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This thesis is my original work and has not  
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SCRIPTURE TRANSLATIONS IN KENYA

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by

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A thesis submitted in part fulfillment for  
the Degree of Master of Arts  
in the University of Nairobi

R. C. O. O. O.

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R. C. Jones

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SCRIPTURE TRANSLATIONS IN KENYA

	<u>CONTENTS</u>	p. 3
	PREFACE	p. 4
	Chapter I	p. 4-8
GENERAL REASONS FOR THE TRANSLATION OF SCRIPTURES INTO VARIOUS LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS		
	Chapter II	p. 13
THE PIONEER TRANSLATORS AND THEIR PROBLEMS		
	Chapter III	p. 16
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRANSLATORS AND THE BIBLE SOCIETIES		
	Chapter IV	p. 22
A GENERAL SURVEY OF SCRIPTURE TRANSLATIONS IN KENYA		
	Chapter V	p. 61
THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCRIPTURES IN KENYA		
	Chapter VI	p. 64
A STUDY OF FOUR LANGUAGES IN TRANSLATION		
	Chapter VII	p. 84
GENERAL RESULTS OF THE TRANSLATIONS		
	CONCLUSIONS	p. 87
	NOTES	p. 92
TABLES FOR SCRIPTURE TRANSLATIONS IN AFRICA 1800-1900		p. 98
	ABBREVIATIONS	p.104
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	p.106

### Preface

This is an attempt to write the story of Scripture translations in Kenya. The story started in 1845 when J.L. Krapf, a German C.M.S. missionary, started his translations of Scriptures into Swahili, Galla and Kamba. The work of translation has since continued to go from strength to strength. There were many problems during the pioneer days. Translators did not know well enough the language into which they were to translate, nor could they get dependable help from their illiterate and semi-literate converts. Most of the Kenyan languages had not been reduced to writing, and the first task was to produce a written form of a particular language before any translation could be started. However, these early translators were determined to conquer every obstacle, and translated Scriptures started to become available into various languages. As one language after another was reduced to writing, the Scriptures became the basis for the first primers used in literacy work among most of the Kenyan peoples.

The Bible Societies, especially the British and Foreign Bible Society played a very important role in helping these translators, as well as in printing and publishing what had been translated. While the Bible Societies did not in the beginning initiate any translation work, they nevertheless helped everyone who went to them for assistance regarding their respective translations.

Besides helping translators and printing, the Bible Societies also helped in the work of the distribution of Scriptures.

The actual work of translation has been exemplified in this research by a detailed study of four Kenyan languages, namely Luo, Luyia, Kalenjin and Gikuyu.\* Some eighteen other languages have been dealt with in a general survey of all translations ever completed or being done in Kenya, from J. L. Krapf's work in 1846 to date, a period of 129 years. In addition to this, an attempt has been made to offer suggestions both on the work of translation and on the distribution of Scriptures in Kenya. Through the dedication and determination of the many translators mentioned here, both missionaries and nationals, the story of Scripture translations has been very successful indeed.

Finally, I want to express my thanks to the Bible Society of Kenya for allowing me to use their archives to find out most of what has been done in the past on Scripture translations in Kenya. And, to the many translators still alive, (some of whom are still on the job) who offered me their time when I visited them, I am most grateful.

\*The Ki- prefix has been omitted in the designations of all languages in this work, e.g. "Kiswahili" is referred to as "Swahili."

### Introduction

The work of the translation of the Scriptures in Kenya was perhaps started with the arrival at Mombasa of Johann Ludwig Krapf, a German Lutheran in the employ of the Church Missionary Society. First sent to Abyssinia in 1837, J.L. Krapf had to leave Abyssinia and attempt his mission further south on the Eastern side of the African continent. He sailed from Aden on November 23rd, 1843 and reached Zanzibar, (at that time the administrative headquarters for the Sultanate that had been established since 1832 by Zaid Said), on January 7th, 1844. After being received by the British Consul in Zanzibar, he was introduced to Sultan Said, who gave him a friendly welcome. When the time came to leave for the interior, Sultan Said gave Krapf a letter of introduction which said: "This comes from Said Sultan; to all our subjects, friends and Governors, greetings. This note is given in favour of Dr. Krapf, the German, a good man, who desires to convert the world to God. Behave ye well toward him, and render him service everywhere. This has been written by Ahmed, the Secretary and Servant, at the order of your Lord".<sup>1</sup>

Krapf and his wife landed at Mombasa on May 5th, 1844 to commence their missionary activities. Two months later, on July 9th, Mrs. Krapf died and the sick Krapf was in a desperate situation. He nevertheless recovered and embarked boldly on his mission. A linguist, Krapf started the study of the Swahili language, a Bantu language with substantial Arabic influence spoken

along the East Coast of Africa. His prior knowledge of some colloquial Arabic and Amharic acquired in his Abyssinian mission, may have contributed to his speedy success in learning Swahili. Within the next two years, he completed the translation of several portions of the New Testament into Swahili and some years later, he compiled Swahili dictionary.<sup>2</sup> Not only did Krapf deal with the Swahili language, he also tried to make translations of Scriptures into Nyika, Pokomo and Kamba.<sup>3</sup> Although Krapf's ministry and that of the missionaries at Rabai (near Mombasa) was at first very slow, disastrous, and difficult, the seed had been sown on East African soil. The Scriptures had been translated for the first time into a language of Kenyan peoples. The Bible Societies will always look back with pride and admiration to that good beginning of J.L. Krapf and his team. More missionaries followed to carry on the work and, as they went further inland, there was always the desire to render the Scriptures into languages and the dialects of the people they encountered. We shall see in detail how the various tribes of Kenya continued to have Scriptures translated into their languages. We shall see how the problems involved in the task of translation were overcome until the Scriptures were made available in most of the languages of the Kenya peoples. The work, like most pioneer activities, was not easy, but the power of God and the heroic determination of the translators made it possible.

Chapter I

GENERAL REASONS FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF SCRIPTURES INTO  
VARIOUS LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

The reasons for the translation of Scriptures may be listed as follows:

- 1) The need to explain the Gospel story in the languages of the people: Those who first saw the need for a translation of the Scriptures into a certain language were almost always the missionaries or the evangelists in a given area. The missionary, knowing the Gospel story and wishing to communicate it, realized the necessity for a translation of Scriptures into the languages of his hearers for the purpose of presenting the Bible message in the languages they could understand. First he told the Gospel story orally in his audiences' language. Then it was almost always followed by a written translation, if conditions for such a translation allowed. It was the Bible that gave the Christian faith its distinctive character and prompted people like H.M. Stanley to approach Mutesa, the King of the Baganda who, after hearing the word of the Book, asked for Dallington Maftaa of the U.M.C.A. in Zanzibar to remain in Uganda. Maftaa was quoted as asking for "Swahili prayers and the Big Black Bible"<sup>4</sup> which was by then translated into Swahili, so that he could carry on the work of teaching the word of God to the Baganda by permission of Mutesa. The people saw the Bible as their source of inspiration. It had to be translated



into their language so that they might relate to the God of the Gospels.

2) The need to promote literacy and Christian knowledge: Whenever a missionary started preaching to the people, there was almost always concern for the literacy of the converts. Before the coming of missionaries, literacy was almost unknown among most Africans. Among the Agikuyu and the Baganda, the Christians who joined missions were first known as the "Athomi" and "Abasomi" or "those who read." The missionaries had the primary task of reducing various languages and dialects to writing, a task that was everywhere wonderfully accomplished. As mission stations were established in many areas of the interior of this continent, literate and semi-literate indigenous groups emerged. These became the grassroots of the post-colonial African elite. People were taught not only to read, but also, as R. Oliver notices, "many of them were taught skilled trades, smithing or carpentry, masonry and brick-baking, printing and tailoring".<sup>5</sup>

The literacy material used was almost always selections from Scriptures translated into the language in question, the Book of Common Prayer, and stories with the Christian message wrapped up in them. Hence the first grammar books and story books were full of Scriptures and the Christian message. One of these primers written in 1913 by a Presbyterian missionary in the Gikuyu language goes like this:

Ngai niahete Gikuyu Bururi mwega, utagaga mbura  
kana mai kana githaka. Wega no Gikuyu kigocage  
Ngai hingo ciothe ni undu anagitanahira muno.

God has given the Gikuyu a good country which is  
not lacking in rain, water and land. It is  
perfect that the Gikuyu praise God always because  
God has been so generous to them.

Books were published with a Christian message or  
passages of Scriptures such as the Sermon on the Mount.  
These were translated and taught to people and  
catechumens in all mission schools. The Scriptures  
were therefore translated for the purpose of helping in  
literacy classes and schools. The Bible then was the  
first African primer. This is a fact that is often  
ignored in the educational systems of secularised  
modern Africa.

3) The desire by the pioneer missionaries to master language: Many of the pioneer missionaries were young, vigorous and adventurous men who wanted to conquer not only souls but also any other difficulty in their mission. Some who did not even have any linguistic preparation took very keen interest in conquering African languages. Besides the necessity to be able to communicate with their hosts, it gave them pleasure and satisfaction to know a new language of the people they had travelled thousands of miles to come and dwell with. Many became champions of various languages from the very start. It was not, of course, without the

assistance and the generosity of the nationals who had become their friends. Many wrote home and explained proudly their joy of being able "to speak in other tongues" in the real sense of the phrase. It was by engaging in the work of Scripture translation that these early missionaries could really prove their success.

4) The need for extra support from the Bible Societies at home as well as interested persons and groups:

Very few missionary organisations could fully support their messengers abroad and the missionaries were known as "an inferior set of men, sent out, paid and governed by a superior set of men formed into a committee in London".<sup>6</sup> The freedom, security, and strength of the missionary was not founded on a very sound backing "back home" as it is in mission organisations today, but on personal faith, determination, and courage of each one of these pioneer missionaries. In a situation like that, there was a tendency for a missionary to engage in extra-missionary activities which would impress certain societies and individuals to take a particular interest in his (missionary) work.<sup>7</sup> The obvious area of work was the translation of Scriptures, which would raise the interest of the Bible Societies as well as that of wealthy individual Christians who would send their subsidies to the missionary concerned. There were other activities missionaries could engage in to solicit

funds, such as medical work and social welfare, e.g. orphanage homes. In almost all cases where a translation of the Bible was started, it was started by a missionary who had not been asked to engage in the work by anyone, even the Society that sent him. It was after he had already started the work that the missionary might approach several societies and individuals, including his own, inform them of his work, and present to them the financial need involved. Although most of such aid went into the designated project, it also gave the missionary useful help for his overall mission work.

Chapter II

THE PIONEER TRANSLATORS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

1) Pioneer translators had few tools to help them in their work: Any kind of translation done today would be made quite easy by the fact that there are many helps a translator can have on hand in his work. The United Bible Societies have started to produce aids to translators which the translators can use to help them in their work. The case was not so some seventy or so years ago. The translators started from scratch to work out not only the exact translation of the material they wanted to translate, but also they had to devise and construct the basic forms of the languages into which they were translating. Only a handful of these men could claim any basic knowledge of linguistics. Those who had some linguistic training had studied, in many cases, only the Indo-European languages. Lack of guidance material made the work of translation not only slow but also extremely difficult. To aggravate the situation, there was no way these early translators could verify and correct their work. The "natives" whom they had taught knew very little of the coming languages and often could not cope with the untranslatable foreign ideas which today would be given their equivalent by many of Africa's trained men. Since neither the missionaries nor the receptors knew the language of the other, there could not be a thorough and scientific translation which would meet what Dr. Eugene Nida claims should be "concerned with such

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correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentences to sentences, concept to concept... the message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness".<sup>8</sup> Theirs were often translations based on word for word method, sometimes incorrect if not actually ridiculous.

2) Many of the languages in translation had no written symbols beforehand and the translators had to make their own.

By listening to sounds, the translators devised special symbols which correspond to these sounds. This was not easy since these translators' mother-tongues were often quite different from those in their fields of work. A Committee known as United Gikuyu Language Committee composed of various missionaries and Gikuyu speakers had quite a number of problems in determining how to write some Gikuyu sounds. After long discussions, they concluded that the Gikuyu did not produce sounds such as would correspond to F, S, P, Q, and all d and j sounds had to be pronounced nd and nj respectively. This committee saw the need for two extra long vowels, a long o to be written  $\bar{u}$  and a long i to be written  $\bar{i}$  both with a dash on top. It is strange how they came to some of these conclusions especially in some of the cases; one may ask, why not a prolonged  $\bar{o}$  instead of u as is understood in English 'bold' or 'cold' or a long  $\bar{a}$  as in 'fate', 'gate'! Nevertheless their conclusions have served a purpose

and continue to be accepted as the correct way of the written Gikuyu.<sup>9</sup>

The task of determining what letters of the alphabet should represent various African sounds was rather unsatisfactory, especially because the field of phonetics was not as developed as it is today. Often the orthography of those early translators served the purpose but inadequately. Nevertheless theirs was a daring and bold effort. As pioneers, they did not have the tools to guide them as they wrestled with the phonology, morphology and the syntactic features of the languages they were dealing with. Hence any mistakes these early missionaries made should be quite intelligible to anyone with some knowledge of the complexities of language.

Chapter III

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRANSLATORS AND THE  
BIBLE SOCIETIES

In an interview with Dr. Roland C. Stevenson, U.B.S. Translations Consultant in Eastern Africa and the Middle East, the writer learned that when a translation of Scriptures or a revision of the Bible in any language has been made, such a task has always been initiated by the Christians and the Churches in question. Never have the Bible Societies approached people to tell them that they needed a translation and that the Society would undertake such a task for them initially. This has been the case from the beginning. Individual missionaries who engaged in a translation did it because they considered the task their duty, and would only approach the Bible Societies for whatever financial aid and technical guidance they might obtain. The Bible Societies have always shown a helping hand whenever individuals or local churches genuinely engaged in a translation. The early missionaries received such assistance as funds for printing and distribution, but often very little of the actual cost of man hours spent on translations. When it came to a translation being made, the Bible Societies extended their helping hand in making such a translation possible as it is the Societies' motto "to make the word of God available to everyone at the price he can afford". Today, the Bible Societies support some local and expatriate translators where the need to hasten a translation is pressing, but



the policy is still that the local churches should take the responsibility as far as they can with the local translators. The U.B.S. (United Bible Societies), an organization of national Bible Societies employ translation consultants who are linguistic experts to help local translators with expert guidance. The Societies also write books to help the translators, organise seminars for the translators, and follow up all the proceedings of any venture of Scripture translation in most languages. In this way, it becomes easier and faster to make a translation these days than it used to be in the days of the pioneer translators.

Dr. Stevenson went on to say that the Bible Societies may organise a translation administratively in some cases, e.g. where a translation becomes a direct responsibility of the U.B.S. The Bible Societies are also encouraging Committees rather than individual translators to do the work of translation. In most cases where such a Committee is organised, it is usually composed of experts and well-informed national Christians who should be representative denominationally as well as geographically, as theological as well as linguistic unity are also desirable if a translation is to be widely accepted. Dr. Stevenson expressed the hope that although hitherto there have not been nationals who could be considered good enough in both the receptor and the source languages, the situation is now changing and there are now quite a number of nationals who can do the job at the expert level. He

cited the case of Rev. John T. Mpaayei who is heading a Committee of Maasai Christians in translating what it is hoped will be an universal Maasai version of the Bible.<sup>10</sup> He said that although Mpaayei does not know either Greek or Hebrew, yet, with handbooks and guidance material, his committee may come up with a reasonable translation.

Now that a country like Kenya has a semi-autonomous Bible Society (The Bible Society of Kenya) which is a full member of the United Bible Societies, the work of translation is being very well co-ordinated. The problems that used to face translators when their work was being dealt with from overseas are now over. The relationship between translators and the Bible Societies was in the early days detached, but today it is richer, closer and more easily accessible. Things have changed for the better.

There have been, however, and continue to be various problems between the translators and the Bible Societies. Some individuals have tended to make personal translations and, having completed them, present their manuscripts to the Bible Society. The Bible Society sees to it that such a translation is checked, proofread and thoroughly examined. Corrections are made by the experts of the Bible Society where they are needed and then the translator is called to see what has happened to the manuscript. In some cases, where the translators have a denominational bias or lack of respect for expert help, they have accused the Bible

Society of meddling with their work instead of simply printing it. It has happened sometimes that some translators have taken manuscripts to such groups as would not proofread their manuscript for publication. This has caused many problems in that the orthographies of such individuals have been personal and often clumsy. The language is left at the mercy of an individual and the people who use it, without any fault of their own, are fed with an inferior translation.

The other main problem between the translators and the Bible Societies has been denominational squabbles. Some denominations are fundamentalistic while others are supposedly moderate and others might even be termed liberal.

The fundamentalists insist on a literal translation of the Bible, and in many cases find it difficult to apply the "Dynamic-Equivalents" method. Some of the literal translations they have done can be termed linguistically defective. These fundamentalists also appear indifferent, if not opposed, to an ecumenical translation, especially when it invites Roman Catholic participation. Many controversies have arisen when such denominational biases have appeared. Sometimes it is because of lack of understanding on the part of the nationals who should know what kind of a translation they want instead of leaving the whole responsibility to an individual. The moderates desire a sound and universal translation, and in many cases have only the fundamentalists to worry about. The liberals, on the

other hand, like the fundamentalists, would do what they believe is sound and in accordance with their standards regardless of what the others say. The Bible Societies have offered moderate and reconciliatory help where disputes from bias have occurred. One significant case occurred in Kenya when a Catholic priest, Father Meijs of St. Michael's Church, Bomet, in Nandi, proposed the inclusion of the "Apocryphal" books into a Kalenjin version of the Bible which was being proposed for publication for all the Kalenjin people. His proposals met with fierce attacks from the A.I.M. (African Inland Mission), A.I.C. (African Inland Church) and other evangelicals, P.A.G. (Pentecostal Assembly of God) and A.G.C. (African Gospel Church) who claimed that the Roman Catholics should "by no means be allowed to destroy the word of God by adding those books that they call deuterocanonical." The meeting was called by Rev. David M. Gitari, the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Kenya to meet at Nakuru in the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd on 4th January, 1972. When all the parties concerned met, except Father Meijs, a heated debate occurred, with the conservative groups opposing the inclusion of "apocryphal" books and the moderates neither raising objections nor supporting the proposition. The Bible Society, through Dr. Roland Stevenson, Rev. W.J. Bradnock (a former translations Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society) instructed the people in a tactful and clear manner about the problem of the "apocryphal" books, claiming that there is no authority that has been beyond the shadow of doubt which has been established for or against

the inclusion of "apocryphal" books in the Bible. They said, to clear the confusion, that it would be wise not to rush into a decision to include the "apocryphal" books in the Kalenjin Bible. The meeting ended with the conservatives enlightened, though apparently not defeated, and the matter of the Kalenjin Bible was left to stand as the conservatives wanted.<sup>11</sup>

Sometimes the translators have tended to consider their orthographies final and have resisted their correction; but U.B.S. always insisted that if they are to be responsible for the publication of any translation, such translation must meet their standards. Nevertheless, people are now beginning to understand that the U.B.S. want to do the best for the receptors and unlike some translators, it has no self-interested motives in the decision making. Better guidance on the orthographies may sometimes have to come from academic bodies and Government agencies e.g. for Swahili in Tanzania, where there are Government appointed commissions for the development of the Swahili language.

Chapter IV

A GENERAL SURVEY OF SCRIPTURE TRANSLATIONS IN KENYA

SWAHILI 14

As we saw earlier, J.L. Krapf was the first man known to attempt a Swahili translation of the New Testament from 1844, the year he arrived in Mombasa. By 1846, he had finished several portions of Scriptures. Swahili is a Bantu language influenced by its Arabic contacts, and a language which from the very beginning was bound to become the lingua franca for the whole of Eastern Africa. Although in the early years it was the language of the ex-slaves and "pirani" tribes who did business with the Arabs and other early traders, it has now become a language used by approximately fifty million people of East and Central Africa, from Zanzibar in the Indian Ocean to Kinshasa in Zaire, from Northern towns of Zambia to Kenya. The way Swahili is spoken may vary from area to area, but it is basically the same language. Swahili has been recognised throughout the world as the most prominent and distributed language in black Africa; and the world's major radio stations broadcast Swahili programmes.

J.L. Krapf, helped by a Moslem Kadhi (judge in Islamic Affairs) of Mombasa by the name of Ali bin Mohedin began by translating the Book of Genesis which was first printed and published in the Journal of the

American Oriental Society, (Vol. 1 of 1849 pp 261-274).

A copy of this pioneer work is in S.O.A.S. (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).<sup>12</sup>

Chapter one of the Book of Genesis had an interlinear English translation. Krapf also compiled a Swahili grammar and dictionary. He also translated a large part of the book of Common Prayer. After his retirement to Kronthal, near Stuttgart, he continued to revise his version of the New Testament. The manuscript was lent to Bishop E. Steere of the Universities Mission to Central Africa to be included in Steere's Swahili translation of the New Testament published in 1883.

In 1878, the United Methodist Free Church Mission Press, Ribe, near Mombasa published their translation of the book of Jonah, Chuo cha Yona Mtume "The Book of Jonah the Apostle". It was however, a C.M.S. missionary by the name of W.E. Taylor who was to become one of the greatest early translators of the Swahili Scriptures in Kenya. In 1883, Taylor translated the book of Common Prayer which contained what may be known as the earliest translation of Psalms, the liturgical Epistles and the Gospels. He was helped by H.K. Binns, another C.M.S. missionary. In 1886 W.E. Taylor assisted by some nationals translated a volume of New Testament stories, selected from C.G. Barth's Bible Stories. A similar translation of Old Testament stories was done in 1887. They were both published by the Religious Tract Society. They were also transcribed into Arabic characters and reproduced by photography in 1891.

In 1899, W.E. Taylor translated the Book of Deuteronomy Chuo Cha Marejezo au Deuteronomino nacho ni chuo cha tano cha Musa. In the same year he also translated II Chronicles, Taarihi ya pili, au Chuo Cha pili cha Mambo ya Nyakati. Living at the C.M.S. Mission in Kisauni, Mombasa, W.E. Taylor steadily continued his translation by writing diglot translation in Swahili-Giryama, the latter a language close to Swahili but spoken by a Coastal Bantu tribe in a localized manner. So, for the first time the B.F.B.S. published the Gospel of Luke in Swahili, with the title Injili ya Luka. In 1894, the B.F.B.S. published a revised version of the Gospel which had also been transliterated into Arabic characters and reproduced by photography. In 1897 Taylor translated the Gospel of John, Injili takatifu kama alivyoileta Yohana and was printed in London by the B.F.B.S. An edition of this translation of John was also made in Arabic characters. In 1901, Taylor translated sections of Scriptures which he called "Hundred Texts" which were published by the Religious Tract Society. In the same year he finished the translation of the Gospels which were followed by three pages of errata, Hiki ndicho chuo cha Injili ya Bwana wetu Yesu Masiha Mwokozi wetu, utungo ya Kiswahili.

In 1904, W.E. Taylor went on to translate the Psalms. The B.F.B.S. published it under the title, Hiyi ndivyo vyuo vitano vya Zaburi vimeletwa maneno yake yamelinganishwa na matamko ya asili. "These are the five books of Psalms and its words have been translated



from the original tongues". In 1909 the New Testament translation into Swahili by W.E. Taylor and H.K. Binns was completed and published under the title: Chuo cha Maagano mapya ya Bwana wetu Yesu Masiha Mwokozi wetu, maneno ya Kiswahili by B.F.B.S. It had been decided two years earlier in a conference held at Lambeth (1907) to use the name "Yesu Kristo" in future in preference to "Isa Masiha" and similar forms which were of Islamic origins.

In 1914, after the retirement of W.E. Taylor, H.K. Binns translated the Old Testament. The proofs were read by J.E. Hampshire and R.K. Shepherd, both of C.M.S. Mombasa and was published by B.F.B.S. under the title: Hiki ni chuo kitakatifu cha Mwenyezi Mungu kiitwacho Maagano ya kale, Maneno ya Kiswahili. The translation was reprinted in 1919 and 1931.

In 1915, the Gospels were reprinted separately. St. John and 1 John were also reprinted by the B.F.B.S. for the Scripture Gift Mission in 1936. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge published a considerably altered edition of the Book of Common Prayer translated by a Committee of Christians at Frere Town, Mombasa in 1915.

During this same time, there were other translations of Swahili Scriptures going on in Zanzibar, in what was known as the division of Southern Swahili (Zanzibar and Mainland Tanganyika). We are not going to discuss their progress apart from mentioning that the

Southern Swahili translators were working as vigorously as the Central Swahili based in Mombasa with which we are concerned here. It was the merging of these two divisions of Swahili translators from which our Union Version of the Swahili Bible was conceived.

In 1934, an attempt at a Union Version was started by the translation of the Gospel of Luke which was based on a draft translation by G. Dale of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, revised by G. Pittway, also of the U.M.C.A. and H.J. Butcher of the C.M.S. and checked by G.W. Broomfield of the U.M.C.A. and several other missionaries. It was published with the heading, Injili takatifu kama alivyoandika Luka Mtakatifu.

It was in 1946, however, that a Committee was selected and chaired by A.B. Hellier of the U.M.C.A. and H.J. Butcher to complete a trial version of a Union Bible in Swahili. They printed a few words in heavy type with alternative forms in brackets. Titles were given for each Gospel translated as in Matthew: Injili kama alivyoandika Mathayo Mtakatifu. The same kind of editions were made of John's Gospel, St. Mark, and Psalms by the same committee.

In 1950, the Union Version of the New Testament was published by the B.F.B.S. in London, the work of A.B. Hellier and H.J. Butcher and their united committee. This version had notes, footnotes, an introduction and glossary. In 1952, the whole Bible, completed by the above committee, was published by the B.F.B.S. as

Maandiko Matakatifu ya Mungu yaitwayo Biblia, yaani Agano la Kale na Agano Jipya katika lugha ya Kiswahili. This version had a note on the use of the divine Name, an introduction, glossary and references.

In 1963, Mathias E. Myapala, writing with the East African Swahili Committee, published his "Ballad of the Holy Gospel" which reflects the Gospel story in traditional Swahili verse. It is most unfortunate that this work was terminated so prematurely by his death.

In 1959, the current Union Version of the Bible was published after a thorough checking and revision by the Interterritorial Swahili Language Committee. Portions of this version have been printed in thousands, and the version has crowned over a hundred years of Swahili Bible translation. There are some quarters, especially the upcountry areas, where many people think that a simple Swahili version is needed. The need for such a version was recognised by the Bible Society of Kenya and the late Rev. Thomas Kalume was asked to embark on the task. He started by translating St. Mark but this work does not seem to have continued very far, perhaps because Kalume became a Member of Parliament in 1969.

The U.B.S., however, in conjunction with the Bible Societies of Kenya and Tanzania revived the Popular Swahili Translation with full force when in 1973 they asked Fr. Peter Renju (a Catholic) and David Mhina (an Anglican) to embark on this job full-time. In mid

-1974, the present writer (Baptist) joined the team. Fr. Peter Renju is a Tanzanian who had studied Biblical Languages and Theology. David Mhina is a journalist of great competence in Swahili, and the present writer is a Kenyan. The team then stands a better chance of producing a common version of the New Testament, as it is both ecumenical and interterritorial. With a large Review Committee, this team's work has many advantages and should be able to produce a simple and accurate version of the Swahili Bible. Since the Swahili language is growing more and more to be the language of the people of East Africa, the production of an easy and clear version of the Swahili Bible is of paramount importance.

KAMBA<sup>15</sup>

The second oldest translation of Scriptures in a Kenyan Language is that of the Kamba. The first translation was made by J.L. Krapf in 1850, soon after he had done some Swahili translations. It was printed at the expense of the C.M.S. at Tübingen. This was the Gospel according to Mark, in the Eastern Kamba dialect. Spoken in an area where Krapf travelled, it was called Evangelio ta yunaolete Malkosi. This work among the Kamba was prematurely terminated when Krapf gave up his ministry among the Kamba. Almost half a century later, in 1898, the Gospel according to St. Luke was translated by a Lutheran Missionary by the name of J. Hofmann of the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The orthography of this translation differs very much from

the previous translation. In the same year, the Evangelical Lutheran Mission published at Leipzig a Bible History consisting of short extracts from the Old and the New Testaments; this was also the work of Hofmann.

In 1904, the Acts of the Apostles was translated by Ernest Brutzer also of the Leipzig Mission, but published by B.F.B.S. London under the title Meka ma Atume. This edition used a much improved Kamba orthography. The Gospel according to St. Matthew was published in 1909 by the B.F.B.S. London and entitled just Mataio, and was translated by H. Pfitzinger of the Leipzig Mission.

The Kamba language used in the older translations done by the Leipzig Missionaries was difficult and rather inconsistent. The African Inland Mission came into the Kamba area in 1895 and established the first mission station at Nzawi. The work was started by an American missionary, Peter Cameron Scott who actually was the first candidate of the African Inland Mission, a Society organised in Philadelphia, U.S.A. in 1892. The work of Scripture translation in standard Kamba language was started by an A.I.M. missionary called George W. Rhoad when he translated the Gospel of Mark which he called Maliko. Mr. Rhoad, with the assistance of one of the earliest Kamba nationals (whom the writer personally interviewed at his own home in Kangundo) by the name of Aaron Kasyoki continued with success to

translate the Gospel of John, Uvoo wa Yesu Klisto ula uandikitwe ni Yohana which was published by the B.F.B.S. in London in 1915. By 1920, Mr. Rhoad had finished translating all the Books of the New Testament and in that year it was published by the B.F.B.S. under a Kamba title, Utianio Mweu wa Mwiaii na Mutanqii waitu Yesu Klistu. Mr. Rhoad had given a light revision of the older translation. In this task he was assisted by N. Rhoad and Hattie A. Newman, all of A.I.M., except for St. Luke which was translated solely by C.F. Johnson.

After the publication of the New Testament, the Kamba people had to wait until 1935 when a translation of the Book of Daniel Ivuku ya Danieli was made by H.A. Newman and printed locally by the A.I.M. press at Kijabe but still published by the B.F.B.S. The following year, the Book of Genesis was translated by H.A. Newman, Ivuku ya Mbee ya Mose yitawa Mwambiliya. Twenty years later, in 1956, the Kamba Bible was completed and published as:- Maandiko Matheu ma Ngai metawa Mbivilia nimo utianio Mukuu na utianio Mweu:

The Old Testament had been translated by a team composed of H.S. Nixon, Rose M. Horton, Emma M. Fainsworth, Clara Guilding and Frances Johnson, all members of the A.I.M., assisted by two nationals, Aaroni Kasyoki and Jeremia Kyeva. In 1960, the New Testament was corrected and reset in larger type from the 1956 translation. The Kamba Bible was published by the B.F.B.S., who also reset the New Testament.

The revision of the Kamba Bible has since been completed by Mr. & Mrs. Norman Johnson, assisted by nationals. This latest revision should provide the Kamba people with a satisfactory translation of the Scriptures when it is finally published.

### GIRYAMA<sup>16</sup>

The Giriyama people of the Kenyan coast got their first Scriptures when a Swahili/Giriyama diglot of St. Luke's Gospel was translated by W.E. Taylor of the C.M.S. in 1892. The Gospel was known in Kigiryama as Uworo wa to wa mweri Luka udzagahizwa Kigiryama (B.F.B.S.) In 1893, Taylor translated the Acts of Apostles Chuo cha Mahendo ga Ahumwi. This translation in Giriyama alone was edited in London by Reinhold Rost and published by the B.F.B.S. In 1895, the Gospel of Matthew, Uworo wa to wa mweri Matayo udzagahizwa Kigiryama by D.A. Hooper C.M.S. and W.E. Taylor was published. This translation had a note on the orthographical changes. It was published by the B.F.B.S. In 1899 D.A. Hooper translated the Gospel of John (B.F.B.S.), Uworo udzo wa John mweri, wagaludzwa Kigiryama (B.F.B.S.). By 1908, all the Epistles and the book of Revelation had been translated by D.A. Hooper and were published as: Bama Zosi zirizo kalu za Chuo cha Mulungu hamwenga na Ugumbo wa Johana mweri Zhagahidzwa Kahi za Kigiryama (B.F.B.S.). The year 1915 saw the revision of St. Luke, revised by Florence I. Deed of the C.M.S. and published as: Uworo urio ueri here alizhoureha Luka (B.F.B.S.). F.I. Deed

also finished a revision of St. John in 1917 as Uworo urio ueri here alizhoureha Johana (B.F.B.S.); in 1918 she translated St. Matthew which was followed by St. Mark in 1919. In 1923 she also revised Acts of Apostles Mahendo ga Ahumwi (B.F.B.S.). By 1924, she had revised the whole of the New Testament which was published with the title: Chuo cha Malagano Masha ga Bwana Wehu Jesu Masihi Mokosi wehu Maira (B.F.B.S.). This revision also had the Psalms translated and included in it. In 1951, a corrected reprint of the previous translations of the New Testament and Psalms was published, all of it being the last work of Florence Deed.

#### TAITA<sup>17</sup>

The Taita people, who had been evangelized by the C.M.S. missionaries from as early as 1885 when missionaries started to advance from Mombasa towards the interior of Africa, are divided into two dialectical groups. A small group of Taita speak the Sagalla dialect and it is actually this group into whose dialect the Scriptures were first translated. In 1892, a C.M.S. missionary by the name of J. Alfred Wray reduced the Sagalla dialect of the Taita to writing and translated the Gospel of Mark, Ilago Lyaloli kwa Marko (B.F.B.S.). The same year, the S.P.C.K. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) published a Primer and also a Catechism prepared by J.A. Wray. Both of these included the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. A second edition of the Primer appeared in 1903. In 1897, Wray



translated the Gospel of John into Sagalla, Ilago Lyaloli kwa Johana. In 1907, the S.P.C.K. published portions of the book of Common Prayer also translated by J.A. Wray, and in 1912, he had completed all four Gospels, Ilago Lyaloli lya Bwana Wetu Jesu Masihi Mkizi wetu sailya kweu tahawo ai Watumwo Mathayo, Marko, Luka na Yohana (B.F.B.S.). St. Mark and St. John were only a revision of previous translations of 1892 and 1897 respectively.

In 1912 the S.P.C.K. also published the Book of Common Prayer translated by J.A. Wray. This translation included the Old Testament lessons printed in full but had no Psalms. Also a short form of service for the admission of Catechumens and Enquirers was published by the S.P.C.K. These contained Scripture portions. The Sagalla division of the Taita people does not seem to have advanced in Scripture translation beyond the work of J.A. Wray.

The other division of the Taita, the Taita Dabida has made more progress, perhaps because this group is more numerous and partly also because of the efforts of R.A. Maynard, also of the C.M.S. Not only did Maynard embark on the work of translating the Scriptures into the Taita/Dabida dialect, but he also established a mission Press at Mbale, which proved very useful in the creation of literature for these people. In 1904, Maynard translated St. Mark and the following year he finished St. John and both were printed at the Mission Press, Mbale as: Ilago Jiboie Iyaloli koni orejirediege Johane. In 1906, Maynard, having improved his knowledge

of the Dabida dialect revised the 1904 issue of Mark. He also started to translate the Gospel of Luke, which could not be completed until 1908.

In 1907, the mission press at Mbale published a "Short form of service for the admission of Catechumens and Enquirers". In 1909, various extracts from the Book of Common Prayer were also published. Some morning Prayers and about 30 hymns were also published, all being the work of R.A. Maynard. St. Matthew's Gospel was published in 1910 but only Chapters 1-19:12. The same year R. A. Maynard revised the 1905 translation of St. John and also a translation of the Baptism Service from the Book of Common Prayer.

In 1911, R.A. Maynard revised the Gospels which were published by the B.F.B.S. as Chuo Cha Malago Giboie ga Bwana odu Jesu Masihi Mkiri odu. Kiteto cha Kidabida. This version was specially done for use in a wider area. It was not until 1922 that the entire New Testament became available after the tireless work of R.A. Maynard, always with the help of Local Christians. The New Testament was known as Chuo cha Malagano Mawishi ga Bwana odu Jesu Masihi Mkiri odu (B.F.B.S.). This version was again revised in 1932 by R.A. Maynard assisted by national christians, Jonathan Kituri, Jeremiah Kiwinda and Stephene Kilelu. In 1951, R.A. Maynard closed his devoted career as a translator of the Taita/Dabida Scriptures by translating the Old Testament book of Genesis. To be remembered with him

are his dedicated assistants, Jonathan Kituri, Jeremiah Kiwinda and Allen Madoka.<sup>17</sup>

According to the current report from the Bible Society of Kenya the Taita people buy more Swahili and English Bibles than they buy in their own language. There are 108,511 Wataita according to 1969 census and of those only 0.81% read the New Testament in their language. While the Taita/Dabida New Testament went out of stock in the Bible Society stores in Kenya in 1972, sales for Swahili and English Scriptures jumped, and according to Rev. David Gitari, the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Kenya, in his report on Taita/Dabida Scriptures of 2nd February, 1973<sup>13</sup> the Wataita seem to be moving towards the Swahili and English Scriptures. A reprint of the Taita/Dabida or Sagalla Scriptures would involve great losses to the Bible Society, as a copy of a Bible which cost 45/- to produce is sold at 10/-, a loss of 35/-. Even if less than 10,000 copies are made (which the Bible Society discourages) it is still not sure that they would all be bought out by the Wataita. The project would be uneconomical as clearly seems to be indicated. But still, the writer is of the opinion that someday, the Wataita Christians themselves, rather than the Bible Society or anyone else, should try to stimulate the reading of Scriptures in Taita language. The time might come when a union version of Dabida and Sagalla dialects of Taita might be jointly tried. If such a project is started among the Wataita themselves, it could prove to be a success. It is a challenge to the

Wataita Christians to determine whether to kill their dialects (and there is nothing very wrong in that if another language serves their purpose), or to revive them once and for all and raise them to greater heights. In 1974, at a Translators Seminar organized by the U.B.S. in Nairobi, a number of pastors and teachers from Taita/Dabida expressed their desire for a new translation and the writer has learned that the Bible Society is considering a Taita/Dabida translation.

POKOMO<sup>18</sup>

The Pokomo got their Scriptures in 1894 when the Gospel of Mark was translated into Pokomo by a German missionary F. Wurtz who was assisted by a national by the name of Abdallah. Mr. Wurtz was of the Neukirchen Mission which paid for the publication of Enjili iorechwavyo ni Marko. In 1901, the B.F.B.S. published the first section of the New Testament in Pokomo, Chuo cha Damano Ibfya dya Bwana na Mubfonya jwehu Yesu Kristo, Enjili na Mahando I which was also translated by the Neukirchen missionaries. The following year, 1902, the Neukirchen missionaries also translated the New Testament Part II containing Romans to Revelation, Chuo cha Damano Ibfya dya Bwana na Mubfonya jwehu Yesu Kristo, II Waraka na Ufunuo. Later the two volumes were produced in one volume and lettered on the spine: The New Testament, Pokomo. In 1930, it was reproduced by photography.

In 1911, A. Drapf translated the book of Psalms. It can be concluded that the Pokomo are among the earliest people of Kenya to read a complete New Testament in their language. However, the work of translation among them, like that of their neighbours the Galla, has been almost discontinued. The Bible Societies should give attention to such people as the Pokomo and an attempt to revive their scripture translations should be made, if found viable, even at a loss so that the Bible may reach many Pokomo people.<sup>18</sup> Of the 40,000 Pokomo people only 14%, according to Kenya Churches Handbook profess to be Christians. The majority are Muslims. The writer is of the opinion that the Pokomo Scriptures will have great impact on the conversion of the Pokomo if revived.<sup>19</sup>

#### TAVETA<sup>20</sup>

The Taveta language is spoken by a Bantu people who live on the Kenya-Tanzania northern boundary. These people too were among the earliest to get Scriptures translated into their language. In 1892, the Gospel of Mark was translated from Swahili by Yohana Nene Mdidhiri of Taveta, under the supervision of A.R. Steggal of the C.M.S. The Gospel was known as Sumu Yedi ya Isa Masiya, hena Marko. The same year saw the translation of St. John, Sumu Yedi Yakwe Yohana and published by B.F.B.S. and the translation done by A.R. Steggal. In 1894, the S.P.C.K. published portions of the book of Common

Prayer, including some Scripture passages. The Gospel of Matthew was translated in 1896 by A.R. Steggall as well as St. Luke's Gospel. In 1897, the book of Exodus, Kitamo cha keru cha Musa chaitangwa Kufuma was translated by A.R. Steggall but it is said that the edition was destroyed by fire in 1903. In 1900, the Acts of Apostles was translated by a national and revised by A.R. Steggall and published by the B.F.B.S. as Mihiro ya Maondo. Also in the same year the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude were translated by A.R. Steggall.

In 1903, St. Mark was revised by A.R. Steggall from the 1892 version. The Psalms were translated in 1905 as Malumbo heha viteto vya kutuweta by Steggall and the following year he translated all the other Epistles and the book of Revelation, Mwaraka na ujughuo heha viteto vya kutuweta.

The Taveta Scriptures seem to have closed with the above works of A.R. Steggall and the early Tavetans, and do not seem to have developed more. The Tavetans are only few in number and are among the Kenyan people with a tendency to use Swahili literature rather than their own language, perhaps because of the influence of their Tanzanian neighbours.

GIKUYU<sup>22</sup>

The Gikuyu language, spoken by a highlands Bantu people of Central Kenya received the Scriptures first in 1903 when a C.M.S. missionary by the name of A.W. MacGregor assisted by Enock Boi, a national, translated the Gospel of John, Retemwo Rea Yohana, theini wa mauhoru ma Gikuyu. This translation was published by B.F.B.S. and was followed in 1909 by a translation of Mark, Uhoru Mwega wa Mwathani witu ta uria watemirwo ni Mariko, translated by a young church of Scotland missionary called A.R. Barlow and published by N.B.S.S., Edinburgh. A reprint of this translation was made in 1912 by the B.F.B.S., London.

In 1912, the African Inland Mission at Kijabe printed Philippians which was translated by F.H. McKendrick of the A.I.M. The year 1915 saw the translation of the Gospel of Matthew which was translated by H.L. Leakey of the C.M.S. and published by B.F.B.S. and N.B.S.S. in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Proofs were read by J.T. Garriock of the C.M.S. and were known as Uyu ni uhoru mwega uria wandikirwo ni Mathayo. In the same year, St. Luke was translated by J. Henderson of the G.M.U. and the proofs read by J.T. Garriock. The B.F.B.S. published it as Uyu ni uhoru mwega uria wandikirwo ni Luka.

St. Mark was revised by Elizabeth S. McMurtrie in 1917 from the previous 1909 translation by A.R. Barlow. St. John's Gospel was revised in 1919 from Barlow's

previous translation, and so St. Matthew in 1921 from Leakey's translation. The manuscripts were checked by a Gikuyu Committee. The same year, 1921, Leakey's translation of St. Luke was revised and also checked by a Gikuyu Committee. In 1922, F.H. McKendrick translated the Acts of Apostles with the help of a Gikuyu Committee. In the same year, versions of Hebrews and Jude were made by H.L. Leakey and checked by a Gikuyu Committee.

The first Old Testament book to be translated was that of Jonah which was translated by R.G.M. Calderwood of C.S.M. and printed at the A.I.M. Kijabe. A.R. & Mrs. Barlow revised St. Mark for the second time in 1924. The same year, the book of Genesis was translated by an A.I.M. missionary called Jessie E. Raynor and printed at Kijabe, to become the second Old Testament book translated in Gikuyu, and was known as Riri nirio Ibuku ria Kiambiriria ria Musa na riitaqwo Genesis.

Fr. J. Bessem's records indicate that in 1925, the Catholics translated various sections of the Old Testament and the Gospels. The year 1926 is noted as the year in which the complete New Testament became available to Gikuyu speakers. It was translated by A.R. Barlow and H.L. Leakey assisted by J. Henderson, and was known as Kirikaniro kiria kieru kia Jesu Kristo uria wi Mwathani na Muhonokia witu. Also included in the work of this New Testament were H.L. Downing of the A.I.M., Marion S. Stevenson of C.M.S., Stefano Kinuthia and Mathayo Njoroge, the last two being Gikuyu nationals.



It was a translation made jointly by several missions and also was the first to consider the value of the contributions of nationals. The work of Old Testament translation went on and in 1929 A.R. Barlow finished translating a selection of 36 Psalms, which were printed at Kijabe A.I.M. Press as Thaburi Imwe Theru. In 1934 the Book of Exodus was translated by H.L. Leakey assisted by M. Njoroge. However, only the first 12 chapters were first published as Ibuku riri nirio ria keru ria Musa na riitagwo Kuuma. In the same year, 1934, H.L. Leakey and M. Njoroge also translated the Book of Numbers which they called Ibuku riri nirio ria kana ria Musa na riitagwo Numbers kana Gutara. Like most of the other works, it was printed at Kijabe but financed by B.F.B.S. In 1935 three Old Testament books were finished and published together as Maya nimo mabuku ma Kirikaniro kiria gia tene metagwo Joshua, Aciiri na Ruthu. They were translated by H.L. Leakey and his assistant M. Njoroge. These are the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. Fr. J. Bessem records extracts from the New Testament translated by the Roman Catholics in 1938. In 1936 the Book of Genesis was translated, (rather than revised again) by H.L. Leakey and M. Njoroge Riri nirio Ibuku ria Musa riria riitagwo Kiambiriria. A.R. Barlow also revised the Psalms previously translated by him and translated the remaining ones. The same year 1936, the New Testament was revised again, although slightly, jointly by A.R. Barlow and H.L. Leakey. A corrected reprint of this version was issued in 1955. Also, Fr. J. Bessem records a translation of Gospels and the Acts of Apostles by the Catholics in 1936.

Three Old Testament books of prophecy were translated in 1941, first mimeographed as a tentative edition by L.J. Beecher of the C.M.S. The books are Daniel, Obadiah and Haggai and were known in Gikuyu as Maya nimo mabuku ma Kirikaniro kiria gia tene maria metagwo Daniel, Obadiah, na Haggai. Also in 1941, the S.P.C.K. published selections from the Bible based mainly on the revised lectionary of the Church of England. A.R. Barlow revised his earlier translation of Psalms in 1948.

1951 was the year in which the entire Old Testament was published as Riri nirio Ibuku riria Itheru ria Ngai riitagwo Kirikaniro kiria gia Tene. The work was done by a Committee which had been working on the orthography of the Gikuyu language and was known as United Kikuyu Language Committee. Members of this Committee who worked on the Old Testament were: L.J. Beecher and Mrs. Beecher of C.M.S., M. Njoroge, R.G.M. Calderwood of C.S.M., T.F.C. Bowes of C.M.S., K. Downing of A.I.M., A.R. Barlow, and Reuben Muriuki of C.S.M. The Old Testament was published jointly by B.F.B.S. and N.B.S.S. In 1953 the Gospel of John was reprinted for distribution to Mau Mau prisoners. In 1955, the Consolata Catholic Mission at Nyeri published their version of the New Testament. It was translated by members of the Catholic Mission of the Consolata Fathers at Nyeri. This version, like many Catholic translations, had footnotes and tables of weights and measures. Its imprimatur is dated January 5, 1955,

and the version was called Getigo Kyero. The Gospel of John was reprinted in 1960 at Kijabe and St. Matthew was revised by R.G.M. Calderwood and a Committee of C.S.M. and A.I.M. representatives. The Bible Society in East Africa, Nairobi published yet another edition of St. John's Gospel in 1964, which was revised by R.G.M. Calderwood, Ayubu Kinyua and Meshullam Waigua assisted by a Committee. By this time, a decision had been made to revise the entire New Testament for publication with the Old Testament to form a one-Volume version of the Gikuyu Bible. We shall see how the present Gikuyu Bible was finally completed when we come to the chapter on the study of the Gikuyu translation.

LUO<sup>23</sup>

The Luo are a Nilotic people of Western Kenya. Their language is called Dholuo. The Gospel of Mark was translated into Dholuo in 1911 and was based on translations made independently by A. Morrison, then a magistrate in Nairobi, and J.J. Willis and A.E. Pleydell of C.M.S. The Gospel was called Injili mar Marko and was published by B.F.B.S. J.J. Willis and A.E. Pleydell continued in their work and translated St. John in 1912 as well as St. Luke's Gospel. Matthew's Gospel followed later in 1914, this time the work of A.A. Carscallen of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission.

In a Luo periodical called Jaote Luo, a translation of portions of the Book of Acts and Daniel was published. However, the whole book of Acts of the Apostles was translated by J.F. Clarke of the A.I.M. in 1915 and published by B.F.B.S. as Tich Jaote. A.E. Pleydell revised the earlier translation of Mark and Luke in 1917, and translated the Epistle of James, Waraka mar Yakobo which was printed at Friends African Industrial Mission Press in Maragoli. In 1921, several Epistles (Romans to Philippians and Titus) were translated by A.E. Pleydell and published by B.F.B.S. in 1921 as Waraka Jorumi-Jofilipi, Tito, Yakobo. James was just a reprint of the previous translation. In the same year, 1921, the S.P.C.K. published the Book of Common Prayer which contained portions of Scriptures not previously published. A.E. Pleydell finished the revision of St. John in 1924. The Luo community had their New Testament finally finished and published in 1926 as Muma Manyien mar Ruodhwa gi Jokonywa Yesu Kristo (B.F.B.S.) all being the revision, compilation and translation of remaining books by A.E. Pleydell, the same year the Gikuyu got their New Testament.

Two primers were published by the Advent Press in 1930 and contained portions of Scriptures translated into Dholuo. In 1933, Grace A. Clarke of S.D.A.M. translated the book of Genesis published by B.F.B.S. as Kitabu mokwongo mar Musa chakruok Genesis. G.A. Clarke was assisted by Sila Apola, William Ogembo and Paul Mboya, all of whom were Luo nationals. The MSS was examined by A.E. Pleydell. G.A. Clarke also translated

portions of the Old Testament as Muma Machon (Weche Moloki) and printed by the Advent Press, Kisumu in 1938. Very little was done until 1953 when W.E. Owen of the C.M.S., H. Capen of the A.I.M., and G.A. Clarke, assisted by nationals translated the entire Old Testament, Muma Machon published by B.F.B.S., London.

In 1962, John's Gospel was revised by A.W. Mayor of the C.M.S. assisted by Roy Stafford also of C.M.S., H. Capen and his wife A. Capen of the A.I.M., P. Kusmin of the Swedish Lutheran Mission, D. Songa, Daniel Ongile and Barak Omolo Iro. This was the beginning of a new edition of a Luo translation of Scriptures by a Committee. The same group revised St. Mark in 1964 and also St. Luke in the same year. C. Skoda, a national joined the group in these last two editions. Later we shall see what is going on at present as Roy Stafford with his Committee is still busy with the translation of the rest of the Luo Bible. This is meant to be acceptable by Luos of all sections and denominations including the Catholics, and is expected to be finished in 1976.<sup>24</sup>

#### MAASAI<sup>25</sup>

The Maasai, a Nilo-Hamitic people who spread over vast areas of Kenya and Tanzania, had Scriptures first put into their language in 1905. This work was done by A.C. Hollis, the first Secretary of the British East African Administration. He was assisted by Justin

Lamenye and Enoch Boi and other nationals. The title page had a note on Pronunciation. The Gospel was called 'Le- omo Le - Marko ootisiraki te - 'n - gutuk oo 'l Maasai and published by B.F.B.S., London. An A.I.M. missionary by the name of Bertha Simpson translated the Acts of the Apostles, I and II Timothy, Titus and Philemon in 1915. She was assisted by Tagi, and other nationals. Their translation was called Eyaset Olkipearata Imbaruatiti Olkepaaret, polo narewaka Timoteo, Otito, O Filemon (B.F.B.S.). B. Simpson also translated St. Luke's Gospel in the same year. She was assisted by nationals. She also translated John's Gospel in 1915, and both Gospels were published by the B.F.B.S.

In 1919, another A.I.M. missionary, John W. Stauffacher assisted by a colleague, H. Herdman translated Galatians to Philemon in the Maasai language. Galatia, Nebiki Filemon to engartuk o 'l Maasai and printed at Kijabe. J.W. Stauffacher and H. Herdman revised the books previously published, translated the remaining ones to complete the whole of the New Testament in Maasai in 1923. It was published by the B.F.B.S. as Olning'o le ngai Engejuk. Translations in Maasai had to wait nearly 25 years before work was resumed again in 1947.

In 1947, Ruth and Roy Shaffer of the A.I.M. assisted by the nationals and Mr. Leslie Whitehouse of the Education Department translated the Gospel of John

again which was published by the B.F.B.S. as Ilomon Supati le ngAi otisira Yohana Enguk oo l Maasai.

It was printed at Kijabe. The only Old Testament book which had been put into the Maasai language was the Psalms which was translated by J.W. Stauffacher in 1934. He was assisted by Stephen Sitonya Ole Sangan and others. St. Mark was revised by G. Ruby Grindley and Edith Webster who based their work on drafts prepared by Ruth Shaffer. Their work involved quite a new orthography.

The Maasai Bible is being translated afresh by Rev. John Tompo Mpaayei<sup>26</sup> who is doing the work full time with a wide Committee which is representative of all the Maasai speaking peoples. The writer attended one of their translation sessions and was amazed to see how laboriously and elaborately this Committee is doing its work. It has Maasai representatives from as far as Arusha, Tanzania. There seems every likelihood of their producing an excellent translation. It is also very encouraging to note that this seems to be the first translation in Kenya to be attempted solely by nationals. The work of Maasai Committee, when completed should be a good example to the other peoples of East Africa who too need to plan their translation based in the local skill and dedication. Such a Committee stand better chances of producing a translation acceptable to their people. However, the greatest weakness of the Maasai Committee is that it lacks anyone who knows either of the Biblical languages, Greek or Hebrew, but as we mentioned before, with the U.B.S. prepared helps and consultation, this

should no longer be considered a major handicap.

### KIPSIGIS<sup>27</sup>

The Kipsigis are a section of a larger Nilo-Hamitic people known collectively as the Kalenjin people. The work of Scripture translation into Kipsigis was started by C.N. Scouter of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission who translated Mark's Gospel in 1912. The Gospel was called Marko ng'alek je Muyach jibo Yesu Kristo ji gior Marko, and was published by the B.F.B.S., London. It was again in 1929 that an A.I.M. missionary translated the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, Bamet at Paul ni Kiqisuiji Romaniu. It was printed at the A.I.M. Press Kijabe. E.J. Anderson was the man who was to carry out the work of Scripture translation for the Kipsigis people in those years. He translated I and II Timothy in 1930 which underwent a reprint in 1931. In 1932 the translation of the Gospel of John was done and it was compiled together with a new translation of Matthew and Luke as well as the previous translation of Mark to form the Gospels known as Matayo, Marko, Luka, Yohana ng'alek je Miach ji bo Jesu Kristo Alamalyet (B.F.B.S., Kijabe). The New Testament in Kipsigis waited until 1953 for publication and was a revision of books previously translated and a fresh translation of the remainder by E.J. Anderson assisted by Douglas A. Mutai, Jason A. Munai and Paulo A. Claroigin. It was called Arorutiet ne lel (B.F.B.S., London). In 1958 the book of Genesis was published after being revised by Frances Mumford of A.I.M. assisted by



Ezekiel A. Birech and a Committee consisting mainly of Africans under the chairmanship of E.J. Anderson of the A.I.M. This translation had occasional footnotes and a glossary.

NANDI<sup>28</sup>

Along with Kipsigis was a sister dialect of the Kalenjin people spoken in the Nandi District. A line of translations in this dialect was started in 1926 when a group of A.I.M. missionaries in Nandi embarked on their translation of John's Gospel. These missionaries were Frances and George E. McCreary, A.M. Anderson, Signe C. Kristensen and Marie Hensen. They were assisted by nationals. In a few places in their translation, alternative words are printed one above the other in small type. In these cases, the upper work is the one preferred by the Kipsigis. Marie Hensen translated Paul's Epistle to the Romans in 1929 Barnet at Paulo ni Kigusiji Romanik (A.I.M. Kijabe) assisted by the nationals. She also translated Matthew's Gospel in 1931 Mathayo Logoiwek je Miach je no Jesu Kristo je Kisir Mathayo (A.I.M. Kijabe).

In 1933, the Central Press, Sydney published Arorutiet Ne lel ne bo Kiptaiyadeyo Jesu Kristo yetindeuyo, The New Testament in Nandi. This New Testament was composed of the books previously published which were revised by Stuart M. Bryson, C.M.S. and the remaining books which were translated by Reuben A.

Seroney and revised by S.M. Bryson. The name of Samuel A. Gimnyigei also appears on the flyleaf, but it is not clear whether he too was a translator. S.M. Bryson translated the book of Genesis Bukuitado tai ne bo Musa ne Kegwe Tannet, published by B.F.B.S., London in 1935. He was assisted by S.A. Gimnyigei and another African. In 1936, the U.S.C.L. published a volume of Old Testament stories translated by S.M. Bryson. In 1936, the Bible was completed in Nandi by S.M. Bryson and a Committee and was known as Bukuit ne Tilill ole mi arorutiet ne bo keny ak arotutiet ne lel. The previous New Testament translations were revised in this edition. A corrected reprint of this version was issued again in 1946.

The Book of Genesis was revised in 1958 by Frances Mumford and Ezekiel Birech and a Committee mainly of Africans under the Chairmanship of E.J. Anderson. Also in 1960, St. Mark's Gospel was revised by F. Mumford and Ezekiel Birech assisted by Erasto A. Sio, A Kipsigis. This translation had some footnotes and a glossary and was published by B.F.B.S., London. They revised St. John in 1963 which was published by the Bible Society in East Africa, Nairobi. They had Daniel A. Salat on their Committee during this translation.

Eventually the revision of the entire Kalenjin Bible, combining all the dialects of the Kalenjin people was decided upon and we shall study the proceedings of this project in our chapter on the Kalenjin Bible later.

RAGOLI<sup>29</sup>

Ragoli is a dialect of a group of Western Bantu who have nearly seventeen sub-tribes of a larger community called the Luyia. The Friends African Industrial Mission did a great deal of evangelistic work among the Maragoli people, making them somewhat distinct from the other Luyia communities, especially in language and religion.

Emory J. Rees of the American Friends African Industrial Mission translated Mark's Gospel in 1911. This version had a brief introduction. This was followed by a revision of the previous translation in 1914 by E.J. Rees and Joel Litu. It was published by the A.B.S., New York as Ivangeli ya Yesu Kristo kuli ya Ng'akwa ni Marko. About 1914, the Friends African Industrial Mission established a Press at Maragoli which started issuing literature in Ragoli. Two readers were published and also some leaflets all of which contained some Scripture extracts. The Gospel of John was translated in 1916 and published by F.A.I.M., Maragoli, the work of E.J. Rees and J. Litu. The Acts of the Apostles Vikolwa vya Vatumwa was translated in 1917 by the same team of Rees and Litu and so was Matthew, Mark and St. Luke in the same year. In 1921, Rees revised these Gospels and translated I John. All of them were published in one Volume as: Ivangeli ya Yesu kuli avegidzwi vane va ng'onda halala namang'ana gandi ga nyasave (A.B.S., N.Y.). In 1921 First and Second

Corinthians were translated by E.J. Rees and published in 1922 by F.A.I.M. Press as Tsibaruuva Tsya Paulo ya Hila ku Vakorintho. In 1923 Rees and Litu finished Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians. A revision of the Gospels and Acts was issued again in 1924.

The Epistle to the Romans was translated in 1925 Ibaruwa ya Paulo ku Warumi by E. J. Rees, J. Litu and other F.A.I.M. missionaries. It was published by F.A.I.M. Press, Maragoli. In the same year, most of the remaining Epistles were translated by the same team. These Epistles were I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, James, I Peter, II Peter, II John, III John, Jude and Revelations (Likunula).

The first Old Testament book to be translated was the book of Daniel and some selected Psalms (Zaburi). These were done by Jefferson W. Ford of E.A.I.M. and his wife. They were published by F.A.I.M. press in 1927.

In 1928, the whole of the New Testament was published in one volume by A.B.S. New York as Lilaga Lihya Liyo Mwami wetu Yesu Kristo Muhonyi wetu. It was a reprint of all the previous New Testament editions. J.W. Ford translated the book of Genesis in 1930 Kitabu kya Genesis and by 1932 he had finished the book of Exodus. The same year he also translated the books of Ruth, Esther, Joel and Jonah. The Psalms were all finished in 1934 by Ford. He translated Leviticus by

1935, Numbers 1937, and Proverbs 1939. The A.B.S. published the whole Bible in 1951, the Old Testament being the work of J.W. Ford, J. Litu, and James Sangura. They also revised the New Testament. The Maragoli Bible was given the Swahili title Kitabu Kitakatifu "Holy Book." In 1958, St. Luke was reprinted from the 1951 Bible and published by the Bible Society in Nairobi.

### LUYIA<sup>30</sup>

A Luyia version, meant to be a common version for all the Abaluyia people was inaugurated in 1954 when Deaconess Leonasa L. Appleby, an Australian C.M.S. Missionary, assisted by Jared Isalu embarked on the task of translating the book of Genesis, Eshitabo Shiamberi shia Musa eshilanga mba okhuchaka Kata Genesis (B.F.B.S., London). This text had an introduction before the title page and footnotes, giving dialectical alterations and glossary, including words given as footnotes in Genesis. In 1956, they finished Proverbs. With L.L. Appleby in this task were Mabel Baker of the Church of God, assisted also by Festo Olang', Anglican and Daniel Wako of the Church of God. This version also contained footnotes giving dialectical alterations and glossary including words given as footnotes in Genesis. In 1957, L.L. Appleby, J. Isalu and their Committee translated Isaiah Eshitabo shiomulakusi Isaya (B.F.B.S. London), also with footnotes and glossary. The first book of Samuel was finished in 1960 Eshitabo shiambeli shia Samueli (B.F.B.S.)

by L.L. Appleby assisted by J. Isalu and a Committee. It had some footnotes and a glossary.

St. Luke was translated by L.L. Appleby assisted by J. Isalu in 1960 Luka omutakatifu and St. John in 1962, Injili shiya olwa yahaandikwa nende Yohana Omutakatifu (B.F.B.S., London). Later we shall see more of what is being done towards a united version of the Luyia Bible, as the work is still going on, and is aimed at producing a version representative of about seventeen sections of the Abaluyia. The writer travelled to Butere and interviewed Jared Isalu (L.L. Appleby was away overseas) and will deal with this matter in a later chapter on the Luyia Bible.

### KISII (GUSII)<sup>31</sup>

The Catholic Mission Press at Nyeri printed the first selections of Scriptures ever translated into Gusii in 1923. These were portions of the Gospels arranged in the order of the Sundays of the year. The text ends abruptly. In 1929, E.A. Beaver and Ruth Rait both of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, assisted by Paulo Nyamwea translated Matthew's Gospel, Injili Y'omonene Nomokonyi oito Jesu Kristo as amang'ana a Mathayo (B.F.B.S., London). Translations into Gusii language stopped for a long while until 1945 when St. John's Gospel was translated by G.A. Lewis of S.D.A.M., assisted by P. Nyamwea. This was printed at Kisumu for the B.F.B.S. In

1948, the Kigusii New Testament was finished by G.A. Lewis assisted by P. Nyamwea. It was called Emuma Enyiay Omonene oito Nomokonyi oito Yesu Kristo (B.F.B.S., London). The final draft was dealt with by a Committee.

In 1960, Martin Lundstrom of the Swedish Lutheran Mission revised St. Mark, Enchili buna onngete Marko. This was in a new standard orthography. M. Lundstrom went on to translate the Gospel of John which he finished in 1964, Enchili ya Yohana (B.F.B.S., Nairobi). The year 1974 was the deadline for the publication, a new translation of the New Testament in the Gusii language as the manuscript of the translation had been completed and handed over to the Bible Society of Kenya in August 1972.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript was being checked by Miss Jill Smith. A translation of the book of Genesis is under way as a result of strong local request. When the New Testament is out, the Gusii people may be stimulated to read the Scriptures in their language and hence help to speed up the translation of the whole Bible into Gusii.

### MERU<sup>33</sup>

Many of the early missionaries who evangelized the Meru people had first learnt the Gikuyu language. This was especially true of C.S.M. missionaries who taught and preached in Gikuyu to Meru people. Because of the fact that Meru and Gikuyu are sister language, they got accustomed to using Gikuyu Scriptures. The areas with

strong C.S.M. influence still use Gikuyu in their worship and reading of Scriptures. It has not been easy for many people in Meru to drop the habit of using the Gikuyu Scriptures which the missionaries first used in their area even though these people are actually Meru. However, the United Methodist Mission missionaries started the translation of Scriptures into the Meru language as early as 1921 by first publishing an undated Catechism which contained several Scriptures. In that year, R.T. Worthington of the U.M.M. translated the Gospel of Mark into Meru Nkuma injega uria Yaandiki ni Mariko. St. John Gospel followed in 1923 also translated by R.T. Worthington. They were both published by the B.F.B.S., London. There was a break of over ten years until 1934 when the Gospel of Matthew was translated by R.T. Worthington and W.N. Laughton of M.M.S., Filip M. Inoti and Stefano M. Adegwa. The same team translated St. Luke in 1935.

A.J. Hopkins of the M.M.S. produced a new version of the Gospel of Mark in 1941. The four Gospels were put together with the Acts of the Apostles which A.J. Hopkins had translated and it was published by the B.F.B.S. as Nkuma injega cio-inya uria ciandiki ni Mathayo na Mariko na Luka, na Johana amwe na Mathithio ja atumwa. The New Testament was finished in 1952, the work of A.J. Hopkins, W.H. Laughton, E. Mary Holding and P.M. Inoti. It was called Wiriane Bubweru bwa Mwathani wetu na Mutwonokia Jesu Kristo (B.F.B.S., London).



The first book of the Old Testament to be put into Meru was Psalms which was translated by A.J. Hopkins, P. Inoti, E.M. Holding, W.H. Laughton assisted by Naman Mwiricia and Silas Mugambi. This was finished in 1955 and published by B.F.B.S., London.

The Meru people got the whole Bible translated into their language in 1964 when A.J. Hopkins, W.H. Laughton, F.W. Valender, P.M. Inoti, Francis M. Mugania and a Committee finished the translation. The Meru Bible with marginal references, tables of weights and measures, and maps, was published by the Bible Society in East Africa, Nairobi. The Roman Catholics bought 500 copies of this Bible and included a special preface in it.

It must be noted that the Methodist Christians took up the task of the translation of the Meru Bible from the beginning to the end. The fact that some Meru Christians read and emphasized the reading of the Bible in another language while they spoke Meru at home, was open to justifiable criticism. Perhaps a little bit of re-education of this group might help so that the Meru may all read their Bible in their own language.

The Collins translated the Book of Ruth in the year 1940, which he printed without distinction, wherever he thought it was published by the BORAN<sup>34</sup> in 1940.

The early work of Scripture translation among the Boran of Northern Kenya had been the work of one man, Erick J. Webster and his family. With the assistance of A.W. Halyett and Daudi Donabo, Mr. Webster translated

St. Luke in 1934. It was published by B.F.B.S., London as Damsa qulqulo aka tafame Lukani. The following year, 1935, they translated St. John. Included for the translation were other helpers, Musa Galgalo Sora and Richard Holding. The Acts of the Apostles was done in 1954 by Ruby G. Webster and E.J. Webster assisted by Daudi Donabo and published by the B.F.B.S., London as Wan Ergathimi Tolcite. The report of the Chairman of the Bible Society of Kenya of December 8th, 1972 noted that the Rev. Stephen Houghton is in the process of typing the New Testament manuscript which had already been completed after several years of work. It should be ready for publication very soon.<sup>35</sup> Then the Boran people will be able to read the New Testament and ultimately the whole Bible in their language some day. They are just about to have the New Testament.

NGALA POKOT (Suk)<sup>36</sup>

In 1936, the Suk people of North Western Kenya had St. Mark translated in their language by L.H. Totty of the B.C.M.S. and revised by Tom Collins of the A.I.M. T. Collins translated the book of Ruth in the same year, which he arranged without divisions, chapters, or verses. It was published by the A.I.M. Press, Kijabe. In 1960, Annette Totty and T. Collins resumed their Suk translations and published selections of Bible portions which they called Lugoi cho Karamuch (S.G.M., London) or "The Good News". In 1963 the Totty family translated

Matthew, Acts and Romans. They had a Committee composed of some Suk people to help them. The Totty family are still making progress in their translations of Scriptures into Pokot or Suk language. Since there are so few literate people among the Suk, the work has been slow, but nevertheless is progressing steadily, thanks to the Tottys.

### TURKANA<sup>37</sup>

The Turkana people of North Western Kenya have had the Scriptures translated into their language the last of all. Mark's Gospel was finished in April 1972 and its distribution was specially inaugurated by Rev. David Gitari, the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Kenya. This was the first Scriptures in Turkana and it was a joyous moment for the Turkana Christians, "few as they are. The translation of John's Gospel, letters of John and James have been completed and their publication is very near. Mrs. Joan Anderson, the lady who had dedicated herself to the task, hopes that she will have completed the whole of the New Testament in Turkana by 1977.

This chapter concludes the general survey of the Scripture translations that have been done in Kenya in a period of about 129 years covering about 18 tribes of Kenya. The writer has been informed that the work of translating the Scriptures into Somali and Kuria was started in 1969 and is in progress. However, he could

not get any information on how far it has progressed but there is no doubt that the Bible Society of Kenya has it as its goal the provision of Scriptures to most "tribes" in Kenya without any reservations. There are revisions as well as new translations in progress, even of the translations which are older. Reprints are being made of various versions for distribution to the peoples of this land. The Bible Society has an immense task. Nevertheless, the Society can look back and rejoice at what has been accomplished so far in the area of translations, thanks to the many missionaries and national Christians who in many cases have offered their dedicated services to the task of making Scriptures available to many Kenyans in their own languages.

	1948/49	1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952
Bibles	51,882	60,124	64,817	70,382	81,000
New Testaments	76,368	71,886	117,941	111,313	130,508
Puzzles	122,477	112,982	110,112	114,787	131,729
Collected	241,416	207,426	252,816	245,267	288,444
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>692,143</b>	<b>752,418</b>	<b>845,686</b>	<b>841,749</b>	<b>931,681</b>

The annual report for 1952 of the Children of the Bible Society of Kenya indicated that the distribution of Scriptures in Kenya in the year 1952 was the highest in Africa except South Africa. However, the report indicated also that only less than 1% of the total population of Kenya have been able to have a portion of Scriptures. The Central Council

Chapter V

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCRIPTURES

While it would be possible to get the figures of the Scriptures which have been distributed in various languages in Kenya, perhaps it may be necessary here just to indicate the overall position to-date of the distribution of Scriptures. The last 5 years, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973 and 1974 would suffice to indicate the situation regarding the distribution of Scriptures in Kenya. The situation is on an upward trend.

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	<u>1969/70</u>	<u>1970/71</u>	<u>1971/72</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>
Bibles	51,892	60,124	84,699	73,552	87,075
New Testaments	76,866	71,983	117,983	143,113	130,509
Portions	623,653	512,083	410,132	284,797	631,725
Selections	243,036	507,028	552,818	833,197	908,645

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TOTAL            997,447   1,161,218   1,165,632   1,330,659   1,757,954

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The annual report for 1972 of the Chairman of the Bible Society of Kenya indicates that the distribution of Scriptures in Kenya in the years 1969-72 was highest in Africa except South Africa.<sup>38</sup> However, the report indicates also that only less than 10% of the total population of Kenya have been able to have a portion of Scriptures. The Chairman pointed

to the fact that there was still the task of supplying the Word to the remaining 90% of the Kenyan population. Because of this need, the Bible Society of Kenya has embarked on the publication of Scripture portions locally so that this can be done fast enough to reach the people. Portions like the Turkana Mark, Meru Mark and Luke, Maasai Christmas story, the Luo story of Pentecost, Easter story in Kisii; Luo, Turkana, Kikuyu, Swahili and Kamba, the Pentecost story in Swahili and English; all have been printed and published locally and thousands of portions distributed to the masses. This local production of Scriptures has cost the Bible Society Kshs. 320,500/-. At the same period, the B.F.B.S. published these Scriptures: The Kamba New Testament, Swahili pulpit Bible and the Somali New Testament, which becomes the first New Testament to be published in Somali. The first consignment was expected in Nairobi in December 1972 when the report was read.<sup>39</sup>

There are economic factors to be considered always when the distribution of Scriptures is to be made. It costs the Bible Society about Kshs. 45/- to make one copy of the Bible to reach its reader. The reader pays an average of Kshs. 10/- for his copy. Therefore, on every Bible bought, there is a loss of Kshs. 35/-, so for all the Bibles, Testaments and portions of Scriptures distributed, the loss incurred is immense. Yet, the very motto of the Bible Society "to provide every man with Scriptures in his own language at a price he can afford to pay" makes this loss a necessity to the Bible Society. The general reader, unfortunately,

does not realize or even notice anything when he purchases a Bible at a very low price. The Bible Society of Kenya, with the assistance of the United Bible Societies is able to make the Bible reach the people no matter how poor. Christians who know their duty as Christians, and who want to share the bread of life abundantly with the world, make these things possible. We shall see briefly the financial state of the Bible Society of Kenya later on in our study.

Chapter VI

A STUDY OF FOUR LANGUAGES IN TRANSLATION

LUYIA

There are about seventeen dialects which are spoken by the greater Luyia community of Western Kenya. The missionaries who Evangelized the Luyia people tried to study the dialects of the area in which they were operating. The result was that the Luyia Christians did not have a common translation they could use everywhere. The Ragoli speaking section of the Luyia got their Scriptures in Ragoli from quite early days. The missionaries of F.A.I.M. studied Ragoli and by 1914 they had translated St. Mark into Ragoli as we saw before. The Anglican section of the Luyia had the Scriptures translated into another dialect, the Luhanga. Other dialects and sub-dialects of the Luyia community had Scriptures limited to their dialect and quite often to their denominational affiliations. Some areas like the Maragoli had all their primary school primers in their dialect. It was not easy to make them see themselves as part of the greater Luyia tribe although they largely shared one root and could not be divided as tribes in their sub-divisions. As time went on, it was felt by many Luyia Christians that a united translation of the Scriptures into Luyia was necessary.

The first meeting for the new translation took place from July 23-25, 1951 to discuss the procedure for



a united translation of the Luyia Scriptures.<sup>40</sup> The meeting was attended by Rt. Rev. L.J. Beecher (in the chair), Mrs. Donohew, Miss Baker, Messrs Y. Asila and D. Wako of the Church of God, Miss Hendrikson and Mr. D. Vundushu of the P.A.E.A., Rev. E. Kellum and J. Adede of F.A.I.M., Messrs F. Ainsworth and Y. Awori (A.A.C.), Jared Isalu and L.L. Appleby, the translators elect. On the following day the Rev. Festo Olang' also attended. The initial meeting which was denominationally representative resolved that support be given to the team of L.L. Appleby and J. Isalu to travel far and wide across Luyialand, meeting various people of the different dialects and attempting to compose an orthography which would be understood, if not fully accepted, by all seventeen dialects of the Abaluyia. The team accompanied by Miss Baker travelled widely trying to make a survey of differences in the dialects. They discussed with the people of the various areas the equivalents of words such as:-

Heaven - Likhulu; Light - Obalafu; Life - Obulamu; Blessing - Okulaamira; Sacred Name - Nyasaye; but it was decided to use the Swahili word - Bwana; Image or Likeness - Okfwana or Likondo; Soul and Heart - Omwoyo; Worship - Inamira; Righteous - Omulunji; Sacrifice - Zebach (slaughtered animal); Holy - Omutakatifu (Swahili root).

Many words with theological implications were found to be understandable in most areas of the Luyia. However, there were other words, unimportant as they might have seemed, that caused much disagreement. Jared Isalu at

Butere on January 7th, 1973<sup>41</sup> told the writer that names like "Holy Spirit" were to be left as in Swahili Omutakatifu because if translated, they would give the meaning of only one dialect. "Holy Spirit" is understood in Ragoli as "Omsiyenughu" while in some other area it could be "Omulafu", so they adopted "Omutakatifu" which can be understood by all parties. Isalu continued to say that even words like "cow" were causing problems since some use the common Bantu word "Ng'ombe" while the others like the Bukusu call it "ikhafu". Sometimes they had to use a word commonly used by the majority of dialects and put a footnote for those of other dialects who could not understand. While some people call heaven Likhulu, others call it Ishrama. So the translators used Swahili "Mbinguni". A lamp was in some dialects known as "Gikondi" while in others it was "Likhes". Footnotes and a glossary were inevitable in a translation involving so many dialects.

L.L. Appleby and J. Isalu reported to the committee for the translation of Luyia Bible on 7th July, 1952. They had travelled to Bujumba (Marachi), Namboloto (Samia), Nambale (Bukhayo) and Butonge (Bukhusu) to investigate the distribution of various words that had arisen in the course of the translation. Churches and pastors visited were of A.A.C. They cooperated well. Chief Jonathan Baraza had appointed a Bukhusu Committee (whose secretary was John Musundi) who reported that the differences in the vocabulary were greater than expected. As a result, the following resolutions were formulated:-

- 1) That it is necessary to get in touch with the Bukhusu language committee and find out details and problems of the translation.
- 2) That it is necessary to visit the area and work with the local people on a sample chapter of Genesis to see how many footnotes would be necessary to make it intelligible.
- 3) That one of the resulting drafts be tried on local people, especially women. (why?)

On August 4th 1952 the secretary for the translation reported that L.L. Appleby and J. Isalu had visited Ibinzo (Butsotso), Matende (Isukha) and Libimu (Wanga). Bukhusu area was revisited and the Secretary reported that some Bukhusu people rejected what they called a "Luyia Bible" and they were ready to join the Gisu for a separate translation. The chiefs and leaders were told that the version would be made intelligible to them through footnotes. The Bible Society had rejected any publication of a Gisu Bible and so they had no hope in that direction.

By 1954, investigations had been made of large areas of Luyia country such as Samia, Marachi, Bukhayo, Bukhusu, Butachoni, Kabras, Kakilelhwa and Wanga. Also visited were Isukha, Butsotso, Tiriki and Maragoli. After these visits, it was decided that Miss Baker prepare a draft on the book of Proverbs. The draft of the book of Genesis was under way. African assessors

were proposed but the matter was left to the churches and mission boards to finalize.

On October 10-11, 1956, a meeting of the translation Committee was held at Butere,<sup>42</sup> attended by Mr. Bradnock, and Mr. Bedford from the B.F.B.S. and the Bible Society in East Africa. This meeting advised that although the translators of the Luyia Bible had started with the Old Testament, it had been the custom of the Bible Society first to offer the New Testament, because when a New Testament is finished, it can be published separately. However, the committee recommended that the finished books of the Old Testament be published separately for use in the churches. Mr. Bradnock suggested that the translation of the New Testament should begin with Mark and the basis for translation should be the Greek New Testament. He promised a translation guide to the translators. In 1956, 5,000 copies of Miss Baker's translation of Proverbs were published.

Things got worse however, because in 1959, Miss Pitman and Mr. Wekesa of the F.A.I.M. resigned from the translators' committee. To follow them out of the committee were others who were used to reading their Bibles in Hanga, Nyore and Ragoli. By 1965, concern was expressed because only very few dialects were represented in the first translation. It was suggested that Rev. D. Udali (Ragoli), Rev. N. Aembe (also Ragoli) and Y. Namanda (Bukhusu) be invited to help in the committee. However, it seemed quite clear that the new Luyia translation would hardly be a representative version.

Denominational and regional prejudices threatened the goals of this new version. In an interview with Mr. Joel Litu, the man who spent nearly fifty years on the translation of the Ragoli Bible, the writer learnt that the Maragoli never really cared for a united version.<sup>43</sup> On January 8th, J. Litu told the writer that due to their history, tradition, and regional developments, the Maragoli Christians felt that some people, outsiders, were trying to tell them to feel a need that was quite non-existent, as far as they were concerned. They have their own primary school literature and a developed system which has no need to be disrupted. Although they participated lightly from the beginning, when the Bible Society in East Africa wished to refuse reprints of their Ragoli Bible, they turned to the American Bible Society and henceforth united against the proposed union version of the Luyia Bible. They have not considered a united version to be necessary for the Ragoli people to date. The Bukhusu and some other areas may have difficulty in rejecting the new version, but the Ragoli have no worries. They too may eventually admire and get to using the new version when it is completed but it will take them a long time. Many are of J. Litu's attitude, that the United Luyia version is actually a Luhanga version!

Nevertheless, 5,000 copies of the New Testament and Psalms arrived in Mombasa on 31st March, 1969 and an inauguration service was held at Kima Church in which the Rev. John Mpaayei, then the Executive Secretary of the Bible Society in East Africa was the

guest speaker. The work of translating the rest of the Bible in the new united version is still under way. L.L. Appleby and J. Isalu have by now completed the process of working out a complete Luyia Bible.

It must be observed that sometimes it matters greatly who initiates a translation, especially when such a translation involves people with different backgrounds and influences. The case of the Luyia Bible should be a good example of not only a clash of dialects but also of denominations. The A.A.C. members supported the new version while the F.A.I.M. were indifferent about it from the start. The former have greater British influence while the latter have an American influence. Each group is strong in convictions as well as in determination. In such a situation, compromise becomes difficult and unity a dream. The Bible Society may have learned that even in Scripture translations, it matters to some people who does it. Both Mr. Jared Isalu and Joel Litu are laymen of their churches, A.A.C. and F.A.I.M. respectively. As nationals they have seen part of the problem caused by the divisions the missionaries created among the people, while at the same they must admit the already existing problems. These facts need to be considered seriously when it comes to a translation which involves different denominations and dialects.

KALENJIN

The Bible had been completed by S.M. Bryson and his committee in the Nandi language by 1939. It was in 1952, that the Bible Society in East Africa recommended the production of a new version of the Bible for all the Kalenjin people, who comprise the Kipsigis, Nandi, Tugen, Elgeyo Marakwet and Terik. Dr. A. Tucker helped in organising a committee to lay down the orthography. The committee was to comprise all areas. Ezekiel Birech was invited to offer himself for the project. Suggestions for the New version were invited from all areas. To work with E. Birech was Miss Francis Mumford of the A.I.M. On January 8th 1974, F. Mumford,<sup>44</sup> told the writer that the work they did "reflected the Kalenjin people's attitude and the word of God as they can best have it so far". There was close contact with the Bible Society and the procedures laid down by the Bible Society in East Africa were closely observed. The proofs of the new version started coming back in 1967 and two years later, in 1969, the Vice-President Mr. Daniel arap Moi, himself a Kalenjin, inaugurated the New Bible translation at Kapsabet.

Perhaps it was due to the kind of missionaries who work among the Kalenjin that a united version was finished so smoothly. Apart from one man, a Mr. Ng'elechei, no one seemed to question the adequacy of the new version. Mr. Ng'elechei wrote a 40 word statement protesting that the Kalenjin people had been subjected to the orthography of one expatriate lady

and this should not be left unquestioned.

A foreigner, according to Mr. Ng'elechei, should not be allowed to offer the final word regarding a language of a people. The protests of Mr. Ng'elechei were attended to when J. Mpaayei arranged to meet him in Kampala - and some understanding, if not agreement was reached. The publication of the new version was due, and to embark on a controversy would have been quite undesirable. However, it was noted that if Mr. Ng'elechei had raised his criticisms in good time, something more might have been done on the matter. The Kalenjin people have been influenced and evangelized by the Faith Missions, mostly of the A.I.M. and the protestant section is almost wholly of one mind and orientation. This can help to explain the smooth acceptance of a united version of the Bible. Unlike areas where influences vary, the Kalenjin Protestants have almost everything in common. They would not notice the problems, and where they did, prayers rather than debate would lead the way. Nevertheless, the questioning of liberated minds like that of Mr. Ng'elechei may raise valid objections which could be taken into consideration later, but in the meantime, the Kalenjin people have a union version of the Scriptures.

The Catholics, who supported the new version and proposed to include "apocryphal" books in it so that it might be used by the Kalenjin Catholics, were over-ruled at Nakuru on the 4th of January, 1972. It became clear that if Catholics were to have a Bible with the larger



Old Testament Canon, they would have to produce it themselves. It is clear the people of the Kalenjin area have a predominant influence of the conservative type which is strong enough to over-rule any disagreement. It is also true that the experience of Miss Mumford and Ezekiel Birech may have contributed greatly to the success of this version.

#### GIKUYU

The Gikuyu got their New Testament in 1926, and the Old Testament in 1951. In 1955, R.A. Phillip of the C.S.M. wrote a circular letter to all missionaries, African Ministers, church leaders, and church courts working among the Gikuyu tribe, telling them, in his capacity as the secretary of the United Gikuyu Language Committee (U.K.L.C.), about the felt need to revise and reprint the Gikuyu New Testament, which should then be rebound with the Old Testament.<sup>46</sup> The Gikuyu Christians had to carry two volumes of the New and Old Testaments to go to church. However, Phillip did not suggest a new translation except a few amendments. The same year, 1955, the U.K.L.C. suggested that:-

- 1) The time had come to create a Bible revision Committee.
- 2) This work could take several years.
- 3) There were no longer many Europeans to do the job, therefore the new committee should be composed mainly

of Africans.

4) Church Councils be asked to appoint Gikuyu scholars who have "a great love for God and his Word" to become members of the Committee.

In September of 1955 Mr. Bedford, the then Secretary of the Bible Society in East Africa received a letter from one S.D.A.M. missionary, W.J. Wieland who had a letter from a Gikuyu teacher, Reuben Theuri of Kabari School in Embu making suggestions on many verses that needed revision, In the Gikuyu New Testament Mr. R. Theuri had suggested revisions of I John 5:8; Matt. 25:46; 2 Peter 2:9, 3:7; Matt. 16:27; Matt. 13:28-40; John 8:29-29 and Rev. 20:5 6-9. He also complained of omitted verses (Mark 11:26-27: 9: (44) 45, John 5: (4) 5. He also suggested that in Matt. 5:3 the word "blessed" be translated "kurathimwo" instead of "gukenari".<sup>47</sup> Mr. Theuri was among the many Gikuyu laymen and pastors who, being able to compare their Gikuyu Bible with English and Swahili versions, found the Gikuyu New Testament wanting. There was a cry for a revision of the Gikuyu Scriptures and the members of U.K.L.C. who received the pleas were prompted into making whatever decision they could to see that something was done in the matter. In January 1956, Mr. Bedford of the B.S.E.A. in Nairobi wrote Mr. Alan Page, then Secretary of the U.K.L.C. to inform him that there were people available to revise the Gikuyu New Testament. He also expressed a wish to have the whole Bible completed. In Nov. 1957, Mr. A. Page wrote Mr. Bedford and told him that the U.K.L.C.

had decided to work on a "light revision" of the Kikuyu New Testament as a "preparation for a subsequent definitive translation". The U.K.L.C. asked the B.F.B.S. to assist Rev. R.G.M. Calderwood of C.S.M. to embark on the task.<sup>48</sup> In December 1957, R.G.M. Calderwood wrote to the U.K.L.C. to express his feelings about the revision of the Gikuyu New Testament.<sup>49</sup> He suggested that native translators should come from all Gikuyu Districts - Nyeri, Embu, Fort Hall and Kiambu - and be selected to form a Committee for the job. Already he had Ayub Kinyua with whom he had started a light revision of the New Testament.

It had been decided before that A.R. Barlow, an old translator of Scriptures into Gikuyu should do the Johannine literature, which he completed by 31st December, 1957.

The B.F.B.S. suggested that the revised New Testament would have a new format to match the Old Testament so that the two volumes could be bound together to form a one-volume version. Mr. Bradnock of B.F.B.S. suggested that the new version should include references adopted from the Swahili "Biblia". R.G.M. Calderwood sent a reply to Mr. Bradnock on March 15th 1958 regarding untranslatable words like "mint" "anise" and "cummin", "the synagogue of the libertines", "Bishops" and "Deacons"; as well as whether it was fitting to use some Swahili words like "thamiri" for "conscience". Mr. Bradnock suggested that the words needing explanation be explained by a footnote the first time they occur.

The U.K.L.C. met at Kikuyu on Feb. 10th-13th 1958 to consider the revision of the Kikuyu New Testament.

Those attending the meeting were:

- The Rt. Rev. L.J. Beecher and Mrs. Beecher
  - Rev. R.G.M. Calderwood
  - Rev. Ayub Kinyua
  - Rev. Jackson Njiraini
  - Rev. Johana Nyenjeri
  - Mr. Andrea Wainaina
  - Rev. A. Page (Secretary)
  - Mr. H.C. Downing
  - Rev. K.L. Downing
  - Rev. R.A. Phillip
  - Mr. Timothy Kamau
- The Rev. F.J. Bedford (B.S. in E.A.), Nairobi, was present upon invitation.

The following decisions were reached:-

- 1) "Porneia" be translated "Umaraya" with a footnote indicating that it means sexual relations between unmarried parties.
- 2) The Committee rejected the S.D.A.M. punctuated translation of Luke 23:43. The S.D.A.M. wanted to say "I tell you today, you will be with me in Paradise" instead of "Today you will be with me in Paradise".
- 3) The word "Guthathaiya Ngai" should be used in the New Testament for the worship of God.

- 4) "Ugoro Uria Mwega" (Good news) be in capitals where it meant "The Gospel".
- 5) "Muthinjiri Ngai uria Munene" be in capitals when it meant "chief priest".
- 6) "Iguru" be in capital when it means "Heaven", the Home of God.
- 7) The spelling of words to keep the Old Testament standard.

R.G.M. Calderwood suggested that since his light revision was not thorough enough, a projected future revision was necessary. He insisted that the Gikuyu elect scholars from among the churches for a thorough revision. The work of a definitive translation would be slow and difficult but should be planned for the future.

On May 24th, 1958, R.G.M. Calderwood wrote:-<sup>50</sup>

- 1) Our revision makes no claim to be definitive. It was done as a "light revision" by R.G.M. Calderwood and the Rev. Ayub Kinyua. They had five months to work together.
- 2) The revision has covered the books of the New Testament except the Johannine Books which were done by A.R. Barlow.
- 3) A.R. Barlow's work was coordinated with that of R.G.M.

Calderwood and A. Kinyua. (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i) (j) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (p) (q) (r) (s) (t) (u) (v) (w) (x) (y) (z) (aa) (ab) (ac) (ad) (ae) (af) (ag) (ah) (ai) (aj) (ak) (al) (am) (an) (ao) (ap) (aq) (ar) (as) (at) (au) (av) (aw) (ax) (ay) (az) (ba) (bb) (bc) (bd) (be) (bf) (bg) (bh) (bi) (bj) (bk) (bl) (bm) (bn) (bo) (bp) (bq) (br) (bs) (bt) (bu) (bv) (bw) (bx) (by) (bz) (ca) (cb) (cc) (cd) (ce) (cf) (cg) (ch) (ci) (cj) (ck) (cl) (cm) (cn) (co) (cp) (cq) (cr) (cs) (ct) (cu) (cv) (cw) (cx) (cy) (cz) (da) (db) (dc) (dd) (de) (df) (dg) (dh) (di) (dj) (dk) (dl) (dm) (dn) (do) (dp) (dq) (dr) (ds) (dt) (du) (dv) (dw) (dx) (dy) (dz) (ea) (eb) (ec) (ed) (ee) (ef) (eg) (eh) (ei) (ej) (ek) (el) (em) (en) (eo) (ep) (eq) (er) (es) (et) (eu) (ev) (ew) (ex) (ey) (ez) (fa) (fb) (fc) (fd) (fe) (ff) (fg) (fh) (fi) (fj) (fk) (fl) (fm) (fn) (fo) (fp) (fq) (fr) (fs) (ft) (fu) (fv) (fw) (fx) (fy) (fz) (ga) (gb) (gc) (gd) (ge) (gf) (gg) (gh) (gi) (gj) (gk) (gl) (gm) (gn) (go) (gp) (gq) (gr) (gs) (gt) (gu) (gv) (gw) (gx) (gy) (gz) (ha) (hb) (hc) (hd) (he) (hf) (hg) (hh) (hi) (hj) (hk) (hl) (hm) (hn) (ho) (hp) (hq) (hr) (hs) (ht) (hu) (hv) (hw) (hx) (hy) (hz) (ia) (ib) (ic) (id) (ie) (if) (ig) (ih) (ii) (ij) (ik) (il) (im) (in) (io) (ip) (iq) (ir) (is) (it) (iu) (iv) (iw) (ix) (iy) (iz) (ja) (jb) (jc) (jd) (je) (jf) (jg) (jh) (ji) (jj) (jk) (jl) (jm) (jn) (jo) (jp) (jq) (jr) (js) (jt) (ju) (jv) (jw) (jx) (jy) (jz) (ka) (kb) (kc) (kd) (ke) (kf) (kg) (kh) (ki) (kj) (kk) (kl) (km) (kn) (ko) (kp) (kq) (kr) (ks) (kt) (ku) (kv) (kw) (kx) (ky) (kz) (la) (lb) (lc) (ld) (le) (lf) (lg) (lh) (li) (lj) (lk) (ll) (lm) (ln) (lo) (lp) (lq) (lr) (ls) (lt) (lu) (lv) (lw) (lx) (ly) (lz) (ma) (mb) (mc) (md) (me) (mf) (mg) (mh) (mi) (mj) (mk) (ml) (mm) (mn) (mo) (mp) (mq) (mr) (ms) (mt) (mu) (mv) (mw) (mx) (my) (mz) (na) (nb) (nc) (nd) (ne) (nf) (ng) (nh) (ni) (nj) (nk) (nl) (nm) (nn) (no) (np) (nq) (nr) (ns) (nt) (nu) (nv) (nw) (nx) (ny) (nz) (oa) (ob) (oc) (od) (oe) (of) (og) (oh) (oi) (oj) (ok) (ol) (om) (on) (oo) (op) (oq) (or) (os) (ot) (ou) (ov) (ow) (ox) (oy) (oz) (pa) (pb) (pc) (pd) (pe) (pf) (pg) (ph) (pi) (pj) (pk) (pl) (pm) (pn) (po) (pp) (pq) (pr) (ps) (pt) (pu) (pv) (pw) (px) (py) (pz) (qa) (qb) (qc) (qd) (qe) (qf) (qg) (qh) (qi) (qj) (qk) (ql) (qm) (qn) (qo) (qp) (qq) (qr) (qs) (qt) (qu) (qv) (qw) (qx) (qy) (qz) (ra) (rb) (rc) (rd) (re) (rf) (rg) (rh) (ri) (rj) (rk) (rl) (rm) (rn) (ro) (rp) (rq) (rr) (rs) (rt) (ru) (rv) (rw) (rx) (ry) (rz) (sa) (sb) (sc) (sd) (se) (sf) (sg) (sh) (si) (sj) (sk) (sl) (sm) (sn) (so) (sp) (sq) (sr) (ss) (st) (su) (sv) (sw) (sx) (sy) (sz) (ta) (tb) (tc) (td) (te) (tf) (tg) (th) (ti) (tj) (tk) (tl) (tm) (tn) (to) (tp) (tq) (tr) (ts) (tt) (tu) (tv) (tw) (tx) (ty) (tz) (ua) (ub) (uc) (ud) (ue) (uf) (ug) (uh) (ui) (uj) (uk) (ul) (um) (un) (uo) (up) (uq) (ur) (us) (ut) (uu) (uv) (uw) (ux) (uy) (uz) (va) (vb) (vc) (vd) (ve) (vf) (vg) (vh) (vi) (vj) (vk) (vl) (vm) (vn) (vo) (vp) (vq) (vr) (vs) (vt) (vu) (vv) (vw) (vx) (vy) (vz) (wa) (wb) (wc) (wd) (we) (wf) (wg) (wh) (wi) (wj) (wk) (wl) (wm) (wn) (wo) (wp) (wq) (wr) (ws) (wt) (wu) (wv) (ww) (wx) (wy) (wz) (xa) (xb) (xc) (xd) (xe) (xf) (xg) (xh) (xi) (xj) (xk) (xl) (xm) (xn) (xo) (xp) (xq) (xr) (xs) (xt) (xu) (xv) (xw) (xx) (xy) (xz) (ya) (yb) (yc) (yd) (ye) (yf) (yg) (yh) (yi) (yj) (yk) (yl) (ym) (yn) (yo) (yp) (yq) (yr) (ys) (yt) (yu) (yv) (yw) (yx) (yz) (za) (zb) (zc) (zd) (ze) (zf) (zg) (zh) (zi) (zj) (zk) (zl) (zm) (zn) (zo) (zp) (zq) (zr) (zs) (zt) (zu) (zv) (zw) (zx) (zy) (zz)

- 4) Thanks for Mr. Patrick Lawi and Leonard Mwathi for typing the MSS.
- 5) A long-term committee should undertake a definitive translation. The work of previous translators is invaluable and most of it will always stand.

In 1959, the U.K.L.C. accepted the B.F.B.S's format of the New Kikuyu Bible. The only suggestion that U.K.L.C. gave was that a large edition of a family Bible be considered for publication and a lectern Bible was encouraged. The U.K.L.C. recommended more maps than are in the Swahili Bible, a revision on the selection of pictures and the explanation of each picture. The colour of the Bible binding was suggested - the majority of the copies be in black and a smaller number in blue and dark red. The binding was also suggested to be of various types of different material. They recommended that a few waterproof Bibles be made.

Corrections and recommendations were made on some words and expressions commonly vague in the Kikuyu Bible:

- 1) (a) The Father, when meaning our relationship to God as our Father to be translated "Ithe Witu" expressing the Fatherhood of God.
- (b) My Father, when emphasizing the relationship between God the Father and the Son be translated

"Awa" or "Ngai Ithe" to make the distinction of  
from the God the Father and the Son in the Trinity.

(c) Your Father e.g. John 20:17 be translated "Ithe  
wanyu". In Matthew 6:4 the word can be  
translated "Thoguo" because the whole passage  
from v. 2 is in the singular.

2) (a) "Kiiroho" was recommended for the fruits or  
works of the Spirit.

(b) "Kiimwiri" was recommended for the fruits or  
works of the flesh.

3) "Mwana", "Kaana", after the child is over two years  
(Mt. 2). "Gakenge" for the child of under two years.

4) "Paralysis" be translated "gukua ciiga".

5) "Mystery" be translated "hitho" because "ndundu" is  
primarily an affair between two people.

6) "Adoption of sons" be translated "niguo tutuike ciana  
ciake".

7) "Ngoro" be the equivalent of "Psuche" and "Kardia."

There were various debates within the U.K.L.C. on  
how some expressions and words should be used in similar  
fashion. However, due to the fact that the Gikuyu Bible  
was not revised by a committee but is rather the work of

a few individuals, much that should have been improved from the previous translations was left untouched. R.G.M. Calderwood and A. Kinyua needed stimulation and correction from other Gikuyu-speaking people, especially those well versed in the use of the language. As Calderwood himself admitted, the Gikuyu Bible has yet to be worked on thoroughly. The New Testament is far from smooth. Some Swahili words like "Thamiri" should not have been used since they are uncommon and people especially older folk get very little help from footnotes. Phrases like "gwicurania kwa ngoro" should have been used for "conscience", instead of using a very technical Swahili word. The Old Testament is full of archaic Gikuyu. The writer personally being a Gikuyu, read the book of Proverbs and found 44 words which had to be verified from English to be understood.

Calderwood, Kinyua and Barlow did their best by at least lightly revising the Gikuyu New Testament. These gentlemen should wish the work they started to be finished satisfactorily by better-equipped leaders in the way of a committee of the kind that is currently translating the Maasai Bible. The Gikuyu Bible should not be considered for a revision but for a thorough and fresh translation. The churches in Kikuyuland, the educated Christians, and the Bible Society of Kenya should make this a serious objective, for the Kikuyu are great readers of the Bible, and they need a reliable translation for their churches and homes.



From the English LUO TRANSLATION

It took 16 years to finished the first Luo New Testament, the work of A.E. Pleydell up to 1926. Work on the Old Testament was started by G.A. Clarke. She carried out the work to completion by 1947. That Old Testament was criticised as poor in orthography; and attention to its revision was called for in 1952.<sup>51</sup>

Apart from the Diocese of Maseno which raised objections to the Old Testament being bound together with the New Testament, the other groups had recommended that a fresh translation be made of the Luo Bible and then be bound as one volume.<sup>52</sup>

Missions and churches working in the Luo country were asked to take part in the task of revising the Luo Bible. They were:

- 1) The Anglican Church and C.M.S. (Mr. Mayor)
- 2) The A.I.M. and A.I.C. (H. Capen).
- 3) The Pentecostal church of East Africa (Messrs. McQuire, Odhiambo, and Miss Siemens).
- 4) The S.D.A.M.
- 5) The Finnish Lutherans at Kom (P. Kusimin).
- 6) The Church of Christ in Africa, a dissident group

from the Anglican Church.

After a meeting convened by A.W. Mayor of the C.M.S., it was decided that Roy Stafford, who with a committee had finished the New Testament, should be asked to continue the work of a new Old Testament translation.

Roy Stafford intended the goal of the project to be Luo translation which would aim at satisfying the Luo people of all areas and denominations, including the catholics. Since it would be almost impossible to have each area and denomination represented in such a translation, a small committee should be asked to do the work of translating, while they would send questionnaires and ask for comments from all churches involved by post. Since then, Roy Stafford and his team of translators have been doing their translations and have come a long way. They have finished translating the Old Testament. The only problem expressed by R. Stafford was the lack of response from churches when questionnaires are sent to them. They have been sending their problems for suggestions to churches all over Luoland and it seems the churches have been little concerned about helping the team. Roy Stafford singled out the Catholic Church as the only church which has faithfully offered suggestions.<sup>53</sup> This has made the translators rather uncertain of what the people who will read the translation might say but, nevertheless they have kept on with their work faithfully.

It may be said that the work of the Luo translation which is still in progress is the work of a very diligent team. Using many of today's helps for the translators, the team can be expected to do a satisfactory job. The writer witnessed their procedure at Ng'iyia as they sharpened one another in getting the best word which would convey the ideas of Bible writers such as Isaiah. They also would read aloud their translation to see how it sounded and to test the literary beauty of Scriptures, something which many translators disregard.

If only the Luo Christians and churches which have been asked for help could have assisted R. Stafford's team faithfully, perhaps a better result might have been realized. Nevertheless, the Luo-speaking Christians can be assured of a good translation from the team which the Bible Society in Kenya has supported to make a new and satisfactory translation for the Christians in all Luoland.

Chapter VII

GENERAL RESULTS OF THE TRANSLATIONS

When people begin to read Scriptures in their own language, great changes result. People start identifying themselves with the message of the Bible as if it was written directly for them and not as something passed on to them. People begin to compare what the Scriptures teach with what their traditional beliefs have taught them. Not only are their traditional beliefs tested through the Scriptures but also the influence of the missionary and his denomination is scripturally gauged. If the traditional beliefs seem to oppose the Scriptures, the result is often revolutionary. If nothing against the tradition is derived from the Scriptures, people have tended to retain that tradition as their heritage. When the missionary attacks one of the neutral traditional heritages, the result have been rebellions which could not have otherwise happened. When a missionary doctor taught the Gikuyu in 1926 that female circumcision was brutal, hence evil, the Gikuyu took up the New Testament, which was published in that same year. They read of Paul declaring that neither circumcision nor un-circumcision had any religious validity. One can do as one pleases. While it is easy to see the Gikuyu circumcision controversy as nationalistic and political on the part of the Gikuyu, (and it certainly may have been), it was also a test of scriptural validation. The Gikuyu had the Bible not wholly on their side but nonetheless not against them. The polygamous African

compares himself proudly with men of God like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. People realize that one cannot argue against polygamy strictly from Scriptures; he can do that only from his own culture. If the God of Jacob is the same, he could rejoice in being the God of a polygamous Africa. T.A. Beetham has it this way: "usually independence was nourished by the reading of the Bible. There was a going back to the source of the faith in an endeavour to find what was relevant to a felt need".<sup>54</sup>

Dr. Barrett puts it even more clearly as he insists, "with the translation of the complete Bible, however, African societies gradually began to discern a serious discrepancy between missions and Biblical religion... Biblical religion emphatically upheld the family, land, fertility and the importance of women, and also appeared to endorse polygamy and respect of family ancestors".<sup>55</sup> Reading of the Scriptures does not only manifest itself in schism and strife, it manifests itself also in many other aspects. Literacy is highest among the people influenced by Scriptures. Literacy liberated peoples and made them receptive to worthwhile changes. The Bible has enriched the welfare of men wherever it has been truly read.

The religion of the Bible may lack uniformity but it is indeed deep and personal. It goes beyond what man says and finds its roots deep in the soil of the word of God. Professor Bolaji Idowu of Nigeria had declared "Those who translated the Bible... have left



### CONCLUSIONS

The story of Scripture translation and distribution is a success story. Over one million Scripture portions go to the masses of Kenya each year since the Bible Society passed the million mark in 1973. The written word is not necessarily read by one person; it is contagious. The million portions distributed would not be exaggerated if the number of their readers was doubled or even trebled. Kenyans can know that this land is a land not only familiar with the word of God but also deeply involved in it. The future of the church is assured if the statistics from our Bible Society keep showing a rising trend. Nevertheless, there are problems to be overcome:-

- 1) The Christians in Kenya must learn to help in the financing of the Bible Society of Kenya to ensure that internal resources can handle the substantial burden of making Scriptures available to our people. To date, only 2.9% of the budget of the Bible Society of Kenya is raised locally. That amount, according to the Chairman of the Bible Society can only run the activities of the Bible Society for 12 days in one year!<sup>57</sup> Most of the money has to come from abroad so that our people can read Scriptures in their language at a price they can afford to pay. The writer is of the opinion that Christians in Kenya know very little about their responsibilities and duties in supporting the Bible Society. The Bible Society of Kenya through its offices of public relations should do more in enlightening,

not just the rich Christians who can afford a symbol of status Bible Society Life membership, but also the common believer, so that he too, like the boy with the loaves of bread and the little fishes, may share what he has. There are thousands of Christians of good will who do not have adequate information on what the Bible Society is and what they should do. This should not be seen as a blame on the part of the promoters of the Bible Society activities but a challenge to them so that they may promote this important ministry even more. There are people willing to share what they have if they can be given the right information; that the Bible Society of Kenya is not a foreign organisation, but a local hand of the Christian church with a goal to spread the Gospel. It should be mentioned that many churches keep busy on their initiated programmes without even considering such good causes as supporting the Bible Society. All churches of Kenya enjoy the service of the Bible Society and should express in prayers and gifts that they are thankful. There are individual Christian leaders who can be contacted on the matter of supporting the Bible Society financially. It is essential that the Bible Society be supported locally on all things, if effective ministry is to be upheld, and at the same time the good and generous link with the United Bible Societies is to be maintained.

2) Existing translations of Scriptures should be revised in the future. It should be discouraged that a translation be made by an individual, unless there is no alternative. The Committee approach should be encouraged so that a translation may have some



universality and clarity to all who speak the language involved. The era of missionary translations should wind up and give way to translations done solely by the nationals. Expert help may continue, but the real work of translation should be done by the nationals. Where it is not possible to get the right persons, recruitment of the best minds of the tribes concerned should be done by the local Bible Society, which should not just leave the job to the missionary of the area in question alone, or to unqualified local people. Translators' helps should be translated into Swahili in East Africa and possibly be made like pocket-commentaries for the use of Bible expositors, and lay preachers. The translators committees should have, where possible, educated members to compose more than half of the whole committee. This would hasten the work and cut expenses. The Bible Society should not worry about who is responsible for translators recruitment, since a job well done would eventually justify the selection of the translator.

3) There is a great need for locally written commentaries in vernacular languages to help people acquire a firm foundation for the correct understanding of the Bible. Existing commentaries were written by the missionaries who not only have denominational differences but also cultural barriers to overcome. Commentaries should be written by a team of African Bible students who should not only be educated in the traditional theological systems, but also aware of what the Bible means, should mean, and could mean to the Africans. They, as Africans facing the need of their people, may produce

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sympathetic guidance for the Christians here. The Bible should become a book at home for the African Christian, if he has the aid to help him understand it prepared from within. Organizations like Theological Education Fund, S.P.C.K., and the Bible Societies should help in the publication of worthy commentaries which should be locally written.

It is easy to point theoretically to the needs of a task so complex and intricate. However, the writer is of the opinion that Kenya Christians have the potential to give other Kenyans the Scriptures to read in an improved way, now that the Bible Society has become a local and semi-autonomous Society. There is also the potential to make Scriptures not only readable but also understandable through commentaries and other helps which can be produced locally. Kenyan Christians, through the Bible Society and other co-operating bodies, such as N.C.C.K. and other inter-church forums, should seriously begin to talk and plan about the future of the work of Scripture-availability in Kenya.

Theological institutions should also consider preparing people for tasks related to the promotion of Christian literature, with the Bible as the basis for all Christian literature. Then and only then should Kenyan Christians feel at ease in connection with the provision of the word of God in this land. The churches should stop thinking that the Bible Society owns the Bible and is in business for profit, and see it rather as a hand of the church itself which would be

quite slack if it is not nourished from the body of the church itself.

1. Proceedings of the Council, 1888, p. 48-50, passed by C. F. Smith, "The Standing of the Church in the World" (London 1888) p. 48.
2. Ibid., p. 44.
3. Ibid., p. 44.
4. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
6. Ibid., p. 48.
7. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
8. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
9. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
10. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
11. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
12. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
13. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
14. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.
15. Extract from a letter of William Miller to Dr. Francis Stearns, in 1830, in the Proceedings of the American Baptist Convention, (London 1830) p. 48.

NOTES

1. Proceedings of the C.M.S. (1845) p. 49-50 Quoted by C.P. Groves. The Planting of Christianity in Africa vol. 11 (London 1954) p. 97.
2. Ibid. p. 98.
3. Ibid. p. 98.
4. Quoted from a letter of Dallington Maftaa to Bishop Steere on 23rd April, 1876 by Roland Oliver in the Missionary Factor in East Africa (London 1952) p. 40.
5. Ibid. p. 61.
6. Ibid. p. 11.
7. Interview with Rev. Norman Johnson, known as Kawinzi by Kamba people of Kangundo A.I.C. who speaks fluent Kamba. He and Mrs. Johnson have worked in the translation of the Kamba Bible. Rev. & Mrs. Johnson have been in Ukambani over 30 years.
8. Eugene Nida, Toward a Science of Translating, (Leiden: 1964) p. 157.
9. Minutes of the United Kikuyu Language Committee, (Archives of the Bible Society of Kenya, 1941).

10. An interview with Dr. Roland Stevenson, Translations consultant for Eastern Africa and the Middle East.
11. Minutes of the Bible Society of Kenya on the Kalenjin Bible of the meeting held at the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd, Nakuru on January 4th, 1972.
12. A survey of World Missions by John Caldwell Thiessen (Chicago 1956) p. 246.
13. Report of Rev. David Gitari, Executive Secretary, Bible Society of Kenya, 2nd February, 1973 on Taita Dabida Scriptures.
14. Geraldine E. Caldhams, A Bibliography of African Scriptures in African Languages Vol. II on the Central Swahili, (The British and Foreign Bible Society, London 1966) pp. 617-620.
15. Ibid. Vol. 1 pp. 268-270 (On the Kamba Bible).
16. Ibid. Vol. 1 pp. 180-183 (On the Giryama Bible).
17. Ibid. Vol. 11 pp. 645-647 (On the Taita Bible).
18. Ibid. Vol. 11 pp. 558-559 (On the Pokomo Scriptures).
19. Barrett, David and others, Kenya Churches Handbook (Kisumu, 1973) p. 181.

20. A Bibliography of African Scriptures, op. cit. Vol. 11 pp. 652-654 (On the Taveta Scriptures).
21. Ibid. & Vol. II pp. 652-654.
22. Ibid. Vol. 1 pp. 285-292 (On the Kikuyu Bible).
23. Ibid. Vol. 1 pp. 362-365 (On the Luo Scriptures).
24. The report of the Chairman of the Bible Society of Kenya given December 8th, 1972, p. 3 on the Luo New Translation.
25. A Bibliography of African Scriptures Op. cit. Vol. 1 pp. 374-376 (On the Maasai Scriptures).
26. Chairman's report op. cit. (On Maasai Translation).
27. A Bibliography of African Scriptures op. cit. Vol. 1 pp. 293-294 (On the Kipsigis Scriptures).
28. Ibid. Vol. 11 pp. 446-446 (On the Nandi Scriptures).
29. Ibid. Vol. 11 pp. 563-567 (On the Ragoli Scriptures).
30. Ibid. Vol. 1. pp. 372-373 (On the Luhya Scriptures).
31. Ibid. Vol. 1 pp. 294-295 (On the Kisii Scriptures).
32. Chairman's report op. cit. (On the Eke gusii Bible Translation) p. 3.

33. A Bibliography of African Scriptures Vol. 1 op. cit. pp. 421-423 (On the Meru Bible).
34. Ibid. Vol. 1 pp. 92-95 (On the Boran Scriptures).
35. Chairman's report op. cit. p. 3 (On the Boran Scriptures).
36. A Bibliography of African Scriptures Vol. 11 pp. 469 (On the Ng'ala Pokot Scriptures).
37. Chairman's report op. cit. p. 3 (On the Turkana Scriptures).
38. Ibid. p. 2
39. Ibid. p. 2
40. Minutes of the Luyia Bible meeting July 23rd-25th, 1951 in the archives of the Bible Society of Kenya.
41. Interview with Jared Isalu, Translator of the Luyia Bible, at Butere on 7/1/73.
42. Minutes on the Luyia Bible of the meeting held at Butere on October 10th-11th, 1956.
43. Interview with Joel Litu of the F.A.I.M. a translator of the Ragoli Bible since 1914 (January 8th, 1973).

44. Interview with Miss Frances Mumford at Kapsabet on January 8th, 1973. F. Mumford was Secretary to the translations Committee of the Kalenjin Bible.
45. Minutes of the Kalenjin Bible. Archives of the Bible Society of Kenya, Nairobi.
46. Minutes of the U.K.L.C. August, 1955.
47. Minutes of the U.K.L.C. September, 1955.
48. Minutes of the U.K.L.C. November, 1957.
49. Minutes of the U.K.L.C. December, 1957.
50. Minutes of the U.K.L.C. May, 1958.
51. Minutes on the Luo Bible (Bible Society of Kenya, 1952).
52. Minutes on the Luo Bible (Bible Society of Kenya, October 4th, 1955).
53. Interview with Roy Stafford at Ng'iya on January, 8th, 1973.
54. T.A. Beetham, Christianity and the New Africa, (London, Pall Mall press, 1967) p. 21.
55. David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1968) p. 268.



56. Bolaji Idowu, Toward an Indigenous Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) p. 15.

57. Chairman's report, Bible Society of Kenya, December 8th, 1972.

SCRIPTURE TRANSLATIONS IN AFRICA 1800-1900  
INCLUDED IN THIS WORK FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMPARISON

Language	Country	Date	Scripture Portions	Translators
1. Arabic (Colloquial)	North Africa	1862-65	St. Matthew into Colloquial Arabic	J.M.C. Finsburg
		1871-72	Acts of Apostles	J.M.C. Finsburg
		1901	New Testament	Eric Newstrom
2. Bullom	Sierra Leone	1816	St. Matthew	Rev. G.H. Nylander
		1839	Parables and Discourses of Jesus	" " " "
3. Temme	" "	1868	New Testament	Christian Schlenker
4. Mende	" "	1867	Scripture portions	J.F. Schon assisted by Harvey Ritchell, a national pastor
		1872	St. Luke and all other Gospels the same year St. Matthew	H. Johnson, a national pastor
5. Soso	" "	1816		
		1884	New Testament	John Godfrey Wilhelm Duport for SPCK
6. Mandingo	Gambia	1837	St. Matthew and other Gospels	R. Macbrair

Language	Country	Date	Scripture Portions	Translators
7. Basa	Liberia	1844	Some Scripture portions	William G. Crocker
8. Grebo	"	1838	Some Scripture portions	J.L. Wilson and Bishop Payne
9. Gha	Ghana	1826	The Sermon on the Mount	A.W. Hanson
		1843	The Gospel of Matthew and John	A. W. Hanson
		1861	New Testament	J. Zimmerman,
		1872	Old Testament	T. Quarley and I. Nikoi (The latter two were nationals)
10. Ewe	Ghana	1861	First portions of Scriptures	J.B. Schlegel
"	"	1877	New Testament	J. Mertz
Fante	"	1877	St. Matthew and the Gospels	A.W. Parker, a national pastor
Twi	"	1859	First portions of Scriptures	J.G. Christstller
"	"	1870	New Testament	" "
Efik	Nigeria	1851	The Life of Joseph in Genesis	Hugh Goldie
"	"	1852	St. John	" "
"	"	1862	The New Testament (This was the first translation by a missionary to be published by BFBS)	Hugh Goldie assisted by Aye Eyo

Language	Country	Date
Efik	Nigeria	1868
Hausa	"	1853
"	"	1857-80
Igbo	"	1866
Ejan Edzo	"	1870
Nupe	"	1860
"	"	1866
Yoruba	"	1850-65
Benga	Spanish Guinea	1858-74
Fernando Po	"	1858

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Scripture Portions

Translators

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The Old Testament

Alexander Robb  
assisted by Esien  
Esien

First portion of the  
N.T.

James Richardson

The whole of the  
New Testament

Rev. Fredrick Schon

Corinthians to  
Philippians

J.C. Taylor (a national  
clergyman) supervised  
by F.J. Schon.

Some Scripture  
portions

Carew, a national  
catechist

Some Scripture  
portions

Samuel Adjai Crowther  
assisted by native  
interpreters

Matthew and Mark

Henry Johnson, a national  
pastor

The N.T. and the Book  
of Common Prayer

Samuel Adjai Growther  
assisted by Thomas King

Most of the N.T.

G.M. McQueen and James  
MacKay

Portions of the N.T.

Clare and A. saker

Language	Country	Date
Isubu	Cameroun	1843
		1852
Dualla	"	1848-80
Onyene	Gabon	1850-93
Nubia	Sudan	1860-79
Amharic	Ethiopia	1824-40
		1844-52
"	"	1860-64
"	"	1871

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Scripture Portions

Translators

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Scripture portions

J. Merrick, an African trained in Jamaica

The Gospels and Acts

J. Merrick

N.T. and most of the O.T.

Alfred Saker and his daughter E. Saker

The N.T.

American missionaries of the A.P.M.

Scripture portions and The Gospel of Mark

R. Lepsius who also established a standard alphabet of the Nubi

The N.T.

Abu Rumi assisted by Asselin de Cheville French Consul in Cairo. Also assisting were C.M.S. missionaries Thomas P. Platt, S. Lee

Revision of the N.T.

J. Jowett and C.W. Isenberg and H. Bhremanhardt

N.T. Revision

J.L. Krapf

Portions of the O.T.

Abba Rukh, a learned Abyssinian

Language	Country	Date
		1866
Kamba	Kenya	1850
Nyika	"	1878
Ghalla	Somalia/Kenya	1839
Swahili/ Central	Kenya	1844
Swahili/ Southern	Zansibar Mainland Tanzania	1868
		1882
Yao	Tanzania/Malawi Mozambique	1880
Malagasy	Madagascar	1828-35 1877
Luganda	Uganda	1887
		1894



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Scripture Portions

Translators

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The whole Bible

J.M. Flad, assisted  
by a national

St. Mark

J.L. Krapf

St. Matthew

J.L. Krapf

4 Chapters of St. John

J.L. Krapf

The book of Genesis

J.L. Krapf assisted by  
Ali bin Mohedin, a  
Muslim Kadhi

The book of Jonah

Bishop E. Steer

The New Testament

Bishop E. Steer

Portions of Scriptures

C. Maples and Hetherwick

The whole Bible  
Gospel and Acts

David Jones and David  
Griffiths, Roman Catholics

First translations

A.M. Mackay & R.P. Ashe

New Testament

G.L. Pilkington

Language	Country	Date
Xhosa	South Africa	1833
Suto	"	1839-81
Zulu	"	1846
		1857-70
		1883
Tawana	"	1830-40
		1877
Nyanja	Malawi	1880

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Scripture Portions

Translators

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St Luke

B. Boyee who formulated the "Euphonic concord", a standard guide to Xhosa language

St. Mark. N.T. and the whole Bible

Eugene Casalis, S.J.D.M. J.D.M. Ludorf and A. Mabile

Genesis

Newton Adams

N.T.

Bishop J.W. Colenso

The Bible

Members of A.Z.M.

The N.T.

Robert Moffat

The Bible

Moffat's work corrected by John Brown

Scripture portions

Robert Laws.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.C.	African Anglican Church.
A.B.S.	American Bible Society.
A.G.C.	African Gospel Church.
A.I.C.	African Inland Church.
A.I.M.	African Inland Mission.
A.P.M.	American Presbyterian Mission.
A.Z.M.	American Zulu Mission.
B.C.M.S.	Bible Churchmens Missionary Society.
B.F.B.S.	British & Foreign Bible Society.
B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society.
B.S.E.A.	Bible Society in East Africa.
B.S.K.	Bible Society of Kenya.
C.C.A.	Church of Christ in Africa.
C.C.M.	Consolata Catholic Mission.
C.G.	Church of God.
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society.
C.S.M.	Church of Scotland Mission.
F.A.I.M.	Friends African Industrial Mission.
G.M.U.	Gospel Missionary Union.
L.E.L.M.	Leipzia Evangelical Lutheran Mission.
M.M.S.	Methodist Missionary Society.
N.B.S.S.	National Bible Society of Scotland.
N.C.C.K.	National Christian Council of Kenya.
N.M.	Neukirchen Mission.
P.A.G.	Pentecostal Assemblies of God.
P.A.E.A.	Pentecostal Assemblies of God in East Africa.
P.C.E.A.	Presbyterian Church of East Africa.
S.M.E.P.	Societe des Missions Evangeliques de Paris.
S.D.A.M.	Seventh Day Adventist Mission.

- S.G.M. Scripture Gift Mission.
- S.L.M. Swedish Lutheran Mission.
- S.O.A.S. School of Oriental and African Studies,  
University of London.
- S.P.C.K. Society for the Promotion of Christian  
Knowledge.
- U.B.S. United Bible Societies.
- U.K.L.C. United Kikuyu Language Committee.
- U.M.C.A. Universities Mission to East & Central  
Africa.
- U.M.M. United Methodist Mission.
- U.S.C.L. United Society for Christian Literature.

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Archival Material

Bible Society of Kenya Archives, Bible House, P.O. Box 72983,  
Nairobi.

Interviews:

Personal interviews were conducted among the following persons:

Rev. (Now Bishop) David Gitari, General Secretary, Bible Society of Kenya.

Dr. Roland Stevenson, U.B.S. Translations Consultant for East and Central Africa, Nairobi.

Rev. John T. Mpaayei, Formerly the General Secretary, Bible Society in East Africa and now a translator of the Maasai Bible.

Rev. & Mrs. Norman Johnson of A.I.C. Kangundo who played a major role in the translation of the Kamba Bible.

Miss Frances Munford, of the A.I.C. Kapsabet and a major translator of the Kalenjin Bible.

Jared Isalu of A.A.C. Butere and the co-translator with Deaconess L.L. Appleby of the Luhya Bible.

Joel Litu of F.A.I.M., translator of Ragoli Bible for nearly 50 years.

Roy Stafford and his team at Ng'inya, Kisumu, the translators of the Luo Bible.

Rev. Meshak Murage, Karatina Nyeri, who helped Rev. Barlow of C.S.M. in the early translations of the Gikuyu Bible.



Others who were interviewed although not actual translators were:

Rev. John Gatu of the P.C.E.A.

Aron Kasyoki of the A.I.C. Kangundo.

Christopher Waweru, Distributions Officer with the Bible Society of Kenya.