Christianity. It was used by early Christian missionaries of all denominations on the East African coast as well as in the interior and its knowledge in the East African interior no doubt helped the work of evangelization. Even though to many missionaries Swahili remained to be a carrier of slavery,

¹⁸ Whiteley, W. H.: *Swahili. The Rise of a National Language*. London, Methuen 1969, p. 60, see also Bertoncini- Zúbková, Elena: *Outline of Swahili Literature. Prose Fiction and Drama*. Leiden-New York-Kobenhavn-Köln 1989, p. 50.

the slave trade and Islam, the development of Swahili in the Christian enclaves established deep in the interior disencumbered Swahili from its coastal and Islamic connotations. The impact of Swahili translations of Christian religious texts in Roman script also eventually modified the character of Swahili literature. Though most Swahili writers, and especially poets remained deeply immersed in the Islamic tradition, gradually some of them, such as Shaaban Robert, Mohammed Kijumwa and Mathias Mnyampala adopted new literary forms and genres in their literary works and opened new horizons by using Christian themes or imagery coloured by modern thought. A great innovator was Mathias or Matiasi Mnyampala (1919-1969) who wrote a life of Christ in a metre that had been used exclusively for the epic verse of the Islamic tradition. Mnyampala was the first Swahili poet who was not born on the Swahili coast. He was a Gogo by origin and a Roman Catholic, born and educated at the mission schools in Dodoma in central Tanzania, yet both his prose and poetry were very rich in vocabulary and sophisticated grammatical forms. He translated and published the first forty-eight psalms, *Utenzi wa Zaburi*¹⁹ but, according to Knappert, this translation does not equal in poetic strength his masterpiece, *Utenzi wa Enjili Takatifu* or the Epic of the Holy Gospel.²⁰ To quote Knappert, "there is nothing in his *Diwani* or in his other works which comes near the Epic of the Gospel in power of imagery and originality of style. At the same time, his composition is based on the Swahili tradition inherited from the old masters of Islamic lyrical and liturgical verse."²¹

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the Bible in African society. However, the Bible was above all the book of Protestant Africa. Many Roman Catholic missionaries were outstanding linguists and their linguistic work laid a solid foundation for all missionaries who came after, the name of Father Sacleux, a Swahili expert has been already mentioned. Thanks to Cardinal Lavigerie's policies the language knowledge of many White Fathers was very good. Many Roman Catholic missionaries in Africa were fine scholars, who spent precious hours preparing grammars, dictionaries and New Testament translation in different African languages, but never of the entire Bible. African Protestants had the whole Bible translated into their mother tongues, African Catholics had only the gospels.²²

Only after Vatican II and its "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation" the hesitant and ambivalent attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the Bible, even on the African continent, was changed and the role and status of the

¹⁹ Mnyampala, M. E.: *Diwani ya Mnyampala*. (Collected Works). Nairobi 1964.

²⁰ Mnyampala, M. E.: *Utenzi wa Enjili Takatifu*. (Epic of the Holy Gospel). Mombasa – Dar es Salaam 1963.

²¹ Knappert, op. cit., p. 276.

²² Diemer, E.: *Essai de Bibliographie des travaux bibliques des Pères Blancs en Afrique*. In: Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire XVII, 1961, pp. 127-134. Also Monchamps, Georges Mgr.: *L'Œuvre Linguistique des Pères Blancs d'Afrique*. Bruxelles, Hayes, Imprimeur de l'Académie Royale de Belgique 1904.

Bible were greatly improved. The Council expressed its concern that "suitable and correct translations are made into different languages. And if, given the opportunity and the approval of Church authority, these translations are produced in co-operation with the separated brethren as well, all Christians will be able to use them".²³ African cardinals approved this new concern with Bible translation and a fruitful co-operation was soon established between Catholic and Protestant Bible translators throughout the African continent.

²³ Sundkler, Bengt – Steed, Christopher: *A History of the Church in Africa*, op. cit., pp. 1029-1030.