Itumeleng D Mothoagae

The 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke as a technology of power

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In memory
of
Moagi Mothoagae
25 January 2016 to 14 July 2019

The day I lost you, my life was changed forever.
But my love for you will never end.
I will love you for all eternity.

Research justification

The 19th-century translations of the Bible into indigenous languages such as Setswana have had an impact on the religio-cultural practices of the indigenous people, thus leading to the erosion and alteration thereof. South African biblical scholarship, in its research, has neglected studies of the effect of the missionary translations on the receptor culture. The Setswana Bible was the first to be translated in Africa. In tracing the intentions of Robert Moffat as the first translator of the Setswana text, it is insufficient to consider only the translated text, as it does not reveal sufficient knowledge and intentions of the translator. It therefore becomes imperative to review and consider any associated literature such as missionary journals, biographies, autobiographies and letters. In these sources, Robert Moffat does not reveal why he began with the Gospel of Luke; rather, he mentions his reasons for deciding to begin with the translation of the Christian Bible. However, the indigenous custodians of the language, the Batswana, did not participate in the translation of the Christian Bible. Rather, they played the role of translators during the preaching. Robert Moffat, at the same time, cast aspersions on their ability to comprehend Western theological concepts. The research intends to analyse the politics of translation and not the translation equivalence within the broader missionary and colonial enterprise, explicitly focusing on the ideological, theological and epistemological paradigm of the translator's intentions.

The 1840 English–Setswana New Testament and other translations alike are not immune to the translator's influence. This study aims to reveal how the translator's perspective is inevitably woven into the text and how this awareness can enrich our understanding of the source material. The analysis of the 1840 Gospel of Luke in the context of Setswana culture in South Africa within biblical sciences was conducted to systematically analyse the impact of such a text on the traditions and identities of the receptor language. Although the research is within New Testament studies (biblical sciences), an interdisciplinary approach was adopted, drawing from other disciplines such as linguistics, African languages, history, English literature, cultural studies, black studies and theology, as the studies of decoloniality cut across numerous disciplines. The methodology adopted by the author was an analysis of the significant historical literature and documents from primary sources. It drew from the records and works of the British and Foreign Bible Society, The History of the London Missionary Society (vols. 1 and 2) and the journals, letters and writings of missionaries such as Robert Moffat and John Campbell.

This book represents a reworking of more than 50% of the author's Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, 'A decolonial reflection on Moffat's 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke: The transmutation of *Modimo* and *Badimo*', submitted in 2021 in fulfilment of the requirements for doctoral degree in the discipline of biblical studies specialising in the New Testament at the University of South Africa in Pretoria, South Africa, with Prof. Hulisani Ramantswana as supervisor.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of biblical texts cited in this research are from the 1830s and 1840s versions of the Moffat translation of the Gospel of Luke into Setswana, the 1611 King James Bible and Koine text accessed online. The reference system in this book is the second edition of The SBL Handbook of Style (SBL Press 2014). The author confirms that no part of the work has been plagiarised, and it was cleared of possible plagiarism by using iThenticate.

The target audience of the book is scholars and experts in biblical sciences, especially New Testament studies.

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Dedication

I dedicate this book to my guardian angel, Moagi Mothoagae; losing you at this tender age was a blow to me. Our love will live forever, for love is eternal. Also to my wife, Kgomotso O Mothoagae, without whose love and support I could not have succeeded. Thank you so much!

Acknowledgements

for editing my initial work (for my PhD). We spent many irregular hours discussing and debating important details. Thank you for your support.

My aunt, Ntebo Florence Mothoagae, and her daughter, Kagiso Boitumelo Mothoagae, have been a constant presence in my life. My praying partners, all the Mothoagae family, the Mokhutsane family, Rev. Dr Melinda Contreras-Byrd and family: your constant prayers and best wishes have been a fountain of strength.

I am indebted to Thea Korff, managing editor of AOSIS Scholarly Books, and Dr Anna Azarch, scientific editor of AOSIS Scholarly Books, for their guidance regarding the incorporation of the reviewers' suggestions.

I owe considerable thanks to my children, Gofaone, Amantle Botshabelo, and my guardian angel, Moagi, for their love, prayers, patience and understanding during my absence. *PULA!*

My dearest wife, Kgomotso Mothoagae, I could not have achieved this significant achievement without your continual sacrifices and support in persevering.

Ke libisa ditebogo tsotlhe go Modimo le Badimo [I thank *Modimo* and *Badimo*], without whom I would not have been able to bring this scholarly book to fruition.

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Biographical note

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Itumeleng D Mothoagae is the chair of the Department of Gender and Sexuality Studies (formerly known as the Institute for Gender Studies), College of Human Sciences (CHS), University of South Africa (Unisa). He joined Unisa in 2008 in what was then the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Studies. Mothoagae holds a Bachelor of Philosophy (BPhil), Bachelor of Theology, Bachelor of Ministry, an Honours degree (Hons) in Theology, a Master of Theology degree, specialising in the New Testament, a postgraduate diploma (PgDip) in Outcome-Based Higher Education and Open Distance Learning and a Doctor of Philosophy degree (PhD) in the New Testament, with his thesis titled 'A decolonial reflection on Moffat's 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke: The transmutation of *Modimo* and *Badimo*.'

Mothoagae serves on various institutional committees, such as the Institutional Forum, the Committee of the Unisa Senate (SENEX), the Institutional Employment Equity Forum, the CHS Extended Management Committee, the School Management Committee and the CHS Employment Equity Committee. Mothoagae served as a member of the University Council (2021–2023) and the subcommittees of the Finance, Investment and Estates Committee of Council (FIECoC) and the Academic and Student Affairs Committee of Council (ASACoC). Mothoagae is the local branch secretary of the Academic and Professional Staff Association (APSA-UNISA). In his capacity as the secretary, he represents the union at the Unisa Bargaining Forum (UBF). He is a senate and advisory board member of St Augustine College, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Mothoagae conceptualised and managed a project called 'Voice and Voicelessness' from 2011 to 2015. He is the founder and co-convener of the Transatlantic Roundtable on Religion and Race. He is the co-founder of a nongovernmental organisation (NGO) called the Moagi Mothoagae Foundation; the foundation is named after his late son Moagi Mothoagae (2016–2019). He is the co-convener, advisor and research associate of the Comparative Heritage Project. He is the co-convener of The Sacred Texts Movement.

He has published extensively in national and international journals. He has served as a guest editor in national and international journals and co-edited books with national and international scholars. Mothoagae has given keynote addresses at various national and international conferences. He has presented public lectures at Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey, the United States of America (USA).

His fields of specialisation are New Testament Ethics, Cultural Translation Studies, Postcolonial Bible Translation, Decoloniality, African Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Studies. His academic interests are Womanist Theories, Critical Race Theory, Black Theology of Liberation, African Ethics, Critical Spatiality Theory, Space and Literature, and Identity Studies. Mothoagae is a South African National Research Foundation (NRF) C2-rated scholar.

Glossary of Setswana terms

aletara	altar
bademoni	devils, pl.
Badimo	ancestors
baengeli	angels
baeteni	heathen
batemona	devils
bogosi	royalty
bogwera	male initiation rite
bojale	female initiation rite
bongaka	the practice of being of a diviner-healer
dianeng	proverbs
ditaola	tools for diagnoses used by diviner-healers
faev	five
go dima	penetrated, permeated, percolated and spread
go nyenyefatsa	disparaging or demeaning
go phatlha	libation
gorimo	above
imphepho	*Helichrysum petiolare*, known as the liquorice plant
Keresete	Christ
kgosi	king or chief (pl. *dikgosi*)
kgotla	courtyard of Kgosi, public meeting place, village section, ward (pl. *dikgotla*)
legodimo, legorimo	heaven (pl. *magorimo*)
ligion	legion
mainaneng	folklore
maineng	names
malome	uncle from maternal side
Mme	mother
Modimo	Divine, God
Modimo ke Lesedi	It is light
Modimo o mongwe	Divine is One
Montshi	one who enables or helps to come out, enabler, midwife

Moroka	a diviner-healer that performs rain-making ritual; rainmaker
morwa wa ga	the son of
morwadi oa	the daughter of
Motlhodi	source, root
Motswana	tribal identifier or category (pl. *Batswana*)
mowa o maswe	unclean spirit
Mwari	God (in Shona)
ngaka	diviner-healer(s) or doctor(s) (pl. *dikgaka*)
ngwan'a	child
ngwana wa ga	the child of
ngwao	a belief system
puo ya Setswana	language of Setswana
rakgadi	aunt from paternal side
ramotse	man of the house
rara	father
rara–morwa	father–son
rre, rra wa ga	the father of
satana	Satan
selo	thing
senagogeñ	synagogue
temona	devil
Thakadu	antbear
thri	three
tu	Two

Foreword

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Robert Moffat's translation of the Gospel of Luke in 1840 belongs to the colonial era, when the colonialists and their agents subjugated native peoples and imperially imposed their worldviews on the unsuspecting subjects. They degraded the receptor cultures. On a kind of 'rescue mission', the author adopts, among others, the decolonial approach used to critically analyse earlier European intentions on the lands of the Americas from the 15th century. He undertakes the task of tracing the Eurocentric hierarchies of knowledge and ways of living that the colonialists upheld, even when in the African world, as the only mode of existence on planet Earth. To re-evaluate this conquest–conqueror mindset, the author investigates the politics of translation as conducted by the missionaries. He denotes the process as a colonial enterprise, with a special interest in their translation ambitions. He undertakes to query the relevance and impact of the first translated texts by missionaries on the traditions and the erstwhile cultures of the readership in the South African context.

The book grew out of the concern for redirection of the paths contemporary African biblical scholarship is treading by asserting that the history of the emergence of the Holy Book and Africans' encounter with it had been a mixed bag. The arrival of the Holy Writ in Africa and its usage by the colonialists left much to be desired. Well-informed African biblical scholars have come of age as they have begun to take cognisance of this phenomenal despoliation. Hence, it is noted that the resources the author amasses to process this project are no doubt complex. He digs into the archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society; *The History of the London Missionary Society* (vols. 1 and 2); associated learned journals; letters and writings of the missionaries; the papers of Moffat himself; his translation procedures for the Gospel of Luke; the King James Bible (1611) as his source text; and the Koine Greek text. Such research is by no means an easy task to accomplish. A compendium of this magnitude is glaringly outstanding

as a commendable achievement worthy of emulation by upcoming scholars of the Bible in Africa.

The author also explores the subject with triple theoretical tools – the decolonial approach, the Foucauldian theory of power and cultural translation studies – all within the ambit of the 'qualitative approach'. He utilises these three approaches to process his research as 'interchangeable and intersectional tools of analysis'. The question is: how have the tools been skillfully used to address the questions African people are asking the Bible today? Do these methodologies help Africans listen to the author's voice to find and sustain their interest in what he is saying and doing? He uses the decolonial approach pioneered by scholars like Torres, Grosfoguel, Mignolo, Quijano and Ndlovu-Gatsheni to expose the trajectories of translation schemes in the colonial period. He engages with Foucauldian theory to assess the colonial matrix of power during the time Moffat lived and translated the Gospel of Luke into Setswana, as well as cultural translation criticism to critique cultural knowledge and cultural differences as a major task before translators when confronted with words and phrases that are so profoundly and entirely grounded in one culture that are almost impossible for them to translate into the verbal terms of the local people. In short, the author himself functions as a specialist in the analysis of the colonial matrix of power within the process of the translation of Moffat's 1840 Gospel of Luke and its determination to 're-order' and to 'erode' the Batswana traditional beliefs in *Modimo* and *Badimo*. In the broader colonial policy, the British and Foreign Bible Society had played dubious roles in facilitating Moffat's project. In essence, the author's methods help us readers to penetrate into the meanings of some individual texts to realise how the colonial matrix of power had infiltrated and affected 'the act of translation during the 19th century'.

The harvest of ideas generated from the methods adopted by the author draws attention to his useful employment of credible research procedures to promote the emergence of novel perceptions and proposals, which are judged quite in tune with previous academic studies associated with the decolonisation reading in the Global South and the real 'quest for Africanisation and the de-colonisation of Biblical Sciences' in Africa. His handling of the methods is ingenious, systematic and brilliant. Thus, the methods employed alongside the selected texts from the Gospel of Luke, his data collection from the primary and secondary sources, and their analysis and interpretation are well nuanced and articulated to enable the reader of this book to understand what he is saying as the author. The triple approaches give direction to the understanding of the author's insights on how the colonial masters reordered and downrated traditional Setswana concepts such as *Modimo* and *Badimo* by foreignising them. According to

the spirit of the study, the translation process had become an act of foreignisation.

This book, the contents of which the author has so passionately and emotionally argued, is one of the few of its kind that I know of to have appeared in the African biblical landscape. Over the years, many African biblical scholars have been ignorant of the translations that have been made of the Bible in different parts of Africa, which has resulted in its insipid reception by and appeal to various African Christians. Some hold onto the view that the book reveals complex thought forms which have led to the discredit and relegation of values of the Holy Scripture in Africa. Many schooled persons see the Bible as the white man's fountain of power and domination. For some others, it is a 'magic book' that white people used to debase African religious belief systems and to chase off our spiritualities. In this work, Prof. Mothoagae, himself an insider, digs deep into the intentions of the translator with interdisciplinary approaches. He relentlessly accomplishes the bold and difficult task of providing a clearer perception of the daunting challenge encountered by Moffat during his rendition of the Gospel of Luke into the Setswana mother tongue in 1840. He forcefully argues and clairvoyantly focuses on the *raison d'être* of the colonial enterprise and the imperial use of the Bible as a cudgel to 'tame', as it were, the indigenous peoples, destabilise their identity and degrade their cultures. The author considers this manner of civilising the so-called 'savages' to be atrocious, inalienably despicable and abysmally inhumane. From this insight, he definitively defines the very attitude embedded in colonial translation as a precarious and pernicious means of deracinating the traditional lore and values of the native readers (people, audience) whose aboriginal modes of existence were brazen-facedly colonised and shackled. I find it commonplace to assert that awareness of this sort of history of the use and abuse of the Holy Writ for the Batswana remains an eye-opener for present-day African biblical scholars to 'shine their eyes' and to begin to recognise the consequences inherent in the misreading of the Gospel of Luke, one of the most gentile-friendly books in the Christian canon.

I have no doubt that the reader will discover that the paradigmatic lure for this book is embedded in the contents of its seven chapters. Even though the clarity of the problem being addressed is quite opaque, the author's research questions allay the reader's fears, as they are focused on the peculiarities, ideology and social and epistemic location of the translator himself. In five queries, the author interrogates the viability and workability of the kind of tools used by Moffat as a 19th-century translator, the forms of 'governmentality' the London Missionary Society (LMS) performed, the technologies the translator adopted to arrive at the symbols and meanings of Setswana divine names *vis-à-vis* what their congruent terms in the

source text and the receptor cultures initially were. The mechanisms the translator employed to frame concepts such as 'devil,' 'demon' or 'Satan' and 'unclean spirits' from the receptor culture certainly agitate the author. An illuminating question is this one: In whose interest was the translation of the Bible undertaken as an act of standardisation and vernacularisation of Setswana? Most of the questions query the state of affairs of the colonial period when Moffat produced his Setswana Gospel of Luke. However, the questions the author raises share much in common with generally acceptable scientific and critical principles that govern research in New Testament Studies. Otherwise, the singular choice of Luke's gospel, generally acknowledged as the gospel of the gentiles and of women, is quite appropriate and germane on the part of the author to undertake historical and exegetical reflections to expand contemporary African church historiography and the dissemination of knowledge. In this case, the author delineates the research problem well.

Besides the above comments, the author's awareness, use and coverage of related literature – a whopping 268 works in all, as well as four archival sources – is quite impressive. The primary sources are the British and Foreign Bible Society (1840) and especially the Apprenticeship at Kuruman Mission (1820–1828) and the Bechuana Spelling Book compiled by Robert Moffat, which represent excellent 'hidden' sources the author utilises to advance knowledge on Moffat's translation project. He brings them to public attention, and they are quite informative as identifiable markers in historical investigation. These sources reflect credible evidence that the author is discussing and researching a historical event that covers the trajectory and prevalence of complexities involved in the initiative to translate the Gospel of Luke into Setswana. The secondary sources are no less pertinent, as the volume of consulted literature indicates the author's awareness of relevant and previous works in Scripture Translation Studies in Southern Africa, especially those pioneered by scholars like Musa W Dube (four works), Aloo O Mojola (five works), ER Wendland (six works), GO West (two solid works) and J-C Loba-Mkole. Besides, these well-studied and well-analysed works present a vast, assorted and relevant body of knowledge from the burgeoning African home-grown scholarship on translation business. The works yield a sufficient array of ideas, concepts and models that have become a *conditio sine qua non* in the author's biblical and exegetical reflections, as are evidenced in his argumentations in the book. Added to this, the author's awareness and adherence to the ideas of the cultivators and practitioners of Scripture Translation Studies in Southern Africa, such as those of S Bassnett and A Lefevere, ER Wendland and GO West, have provided him insights to support his claims that the translation of the Gospel of Luke favoured the interests of Moffat's colonial principals in the LMS and the Royal House. Borrowing more

insights from Setswana studies, the author nets a copious assemblage of scholarly works on postcolonial translation theories, as exemplified in the works of AO Mojola (five works), Bassnett and Lefevere (five works) and John Brown (in four rich works). From these, he demonstrates how Setswana fared in the hands of colonial writers. It is noteworthy to inform the reader that Mothoagae, in five earlier works, addresses himself to this issue. He creditably employs the views expressed by Isaac Schapera in eight studies on the culture and customs of the Batswana to support his points on the derogatory positions of the champions of missionary imperialism and their impact on the receptor culture, as had been noted by Anthony J Dachs in his 1972 work and that of Lamin Sanneh (1989). He recognises the relevance of Michel Foucault's practical philosophy to native culture and as the inventor of 'governability' theories on the colonial matrix of power. His discernment of the manner in which the empire's rule was 'downloaded' in Southern Africa during the colonial age and how Moffat's translation helped to spread the ideology among the Batswana remains a masterpiece.

The triple approaches adopted by the author to process his research for this book have assisted him rightly in figuring out a number of salient factors to buttress his findings. He notes that the missionary archives significantly helped him to locate 'the missionary enterprise's social and epistemic location in the 19th century' in their task for the evangelisation of the native Batswana people. For the author, the Christianisation of Africa was a process intertwined with the colonial project, which indirectly was aimed at the 'exploitation of the colonised people and their land resources'. The Bible translation represented a mission that was instrumental to the spread of the Christian faith. He notes that the central ambition in the colonial agenda was evidenced in Moffat's 1840 Setswana translation, which was based on the 1611 King James Version of the Bible. According to the author, the colonial matrix of power is reproduced in the translation. As noted earlier, the translator colonised indigenous knowledge through the use of imperial knowledge to suppress colonised peoples' subjectivities. Thereupon, the project turned out to become the marginalisation of indigenous belief and knowledge systems. His discussion on the 'colonial matrix of power' opens vistas on his claim to let Biblical Studies in the Global South accept the Southern African model as a significant breakthrough in decolonising African biblical scholarship. With his methods, he is able to explore the agenda of the LMS's board of directors in sending out an agent with Moffat's pedigree to advance colonial interests among the Batswana. Thus, the Gospel of Luke became 'a symbol of colonial space, power and hegemony', as affirmed by the author. He notes with passion the iconoclasm wreaked on Setswana by way of its vernacularisation, which led to its further depreciation.

The conclusions reached in this book are quite outstanding, as they speak loudly of the author's full awareness of the colonial programmes through the pretended evangelism of the London Missionary Society. Conclusions drawn from critical dialogues with various authors and postcolonial jingoists, Foucauldian disciples and translation theorists on the colonial transactions with the Gospel of Luke in Setswanaland are relative and pertinent.

The author's analysis of the selected Lukan texts (Lk 1:32; 4:3; 6:36; 10:21–22) from the social and epistemic location of the individual Motswana is quite germane. He alerts the reader of the problem raised by association with the transportation of foreign concepts into the receptor culture, which resulted in the disruption and the reordering of that receptor culture. He concludes, *inter alia*, that the concept of *bademoni* is a foreign word in Setswana. It was introduced via biblical translation. It later became associated with *Badimo* as demons and devils. He notes well that *bademoni* is a fake concept because it disrupted the cultural norms and beliefs of the Batswana.

Correctly, he argues that translation imports foreign meanings, symbolisms and religious imageries hitherto unknown in the culture of the Batswana. This is what the author labels the delegitimisation of the indigenous concept of *Badimo*. He further concludes that the colonisation of the local language no longer served the interests and values of the original users, who were, in turn, turned into 'weapons that victimise many of the original speakers'. To my mind, the author, this time around, successfully examines the 'primary sources' used by Moffat to carry out his translation. He critiques the notion of power during the 1840s when Moffat translated the Gospel of Luke.

Among his most erudite conclusions are the consequences of the multilaterality of power exercised by the missionary institutions, the missionaries themselves and surely the few Batswana who considered themselves loyal converts. In this book, the author notes that various strategies and mechanisms were adopted by the translator of the Gospel of Luke, first into the Setlhaping dialect of the Batswana, and draws an evergreen conclusion that translation was employed to degrade and to hasten the erosion and epistemicide of the traditional religious and cultural practices of the Batswana.

This book's most eloquent conclusion is located in the author's assertion that 'the translator applied Western universal Christian criteria of determining the components, attributes and characteristics of what constitutes the Divine'.

Is there a contextual deal in this book, I may wish to ask? The response is yes, as the author has searched the meanings of demons, Satan and evil

spirits in both the Jewish and Greco-Roman contexts, alongside his analysis of exorcism narratives in the 1840 Gospel of Luke and the use of the concept of *Badimo*. He argues that the translational equivalences are by far not 'equivalent to those of the source language'. Lastly, but not the least, the author sums up his conclusion brilliantly in this form: 'Through an act of re-domestication, the exorcism narratives in the Setswana translated text equate *Badimo* with devil(s) and demons, thus foreignising their role from the Divine to evil'.

In view of the decolonisation method employed to process the research for this book, I hope it leads all of us, African biblical scholars and ordinary readers alike, to benefit from the author's efforts to sensitise contemporary Bible translators to the fact that translation projects must be put under serious scrutiny to ensure that African religio-cultural values are no longer denied and whittled off. African biblical scholarship needs to depart from Western epistemological and hermeneutical approaches to return to our Africanness in order to reclaim the African identity. The author proposes the pluri-versal or the pluri-textual comparative approach – which I fully endorse – to doing Biblical Studies in Africa in order to further advance the decolonisation policy. Prof. Mothoagae's recommendations agree with the Pan-African Catholic Exegetes Association's objectives that African biblical scholarship should follow the text with critical thinking and hermeneutics of suspicion. Practitioners need to consider the fallacies and the aporias in the received standard methods that come and go, leaving the text to be the real judge. Even though research for this book was not a state- or a church-sponsored project, the author believes that both the spirit and letter of his work recommend it as a 'must-read' for most African biblical scholars, exegetes, translators, preachers and concerned ecclesiastical authorities.

In light of the publication of this magnum opus, I wish, on behalf of the hallowed tradition of Eze Herbert Ngozi Akalugwu, the Eze Ezuru Mee of Ezenomii Autonomous Community of Uzoagbaland, who had turbaned my, wife Chief Ome Udo One (Peacemaker One), and me, as well as Lolo Ome Ka Di Ya (Lady Doer Like the Husband) on 06 April 2015, to 'dash' Prof. Itumeleng (Morwa) Mothoagae the valiant Igbo Chieftaincy title of Ochi Agha One (The Invincible Warlord One) of Uzoagbaland, for his great accomplishment through research on the use and abuse of the Bible in Africa, if the author would accept.

Translation as a technology

Batsomi gabaka batlhakanelwa sekgwa.[1]

■ Translation as a performance of power

The Setswana translation of the Bible into the Setlhaping dialect was a landmark in the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Southern Africa. This landmark began with Robert Moffat's translation of the Gospel of Luke, which he completed in 1830 and has been in print form since June 1831. In this study, however, my focus falls on the 1840 Moffat New Testament Setswana translation (as translated from the 1611 King James Bible) with a focus on the Gospel of Luke, a revised version of the 1830 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke. In this book, I examine the 1840 Gospel of Luke, as translated by Moffat, as a product bearing traces (or pervasions) of colonialist politics from the social location and epistemic location of the damnés (subaltern); in other words, from the culture (social location) and indigenous knowledge system (epistemic location) of the Batswana. As Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o has rightly argued, the most significant harm unleashed by imperialism against the colonised is the erosion of the cultural identity. He states:

1. Hunters will never be satisfied in the same forest (each person wants something for themselves and will never be satisfied if they have to share it with people like themselves).

> [*T*]he effect of a bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves.[2]

The study utilises a multipronged approach that draws from decolonial theory or analysis, the Foucauldian notion of power and cultural translation studies. As it is argued in this study, the translated text was a potent tool used to reorder the Batswana religious, cultural and knowledge system. In as much as there are those who may argue that the vernacularisation of the Bible was part of a noble task, it does not address the intentions of the translator. It is for that reason that Moffat's translation project cannot be analysed outside its interconnectedness with the broader colonial project of the time, albeit consciously or unconsciously so.

The research focuses on how, through the act of translation as a performance of power, the transmutation of indigenous concepts such as *Modimo* and *Badimo* occurred. It is argued that the consequence of such a performance was not only limited to power but also functioned as an epistemic privilege that was performed to alter the signs and meaning of these concepts. As such, the inference of such texts is interpreted from the listener's or reader's cultural frame of reference. These concepts then become foreign, and they also become textually buried, demonised, eroded and reordered, thus producing new meaning and leading to epistemicide and spiritualcide or pneumacide. Reflecting on the arrival and production of the Bible not only as a Christian document but as a vehicle for the missionary enterprise and imperial colonialism, Gerald West narrates a story told by Isaiah Shembe of how three descendants of a subdued nation obtained entry into the house of the 'Pope', in which the Bible was locked up and kept away from them to restrict their advancement beyond the level of bishops. In the absence of the 'Pope', they gained access to it, realised its power and decided to copy it, leave it in the hands of their parents and preach about it.[3] In his book, *The Stolen Bible*, West, reflecting on the conundrum of the Bible in Africa, states:

> My story tells of how the Bible was brought to Southern Africa as part of a project of imperialism and trade, of conversion and civilisation, of colonisation and conquest; the story of how the missionaries and other colonial agents transacted with the Bible among African people; the story of how the Bible was translated from European languages to African languages; the story of how the Africans appropriated the Bible, wrestling it from the hands of those who brought it, the story of how the Bible, became a contested book, both a

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2. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981), 16.

3. Gerald O West. *The Stolen Bible*: *From Tool of Imperialism to African Icon* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2016), 2.

problem and a solution for the African communities; the story of how the Bible has been embodied by ordinary African women and men, with its narratives being located alongside African narratives; the story of the Bible's role in the public realm of South African life; in sum, the story of the South(ern) African Bible.[4]

This study falls within the ambit which West describes. This research concerns the transaction of the Bible between Moffat, a missionary during the colonial period, and the Batswana people. Moffat grew up under the loving but stern hand of a devout Christian mother. As a young man, he resonated with the Christian faith. In his Christian faith, he was mainly influenced by his mother and Wesleyan preaching. As a child of his time, besides the colonial mentality of domination and the civilisation project of his country, he also felt the drive to bring the Christian faith to the continent of Africa, particularly South Africa, where he lived among a Batswana tribe known as the Batlhaping. In this study, I take as an object of enquiry Robert Moffat's 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke into Setswana. Moffat relied on the 1611 King James Bible as his source text. According to West, for Moffat, the translation of the Bible was 'a theological project' which required discipline.[5] Therefore, my intention in this study is to interrogate Moffat's translation as a theological project within the colonial matrix of power.[6] West (2016) locates the emergence of translation before the tenure of Robert Moffat as follows:

As Frank Bradlow reminds us, 'on 17 February 1816, almost a year before Robert Moffat arrived in South Africa on 17 February 1817, another missionary the Rev. John Evans had arrived in Lattakoo with the first party of missionaries'. Evans was well equipped with the linguistic training required to undertake translation work, including 'some progress in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Persian'. However, after

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4. West, *The Stolen Bible*, 2.

5. West, *The Stolen Bible*, 170.

6. The concept of the colonial matrix of power is borrowed from Mignolo's articulation of Anibal Quijano. In terms of Quijano's definition of the colonial matrix of power, I follow Mignolo's understanding of the 'modern/colonial world' and 'colonial matrix of power' as part of the same historical complex, but not as substitutes. As Mignolo rightly observes, 'The "colonial matrix of power" is the specification of what the term "colonial world" means both in its logical structure and in its historical transformation' (cf. Walter D. Mignolo, "Delinking: The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of De-coloniality." *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2011): 455. From the standpoint of modernity, 'newness' is perceived to be a vehicle of history and a constant celebration of 'modernity's progressive' power for the good of humankind. The notion of 'discovery' introduced the idea of the 'new' and rendered the indigenous as objects. An example can be observed in journals, memoirs, letters, biographies and autobiographies. One typical example of the idea of 'new' can be found in the memoirs and journals of David Livingstone, his 'discoveries' of the interior of Africa and the naming of lakes and rivers after the British monarchy (cf. David Livingstone. *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast, thence Across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean* [Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1861]). In this sense, Africa then becomes a 'new and discovered' land (cf. Mignolo, "Delinking" 467.

a mere nine months at Dithakong, Evans wrote to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, on 07 November 1816, declining to remain, enumerating his reasons for resignation as follows:

1. Impossibility of arranging their rude speech into a proper form for to bear a translation of the Sacred Volume in my life time. But should they be civilised heathen and had a constructed language of their own I should not have resigned it for the whole world.
2. I am unable to adjust myself in outward circumstances and therefore one of the most unsuitable persons remain among savages.
3. I want to be a means of converting souls[.][7]

The standardising and vernacularising of Christian literature into Setswana took place in stages. However, this was not an innocent process, as it formed part of the Christianisation, colonisation and civilisation within the colonial matrix of power, with the sole aim of morphing and eroding the cultural identity of the indigenous people. In scrutinising the 1840 translation of the English–Setswana Gospel of Luke, I identify the Gospel within 19th-century literature. As I have argued elsewhere, as a colonial subject, I locate myself within decolonial thought. In so doing, I take seriously Gloria Anzaldúa's invitation to locate myself clearly in my writing, thinking, doing, knowing and understanding.[8] As a Motswana embodying both the religio-cultural system of the Batswana and the Christian faith, I find myself in a constant struggle of double consciousness. In other words, it is a state of biculturality and bireligiosity informed by the prerequisite that for one to become and to remain a Christian, one must continually undergo a process of transmogrification and the denial of oneself, which inevitably leads to a state of two-ness.[9] The 19th-century Christian literature and hymns were composed by missionaries and were used to condemn the one thing that is dear to the receptor culture and, by extension, that which continues to mould me and inform my own identity. The double consciousness in African lives is evidenced by a struggle to reclaim African identity and yet claim the Bible as a book of faith. I therefore ponder on the lessons that can be drawn from the translation of the Bible into Setswana and its transmission and reception among the Batswana people, particularly the Batlhaping.

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7. West, *The Stolen Bible*, 168.

8. Itumeleng Daniel Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering': A Decolonial Reading on the 1840 Moffat Sermon at the Tabernacle, Moorfields, London," *HTS Theological Studies* 78, no. 1 (2022): a7812. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i1.7812

9. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co.; 1903); repr., Cambridge: University Press John Wilson and Son, 1903), 8.

■ Contextualising postcolonial translational studies

Postcolonial translation studies have shifted the focus from textual equivalence and placed focus on the translators, their time, context, agenda, ideology and patrons. For example, according to Mojola, postcolonial translations are essentially perturbed by the links between either translation and empire or translation and power.[10] Mojola argues that:

> [P]ostcolonial approaches to translation […] as well as the role of translation in processes of cultural domination and subordination, colonization and decolonization, indoctrination and control and the […] hybridization and creolization of cultures and languages.[11]

Thus, studying Bible translations such as the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke compels one to locate the translator, Robert Moffat, within these paradigms. Furthermore, we need to probe the role that he played as the translator in transmitting the source text among the Batswana, particularly the way the translated text was employed in the process of reordering the religio-cultural system of the Batswana. Bassnett and Trivedi have argued that the act of translation constantly incorporates more than language as:

> [T]ranslations are always embedded in cultural and political systems, and in history […] Yet the strategies employed by translators reflect the context [of power interests and values] in which texts are produced.[12]

The problem is that translations are never directly equivalent, although we speak of translational equivalents. Mojola and Wendland also hold that colonial translations have:

> [M]uch more to do with the 'macropolitics' of empire and the promotion of the interests and well-being of the empire. The periphery necessarily serves the interests of the imperial centre.[13]

Alvarez and Vidal highlight the role of the translator as follows:

> The translator can artificially create the reception context of a given text. He can be the authority who manipulates the culture, politics, literature, and their acceptance (or lack thereof) in the target culture.[14]

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10. Aloo Osotsi Mojola, "Postcolonial Translation Theory and the Swahili Bible," in *Bible Translation and African Languages* (ed. G.L.O.R. York and P.M. Renju; Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2004), 101.

11. Mojola, "Postcolonial Translation," 101.

12. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds., *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 6.

13. Aloo Osotsi Mojola and Ernst Wendland, "Scripture Translation in the Era of Translation Studies," in *Bible Translation: Frames of Reference* (ed. T Wilt; Northampton: St Jerome, 2003), 22.

14. Román Álvarez and Vidal M. Carmen-Africa, "Translating: A Political Act," in *Politics in Translation: Translation, Power, Subversion* (ed. Álvarez and Carmen-Africa; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1996), 2.

Thus, it is necessary to investigate how Moffat's translation displays colonial ideology and power or epistemic privilege that shaped his translation, consciously or unconsciously. Therefore, this study focuses on Moffat's translation of the Gospel of Luke into Setlhaping, a Setswana dialect concerning the 1840 translation. Hence, this study interrogates how Moffat's translation within the colonial matrix of power took part in the reordering and erosion of Setswana religio-cultural practices and spirituality, particularly the Batswana belief system on *Modimo* and *Badimo* expressed in a relationship with nature – considering that no matter how laudable a translation of the Bible might be, the effect of Bible translation and the dissemination of biblical discourse 'fostered' life for Western colonising countries while 'disallowing' the flourishing and life of African indigenous communities such as that of the Batswana.

The text betrays and displays the ideology or discursive practices of the translator. While the text may be in the language of the receptor culture in as much as it may enlighten one about the target audience, it also reveals more about the social and epistemic location of the translator.[15] The following research questions are addressed in this research:

- What types of tools or mechanisms can be employed in analysing 19th-century translations from the social and epistemic location of the oppressed?
- What forms of governmentality did an institution such as the LMS perform in its construction of the subjectification of its agents and that of the imperialist agenda?
- Was translating the Bible into Setswana an act of standardisation and vernacularisation of Setswana? If so, in whose interest was it?
- What technologies does the translator employ in his use of the sign and meaning of the Divine? What tensions arise between the source text and the receptor culture?
- What mechanisms does the translator use to translate the concept of devils, demons, Satan and unclean spirits? What are the emerging tensions in terms of the interpretation of this concept within the receptor culture?

Inspired by decolonial scholars such as Sylvia Wynter, who in her writing performs epistemic disobedience, the structure of this book follows a

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15. I contend that Grosfoguel's argument is essential in understanding how social and epistemic locations function as a hermeneutical lens in this study. I similarly apply these concepts. He states, 'It is important here to distinguish the "epistemic location" from the "social location." The fact that one is socially located in the oppressed side of power relations does not automatically mean that he/she is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location.' (Ramón Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy, Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking and Global Coloniality," *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, 5.)

similar style. The aim of this study is to analyse the notions of the colonial matrix of power within the process of translation with reference to Moffat's 1840 Gospel of Luke and its participation in the reordering and erosion of the Batswana beliefs in *Modimo* and *Badimo*. This includes how these concepts are employed by the translator outside their indigenous meaning. At the same time, the translation of Luke's Gospel and subsequently the entire Bible cannot be analysed in relation to Moffat alone. Rather, it has to be analysed within the broader colonial project, that is, the role of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and many other societies in facilitating and providing the various forms of resources for such a project to take place, based on their intentions and objectives.

The objectives of this research are:

- To deploy the three intersectional instruments of analysis of the 19th-century translation of the Bible and its transmission and reception.
- To argue that, through an act of governmentality, the LMS, as an institution of power, constructed agents for its missionary enterprise and the imperial agents.
- To demonstrate the strategies deployed by the translator in his translation of the Gospel of Luke into Setswana.
- To demonstrate that the translator applied a foreign concept with the sign and meaning of the indigenous concept. In so doing, the translator transmuted the indigenous concept, leading to it deriving a new sign and meaning.
- To demonstrate that in his translations of 'devil', 'Satan' and 'unclean spirit', the translator did not *tswanafy* (transliterate) the concept. Instead, the translator identified an idea within the receptor culture and deployed such a concept in his translation.

The purpose of this inquiry is not only to focus on the entire Gospel of Luke in the New Testament but also to narrow down the inquiry into passages that will demonstrate how the translation of the Gospel of Luke fits into the colonial matrix of power infiltrated and affected by the act of translation during the 19th century. The objective is not to provide a full and comprehensive sociohistorical or linguistic account but to select passages to show how the 'theology' of the Moffat translation was produced as an effect of discursive practices and the colonial matrix of power. A related objective is to problematise aspects of Moffat's translation in terms of the damage or erosion it could have caused to the existing Batswana culture and their experience of divine space and the indigenous knowledge system. The study does not cover the entire Gospel of Luke but rather selected texts. To analyse the entire Gospel of Luke would not have been possible within the limited time frame allowed for the writing of a book, and I do not claim that my analysis covers all the possibilities offered by the translation of the Gospel of Luke.

The study specifically analyses passages from the Gospel of Luke (1840) and, owing to the objectives, it also illustrates how the colonial matrix of power acted as a translation as such. An enquiry that would have involved a specific analysis of the 1840s, these passages are: Luke 1:32; 4:3, 22–24; 4:38–44; 5:12–16; 5:17–26; 6:36; 7:1–10; 7:11–17; 7:21; 8:26–39; 8:40–56; 9:37–45; 10:17; 11:2; 11:14; 13:10–17; 17:11–19; 18:35–43; 20:31–37; 22:29; 22:49; 23:34; 24:49.

However, this translation was made possible by conditions that accompanied the shift in power in the West, as Foucault rightly argues. Although my objective is not to provide a comprehensive survey of all these conditions, this was the time during which a move from the sovereign institution of power to institutional power also emerged, one of which was the LMS and the BFBS. It is almost incomprehensible that this translation would have emerged were it not for these institutions. The circumstances of Moffat's childhood within the family institution played a significant role, as reading the Bible and praying were habitual for Christians of his time. These habits were later revived with his encounter with the Wesleyan revival, leading to his membership in the LMS. These conditions, firstly, led to the swift production of the Setswana Catechism and the Setswana spelling book, including the composition of the hymns and prayers, which led to the first stage of the process of ritualising the Christian genre among the Batswana.

A multipronged approach is adopted for this study, namely the decolonial turn, the Foucauldian notion of power and cultural translation. The study follows a qualitative approach. The three approaches are discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Further, the enquiry relies mostly on the primary and secondary sources. This includes the memoirs, journals and letters of the missionaries to locate their discursive practices, context, time and agenda, as well as their patrons. They include Moffat's autobiographies, such as *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*; collections of journals and letters found in the book *Apprenticeship at Kuruman: Being the Journals and the Letters of Robert and Mary Moffat 1820–1828* (1952); *The Lives of Robert & Mary Moffat*; sermons found in the book *Africa: Or, Gospel Light Shining in the Midst of Heathen Darkness: A Sermon Preached in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, before the Directors of the London Missionary Society, May 13th, 1840* (1840); *A Bechuana Catechism, with Translations of the Third Chapter of the Gospel of John, the Lord's Prayer, and Other Passages of Scripture, etc. in that Language*; and the *Bechuana Spelling Book: compiled by Robert Moffat*. The aforementioned are identified as primary sources.

At the same time, I also read secondary sources, which are mostly about Moffat and the LMS. They include *Rivers of Water in a Dry Place, or, from Africaner's Kraal to Khama's City*; *Mr Moffat and the Bechuanas of*

South Africa; *The Gospel in Many Tongues*; *Adventures of a Missionary: Or Rivers of Water in a Dry Place: Being an Account of the Introduction of the Gospel of Jesus into South Africa and of Mr Moffat's Missionary Travels and Labors*; *Missionary Annals (A Series): Memoir of Robert Moffat, Missionary to South Africa, 1817–1870*; *Robert Moffat: One of God's Gardeners*; *The History of the London Missionary Society*; *Africa: Or, Gospel Light Shining in the Midst of Heathen Darkness: A Sermon Preached in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, before the Directors of the London Missionary Society May 13th 1840*. Such an insight is imperative in understanding how the Bible was read and its influence on the first recipients of the written word, as well as its influence among the Batswana today. Much still needs to be accomplished in studying the 19th-century biblical texts translated by the missionaries from both the Old and New Testament (biblical discourse) perspectives.

The primary and secondary sources are not reflections or representations of reality, as they cannot be used to verify historical truth but have to be studied from the perspective of their performance of the colonial matrix of power. This includes the act of changing the conditions that would provide the possible construction of 'realities' concerning the Batswana and colonial interaction with them. On the one hand, these sources can be viewed as products of a colonial project that classified and performed social hierarchisation of tribal and racial groups or nations, as well as individuals capitalising on those social hierarchies with values that enabled the construction of superiority, privilege and graciousness. On the other hand, they would also perform as mechanisms in reproducing colonialist culture in the subject and the spaces they occupied.

This book consists of seven chapters. Throughout the study, there is movement from a wider to a narrower analysis, linked by an attempt to demonstrate how conditions have created or produced the possibility of the Moffat translation, and then the very specific 'nuggets' of *Modimo*, *Badimo*, *bogwera* and so on.

Chapter 1 deals with the significance of the research, the background, the research problem, the importance and objectives, the scope and the book overview. Chapter 2 discusses the three theories that were deployed intersectionally: the decolonial turn, the Foucauldian notion of power and the cultural translation. These instruments of analysis will enable me to analyse the 19th-century work of Moffat and his translation from the social and epistemic location of the oppressed.

Chapter 3 discusses governmentality and the colonial matrix of power. I commence the study with this topic because if one wishes to analyse the aspects of the 1840 English–Setswana translation of Moffat, one has to commence with understanding the theoretical framework concerned with power in which one would be able to embed the colonial matrix of power,

and it is essential to understand at least some of the networks of power that produced the LMS, the practice of missionary work, Moffat and his writings.

Chapter 4 discusses the technologies and impact of Bible translation, such as the 1611 King James Bible, the Luther Bible and many others. It further locates the mechanisms the translator employed to translate the Bible. It also underpins the interplay between the politics of interpretation, power, knowledge and regimes of truth. In other words, the mechanisms of the colonial matrix of power. Chapter 5 analyses the use of a foreign sign and meaning in the receptor culture by employing the indigenous sign and meaning. Chapter 6 constitutes an analysis of the Tswanafication (transliteration) of concepts such as *diabolos*, devils and Satan. It further analyses the usage of indigenous concepts in the source text. Chapter 7 deals with decolonial reflections.

Cultural translation studies

■ Intersection: A multipronged lens

In this chapter, I focus on the three theoretical tools in this study, namely the decolonial turn, the Foucauldian notion of power and cultural translation studies. These theories are applied interchangeably throughout the study and as intersectional analysis tools. The theoretical aspect of the study further delineates and locates the study within biblical sciences in the Global South and the quest for Africanisation and decolonisation of biblical sciences. The study does not look at retrieving an authentic knowledge system of Batswana, as this would have been a complex enterprise based on the colonial matrix of power and the coloniality of knowledge. Instead, it employs certain aspects of the Batswana knowledge system to not only critique and analyse the 1840 Gospel of Luke but also to attempt to bring to the fore and include the perspectives of the geopolitics of knowledge that produced subjectivities subjected to the colonial matrix of power, in this case, the Batswana. Mignolo reminds us that 'the diversity of actual manifestations and practices of border thinking make up what I have described as another paradigm'.[16]

Grosfoguel creates a crucial theoretical perspective of the notion that universal knowledge always seeks 'to cover up, conceal who is speaking. It includes the geo-political and body-political epistemic location in the

16. Walter Mignolo, "Delinking," 493.

structures of colonial power/knowledge from which the subject speaks'.[17] It seeks to privilege one side of the colonial difference unequivocally. He argues that 'the fact that one is socially located on the oppressed side of power relations does not automatically mean that he/she is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location'.[18] Frantz Fanon makes a similar point in his critique of the colonised bourgeoisie.[19] In this vein and within the context of analysing theological epistemologies, Clodovis Boff specifies the importance of 'commitment' and 'engagement' within theological ways of thinking. All theology is socially located, but a commitment or engagement suggests something active: 'a position taken – a very determinate *option*.'[20] There is not any direct, causal relationship between social location and theoretical engagement; a given social locus or engagement can 'permit' or 'prohibit' a theological discourse, but it does not cause 'a discourse'.[21] Furthermore, these theoretical apparatuses assist me to identify, analyse and critique, as their main bedrock is to bring to the fore the inaudible voices as well as the continual colonial matrix of power[22] that characterises the categories of knowledge production and the spatial location of the condemned [*damnés*][23] in the production of the Setswana Gospel of Luke in the context of the process of translation. According to Quijano, as cited in Mignolo, the colonial matrix of power is situated, organised and interwoven within the spatial–temporal and imperial–colonial differences. The interwovenness of these spaces is defined as a colonial matrix of power. Mignolo argues that the distinct differences of spatial–temporal and imperial–colonial notions are catalogued and interlinked with what Quijano refers to as the colonial matrix of power. This form of power, he argues, 'was instituted at the inception of the "modern" world (according to the narratives told by European men of letters, intellectuals and historians) or the modern/colonial world'.[24] He concludes that coloniality is an integral part of modernity; as a result, there can be no modernity without coloniality. [25]

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17. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 4.

18. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 5.

19. See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (transl. Constance Farrington; New York: Grove, 1963), 148–205.

20. Clodovis Boff, *Theology and Praxis: Epistemological Foundations* (trans. Robert R. Barr; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987), 160.

21. Boff, *Theology and Praxis*,160. Please also see Joseph Drexler-Dreis, "Decolonial Theology in the North Atlantic World," *Brill Research Perspectives in Theology* 3, no. 3 (2019): 1–88.

22. Cf. Mignolo, "Delinking," 476.

23. I borrow the concept of *damnés* from Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961).

24. Mignolo, "Delinking," 476.

25. Mignolo, "Delinking", 476.

It follows from the above definition of the colonial matrix of power that its location operates within coloniality.[26] Furthermore, these categories expose a deeper understanding of the discursiveness of power within the colonial matrix of power. Mignolo's compelling argument regarding the geo-spatial location of the theo-politics of knowledge and the ego-politics of knowledge began with the imposition of Western politics of knowledge on the non-Western epistemological spaces.[27]

The spatiality of these categories, as advocated by decolonial scholars such as Maldonado-Torres,[28] Grosfoguel,[29] Mignolo,[30] Quijano[31] and Ndlovu-Gatsheni,[32] highlights the role and function of knowledge in the construction of being. Ndlovu-Gatsheni contextualises the arguments of Quijano and Mignolo within the geo-economic politics of modernity about Africa. He argues that the entrapment of Africa within the colonial matrices of power could only be resolved by simultaneous decolonisation and deimperialisation.[33] It is for this reason that Mignolo argues that 'since the mid-seventies, the idea that knowledge is also colonised and, therefore it needs to be decolonized was expressed in several ways and in different disciplinary domains'.[34] Rabaka, in his book,[35] makes a similar argument advanced by Mignolo, although his point of departure is from Africana critical theory. He argues that theories emerge from their geo-political space. He begins his point of departure by highlighting one of the extreme elements in the history of theories. He argues that theories

26. Quijano coined the concept of coloniality. According to him, coloniality is the invisible and constitutive side of 'modernity' (cf. Anibal Quijano, "Modernidad, colonialidad y América Latina," *Nepantla: Views from the South* I, no. 3 (2000): 533–80).

27. Mignolo, "Delinking", 450.

28. Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "Thinking through the Decolonial Turn: Post-continental Interventions in Theory, Philosophy, and Critique – An Introduction," *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1, no. 2 (2011): 1–15.

29. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 2–38.

30. Walter D. Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (2002): 57–96.

31. Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533–80.

32. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization* (Dakar: Codesria, 2013).

33. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "The Entrapment of Africa within the Global Colonial Matrices of Power: Eurocentrism, Coloniality, and Deimperialization in the Twenty-first Century," *Journal of Developing Societies* 29, no. 4 (2013): 331–53.

34. Mignolo, "Delinking", 450.

35. Reiland Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory: Reconstructing the Black Radical Tradition, From W.E.B. Du Bois and C.L.R. James to Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral* (New York: Lexington Books, 2009).

function like any finely produced woodcarving; they preserve the intellectual and cultural markers of those foregrounding them. They have the potential to travel and cross borders, yet they are favourable in their original settings and implemented within that context that necessitated such a theory.[36]

The argument advanced by Rabaka in the above citation is that although theories are crucial in enabling one to critically engage with their geographical, sociological, religious, economic and political conditions, it is essential to be aware that whatever theory is applied to analysis is not absolute; instead, it is a means to analyse these conditions as well as their intersectional implications or relationships. Such a theory has its unique origin and intellectual markings. Put differently, theoretical discourse does not emerge from nowhere without any form or trace. As an epistemological paradigm, it often radically represents critical concerns interior to its epistemologies and experiences emerging from a specific cultural and historical condition within which it is located and discursively situated. Therefore, theory functions as an instrument (or, as Foucault would categorise it, a 'tool') to enable us to brighten and navigate specific social spatiality while pointing to the present and potential problems and interpreting and criticising them. Thus, this opens an avenue for improvement in terms of application and the recognition that these tools are not absolute in themselves. Rabaka further argues that 'theories are instruments and, therefore, can be used in a multiplicity of manners'.[37] Therefore, what we do, according to Rabaka, is to 'identify those theories ("instruments and/or weapons," if you prefer) that will aid us most in our struggle against racism, sexism, capitalism and colonialism, among other epochal imperial issues'.[38]

I would argue that the contention advanced by both Mignolo and Rabaka in terms of the theoretical framework as an instrument that does not suggest any form of superiority over other theories in the interpretation of the biblical text, including the study of translated documents from the language of the coloniser to the language of the colonised, is that one theory cannot be used as the father or the point of departure in critiquing such material, or rather, documents of the colonial matrix of power.

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36. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 21.

37. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 22.

38. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 22.

Scholars such as West,[39] Dube,[40] Ntloedibe-Kuswani,[41] Lubbe,[42] Ganusah,[43] Mbuwayesango[44] and Ødemark[45] have used postcolonial theory as their instrument of analysis in their study of Christianity, Scripture and contextual reading of the text as well as studying some of these translated documents; this includes scholars such as Shamma.[46] At the same time, scholars such as Bassnett and Trivedi,[47] among others, have advanced the theory of postcolonial translation study. Kanyoro,[48] on the other hand, locates herself within cultural hermeneutics in her analysis of biblical texts, while others, such as Masenya (Ngwan'a Mphahlele)[49] have proposed another layer within postcolonial studies, namely the *bosadi hermeneutics*. Snyman[50] and Ramantswana[51] use decoloniality as their theoretical apparatus.

39. Gerald O. West, "White Theology in a Black Frame: Betraying the Logic of Social Location," in *Living on the Edge: Essays in Honour of Steve de Gruchy, Activist and Theologian* (ed. James R. Cochrane, Elias Bongmba, Isabel Phiri and Des van den Water; Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 2012), 60–78.

40. Musa W. Dube, "Translating Cultures: The Creation of Sin in the Public Space of Batswana," *Scriptura* 114, no. 1 (2015): 1–11.

41. Gomang S. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine: The Case of *Modimo* in the Setswana Bible," in *Other Ways of Reading African Women and the Bible* (ed. Dube; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 78–97.

42. J.J. Lubbe, "By Patience, Labour and Prayer. The Voice of the Unseen God in the Language of the Bechuana Nation. A Reflection on the History of Robert Moffat's Setswana Bible (1857)," *Acta Theologica Supplement* 12 (2009): 16–32.

43. Rebecca Y. Ganusah, "Pouring Libation to Spirit Powers among the Ewe-Dome of Ghana: An Indigenous Religious and Biblical Perspective," in *The Bible in Africa: Transactions Trajectories and Trends* (ed. West and Dube; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 278–91.

44. Dora R. Mbuwayesango, "How Local Divine Powers were Suppressed: A Case of Mwari of the Shona," in *Other Ways of Reading African Women and the Bible* (ed. Dube; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 63–77.

45. John Ødemark, "What is Cultural Translation?" *The Translator* 25 (2017): 1–5. https://doi.org/10.1080/13 556509.2018.1411033

46. Tarek Shamma, "Postcolonial Studies and Translation Theory," *Monografías de Traducción* 1 (2009): 183–96.

47. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, eds., *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation Topics in Translation* (London: Multilingual Matters, 1998).

48. Kanyoro R. Musimbi, "Translation," in *Dictionary of Feminist Theologie*s (ed. Russell and Clarkson; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 303.

49. Madipoane Masenya (Ngwana' Mphahlele), *How worthy is the woman? Rereading Proverbs 31:10–31 in African South Africa* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004).

50. Gerrie Snyman, "Responding to the Decolonial Turn: Epistemic Vulnerability," *Missionalia (Online)* 43, no. 3 (2015): 266–91.

51. Hulisani Ramantswana, "Decolonising Biblical Hermeneutics in the (South) African Context," *Acta Theologica*, suppl. 24 (2016): 178–203.

While others such as Mojola[52] and Wendland[53] have employed conventional and unconventional analysis of the translation employing the various theories across social sciences, scholars such as Yorke[54] have engaged with translation from an Afrocentric perspective, thus giving impetus to the notion that biblical sciences and translation studies employ various theories in their analysis.

It is therefore my contention that scholars from the Global South have, in many ways, used the various instruments of analysis to analyse both Old and New Testament texts by locating these texts within their original context while engaging with their own social and epistemic locations. In other words, biblical scholars are not only locating themselves within the Western methodological interpretation of the biblical texts. Rather, they have ventured beyond the Western canon and norms of biblical interpretation, utilising their own cultural knowledge systems and contemporary conditions. They have not only used these theories to engage with the cultural location of both Testaments; rather, they have also used these theories to analyse the 19th- to 20th-century translations of the Bible into the Bantu languages, thus raising their importance, relevance and contribution to biblical sciences. In so doing, they bring forth the geopolitics of knowledge production, such as texts and their relevance to the local or the space occupied by the colonised, thus dispelling the idea that there are theories that are superior to other theories. Put differently, some knowledge systems are superior to other knowledge systems, thus universalising knowledge. Such an approach is challenged by decolonial thought. Decolonial thought advances the argument for *pluriversality*. The concept of *pluriversality* challenges the Western trap of objectivity and knowledge that is applicable everywhere and to everyone. Therefore, forms of knowledge from different settings are to be accorded equal standing. To reach such a state or condition, Mignolo refers to border thinking as being paramount. In the words of Mignolo, the application of the various theories leads to what he refers to as delinking, decolonisation of the colonial matrix of power. Such an approach is summarised by Rabaka in his discourse on the Africana critical theory as an epistemic openness.

Rabaka further argues that theory can be enormously valuable. At the same time, he cautions against the belief that there is a grand narrative,

52. Aloo O. Mojola, "The Swahili Bible in East Africa (1844–1996)," in *The Bible in Africa: Translations, Trajectories and Trends* (ed. West and Dube; Boston: Brill, 2001), 511–23.

53. Ernst R. Wendland, "Towards a Literary Translation of the Scriptures with Special Reference to a Poetic Rendition," *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 2 (2002): 164–201.

54. Gosnell Lennox Yorke, "'Grace and Peace' in the Pauline Corpus and the Portuguese Bible: Implications for Translating 'Grace' in Lusophone Africa and a 'Peace' Proposal for UBS Handbooks," *The Bible Translator* 54 (2003): 332–47.

super-theory or theoretical god that will provide the interpretative or explanatory keys to the political and intellectual kingdom.[55] To illustrate his caution against the idea of turning theories into 'demigods', Rabaka labels such an approach as the 'theoretical pole of super-theory',[56] and he argues that we should acknowledge that each discipline has its academic agenda. It follows, then, that these theories emerge as a result of each discipline's agenda and that the theories and methodologies of that specific discipline promote the development of that discipline. Rabaka makes the following argument to give impetus to his location of theories as 'weapons' (as Fanon[57] and Cabral[58] define it) and 'tools' (in terms of the Foucauldian definition of theory). Scholars such as Ake have cautioned against imperialism in the guise of scientific knowledge from Western social science scholarship over developing countries. He argues that this form of imperialism imposes capitalist values while science is concerned with analysing questions around how to export and construct the so-called developing countries into mimicking the West and propagating methods of thinking that seek to serve the interests of capitalism and imperialism.[59] Decolonial and Africana scholars are cautioning against and rejecting emerging theories that emerge from traditional disciplines, claiming to be neutral, purporting to transcend disciplinary boundaries and methodological canon, yet in themselves retaining the tenets of universalism and absolute truth.[60]

In summation, Rabaka and Mignolo advocate the understanding that one should not universalise theories by viewing other theories as super-theories. Such a view, according to them, universalises knowledge. Mignolo argues that no one has access to the ultimate truth, and the idea of absolute truth and knowledge is flawed. For that reason, no person or persons, be they in religion or government, can provide a solution for all humanity.[61] The argument by Rabaka and Mignolo can be summarised in two ways: (1) theories as a family of thought, and (2) theories as being eclectic. Throughout the book, the above theories, namely decoloniality, the Foucauldian notion of power and cultural translation studies, are applied in

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55. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 24.

56. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 24.

57. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

58. Amilcar Cabral, *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral* (New York: Monthly Review, 1979).

59. Claude Ake, *Social Science as Imperialism: The Theory of Political Development* (2nd ed.; Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1982), xiii.

60. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 21.

61. Mignolo, "Delinking," 458.

a similar fashion. These theories are employed as tools to argue that the transition from *theo*-politics of knowledge to the ego-politics of knowledge can be unveiled in the letters, memoirs and translation as a mirage of disciplinary power. Each chapter does not advance a specific theory; rather, the intersectionality of these theories is interwoven throughout each chapter. The research that culminated in this book therefore advances the idea of *pluriversality* rather than *universality* of knowledge aimed at decolonising the 19th-century translation that is informed by the theo-politics of knowledge (meaning the imposition of Western colonial Christianity) and the geopolitics of knowledge (the introduction of Western forms of government and systems) promoted through the various systemic structures, as well as the epistemic violence performed by the translator when translating the Gospel of Luke into the Setlhaping dialect embedded within the colonial matrix of power. In so doing, I will be able to engage with the structural composition of the time critically and to bring to the fore other nuances regarding translating the Gospel of Luke (and, by default, the New Testament) into Setswana. In the following sections, I discuss each theory or notion, bearing in mind that these theories or tools, as I have argued in terms of this study, constitute various tools in the toolbox used to analyse particular matters or issues within their specific context as well as the text itself.

■ Decolonial turn theory

Quijano, in his article,[62] locates decoloniality as a project aimed at epistemic decolonisation of the colonised. According to him, decoloniality as a theoretical framework has to decolonise the mind. At the same time, it ought to reveal the oppressive involvement of the expression of modernity and the rationalisation of coloniality. 'The colonizers also imposed a mystified image of their own patterns of producing knowledge and meaning'.[63] This, according to Mignolo, will expose the space for possibility, leading to the co-existence of many worlds. At the same time, he cautions against the belief that because colonies are no longer 'under colonial rule', they must not be complacent. He states that:

> Epistemic decolonization is still of the essence since we are still living under the set of beliefs inherited from Theology and secularized by Philosophy and Science as well as the belief that 'capitalism' (and above all in its neo-liberal rhetoric and practice) and 'economy' are one and the same phenomenon. [64]

62. Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," *Cultural Studies* 21, nos. 2–3 (2007): 168–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/095023806011643532

63. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," 169.

64. Mignolo, "Delinking," 469.

Mignolo reminds us that the point of departure for decoloniality starts from other sources. In other words, it does not begin with the Eurocentric epistemological approach; rather, its epistemological shift is enacted by figures such as Amilcar Cabral, Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, Rigoberta Menchú and Gloria Anzaldúa, among others. As indicated in the previous section, the sole purpose is a shift from the universalisation of knowledge to the pluriversality of knowledge. In Mignolo's words, the decolonial shift is a project of delinking, while, according to Mignolo, we need to understand postcolonial criticism as a theory that aims to perform transformation within the academy. Thus, the decolonial shift is, in essence, the starting point of the decolonisation of knowledge.[65] It is for that reason that Ndlovu-Gatsheni, locating himself within the geolocation of the South (in this context, South Africa), illustrates the critical border thinking of decoloniality by defining it as follows:

> By decoloniality it is meant here the dismantling of relations of power and conceptions of knowledge that foment the reproduction of racial, gender, and geo-political hierarchies that came into being or found new and more powerful forms of expression in the modern/colonial world.[66]

Decoloniality, according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, could be a tool that could help one to engage with the Bible translated into the native language by missionaries. Furthermore, it can be used to excavate the hidden passive interpreters of the missionaries, who are faceless in the works of the missionaries. In other words, it dismantles the power and knowledge within the colonial matrix of power and the authoritarian space of power/knowledge that Western epistemologies have claimed as universal and finds its source in what decolonial scholars call the modern/colonial world. It is without a doubt that such a theory can bring to the fore the power dynamics that took place between the missionary, audience and interpreters regarding the proper pronunciation and spelling of the native language, in this case, Setswana. The question then can be asked: what is the theoretical lens that decoloniality uses as an instrument of analysis? Mignolo argues that to understand the theoretical apparatus deployed by decoloniality is to achieve delinking. Thus, according to him, delinking in simple terms is to pull out of the colonial matrices of power to make it possible for the vision of pluriversality to emerge. It is essential to look at the grammar of decoloniality directly. According to him, the time has come to rewrite global history from the perspective and critical consciousness of coloniality, as well as from the geo- and body-political knowledge.[67] Succinctly put, it is time for the Global South to tell its own story, not through the lens of the coloniser but

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65. Mignolo, "Delinking," 452.

66. Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Why Decoloniality in the 21st Century?," *The Thinker* 48 (2013): 14.

67. Mignolo, "Delinking," 484.

rather through the lens of the colonised. He argues that for this to happen, the project of delinking should also formulate a critical theory that ventures beyond the point to which Max Horkheimer carried the meaning of critique in Kant. The aforesaid, according to him, is because Horkheimer operated within the frame of the ego-politic of knowledge, and the radicalism of his position ought to be understood within that frame of reference. At the same time, Mignolo asserts that Horkheimer's critical concepts of theory could provide no more than a project of 'emancipation', namely the epistemic, political, ethical and economic within what Mignolo refers to as the conceptual framework of the modern/colonial world.[68] Mignolo makes the following assertion:

> Critical theory should now be taken further, to the point and project of de-linking and of being complementary with decolonization. That is, as the foundations of the non- Eurocentered diversality of an-other-paradigm. The Eurocentered paradigms of knowledge (its theo- and ego-political versions) has reached a point in which its own premises should be applied to itself from the repository of concepts, energies and visions that have been reduced to silences or absences by the triumphal march of Western conceptual apparatus. The hegemonic modern/colonial and Eurocentered paradigm needs to be decolonized.[69]

From the above citation, it can be maintained that decoloniality is interchangeable with decolonial 'thinking and doing',[70] and it questions and critiques the histories of power arising from Europe. These histories function as the bedrock of the logic of Western civilisation. Decoloniality seeks to respond to the entrapment of the Global South, promotes direct involvement through politics and challenges social and cultural domination established by the West.[71] This means that decoloniality as an analytical tool, like other instruments of analysis, analyses the theo-politics and the geopolitics that have characterised and formed (and continue to do so) pillars of Western civilisation. Within this context, it can be asserted that decoloniality is both a political and epistemic project.[72]

Said differently, it can be argued that both decoloniality and Africana critical theory do not fall within the world of traditional academic disciplines and divisions of labour that are characteristically Western and devoid of other epistemologies. While decoloniality and Africana critical theory are transversal and break the frontiers constructed by conventional disciplines,

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68. Mignolo, "Delinking," 484–85.

69. Mignolo, "Delinking," 485.

70. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822394501

71. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," 168–78.

72. Mignolo, "Delinking," xxiv–xxiv.

they articulate the interconnectedness and intersectionality of the various disciplines. As argued in the previous section, decoloniality and Africana thought, as critical lenses contrary to mainstream monopolisation of social theory across its multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary methodologies and epistemologies, aim at developing a diverse, analytical theory of liberation specific to the conditions of contemporary Global South societies.[73] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) describes decoloniality as bringing forth an existing alternative interpretation that articulates, on the one hand, the epistemologically silenced voices while, on the other, it demonstrates the infallibility and the limits of the notion of universal power or knowledge of imperial ideology camouflaged as 'total Truth' in its epistemological interpretation of events in the construction of the modern world.[74]

The argument advanced by Ndlovu-Gatsheni pinpoints the key role of decoloniality: the process of excavating and amplifying silenced voices. Such an excavation requires that such voices are not amplified for their sake but rather to facilitate the process of delinking and border thinking by challenging the universal rubric that is applied to 'other' and textually buries these epistemologies that do not conform to the Western epistemological paradigm. Ndlovu-Gatsheni points to why decoloniality is a necessary exercise in the following manner:

> Coloniality as a power structure, an epochal condition, and epistemological design, lies at the centre of the present world order [...] described as a racially hierarchised, imperialistic, colonialist, Euro-American-centric, Christian-centric, hetero-normative, patriarchal, violent and modern world order that emerged since the so-called 'discovery' of the 'New World' by Christopher Columbus. At the centre of coloniality is race as an organising principle that hierarchized human beings according to notions and binaries of primitive vs. civilised, and developed vs. underdeveloped.[75]

The attitude of the missionaries towards the natives could be analysed in the hidden language of the translator when he was translating the Bible. His lack of understanding of the culture and the epistemological premise found in oral tradition rendered the language of the Batswana unintelligible. It is by beginning with such an approach that one can clearly see the binaries of primitive and civilised. At the same time, it is important to note that decoloniality recognises the continual presence of the colonial matrix of power, referred to as coloniality. Decoloniality draws a distinction between colonialism and coloniality. Maldonado-Torres defines coloniality as follows:

> The concept of coloniality of being was born in conversations about the implications of the coloniality of power in different areas of society. The idea

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73. Cf. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 18.

74. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "The Entrapment of Africa," 331–53.

75. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Why Decoloniality," 11.

was that colonial relations of power left profound marked not only in the areas of authority, sexuality, knowledge and the economy, but on the general understanding of being as well. And, while the coloniality of power referred to the interrelation among modern forms of exploitation and domination (power), and the coloniality of knowledge had to do with impact of colonization on the different areas of knowledge production, coloniality of being would make primary reference to the lived experience of colonization and its impact on language.[76]

In the above citation, Maldonado-Torres points out crucial modern/colonial power elements. He refers to the various impacts the colonial power matrix has discursively eroded. A closer look at the argument would reveal that Maldonado-Torres is linking Mignolo's argument of the body of knowledge as the theo-politic and ego-politic of knowledge. It is therefore essential to locate Maldonado-Torres within the study at hand, namely the translation of the Gospel of Luke into the Setlhaping dialect. In the Global South, another key approach is the decolonial or decoloniality approach, which by its very nature is epistemically and socially located within the Global South. The basis of its epistemological location is that of body-politic of knowledge, border thinking and delinking, bringing forth the suppressed and marginalised knowledge of the subaltern. Yet, at the same time, as Mignolo argues, it is not about retrieving the authentic languages of the colonised. He states:

> But, instead, we want to include the perspective and subjectivities that have been subjected in and by the colonial matrix of power in the foundation of knowledge. The diversity of actual manifestations and practices of border thinking make up what I have described as another paradigm.[77]

At the same time, it is essential to highlight the critique that decolonial theorists have launched against Christianity. For example, in his critique of Christianity, Grosfoguel argues that the European Judeo-Christian patriarchy exported and globalised its European concepts of sexuality, epistemology and spirituality, aided by colonial expansion 'as the hegemonic criteria to racialize, classify and pathologize the rest of the world's population in a hierarchy of superior and inferior races'.[78]

The critique by Grosfoguel is valid and necessary in the analysis of the missionary project and colonisation leading to the global world-system. Furthermore, it challenges theology and biblical sciences to reevaluate their contribution to the universalisation of knowledge, norms and culture, thus centring the Western geopolitics of knowledge as a form of a

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76. Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On Coloniality of Being: Contribution to the Development of a Concept," *Cultural Studies* 21 (2007): 240–70.

77. Mignolo, "Delinking," 493.

78. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 12.

totalitarian form of knowledge as an embodiment of truth. In deepening his critique of what he labels 'European Judeo-Christianity', he argues that the history of Western civilisation can be synthesised as a 'modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal Western-centric/Christian-centric world-system'.[79] The labelling of this history by Grosfoguel could be summarised as the colonial matrix of power. Within the matrix, the privileging of culture, epistemology and knowledge functions as a technology of power to universalise Western norms to the peripheries and inferiors outside the Western lens. He further asserts that the result of this superior attitude has left no culture untouched by European modernity. Key to the notion of epistemological superiority is the concept of monopoly, which is interrelated with the idea of a monologue that is characterised by the monotopism of the West as it relates to other cultures.[80]

Grosfoguel makes the following argument regarding decolonisation. He argues that we cannot think of decolonisation in terms of conquering power over the juridical-political boundaries of a state, that is, by achieving control over a single nation-state.[81] He further reminds us that we are to constantly be conscious of the distinction between colonial and classical colonialism. The synthesis of the definition of colonialism and coloniality by Grosfoguel, as defined by Quijano,[82] is essential in delineating the strategies of engaging and analysing the colonial matrix of power. Quijano's distinction between the two concepts is necessary as the two, according to him, are distinct and yet interrelated. Colonialism refers to the presence of the colonial administration. Coloniality focuses on the continual manipulation and exploitation of the previously oppressed, with or without the existence of the colonial administration, for example, the imposition of the type of democracy that the Global South should adhere to. It includes the continual surveillance through the historical structures and systems that ensure the constant reliance of the Global South on the Global North.[83]

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79. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 25.

80. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 25.

81. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 14.

82. Cf. Aníbal Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad," *Perú Indígena* 29 (1991): 11–21.
   Aníbal Quijano, *'Raza', 'Etnia' y 'Nación' en Mariátegui: Cuestiones Abiertas* (ed. Roland Forgues & José Carlos Mariátegui y Europa; El Otro Aspecto del Descubrimiento; Lima, Perú: *Empresa Editora Amauta* S.A., 1993), 167–87.
   Aníbal Quijano, "La colonialidad del poder y la experiencia cultural latinoamericana," in *Pueblo, Época y Desarrollo: La Sociología de América Latina*. (ed. Roberto Briceño-León & Heinz R. Sonntag; Caracas: Nueva Sociedad, 1998), 139–55.
   Aníbal Quijano "Coloniality of Power," 533–80.

83. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 15.

Following the argument advanced by Grosfoguel, it is important to locate that which Grosfoguel argues within the South African context. For this purpose, I briefly discuss an essay by West. This essay is important because not only is it written within the South African context, but it also provides us with an overview of how scholars in South Africa grapple with and apply the decolonial theory as their theoretical paradigm. I also briefly discuss West's argument regarding decolonisation. The brief discussion of West's article[84] is an important part of the debate on decoloniality. I locate West's essay within the broader debate of the relevance of decoloniality or the decolonial turn within the guild of biblical sciences. In his abstract, West advances an argument that decoloniality (decolonisation) emerges as the third conversational partner of liberation biblical interpretation and postcolonial biblical interpretation. He states that:

> Liberation biblical interpretation and postcolonial biblical interpretation have a long history of mutual constitution. This essay analyzes a particular context in which these discourses and their praxis have forged a third conversation partner: decolonial biblical interpretation.[85]

In this citation, West describes decolonisation as one of the theories that African biblical hermeneutics and postcolonial biblical interpretation can engage with. [86] This is so because, for West, there are two issues, namely 'context' and 'praxis', about the liberation biblical hermeneutics as a postcolonial biblical interpretation. Furthermore, West is more of what can be referred to as a 'liberationist-contextual scholar', considering his advocation of the contextual study of the Bible. I would argue that perhaps what West refers to in terms of a third conversational partner has to do with the decolonial approach that in essence problematises the idea of 'postcolonial', particularly through its argument for the continuity of the structures of colonialism, referred to as 'coloniality'. West is essentially arguing that there is a third wave of 'decolonial biblical interpretation', which takes into consideration the axis of 'liberation' and the axis of 'postcolonial'. It is for that reason that West provides us with an overview in his essay, thereby presenting what other scholars have been doing. He states that:

> This essay resists the use of decolonization as a metaphor, arguing that it must be located within real embodied subjects in actual decolonization struggles. It is not accidental that the term 'decolonization' has a verb form, 'decolonize' or 'decolonizing'. This discussion takes a cue from the ways in which the term 'postcolonialism' has been used within biblical studies, most often as a metaphor

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84. Gerald O. West, "Postcolonial Liberation: Decolonizing Biblical Studies in the South African Postcolony," in *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Biblical Criticism* (ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah; Online: Oxford Academic, 2019), 647–676. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190888459.013.6

85. West, "Postcolonial Liberation," 647.

86. West, "Postcolonial Liberation," 56–57.

'for other things we want to do' within the discipline. For while postcolonial biblical criticism has been minimally and cautiously imported into South African biblical scholarship, decolonization work is more thoroughly 'African'. It is no accident that Musa W. Dube's seminal book, adapted from her U.S.-based doctoral dissertation, is titled Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible, while an article on her Africa-based work is titled 'Reading for Decolonization (John 4:1–42)'. Indeed, Dube's work resonates with decolonization discourse and praxis, even when she uses the term 'postcolonial', echoing the distinctive features identified in this essay and advocating for a biblical interpretation praxis that collaborates 'with' real African subjects in actual projects of decolonization. Method is central to African decolonization projects.[87]

Referring to this citation, West argues that the term 'decolonisation', as it is used within the South African context, cannot be viewed as a metaphor but rather as a tool to address the real struggles of the marginalised. His view of decoloniality as a tool to address the real issues of struggle is explicit in his comparison of postcolonial biblical hermeneutics and decoloniality. Furthermore, the decolonial turn does not locate itself within the postcolonial paradigm, but instead, it critiques postcolonial studies. It is for this reason that the validity of West's argument about the metaphorical use of 'postcolonial' is crucial in delineating the conceptual difference between the theories. Grosfoguel has eloquently argued that the 500 years of European colonial expansion and domination have led to the construction of racial classification that distinguishes Europeans from non-Europeans. He argues that this is reproduced in the 'contemporary so-called "postcolonial" phase of the capitalist social stratification world system'.[88] Furthermore, I have advanced an argument that West's essay provides us with an overview of what other scholars have done. He does so by providing us with scholars from the South African context to show the developments in the use of the decolonial approach in South Africa.

The question then is: If decoloniality aims to dismantle the modern/colonial world-system, what makes it different from postcolonial studies? Put differently, are postcolonial studies, theology and biblical interpretation like decoloniality? Based on the argument by West in his overview essay, the two are distinctively different. One wonders if West would agree with decolonial scholars like Grosfoguel, who argue that there is a fundamental difference in vocabulary by pointing out that the notion or concept of the 'postcolonial' is a myth; Grosfoguel further contends that 'we continue to live under the same "colonial matrix of power"'. He further states that what has happened is that we have merely moved 'from a period of "global colonialism" to the current period of "global coloniality"'.[89]

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87. West, "Postcolonial Liberation."

88. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies," 15.

89. Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies",," 13.

Following the argument by Grosfoguel, the following assertions can be made, namely that the very term 'postcolonial' can obscure the reality that we continue to live in a world ordered by colonial relations of power, including modes of social classification, epistemic hierarchies and ways of organising labour and resources. Suppose the argument advanced by Grosfoguel is a valid observation. In that case, it then follows that the concept of 'post' in 'postcolonial' can move theoretical work away from analysing the constitutive and continuing role of the larger structures that shaped political colonialism within Western modernity. In the next section, I outline Foucault's notion of power as a theory and will illustrate power's performance within the colonial power matrix.

■ Foucauldian concept of power

The Foucauldian notion of power functions as one of the apparatuses of analysing the reception and Christian formation in Africa and, in particular, South Africa. Furthermore, his questions around the discursiveness of power are useful lenses to critically engage with the institutions that used power as a technology to produce subjects that were to act as agents as well as agency. He questions:

> What is power? and Where does power come from? The little question, What happens?, although flat and empirical, once scrutinized is seen to avoid accusing a metaphysics or an ontology of power of being fraudulent; rather, it attempts a critical investigation into the thematics of power. 'How', not in the sense of 'How does it manifest itself?' but 'By what means is it exercised?' and 'What happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others?'[90]

According to Foucault, it is essential to understand how power is deployed as a technology within the various layers of society. His analysis of the phenomenon of power begins with the key important element. In my view, this is the manner in which Foucault analyses the question concerning power. For Foucault, the manifestation of power, how it is exercised and how individuals exert power over others is important in understanding this phenomenon that we refer to as power.[91] Foucault applies what he calls the 'three modes of objictification which transform human beings into subjects'.[92] He describes the three modes of objictification as follows:

1. 'The objectivizing of the productive subject, the subject who labors, in the analysis of wealth and of economics'.

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90. Michel Foucault, "The Subject of Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 786.

91. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 786.

92. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 777. Cf. Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (ed. H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 208–26.

2. 'The objectivizing of the subject in what I shall call "dividing practices." The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others'.
3. 'The way a human being turns himself into a subject'.

He argues that his quest informed his identification of the domain of sexuality in understanding how humans identify and recognise themselves as subjects of sexuality.[93] For Foucault, the three objectivisation methods illustrate the complexity of power relations. He further argues that the manner in which power has been conceived has either been on the level of legitimisation or institutionalisation of power. It is therefore paramount for us to expand the definition of power to encompass the study of how the technology of power functions in the process of objectivisation of the subject.[94] Foucault argues that it is essential to understand that power relations are another form of doing, that is, to go further toward what he calls 'a new economy of power relations'. According to him, this form of power consists of 'taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point'.[95] According to Foucault, we should understand the struggles not as attacks on the institutions of power but instead as the technique of power. This form of power must be understood within the regimes of truth in that it applies to immediate, everyday life. The performance of such power is that it categorises the individual, labels them in terms of their individuality and attaches such an individual to a particular identity. It further imposes its norms and laws of 'truth' on the individual by which the individual should recognise and others should recognise the person. In Chapter 3, this form of power as disciplinary power exercised through governmentality will be discussed. Foucault states, 'It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects'.[96] The process of subjectification involves the notion of control and dependence. 'Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to'.[97]

This notion of analysing power from the perspective of resistance is illustrated by Foucault as the multilaterality of power. In other words, power is a nexus of occurrence that cannot be explained in one theory or perceived in one form or recourse. Rather, for him, an analysis of power has to be performed through the antagonism of strategies. These technologies, for Foucault, not only illustrate the multilaterality of power but also point to the discursive nature of power. Foucault outlines six examples to

93. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 777–78.

94. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 778.

95. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 780.

96. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 781.

97. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 781. Cf. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*: *An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (transl. A.M. Sheridan; London: Routledge, 1963) (2003).

demonstrate the antagonism, that is, the struggles that are not specific to a particular social location but are rather 'transversal' struggles. He argues that these struggles occur against the discursive practices based on the notion of regimes of truth. In other words, they are fought against the privileges of knowledge.[98]

According to Foucault, to locate power or understand power from the perspective of state power is a narrow analysis of power. This is so because, as mentioned, Foucault perceives power as a complex phenomenon. According to him, what we perceive as the modern Western state, particularly concerning the notion of power, cannot be analysed outside the church's role as an institution of power. He maintains that the 'Western state has integrated into a new political shape an old power technique which originated in Christian institutions. We can call this power technique the pastoral power'.[99] In his view, this form of power has transformed, yet in its essence, it has remained the same. This type of power, for Foucault, is what he refers to as disciplinary power; it is a movement from sovereign power. Additionally, Foucault perceives power as a significant source of societal discipline and conformism. He moves attention from supreme power to life-giving power, which can be observed in the organisational systems and communal services that were created in 18th-century Europe, for example, prisons, schools and mental institutions, which include religious movements and institutions, and how, through their institutions of monitoring and evaluation, they no longer necessitated violence.[100] He argues that:

> This form of power is salvation-oriented (as opposed to political power). It is oblative (as opposed to the principle of sovereignty); it is individualizing (as opposed to legal power); it is coextensive and continuous with life; it linked with the production of truth- the truth of the individual himself [...] In a way, we can see the state as a modern matrix of individualization or a new form of pastoral power.[101]

The link between pastoral power and state power, which operates on the level of individualisation, illustrates the observation by Foucault regarding how power is exerted or performed. This view links with his notion of surveillance. In other words, for Foucault, monitoring ought not to be viewed separately from power associates but is interconnected with them and the notion of governmentality. Foucault argues the following:

> Take, for example, an educational institution: the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which

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98. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 781.

99. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 782.

100. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*, (London: Penguin, 1991). Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (transl. Robert Hurley; New York: Pantheon, 1978).

101. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 783.

are organized there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character – all these things constitute a block of capacity communication-power [...] and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy).[102]

Foucault's observation of the modes of power and how they are performed demonstrates the entanglement of how power can be used to precipitate subjectification. According to him, this form of power can be identified in the various forms of institutionalisation. All these institutions of power form very complex systems capable of multiple devices (technologies) aimed at bringing forth general surveillance, maintaining regimes of truth through various forms of regulation and 'to a certain extent also, the distribution of all power relations in a given social ensemble'.[103] Power then becomes a phenomenon that needs to be examined in its various manifestations.

■ Cultural turn: An alternate translational theory

Cultural epistemologies and cultural contrasts have significantly focused on translators' training since the emergence of translation theory. Additionally, it has concerned itself with the question of equivalence and privileged one culture over others, leading to the process of translation as an unequal exercise. It has led to debates around translation strategies regarding when the translator can transliterate, employ indigenous concepts or formulate new concepts during translation. Translation theorists continue to be fascinated by the untranslatable indigenous words and phrases that are limited and connected to the cultural frames of reference.[104]

In their book,[105] Bassnett and Lefevere argue for what they term a 'cultural turn'. They maintain that it is essential for translation to move from translation as a text to translation as culture and politics in translation studies. They first espoused the concept in the 1990s as a metaphor adopted by translation theories oriented towards cultural studies to refer to the evaluation and interpretation of translation informed by its context,

102. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 787. Cf. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*: *An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1966).

103. Foucault, "The Subject of Power," 792.

104. Cf. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Locations of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

105. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 11.

religio-cultural practices, epistemics and geopolitics of the receptor language.

Not only did Bassnett and Lefevere adopt the concept of cultural turn as a metaphor, but in their book,[106] particularly the last chapter, 'The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies', they note that these 'inter-disciplines', as they refer to them, had moved beyond their 'Eurocentric beginnings' to enter a new internationalist phase'.[107] They argue that there are four converging agenda points that both disciplines, namely translation studies and cultural studies, could collectively address and investigate questions around: 'how different cultures construct their images of writers and texts', a tracking of 'how texts become cultural capital across cultural boundaries', and exploring the politics of translation, the investigation of research in intercultural training and its implication for the contemporary society.[108] They state that:

> There are now clearly several areas that would lend themselves fruitfully to greater cooperation between practitioners of both inter-disciplines. There needs to be more investigation of the acculturation process that takes place between cultures and the way in which different cultures construct their image of writers and texts. There needs to be more comparative study of the ways in which texts become cultural capital across cultural boundaries. There needs to be greater investigation of what Venuti has called 'the ethnocentric violence of translation' and much more research into the politics of translating. There needs to be a pooling of resources to extend research into intercultural training and the implications of such training in today's world. It is not accidental that the genre of travel literature is providing such a rich field for exploration by both translation studies and cultural studies practitioners, for this is the genre in which individual strategies employed by writers deliberately to construct images of other cultures for consumption by readers can be most clearly seen.[109]

These cultural methodologies have widened the translation studies spectrum with new insights, yet simultaneously, there have been vital elements of conflict. It is good to target culture and language, considering an offering of information in a source culture and source language. In the above citation, they argue for an interdisciplinary approach, foregrounded by what they refer to as a 'pooling of resources' and an emphasis on the commonality of the disciplinary methodology informed by the relationship between the two disciplines (namely translation studies and cultural studies).[110]

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106. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 11.

107. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 138.

108. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 138.

109. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 138.

110. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 138.

Similarly, Bassnett further asserts that translated texts offer scholars existing contexts of cultural importation instead of theoretical or hypothetical situations. As Bhabha puts it:

> Translation is the performative nature of cultural communication. It is the language *in actu* (enunciation, positionality) rather than language *in situ* (*énoncé*, or propositionality). And the sign of translation continually tells, or 'tolls' the different times and spaces between cultural authority and its performative practices. The 'time' of translation consists in that movement of meaning, the principle and practice of a communication that, in the words of de Man, 'puts the original in motion to decanonise it, giving it movement of fragmentation, a wandering of errance, a kind of permanent exile'.[111]

The image by Bhabha of translation as a symbol of disintegration, nomadism and exile portrays what Bassnett labels as the new internationalist phase of cultural studies in the late 20th century. It is for this reason that she concludes that the cultural turn is deeper and broader than its view as a metaphor, rather than the study of culture, which would do excellently in the study of processes of encoding and decoding involved in translation. This, according to her, occurs in the study of translations; the scholar can demonstrate how fragments survive, which wanderings occur and how texts in exile are received. As Johnson conclusively argued in 'Taking Fidelity Philosophically', the seemingly self-contradictory bridge of translation is that within the act text, the insurgent forces of its own foreignness re-establish those forces in the tractile strength of a new form of otherness.[112] Bassnett also holds this view that it is time to move the study of translations from the margins of critical investigations to centre stage.[113]

In pursuing the argument by Bassnett, we must locate the concept of culture. Newmark defines culture as 'the way of life and its manifestations that are strange to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression',[114] thus recognising that each language group has its own cultural frame of reference. Not only did he attempt to define culture, but he also introduced the concept of a 'cultural word', which, according to him, the targeted audience is unlikely to understand. He asserts that the translation strategies for this concept hinge on the text type, the needs of the audience and clients, and the cultural significance embedded in the text. Newmark further categorised the term 'cultural word' into four categories, namely:

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111. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 227–28.

112. Barbara Johnson, "Taking Fidelity Philosophically," in *The Barbara Johnson Reader: The Surprise of Otherness* (ed. Feuerstein, Johnson González, Porten and Valens (New York: Duke University Press, 2014), 376.

113. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, xxi.

114. Peter Newmark, *Approaches to Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988b), 94.

[*1*] ecology: flora, fauna, hills, winds, plains; [*2*] material culture: food, clothes, houses and towns, transport; [*3*] social culture: work and leisure; and [*4*] organisations, customs, activities, and procedures, include notions such as political and administrative, religious, and artistic.[115]

Within the realm of gestures and habits, Newmark introduces the social location factors for the translation process. These include, among others, the following contextual factors:

1. purpose of the text
2. motivation and cultural, technical and linguistic level of readership
3. importance of referent in source language (SL) text
4. setting (does a recognised translation exist?)
5. recency of word/referent
6. future of referent.[116]

Venuti, in his book,[117] argues for the identification of the effective powers controlling translation. Venuti delineates the above argument in which he argues that the publishing houses and the editors also play a crucial role in identifying specific works and commissioning translations, including the remittance of translators. Arguably, such an interest demonstrates the performance of power/knowledge on the methodological strategies in translating a particular text. The entire process illustrates the matrices of power. Contextualising the translation enterprise, it is asserted that each translation method has critical players within their time and place's dominant cultural and political agenda. Thus, the assumption that the translation enterprise is outside the geo-theo-economic conditions is wrong. In summation, in both theory and practice, translation's power resides in the employment of language as an ideological weapon for excluding or including a reader, a value system, a set of beliefs or even an entire culture, or what Wa Thiong'o refers to as a 'cultural bomb'.[118] In other words, Venuti perceives translation to be colonisation, in essence, as power belongs not to the source text but to the user of that text.[119]

The notion of translation as an ideological (what Foucault would refer to as discursive) practice is a view also held by Baker. In her book,[120] Baker argues that in the SL, a certain word may express a concept that is completely unknown in the target language (TL) or target culture. Such a

115. Newmark, *Approaches to Translation*, 94.

116. Newmark, *Approaches to Translation*, 102.

117. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

118. Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, 16.

119. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 122.

120. Mona Baker, *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

word may be abstract or concrete. She further maintains that the common non-equivalence which a translator comes across in the process of translation from the SL into the target culture, while both languages have their own meaning and concepts specific to each culture, can be categorised in the following sequence:

1. Culture-specific concepts.
2. The SL concept, which is not lexicalised in TL.
3. The SL word, which is semantically complex.
4. The source and TLs make different distinctions in meaning.
5. The TL lacks a superordinate.
6. The TL lacks a specific term (hyponym).
7. Differences in physical or interpersonal perspective.
8. Differences in expressive meaning.
9. Differences in form.
10. Differences in frequency and purpose of using specific forms.
11. The use of loan words in the source text.[121]

Baker's argument gains significance when analysing 19th-century translations, especially the translator's understanding of the vocabulary used in the target culture. The argument by Baker becomes important in analysing the 19th-century translations. Their knowledge of the lexical sets of the receptor culture. She further argues that the translator must possess knowledge of semantics and lexical sets. This knowledge, she maintains, will enable the translator to appreciate the value of certain concepts, idioms, proverbs and figures of speech within a knowledge system and the contrasts in terms of structures in both the source text and the recipient culture. According to Baker, such an appreciation will enable the translator to access the value in the knowledge system and the lexical set within that particular culture. She states, 'S/he can develop strategies for dealing with non-equivalence semantic field. These techniques are arranged hierarchically from general (superordinate) to specific (hyponym)'.[122]

Coulthard argues the importance of defining the model reader for whom the author points knowledge of specific facts. It includes the memory of particular experiences or events, opinions, partialities and biases, and a certain level of linguistic competency. When considering such features, the degree to which the author might predisposed by such concepts, which hinge on their sense of belonging to a specific sociocultural group, should not be overlooked.[123] In determining an ideal audience for the source text,

121. Mona Baker, *In Other Words*, 21.

122. Baker, *In Other Words*, 23.

123. Malcolm Coulthard, "Forensic Discourse Analysis," in *Advances in Spoken Discourse* Analysis (ed. Coulthard; New York: Routledge, 1992), 243–59.

consideration should be concerning the receptor culture, argues Coulthard. He further maintains that the translator's first and significant challenge is the production of a new ideal audience who might be similar academically, professionally and intellectually to the original reader. At the same time, because of different contexts and knowledge systems, the receptor will significantly have different textual expectations informed by their cultural knowledge.[124] At the same time, Willis raises an important observation: it is debatable whether the ideal receptor culture reader has enormously different textual expectations in the case of the extract translated texts. Yet, because it is a foreign text, cultural knowledge will certainly vary considerably.[125]

Although translation has formed part of the interface of cultures for centuries, as a discipline, translational studies have been a rather contemporary development. Lefevere has argued convincingly regarding what would constitute translation studies and what it might consist of. It was not until 1978 that he recommended that the name translation studies be agreed to for the discipline that concerns itself with the problems raised by the construction and description of translations.[126] He states that:

> This means that within the field, both the process of how a translation comes into being and what the translator does to a text are as valid an object of study as is the fortune of a text once it passes into another language and literature.[127]

Lefevere is at pains to highlight that theory and practice ought to be indissolubly linked while mutually benefiting. This is in line with Kanyoro's assertion that translation is essentially a communication that transverses the message and meaning of the source text to the receptor culture.[128] One must point out that the conditions that created the possibility of the Moffat translation differed substantially from those that produced contemporary translations, even though the principle is the same. Put differently, it is evident when searching for a translational equivalent of the possibilities of an appropriate fit within the receptor language that the translator will have to contend with these challenges. As Hall reminds us:

> It is obliging us to re-read the very binary form in which the colonial encounter has for so long itself been represented. It obliges us to re-read the binaries as forms of transculturation, of cultural translation, destined to trouble the here/ there cultural binaries for ever. It is precisely this 'double inscription', breaking

124. Coulthard, "Forensic Discourse Analysis," 245.

125. Jane Willis, "Inner and Outer: Spoken Discourse in the Language Class Room," in *Advances in Spoken Discourse Analysis* (ed. Coulthard; New York, Routledge, 1992), 162–182, 176.

126. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, xi.

127. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, xi.

128. Kanyoro, "Translation," 303.

down the clearly demarcated inside/outside of the colonial system on which the histories of imperialism have thrived for so long, which the concept of the 'postcolonial' has done so much to bring to the fore.[129]

Therefore, based on the argument advanced by Hall, postcolonial translation studies raise questions concerning the act of translation that is characterised by transactions, the appropriations, negotiations, migrations and mediations arising from the act itself. Bassnett makes the following observation regarding postcolonial translation studies. She argues that postcolonial theorists focus on translation in terms of reassessing and reappropriating the term. Arguably, the translation enterprise has been a one-way process for centuries, one that involves the producer and the consumer. European texts embodying cultural norms and languages were transmitted into the receptor culture; such translations were not for the reciprocal exchange process. European norms have dominated the translation enterprise, ensuring that only particular texts, especially those that are not foreign to the receptor culture, can be translated. In short, because of the universalisation of Western knowledge through translation, postcolonial theorists have observed and argued for a close relationship between colonisation and translation and the need to scrutinise such a relationship.[130]

Bassnett argues that the relationship between colonisation and translation has come under scrutiny. Put differently, the relationship between the two highlights the mechanisms of translation as a form of transmitting European culture into the colony through translated texts. Thus, reading and analysing the 19th century, Pratt argues that postcolonial translation studies, particularly cultural translation, propel us to reflect on the question of power. She remarks:

> Perhaps this question invites us to reflect on the power (not the task) of the translator, as the 'one who knows' both the codes; the one who has the power to 'do justice', 'be faithful', yet also to 'capture', deceive, betray one side to the other, or betray both to a third. Who wouldn't want to be the hero Geertz describes, dedicated to getting straight 'how the massive fact of cultural and historical particularity comports with the equally massive fact of cross-cultural and cross-historical accessibility, how the deeply different can be deeply known without becoming any less different; the enormously distant enormously close without becoming any less far away'.[131]

Shamma argues that the accomplishment of postcolonial studies involved the 'exploration of the symbiotic connection between language and culture

129. Stuart Hall, "When was the 'Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," in *The Post-Colonial Question* (ed. Chambers and Curti; London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 247, 251.

130. Susan Bassnett & Harish Trivedi, eds., *Translation Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 50.

131. Mary Louise Pratt, "Translation Studies Forum: Cultural Translation," *Translation Studies* 3 (2010): 96.

in the colonial context. They reveal how Western translation practices heralded, aided, and perpetuated colonial expansion'.[132]

■ Decolonial analysis as delinking[133]

The concepts of domestication, foreignisation and re-domestication are considered in terms of a decolonial analysis within the study of decolonial biblical discourse. Such analysis, for example, locates itself within the social location and epistemic location of the Batswana.[134] Said differently, it is informed by the religio-cultural practices expressed through the indigenous knowledge system of the Batswana. This includes the theo- and geopolitics of knowledge of the translator and that of the Batswana. This is so because there is, firstly, a consensus within postcolonial and cultural translation studies that translations are, to a large extent, colonial products. It therefore propels scholars within biblical sciences to analyse and decolonise such texts, taking into cognisance the theo- and geopolitics of knowledge.

In other words, the transmission and reception of Christianity and its canonical texts have to be understood and analysed as colonial texts aimed at achieving a particular outcome. Dingwaney and Maier remind us that the process of translation is often a form of epistemicide and the performance of colonial power.[135] I contend that the 19th-century transmission and reception of Christianity and its canonical texts ought to be understood, analysed and critiqued as colonial texts to facilitate cultural and epistemic erosion and violence, as Dingwaney and Maier have argued that the process of translation is often an act of epistemicide and the performance of colonial power. As previously argued, European texts contained cultural norms and languages. Similarly, the various Christian literature texts, such as European texts translated by missionaries, were also to ensure that the act of translation facilitated colonisation. I contend that these literature genres indicate an indissoluble relationship between translation and colonisation. I would further argue that the 1840 English–Setswana Bible

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132. Shamma, "Postcolonial Studies," 185.

133. Parts of this section have previously been published in: Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology in the 1840 English–Setswana New Testament," *HTS Theological Studies* 74, no. 1 (2018): a4786. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i1.4786

134. Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering'," a7812. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i1.7812. Cf. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "The Colonial Matrix of Power: Image Ontology and the Question of Blackness," *HTS Theological Studies* 77, no. 4 (2021): 9. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.7074. See also Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke with Specific Reference to Luke 1:59 and Luke 2:21 from the Perspective of the Damnés," *HTS Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2021): a6914. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i1.6914

135. Anuradha Dingwaney and Carol Maier, eds., *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and Cross-Cultural Texts* (Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995).

was a copy of an original text of the empire, located elsewhere, transmitted to the colony. Therefore, South African biblical scholars must engage critically with the sophistication and problematisation of such texts and their impact.

Such sensitivity has developed within translation theory for the interaction between source and receptor culture. Bassnett reflects on the required sensitivity. She maintains that we excavate the historical layers of translation of other cultures, not only in the West. According to her, the excitement is encouraged by the work carried out by postcolonial translation theorists writing these texts. She reminds us that such an exercise ought to be informed by the trajectories of the world and its re-examining its relationship with Europe. The translation concepts that have functioned as canons of excellence based on Eurocentric methods are also inevitably re-evaluated and revised.[136] Bassnett raises the importance of understanding the history of translation. The analysis of the 19th-century translation has to take into cognisance the European models that were utilised. She further states that postcolonial translation studies provide space for analysing these texts, highlighting the various technologies applied by translators. As Robinson reminds us, translation is viewed as being ultimately a tool of an empire. Such a recognition provides a space for the reader to locate the various strata that led to the production of such texts. Furthermore, limiting the production of translation as a tool of empire at the time of colonisation limits the length and strength of empire. Empire, in this case, should not only be limited to time and space but rather seen as a matrix which contemporary translation studies battle with untangling. He states:

> The study of translation and empire, or even of translation as empire was born in the mid-to-late 1980's out of the realization that translation has always been an indispensable channel of imperial conquest and occupation not only must the imperial conquerors find some effective way of communicating with their subjects, that must develop new ways of subjecting them, converting them into docile or 'cooperative' subjects.[137]

Translation as an act of writing, manipulation and appropriation has always been an indispensable channel of empire, conquest, occupation and power to construct realities and to communicate a form of religio-cultural practice of the imperial order within the source text. This view is crucial in arguing for a decolonial analytical study of the 19th-century material. Applying the three categories, I advance an argument that the translation of Western imperial religio-cultural practice into Setswana aimed not only to develop new strategies of converting and dominating Batswana into cooperative

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136. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*, 10.

137. Robinson, *Translation and Empire*, 10. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology," a4786.

submissive subjects but also through the performance of violating their linguistic heritage. Taking the concept of translation as not only an act of rewriting, appropriating and manipulation but also as a form of transmitting certain norms, ideals, social hierarchies and linguistic heritage of the source text (refer to Mothoagae 2023).

The analysis of the 1840 Gospel of Luke becomes critical, as the source text was the 1611 King James Bible. The text, as I argued in the previous chapter, its linguistic heritage and its history illustrate its performance in the identity, cultural and linguistic formation of the British people. Thus, as a source text, these formations are embedded within the text. In the process of translation, these forms of identity markers are inevitably, wittingly or unwittingly, transmitted into the receptor culture.

The very notion that the text is not only a Setswana text but also an embodiment of both the English and the Setswana language speaks to the concept of appropriation and reappropriation as a product of the religio-cultural practice that produced the translator and the source text into the religio-cultural practices of the Batswana. In other words, English imperial identity is appropriated in the Setswana Bible.[138] Mbembe argues that:

> Instead, the emphasis should be on the logic of 'conviviality' on the dynamics of domesticity and familiarity, inscribing the dominant and the dominated within the same episteme.[139]

Bearing in mind the above, I would contend that with a closer reading of the 1840 Gospel of Luke, it is possible to identify the imbalances between the source text and the receptor culture. These imbalances, or rather, the power dynamics in translation, can be identified in the following categories, namely domestication, foreignisation and re-domestication. I contend that this process's consequence is the colonisation, reordering and transmogrification of religio-cultural expressions, the exiling of the Batswana deity and the demonisation of the *Badimo* as expressed in the *ngwao ya Batswana*. The three tools or categories of analysis, namely domestication, foreignisation and re-domestication, are applied in the

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138. The idea that there can be what is called the "Setswana Bible" has to be problematised on the following basis. For the Batswana, at the time the missionaries arrived there was no such thing as a Bible. As I will show later in the chapter, they have what is called *ngwao*. The idea of the Setswana Bible has to be understood within the colonial matrix of power. The text is an appropriated, morphed, colonial text. The word or name 'Setswana' is appropriated for the purpose of the reception, linguistic and identity formation within the receptor culture.

139. Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 110. L. Scarato, F. Baldraia and M. Manzi, eds., *Convivial Constellations in Latin America: From Colonial to Contemporary Times* (1st ed.; New York: Routledge, 2020).

reading of the text from the social context of a Motswana.[140] My social location is that of a 21st-century Motswana man informed by the (geopolitics of knowledge) of the 21st century, while my epistemic location and consciousness is that of two-ness, namely the Western colonial knowledge and that of the Setswana knowledge system (theo-politics of knowledge). I further recognise that the text at hand was translated and made available to the Batswana living during the period of the 19th century. Not only were the Batswana living there without any prospects of colonial domination, but they were also not docile regarding colonial invasion; they were both against Christianity and colonial intrusion. In other words, they were against the empire itself. It is essential to interlink modern/colonial imperialism with missionary societies, with the actor being the missionary themselves. Mbembe reminds us that:

> Whether dealing with Africa or with other non-European worlds, this tradition long denied the existence of any 'self' but its own. Each time it came to peoples different in race, language, and culture, the idea that we have, concretely and typically, the same flesh, or that, in Husserl's words, 'My flesh already has the meaning of being a flesh typical in general for us all', became problematic. The theoretical and practical recognition of the body and flesh of 'the stranger' as flesh and body just like mine, the idea of a common human nature, a humanity shared with others, long posed, and still poses, a problem for Western consciousness. But it is in relation to Africa that the notion of 'absolute otherness' has been taken farthest.[141]

Three tools of reading the 1840 Gospel of Luke are applied within decoloniality to illustrate the above argument, as advanced by Mbembe. They are further useful in identifying and categorising how politics of erasure, interpretation and association operated within the framework of regimes of truth and the colonial matrix of power. Furthermore, they bring to the fore the extent of these effects on the receptor language. They also illustrate how the vernacularisation of the Gospel of Luke as an act of epistemic privilege affected the social hierarchies of power between the missionary as the translator and the custodian of the linguistic heritage as the consumer, resulting in the Bible becoming a tool of power within the framework of fulfilling the 'Christian duty' of conquering, colonising (invasion) and conversion. To be able to delineate and interlink these dynamics, Mojola's argument becomes one of the important forms of

140. I am cognisant of the fact that as a Motswana I am reading the Gospel of Luke from the perspective of not only a Motswana but also within the context of a 21st-century Motswana. Furthermore, I recognise that I am also both my theo-politics of knowledge and geo-politics of knowledge, which are both Western and African.

141. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, 2. Cf. G. Guzzetta, "Introduzione/Introduction," *Italian Studies in Southern Africa/Studi d'Italianistica nell'Africa Australe* 21 (2009): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.4314/issa.v21i1-2.43947

analysis, particularly the reception history during the period of colonial, imperial and Christian expansion in Africa. Mojola (2004) states:

> Postcolonial approaches to translation [...] are primarily concerned with the links between translation and empire or translation and power as well as the role of translation in processes of cultural domination and subordination, colonization and decolonization, indoctrination and control and the [...] hybridization and creolization of cultures and languages.[142]

The argument of Mojola is essential not only to outlining the intersectionality of translation, power and empire but also in the application of the three categories of how they could have functioned during the production of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke. Considering that the act of translation is not apolitical, it is therefore inevitable that it does not happen in a vacuum, but rather it is embedded within the social and epistemic location of the translator, infused with notions of power, cultural domination, discursive practices and subordination of the receptor culture or language. Therefore, although the primary premise may have been the transmission of Christian cultural values and norms, the motive to translate cannot be limited to that transmission; rather, the act itself has to be critically analysed from the perspective of indoctrination based on the outcomes of evangelising, civilising and colonising (conquer, colonise and convert) in order to produce docile subjects that would also act as agents for the colonial expansion. As Mojola states, it can be argued that it is in the colonisation of these spaces that the biculturality and bireligiosity of languages[143] emerge.

The application of the three categories (domestication, foreignisation and re-domestication) in the analysis of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke would not only enable one to perform some form of excavation,[144] as these elements are not easily identifiable, but they would also bring forth the epistemologies that are embedded within the text itself. I borrow the term from Fuggle, who explains excavation as an 'attempt to strip away another layer of matter, history, or discourse [which] necessarily involves adding an additional layer or surface as the debris piles up around us'.[145] Decoloniality is a theoretical lens which will serve as a tool in the process

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142. Mojola, "Swahili Bible," 101. Cf. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of Bogwera in Luke 2:21 in the 1857 English–Setswana Bible," *HTS Theological Studies* 73, no. 3 (2017): a4523. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i3.4523. See also Itumeleng D. Mothoagae and Themba Shingange, "The 19th-century Missionary Literature: Biculturality and Bi-religiosity, A Reflection from the Perspective of the Wretched," *HTS Theological Studies* 80, no. 1 (2024): a9032. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v80i1.9032. See also Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke."

143. Mothoagae and Shingange, "The 19th-century Missionary Literature," a9032.

144. Sophie Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul: Subjects of Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 10.

145. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 12.

of excavation. Through these categories of analysis, excavation is a technique of opening up a collection of uneven 'lumps and patches', as well as the conceptual strategies employed by the translator.

Venuti, as outlined in Chapter 2, in his conceptualisation of the two concepts, namely foreignisation and domestication, as well as Mojola and Wendland, raises one of the crucial aspects in the process of translation, that is, the recognition of the tension between foreignisation and domestication, particularly in Bible translation. Their argument is a valid one, considering the geopolitics of knowledge and the economics of knowledge that inform the type of approach that a translation must take. While I appreciate their argument, I apply the concepts of foreignisation and domestication differently. These two concepts are employed to explore whether they can be applied differently and to identify the layers they expose. I further propose another lens, namely re-domestication. I argue that the issue is not an either/or situation, but rather, it is to recognise not only how these categories intersect with race and gender but also how the politics of knowledge and the geopolitics of knowledge operate within the colonial matrix of power.

Fuggle argues that poststructuralism reminds us that in both reading and writing, we have to apply hermeneutics of suspicion.[146] In other words, at the centre of this research is the Gospel of Luke in the 1840 English–Setswana New Testament. My approach to reading the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke, and subsequently the entire 1857 Moffat Bible, requires the following. Firstly, my study involves the acknowledgement that this reading not only takes place within a 21st-century context, but it is also defined and framed by this context; and secondly, the importance of close textual analysis in establishing the argumentative and narrative strategies employed by Moffat is informed by theories such as intersectionality, postcolonial translation studies, cultural translation and decoloniality. Since the study focuses on certain aspects of the Gospel of Luke, attention will be paid to Moffat's specific choice and use of English and Setswana terms, incorporating the concepts of foreignisation, re-domestication and domestication within the existing debates in postcolonial translation studies into my discussion where relevant. Thirdly, I recognise that I am analysing 19th-century material. Again, I note the conditions in which these texts were translated and written. I also recognise that the tools of analysis applied in these texts are 21st-century tools; thus, caution is paramount. Above all, I approach these texts as a Motswana from a decolonial perspective. It is therefore essential to define concepts for the sake of clarity and synthesis.

146. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 12.

The vernacularisation of the Bible into Setswana was a form of communication. This form of communication functioned as a technology of persuasion. The vernacularisation of the Bible for the missionaries also performed a technology of subterfuge that the 'other' needed to abandon their own cultural belief system. In this regard, making the Bible available in the local language did not only function as standardising the Setswana language, but rather it also functioned as a theological and doctrinal teaching aimed at persuading the neophyte that they needed to denounce their *ngwao* to access baptism. Kebede rightly argues that:

> In view of the admittance of failure, only the rudeness of arrogance delayed the salutary shift from the wrong method of emptying the Bantu mind so as to staff Western beliefs into it to the practice of a critical regeneration of Bantu belief.[147]

The strategy of the translator was to produce a text that could be read in Setswana for the Batswana. The goal was to communicate Western Christian truths, as translated in the 1611 King James Version, to the Batswana. It is for this reason that I follow the argument advanced by Wilt that a communication model can be better used to explain the process of translation rather than to offer a succinct definition of translation. Therefore, I find Wilt's[148] definition of translation crucial in analysing the 1840 Gospel of Luke. He defines translation in the following manner:

> Translation is a process in which text Y is produced with signs arranged in a way intended to help an audience interpret/appreciate a previously produced text X whose signs could not be satisfactorily interpreted by the audience for whom text Y is intended because of differences between the sociocultural, organisational and communicational frames within which text X was produced and the frames of the audience for whom text Y is intended.[149]

Wilt further argues that the communication 'could not be satisfactorily interpreted', which is not an objective assessment but rather a subjective one that could be communicated either by members of the target audience or by the producers of the translation. For example, the Moffat Bible was intended to communicate a message. The assessment of whether the message is effective is not an objective assessment but rather a subjective one. This, according to Wilt, can be communicated either by the community for which the translated texts are intended or by the translator, in this case, Robert Moffat. This is the cause of disagreement, precisely because the assessment can be determined through the three dimensions in the process of translation, namely foreignisation, re-domestication and domestication. The three dimensions are critical in analysing the aspects of the

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147. Messay Kebede, *Africa's Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 37.

148. Timothy Wilt, "A New Framework for Bible Translation," *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 2 (2002): 154–55.

149. Wilt, "A New Framework," 154–55.

communication situation(s) under consideration, including the values of the communities, organisations and individuals. In other words, according to Wilt, there is no statement of *how* the signs should be arranged or *what aspects* of text X are the most important to represent in text Y.

Translation theorists generally acknowledge that reading presuppositions and assumptions, prejudices and biases, value systems and belief systems, textual traditions and practices, worldviews, ideology[150] and interests influence the interpretation and translation of texts. The processes of foreignisation, re-domestication and domestication, I would argue, is rooted in the act of translation. At the same time, translation can be used as a decolonial tool for decolonisation. Such a process in the context of translation is informed by ideology and power, which involves rewriting and manipulation aimed at producing new concepts, a new genre, the evolution (civilisation) of society and the shaping of the power of one culture upon another.

The text in question is an analysis of the translation of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke, which highlights the power dynamics inherent in the translation process. The translator's perspective and the impact of ideology, politics and economy on the vernacularisation of the Bible are emphasised. The text suggests that the process of translating the Bible into vernacular languages is not merely a linguistic exercise but a political act that reflects and reinforces power relations, knowledge systems and social hierarchies. The translation process is influenced by the historical context in which it takes place, and the translated text reflects the power relations between the coloniser and the colonised. The translator's choices, such as the use of Westernised names and the foreignisation of cultural practices,[151] serve the interests of the imperial ideology and contribute to the reproduction of racial, gender and geo-political hierarchies.[152]

The text also highlights the importance of recognising the role of ideology, politics and economy in the translation process, as they shape the way knowledge is conceptualised and disseminated. The text suggests that losing sight of these factors is to ignore the interplay between power

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150. For this book, I follow Lefevere's definition of ideology, as "the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach text." Cf. Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems Descriptive and System-oriented Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St Jerome, 1999), 127. Gentzler succinctly expresses Lefevere's definition of "ideology" as a set of discourses which wrestle over interests which are in some way relevant to the maintenance or interrogation of power structures central to a whole form of social and historical life." Cf. Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (2nd ed.; Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), 137.

151. Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 213.

152. Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology."

relations, knowledge production and social hierarchies. The text concludes by emphasising the need to approach the translation of religious texts with a critical lens, taking into account the historical, political and ideological contexts that shape the translation process.

◼ Translation as an act of domestication

Venuti,[153] as with other cultural theorists, argued for the broadening of the scope of translation studies. He bases his argument on the fact that translation studies as a discipline must consider the value-driven nature of the sociocultural framework. For this reason, he employs the concept of invisibility to define the translator's condition and role within a North American Anglo-culture. He points out two mutual phenomena that determine the idea of invisibility. The first is the translator's manipulation and illusionistic effect of discourse. The second is the long practice of examining and reading translations in both the United Kingdom and the United States of America.[154]

In his view, invisibility must be understood hand in hand with two types of translating strategies: *domestication* and *foreignisation*. He views domestication as dominating Anglo-American (TL) translation culture. Just as the postcolonialists were alert to the cultural effects of the differential in power relation between colony and ex-colony, it is for that matter that he bemoans:

> [*T*]he phenomenon of domestication since it involves a reduction of the foreign text to the target language cultural values. This entails translating in a transparent, fluent, invisible style in order to minimise the foreignness of the receptor culture.[155]

Venuti argues that a translator should leave the reader in peace as much as possible, and he should move the author toward him.[156] In the context of the study, the concept of domestication is applied from a decolonial perspective as an act of colonising the language of the receptor culture as it is performed as a technology of power/knowledge. In other words, the Bible that comes as the 'Other' or foreign in the context of the Batswana is domesticated, appropriated, naturalised or tswanafied by employing the

153. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*.

154. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*,1.

155. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 17.

156. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 17. Cf. Lili Wang, "A Survey on Domestication and Foreignization Theories in Translation," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 3, no. 1 (2013): 175–79. See also Wenfen Yang, "Brief Study on Domestication and Foreignization in Translation," *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 1, no. 1 (2010): 77–80.

language of the Batswana people. Domestication, then, is the act of reconstructing the same sign as found in the source text. In other words, it is less concerned with transformation than with importation, transliteration, *tswanafication* or naturalisation. In this case, a sign not in use by the receptor language, which is unfamiliar to the receptor culture, is imported from the SL. While in other instances we may have covert colonisation, in this case, it is overt, explicit, and it requires that the signs of the SL be accommodated in the receptor language.

The importing of these foreign concepts reflects the ideological location of the translator, as well as how power relationships affect communicational dynamics. Furthermore, through the importation of these unfamiliar signs, the values of the dominant power group shape the texts in favour of the empire to subjugate, dominate, colonise and indoctrinate. The domestication process not only favours the dominant group but also obscures or distorts the worldviews and values of the receptor language and those represented in the source text. Wilt reminds us that with such a process, while it might be viewed and discussed in terms of groups differing in nationality, culture and economics, the same may be true in terms of 'co-cultures' supposedly working together to produce a translation.[157]

■ Translation as an act of foreignisation[158]

Venuti views foreignisation as, on the other hand, choosing a foreign text and developing a translation method along lines that are excluded by dominant cultural values in the TL. He further maintains that the act of foreignising as a method is a form of ethno-deviant pressure on the TL's cultural values in order to record the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad or, in other words, exiling the reader. According to him, it is highly desirable to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation. Venuti terms the act of foreignising as a method of translating, and as a strategy, he also termed it *resistancy*. He also maintains that it is a nonfluent or estranging translation style designed to make visible the persistence of the translator by highlighting the foreign identity of the source text and protecting it from the ideological dominance of the target culture.[159]

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157. Timothy Wilt, "Translation and Communication" in *Bible Translation: Frames of Reference* (ed. Timothy Wilt; Manchester and Northampton: St Jerome, 2003), 148.

158. Mojola and Wendland argue that the act of foreignisation of texts might occur wittingly or unwittingly through the reliance on translation models produced in sociocultural and political settings quite different from that of the target language, an area worthy of much more attention than it has yet received. Furthermore, this tension that they raise highlights the paradox of translators as either agents of the institution or as activists. According to Mojola and Wendland, the constant manoeuvring of the translator between foreignisation and domestication places the constant tension at the centre of translation.

159. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 291.

In his later book, *The scandals of translation towards an ethics of difference* (1998) Venuti contends that foreignising – or, as he also refers to it, 'minoritizing' – translation cultivates a diverse and heterogeneous discourse. As far as language is concerned, the minoritising or foreignising method of Venuti's translation comes through in the deliberate inclusion of foreignising elements in a bid to make the translator visible and to make the reader realise that he is reading a translation of a work from a foreign culture. Foreignisation is a close adherent to the source text structure and syntax.[160] He further argues that depending on the circumstances and contexts, these terms may change meaning across time and location.

In terms of decolonial application, the concepts that meant or stood for particular things in the Batswana culture and religion now receive new meaning in the context of the biblical text. Foreignisation can be seen as a function of a politics of erasure whereby particular items are excluded or rejected. As a function of a politics of erasure, foreignisation has functioned as a significant strategy within the process of colonisation to suppress what does not fit with the dominant discursive systems of the coloniser. Acting as a colonising power, translational discourse serves as a mechanism for the deployment of foreignisation.

The translator, through the politics of erasure, alienates cultural conceptual frames from their meaning or sign. This assumes that that which is rejected and excluded forms part of backwardness, heathenism and barbarism. Bassnett and Trivedi (1999b) remind us that:

> The act of translation always involves much more than language. Translations are always embedded in cultural and political systems, and in history. For too long translation was seen as purely an aesthetic act, and ideological problems were disregarded. Yet the strategies employed by translators reflect the context in which texts are produced.[161]

The argument by Bassnett and Lefevere is important in analysing the translation of the Bible into Setswana. Above all, when locating the impact of the source text on the receptor culture, not only the intended message is transmitted. Rather, the cultural and political systems embedded in the source text are also transmitted into the receptor language. In the context of the 1611 text, it is not only the language, cultural and political systems, and history of the source text that are transmitted. Rather, it is the entire imperial identity constructed around the British monarchy. Thus, a decolonial reading of the 1840 text has to take into cognisance the context and strategies that led to the production of the text. Succinctly put, such a

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160. Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 10.

161. Bassnett and Trivedi, eds., *Postcolonial Translation*, 6.

translation is not immune from the social location and epistemic locations of the translator. They further remind us that:

> Translation is a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain.[162]

Translation as rewriting was conceptualised by Lefevere.[163] In 1981, Lefevere introduced 'refracted text' as a concept. He defines 'refracted text' as 'texts that have been processed for a certain audience (such as children to serve as an example)' or adapted to a certain poetic or certain ideology.[164] In 1982, Lefevere understood the term 'refraction' to intend 'the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work'.[165] In 1984, Lefevere defined and added the notion of 'patronage' to his model in order to investigate ideological pressures.[166] In 1985, 'refraction' gave way to 'rewriting'. By 'rewriting', Lefevere refers to any text produced on the basis of another with the intention of adapting that other text for a certain ideology or to certain poetics, and usually to both.[167] The act of foreignisation in the process of translation does not happen in a vacuum. Lefevere reminds one that translations, in general, are not written in a vacuum. The act of translation cannot be an isolated exercise. Shuping states that:

> As scholars of manipulation school argue, translation has always served a special purpose or many purposes at the same time, and each time it has been shaped by a certain force, power and so on. In its intellectual aspect, translation as a means of cultural enrichment, the choice of the works to be translated, and the guidelines and goals of the translation activity are set by certain forces.[168]

Since translation is a rewriting of the original and does not occur in a vacuum, the choice to use the 1611 King James Bible as a source text to be

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162. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of the Literary Fame* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1990), viii.

163. According to Hermans, Lefevere developed his idea about systems and the place of "rewriting" within them over a period of about fifteen years and many of his essays are collected in translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame. (Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, 126.

164. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 137.

165. Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, 127.

166. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 137.

167. Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, 127.

168. Shuping, "Translation as Rewriting," 55.

translated implies that the guidelines and goals were set by the translator. As an agent of an organisation, the translator fulfils the sole mandate of the institution and its intellectual power of one culture upon another. Following the argument of Lefevere, it can be argued that translation as an act of rewriting is not only performed under certain constraints, but it is performed to fulfil a particular purpose(s). The original text is chosen for a particular determination, and the strategies of translation are well defined to aid this purpose by the translator; in the case of the 1840 Gospel of Luke, at times, it is by those who initiate the translation activity.

In her work, *How Local Divine Powers Were Suppressed: A Case of Mwari of the Shona* (2001), Mbuwayesango discusses in detail how the translation of the word *Mwari*, according to her, was foreignised from its cultural conceptualisation and re-domesticated into what she refers to as a Hebrew deity, namely YHWH, and the Christian deity, namely God the Father in the New Testament. She argues that translation as a performance of power was an act of incarceration and exiling of the gender-neutral deity of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. She states that:

> The missionary translation of the Bible was aimed at replacing the Shona Mwari with the biblical God in everything else but the name. If the missionaries had come to introduce a new God to the Shonas, they might have met much resistance, as happened in the earlier mission ventures. The adoption of the Shona name Mwari for the biblical God was in reality the religious usurpation of the Shona. The missionaries took the Shona captive by colonizing the Shona Supreme Being. The results of this religious colonization can be demonstrated by analysing texts that were now taken to speak of Mwari, the Shona God.[169]

Mbuwayesango's analysis demonstrates epistemic violence performed on the linguistic heritage of the Shona people. Furthermore, it is in the above citation that the translator alienates the receptor culture from its heritage: he further performed a cultural bomb by annihilating their belief in the names of the divine, language and identity. It can be argued that replacing the Shona Mwari was based on the *primacy*, *totalisation* and *monopoly* of the Western concept of the Divine, aimed at textually burying and exiling the Shona Divine. The citation illustrates the first step of foreignisation, which is cutting loose from the sign. Mbuwayesango further states that the rejection of the sign has its own effects. She states that:

> As a written record the Bible became the authentic voice on Mwari and Mwari's ways. The Shona believe that Mwari is the creator and the ultimate controller of the universe, the Supreme Being. However, the authentic way to describe Mwari's creative activity has come to be understood as that found in the Bible. The equation thus overruled the way the Shona spoke about and dealt with their deity.[170]

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169. Mbuwayesango, "How Local Divine Powers were Supressed," 67.

170. Mbuwayesango, "How Local Divine Powers were Supressed", 68.

The foreignisation of Mwari into the Hebrew and Christian expressions of God, according to Mbuwayesango, leads to the re-domestication of Mwari as a colonised deity with male attributes, a deity now of the Hebrews and Christians. Such a deity no longer represents the Shona people, as Mwari is now called the God of Israel or God the Father. Mojola makes a compelling assertion regarding a biblical translation by arguing in the following manner:

> How do you translate the God of the Bible in terms of the 'god' or 'gods' of another culture? How do you change the categories and concepts of biblical religion to terms understood by those of native traditional religions? In general [...] the local gods, religious terminology, and categories are usually hijacked and Christianised, or infused with new biblical meaning.[171]

The argument by Mojola is a valid one, as I show later in the book that concepts such as Satan, the triune God (Trinity) and the gendered God of Christianity were actually foreign concepts to the first listeners. Mojola terms this process of suppression the hijacking and the Christianising of other cultures. Perhaps, in the eyes of Moffat, there were apparent similarities among the concepts. As Sugirtharajah reminds us, 'translation, thus, is more than a mere linguistic enterprise. It is a site for promoting unequal relationships among languages, races, religions, and peoples."It brings into focus the manipulative position of a translator."'[172] He further raises the question of privilege arguing that written texts are privileged as a valid medium of sacred communication. This is seen in the missionary translations devaluing orality and the rhetoric of hearing (please also refer to Mothoagae 2022).[173] He states:

> In representing particular versions of the colonialised, translators were able to roject themselves as the superior race and embody class positions which paved the way for the stabilization of the British rule and for the introduction of the Bible and Christian way of life.[174]

A similar argument is presented by Ntloedibe-Kuswani in her work *Translating the Divine: The Case of Modimo in the Setswana Bible* (2001). Ntloedibe-Kuswani argues that the translation of the Christian religion into Setswana led to the alienation and divorce of *Modimo* from the context, the Batswana beliefs, myths, rituals, ethics, experience and their general way of life. She further maintains that these elements were dismissed as diabolical, as a masterpiece of hell's invention. *Modimo* was thus incarcerated into the Christian religion, which is predominantly male; the outcome of this

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171. Aloo Osotsi Mojola, "Bible Translation," in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* (ed. Virginia Fabella and R.S. Sugirtharajah; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000), 30–31.

172. Rasiah Sugirtharajah, 'Textual Cleansing: A Move from the Colonial to the Postcolonial Version', *Semeia*, 76 (1996): pp. 7–19.

173. Sugirtharajah, "Textual Cleansing," 9.

174. Sugirtharajah, "Textual Cleansing", 9.

incarceration was to leave the Batswana traditions without a centre.[175] Foreignisation, in essence, is an act of exiling. Put differently, it is a cutting strategy, an erasure. Foreignisation removes the sign from its original context; it cuts loose from its semantics and the cultural reservoir of signs. It leaves a gap in the semantics of the sign, thus creating an opening that can be infiltrated. I will now discuss the second element, namely re-domestication.

◼ A translation process as an act of re-domestication

In the previous section, I contended that foreignisation in the context of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke was a cutting strategy. I further stated that not only is it a cutting strategy, but it has also left a gap in the semantics of the sign, creating an opening that can be infiltrated. The Setswana concepts that were infused (or imbued) with new meanings, that is, foreignised in the context of the biblical text, make their way back to the Batswana people through the translated text, thereby causing havoc in the target culture. Re-domestication functions as an act of infiltration of the cultural reservoir of signs. Cultural hermeneutics as a framework provides the necessary tools to identify the extent of infiltration. Kanyoro states:

> In many African cultures, for example, the name and concept of the deity are often female. It is also women who are responsible for the intervention between people and the deity. This concept was foreign to early missionary Bible translators, and most translations changed the word of God to adapt it to the Western, male God name. These kinds of translations, now accepted by churches, have helped to reverse the status of women in religious spheres, both in the church and in local cultures.[176]

The above citation illustrates the process of re-domestication, as it, in my view, refers to the reintroduction of the same concept with different meanings and elements. In the case of the two studies of Mwari of the Shona and *Modimo* of the Batswana, both signs were reintroduced or reinvented as the Hebrew YHWH and the Christian God the Father. In both these signs, there is gender and the masculinity and the maleness of the deities, while the former entails gender neutrality and the latter gender identification. The sign and image of the latter are deployed to reconstruct the sign and image of the Batswana deity. Re-domestication allows for an act of colonisation because the translator, having separated the sign from its cultural context, is now in a situation to re-accommodate the sign within a context where

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175. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 88.

176. Musimbi, "Translation," 303.

colonialist values could be integrated as diagnostic components of its meaning. The semantic components that constitute a particular sign within a particular culture change or may change when implemented in a different culture. This again confirms the argument of translation as rewriting. Succinctly put, re-domestication is a subsequent strategy aimed at communicating a new meaning. This form of communication transforms the sign into a new context. In short, foreignisation cuts a sign from its context, while re-domestication provides new accommodation, which is a new context that is infused with new meaning.

It is the effects of the politics of erasure, expressed and performed within the discourse of authority, legitimacy and power. Therefore, re-domestication is a link between power, patronage and ideology, with an emphasis placed on the various attempts to undermine an existing ideology or a cultural worldview. In translating and altering certain concepts that have a cultural link, the translator performs an act of mutation of meaning with the receptor language. It is in this morphing of the names and concepts into something that is charged with negativity in order to reorder and rewrite through an exercise of transmutation.

The colonisation of Mwari of the Shona and *Modimo* of the Batswana was an act of re-domestication, which occurred on two levels. Firstly, Mwari and *Modimo* assume a particular gender and a particular race. Secondly, Mwari and *Modimo* take on a new set of roles distinct from those of the initial religio-cultural practices. This, according to Mbuwayesango and Ntloedibe-Kuswani, cannot be separated from the standardisation of the Shona and Setswana languages. Put differently, with language comes colonisation. Language affects the intention of the translator, which is to use coercive methods of hegemony to produce a particular subject. Re-domestication, therefore, is the colonisation of the religio-cultural practices based on the normativity of regimes of truths of the Western religio-cultural practice. I now focus on the third element, namely domestication.

■ Findings

As Rabaka rightly argues:

> [*T*]heories are, among many things, optics, ways of seeing; they are perspectives that illuminate specific phenomena. However, as with any perspective, position or standpoint, each theory has its blind spots and lens limitations, what we call in the contemporary discourse of Africana philosophy, *theoretical myopia*.[177]

The most significant tool that decolonial critical theory or the decolonial turn provides performs a delinking. As I have argued in the section dealing

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177. Rabaka, *Africana Critical Theory*, 21.

with decoloniality, delinking takes place on the epistemic, geographical and material levels. Furthermore, it does not only provide the analyst with the technique to perform epistemic delinking; through the performance of delinking, another level appears. This level within decoloniality is referred to as border thinking. Border thinking is an artefact of the colonial difference and takes place in 'the moments in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks'.[178]

In Chapter 3, I use the Foucauldian notions of power/knowledge and the colonial matrix of power as a tool to analyse the LMS as an institution that exerts power and facilitates it. Foucault's analysis as a tool functions as a social and epistemic location of the LMS because, as I stated in Chapter 1, Foucault needs to be located within his Western epistemological paradigm. As such, his analysis of power functions as a lens through which to understand how disciplinary power functioned in the context of Europe. This includes the various institutions of power, such as the LMS. Chapter 3 deals with:

1. A brief history of the LMS. Such a history provides an insight into the frame of reference applied by the LMS board of directors as well as the founding documents of the institution.
2. A brief history, religious convictions and the influence of Nonconformists on Robert Moffat. In this section, I specifically locate the social and epistemic formations that functioned as the basis for his religious outlook and how these factors, conjoined with the LMS vision and mission, formed part of the subjectification of the missionary who would, against all odds, translate the entire Bible into Setlhaping (a Setswana dialect). Furthermore, I discuss how they also underpinned his biblical understanding within the act of transmitting the Western cultural worldview and the religious (Christian) worldview, infused with his own religious and spiritual experiences.
3. A Foucauldian conceptualisation of power as an instrument of analysis will not only locate the social locations and epistemic locations of the LMS as an institution performing disciplinary power on its agents, but it will also delineate the colonial matrix of power and the construction of knowledge, as well as the biblical reception of the Batlhaping.

178. Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 23.

Colonial matrix of power

'In order to complete the work of elevating the people, we must teach them the art of civilized life'.[179]

■ Governmentality as a technology of power[180]

This chapter discusses the role of the LMS as an institution within the 19th-century European expansion, missionary explosion and colonialisation. At the same time, if we were to see the Moffat translation as a product that has been pervaded by colonialist politics, we need to see how the colonial matrix of power acted institutionally and how the formation of institutions was an enactment of power with the possibility of its simultaneous dissemination. Within this context, the field of religion would not have remained untouched. The LMS was initiated and brought to life as an institution through which the colonial matrix of power could also be distributed. Moffat and his translation would not have escaped unscathed from the extent to which the colonial matrix of power pervaded the translation, even to the level of how particular lexemes (words) were selected.

179. Anthony J. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1975), 72.

180. The notion of 'colonial power' is borrowed from David Scott, "Colonial Governmentality," in *Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality, and Life Politics* (ed. Jonathan Xavier Inda; Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 23–49.

The work of Foucault on power, read through a decolonial lens, lends valuable insight to the understanding of how the colonial matrix of power performed not only in the eventual act of the translation but also in how the LMS, as a product of institutionalisation, operated to regulate not only the translation but also the person of Robert Moffat. Since I want to focus only on particular aspects of how the various facets of power operated institutionally, my objective is not to provide a full-scale reading of views of Foucault on power, which would take us beyond the scope of this research. In this respect, the work of Fuggle, who has laboured to make Foucault accessible within the realm of the academic study of religious discourses, has proved fruitful, and I will primarily use insights from her work, as well as those of certain other interpreters.

In this chapter, I follow Foucault's views on power. Furthermore, his analysis of power has reshaped the way power has been understood. The outcome of such an analysis of power has not only reshaped the understanding of power, but it has also necessitated a move from analysing only the actors who use power as an apparatus of coercion, which includes a move away from the subtle structures in which those actors operate. Foucault's analysis of power has led to the idea that 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth'.[181] It is his approach to power that will assist me in this chapter to analyse the tenets of institutions such as the LMS, its role in the colonial missionary agenda and the various structures that played a role in the formation of missionaries such as Robert Moffat. This includes the technologies used to bring about cultural change among the Batswana, utilising Christian literature and hymns in facilitating what Wa Thiong'o refers to as a cultural bomb.[182] Foucault contests the idea that power is exercised by people or groups by means of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion. Rather, he perceives power as being dispersed and pervasive. It is this form of power that this chapter focuses on.

■ Locating missionary institutions within the colonial matrix of power

Power, according to Foucault, is a kind of 'metapower' or 'regime of truth' that pervades society, and it is in a constant flux of negotiation. He employs the term 'power/knowledge' to imply that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and 'truth'.[183] Thus, for

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181. Foucault, *The Birth of a Prison*.

182. Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, 16.

183. John Gaventa, *Power after Lukes: A Review of the Literature* (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 2003).

Foucault, power is a form of multilaterality. Put differently, 'power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere'. Succinctly put, it is neither an agency nor a structure.[184] It is for this reason that he also locates power in the hands of the oppressed. Thus, his analysis of power is central to analysing the process, context, institutions and subjects that produced the first translation in Setswana. As I demonstrate later in this chapter, the leadership of the Batswana were quite aware of what could be gained (empowerment) by playing along. In his book,[185] Foucault outlines the move from sovereign power to disciplinary power. According to him, sovereign power characterises the operations and functioning of the West, while disciplinary power functions as an enabler (unlike sovereign power, which operates as a coercing mechanism). In other words, the shift from sovereign power to biopower explains both disciplinary power, that is, anatomo-politics of the body, and governmentality and bio-politics of the population. In the context of the LMS, there are two aspects in which we can observe the enactment of power. The first aspect is found at the institutional level, where power is enacted as an institution. The second aspect occurs through a person; in this instance, it was enacted through the person of Moffat. Furthermore, the shift that Foucault refers to incorporated a focus on life, on human beings as living beings. He explains that 'what was demanded and what served as objective was life, understood as the basic needs, man's concrete essence, the realisation of his potential, a plenitude of the possible'.[186]

It is against this background that I would contend that such a form of power, as expressed in decolonial thought as the colonial matrix of power, has to be analysed as not a power that only seeks death. In the context of the colonial missionary enterprise, it is not simply an imposition of sovereign power,[187] but instead, it serves the drive towards that which today would be called 'capacity building'. Thus, the missionary enterprise functioned as a mechanism within what was called the 'civilisational process', and this process entailed what colonialists deemed education, agricultural enterprises and health, to name but a few. Yancy's argument becomes essential in locating how the missionary enterprise functioned as a mechanism and a form of power. He states:

> On this reading, whiteness, as a power/knowledge nexus with respect to black 'selves' and black bodies, produces a philosophical, epistemological, anthropological, phrenological, and political discursive field that 'enables a

184. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 63.

185. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*. Cf. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 23. See also Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 145.

186. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 145.

187. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 145

more continuous and pervasive control of what people do, which in turn offers further possibilities for more intrusive inquiry and disclosure'.[188]

What the missionary enterprise wanted to establish was deemed to be a 'normal society' according to the principles of the coloniser. The notion of principles or codes is elaborated in his book[189]; at the same time, he locates power within a system of complex relations. He defines power thus: 'Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere'.[190]

The observation by Fuggle, as illustrated in the citation above, highlights the fluidity of power as it moved from one aspect of nobility to another (in society).[191] The 'shift' does not mean that there was a 'disappearance' of sovereign power but rather that it did not disappear. However, in order for it to maintain its existence amidst social, political and religious upheavals that took place during the 17th century, it had to shift; it had to move to the background, allowing for new types of power to emerge. So, a shift occurred that allowed for the emergence of what can, in summary or general terms, be called 'biopower'.[192]

In the words of Foucault, 'one might say that the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death'.[193] Contrary to Foucault's assessment of the shift from sovereign power to biopower, Butchart finds in the discursive practice of missionary medicine the employment of sovereign power, as the missionary doctor represented the sovereign, the king and god within this 'theatre of healing', as he puts it. The problem with his assertion is that whereas sovereign power was that of power over life or death, with the focus on death, the missionary doctor functioned to perpetuate life; the 'operation table' was not the site of 'killing off' but of maintaining life. It was precisely through this capacity of perpetuating life that they gained their status and were 'empowered'. Furthermore, it was exactly this possibility of life that vested them with the power to replace what Foucault refers to as

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188. George Yancy, "A Foucauldian (Genealogical) Reading of Whiteness: The Production of the Black Body/Self and the Racial Deformation of Pecola Breedlove in Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye," in *What White Looks Like: African American Philosophies on the Whiteness Question* (ed. G. Yancy; New York: Routledge, 2004), 108. Cf. Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering'," a7812.

189. Foucault, *The Order of Things*.

190. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 93. Cf. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 99–100.

191. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 93.

192. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 138.

193. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 138.

'disallowing' the power of the witch doctor.[194] In the case of the Batswana, it was the silencing of the diviner-healer.

Fuggle argues that 'to achieve this affirmation and organization of life, power must cease to be concentrated in the will of the sovereign and become dispersed throughout a whole network of institutions'.[195] The LMS as an institution emerged from such a context. As institutional products, the missionaries were primarily men on a Christian mission. As such, Mothoagae and Semenya argue that 'they were also products of an imperialistic culture, and their transcriptions'[196] inexorably reflected these factors. As Comaroff and Comaroff remind us, the missionaries saw themselves as soldiers of the spiritual empire.[197] As agents of empire, they also extended its presence through literature.

In this chapter, I also discuss the notion of governmentality. Both power/ knowledge and governmentality are intricately interwoven. Thus, to unpack the various facets of power within institutions such as the LMS, an analysis of governmentality is important. I follow Foucault's definition of governmentality. According to him, governmentality is:

> [*A*] collaborative formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.[198]

It is in this context that the encounter between the missionaries and the Batswana (Batlhaping) is to be located, as these missionaries did not perform their task outside the broader institution referred to as the LMS. These institutions were established to strategically fulfil an institutional ideology. Taking this into consideration, the 'institutional' shifts into the picture. They were part of institutions that exerted a profound effect upon them; not only did they identify with them, but they also represented a stakeholder, and they were effectively produced, shaped and maintained by the structures of these institutions. Following the argument by Fuggle,

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194. Alexander Butchart, *The Anatomy of Power: European Constructions of the African Body* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1998), 75

195. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 23.

196. Itumeleng Daniel Mothoagae and Boshadi Mary Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation: On Moffat's Desecration of the Batswana Linguistic Heritage in the Production of the 1857 English–Setswana Bible," *Studia Hist. Ecc*. 41, no. 3 (2015): 44–62. https://doi.org/10.17159/2412-4265/2015/60

197. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1 (1988): 9.

198. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault* (ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87–104.

as discussed above, Moffat was formed and produced by various institutions. In summary, institutions operate as techniques that power deploys; they function as sites not only for the production of knowledge (medical, legal, educational, religious, biological, etc.), but also for its maintenance. Furthermore, these techniques of power also function as sites where it is determined 'what can be said' and 'what can be thought'. This includes institutions such as the family.

Thus, the family as a form of institution played its role in terms of his formation in childhood and his religious outlook. Schapera points out that Moffat was not concerned with the social structure of the Batlhaping, but he viewed them as souls that needed salvation. Following the views of Foucault on power, it can be argued that, according to Schapera, Moffat perceived the Batlhaping as souls that needed to be saved. I would argue that, for Moffat, the saving of souls was an enabling act for him. This presents us with a paradox. On the one hand, he gives no attention to the social structure of the Batlhaping, while on the other hand, he espouses precisely the ethos that enables life, driven by a shift of power that commenced in the 17th century. Schapera (1951)[199] further states that:

> Throughout he insists upon their degenerate character; over and over again he refers to them bitterly as liars, beggars and thieves […] To Moffat, however, the traditional usages of the Batlhaping were only a hindrance, at times a powerful hindrance, to acceptance of the Gospel; and usually, when he deigned to comment upon them at all, it was merely in order to show what a sordid contrast they were to the dignified observances of a Christian life.[200]

The notion of othering of the Batswana, or rather of thingifying them, forms part of the 19th-century literature on the construction of the 'discovered'. As Yancy rightly argues, whiteness, as a power/knowledge intersection: 'with respect to black "selves" and black bodies, produces a philosophical, epistemological, anthropological, phrenological and political discursive field that enables a more continuous and pervasive control of what people do'.[201] Moffat applies demeaning identifiers, thus performing epistemological and anthropological forms of racism. In so doing, he draws the attention of

199. Robert Moffat and Mary Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman: Being the Journals and the Letters of Robert and Mary Moffat 1820–1828* (ed. Schapera; London: Chatto and Windus, 1951)

200. Isaac Schapera, *Introduction to Apprenticeship at Kuruman: Being the Journals and the Letters of Robert and Mary Moffat 1820–1828 by Robert Moffat and Mary Moffat*, ed. I. Schapera London: Chatto and Windus, 1951, xxvi.Cf. Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke," a6914.

201. Yancy, "A Foucauldian (Genealogical) Reading of Whiteness," 108. Cf. Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering.',".

the audience to the two paradigms of locating the Batswana. The observation by Schapera is also made by Smith. He states:

> Robert Moffat never showed much sympathetic interest in the traditional customs and beliefs of the Bechuana. While many missionaries delight in recording such things, he excused himself from doing so on the ground that 'it would be neither very instructive nor very edifying'. He could not write his book, it is true, without some reference to these matters, but if he spoke of them at all, it was with the purpose of showing them in conflict with Christianity. They were to him 'a mass of rubbish', and he never gives any indication that there was a single custom or belief that was worthy of perpetuation.[202]

Considering how institutions operate as techniques of power, determining what ought to be said and how it is said, this technology of being deployed by power is integrally linked with the production of knowledge as well as the subjectification of subjects. Therefore, if we were to consider these observations as valid reflections of Moffat's attitude towards Batswana customs and traditions, could it be that his attitude was not determined by the desire towards the maintenance of what can be perceived as their discursive practices but rather from a yearning to replace their customs and traditions with what he regarded as a superior form of knowledge? Whatever the ultimate goals would have been, they would have to correspond with colonial belief systems.

Fuggle reminds us that there is an integral link between biopower as political technologies at all levels of society and different institutions of the body. In her citation of Foucault, Fuggle argues that these technologies were intended to safeguard, that 'each individual has his own place; and each place its individual'.[203] In other words, 'institutions' formed the sites for the operation of both disciplinary power as well as governmentality, referred to by Foucault as 'anatomo- and bio-politics'. According to him, these are 'techniques of power present at every level of the social body and utilized by very diverse institutions [...] operated in the sphere of economic processes [...].'[204] So the first area of the performativity of these bipolar forms of power is economics, while the second is performed to enact 'segregation and social hierarchization [...] guaranteeing relations of domination and effects of hegemony'.[205] Fuggle summarises Foucault's argument:

> Over the centuries that followed, society saw an explosion in the number of political technologies introduced and developed. These techniques of biopower operated, and continue to operate, at all levels of society through different

202. Edwin W. Smith, *Robert Moffat: One of God's Gardeners* (London: Edinburgh House, 1925), 98.

203. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 23.

204. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 141.

205. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 141.

institutions as well as through economic processes such as segregation and social hierarchy.[206]

I am aware that both Foucault and Fuggle were not concerned here with colonialism. However, considering how power had functioned in Europe since the 18th century, it is precisely during this period that the LMS originated that one could have expected that this shift in power would have been exported to the colonies and that religious movements would have also played a significant role in its importation. The argument by Fuggle places the link between the institutions and the product that these institutions produce at the centre of the performance of disciplinary power. Expressed differently, the LMS, through its training of individual candidates to execute their respective responsibilities as directed, and while considering every aspect of their physical person, among other things, this power included the position, movements, speech and the institution following strict routines using political technologies to fulfil their discursive practices.

■ Locating the London Missionary Society

In the section that dealt with governmentality as a technology of power, I discussed the shift from sovereign power to biopower. I argued that sovereign power was symbolised by death, while biopower is symbolised by the sustenance of life. I further maintain that Foucault's identification of the two types of power, referred to above, provides a convenient apparatus with which to analyse how power acted within the institution called the LMS and how it influenced the missionary, Moffat. On the one hand, power enacted as discursive practices provided disciplinary knowledge that simultaneously functioned to discipline the body and to produce the docile body. However, that docile body, quite paradoxically, was not a product destined for death but the product of a regime fitting into an order that would also work towards unleashing its capacities. On the other hand, power also acted as a regulatory control for entire communities, nations or subjugated populations. In both cases, economic interests hovered in the background and functioned as the framework for its deployment. Later, I discuss the formation of the LMS as well as the various techniques used by the institution to regulate and produce subjects.

In this section, I rely heavily on Richard Lovett's exposition of the history of the LMS. Lovett locates the emergence of the LMS within the broader religious historiography of the English people in the first quarter of the 18th century. He states that:

> The first quarter of the eighteenth century was one of the worst periods in the religious history of the English people. Men like Shift and Stone could find a

206. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 23.

place in the Anglican Church; nonconformity was living a life of decorous dullness, producing little or no effect upon the religious experience of the age; infidelity, advocated by such writers as Collins, Shaftesbury, and Bolingbroke, was rampant; while the masses of the people had sunk to an almost incredible level of ignorance and brutality.[207]

According to Lovett, the colossal and enthusiastic Methodist Societies emerged into a dynamic life; every other nonconformist[208] had been inspired into action resulting from the spiritual apathy that the Church of England was experiencing. He further states that the world's sinfulness needed to be laid heavily upon the hearts of all evangelical Christians.[209] Such a context, according to Lovett, became a fertile ground that laid the foundation of the great institution that would come to be globally known as the LMS.[210]

The history of the LMS can be traced from the various documents such as journals, the minutes of the directors' meetings and correspondence between the missionaries abroad and the directors in London. A mosaic picture of the role and influence of the LMS as an institution, both nationally and internationally, emerges from these primary sources. Such an influence was evident across the British Empire, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean Islands and elsewhere in the Americas. Lovett[211] traces the history from 1795 to 1895. In his two volumes, Lovett does not state why he delineates the history of the LMS within this particular period. However, it is evident that both these volumes reflect a centenary of the most influential missionary society of the time.

The story of the LMS begins with the first gathering of certain clergymen. They met at Baker's Coffee House, Cornhill, on 04 November 1794, to discuss the establishment of a missionary society. Unfortunately, the notes of the first gathering did not survive.[212] Lovett makes the following assertion regarding the formation of missionary societies:

> The honour of leading the van in the formation of the great modern missionary agencies does not belong to the London Society; that is the glory of the Baptist Church.[213]

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207. Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895 with Portraits and Maps in Two Volumes* 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1899), 3.

208. In English church history, a Nonconformist was a Protestant who did not 'conform' to the governance and usages of the established Church of England.

209. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 3.

210. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 3.

211. For this study, I rely on Lovett's account of the history of the LMS, as he is its most cited scholar. Furthermore, he has conducted an extensive work on it. Both his volumes provide the primary sources of the foundation.

212. "Guide to the Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive 1764–1977," The Library: School of Oriental and African Studies, July 1994 (last revised October 2014), 13. Online: http://www.cwmission.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/guide-cwmission-1764-1977.pdf

213. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 4.

The LMS began with a missionary called William Carey, who in 1788 published his acclaimed leaflet titled *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, What Is at Their Disposal for the Conversion of the Heathen*.[214] It was published in Leicester only in 1792. On 20 March 1793, William Carey and John Thomas were appointed to carry out mission work in India. In July 1794, upon his arrival, Carey wrote to John Ryland of Bristol, President of the Baptist College in Bristol. This set in motion a chain reaction because, upon reading this letter, Ryland saw it necessary to share the contents of the letter with David Bogue, a minister of the Independent church at Gosport, which included James Steven of the Scottish Church, Covent Garden.[215]

They were moved by Carey's experiences, which propelled them to want to do something. In other words, it drove them to some form of action. Such an action necessitated a meeting between Bogue, Steven and John Hey, a minister of the Independent church at Castle Green, Bristol. The aim of the meeting was to pray for guidance and to consult among themselves regarding the best way possible to awaken public interest and awareness of their grossly neglected Christian duty of spreading the gospel to the land of the heathens. It was at that meeting that Bogue drafted an appeal addressed 'to the evangelical dissenters who practise Infant Baptism'. This appeal, aimed at performing a strategy, was published in the *Evangelical Magazine* in September 1794. Furthermore, it was to stimulate within the psyche of the audience a longing to do something. The appeal aimed at the following: firstly, it identified its audience tactfully; thus, it insisted that Christians of Independent churches obey God's command to go and preach the gospel to the heathen nations. Secondly, it skilfully identified weaknesses within the structure or system of the Christians of Independent churches. In doing so, it drew attention to the missionary activity performed by other denominations, such as the Moravians, Methodists and Baptists. Lastly, not only did it raise serious problems within the institution, but it also provided practical ways in which the whole church could be involved in establishing and maintaining a missionary society.[216] The publication of such an appeal resulted in George Burder and his colleagues from Warwickshire of the Independent churches in Hampshire beginning to pray for missionary work.[217]

Two months later, Dr Haweis wrote a book review by Melville Home, a minister of the Church of England, entitled 'Letters on Missions' addressed

214. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 4.

215. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 4.

216. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 1–11.

217. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 1–11.

to the Protestant ministers of the British churches and published in the *Evangelical Magazine* of November 1794. In the book, Home prompts the evangelical churches to make a united effort to establish a missionary movement.[218] In the review, Dr Haweis challenges the readers to start a society. Tactfully, Dr Haweis also links the need to have a society with financial pledges, stating that a total of 600 pounds had already been pledged. This is followed by citing that such financial support would contribute to a good cause, namely sending missionaries to the South Sea islands and India. This motion was a response to Home, who stated that the need for missionary work was great.[219]

Both the book and the review challenged John Eyre to discuss views on the matter with certain ministers. The first began with meeting every fortnight to pray and deliberate about missions at the Castle and Falcon in Aldersgate. On 04 November 1794, Eyre requested a formal meeting of ministers at Baker's Coffee House in London to deliberate and consider the feasibility of founding a new missionary society. They met every fortnight, which led to an initiative to establish a society. They appealed to churches through the *Evangelical Magazine* and kept the longing alive through relevant articles.[220]

The LMS finds its origin in the evangelical revival. The passionate evangelical spirit of George Whitefield, which expressed itself to the churches where he preached, not only resonated with the listeners, but it also raised concerns regarding the notion of the salvation of those who were considered lost in sin and misery at home and abroad. Such a name does not appear alongside the names of the founders of the said society, as it was his. The Countess of Huntingdon was seriously enthused by the preaching of Whitefield and devoted her energy and wealth to the spread of the gospel. Dr T Haweis, the chaplain of the Countess, on two occasions attempted to send students trained at the college founded by the Countess in Wales to the South Seas. Both attempts were not fruitful at the time, but they found their fulfilment when the LMS was founded in 1795 by a group of evangelical Calvinists comprising Congregational and Presbyterian ministers and evangelical Anglican clergymen.[221] 'David Bogue, Joseph Brooksbank, John Eyre, John Love, John Reynolds, James Steven, Matthew Wilks and John Townsend' were in attendance.[222]

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218. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 11.

219. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 11.

220. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary* Society, 13.

221. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 13.

222. Joseph Wing, *As One People* (Braamfontein: UCCSA, 1977), 75.

In 1795, George Burder of Coventry made a request which was widely read. He requested that during the summer of the same year, a meeting ought to be held to discuss the founding of a missionary society. He further suggested that each congregation had to send its minister 'or some other intelligent person' to this meeting. He states:

> Let us then, utterly and sincerely disclaiming all political views and party designs; abhorring all attempts to disturb order and government in this or any other country; vigorously unite, in the fear of God, and in the love of Christ, to establish a Missionary Society upon a large and liberal plan, for sending ministers of Christ to preach the Gospel among the heathen.[223]

Following Foucault in the previous section on biopower, death and life are metaphors that illustrate how power operates everywhere. The following can be deduced from the above citation. Firstly, as an institution, the function of the LMS was not to bring death to the colonies but rather to curb their activities in order to create life and possibilities to serve the colonist ideal. Secondly, considering death as a metaphor for disorder, life would then be a metaphor for order. It is here that we can observe the hierarchisation and subjectification. Perseverance of institutional power was not an attempt to counter the existing order. Thirdly, the institution is there to foster life rather than death. Fourthly, the notion of salvation points us to another aspect of power, namely biopower; and lastly, the citation also points to disciplinary power as being concerned with docile bodies.

The LMS (called 'The Missionary Society') was constituted on 21 September 1795 at a meeting that was regularly held on the first night of the week in London. One of the tenets of the Society was 'to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations'.[224] Expressed differently, this referred to the idea of the Missionary Society that they would send the missionaries with the fundamentally nondenominational principle that the Society was 'not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopy or any other form of Church order or Government', a principle that was enshrined in the Society's plan and constitution.[225]

The constitution governed the formation of a board of directors. It also functioned as regulation on matters surrounding business conduct. It stipulated the powers of the directors and the way the institution was to be governed. They established the format of the annual meeting of

223. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 21.

224. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 38.

225. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 38. Cf. Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering.'," a7812.

members to be held in May and defined the role of the trustees. I would argue that the constitution as a document also served as a form of government. Furthermore, as a form of power, it functioned as guidance in structuring and shaping the space for the possible action of subjects. Put differently, the constitution as a consensual document is reformulated as a means of government, that is, it becomes the 'instrument rather than the "foundation" or "source" of power relations'.[226] For the purpose of this study, Foucault defined governmentality as being essential to analysing the systematic regulatory practices that governed the LMS as an entity. Lemke synthesises Foucault's definition of governmentality thus: 'governmentality implies systematic and regulated practices of government and points to elements of calculation or to a rational knowledge of the entities to be governed'.[227] The board of directors governed the organisational structure of the LMS, which was directed by 25 directors, of whom fifteen at the most had to be resident in or near London in order to have monthly meetings. Informed by Foucault's notion of multilaterality of power, the inner regulatory workings of the LMS not only referred to the board of directors but also cascaded into the functioning of the institution at the level of the colonies. Furthermore, as an institution, the LMS functioned as a colonial technique of power that it transferred to the colonies.

When applying Foucault's notion of surveillance as a technique of biopower, the rules of examination functioned as a form of surveillance in performing biopower. This is evident at a closer look at the first meeting held by the board of directors on 28 September 1795, when they adopted the 'Rules for the Examination of Missionaries'. A potential candidate for the ministry had to satisfy the board that he had 'an eminent share of the grace of God' and had to demonstrate a calling to work as a missionary. David Bogue drew the 'fundamental principles' of the Society, which were adopted on 09 May 1796. It states:

> As the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen [...].[228]

226. Thomas Lemke, *Foucault, Governmentality and Critique* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 17.

227. Lemke, *Foucault, Governmentality*, 18.

228. William C. Northcott, *Glorious Company: One Hundred and Fifty Years Life and Work of the London Missionary Society* (London: Livingstone Press, 1945), 21.

Lemke (via Foucault) makes us aware of the nuanced meaning that the conducting of others, even though it may create the impression of openness, still refers to the managing of possibilities. He states that:

> To 'conduct' is at the same time to 'lead' [*conduire*] others (according to mechanisms of coercion that are to varying degrees, strict) and a way of behaving [*se conduire*] within a more or less open field of possibilities. The exercise of power is a 'conduct of conducts' and a management of possibilities. Basically, power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or their mutual engagement than a question of 'government'.[229]

As subjects of the constitution, the directors were regulated and governed by the norms and rules spelt out in the constitutional document. The missionaries, as agents of the LMS entity, were governed and regulated by the directors. The following letter serves as an example of the notion of power relations and governmentality. Furthermore, the letter highlights how regulation took place as technologies of anatomo-politics of the body that also functioned to establish a hierarchy, seen in the necessity for Philip to approve this enterprise. Furthermore, disciplinary power requires knowledge to act. The letters of the two missionaries, which represented the condition of possibility, also provided the knowledge to enact the possibility of funding, albeit strictly regulated.

> W. Alers Hankey, Treasurer, and G. Burder, Secretary of the London Missionary Society, to Robert Hamilton and Robert Moffat, Lattakoo
>
> <div align="right">London
31 March, 1825
(C.A. Archives. M.9/I/6. Doc. 6, 1825)</div>
>
> We have had the pleasure to receive Mr. Hamilton's letters of the 12th of April and the 12th of June last, and Mr. Moffat's letter of the 8th of May (signed also by Mr. Hamilton), written shortly after his safe return with Mrs. Moffat to Lattakoo. ... 'We trust that the consideration of these facts (i.e. facts relative to the mode in which the external affairs of the mission has been formerly conducted) will induce the Directors to accord with our views, and trust fidelity with regard to the necessary expenses for carrying our plans into effect, which in the event, we presume, will be judged neither wild nor extravagant'. Nothing can be further from the minds of the Directors than to distrust your fidelity, but as the Society has always felt reluctant to appropriate considerable sums to buildings, or other works of an external kind, they perceived it was their duty to appraise you, without delay, of their desire that nothing, if possible, should be undertaken of that nature, until you had conferred with Dr. Philip on the subject and received his sanction to the undertaking. We were the more solicitous to perform this duty with promptitude, inasmuch as you had not described the works which were about to be commenced – nor the probable expenditure, on account of the Society, which was to be incurred – and, above all, that there was too much reason to apprehend – the works themselves would be commenced before our

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229. Lemke, *Foucault, Governmentality*, 18.

letters could possibly reach Africa. The following is a copy of the Resolution of the Board relating to the subject, to which we have referred.

Resolved, that Messrs. Hamilton and Moffat be requested to transmit to the Directors, for their government, information regarding their preparations of forming a new station on Kuruman, stating the nature and extent of the proposed works, mentioned in their letter, dated Lattakoo 8th May 1824; that they be desired also to send to Dr. Philip copies of their communications to the Directors on the subject and on all cases extraordinary expenditure, and to correspond with Dr. Philip generally on all the affairs. The above resolution is not intended to restrict your correspondence on the affairs of the mission to Dr. Philip. We shall ourselves be glad to hear from you directly, as well as through the medium of our excellent Representative, on these, and upon all other subjects, on which you deem it proper to address us. When, however, you write to us on points, respecting which it would be desirable for us to receive the sentiments of Dr. Philip, it will be necessary that you should submit to him the substance or purport of that part of your letter at least, if not the express words, which would be preferable, before you despatch your letters. You will at once perceive that this mode of proceeding, while it will tend to preserve harmony, will conduce greatly to the despatch of business ... We are looking daily for further communications from Africa, as materials for our Annual Report. These should be forwarded in time for us to receive in the month of March […].

I further argue that the above contents of the letter point to the notion of knowledge/power because the letters functioned as a source that created a corpus of knowledge. The said letter also functioned as a form of regulation, and eventually, it was conditional regarding the possibility of translating the Bible. Towards the end of the letter, the directors request Moffat to continue sending letters informing them about Africa and its conditions. These letters and journals functioned as a corpus of knowledge constituted by the values of imperial Great Britain, and they provided the necessary 'information' about Africa and the African through the compilation of journals, writings and letters informing the directors about Africa and the African. The missionaries were producing knowledge through 'gaze' or surveillance. Through the technology of the gaze, that which is seen and that which is not seen is determined by the value system that produced the compiler into a body that he or she is a docile body. In other words, the corpus of knowledge that functioned as being 'representative' of what Africa was (or what an African was) was constructed in terms, in the idiom, of the language of the coloniser.

The concept of hierarchies links with the notion of power relations and governmentality. It is in Philip's position that we experience how disciplinary power operates via surveillance; surveillance is kept in position via hierarchy. These hierarchical structures functioned within the power dynamics within the institution. Governmentality, in the letter, indicates the notion of subjectivity and subjectification. The contents of the letter also act as a performance of surveillance.

Another example of Foucault's notion of power relations and governmentality is found in the restructuring of the governing tenets of the institution and the reshaping or reformulation of the constitution. It was only in 1810, when the board was reorganised, that separate committees were appointed to supervise aspects of mission work, together with the important foreign committees. The administrative structure of the LMS depended on the work of remunerated officials, for example, the Home Secretary and the Foreign Secretary, together with the various working committees, as well as the Examinations Committee, which assigned and selected missionaries for missionary work. However, the directors were unpaid. Because of financial pressure resulting from the expansion of the missionary work overseas, this led the constitution of the LMS to be revised in May 1870. In 1866, the Investigation Committee made recommendations; it is these recommendations that paved the way for the formation of the new administrative policy with an emphasis on the development of the self-governing and self-financing indigenous church.[230]

As a form of regulating and governing, missionaries were required to keep a journal of their daily activities and to send their reports to the head office in London. An observation by Schapera points to the mutual dependence between power and knowledge:

> As a missionary working in the field, Moffat was required to keep a journal and send it periodically to the Directors of the LMS in London. He retained for his own use the original drafts, sending the Directors, whenever the opportunity occurred, transcripts that sometimes omitted certain details, but that sometimes also included new matter evidently added at the time of copying.[231]

The above citation also indicates institutional power illustrated in the institutionalised confession and reporting, such as noting what they had done and not done. This, I would argue, forms part of a surveillance programme. Foucault contends that the modern church, meaning the Catholics and Protestants, has instilled what he calls 'confession as a mode of self-discipline, creating the bourgeois subject and his conscience as the undisputed measure of all observation'.[232] The mission societies, cast in just this shape, monitored their agents through their detailed, introspective reports.[233] It can be argued that in their writings, letters and reports, as Foucault rightly argues in the above observation, we can observe a

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230. "Guide to the Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive 1764–1977," The Library: School of Oriental and African Studies, July 1994 (last revised October 2014), 7. Online: http://www.cwmission.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/guide-cwmission-1764-1977.pdf

231. *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, xiii–xiv.

232. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 60.

233. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 60.

self-disclosure consistent with their construction of the Batlhaping (Batswana) while they project themselves as subject and object at the same time.[234]

I dealt with the notion of governmentality and power relations in the previous section in order to illustrate how governmentality operated within the hierarchical structure of the LMS. I now continue with the historical narrative of the LMS. At the inaugural service and to reminisce about the week that was, Rev. James Knight remarked:

> Another consideration that rendered these seasons unspeakably delightful was the visible union of ministers and Christians of all denominations, who, for the first time, forgetting their party prejudices and partialities, assembled in the same place, sang the same hymns, united in the same prayers, and felt themselves one in Christ.[235]

The LMS emerged at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. The LMS, like other influential religious and philanthropic organisations, used its influence to galvanise ordinary Christians to pledge financial and personnel support to it. Lovett states that a clearer understanding of how the Society came about is to be contextualised within the evangelical revival of England originated by Whitefield and the Wesleys. Regarding the context within the Society that would emerge, he notes that:[236]

> The first quarter of the eighteenth century was one of the worst periods in the religious history of the English people. Men like Swift and Sterne could not find a place in the Anglican Church; nonconformity was living a life of decorous dullness, producing little or no effect upon the religious experience of the age; infidelity, advocated by such writers as Collins, Shaftesbury, and Bolingbroke, was rampant; while the masses of the people had sunk to an almost incredible level of ignorance and brutality.[237]

According to the minute books that survived from 08 January 1795, when Rev. John Eyre was appointed treasurer and Rev. John Love as secretary, a committee of correspondence was initially formed at that meeting. Subsequently, it was decided that an annual meeting would be held on the second Tuesday or Wednesday in May, when a committee would be appointed to nominate the directors.[238] The main governing body of the LMS was the board of directors, originally 23, of whom three-fifths were to be based in London. The number of directors soon grew to include lay

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234. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 19

235. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 38.

236. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 3.

237. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 3.

238. Charles S. Horne, *The Story of the LMS* (London: London Missionary Society, 1908), 10.

members and ministers, as well as 'county' directors who would attend the meeting as and when they deemed it necessary.

Regarding the education of the missionaries, it was resolved that their education would be widely different from that of those who preached in Christian countries; moreover, it was expected that every man of talent would unite his endeavours to render the plan of instruction.[239] The founders of the Society had a plan. The structure was as follows:

> I. The Name: The Missionary Society. II. The Object: The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations. III. The members: Persons subscribing one guinea or more annually; every benefactor making a donation of ten pounds; one of the executors, on the payment of a legacy amounting to fifty pounds or upwards; and ministers, or other representatives of congregations in the country, which subscribe or collect for the use of the Society fifty pounds annually. VI. General Meetings: to be held annually in London. To elect a treasurer, directors, secretary, and collectors [...] receive reports, audit accounts, and deliberate on what farther steps may best promote the object of the Society. V. The Direction: to consist of as many directors annually chosen out of its members as circumstances may require. VI. The Funds: Arising from donations, legacies, subscriptions, collections, & shall be lodged, as soon as collected, in the hands of the treasurer. VII. Salaries: The Secretary shall receive such a salary as the directors may appoint.[240]

This citation illustrates the argument by Fuggle, who argues that for the affirmation of organisational life to take place, the concentration of power had to be dispersed throughout a whole network of institutions rather than centralising it on the sovereign. Power as an institutional, political technology demonstrates, firstly, that the space was chosen to convene annually and the prominence of finances. Secondly, knowledge here becomes another layer of the political technologies, based on the premise of the universality of knowledge as integral in the exercising of power. The maintenance of knowledge, more so of a particular truth as an objective, illustrates that, according to Foucault, power and knowledge exist in a mutually dependent relationship. The mutual relationship, as well as their dependence, is that each assures the existence of the other.[241] The statement by Foucault on the interdependence of power and knowledge further elucidates the various discursive[242] practices integrated with the notion of power and governmentality in the formation of this institution.

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239. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 9–10.

240. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 30–32.

241. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 24.

242. A discursive practice in Foucauldian terms is 'the process through which [dominant] reality comes into being.'

The formation of the LMS was based on the objective of spreading the gospel. The objectives of the LMS were formed on the basis of the type of education that missionaries such as Robert Moffat would receive. The directors first directed their attention to the islands of the Pacific Ocean; thereafter, they focused on the continent of Africa. In their view, Africa was a neglected and injured continent. For the directors, it appeared to have powerful claims in their regard.[243] It is in these objectives that the various ideological strategies determined the type of approach that missionaries would have to use, namely 'to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations'.[244]

As part of the agenda of spreading the gospel and establishing mission churches in colonial territories, the board of directors, I would argue, saw the importance of maintaining a good cordial relationship with the colonial government. Lovett remarks that:

> From their earliest meetings the Directors kept the Cape of Good Hope in view as a most desirable and promising field of missionary labour. In the last year of the eighteenth century they were enabled to make good a foothold upon this Land of Promise. From that day to the present (i.e. 1899) the Society's wise labours, and the self-denying and noble efforts of their missionaries, have led to an ever-widening and more fruitful extension of Christian influence.[245]

Such a relationship was not without its challenges. These challenges, as I show later, were based on the regulations of both institutions. The LMS was founded on the principles of being nonconformist on the one hand and, on the other hand, the colonialist principles of those representing and effecting the regulations of the Dutch and the British empires. Yet, at the macro-level, the directors sought to create a suitable and conducive environment for the Society.

In 1799, the LMS sent its first delegates of missionaries, comprising two Dutchmen, Van der Kemp and Read, and two Englishmen, Edwards and Edmond, to the Cape Colony. Doctor Van der Kemp, who appeared to have been the leader of the delegates, had sixteen years of experience in missionary work. Such experience probably served as an advantage for him to occupy the position of a mission manager. Upon their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, they were well received by Governor Janssens. They were granted a piece of land near Algoa Bay. The site on which they were to live, as far as the governor was concerned, was suitable for the peaceful arts of farming and gardening. In return, the Dutch governor requested

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243. John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa Undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society* (New York: Andover, 1815), v.

244. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 30–32.

245. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 481.

that the institute (later known as Bethelsdorp) be erected on its soil to provide 'order, quiet, security and general protection'.[246]

There are two incidents that I would like to draw from to illustrate that, at the micro-level, the missionaries battled with the notions of liberalism. As I show later in this chapter, according to Wilder, upon arrival at the Cape Colony on 17 January 1871, en route to their assigned mission station (Namaqualand), Mr Moffat and his companion were refused to proceed into the interior by the governor. His main reason for refusal was that he understood Namaqualand to be a gathering place for runaway slaves and criminals. He further stated that the LMS, which had earlier supported a missionary there, had refused to force slaves to go back to their masters and would not have anything to do with the tracking of criminals.[247] Van der Kemp became entangled with the colonists concerning Bethelsdorp.[248] Van der Kemp relates that his conscientious work among the Khoikhoi was met with severe dis-ease, not only because the settlement syphoned off the Khoikhoi labourers on the farms but also because they felt that the 'missionaries educated in Rousseau's school' were aimed at improving the physical and spiritual well-being of the Khoikhoi.[249] The missionaries, in turn, kept up a lively correspondence with the Dutch (and later the British) authorities as they repeatedly accused the colonists of mistreating the natives.[250]

As a form of technology of power, the missionaries brought gifts with them. These gifts were meant to create a token in the mind of the receiver. The chiefs reciprocated by giving Campbell and Read a 'fine ox' each. The 'tokens of friendship' that the Christians gave as their opening gambit, according to Comaroff, prefigured the complex transactions that would incorporate the Tswana into the culture of empire.[251] The Missionary Society was renamed the LMS in 1818. Although broadly nondenominational in scope, the LMS was very much congregationalist in both outlook and membership.

246. George McCall Theal, ed. and comp., *Belangrijke Historische Documenten over Zuid Afrika (Important Historical Documents of South Africa)*, Vol. 3 (London: s.n., 1911), 236–37.

247. M.L. Wilder, *Missionary Annals: Memoir of Robert Moffat, Missionary to South Africa 1871–1870* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1887), 16.

248. Robert Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (London: J Snow, 1842), 41.

249. J.W.G. van Oordt, *Slagtersnek: Een bladzijde uit de voorgeschiedenis der Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek (Slagtersnek: A Page out of the Prehistory of the South African Republic)* (Amsterdam:,De Bussy 1897), 53.

250. Cf. Johannes T. van der Kemp and James Read to Von Gilton, 06 May 1803, in *Belangrijke Historische Documenten over Zuid Afrika (Important Historical Documents of South Africa)* Vol. 3 (ed. and comp. George McCall Theal; Cape Town: Van de Sandt de Villiers, 1896–1911), 226–228.

251. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 19.

■ Social location and epistemic location of Robert Moffat

Robert Moffat was born in Scotland in 1795.[252] When he was taught the alphabet, the short catechism was his first acquaintance with school.[253] When he completed catechetical instruction, he ran off to work as a sailor, but he subsequently gave up the profession. Robert and his brother attended school to learn writing and bookkeeping. After six months, he left school, and it was the last time that he would set foot in a classroom.[254] He received his religious instruction primarily from church sermons. While his mother played a fundamental role in his spiritual development, John Moffat (his son)[255] summarises his attitude towards religion as follows:

> Nor was her sombre theology incompatible with a lively interest in the movements which were even then on foot for the preaching of the gospel to the heathen, and tidings of which reached even the sequestered villages of Scotland.[256]

He describes the religious influence of Robert Moffat's mother on her son, employing dialogue to narrate her requests to him. The mother urges Robert Moffat to promise that he will read the Bible. The following is an extract from the letter[257]:

> 'Now, my Robert, let us stand here for a few minutes, for I wish to ask one favour of you before we part, and I know you will not refuse to do what your mother asks.'
>
> 'What is it, mother?' I inquired.
>
> 'Do promise me first that you will do what I am now going to ask, and I shall tell you.' [*Robert Moffat responds*] 'No, mother, I cannot till you tell me what your wish is'. [*The mother responds*] 'O Robert, can you think for a moment that I shall ask you, my son, to do anything that is not right? Do not I love you?' [*Moffat responds*] 'Yes, mother, I know you do; but I do not like to make promises which I may not be able to fulfil'. I kept my eyes fixed on the ground. I was silent, trying to resist the rising emotion. She sighed deeply. I lifted my eyes

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252. The information in this section and the subsequent ones were derived from John S. Moffat 1889:2–20, unless a different source is indicated.

253. John Smith Moffat, *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1889), 2. Robert Moffat undertook this course 'to learn to read' from 'a parish schoolmaster' by the name of William Mitchell (Moffat 1889:2). In other words, the catechism was largely for rehearsing how to read and write rather than for religious purposes.

254. Moffat, *Lives*, 2.

255. John Smith Moffat (1835–1918) was a British missionary and imperial agent in Southern Africa, the son of missionary Robert Moffat and brother-in-law of missionary and explorer David Livingstone. He is known for his various publications and essays detailing his journeys and experiences in Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean.

256. Moffat, *The Lives*, 4.

257. For consistency, and to draw attention to the exchange between the two characters in the quote, I have inserted their names.

and saw the big tears rolling down the cheeks which were wont to press mine. I was conquered, and as soon as I could recover speech, I said, 'O mother! ask what you will and I shall do it'. 'I only ask you whether you will read a chapter in the Bible every morning, and another every evening?' [*Moffat responds*] I interrupted by saying, 'Mother, you know I read my Bible'. 'I know you do, but you do not read it regularly, or as a duty you owe to God, its Author'. And she added: 'Now I shall return home with a happy heart, inasmuch as you have promised to read the Scriptures daily. O Robert, my son, read much in the New Testament. Read much in the Gospels – the blessed Gospels. Then you cannot well go astray. If you pray, the Lord Himself will teach you a chapter in the Bible every morning, and another every evening.[258]

Following the earlier argument by Foucault that power functions in society to specific discourses or 'truths', it further illustrates the interdependence of power and knowledge. We can, of course, not verify the historicity of this incident, but what it demonstrates, I would argue, is that the Bible functioned centrally and that its study was regarded within this family as a duty to God. The request of the mother further pointing to Bible reading probably constituted a regime of the household. The conversation between Robert Moffat and his mother also illustrates the profound religious effect that she had on him. The regime of Bible reading, as initiated and maintained by his mother, exerted a profound effect on Moffat and can be seen a little later when he wrote:

I had undergone a great change of heart; and this I believe was produced by the Spirit of God through reading the Bible and the Bible only, for my small stock of books consisted chiefly of works on gardening and botany. Beyond visitors to see the gardens, and the men in daily employ who returned to their homes after the labours of the day, I saw no one. I occupied my leisure in studying the Scriptures, and when opportunities offered I did not fail to try and convince others of the necessity of repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. I thought I had only to tell them what Christ had done for them and what was required of them to be saved. I wondered they could not see as I saw, and feel as I felt, after explaining to them the great truths of the everlasting gospel. On the contrary, I was treated by some as one who was somewhat disordered in mind.[259]

The above citation demonstrates the theological outlook of the translator. Key to this was the notion of repentance. Mbembe surmises the notion of conversion:

[/]t is also assumed that the person who is converted agrees to accept, in everyday life, the practical consequences of this submission and of this transfer of allegiance. By this definition, every conversion ought therefore to entail, at least in theory, a fundamental change in modes of thought and conduct on the part of the convert. From this point of view, it is implicit that the act of

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258. Moffat, *The Lives*, 7–8.

259. Moffat, *The Lives*, 15–16.

conversion should be accompanied by the abandonment of familiar landmarks, cultural and symbolic. This act means, therefore, stripping down to the skin.[260]

The image of 'conversion' assumes significance in reconstructing the fragmented mosaic of cultural identity left in the wake of missionaries' influence. The metaphor of scattered glass symbolises the extent of the damage caused by the imposition of complete abandonment of one's cultural heritage.[261] In the above citation, the young Moffat confesses how he carried this regime forth. Furthermore, according to John Moffat, during 1815, his father said this:

> Not long after his arrival at High Leigh he came in contact with what to him was a new development in religion. The Wesleyan Methodists had commenced a good work in that neighbourhood, and by the influence of a pious Methodist and his wife Robert was led to attend some of their meetings. The passionate appeals of the faithful evangelists found a ready response. His condition at this time will be best described by himself.[262]

When he encountered the preaching of the Methodists, he was about 20, having acquired the skill of a gardener in 1809 and then situated himself in London.[263] It was here that another intense religious experience influenced him. His new environment flourished with the preaching of Methodists who, together with the notion of evangelism, were a new growth in the country. He became a devout Christian.[264] He confesses that he 'read the Bible and the Bible only, for [his] stock consisted chiefly of works on gardening and botany'.[265]

Although Moffat held a zealous attitude towards Bible reading instilled by his mother, it was subsequently revived by the preaching of the Methodists. He personally studied the Scriptures.[266] I would argue that at no point in time was that training formal. A summary of his time in preparation for the mission field says that 'whatever gifts may have been bestowed upon Robert to fit him for his work as a missionary, it undoubtedly could not be said that they were in the form of academic opportunities.'[267]

260. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, 228.

261. See also Mothoagae and Shingange, "The 19th-century Missionary Literature," a9032.

262. Moffat, *The Lives*, 12.

263. Moffat, *The Lives*, 3–7.

264. Moffat, *The Lives*, 12.

265. Moffat, *The Lives*, 12.

266. Moffat, *The Lives*, 12.

267. Moffat, *The Lives*, 17.

As Northcott asserts, Moffat had no knowledge of biblical languages, biblical interpretation or translation.[268]

The Bible played a critical role in the daily life of Robert Moffat. This is seen in his embodiment of biblical discourse as a daily practice, sharing the effects of the Bible reading with other audiences and the suggestion that such an embodiment was regarded by the audience as being foolish. Furthermore, the embodiment of biblical discourse was not only a result of an academy or the acquisition of formal translational capacities but rather an internalisation of the status of biblical discourse. In the following section, I focus on the institutionalisation of Moffat. Additionally, no one forecasted that he would venture into Bible translation in the mission field. The setting where 'in preparation for their work, many missionaries studied Hebrew, Greek and Latin' did not apply to Moffat.[269]

One day when he was in town, Moffat saw a placard advertising a missionary gathering. At the time he noticed the advertisement, the meeting had already taken place. The desire to be a missionary enthralled him from then onwards. He realised the difficulty of his prospects precisely because he had 'never been at a college or an academy.'[270] He began to search for Mr Roby, the chairperson of the gathering, whose name was recorded on the placard. It turned out that the chairperson was the one who was sending missionaries to various continents. He made provision for Moffat to become a gardener, apparently for the sake of observation, at the house of Mr Smith of Dukinfield.[271] Mr Smith was one of the reverends.[272] Morrison states the following regarding the placing of Moffat in South Africa:

> After a first application to the London Missionary Society had been refused Moffat was at length, through the influence of his friend Mr. Roby, accepted for service in Africa. On September 30, 1816, he was solemnly set apart for the work, with eight others, at a meeting in Surrey Chapel, London.[273]

Moffat might have been posted to Polynesia with a young friend of his, but Dr Waugh, who was on the committee, protested that the two were too young to be paired together.[274] On 18 October 1816, 21-year-old Robert

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268. William C. Northcott, *Robert Moffat: Pioneer in Africa 1817–1870* (London: Butterworth Press, 1961), 121.

269. Eric A. Hermanson, "A Brief Overview of Bible Translation in South Africa," *Acta Theologica Supplementum*, 2 (2002): 7.

270. Moffat, *The Lives*, 13.

271. Moffat, *The Lives*, 15.

272. Moffat, *The Lives*, 15.

273. James H. Morrison, *The Missionary Heroes of Africa* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1872), 30.

274. Moffat, *The Lives*, 20.

Moffat sailed to South Africa to be a missionary, sent by the LMS to meet a general need for missionaries.[275] Moffat and his companions reached Cape Town in January 1817.[276]

The history of the LMS in South Africa offers insight into the politics of the time, particularly between the missionaries and the government. Upon his arrival, Governor Charles Somerset in Cape Town refused to allow him into the interior of South Africa to work in the mission field as part of his (Somerset's) new government plan to prohibit any missionaries from going anywhere further than the Cape Colony.[277] John and Jean Comaroff argue that one of the reasons that could have led to Moffat not being granted permission to venture into the interior could be attributed to the tension between the government of the day and the LMS. They state:

> The LMS had established outposts among the Khoisan peoples along the frontier and its presence emboldened the so-called Hottentots to resist the predations of the colonial farmers, who had been accustomed to press them into service, depriving them of their land and cattle.[278]

The LMS agents (missionaries) intervened and became politically involved, arguing for the proper treatment of the Khoisan and Khoikhoi. This, as I have argued in the previous section, was distinctive of the character of the nonconformist missionaries.[279] This led the LMS to be torn by internal dissent in the wake of the antimissionary sentiments that gradually developed in the Cape. As the conflict deepened, the government tightened its control over those wishing to open stations beyond the boundaries of the colony, argues Mears.[280] According to the reports immediately following Mr Campbell's visit to London in May 1814, serious troubles, which had already existed prior to his visit, in various parts of the South African missions began to attract public attention and comment. The report further states that missionary effort had thrust itself into the colony, unwelcome from the start by a large portion of the community.[281] The report states:

> It was bitterly opposed later on by the same section, as soon as they began to realize the effect of Christianity upon slavery, upon Hottentot oppression, and the light it threw upon their own lives and actions. The missionaries often had reason to be grateful to the successive governors of the Colony and to various

275. J.D. Jones, J.L. Reyneke and A. Sandilands, *The History of the Setswana Bible* (Cape Town: Bible Society of South Africa, 1989), 1.

276. Morrison, *The Missionary Heroes*, 31.

277. Moffat, *The Lives*, 21–22.

278. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 9.

279. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 9.

280. Walter G.A. Mears, *Wesleyan Barolong Mission in Trans-Orangia* (Cape Town: Struik, 1970), 2.

281. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 534.

high officials for permission to work; and for both toleration and protection in their labours; but the government kept sharp eye upon them, was always more than ready to criticize their action, and not unfrequently, from policy which was anything but Christian, was not unwilling to limit and restrain the missionary effort.[282]

The report suggests that one of the causes of the deterioration of the relationship between the missionaries and the government was that the majority of the early missionaries were men of poor education and imperfect spiritual development. According to them, it was not surprising that, in a few cases, their conduct should have been such that it would justify the simplest condemnation. They further state that there are two types of missionaries; firstly, there are those who are wholly devoted to the evangelisation of the natives. The notion of them serving the settled colonial churches was something they were not inclined to entertain. For them, they considered their first duty as that of benefiting these different communities. Secondly, the other type was theoretically more concerned about the claims of the natives upon their sympathy and labour. These missionaries held a view that the more 'important and pressing duty was to Christianize the colonists themselves before attempting to evangelize the ignorant and degraded slaves and natives.'[283]

It is within this context that Moffat found himself upon his arrival. Thus, according to Du Plessis, upon the arrival of Moffat and his other four colleagues at the Cape in 1817, the governor at first refused to grant them a permit to proceed beyond the border. The reasons for refusing to grant permission were based on the notion that the English establishment over the frontier ignored colonial law and gave refuge to runaway slaves.[284]

Thus, Moffat was delayed in Cape Town for eight months until a prominent individual, Mr George Thom (whom Moffat had befriended by chance during the delay), convinced the governor to waive his new policy, as I indicated earlier.[285] This delay would prove beneficial for translation work later. It was within these months at the Cape Colony that Moffat learned the Dutch language.[286] Moffat was initially posted to Namaqualand, but after some months, he observed that this base was unsuitable for a mission station, and so he searched the Damara and Griqua regions for

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282. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 534.

283. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 534–35.

284. Johannes du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, 1911), 155.

285. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 178. Cf. John Moffat, *The Lives*, 23.

286. Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 429.

a better area.[287] He gave up after 89 months of futile travel and settled back in Namaqualand after all. To contextualise all the above, we need to trace back to where it all began. The analogy of the African landscape as virgin, empty of society and history, waiting to be irrigated and ploughed by evangelical power, is evident in the letters, journals and biographies of missionaries such as Robert Moffat.

◼ The rise of the Batswana Mission

The rise of the Batswana Mission intersects with the initial confrontation between the Batswana and the earliest white settlers, among them the Nonconformists of the LMS. Jean and John Comaroff refer to this encounter as 'a colonial encounter of the first kind, the moment when two systems of meaning and action – one imperial and expansive, the other local and defensive – begin to engage with one another.'[288]

   The directors in London deemed it necessary to have an official head at the Cape Colony; this was strongly urged by Dr Vanderkemp.[289] The historical processes are to be understood as a meeting of the missionaries and their would-be subjects. Comaroff and Comaroff state that the historical processes start with John Campbell, who was a director of the LMS and had been sent to South Africa in 1812 to inspect the development and the prospects of mission work in the interior.[290] Du Plessis states that Campbell was an astute observer; he set out the Society's posts in the Cape Colony, including Klaarwater in what was to become Griqualand, north of the Orange River frontier.[291] As a perceptive observer, Campbell was aware that the Batlhaping were one of the southernmost of a large cluster of Batswana people, sharing a language and a centralised residential pattern conducive to evangelisation. Campbell[292] was made aware by intermediaries that Kgosi [Chief] Mothibi had expressed interest in receiving missionaries. This encouraged Campbell to visit Kgosi Mothibi to ask permission to send

287. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 116.

288. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 7.

289. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 533.

290. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 15.

291. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 138. The station, founded in the early 19th century, was about 100 miles south of Dithakong, then the capital of Kgosi Mothibi of the Batlhaping.

292. John Campbell was sent by the London Missionary Society directors to South Africa as deputation, to arrange and superintend the Society's affairs in the country. Cf. Moffat, *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, 1951, xii.

evangelists.[293] According to Campbell, Kgosi Mothibi responded to Campbell thus:

> But the chief replied that his people had no time for their instructions, having to attend to the cattle, to dig, sow and reap the field [...] Besides, the things which [*missionaries*][294] teach are contrary to all our customs [...] It would not do for [*them*] to live at *Latakkoo*, but should they be willing to live at a distance, I should [...] send some of our children to them to learn the Dutch language.[295]

The agreement between Kgosi Mothibi and John Campbell would set in motion the appointment of Robert Moffat to be a missionary among the Batlhaping. Moffat remarks on his appointment:

> My object in coming to the colony was twofold; to procure supplies, and to introduce Africaner to the notice of the Colonial Government. With the fullest hope of returning to my flock, who had now become exceedingly dear to me, I had made purchases on the road to take with me on my return; but this was not to take place, for it was the wish of the Deputation, that I should accompany them in their visits to the missionary stations, and eventually be appointed to the Bechuana mission. To me this was at first a startling proposition, and one to which I acceded with much reluctance, and not till Africaner gave his entire consent, which he did with great diffidence and modesty, having some slight hope, in which I concurred, that he might with his people remove to that neighbourhood, having been frequently invited by a tribe of the Bechuanas, parties of whom were wont to trade with him in Namaqua-land. [296]

After a couple of months, the disapproval of the authorities was lifted, and in May 1821, Moffat set forth to Dithakong to establish a mission station.[297] Because of consistent drought, Moffat followed the Batlhaping to the new Dithakong, where he established another mission, which was later renamed Kuruman.[298]

The encounter formed part of the multifaceted dynamics, namely cultural, political, religious and governmental. These dynamics illustrate Foucault's argument that power is everywhere. The notion of the multilaterality of power is exhibited in the above citation between Campbell and Kgosi Mothibi, even though Campbell's representation is difficult to verify. Furthermore, the resistance of Kgosi Mothibi points to the resisting

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293. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 111.

294. The words in brackets are my own emphasis.

295. John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, vol. 1, 286.

296. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 180.

297. Isaac Schapera, *The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes: London School of Economics and Political Science, Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 11* (London and New York: University of London, The Athlone Press and Humanities Press, 1952), xiii. Cf. Sundkler and Steed *A History of the Church in Africa*, 429.

298. Jones et al., *The History of the Setswana Bible*, 1.

act of power. Comaroff and Comaroff reflect on the encounter between the missionaries and the Batswana:

> European colonialism, the creature of the capitalist nation-state in its expansive cycle, was, in many senses, an elaboration of this same cultural project.[299]

■ The transmogrification of the Batswana religion

In this section, the focus falls on the strategies and mechanisms that the missionaries employed in their attempts to erode and erase the key elements of the religious practices of the Batswana. At this point, it is important to distinguish between the types of strategies and institutional techniques used by the missionaries.[300] As members of an establishment, the missionaries had a clear mandate regarding the missionary work of the LMS. The above observation illustrates what Foucault refers to as the performances of power in the formation of subjects.[301] In his works (1988[302] and 1982[303]), we can identify two sides of the formation of the subject. The first aspect was his theorisation of the subject formation as completely surrendered to regulatory control:

> I believe, on the contrary, that the subject is constituted through practices of subjection, or, in a more autonomous way, through practices of liberation, of liberty, as in antiquity, on the basis, of course, of a number of rules, styles, inventions to be found in the cultural environment.[304]

The second aspect argues for a measure of control by the 'self' within the ambit of social controlling technologies. In other words, while one is a product (not in the sense of a robot), there are also 'technologies of the self.' According to Foucault, the technologies of the self are concerned not so much with attacking an institution of power but rather a technique or a form of power. He states that:

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him or his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have

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299. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 7.

300. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*; West, *The Stolen Bible*.

301. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 143.

302. Michel Foucault, "An Aesthetics of Existence," in *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977–1984* (ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman; New York: Routledge, 1988), 47–56.

303. Michel Foucault, "Why Study Power? The Question of the Subject," in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (ed. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 208–28.

304. Foucault, "An Aesthetics of Existence," 50–51.

to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings to the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to.[305]

The missionaries exercised the technologies of the self as individuals, and they formulated their own strategies and ambitions, albeit within the constraints that institutional power determined. Firstly, the primary objective was to achieve the mandate given. Secondly,[306] as products of their own religious worldview (family and personal), there were key tenets that were essential to being a Christian. Both technologies played a role in the type of technologies that the missionaries performed when it came to the Batswana and their religion. These technologies that they performed were a form of surveillance and governmentality, both institutionally and personally. Both these forms of formation of the subject illustrate the power of the institution to perform individualisation techniques and totalisation procedures.[307]

According to the narrative, as detailed by the evangelist, the chiefs were quick to see temporal advantages in the presence of the mission and made ceaseless requests for goods and military aid. In their autobiographies, letters and reports, the missionaries reported such demands as unenlightened greed of the 'savage.' Therefore, Broadbent refers to this as a 'carnal view of spiritual things.'[308] Broadbent and Campbell maintain that the reason they agreed to such demands was the hope that by supplying these goods, in the end, they would prepare the way for their sacred task.[309] Moffat explains in a remarkably sombre letter that:

> Indifference and stupidity form the wreath on every brow – ignorance, the grossest ignorance of Divine things, forms the basis of every action; it is only things earthly, sensual, and devilish, which stimulate to activity and mirth […] Only satiate their mendicant spirits by perpetually giving, and we are all that is good, but refuse to meet their demands [and] their praises are turned to ridicule.[310]

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305. Foucault, "Why Study Power?," 212.

306. The addition of 'secondly' is not to separate these aspects.

307. Foucault, "Why Study Power?," 212.

308. Samuel Broadbent, *A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong Tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa* (London: Wesleyan Mission House, 1865), 178.

309. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 74. Cf. Broadbent, *A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity*, 178. For example, Robert Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880–1924* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) and Felix K. Ekechi, *Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland 1857–1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1972) make the same observation regarding the behaviour among Protestant missionaries in East and West Africa, respectively.

310. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 284–85.

Not only did the presence of the missionaries among the people provide them with material things, but the communities they lived in also gained in terms of their technical skills, such as irrigation and agriculture, as Moffat (1842), Campbell (1822) and Chirenje (1976) observed:[311]

> About sunset the king, attended by his brothers and a few more persons, came to our tent […] I said that I had brought a small present for him, as a token of friendship – while opening it he remained silent, not moving even his head, only his eyes towards the parcel. I then took from it a gilded copper comb and put it into his hair, and tied a silver spangled band and tassel round his head, and a chain about his neck, and last of all presented him with a looking glass.[312]

The encounter between the LMS agents in the form of Campbell and the Batswana was constructed on the misrecognition that the appeal of the white people was focused on the mythical qualities attributed to them and their things in a hinterland where raids were endemic, and guns, glass beads, tobacco and alcohol had become prime valuables. In the sight of Campbell, this persuaded some form of rational discussion with Kgosi Mothibi.[313] Jean and John Comaroff further point out that:

> Yet on this (and many other) occasions, it was the nonverbal signs of the white men that spoke most cogently to the Tlhaping. The chief's response suggests that he conceived of a missionary presence in the usual terms of black–white exchange on the frontier: those of trade.[314]

In the mind of Kgosi Mothibi, the alliance or presence of the missionaries was that the Europeans would supply goods of interest and the systems for conventional return such as cattle, the spoils of the hunt and, most of all, protection. For Mothibi, this was going to be a symmetrical exchange that would not alter the status quo. Campbell makes the observation that 'when the missionaries have got enough, they shall be at liberty to depart.'[315] This stance by Kgosi Mothibi is seen in the script of Mr Read, who wrote from Dithakong in 1817. In the letter, Mr Read points out that 'Kgosi Mothibi and his advisers would not allow any preaching even though he has kept his promise.'[316] It is in this letter that we see what I would call the political nuances between the Batlhaping and the missionaries. The reception of Christianity among the Batswana is narrated from the perspective of those

311. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 284–85 and Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, Undertaken at the Request of the London Missionary*, 313, 382. And Mutero Chirenje, "Church, State, and Education in Bechuanaland in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1976): 405.

312. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 170.

313. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 16.

314. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 16.

315. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, 175.

316. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Through the Looking-Glass," 16.

in positions of power. Following Foucault's argument, as noted earlier, the position of power is affected by the production of knowledge about the individuals or groups it produces; the more effectively the individual can be classified and organised and consequently be subjected to, the more effective the control.[317] Additionally, the resistance of the royals was based on their awareness of the potential impact that Christianity would have on their people. Hence, the people started urging Kgosi Mothibi to expel the LMS and avoid the domination it would bring.[318]

The imposition of a new mode of being and the alteration of the Batswana religion did not happen in a vacuum. As institutional products, the missionaries became agents in the colonial process. Furthermore, not only were they agents, but they were also agencies of the institute. It was through them that the institute was able to perform the act of Christianisation and institutionalisation of the Batswana into the canons of imperial rule. As agents, they were acting out the beliefs and regulations of the institution. This is evident in the manner in which I have indicated in the preceding section that, as a product of the institution, they were continually torn between the canons of the institution and the rules of the Cape Colony. I would argue that they were officially granted the capacity to act in the domain normally defined as 'the political', the arena of the imperial bureaucracy. The other was the ability to exert power over the common-sense meanings and routine activities diffused in the everyday world by virtue of their role as missionaries. Both dimensions are simultaneously material and symbolic, and the relationship between 'religion' and 'politics' plays itself out in each. These two dimensions speak to Foucault's argument on power and knowledge as being mutually dependent. The mutual relationship, as well as their dependence, is that each assures the existence of the other.[319]

Comaroff and Comaroff present three steps in analysing the imposition of a new mode of being and the alteration of the Batswana religion. They argue that, firstly, it is impossible to arrive at any consistent conclusion about the purely 'political' aspect of the role of the missionary among the Batswana. They maintain that, from this viewpoint, both the motivation and the consequences of missionaries such as John Mackenzie, whose part in the imperial project remained variable and uncategorised, as in imperialism,

317. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 25.

318. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 229f.

319. Fuggle, *Foucault/Paul*, 24.

appear inchoate and less superciliously methodical than is often allowed.[320] They state:

> But this poses an immediate question. If it is true that there is no consistency at this level, does it not follow that the labors of the evangelists are best treated in an idiographic manner? Can we do no more, at this stage, than seek their relevance in the uniqueness of each missionary encounter, as Beidelman (1982:29f.) seems to suggest?[321]

The second step, they argue, is that the role of the missionary does in fact yield to systematic accounting in the Batswana. They maintain that it was both a crucial and consistent element in the colonial encounter.[322] Consequently, it is essential to analyse the nature of the power of the missionaries to affect the course of history. Following Foucault's definition of power as an inherent set of forces and a series of relations,[323] power in the context of the relation between the missionaries and the Batswana is the capacity of the missionaries, through the translated texts, to impose the conditions of being on others, to perform institutional surveillance and to legitimise the mode of power to regulate and generate institutional power over the Batswana. It is essential to point out that this does not reside solely in palpable forces of influence, argue the Comaroffs.[324] The argument by the Comaroffs illustrates the tensions between complete subjectification and being a subject that acts, albeit within the constraints of institutional power.

They argue that the capacity to impose the conditions of being on others involves what they refer to as 'the incorporation of human subjects into the "natural," taken for granted forms of economy and society'.[325] According to Bourdieu, these forms lie not only in the institutional domain of 'politics' but rather in a spectrum of things, such as aesthetics and religion, built form and bodily presentation, medical knowledge and the mundane habits of everyday life.[326]

Following the argument of Foucault on subjectivity, the construction of the subject is rarely an act of overt persuasion. It requires the internalisation

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320. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa," *American Ethnologist* 13, no. 1 (1986): 2.

321. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism," 2.

322. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism," 2.

323. Foucault, "Why Study Power?," 212.

324. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism," 2.

325. Comaroff and Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism," 2.

326. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (transl. Richard Nice; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 184.

of a set of values, an ineffable manner of seeing and being. Additionally, quoting Foucault, Bourdieu states:

> Individual subjectivity is the result of discourses operating on and through the body. An individual defines him or herself both consciously and unconsciously according to such discourses perceived as truths. In assuming an identity, in effect the product of these discourses, the individual relays these discourses to others who use them to situate and define the individual in relation to themselves. Individual subjectivity is always intersubjectivity.[327]

As others have observed (Schapera 1958; Etherington 1978; Bundy 1979),[328] they maintain that it is exactly here that the evangelists left their mark most deeply in Southern Africa. While the colonial process often necessitated material dispossession, including physical force, a critical part of the subjection of the African people resided in the elusive colonisation by the missionaries by rejecting and subverting the indigenous methods of perception and practice, argues Schapiro.[329] Expressed differently, colonisation is indeed not only a physical force, but it exists in the manner in which power acts as discourses. It was through an act of dichotomisation of 'paganism' versus Christianity that colonisation played an effective role. Colonisation as an act of power was not only about producing docile bodies through physical force; it also involved the act of slowly eroding the cultural tenets of the Batswana. We can draw examples of the slow erosion of the Setswana public rituals from the work of John Mackenzie.[330] These examples vary from royal house conflicts to lower-order levels of family and lineage groups. According to Mackenzie, Sekgoma, the chief of the Bamangwato, was ambivalent to Christianity. His ambivalence turned into antagonism at the time his sons refused to participate in the initiation rite (*bogwera*).[331]

327. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 109.

328. Cf. Isaac Schapera, "Christianity and the Tswana," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 88 (1958): 1–9; Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835–1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 116;and Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (London: Heinemann, 1979), 41ff.

329. Judith Schapiro, "Ideologies of Catholic Missionary Practice in a Postcolonial Era," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (1981): 130.

330. Mackenzie was a member of the LMS. In 1858, he came to South Africa and began his missionary work at Kuruman. He continued to work among the Batswana in territories known as Bechuanaland. Troubled by the growing encroachments on the Batswana territories by Boers from the Transvaal Republic to the east, in 1867 he became active in attempting to have Britain declare a protectorate over the Batswana territories, claiming that the British would safeguard African rights from Boer racism. In 1884, a protectorate was declared over the southern Batswana territories, known as British Bechuanaland, with Mackenzie as its deputy commissioner. He lost this job to Cecil Rhodes in 1885 but remained in politics, retaining a great deal of influence. Later that year he participated in the Warren Expedition, which resulted in the Batswana lands north of British Bechuanaland being declared the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana). In 1889, he retired to resume his missionary activities (Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*).

331. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*.

This ritual was one of the institutions that were profusely condemned by the missionaries.[332]

Another example is the tensions that were building up among the Bangwaketse. These tensions were apparently focused on the lower-ordered levels of family and lineage groups. In 1887, these tensions suddenly surfaced around the ritual of *bojale* (female initiation rite). According to the story of the Bangwaketse, Christians refused to participate in the ritual. They prohibited their daughters from participating. The commotion began when one daughter of Christian parents disappeared. It was suspected that she had been forced to participate in the ritual of *bojale*. Following the advice of the missionary, the aggrieved approached the site where the ritual was being performed to demand her back. This led to 'the most serious public riot ever to occur in the history of the Bangwaketse before 1910'.[333]

The Christianisation of the public rituals was not only an attempt to erode the Setswana politico-religious, but it was also to change these rituals with the hope that they would die a natural death. Mackenzie narrates the story about the inauguration of Khama. According to him, the ceremony was a Christian service. It took place at the Kgosi's *kgotla* [courtyard].[334] At this service, the newly inaugurated chief 'announced that henceforth only such services should be held there'.[335]

Khama enquired with Mackenzie if the people were 'to be simply told to go and dig without any ceremony or could the seed-time be inaugurated

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332. According to Mackenzie, 'the ceremony of "boguera" was administered at Shoshong in April 1865. Each man mustered his retainers and, surrounded by his own sons and near relatives, marched daily to the camp of the neophytes. Proud is the Bechuana father who is surrounded by several sons on these occasions' (John Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River, from 1859–1869* [London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, first publ. 1871], 411ff.). 'There is an honour connected with this which no distinction of rank can supply. Sekhome's [Sekgoma's] mortification was therefore very great when he found himself marching to the camp alone – with none of his five eldest sons accompanying him. They were all at school instead, and every Sunday they were in their places at church. They themselves resolved that they would not go through this heathen ceremony. Here began a period of trouble for our mission. Sekhome, in inviting missionaries to his town, had evidently not anticipated opposition of this kind. He had hoped to be able to regulate all matters connected with the Word of God [...] as he exercised control over everything else [...]' His eldest sons had already passed through *bogwera* by this time (cf. N. Parsons, "Khama's own account of himself," *Botswana Notes and Records* 4 [1972]: 144.) It was their refusal to participate which challenged the father.

333. It is paramount to point out that while this event may have taken place, sources disagree as to whether the Christians attacked the settlement or not (cf. L. Ngcongco, *Aspects of the History of the Bangwaketse to 1910*, Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1977: 201–02).

334. Davidson Hepburn, *Twenty Years in Khama's Country and Pioneering among the Batauana of Lake Ngami* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, first publ., 1895).

335. Hepburn, *Twenty Years in Khama's Country*.

by a Christian Chief in a Christian manner'.[336] Mackenzie was excited about the latter alternative, arguing that:

> [*T*]he ideas embodied in the heathen ceremonies were themselves good […] Why then should not a Christian Chief […] inaugurate the seed-time in his own town by public prayer to Almighty God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth? And why should not such a chief '*loma*' [*bite or take a portion*][337] in the time of harvest, with thanksgiving and praise to Him who crowneth the year with His goodness? Evidently, such a public service would be a blessing to Khame [*Khama*] himself […].[338]

Khama gathered the Bamangwato on a Sunday at the royal *kgotla*.[339] According to Mackenzie, it was at this gathering that he reiterated 'his unwavering determination to adhere to Christianity'. Mackenzie, as a pragmatic missionary, advised Khama not to 'assault on the public ceremonies', but to rather 'remove his chiefly approbation from them and thereby encourage them to die "a natural death"'.[340] According to Mackenzie's reports, Khama's inauguration was a Christian service presided over by Mackenzie. It was held at the *kgotla*. It was at this service that he announced that from that point onwards, such services would be held at the *kgotla*. Mackenzie goes on to state that the Khama move was subjected to a major political test by showing its unwillingness to preside over a ritual initiating the seed-time, *letsemma*. He then told his people that they could dig where they deemed it fit to dig. He further stated that anyone who wished to charm their seed or their garden, could do so at their own expense. Khama's speech was 'well received,' reports Mackenzie.[341] According to Hepburn, Khama altered the first fruit ceremony in a similar manner.[342] The first ceremony to be morphed was not the ceremony of the first fruit. In 1863, Khama and his regiment had defeated the Ndebele:

> [*I*]nstead of the ritual charming of guns, Khama faced the Ndebele […] after he had first knelt in prayer with Mr. Mackenzie on the top of the Bamangwato hills to that God who is higher than the hill tops, and is able to throw down the mighty from their seat.[343]

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336. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*, 38.

337. *Loma* is a metaphor for taking a portion.

338. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*, 38.

339. A *kgotla* is a public meeting, community council or traditional law court. It is presided over by the Kgosi. As a sacred space of the community, it is where the Kgosi is inaugurated, where community decisions are taken, and they are always arrived at by consensus.

340. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*, 152.

341. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*, 152.

342. Hepburn, *Twenty Years in Khama's Country*, 125.

343. Dachs, *Papers of John Mackenzie*, 155.

The Christianisation of public rituals is one of the examples that points to the erosion and morphing of these rituals to regulate polity and the religious expressions of the Batswana.[344] The above examples also illustrate the active participation of the Batswana in the process of the Christianisation of the public rituals. Furthermore, this act of Christianising the public ceremonies of the Batswana was a form of regulating and legitimising Christianity. At times, the missionaries performed the act through the chiefs. The act of Christianising public rituals was also a technology of power used by the missionaries to urge the chiefs to convert and be baptised in order to gain access to the broader community. According to Gulbrandsen, the agents of Christianity required the *Dikgosi tsa Batswana* [chiefs] to be baptised.[345] I would argue that baptism was a technology of power from the side of the missionaries and probably a form of consenting to the new set of codes of a culture, its values and the hierarchy of its practices. Gulbrandsen further states that the Batswana Dikgosi refused to be baptised. Thus, blackness (the chiefs and the community) then gives legitimacy to the mode of power that is regulated by the missionaries. Gulbrandsen argues that those who allowed themselves to be baptised did so because:

> [*T*]heir baptism was in agreement with Tswana cosmology and the cultural construction of kgosi authority. It is necessary to show more explicitly how such an extension of measures to gain access to powerful superhuman forces could convince their people to accept the missionary requirements for conversion.[346]

Based on observations of the Gulbrandsen, the following observations can be made. Firstly, since the Kgosi could at any point require the assistance of a foreign[347] rainmaker, this illustrates the mobility of the Setswana religiosity. For example, according to Schapera, the Batswana are disseminated into more than 50 separate groups.[348] The idea of the Setswana religiosity not being monopolistic is also observed by West:

> Prior to the translation of the Bible in Sub-Saharan Africa, Africans were already engaging with the Bible, initially as an iconic object of power and

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344. Ørnulf Gulbrandsen, "Missionaries and Northern Tswana Rulers: Who Used Whom?," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXIII (1993): 44–45.

345. Gulbrandsen, "Who Used Whom?," 45.

346. Gulbrandsen, "Who Used Whom?," 63.

347. Foreign here refers to someone who does not stem from the same tribe or geographical location. They may stem from another tribe. Schapera and Comaroff list 17 constitutional groups that became independent. 'The following make up these fundamental groups, namely, the *Bakwena*, *Bahurutshe*, *Bakgatla*, *Barolong*, *Banogeng*, *Batlhaping*, *Batlharo*, *Batlokwa*, *Babididi*, *Balete*, *Batlhalerwa*, *Baphiring*, *Bataung*, *Batlhako*, *Barolong Boora-seleka*, *Bapo* and *Bahwaduba*' (Isaac Schapera & John L. Comaroff, *The Tswana*, rev. edn. [London and New York: Kegan Paul International and International African Institute, 1991], 4–5).

348. Isaac Schapera, *The Tswana* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1984), 34.

then as an aural object. Those who brought the Bible among southern African peoples believed in its power as 'the Word of God', and though different missionaries, traders, and explorers may have understood different things by this phrase, what was clear to each of them, and to those Africans who observed them, was that it was an object of power.[349]

Secondly, it indicates how the Batswana used this new religion to their advantage, owing to their religious outlook. Thirdly, as Gulbrandsen points out, this was motivated by the cultural construction of the Dikgosi.[350]

The letters to Mahoko a Becwana, 1883–1896, present us with social institutions as a mode of power.

These letters not only illustrate how the authors of the letters through their writing give legitimacy to the regulatory body, namely the missionaries, they also point to how governmentality as a mode of power regulated how they ought to think and write. [*Not only did*] the missionaries [*regulate*] how they wrote, [*but they*] also used these techniques of knowledge production to infiltrate their cultural norms.[351]

Mgadla and Volz state the following:

The newspaper was edited by missionaries of the LMS and printed on their press at Kuruman monthly between 1883 and 1896 [...] Most of these newspapers included contributions from African writers, but the general goal of the missionary editors was Christian instruction and promotion of European norms and values.[352]

The above citation illustrates the hegemonic nature of the construction of such spaces. Gramsci defines hegemony as a relation, not of domination by means of force but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership.[353] Furthermore, the citation above illustrates one of the strategies of the missionaries to utilise the power of print media to infiltrate and erode the Batswana cultural practices, to construct and dispense knowledge, and to create a binary between Setswana identity expressed in *ngwao ya Setswana*[354] 'heathenism' and Christian identity expressed in doctrinal documents such as the catechism and the Bible.[355] Put differently,

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349. Gerald West, "The Beginning of African Biblical Interpretation: The Bible Among the Batlhaping," *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 12 (2009): 34.

350. Gulbrandsen, "Who Used Whom?," 44–45.

351. *Words of Batswana: Letters to Mahoko a Becwana 1883–1896* (transl. and comp. P.T. Mgadla & Stephen C. Volz; Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2006), 25. Please also refer to Mothoagae 2021.

352. *Words of Batswana*, xv, xxi.

353. Roger Simon, *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1982), 7.

354. It is tradition and culture of the people expressed in public and private rituals, behaviour and lifestyle. This notion of *ngwao* is discussed in Chapter 4.

355. As I show in the next chapter, the first texts to be translated were the doctrinal documents such as the catechism, followed by the Gospel of Luke in 1830. This is discussed in the next chapter.

the newspaper was a form of governmentality and power through confessional purposes and regulation. Evangelists such as Moffat (1842), Livingstone (1858) and Mackenzie (1859) point out that the Batswana, or rather the community, paid little attention (if any) to their preaching.[356] Furthermore, the observation by Mgadla and Volz points to what Foucault refers to as codes of culture:

> The fundamental codes of a culture – those governing its language, its schemas of perception, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices – establish for every man, from the very first, the empirical orders with which he will be dealing and within which he will be at home.[357]

The production of the newspaper was a mechanism to produce and maintain Christian values, its truths and its norms; the letters were a form of institutional technology of power and knowledge. In the next section, I discuss the battle of the Mantatees[358,359] as an example of the intersection between sovereign power and disciplinary power.

■ Findings

In this chapter, I outlined the role of the LMS as an institution within the 19th-century European technology of 'conquer, convert and colonise'. I further argued that as products of both imperial and missionary institutions, the missionaries were primarily men on a Christian mission, while they were the embodiment of the discursive practices of imperialism. Additionally, it is in the history of the LMS that we encounter the ideological formation of its missionary activity as well as the ideological project underlining its formation. They were not only the products of the institution named the LMS, but they were also products of an imperialistic culture, and their transcriptions inexorably reflected these factors. Evidently, it is this ideological project that the modern empire was essentially based on, the perception of 'cultural revolution' in which accurate approaches of control

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356. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 284f. David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researchers in South Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), Chapter 1. Anthony J. Dachs, "Missionary Imperialism: The Case of Bechuanaland," *Journal of African History* 13 (1972): 648.

357. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, xxii.

358. Mantatees comes from *MmaNtatisi*, a chieftainess of the *Tlokwa* people who migrated through the Orange Free State during the *Mfecane/Difeqane*, conquering other peoples (Mokhele, Madise. "Difeqane/Mfecane: The Battle of Dithakong An anti-clockwise migration of the mission expansion to the Southern Batswana", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* vol XXVIII, no. 1 (2002): 276–286).

359. The Mfecane was a time of wars and migrations in southern Africa in the early 1800s. The people involved belonged mainly to Zulu and other Nguni groups. Mfecane means 'destruction' or 'crushing' in the Zulu language. In the Sesotho language, the events were known as the Difaqane, which means 'forced migration'. Jongikhaya Mvenene, "A social and economic history of the African people of Gcalekaland, 1830–1913", *Historia* 59, no. 1 (2014): 59–71.

were merged through 'rituals and routines of rule'. This, I argued, is further expressed in the link between empire and power.

Propagators of Western colonial Christianity positioned at the centre the claim to possess divine 'truths' essential to convert Batswana. This included the assimilation, tswanafication or naturalisation of the coloniser's codes of culture, persuading or coercing towards the absorption of a foreign social order, which included its hierarchical structures and its agricultural practices, accompanied by military success.

Additionally, I argued that the evangelisation of Batswana emerged within a period of institutions wielding power over their products. Such a context, I argued, exerted an impact on making available a foreign text in Setswana. In other words, the translation of the Bible was not immune to institutional frames and ideological nuances. Put differently, the Bible became a tool of the colonial matrix of power. In the next chapter, I discuss the emergence of the translation of the Setswana spelling book, the catechism and the 1830 Gospel of Luke.

A decolonial reflection

AFRICA, THE DARK continent, though very late in receiving the Bible in any of her own tongues, already outstrips all the others in the number of languages possessing Scriptures. With no ancient literature of her own, and no indigenous characters in which to record her rich folklore, she has, almost entirely during the last half-century and mostly within the last few years, rapidly added the 'Best of Books' to her meagre stock. In almost every case she has adopted Roman letters, often with special signs and modifications, as her form of writing. In earlier ages she had borrowed scripts from other lands.[360]

Therefore, translation takes the form of rewriting, since it is performed under certain constraints and for certain purposes. The original text is chosen for a certain purpose and the guidelines of translation are defined to serve this purpose by the translator and/or by those who initiate translation activity. Therefore, in order to fit that purpose, rewriting is bound to happen during the process of translation.[361]

360. Robert Kilgour, *The Bible throughout the World*: *A Survey of the Scripture Translations* (London: World Dominion Press, 1939), 33. Cf. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae and Boshadi M. Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation: On Moffat''s Desecration of the Batswana Linguistic Heritage in the Production of the 1857 English–Setswana Bible," Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae 41 (2015): 44–62. See also Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'othering'," a7812.

361. Ren Shuping, "Translation as Rewriting," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3, no. 18 (2013): 55–9.

■ Thingification as performance of power

Bassnett and Trivedi note that 'colonialism and translation went hand in hand'.[362] Translation provided colonialist administrators with the necessary knowledge and tools to manage the local populations while translating the colonial cultures into the language of the colonised resulted in inculcating them into the linguistic and cultural norms of the dominant nation.[363] With reference to the conditions that produce the translated texts, Fairclough argues that:

> Translators work in particular socio-political contexts and produce texts for specific purposes and specific audiences. Translations, in other words, reveal the impact of discursive, social and ideological constraints, norms and conventions. In the target language, the translation might in fact be used to fulfil a communicative purpose or function that is quite distinct from the original function of the source text. The added value, so to speak, will be in close relation to the new context, the purposes that translators and other agents (who use the translation or for whom it is done) pursue and their overall political goals. Thus, particular textual features of translated texts have to be related to the wider social, political, cultural context of their production and reception, and the various choices that were made by the translator can be interpreted (at least tentatively) in terms of the wider goals and strategies pursued by agents in the cultural and political field, and in terms of the norms and constraints operating in these fields.[364]

In this chapter, I argue that the production of the vernacular 1840 English–Setswana Bible (New Testament and Psalms) was an act of rewriting and manipulation in order to necessitate capture through cultural change. This is articulated and demonstrated in the upcoming chapters that detail the analysis of the text. I argue that the translation agenda can be mapped and sketched from the journals, letters, biographies and autobiographies of the missionaries such as Moffat. I contend that throughout his translation, it is possible to sketch a mosaic picture in which the agenda of the translator is amplified; it grants the type of discursive practice that was employed in the production of such a text. Furthermore, as I will demonstrate, it is not faithfulness to the source text that is central to the translator but rather 'the message' of the Bible. In other words, the sole function of the vernacular Bible is to express the theology of the source text (1611 King James Bible) and to emulate its theology. This includes transmitting that which, in the mind of the translator, is the essence of the Scriptures.

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362. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi eds., *Post-colonial Translation*, 3.

363. Shamma, "Postcolonial Studies," 185.

364. Isabela Ieţcu Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis and Translation Studies: Translation, Recontextualization, Ideology," *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* X, no. 2 (2008): 68. Cf. Christina Schäffner, "Politics and Translation," in *A Companion to Translation Studies* (ed. Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau; Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2007), 134–47.

■ Translation of the Bible into Setswana by Robert Moffat

The translation enterprise in Africa began with the translation of the Bible into the local languages. It is worth indicating that scholars such as Wendland, Doke and Mojola, to name but a few, have carried out work in some of these languages. Doke provides us with a synopsis of Scripture translations into Bantu languages until 1957. I admit that there were omissions to that effect. The first vernacular texts were taken from the New Testament. A brief chronology of these texts is as follows: 1830, Setswana in the Setlhaping dialect; 1840, the entire New Testament, Setlhaping; 1846, Xhosa; 1855, Southern Sotho; 1861, Duala; 1865, Zulu; 1872, Benga; 1879, Herero; 1879, Swahili (Zanzibar); 1884, Ndebele; 1886, Nyanja (Western); 1890, Northern Sotho; 1891, Kongo (Fiote); 1893, Omyene (Mpongwe) and Ganda.[365] The question then is: was it a coincidence that the translators began with the New Testament? A brief chronology of the translation of the Old Testament into a vernacular Bible in Bantu languages can be outlined as follows: 1857, Setswana (Setlhaping); 1859, Xhosa; 1872, Duala; 1881, Southern Sotho; 1883, Zulu; 1891, Swahili (Zanzibar); 1896, Ganda; 1904, Northern Sotho; 1905, Kongo (Fiote); and 1907, Thonga.[366]

Robert Moffat, with his 1830 and 1857 translations, stands among the pioneers of Bible translation into vernacular languages in Africa during the 19th century. Moffat's 1857 complete Setswana Bible was a landmark as it was the first complete and printed translation into an African language (Lubbe 2009).[367] Thus, translation of the Bible into Setswana should also be seen as a missionary task. Moffat, reflecting on his work among the Batswana people, writes:

> Their language has been acquired and reduced to system, and to writing, and brought under the operation of the press. Many elementary works, tracts, and considerable portions of the sacred volume, have been translated and printed in the language. A printing press on the station supplies the increasing wants of readers; and at the present moment the New Testament and the Book of Psalms are, through the munificence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, being conducted through the press in London. Nor is this all: we have to record, to the praise of our blessed Redeemer, that the word of divine truth has had free course and has been glorified; churches have been planted in which there are hundreds of believers growing up in the faith and hope of those doctrines, which they once contemned as chimerical and visionary. Where naught was heard before but heathen din, the festive dance, the obscene song, the doleful requiem, dirging sorrow without hope, and lamentations over rapine and slaughter, there is now

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365. Kilgour, *The Bible throughout the World*, 66–67.

366. Kilgour, *The Bible throughout the World*, 67–90.

367. Lubbe, "By Patience, Labour and Prayer," 16–32.

heard the church-going bell echoing in the vale; and there may now be seen companies of men, women, and children, travelling a hundred miles or more to Missionary stations, and saying as they go, 'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths'.[368]

In Chapter 2, I argued that the institution of the LMS functioned as a colonial matrix of power. The LMS functioned as the patron that encouraged missionaries to learn vernacular languages. Notably, Moffat desired to learn Setswana without making use of a tutor or interpreter. Perhaps this has to do with his perception of interpreters, as he makes the following remark about them:

> A missionary who commences giving direct instruction to the natives, though far from being competent in the language, is proceeding on a safer ground than if he were employing an interpreter, who is not proficient in both languages, and who has not a tolerable understanding of the doctrines of the gospel. Trusting an ignorant and unqualified interpreter as attended with consequences, not ludicrous but dangerous to the very objects which lie nearest to the missionary's heart [...] The interpreter, who cannot himself read and who understands very partially what he is translating will as I have afterward heard, introduce [...] into some passages of simple sublimity of the Holy Writ, just because some word in the sentence had a similar sound. Thus the passage, 'The salvation of the souls is a great and important subject', [*becomes*] 'The salvation of the soul is a very great sack', must sound strange indeed![369]

Firstly, since he did not trust any third-party person to tutor him, the question is, who taught him? He claims that he was self-taught. Secondly, he does not mention the means of the acquisition of Setswana in the letters. On 21 April 1827, Moffat records the following regarding the use of an interpreter:

> Saturday. 21. Pursued my studies with pleasure, I feel much the want of a good interpreter, for in the course of conversation I hear very many words which completely baffle my understanding, and often render the whole sentence unintelligible. I am in such cases obliged to note down such words and phrases, and listen to hear them in another conversation in which the words may be used. If I had any one at hand to give me their real meaning, I should make more progress. Again, my mistakes in conversations are never corrected, and very often mimicry and loud bursts of laughter are corrections made on what I think sometimes very good.[370]

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368. Robert Moffat, *Africa, Or, Gospel Light Shining in the Midst of Heathen Darkness: A Sermon* (London: John Snow, 1840), 36–37. Cf. Leona O'Sullivan, "The London Missionary Society: A Written Record of Missionaries and Printing Presses in the Straits Settlements, 1815–1847," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57, no. 2 (1984): 61–104. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41492984

369. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 294. Cf. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory."

370. Moffat and & Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 247. Cf. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory." See also West, *The Stolen Bible*.

Moffat used every opportunity, particularly on the Sabbath day, to do two things, namely converse and to preach to them in their local dialect.[371] The question arises regarding when he would be able to speak and understand their dialect. How, then, are we to understand his perception of the methodology and pedagogy of learning? If learning is often a subsidiary of instruction, the letter dated 15 April 1827 points to the contrary because, in the journal, Moffat states that he preached 'unto them the Gospel of salvation'.[372]

On 15 April 1827, Moffat records the following in his journal:

> Sabbath. 15. I collected the people and preached unto them the Gospel of salvation. They seemed to pay much more attention than last Sabbath, but afterward I was much grieved to hear them making a kind of diversion of some part of the discourse, particularly that which related to a future state of reward. After listening a few minutes, I went and placed myself among them, and resumed the subject in a way of argument; when they changed their tone, especially when I dwelt on the article of death, to them a subject of all others the most unpleasant, and alas, no wonder, for the utmost stretch of their faith is annihilation.[373]

The acquisition of the languages of the natives was not just important in evangelising them but also for Bible translation.[374] In a letter to Mr and Mrs Robert Moffat, Sr, Inverkeithing, dated 06 February 1827,[375] Moffat outlines his *modus operandi*:

> Robert Moffat to Mr & Mrs Robert Moffat, Sr, Inverkeithing
>
> Lattakoo
>
> 6 February, 1827
>
> (C.A Archives, M./9/1/6. Doc. 1/1827)
>
> Since the house was finished, I have relinquished the public work and applied myself to the language, and will do so until I am completely master of it, when an extensive field will open mental operations. Of course, I have to attend to a round of little engagements of a domestic nature, unavoidably connected with my situation. I hope now to make rapid progress in the most important part of

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371. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 243, 246, 247–48, 250, 251, 253–54.

372. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 246.

373. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 246.

374. Lovett notes the following regarding two missionaries who were serving in India: 'The two missionaries gave themselves with great diligence to the study of the language, and by constantly meeting and conversing with the natives, notwithstanding many disadvantages, made rapid progress in its attainment. They also began the task of translating the Bible into Telugu, and prepared two or three tracts. In these manifold and arduous labours they were greatly aided by a converted Brahman, Anandarayer by name, one of the most remarkable of the early Indian converts' (Lovett, *The History*, 1899b, 34).

375. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 233–34.

the work. With that object in view, I intend shortly to proceed to a tribe about 200 or 300 miles in the interior, where it is my intention to stop a month or two, in order to become perfectly familiar in the language, by associating exclusively with the savages, entirely alone, without an individual who speak a word of either English or Dutch.[376]

The task at hand was to speak and write Setswana. Learning and writing the language formed part of the broader agenda of converting the Batswana through the written word. To achieve this, he firstly had to learn the grammatical structure of the language. Secondly, he identified a community independently, without the help of the community in which he lived. In the letter, he does not state why he ventured outside his community to learn the language. I postulate that the reasons for this decision suggest a few probabilities, namely that he probably did not trust the dialect they spoke, or perhaps, as far as he was concerned, they did not speak Setswana. One identifiable reason is his insinuation that the identified community did not have any form of contact with English or Dutch. Hence, it is probable that he viewed the language of the community as having been corrupted by both English and Dutch. Or perhaps his referral to the community not having had any contact with Dutch or English was directed at a non-Setswana personality, that is, that the intention was probably to be constantly in contact only with the Batswana. Put differently, the letter implies that Moffat had an idea of a type of community he would have wanted to interact with. He also categorises them as embodying savage tendencies. In other words, not only does he have an idea of the type of community, but he also 'performs'[377] the power of naming by categorising them as 'savages'.

In his letter, Moffat installs social hierarchy in bracketing those with whom he was presumably going to immerse himself as savages. It is in the categorisation of the community as 'savage' that we encounter the power of naming and othering. In so doing, Moffat was using the language of the empire, which othered the native peoples,[378] therefore, by referring to the

376. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 233–34. Cf. Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering.'," a7812.

377. The use of the term 'perform' here refers to adhering to the norms of an already existing colonial script, where specifically 'black,' 'brown,' 'those of African descent' or 'those of Asian descent' were regarded as savages.

378. The concept of the savage, as well as its definition, is borrowed from Defoe's book. In his book, Defoe (1660–1731) depicts the idea of master–servant relations as a penultimate vision of what a colony within the British Empire should resemble. It is in this book that the notion of the savage permeates throughout in labelling the 'other.' This identification functioned as a tool for locating and zoning any culture outside of the British culture as 'savage.' He uses images of political hierarchies and the use of British forms of systems to illustrate the distinctions between the labels 'barbaric' and 'civilised'. In his view, the so-called savage is irredeemable unless they assimilate into the British imperial culture. Daniel Defoe, 1660–1731, *The Life and Most Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner, Who Lived Eight and Twenty Years in an Uninhabited Island on the Coast of America Near the Mouth of the Great River Oroonoque* (London: The Booksellers, 1811). https://www.loc.gov/item/48040622/

natives as savages, Moffat was engaged in cultural imperialism, which marginalised and objectified the Batswana community.

Based on politics of association, Moffat connects the readers/recipients with a Western imperial–colonial trend of thought. In other words, as he had written, to learn the language, he had to learn it from people who had not had any contact with either English or Dutch. It is in bracketing them in such a manner that Moffat performs an act of objectifying the target group. This was a first step towards systematically rupturing the Batswana religious practices, as well as cognitively and epistemologically centralising and composing the orthography of the Batswana. Having done so, he would have achieved the process of deforming and reforming the Setswana linguistic heritage through his intellectual crusade of translating the Bible. The letter continues:

> By such means I shall be enabled to become acquainted with the very peculiar grammatical structure of the Sichuan language, which of necessity must be acquired before the work of translation can be fairly commenced. I am well acquainted with the chief of the above tribe. To-day a son of one, and a brother of another, of the said chiefs arrived here with some trifling gifts, and it is probable I shall return with them.[379]

The acquisition of a different language positions oneself into a position of vulnerability as power acts as repetition, having to repeatedly subject himself to the grammaticalities of the language to be acquired. Such an act, I contend, produces a subject that has been 'normalised' within the cultural parameters of the language that is required. To put this differently, if language constructs bodies, there is always the 'danger' that the acquisition of language moulds a body into the cultural values of the language that is required. Whether this was the case with Moffat, one can only postulate that since he could express the grammaticalities, idiomatic expressions and structural complexities of the language, this could have been the case with him.

In March–June 1827, a journal entry by Moffat records that his desire to acquire the language would lead him to depart from Kuruman on Wednesday, 28 March 1827.[380] At the same time, the journals indicate the paradoxes that Moffat faced. According to him, it was challenging to prioritise his desire to acquire the language over spending time with a local 'smith' working iron and comparing African and European techniques.[381] In the same letter, Moffat mentions that whenever he got down to reading or

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379. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 233–34. Cf. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

380. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 237–60, 238. See also the letters to his wife: Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 261–64, 264–66, 266–67. Cf. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

381. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 242, 245–46. Cf. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

writing,[382] nature got the better of him as the hot, dry weather made it difficult to persevere. It was not only the heat that bothered him, but the flies also played their role, as he describes the situation: 'As they drink the ink out of [the] pen with which I am writing',[383] he is disturbed by 'the swarms of importunate beggars with which I am hourly surrounded'.[384] Again, the letter illustrates the inseparable nature of power and knowledge. Foucault reminds us that:

> In short, it is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful and resistant to power, but power-knowledge, the process and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge.[385]

The acquisition of language indicates the broader colonialist ethos of which Moffat was a product. Moffat, as a product of the colonialist drive, becomes one of several who have done the same in attempting to acquire the language, even as they have all been moulded by the socio-political structures of their era.

Undoubtedly, the writing of books formed part of the colonialist strategies just as translation had. The series of books that Moffat produced were the Setswana spelling book, the catechism, hymns and the Gospel of Luke. Later, he translated the entire New Testament, followed by the Old Testament. The production of books and the development of schools were initiated in order to benefit the Setswana, penultimately to benefit the British Empire and ultimately to benefit the Western notions of civilisation. Disciplinary power is not intent on killing off but on stimulating life. Expressed differently, the production of books illustrates discussion in the history of sexuality that power acquires its power through dissemination. Power emerges where distribution and dissemination take place.

Another aspect concomitant with the politics of knowledge is in Moffat's statement that 'as to any salutary effect which the word has, that must be looked for thereafter. In the meantime, we are imparting knowledge […].'[386] He then immediately reminds Rev. G. Burder of the 'lessons and exercises on the Sichuan language' which had been forwarded to the Cape Colony, having reached it 'before Dr. Philip left for England' in

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382. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 243, 245. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

383. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 243, 264. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

384. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 243, 250. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

385. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 27–28.

386. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 226. Cf. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

late January 1826.[387] The power of adaptation and reproducing within the framework of politics of knowledge production is observable in Moffat's assertion that books will have to be made available in the language of the Batlhaping.[388] The compilations of books not only intensified the power dynamics in relation to the production of knowledge, but rather, it is in the production of this corpus that the process of producing docile bodies emerges.[389] In other words, the creation of this body of literature was intended to domesticate and indoctrinate the receptor culture, thus producing subjectification within the institution of the Christian religion and the schools. Foucault states that the 'the school became a machine for learning, in which each pupil, each level, each moment, it correctly combined, were permanently utilized in the general process of teaching'.[390] Similarly, the above quote of Moffat writing to his family and Rev. Burder is a reflection of how colonial disciplinary power is performed, and it can be seen as an example of how it reproduces itself. By referring to himself as well as how he went about acquiring Setswana, he thus posited himself as a model. The availability of the books was a precursor for what would come to be known as schools. These schools would later replace the indigenous forms of 'schooling' and oral tradition as a form of knowledge production and preservation. The written Setswana acts as a form of power that happens through distribution and dissemination. This also points to the notion of subjectification through discipline that would come with being a civilised person. As Foucault rightly observes, 'at the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected'.[391] The translation project, like any written piece, is not only the product of creativity, but as such, it is also creative. It performs as an agency of creativity. Furthermore, written language transcends the historical moment, as it can be dispersed to a variety of contexts, both in time and space. Finally, written language is an agency of empowerment precisely because of its capacity to transcend space and time and be dispersed.

At the same time, Moffat's translational project (which includes his other writings) centralised power, but so would any other project have done. The issue here is not the centralisation of power; as Foucault reminds us, power is everywhere. Rather, the issue is how categories were created and how

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387. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 226. Cf. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

388. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 226.

389. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 135.

390. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 165.

391. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 165.

the terms were selected which allowed these to infuse Setswana with a colonialist structure that did not adequately recognise Setswana categories, values and terms.

As a symbol of power, the orthography became the framework that missionaries used to cognitively dictate the format and structure of the Setswana orthography while alienating other dialects within Setswana. At the Kuruman meeting, the missionaries reaffirmed the centrality and authority of the Moffat orthography:

> Editor-56 (September 1889), 2
>
> New way of printing
>
> In March this year, missionaries of the LMS who teach in the language of Setswana gathered at Kuruman. As they met, they took up the issue of the letters that are used for printing and writing. Many missionaries of other missions oppose some of the letters with which we have been writing. They reject them because they have never liked them. They reject the letter *d* and they reject the letter *w*. These missionaries like the old way of printing, the one that is still used today for the Bible and the Testament. They also argue that the old printing is known by many more people. So, these things were discussed, and it was agreed that those letters should not be changed, and that writing and printing should be done only with the old letters. Now, *w* has been dropped so that it will be written '*bañoe*' [*others*] not '*boñwe*', and it will be written '*rumela*' [*greet*] not '*dumela*', and '*Morimo*' [*God*] not '*Modimo*', and '*lilo tse di thata*' [*difficult things*] not '*dilo tse di thata*'. It was agreed that *è* and *ō* should be changed and instead put a plain *e* and plain *o*. Some letters will for the time being still be published as they are. The letter '*h*' will be used to differentiate '*tlala*' [*hunger*] from '*tlhala*' [*divorce*],[392] and it will be said '*tlhaba*' [*pierce*] not '*tlaba*'. It will be said '*chaba*' [*nation*] and '*chuba*' [*burn*], and not '*caba*' and '*cuba*'. So that a word and its pronunciation will be understood in this manner. We wish that all the nations that speak the language of Setswana could have books printed in only one set of letters, but an agreed conclusion to that effect has not yet been reached. What is needed for such a discussion is a meeting of all missionaries who know Setswana well, along with intelligent and educated Batswana who know their language very well. If that happened, this problem of letters and printing and the whole language of Setswana could be corrected for Good. But at this point it seems that this has not yet been realized. Or if it will be realized one day, we don't know, nonetheless it is a step in the right direction.[393]

As a hegemonic tool, the translated texts were produced to achieve two things, namely colonisation and evangelisation. Missionaries working among the Sotho-Tswana groups, although with minor variations, adopted the orthography developed by Moffat, as mentioned by Mgadla and Volz:

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392. Cf. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation."

393. *Words of Batswana: Letters to Mahoko a Becwana 1883–1896* (transl. and comp. T. Mgadla and Stephen C. Volz; Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents, 2006), 27.

> As missionaries became more aware of language differences between Batlhaping and other Batswana, the Wesleyan Methodist Society (WMS), the Paris Evangelical Society (PMS), and other mission societies began to produce books with vocabulary and spellings more appropriate to the languages of the groups with which they worked, but they continued to use an orthography (alphabet) similar to that of Moffat.[394]

The reliance of other missionary societies on the orthography of Moffat meant that these missionaries used the material produced by Moffat, considering that the Setlhaping language was the first to be written down. As such, the formulation of sentence construction based on the orthography of Moffat must have influenced how other languages came to be written on various levels. As a written text, Setswana became a symbol of power for the translator. The missionaries express this in their reliance on written language. It was only after a while that the missionaries began to construct their own orthography, but it was still based on that of Moffat. In other words, the Setswana orthography, as produced by Moffat among the Batlhaping people and among the Sotho-Tswana groups, was a symbol of power in that the written text determined for the receptor culture what and how their language should be written and spoken. As such, it also became a hegemonic tool. It was through the Bible translated into the language of the people that gaining control over the people's minds and thoughts became actualised.

◼ Translation as performance of power

The project of vernacularisation of the so-called Bantu languages in Africa needs to be contextualised from the perspective of what Mbembe refers to as image ontology.[395] Mbembe's understanding of image ontology emanates from the concept of perceptions and prejudices that one has about the other, based on facial appearances and skin colour.[396] In other words, image ontology is central in the process of vernacularisation and standardisation of the 'Bantu' languages. Mothoagae argues that it is in the translator as an outsider that the preconceived notion of the 'other,' based on Mbembe's concept of 'image ontology',[397] leads to the desire to translate and systematise the receptor language. Translation then becomes a tool and a technology of erasure and spiritualcide.

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394. *Words of Batswana*, 3.

395. Achille Mbembe, "The Dream of a World Free from the Burden of Race" (Workshop on Theory and Criticism vol. 8, 29 June 2014 to 11 July 2014, cited 09 February 2021. Online: https://jwtc.org.za/volume_8/achille_mbembe_2.htm. Cf. Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering.'"

396. Cf. I.D. Mothoagae, 'The Colonial Matrix of Power: Image Ontology and the Question of Blackness', *HTS Theological Studies* 77, no. 4 (2021): a7074. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.7074

397. Mothoagae, "The Colonial Matrix of Power." Cf. Mbembe, "The Dream of a World Free."

On Wednesday, 06 February 1822, Moffat writes:

> I find the more I become acquainted with the language, the greater difficulties rise in view, the great want of small words, chiefly of the conjunctive, the great length some, the aspirate guttural in others, and particularly the immense difficulty of translating theological ideas. Kingdoms, crowns, thrones, and sceptres, are unknown here. Difficulties would be easier encountered were a suitable interpreter to be had, which is not to be found. The one I now have I believe the best yet known, but still the difficulty of acquiring the real meaning of a word is incredible. I have collected a great number of words and committed most of them to memory, but feel the want of practice to make them familiar. I have come to the conclusion to take the journey into the Interior, in the course of the journey having nothing but Bootchuanas with me. I entertain a strong hope that by the time I return I shall be able to converse with considerable freedom.[398]

It is essential to point out that Mary Moffat, in her letter to her parents, dated February 1822, alludes to Moffat's attempts to acquire the language. She states that:

> At present Moffat is applying himself with all diligence to the language, as the particular object of his destination here. He finds immense difficulties from the barrenness of the language and imperfect interpreters, but he is naturally too persevering soon to lose courage.[399]

Echoing the sentiments of both Mr and Mrs Moffat in his work, Dr R. Kilgour of the BFBS in 1939 published *The Bible throughout the World*, a most instructive survey of Bible translations in which he devoted Chapter 3 to Africa.[400] Kilgour begins the chapter with the following assertions. Historically, Africa had been categorised as the 'dark continent', devoid of written words or indigenous forms of writing, suggesting that in and of itself it possessed no knowledge. The Scriptures lent themselves to introducing a language system through the introduction of Roman letters. Kilgour states that:

> [/]n almost every case she has adopted Roman letters, often with special signs and modifications, as her form of writing. In earlier ages she had borrowed scripts from other lands.[401]

The statement by Kilgour illustrates the power of the missionary translator, as they not only translated but also colonised and erased any form of

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398. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 43–44. Cf. West, *The Stolen Bible*.

399. Moffat, *The Lives*, 102.

400. Kilgour, *The Bible throughout the World*, 33–99. Cf. Clement M. Doke, "Scripture Translation into Bantu languages," *African Studies* 17, 2 (1958): 82–99.

401. Kilgour, *The Bible throughout the World*, 33. Cf. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation." See also Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering.'"

indigenous symbolic communication, which, in their eyes, was unintelligible. Doke notes:

> In neither of these works, however, are Bantu languages differentiated, as such, from other African languages. When such differentiation is made the following position is revealed, shewing the figures up to 1938 (though incomplete for that year): Some portion of the Bible had been published in 170 Bantu languages, the New Testament in 89 and the Complete Bible in 25. Compared with the whole of Africa and the whole world the figures were:

	World	Africa	Bantu
Portions...	1008	345	170
New Testaments...	389	127	89
Bibles...	179	37	25[402]

Bantu languages have contributed to the vast programme of Bible translation throughout the world and continue to do so. At the same time, the Bible translation societies (BFBS, American Bible Society) have influenced the economy of translation.[403]

Before discussing the vernacularisation of the Bible as a coercive technology of dominance, power and knowledge, it would be good to list the languages in which New Testaments and Bibles have appeared. These are given in chronological order of first appearance.[404] Given that the study is not on the history of the vernacular Bibles in Africa, I list just a few to illustrate the impact of vernacular Bibles in Africa. It is worth indicating that scholars such as Wendland, Doke and Mojola, to name but a few, have undertaken work in some of these languages. Doke provides us with a synopsis of Scripture translation into Bantu languages up to 1957. I admit omissions to that effect. The first vernacular texts stemmed from the New Testament. A brief chronology of these texts appears earlier. The question then is: was it a coincidence for the translators to first begin with the New Testament?

The vernacularisation of the Bible in Africa was not the same as the emergence of vernacular Bibles in Western Europe. A brief chronology of the vernacular Bible in Bantu languages can be found earlier in this chapter. The vernacularisation of Bibles in Western Europe, as discussed in the above section, was aimed at breaking away from Roman Catholic dominance, the revival of local languages and the construction of identity. It is for this reason that those who knew the language translated each of these vernacular Bibles.

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402. Doke, "Scripture Translation," 82.

403. Cf. Doke, "Scripture Translation."

404. Cf. Doke, "Scripture Translation."

It is no coincidence that in 1804, with this new veneration of the King James Bible, the BFBS declared that the translation of the Scripture established by Public Authority would be the only one used by the Society.[405] The King James Bible signified the Bible of the empire and monarchy. It was the unifier of the British people and gave authority to the monarchy. The vernacularisation of the Bible in Africa was not immune from the politics and economics surrounding the translations of the vernacular Bibles in Western Europe. At the same time, in Africa, the indigenous people did not translate the vernacular Bibles. The following questions then emerge: Why did they translate the Bibles? What did they seek to achieve through translation?

The process of vernacularisation of the Bible in Africa was not an innocent exercise.[406] It was aimed at producing cultural and intellectual dominance and othering African knowledge and religious systems. To attain these aims, two things had to be achieved: cultural change and standardisation of the African languages. While the latter was achieved through the production of the language dictionaries, the key to producing language dictionaries was to first standardise the language and then to determine the construction and pronunciation of the language and the manner in which the language ought to be written in order to dominate by consent rather than by force. The former was attained through the translation project. The translation of the Bible became a rewriting project based on the notion of coercion, social control, behavioural influence and choice, aimed at moulding personal convictions into a replica of the prevailing norms. In other words, cultural change would have been an incomplete enterprise without a written document. Such domination would be realised through the coercive technology of discursive practices through intellectual and moral leadership, symbolised in and exercised through institutions such as schools and churches, expressing the religious belief system of their respective missionary societies.

According to Gramsci, this constitutes hegemony.[407] Following Gramsci's definition that hegemony constitutes the predominance obtained by consent rather than force, the vernacularisation of the Bible was one form of hegemony. Vernacularisation as a form of hegemony, it could be argued,

405. Cf. Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

406. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2," a4523. See also Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering'"; Itumeleng Daniel Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology in the 1840 English–Setswana New Testament," *HTS Theological Studies* 74, no. 1 (2018): 1–12. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i1.4786

407. Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 24.

was based on the notion of 'internal control'. The idea was to produce a particular order in which a common social and moral language is spoken; one concept of reality is dominant, informing all methods of thought and behaviour[408] while othering the existing order:

> In his study on the vernacular Bible among the people of Ewe, Avotri argues that, vernacularisation of the Bible has enabled the incarnation of biblical portrayals of reality into an African (Ewe) culture, and the extent to which these perceptions have influenced African perceptions of reality.[409]

Avotri argues that vernacularisation has its consequences, which are ushered in by a fundamental religious revolution, with new religious structures that preside over the changes. Sanneh reminds us that:

> One of the most dramatic changes was undoubtedly the popular, mass participation of Africans in this process. It began to draw on African populations that the missionary adoption of vernacular categories for the Scriptures was in effect a written sanction for the indigenous religious vocation. The God of the ancestors was accordingly assimilated into the Yahweh of ancient Israel and 'the God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[410]

The argument by Sanneh illustrates the extent to which vernacular Bibles became a hegemonic tool to reorder, appropriate, subordinate and colonise the receptor culture to achieve cultural domination. Control was thus producing what Mojola refers to as the hybridisation and creolisation of cultures and languages.[411] Additionally, according to Sanneh:

> Vernacular agency became the preponderant medium for the assimilation of Christianity, and although missionaries did not consciously intend to occupy a secondary position, their commitment to translation made that necessary and inevitable. The preexisting vernacular came to exert a preemptive power over the proprietary claims of mission over the gospel, and when missionaries assumed that mission must occur by Scriptural translation, they invoked that preemptive power without knowing that it would at the same time minimize their role as external agents.[412]

A closer reading of Moffat's literature (namely letters, journals, autobiography and biographies) reveals his intention to begin his translation of the Bible

408. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought*, 24.

409. Solomon K. Avotri, "The Vernacularisation of Scripture and the African Beliefs: The Story of the Gerasene Demoniac among the Ewe of West Africa," in *The Bible in Africa: Translations, Trajectories and Trends* (ed. West and Dube; Boston: Brill Academic, 2001), 313.

410. Sanneh Lamin, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1989), 159–60.

411. Mojola, "Postcolonial Translation," 101. Cf. Jean-Claude Loba-Mkole, "History and Theory of Scripture Translations," *HTS Theological Studies* 64, no. 1 (2008): 253–66. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v64i1.20

412. Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 161–62. Cf. Kehinde Olumuyiwa Olabimtan, "A Comparative and Theological Evaluation of the Interface of Mission Christianity and African Culture in Nineteenth Century Akan and Yoruba Lands of West Africa" (Master of Theology, University of Natal, 2002).

with the Christian Scriptures rather than the Hebrew Scriptures. Such an approach was informed by his argument that there were parallels between the Batswana religio-cultural practices and the latter.

■ Codification of spoken language

In the eyes of the translator, the biblical text served the function to educate and to sustain the transition from uncivilised to civilised and from being a heathen to becoming a believer, embodied within the broader institution of Western imperial–colonial Christendom. The translation of these texts, such as the catechism, hymns and the Bible, to the receptor language would ultimately actualise a new world order in which oral language is codified and thereby requiring a new set of skills to discern the language. This period of translation in the mind of the translator and that of the institution of the LMS was an important era of codification of language. This phase, for the missionary, meant that through a written text, conversion might be realised, and for the institutions of power, it formed part of a political and economic strategy. Shepherd makes a compelling argument for the missionaries' role and the introduction of Western colonial education. However, he fails to recognise that indigenous people already had their own form of education. In light of his argument, it can be argued that the missionaries, as agents of the empire, were governed by the empire's norms and standards.[413] Put differently, the reduction of Setswana, with all its linguistic flaws, according to the argument advanced by R.H.W. Shepherd, was the advent of literacy for the Batswana and the reduction of their languages into writing. In other words, the Batswana owe the missionaries for transitioning their language from the oral to written form, thus making it an intelligible language. Olsen (2008) observes the following:

> Missionaries were the first group of Europeans who tried to achieve an understanding of native African culture, although their focus remained on the transformation and conversion of natives into civilised beings and Christians, rather than on a validation and preservation of African culture.[414]

While Olsen's observation may be accurate, she fails to point out the epistemic power that the missionaries exerted over the formation and structuring of the indigenous languages.[415] This epistemic power and privilege, as I have argued in the previous section, can be found in the fact that in his quest to learn the language, Moffat did not consult any of the

413. Robert H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century 1841–1941* (Alice: Lovedale Press), 1940.

414. Birgitt Olsen, "An Overview of Translation History in South Africa 1652–1860" (Master of Arts, University of Witwatersrand, 2008), 23. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Colonial Matrix of Power."

415. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Colonial Matrix of Power."

Batswana, the custodians of the language (for example, the Kgosi and the community elders), in terms of the lexicon and the grammatical construction of the language. Letters cited in the newspaper referred to as *Mahoko a Becwana* illustrate the notion of the custodianship of the language residing with the people. Furthermore, these letters indicate the resistance of the Batswana regarding the application of grammar and the lexicon to Setswana. The Batswana resisted the dichotomisation of their intellectual, conceptual spaces. They also demonstrated to the missionaries the binary between epistemic privileges claimed by the missionaries and the rendering of the Batswana as epistemologically inferior. They challenged the manner in which their language was written and pronounced. To achieve this, they wrote letters to a newspaper called *Mahoko a Becwana*. The Batswana utilised this platform to state their displeasure regarding the decisions made by the missionaries on their behalf pertaining to the orthography of Moffat. They also stated the manner in which their language should have been written, thus claiming their epistemological right over the language. In other words, they were not passive participants.

The Batswana used sayings and memo scripts as a linguistic heritage to resist the intellectual epistemicides performed by the missionaries. To achieve this, oral tradition becomes a point of reference, thus keeping the foreigner at bay. In his letter to the editor, dated December 1889, Sekaelo Piti captures the general concerns about the writing of Setswana by the missionaries in the following manner:

> We have complained much about our language in the books, because they have not been representing true Setswana but rather Setswana and English an English–Setswana that is read as only a reminder of the real thing. For example, '*go diha*' to make has been written as '*go riha*', '*didimala*' [*be quiet*] as '*ririmala*' or '*lilimala*' also '*Modimo*' [*God*] as '*Morimo*', and '*legodimo*' [*heaven*], as '*legorimo*'. But when we saw hymn books in the year 1883, we were very happy because a missionary had arrived who speaks the language of our mothers and who speaks proper Setswana. He says, '*Yesu kwana ea Modimo*' Jesus lamb of God and not '*Yesu koana*' or '*kuana*'. This missionary also printed a spelling book in the year 1885. He is the one who knows the true language of Setswana.[416]

The translation of the Bible not only paved the way for the advent of Christianity among the Batswana but also the reduction of Setswana to writing. It is in statements such as these that the agenda to translate the Bible becomes explicit. Moffat states:

> Indifference and stupidity form the wreath on every brow – ignorance, the grossest ignorance of Divine things, forms the basis of every action; it is only things earthly, sensual, and devilish, which stimulate to activity and mirth […]

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416. *Words of Batswana*, 29–31. Cf. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory," Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "An Exercise of Power as Epistemic Racism and Privilege: The Subversion of Tswana Identity," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 16, nos. 1–2 (2014): 11–27.

> Only satiate their mendicant spirits by perpetually giving, and we are all that is good, but refuse to meet their demands [*and*] their praises are turned to ridicule.[417]

The citation above by Moffat demonstrates his zeal for making the Bible available in Setswana. Furthermore, I would contend that such zeal was compounded by his prejudice towards those he was 'serving' and/or bringing the gospel to. Schapera raises a sharp critique of his attitude towards the Batswana and casts aspersions on his lack of appreciation and willingness to learn the traditions of the Batswana.[418]

Paradoxically, missionaries worked tirelessly to abolish Batswana's traditions and customs based on the regime of truth that functioned as the norms and rubrics of measuring conformity. As I have argued previously in other works, the arrival of Christianity in Africa initiated the transmission of imperial culture. Thus, the neophyte would have to break away from that which formed their identity and sense of belonging. Furthermore, the standardisation system gave the missionaries the means to provide the English language a superior position to the indigenous languages and culture.[419]

Shrewsbury's view emphasises the crucial role of 'truths' in the institutional framework of production. Those who propagated these 'truths' viewed them as the essential codes of culture that governed language, reference frames, techniques, values, hierarchical structures and empirical orders. In other words, they were the measuring tool for measuring cultural practices' effectiveness. With this in mind, it is clear that understanding and utilising these 'truths' is vital to the success of any cultural institution.[420] Thus, conversion to Christianity essentially meant assimilation into British culture. Fast (1994), citing Shrewsbury's letters and journals, further states that:

> Although Shrewsbury's descriptions of Xhosa culture were very detailed, he made little attempt to understand the underlying beliefs which generated these traditions. As a result, he did not realise that his message was usually incomprehensible to his listeners, not only through language differences, which were monumental – but because of the difference in worldview.[421]

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417. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 284–85.

418. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 249.

419. Cf. Hildegarde H. Fast, ed., *The Journal and Selected Letters of Rev. William J. Shrewsbury 1826–1835* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994). Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory." See also Comaroff and Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism." See also Mothoagae, "Biblical Discourse as a Technology of 'Othering.'," a7812.
Cf. Mothoagae, "The Colonial Matrix of Power."

420. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, xxii.

421. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, xxii.

It could be argued that the missionaries made strides in translating the Scriptures into the indigenous language to position Christianity above African cultures. The observation by Shrewsbury points to the disparities between biblical discourse and the worldview of the source text and the receptor language. It is without a doubt that the translation of the Bible was to bring about a cultural revolution and an attempt to rewrite, appropriate and colonise the Batswana. Nonetheless, in the mission field, Moffat was able to consult the Dutch Bible alongside the 1611 King James Version during his translation of the Bible into Setswana.[422]

Yet, he was not trained in Greek or Hebrew; thus, his Bible 'had not been translated from the original languages, but from the English version'.[423] There is a significant dependence on the King James 1611 version, as he used it as his source text. Consequently, the King James 1611 Bible was an important textual and institutional frame of reference in the translation of the Moffat Bible. Hence, Moffat accurately followed the 1611 King James Bible to the letter. Paradoxically, the King James 1611 translators were commissioned to make their project a close revision of the Bishops Bible, even as they would consult the Hebrew and Greek as their source texts.[424] The main opposing results of stringently following the forms of source texts, at least as noticeable from the English–Setswana Bible, were firstly that the Moffat version includes obscurity in communication and vulgarity to the targeted or receptor language. The constant use of foreign names is an indication of a cultural revolution as an act of colonisation infused in the language and tampering with the linguistic heritage of the Batswana. Secondly, Moffat claims that the stories and portrayals in the Gospel of Luke appeal to the local folk, but I would argue that it was a misreading of his listeners. This is because a closer reading of the 1830 version of the Gospel of Luke, which was his first translation, does not make grammatical sense. For example, the text reads as follows:

1830 Gospel of Luke	1611 King James Bible
1:5 *Gole gole Perîsta eo berioa Zakaria, mometsing ea Heroda, khosi ea Juda, oa shomo ya Ahia: mi mogatse elele morari oa bomorari, ba Arona, mi leina ya gagne elele Elizabeta.*	1:5 There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judæa, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia: and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.

422. A.P. Smit, *God Made It Grow: History of the Bible Society Movement in Southern Africa 1820–1970* (Cape Town: The Bible Society of South Africa, 1970), 196.

423. K.O.E. Muller, *Report on the Translation of the Bible into Central Tswana During the Years 1929, 1939 and 1950 to 1958 by a Translating Commission* (Cape Town: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1958), 2. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology."

424. Bruce Manning Metzger, *The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 76. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology."

His translation was evaluated and validated by reading out loud the different chapters in public worship. I would contend that the translation above demonstrates the invocation of the probable curiosity that his listeners were experiencing. Northcott states:

> I have frequently listened with surprise to hear how minutely some, who were unable to read, could repeat the story of the Woman who was a sinner; the parable of the Great Supper, the Prodigal Son, and the Rich Man and Lazarus; and date their change of views to these simple but all important truths, delivered by the great Master Teacher.[425]

The fact that Moffat could be surprised that the people could repeat the story raises questions regarding the factuality of his assumption about what he thought he understood. Firstly, since Moffat had acknowledged that he could not speak the language, how factual is it that they repeated what the stories said? Could it be that they were commenting on the construction of his sentences and the words that he used? Secondly, the notion of truths is central to ascertaining the probability of Moffat's sequence of events. Lastly, since he had just finished translating the Gospel of Luke and was testing it out by reading it aloud, it is probable that the repetition was based on how he read or translated Setswana. Having studied the 1830 Gospel of Luke, I conclude that it is most likely that they were repeating in amusement. Moffat states the following about the behaviour of the people in the chapel:

> I could not tell you all the devices they had for annoying their kind teachers. Their behaviour in chapel was very trying. Some would be snoring, some laughing, and some working. Some would sit with their feet on the benches, and their knees drawn up to their chins, till one would fall asleep, and tumble over, to the great merriment of his fellows. If they could find out any new way to vex the missionaries, they were sure to try it. But all this ill-usage did not give the missionaries half so much pain as it did to hear these poor savages make a mock of the solemn truths they taught. The Bechuanas were atheists. They had no idols like other nations; no ideas of the soul, of heaven, or of hell; – no notion of any god at all; – no word in their language for God. They were so stupid, that after the missionaries had been talking to them for hours about God, they would say, 'What is it you wish to tell me?' The reason they could not understand was, that their hearts were not interested.[426]

The categorisation of Batswana as indecent, atheist and stupid indicates the discursiveness of translation as neither apolitical nor ahistorical. In addition, distinct and systematic zones are noticeable from the assertions made by Moffat in the quotation above. In the first zone, he recounts the dissemination of imported literature on the continent, particularly in

425. William C. Northcott, *Robert Moffat: Pioneer in Africa 1817–1870* (London: Butterworth Press, 1961)., 122. Cf. Lubbe, "By Patience, Labour and Prayer," 16–32

426. Robert Moffat, *Mr Moffat and the Bechuanas of South Africa* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1842), 14.

South Africa, by missionaries as an enactment of imperial memory. Written texts, original or translated, often precede performance, but if we take it 'that written texts are equally often the consequence of the knowledge of a maker who is historically situated',[427] we are immediately confronted by the idea that texts contain in themselves aspects of the memory of the producer and the collective memory of the community to which the architect belongs. The second zone of dissemination refers to imported literature, which is 'directly related to the former, refers broadly to the translation of source texts into indigenous languages'.[428] Dube is concerned with the above assertion. She states:

> Contemporary translation studies now highlight the power relations and ideological positions of the translator, publishers, target audiences, patrons, and other stakeholders that shape translations.[429]

Mothoagae has argued that the Moffat translation demonstrates the 'power relations that are embedded in the process of translation became a technology of power',[430] expressed in the organisational frames of theory, as I have argued in the previous section. Furthermore, the argument advanced by Dube points to the fervent zeal of the missionaries who were bound to spread the word of their God and recognised the importance of literacy in the influencing of people, which became a central tool in the process of reducing Setswana into a written language. Literacy through the translated text became a technology of power.[431]

■ Power of the translator

Translation, for Moffat, was a means by which he could naturalise, standardise and factualise the gospel message. Thus, to master the language was an act of disciplinary power, of producing the possibility of a written language, and through such a script, conversion was able to take place. Thus, the Setswana catechism was produced in the same year in which the translation was published (1826). Moffat compiles the spelling book[432] as if he were writing for Europeans. The translator becomes the master of the written language. In this transaction, the translator becomes the teacher, and native speakers of the language become the students.

427. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation," 45.

428. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation," 45.

429. Musa W. Dube, "Translating Ngaka," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40, no. 1 (2014): 158. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523.

430. Mothoagae. "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523.

431. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation," 45.

432. Robert Moffat, *Bechuana Spelling-Book* (London: London Missionary Society, 1826). (See Appendix 1.)

For example, vowels and consonants in the book are extensively explained in English. In this approach, Moffat indicates the epistemological power and the objectification of Setswana. The production of written material for the Batswana was to produce docile bodies and rearrange the status quo in order to entrench some form of discipline and to alienate the indigenous knowledge system of Batswana. He states the following regarding the orthography of Setswana:

> As many words in the Sechuana language will necessarily occur in this and the following chapters, a few remarks on the orthography may be found useful to those who would wish to pronounce them correctly. The *a* is sounded like *a* in father; *e* like *e* in clemency; *è* with an accent, like *ai* in hail; *i* like *ee* in leek, or *ee* in see; *o* like *o* in hole; *u* like *u* in rule; the *y* is always used as a consonant. These vowels are long or short according to their position in the word. *Ch* represented in Bechuana books by the Italian *c*, is sounded like *ch* in chance; *g* is a soft guttural; *ph*, *th*, *kh*, are strong aspirates; *tl*, like the Welsh *ll*, preceded by a *t*; *ng*, which is represented in the written language by the Spanish *ñ*: has the ringing sound of *ng* in sing. This outline will enable any one to read the Sechuana language with tolerable correctness. It may be proper to remark here, that the national name of the people, is Bechuana, which is simply the plural of Mochuana, a single individual. Sechuana is an adjective, and is accordingly applied to designate anything belonging to the nation. *A u itse Sechuana?* Do you know Sechuana? language being understood. From these words all the different names which have been given to that people, took their rise.[433]

The compilation of the Setswana orthography serves two purposes: firstly, to enable the missionaries to conserve and understand Setswana. Secondly, it was published for the purpose of educating the Batswana. Moffat writes:

> The visit of the Rev. Richard Miles, which was ostensibly a visit of mercy to the Griquas, was sensibly felt to be one of comfort to us, in our isolated and distracted position. Haying made himself acquainted with all the affairs of the station, be suggested the very great importance of preparing something like hymns in the native language, which being constantly sung, the great truths of salvation would become imperceptibly, written on the minds of the people. This was very desirable, as we had hitherto used only Dutch hymns; but the thing appeared premature, from my limited knowledge of the language; however, at his request, I made the attempt, and the first hymn ever written in the language is one of the many now in extensive use. The arrival of the spelling-books, etc., at the same time, enabled us to commence a school in the Sechuana. This was the dawning of a new era on our mission.[434]

In other words, Moffat's compilation of the orthography and explaining the way he did was to standardise the language and to construct knowledge. Put differently, the availability of the Setswana orthography in written form

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433. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 225. Cf. Mothoagae and Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation," 45.

434. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 316–17. (Accessed on archive.org.)

was a performance of disciplinary power. The ultimate purpose was for the orthography to be a frame of reference in the process of translating the Bible into Setswana. Bassnett and Trivedi remind us that:

> First, and very obviously: translation does not happen in a vacuum, but in a continuum; it is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer. Moreover, translation is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems.[435]

The observation by Bassnett and Trivedi raises key elements regarding the translation of the central theological material for Moffat into Setlhaping. Firstly, the translation does not happen in a vacuum. Moffat's outlook on translation was theological. As such, the Bible had a definitive theological message. For him, it was this theological message that had to be translated. It is no coincidence that a Setswana catechism was the first to be translated by the translator because, as far as he was concerned, the Batswana had no knowledge of the Divine.[436] Secondly, his theology of salvation was at the core of the translation enterprise. To begin the translation, Moffat had to pass on, in memory form, a particular image of the Divine, the salvific act of Jesus and the ultimate destiny of humanity. Hence, in a letter to the LMS Director Rev. G. Burder in London on Monday, 05 August 1822 from Lattakoo, Moffat makes him aware of the rationale to translate the catechism first. Furthermore, not only does he make him aware of the translational activity he has carried out, but he also draws his attention to the source text used to translate the catechism. He writes:

> While we are acquiring the language good is done, while it furnishes means for future usefulness. The peculiar construction of the language renders it a task of much labour, especially when we consider the very imperfect means of acquiring it […] I have not been able to make the proficiency I would have wished, and which might have been reasonably expected. After much hard labour, my situation is such as to enable me this summer to devote a suitable portion of time each day for the acquisition of so important an object. I have translated Dr. William Brown's catechism in his 'Christian Instructions'. The catechism being originally intended for children, I have made a few alterations and additions. It is the most suitable I ever met with, is used, and well understood. I have also translated a great variety of other little pieces, and I trust soon to be enabled to speak to the Bootchuanas mouth to mouth.[437]

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435. Bassnett and Trivedi, *Post-Colonial Translation*, 2.

436. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology."

437. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 53. Cf. I.D. Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the Third Chapter of the Gospel of John in Moffat's Translation of the Catechism into Setswana (1826)," *Acta Theologica* Suppl. 36, no. 43 (2023): 127–44. https://doi.org/10.38140/at.vi.7752

A clearer observation of the two catechisms immediately draws the reader to the distinct and huge differences. The source text (Dr William Brown's catechism), according to Moffat, was intended for children.[438] The source text is structured in a manner of questions and answers.[439] The Moffat translation of the catechism follows the same structure as that of Brown's catechism, which consists of three parts (Part 1 consists of Christian instruction;[440] Part 2 focuses on Scriptural passages on God, Christ, Salvation, the role of religion, death, resurrection, judgement, heaven and hell[441]; Part 3 consists of various hymns).[442] Moffat's catechism comprises two parts (Part 1: Christian instruction[443]; Part 2: scriptural passages similar to those in the Brown catechism, with the addition of the Lord's Prayer and the third chapter of John's Gospel).[444] In the letter, as stated in the above citation, Moffat states that he has made a few alterations and additions. Furthermore, he does not state which parts of the catechism have been altered and where he has made additions, which illustrates the observation of Bassnett (in Gentzler 2001) that:

> Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of literature and a society. Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genre, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort, and contain [...].[445]

Yet he does not state which are the additions and what was the purpose of making those alterations and additions. Based on his translated catechism, one can postulate that the additions are actually those parts that deal with the third chapter of the Gospel of John, the Lord's Prayer and other passages of Scripture.[446]

Through an act of alteration, Moffat manipulated the source text to perform a particular function in relation to the Batswana, that of evangelisation. The dialect into which Moffat translated the catechism,

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438. William Brown, *Christian Instruction for Children from Three to Seven Years of Age* (Edinburgh: James Robertson, 1820).

439. Brown, *Christian Instruction*, 1820. Refer to Appendix 2.

440. Brown, *Christian Instruction*, 3–14.

441. Brown, *Christian Instruction*, 15–20.

442. Brown, *Christian Instruction*, 15–20. Brown, *Christian Instruction*, 21–34.

443. Robert Moffat, *A Bechuana Catechism, with Translations of the Third Chapter of the Gospel by John, The Lord's Prayer, and Other Passages of Scripture, & in That Language, Printed for the London Missionary Society* (London: Dennett, Leather Lane, Holborn, 1826), 3–19.

444. Moffat, *A Bechuana Catechism*, 21–35.

445. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 187–203. Cf. Shuping, "Translation as Rewriting," 55–9.

446. Cf. Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the Third Chapter of John."

along with the Gospel of John, Chapter 3, and other passages of Scripture, was a Setswana dialect[447] known as Setlhaping, a dialect spoken by the Batlhaping who lived in the Dithakong area.[448] The cover of the catechism contains both English and Setswana (refer to Appendix 3). On the same cover, we find the following: (A catechism) *Book oa Botsa* (Book that asks). This would have probably caused some confusion, as Moffat was probably attempting to translate the words question and answer. Furthermore, why did he use English? What was the intention of domesticating foreign concepts? Was the intention of domesticating these concepts to colonise? Was he not aware that he was colonising and manipulating the language to fit into his own narrative?

The Setswana catechism is divided into two parts. It is worth mentioning that the sections are written in English (i.e. Part 1 and Part 2). Part 1 deals with God as the creator and the salvific act of Jesus, while both the source text and the translated text have the same structure and the format of questions are similar. However, since the receptor culture has its own folklore on the origin of the Batswana, the translation of the catechism was not only to transfer the cultural norms of the source text into the receptor culture, but it was also to erode the folklore of the Batswana. Such a text is to be explained within the wider social, political and cultural context at the time it was produced and in terms of the intended reception.[449]

The first question in the Setswana text regards creation. I would argue that by beginning with creation, he was counteracting the Setswana folklore of the origin of the Batswana. The folklore believed that the Batswana came from *Lowe*[450] (*Bogologolo tala re tswa ga Lowe*). In the catechism, Questions 1 to 24 deal with the following: the creation of the earth or the universe; the question of who created the earth; and then the origin of humanity. Moffat's purpose of translating the catechism was to erode the story of the origin of the Batswana.[451] Fairclough reminds us that translators make various choices, which can be interpreted within the frame of reference of the 'wider goals, the strategies pursued by agents in the cultural and political fields, and in terms of the norms and constraints operating in these fields'.[452]

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447. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523. See also Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology."

448. Moffat, *Mr Moffat and the Bechuanas*.

449. Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 68.

450. According to the folklore, Mmatsieng, who was sent out, along with a dog, by Lowe to see what the world looked like; according to the story, they never returned to report back to Lowe.

451. Moffat, *A Bechuana Catechism*, 1–5. Refer to Appendix 3.

452. Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 68.

Brown's catechism begins with the alphabet letter Q; below it is the answer to the question. The Moffat Setswana catechism begins with *botsa* [ask] and *araba* [answer]. Moffat translates both of these words incorrectly: instead of *potso* [question] and *karabo* [answer], he translates them as he sees fit. The rest of this section is abbreviated as 'A' & 'B'. Part 2 of the catechism deals with portions from Scripture and the Lord's Prayer. The first part of this section deals with God, the origin of humanity (sin), the role of Christ (Christology), acts of good deeds, death, heaven and hell. I would argue that, in this section, we can identify the foundations and pinnacles of Moffat's theological paradigm. Moffat translates Christ as *Krist*; with regard to the name Jesus, he performs a literal translation.[453] The third chapter of the Gospel of John follows the Lord's Prayer.

Moffat does not state why he chose to translate the third chapter of the Gospel of John, which leaves the motive behind such a translation open to postulation. One hypothesis that could be postulated is that he wanted to include the theological message in the third chapter of the Gospel of John, that of conversion and rebirth. Furthermore, such plausibility emanates from his theological outcome and performs his very own experience of conversion prior to becoming a missionary. One other postulation of why he translated the third chapter of John's Gospel could have formed part of his exercise to translate. Moffat does not say why he chose to translate that particular chapter; instead, he makes the following observation:

> I had, on my journey, translated the Assembly's Catechism, and an additional portion of the Scripture Lessons; these also were put to the press, while the work of conversion was steadily advancing among the people, and the demand for books rapidly on the increase.[454]

Through their language, the process of rupturing and indoctrinating was a key ingredient in converting and civilising the Batswana. The first part of the catechism deals with creation and the origins of humanity. I would argue that the technique that Moffat applies here is to dispel or rupture the Setswana belief system of the origin of the Batswana. Furthermore, he universalises the biblical creation story, relegating the Setswana story about their origin as void of any substance, fact and theological soundness. His strategy to structure the catechism in such a manner is made clear in his sermon to the LMS directors. He states:

> With regard to the origin of man, and the different species of animals, all that the wisest of the wise could say on the subject was, that the animate creation came out of a great cave in the north country, where their footsteps, said they, are still to be seen in the hardened rock. Once I heard a man of influence telling his story on the subject; I of course could not say that I believed the wondrous

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453. Moffat, *A Bechuana Catechism*, 7.

454. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 383–84. (Accessed from archive.org.)

tale, but very mildly hinted, that he might be misinformed; on which he became indignant, and swore by his forefathers and his king, that he had visited the spot, and paid a tax to see the wonder, and that consequently his testimony was indubitable. I very soon cooled his rage by telling him that as I should likely one day visit those regions, I should certainly think myself very fortunate if I could get him as a guide to that wonderful source of animated nature. Smiling, he said, 'Ha, and I shall show you the footsteps of the very first man'. This is the sum total of the knowledge which the Bechuanas possessed of the past, prior to the period when they were visited by your Missionaries.[455]

While Moffat was busy translating the Gospel of Luke, the doctrinal document was in circulation, the catechism. The catechism as a tool of power was a technology used by Moffat to set the foundation of the type of religious worldview the 'converts' would have to embrace. It was a teaching tool to indoctrinate, erase, construct and manipulate. Chapter 3 of the Gospel of John is a doctrinal teaching on the question of eternal life, as guaranteed by being born again in water and the Spirit. The doctrine of baptism and conversion, I would argue, was a tool for Moffat to initiate the movement from one form of life to another. Again, as in the conversation with a young widow, the theology of salvation reappears. But this time, it was not through the mouth of Moffat but in the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus. Fear, as a technology of power, is actualised in the text.

As for Moffat, the Batswana were struggling and refusing to convert. To have such a narrative as part of the doctrinal document (catechism) put into question the principles of the Batswana religious beliefs. As he states in the letter cited above between himself and the young widow, dying before conversion has the ultimate result of eternal condemnation in hell. Similarly, in the sermon preached (1840) in the presence of the LMS directors, Moffat makes the following claim on the notion of death, resurrection and afterlife. He states:

> Let us now look at their measure of knowledge with regard to futurity. It is generally believed that all the nations of the globe have some indistinct notions respecting a future state. Not so with the Bechuana tribes inhabiting the interior of Southern Africa; for among them there did not exist one single idea on the subject of immortality. That man possessed a never-dying soul, and that man should rise again, and live forever, was to the Bechuanas preposterous in the extreme; and I assure you, that had the Missionaries not shown by the tenor of their lives, that they were men as sincere as they were cautious in whatever they said or did, they would have been viewed as madmen worthy only of being cast into a chasm and covered up with stones; the ordinary punishment of the madman. A native of respectability, and of quick and superior understanding, who had a very high esteem for me, after hearing me frequently endeavouring to impress the doctrine of immortality on the minds of his villagers, among

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455. Moffat, *Gospel Shining*, 21–22.

whom I was sojourning, turned to me, and with great seriousness, said, 'Friend, I fear greatly that the people will think you are mad, if you continue to teach that there is another world, and that the dead shall arise; the thing was never heard of before, and you must know that the thing is impossible. The people consider that you are wise and good, but what will they think when they hear you talking about dead men living again'. To this, allow me to add another of the many facts that I might give, which will illustrate their universal ignorance and darkness on a subject to which most nations give credence. I visited a chief some hundred miles beyond our missionary station at Lattakoo. This chief was illustrious for war and conquest, and had become the terror of the interior. The visit at the time was considered a hazardous one; but the veteran chief received me with great respect, and treated me with much kindness. In one of my interviews with this man of war and blood, while seated amidst fifty or sixty of his nobles and counsellors, including rainmakers, and others of the same order, in the course of my remarks the ear of the monarch caught the startling sound of a resurrection. 'What!' he exclaimed with astonishment, 'what, are these words about the dead, the dead arise!' 'Yes', was my reply, 'all the dead shall arise?' 'Will my father arise?' 'Yes', I answered, 'your father will arise'' 'Will all the slain in battle arise?' 'Yes'. 'And will all that have been killed and devoured by lions, tigers, hyenas, and crocodiles, again revive?' 'Yes; and come to judgment'. 'And will those whose bodies have been left to waste and to wither on the desert plains, and scattered to the winds, again arise?' he asked with a kind of triumph, as if he had fairly fixed me. 'Yes', I replied, 'not one shall be left behind'. Turning to his people, to whom he spoke with a stentorian voice, 'Hark! Ye wise men, whoever is wise among you, the wisest of past generations, did ever your ears hear such strange and unheard of news?' And addressing himself to one, whose countenance and attire showed that he had seen many years, and was something more than common, 'Have you ever heard such strange news as these?' 'No', was the sage's answer. 'I had supposed that I possessed all the knowledge of the country, for I have heard the tales of many generations. I am in the place of the ancients, but my knowledge is confounded with the words of his mouth; verily he must have lived long before the period when we were born'. The chief then turning and addressing himself to me, 'Father', he said, laying his hand on my breast, 'I love you much. Your visit and your presence have made my heart white as milk. The words of your mouth are sweet like the honey, but the words of a resurrection are too great to be heard. I do not wish to hear about the dead rising again! The dead cannot arise! The dead shall not arise!' 'Why', I inquired, 'can so great a man refuse knowledge, and turn away from wisdom? Tell me, my friend, why I must not add to words, and speak of a resurrection?' Raising his arm, which had been strong in battle, and quivering his hand as if grasping a spear, he replied, 'I have slain my thousands, and shall they arise?' Never before did the light of divine revelation dawn upon his savage mind, and of course his conscience had never accused him, no, not for one of the thousands of deeds of rapine and murder which had marked his course through a long career. Men and brethren, is not this truly walking in darkness, and dwelling in the land of the shadow of death?[456]

In June 1830, four years after the production of the Setswana spelling book and the catechism, the Gospel of Luke was translated. The Gospel of Luke,

456. Moffat, *Gospel Shining*, 22–25. (Accessed on archive.org.)

as the first gospel to be translated as a whole, epitomises the homogenisation and the colonisation of the Setswana linguistic heritage. Through epistemological and methodological power, the Gospel of Luke became the second layer of the intended rupture. It is in the translation of the Gospel that the power to standardise, reorder, foreignise, re-domesticate and domesticate becomes actualised.

The description on the cover of the 1830 Gospel of Luke, I would argue, is the window into the power of translation. On the cover, Moffat provides two descriptions, namely *Evangelia Kotsa* and *Mahuku A Molemo Kuariloeng Ki Luka*. What we see is that Moffat uses the word *Evangeli*, but domesticates it as *Evangelia*. He does not end there; he inserts *kotsa* [but] in the middle of the domesticated word and the Setswana word *mahuku* [words].[457] It is essential to point out that the use of the word *kotsa* was an act of corrupting the word *kgotsa*, which stands for 'or', not 'but'. The heading of the Gospel illustrates the observation by Venuti, as cited in Mojola and Wendland, that in the process of translation, there is foreignisation versus domestication. Venuti remarks that:

> Every step in the translation process from the selection of foreign texts to the implementation of translation strategies to the editing, reviewing, and reading of translations is mediated by the diverse cultural values that circulate in the target language always in some hierarchical order. The translator […] may submit or resist dominant values in the target language with either course of actions susceptible to ongoing redirection. Submission assumes an ideology of assimilation at work in the translation process, locating the same in the cultural other, pursuing a cultural narcissism that is imperialistic abroad and conservative, even reactionary, in maintaining canons at home. Resistance assumes an ideology of autonomy, locating the alien in a cultural other, pursuing cultural diversity, foregrounding the linguistic and cultural differences of the source language text and transforming the hierarchy of cultural values in the target language. Resistance too can be imperialistic abroad, appropriating foreign texts to serve its own cultural political interests at home; but insofar as it resists values that exclude certain texts, it performs an act of cultural restoration which aims to question and possibly re-form, or simply smash the idea of, domestic canons.[458]

I would argue that it is in the 1830 Gospel of Luke that the epistemic violence occurs through the process of foreignisation, re-domestication and domestication. Furthermore, such epistemic violence was performed not only at the level of the written language and pedagogy but as the entire Gospel of Luke is translated in such a manner that for the translator, the message had to be 'short and simple', the message of Scripture had to

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457. Robert Moffat, *Evangelia Kotsa Mahuku a Molemo a Kuariloeng ki Luka* [The Gospel According to Luke] (Cape Town: Government Printing Office, 1830). See Appendix 4.

458. Lawrence Venuti, "Genealogies of Translation Theory: Schleiermacher," *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 4, no. 2 (1991): 146. Cf. Mojola and Wendland, "Scripture Translation in the Era of Translation Studies," 24–25. See also Mothoagae, "The Reordering of the Batswana Cosmology."

be 'the ABC' of the Bible.[459] As an instrument of power, the Gospel of Luke had to be available in the language of the people; it had to be instructive, short and simple. For Moffat, this method of translation was to bring about the intended break that leads to evangelisation, reordering, civilisation, colonisation and indoctrination.

■ Findings

This chapter examined the act of translation as codification and performance of power. It began by discussing the intentions of Moffat to learn and write Setswana, with the aim of translating the Bible. The letter to Mr and Mrs Moffat, Sr highlights the strategy of identification as well as the intended outcome. The learning of the language was not exclusive to the politics of knowledge production. This was the first step towards systematically rupturing the religious practices and to cognitively and epistemologically centralising and composing the Setswana orthography. In doing so, translating the vernacular Bible into Setswana became a missionary task as well as a performance of power.

Lastly, the chapter focused on the performance of power and its influences in the process of translating the Christian corpus into English–Setswana. I argued that the translation of the catechism and that the Gospel of Luke was a multifaceted enterprise intersecting with race, gender, language, ritual, tradition, custom, worldview and colonialism. I further contended that these translations were aimed at bringing about a break or rupture in the receptor culture. As a product of the colonial matrix of power and epistemic privilege, the translated texts proliferated Western imperial and discursive ideals onto the receptor culture. In the next chapter, I discuss what I refer to as the three dimensions essential in analysing the 19th-century translated material. The chapter analyses the use of the concept of *Modimo* in Moffat's translation from a decolonial perspective.

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459. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, 129.

Chapter 5

Modimo in Moffat's translation

[…] a name which is nearly the same with the Syriac, having the same signification, in its etymological import, namely, the high or heavenly One[460]

■ Transmogrification as a technology of power

This chapter analyses the identified sections of the Gospel of Luke,[461] namely 1:32; 4:3; 6:36; 10:21–22; 11:2; 20:37; 22:29; 22:42; 23:34; 23:46; 24:49. These texts are read and analysed within the Moffat translation from a decolonial perspective; therefore, I analyse the texts from my social location and epistemic location as a Motswana. In other words, analysis is performed from the cultural and indigenous knowledge system of the Batswana. Expressed differently, such an analysis, applied from the perspective of the knowledge system of the Batswana, is to bring forth the belief system and

460. Moffat, *Africa: Or, Gospel Light Shining*, 20

461. The passages cited here, unless otherwise stated, are from the 1611 King James and the 1840 Setswana translation of the New Testament (see Appendices 5 and 6).

knowledge that were suppressed and marginalised through an act of translation.[462]

In Chapters 1 and 2, I argued that part of the broader analysis would be the employment of the three categories, namely domestication, foreignisation and re-domestication within a decolonial framework.[463] The three categories are applied from the perspective of the receptor culture. A decolonial analysis from my social and epistemic location is thus from the subaltern, or in Fanonian terms the *damnés*. In my reading, I engage in body-politics of knowledge in order to advance the voice of the suppressed and marginalised.

An emphasis needs to be drawn in that, ideally, when analysing a translated text, the source text that was used in the translation becomes the point of departure. In other words, a Greek text in the context of the New Testament would be a source text if the translator used it. In the context of Moffat, as I have stated in the previous chapters, his source text was not the Greek text but rather the 1611 King James Bible. This was so partly because Moffat himself did not know Greek and Hebrew. For the purpose of analysing the identified texts in this study, both the 1611 King James and the 1840 Gospel of Luke texts are analysed.

■ Moffat's 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke

In this chapter, our focus falls on Moffat's translation of the Gospel of Luke[464] with reference to the following texts: 1:32; 4:3; 6:36; 10:21–22; 11:2; 20:37; 22:29; 22:42; 23:34; 23:46; 24:49. These texts are selected to analyse the concept of the Divine as translated in Moffat's translation:

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462. I recognise that such an analysis is not aimed at retrieving the authentic belief system or knowledge of the colonised Batswana, as such an endeavour would not be possible. Rather, it is to draw attention to the erosion that the source text performed, wittingly or unwittingly. At the same time, it is to elevate the knowledge subjectivities of the Batswana that were subjected to scrutiny and relegation to the performance of knowledge within the colonial matrix of power and the translation enterprise. The Maasai Creed serves as an example of elevating the indigenous knowledge system and its religious beliefs. Bernard L. Marthaler, *The Creed: The Apostolic Faith in Contemporary Theology Revised and Expanded* (New London: Twenty-Third Publications, 2007), 379–80.

463. I further recognise that two of the categories or strategies, namely foreignisation and domestication, are mostly applied within Translation Studies. I borrow these two categories as strategies of analysis to draw attention to the universalisation of knowledge, importing of religious and biblical imagery espoused in the translation of the Bible (New Testament) rather than the pluriversality of knowledge.

464. Cf. Mothoagae, ""The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523. See also Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke," a6914.

Greek version	1611 King James Version[465]	1840 New Testament translation by Moffat[466]
	Luke 1:32	
[32] οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ	[32] He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David:	[32] Eo, o tla na mogolu, mi o tla birioa Moroa Mogorimo oa bogorimo bogolu; mi Moréna Morimo, o tla mo naea serulo sa bogosi sa rague Davida.
	Luke 2:49	
[49] καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με; οὐκ ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με	[49] And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?	[49] Mi a ba raea, Lo lo 'mpatlèlañ? A ga loa ka loa itse ha ki euanetse go na mo go tsa Rare?
	Luke 4:3	
[3] εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπὲ τῷ λίθῳ τούτῳ ἵνα γένηται ἄρτος.	[3] And the *devil* said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread.	[3] Mi diabolo a mo raea, A ere ha u le Moroa Morimo, laola leincue ye, le hetoge señkhua.
	Luke 4:41	
[41] ἐξήρχετο δὲ καὶ δαιμόνια ἀπὸ πολλῶν κρ[αυγ]άζοντα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.	[41] And devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God. And he rebuking them suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ.	[41] Mi bademoni le bona, ba coa bontsiñ, ba bitsa ba re, Uena u Keresetse Moroa Morimo, Mi a ba buèla, a si ka a ba leseletsa go bua, gone ba itse ha e le le Keresete.
	Luke 6:36	
[36] Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς [καὶ] ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.	[36] Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.	[36] Ki gona, nañ icuarélo, yaka Rara oa lona a le boicuarélo.
	Luke 10:21–22	
[21] Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠγαλλιάσατο [ἐν] τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· ναὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.	[21] In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight.	[21] Yesu a ituméla mo moeeñ mo oureñ ouo, mi a re, Kia gu ituméléla, Rara, Moréna oa legorimo le lehatsi, ka u shubile lilo tse mo tlaliñ, le ba ba tlaloganyañ, mi u li bonaritse mo banyaneñ ba banye: E, Rara; gone gole khatlego ha pele ga gago.

465. *The King James Bible*, 1611, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. Logos Research Systems. Exported from Logos Bible Software, 15 November 2013.

466. *Kholagano Encha ea Yesu Keresete ei e leñ Moréna oa Rona le Morebuluko: E e hetolecoeñ mo puoñ ea Secuana* (transl. Robert Moffat; London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1840).

Greek version	1611 King James Version[465]	1840 New Testament translation by Moffat[466]
[22] πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.	[22] All things are delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and *he* to whom the Son will reveal *him*.	[22] *Lilo cotle ki li'nnéloe ki Rare; mi ga go ope eo o itseñ Moroa e mañ, ha e si Rara; le Rara e mañ ha e si Moroa, le go eo Moroa a ratañ go mo mo shupetsa.*
Luke 11:2		
[2] εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς· ὅταν προσεύχησθε λέγετε· Πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·	[2] And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven,	[2] *Mi a ba raea, Ere ha lo rapéla, lo re, Rara oa rona eo kua legorimoñ,*
Luke 11:34		
[34] [[ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν.]] διαμεριζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλήρους.	[34] Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And they parted his raiment, and cast lots.	[34] *Mi Yesu a re, Rara, ba icuaréle, gone ga ba itse se ba se rihañ. Mi ba abalana liaparo tsa gague, ka go tséla likelero.*
Luke 22:29		
[29] οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· ποῦ θέλεις ἑτοιμάσωμεν;	[29] And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me;	[29] *Mi kia lo laoléla bogosi, yaka Rare a bo 'ntaoletse;*
Luke 22:42		
[42] λέγων· πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ· πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω.	[42] Saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.	[42] *A re, Rara, ha u rata, 'ntlosa seoelo se, mi esiñ thato ea me, mi a ea gago, e rihale.*
Luke 23:46		
[46] καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν.	[46] And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.	[46] *Mi ka Yesu a bitsa ka koru e kholu, a re, Rara, kia gu néla moea oa me mo atlén tsa gago; mi ka a sina bua yalo, a néla moea.*
Luke 24:49		
[49] καὶ [ἰδοὺ] ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρός μου ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς· ὑμεῖς δὲ καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν.	[49] And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.	[49] *Mi bonañ, kia romela se Rare o rileñ o tla se naea; mi lona salañ mo motseñ oa Yerusalem, go tlo go tsameé lo apesioe ka thata e coa bogorimoñ pele.*

For Moffat, the 1611 King James text, not the Greek text, functioned as a source text in the translation of the Bible into Setswana.[467] Thus, Moffat's translation was a translation from a translation, which renders the Setswana text a Setswana version of the 1611 King James Version. The Setswana text transmits not only the Christian message but also the discursive practices of the source text. For translators working from the English translation, it was not just the King James Version; others opted for the Authorised Version, while others opted for the Revised Standard Version. Those who worked from the French translations used the Segond, the Segond *Révisée* or the *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible*. Within the British Empire, the King James Version was a key instrument in the Christian missionary project. The goal for the 'missionary translators' was to learn the receptor languages, with the goal of converting the receptors to the Christian faith of which they were ambassadors. The missionary project, as Bragg notes, was followed by colonial and imperial rule.[468] However, more important for us is that the translations based on the colonial languages present problematic issues arising from those languages and the cultures associated with them.[469] The aforementioned passages can be categorised into three forms of relational categories: firstly, there is the God–Jesus relationship as a 'Father–Son' relationship in a unique and special way; secondly, there is Jesus' address of God as Father; and thirdly, there is Jesus' instruction to others regarding their relationship with God as a 'Father–children' relationship.

■ The Father–Son relationship

In his translation of the Gospel of Luke to Setswana, Moffat translated the image of the Divine as 'Father' by using the term *Rara*, an intertextual reading of the 'relationship between the father and son' in both the Koine [πατήρ- υἱός] and the 1611 biblical texts. However, the term 'Father–Son', whether in the English text or the Greek text, is used in different senses:

> The Son as the Christ (Lk 1:32; 4:3, 41) articulates the relationship between Jesus and God. The 'father–son' in these texts captures a unique and special relationship between Jesus and God. In our texts of reference, Jesus is acknowledged as the 'Son of God' by an angel (Lk 1:31), by the *diabolos* [devil] (Lk 4:3) and by *daimonia* [demons] (Lk 4:41). However, in the three texts, there

467. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523. See also Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke," a6914.

468. Melvyn Bragg, *The Book of Books: The Radical Impact of the King James Bible 1611–2011* (Edinburgh: Hodder and Stoughton, 2011), 271–74.

469. Aloo O. Mojola, "Bible Translation in Africa. What Implications Does the New UBS Perspective Have for Africa? An Overview in the Light of the Emerging New UBS Translation Initiative," *Acta Theologica* 22/1 Supplement 2, (2002): 202–07. https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v22i1.5460. Lamin, *Translating the Message*.

are messianic overtones. In Luke 1:32, the sonship of Jesus is on the one hand linked to the 'Most High' and on the other hand to 'David', who is referred to as his 'father' [τοῦ πατρὸς]. While the title Χριστός (Christ) does not appear in Luke 1:32, the text does allude to Old Testament texts such as 2 Samuel 7:13 and Psalms 2:7. In Luke 4:41, the *daimonia* refer to Jesus as the 'Son of God' because they know he is the Χριστός. However, the testimonies of the *diabolos* and *daimonia* all come after several testimonies by angelic beings and the Holy Spirit, drawing the link between the two concepts, 'Son of God' and Χριστός (Lk 1:32; 2:11; 2:26). The linking of the concept 'Son of God' and the expected Messiah, however, goes back to pre-Christian Judaism.[470]

Jesus addresses God as his father (Lk 2:49; 10:21–22; 22:29, 42; 23:34, 36; 24:49). In the Gospel of Luke, the way Jesus addresses God as Father points to an intimate relationship between him and the Father. In Luke 2:49, the boy Jesus refers to God as 'my Father' [τοῦ πατρός μου], and later, he particularly addresses God as Father in his prayers (Lk 10:21–22; 22:42; 23:34, 36). In Luke 22:29 and 24:49, Jesus, assuming a special relationship with the Father, has the special powers to appoint others into the kingdom and to offer the promises of the Father to others. As Sparks argues, Jesus pays particular attention to the special and intimate relationship between himself and the Father in a messianic relationship.[471]

The 'Father' in Jesus' instruction to the people (Lk 6:36 and 11:2). In the two texts, focus is no longer on Jesus himself and his relationship with God but on human beings in general. In Luke 6:36, Jesus calls others to image God in their lives by showing 'mercy' to others. Therefore, this instruction comes close to saying 'like father, like son' referring to the similarity of behaviour. Similarly, the Batswana and Vhavenḓa people have the following sayings: *leungo ga le wele kgakala le setlhare* and *mutshelo a u weli kule na muri* [literally, 'a fruit does not fall far off from the tree'], which does imply that children will tend to follow the pattern of their parents or behave similarly to the parents. Therefore, if the instruction is viewed in this manner, it would imply some special relationship with the 'Father' in order to display similar virtue.

In instructing the disciples on how to pray, Jesus states that 'whenever you pray, say, "Our Father…"' (Lk 11:2). In Luke's gospel, the so-called 'Lord's Prayer' should be viewed as a unique prayer or as being distinct, considering v. 1 in which John's disciples are regarded as having their own distinct prayer. The prayer of Jesus' disciples evolved to become a prayer of identification with God's family within the early church. However, as Stein notes, the Aramaic *Abba*, which is retained in texts such as Mark 14:36, Romans 8:15–16, and Galatians 4:6, became popular to an extent that even the gentile churches continued to refer to God as *Abba* although it was a foreign word.[472]

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470. John J. Collins, "A Pre-Christian 'Son of God among the Dead Sea Scrolls'", *Bible Review* 1993: 35.

471. H.F.D. Sparks, "The Doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood in the Gospels," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (ed. D.E. Nineham; Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), 241–62.

472. Robert A. Stein, *Luke: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture*, vol. 24 (Nashville: B&H, 1992), 324.

The father figure is the Father to his Son Jesus, while at the same time, he is the Father of humanity, particularly those in a relationship with him. However, such an image raises problems with the concepts of an embodiment of masculinity, gender and race. Regarding the image of God as Father in Luke–Acts,[473] Chen makes the observation that many studies have addressed the centrality of God in this portion of Scripture, in particular, the sovereignty of God with respect to salvation. However, while the focus has fallen on God as 'Lord and Saviour', God as 'Father' has received little attention.[474]

Pao and Schnabel argue that, of additional importance, the Father–Son relation is central to comprehending the authority of Jesus, as well as pointing beyond the Mosaic traditions. They state that:

> More importantly, the father–son relationship also points beyond the Mosaic traditions, as it draws on the Davidic messianic expectations in explicating the distinct relationship between Jesus and God (see 3:21–22). Perhaps Jesus' transcendence over both the Mosaic and the Davidic paradigms is the point, and this would explain Jesus' statement in 10:24, where it is said that his presence will reveal more than what *polloi prophētai kai basileis* ('many prophets and kings') had seen.[475]

Important for us is the manner in which the concepts 'father–son' are translated to Setswana in the 1840 translation. In the translation, the terms used for 'father–son' relationship are *rara–morwa*. The term *rara* in Setswana does indeed capture the familial relationship between the father and his children, whether they be sons or daughters. In the Setswana culture and other African cultures, it is common for the parents to be referred to using the names of their children rather than by their own names, but preferably using concepts such as *Rre* or *Rra wa ga* [the father of] or referring to children in terms of their parents without necessarily using the children's

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473. I draw attention to the notion of 'fatherhood' in Luke–Acts in order to illustrate the notion that such an image is fundamental in the understanding of the Lucan motif and theology, including the Judeo-Christian theology of the Divine. Thus, a brief description of the notion of fatherhood in Luke–Acts is to draw attention to the manner in which such an image could have not made sense to a culture that did not perceive the Divine as possessing such characteristics.

474. Diane G. Chen, *God as Father in Luke–Acts* (Lausanne: Peter Lang, 2005), 2.

475. David W. Pao and Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Luke," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 319. Following Marshall's observation on the notion of the father–son relationship between Jesus and God: according to him, Jesus assumes his being the Son of God, thus claiming to have a personal relationship with him, as well as being the only mediator of the knowledge of God to humanity. Marshall states that this relationship is comprehensively demonstrated in Jesus' awareness of God as the Father. The notion falls within the analogy expressed in the second and third lines, while for Christian readers, the generic concept of 'a son' could be comprehended only as a reference to the distinctive standing of Jesus. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans The Paternoster Press Ltd., 1978), 438.

names, such as *morwa wa ga* … [the son of …] or *morwadi oa* … [the daughter of …], or in general terms *ngwana wa ga* … [the child of …].

The idea of referring to God as a 'Father' is a pertinent one in the Bible, but it is a foreign one in the Setswana religious worldview. The Batswana did not conceive of God in gendered terms. Ntloedibe-Kuswani highlights that for the Batswana people, *Modimo* is a mysterious being who (or which) cannot be gendered. She further asserts that the expression *Modimo ke sele se se boitshegang*, which can be reordered as 'something mysterious or awesome',[476] indicates that *Modimo* is not conceived simply in anthropomorphic terms among the Batswana people. The mysterious dimension of *Modimo* points to the fact that some aspects regarding *Modimo* are beyond human comprehension. Thus, *Modimo* is also conceived as a Thing [*selo*], which also indicates that *Modimo* can inhabit whatever space in different configurations which *Modimo* chooses. For the Batswana people, *Modimo* manifests ITself not only in human experiences but also in other elements of nature. Setiloane[477] rightly suggests that the concept of *Modimo* can be better represented through the pronoun 'IT' than 'he'. I have argued that the portrayal of the *Modimo* in the Setswana translation of the Scriptures has led to the alienation of the essence of the meaning; rather, nonbinary identification and categorisation of the *Modimo* will assist with reclaiming and freeing the very understanding of *Modimo* as articulated in the oral tradition and Setswana.[478]

■ Foreignisation of *Modimo*

In this section, the emphasis falls on the relationship between God and the patriarchs or the fathers, with a focus on Luke 20:37.

Greek version	1611 King James Version	1840 New Testament translation by Moffat
[37] Ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ Μωσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου, ὡς λέγει, Κύριον τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἰακώβ.	[37] Now that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.	[37] *Mi Moshe le éna o la shupa kua setlaréñ ha bashui ba tla coga, ka a bitsa Yehova, Morimo oa Aberaham, le Morimo oa Isaka, le Morimo oa Yakoba.*

476. Gomang Seratwa Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Ngaka and Jesus as Liberators: A Comparative Reading," in *The Bible in Africa* (ed. West and Dube; Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 498–510. Cf. Mari-Anna Pöntinen, Celebrating Life and Harmony in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botswana," *Studies in Systematic Theology* 12 (2013): 1-33.

477. Gabriel Setiloane, *The Image of God among the Sotho-Tswana* (Rotterdam: A. Balkema, 1976).

478. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God in the Setswana Bible and the Captivity of *Modimo*: Moffat and the Translating of the Bible into Setswana," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40, no. 2 (2014): 149–68. Cf. Setiloane, *The Image of God*.

In the commentary on the Gospel of Luke, Marshall says the following regarding the reference to the patriarchs by Luke. Marshall's exegesis of the text highlights the relationship and interconnectedness between the patriarchs, rabbinical fathers, Old Testament fathers, descendants and their God as their protector and saviour. He further asserts that the submission in Luke 20:37 refers to the continual presence of God even after the departure of the rabbinic fathers, as well as an inference to their continual human state and the promise of resurrection.[479]

In Luke 20:37, we see the link between the biblical God and the ancestors of a particular race and nation through a genealogy.[480] The biblical God is a God of a nation linked to a genealogy. On the redactor's reference to the Jewish patriarchs, Pao and Schnabel argue that in Philo's writings on Exodus 3:6, 15, the linking of God with the names of the patriarchs, God is deliberately linking his name with the human race. They further state that:

> [*W*]e should note, however, that Philo interprets the patriarchs not as human figures, but as virtues, asserting that 'for the nature of man is perishable, but that virtue is imperishable' since it is more reasonable that the name of the eternal God is conjoined with what is immortal that with what is mortal.[481]

Thus occurs the foreignisation of *Modimo* from being a deity of the Batswana into being a deity of the patriarchs of Israel. Furthermore, the spirituality of the Batswana does not link the deity with a particular genealogy, gender, masculinity or race. Rather, the deity is experienced publicly and privately through ceremonies as a gender-neutral deity. In re-domesticating *Modimo* as the God of Israel attached to the patriarchs of Israel, *Modimo* then becomes contextualised within the lived experience of Abrahamic descendants. *Modimo* of the Batswana then becomes *Modimo* of Israel. The linkage of *Modimo* with the patriarchs of Israel becomes a new home for *Modimo*, erased and no longer identifiable with the Setswana religious worldview, linked to race and genealogy and characterised by a patriarchal, gendered religious worldview. As Quijano reminds us:

> In an imperial/capitalist/colonial world, race constitutes the transversal dividing line that cuts across multiple power relations such as class, sexual and gender

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479. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 742. This view is echoed by scholars such as Karris. In a commentary on the Gospel of Luke, Karris argues that the notion of the patriarchs is to highlight the Lucan motif that God is God of the living; as such, 'he must have sustained the dead Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in life by resurrecting them'. This, he argues, can be observed in the redactor's insertion of 'one from immortality in v. 38b': 'for all are alive in him'. Robert J.O.F.M. Karris, "The Gospel According to Luke," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. Raymond E. Brown et al.; Hoboken: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1990), 713.

480. Karris argues that 'since God is the God of the living, God must have sustained the dead Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in life by resurrection'. Luke adds 'one from immortality' in v. 38b: 'for all are alive to him'. Karris, "The Gospel According to Luke," 713.

481. W. David Pao and J. Eckhard Schnabel, "Luke," in *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament* (ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 368–69.

relations at a global scale. This is what has become known as the 'coloniality of power'.[482]

Considering the re-domestication of *Modimo* as *Modimo* of Israel, Israel here represents a nation, while Abraham, Isaac and Jacob link the Divine with the genealogy of the nations. It is with this link between a nation and genealogy that the Western Christian God is not only racially constructed but points to the dividing line across the power relations of race, gender and class relations. Such a link between a genealogy, a nation and the Divine is similar to the translation project of the vernacular Bibles in the West during the Reformation. It is with regard to these Bibles, as I have previously discussed in Chapter 4, that I refer to the Luther Bible as an example of an identity construct of the German people.

Similarly, the 1611 King James Bible was employed to link the monarchy with the Divine and construct the British Empire identity. It is the same 1611 King James Bible that was employed as the source text in the production of the 1840 Gospel of Luke, and subsequently, the entire Bible was produced to fulfil particular ideologies, discursive practices or regimes of truth, namely those of the supremacy of the British monarch and the construction of an imperial British identity. For this reason, I argue that the question of race cannot be avoided in engaging in foreignisation and re-domestication as a concept and a sign of *Modimo*. Moffat, as he was translating, had a particular idea of the Divine in his mind. The 1611 King James Bible as a source text was translated to portray a particular image of the Divine. The same Divine is transmitted by capturing *Modimo* and re-domesticating *Modimo*, and is portrayed in an image that is foreign to the Batswana religious worldview. The theological norms and standards spoke of a particular image of the Divine.

The above passages can be categorised into three forms of relational categories, namely immediate, external and genealogical relations. Luke 1:32; 4:3; 6:36; 22:29; 22:49; 23:34; 24:49 refer to the immediate relationship between the Father and the Son, while Luke 6:36 and 11:2 refer to the general relationship between the Father and the people. Luke 20:37 refers to the relationship between the God and the ancestors of a nation. These categories are important in identifying the three types of re-domestication. It is in these texts that the re-domestication of the *Modimo* as the Divine has a three-dimensional relationship.

In his sermon, Moffat performs colonial rhetoric of subjugation. In the sermon and in his translation, in the earlier citation, Moffat foreignises and re-domesticates *Modimo* into a biblical God. Then, through alienation, he

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482. Quijano, "Coloniality of Power," 533–80. Cf. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, 'The Colonial Matrix of Power," a7074. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.7074

subdues *Modimo* in order to sustain a colonial rhetoric that the Batswana had no knowledge of the Divine. In so doing, he renders the religion of the Batswana as merely a 'hindrance to the spreading of the Gospel and civilisation'.[483] Could it be that he was specifically searching for the similar theological shades found in Christian theology?

■ Conceptualisation of *Modimo*

In this section, I discuss the Setswana understanding of *Modimo*. The Setswana understanding of *Modimo* provides one with an insight into the concept prior to the arrival of Western Christianity. Such an insight into the Setswana conceptualisation of the Divine will enable one to identify the various signs within the realm of the Divine, as well as their roles and functions both in public and private spiritual spaces. The various signs within the realm of the Divine are *Modimo*, *Badimo* and *bongaka (di)-ngaka*. All of these signs form part of the Setswana cosmological worldview of the Divine. At the same time, symbolism within the Setswana spiritual worldview points to a deeper appreciation of the conceptualisation and understanding of the Divine.

Oral tradition forms an integral part of the African (Batswana) indigenous knowledge system, engrained in the three components that are expressed in the language of Setswana [*Puo ya Setswana*], namely *dianeng* [proverbs], *mainaneng* [folklore] and *maineng* [names] through which belief in *Modimo* is expressed. Some of the proverbs are:

> *Mogoa-Modimo o a o ikgoela*. ['The one who cries out to the Divine cries for themselves', meaning that those who plead to the Divine do so on behalf of themselves.]

> *Modimo ga o je nkabo*. ['The Divine does not eat I wish I had', meaning that the Divine does not possess any human tendencies to regret.]

Names were composed with the name *Modimo* in them. These names indicate the belief in *Modimo*:

- *Goitsemodimo* [It is the Divine who knows]
- *Modimoofile* [It is the Divine who gave]
- *Gofaone* [It is IT that gives] or *Gofamodimo* [It is the Divine who gives]
- *Oteng* [IT is present]
- *Omphile* [IT has given]
- *Keobokile* [I have praised IT]
- *Gaongalelwe* [You do not turn against IT]
- *Okokame* [IT surrounds me]

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483. Moffat, *Missionary Llabours*, 257. Cf. Fidelis Nkomazana and Doreen Setume Senzokuhle, "Missionary Colonial Mentality and the Expansion of Christianity in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1800 to 1900," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 29, no. 2 (2016): 29–55. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24902913

While the symbolisation of the Divine is found in the *ditaola*,[484] not only do these emblems symbolise the Divine, but they also indicate the type of imagery with which the Batswana perceive the Divine. This imagery is that of a gender-neutral image expressed in the composition of the *ditaola*. The imagery of the Divine in the Setswana spiritual worldview is neither expressed in anthropomorphic terms nor in a particular race, as with the Judeo-Christian depiction of the Divine. Rather, the symbol is that of the *Thakadu* [antbear or aardvark]. It is in the *Thakadu* that the composition of both the male and female genders is presented. Not only does the *Thakadu* express the gender-neutrality of the Divine as a symbol, but it also expresses the interactional relationship between *Modimo* and *Badimo*.

Ntloedibe-Kuswani argues that one of the characteristics of *Thakadu* is that it cannot be seen easily, except at night. She states that 'like *Thakadu*, *Modimo* and *Badimo* are hardly seen except through their deeds and at death or in dreams and visions'.[485] The symbolism of the *Thakadu* in the diviner set with the Divine has a theological meaning for Batswana, argues Ntloedibe-Kuswani. According to her, the *Thakadu* digs big holes in the ground from which people can inhabit the world. These holes were traditionally used as places of refuge during turmoil and wars.[486] These holes, adds Ntloedibe-Kuswani, 'gave people protection that is equivalent to that received from *Modimo* and *Badimo*, who not only enabled them to come out of the same holes to inhabit the world'.[487] Furthermore, the theological significance also refers to the mythological belief about the origin of the Batswana. Based on the assertion by Ntloedibe-Kuswani, the theological significance is the mythological belief about the creation of the Batswana and the protection they receive from the Divine through those holes. The holes are a symbol of the Divine giving refuge to the people. The symbolism of finding refuge in the holes dug by *Thakadu* has a theological nuance as expressed in the Setswana spirituality. Berman states that:

> Historians attest that the Batswana acknowledged a Supreme Being who was greater in power than all the *Badimo* and smaller gods, and whom they recognised as the God of gods (*Modimo wa medimo*), the God of the heavens (*Modimo wa magodimo*), or the invisible and far distant God (*Modimo wa go dimelela*).[488]

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484. *Ditaola* are the tools used by the *ngaka tsa dinaka* to determine the cause and to prescribe remedy. The definition of the *ditaola* will be dealt with later in the chapter, under a section dealing with *bongaka*.

485. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 87.

486. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 87.

487. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 87.

488. Sidney Berman, "Analysing the Frames of a Bible: The Case of the Setswana Translations of the Book of Ruth" (Ph.D. thesis; Stellenbosch University, 2014), 64.

Berman's observation can also be noted in Moffat's sermon in London. Moffat states:

> We have heard of gods many, and lords many, and idols innumerable in heathen lands, let us now hear a voice from the interior of Southern Africa, where he who addresses you has spent the greatest portion of his life. During that period, he has had innumerable opportunities of witnessing the state, and investigating the real character and condition of many interior tribes. His lot was cast beyond the line of demarcation which separates Christendom from kingdoms wide that sit in darkness; and at all times in a situation where he could take his stand, and look to an interminable distance, covered with innumerable tribes, all, all, without exception, dwelling in the land of the shadow of death! No temples, no altars, no sacred groves there; no shasters, no koran, no holy relics there; not one solitary idol there; neither 'the likeness of anything in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath', to represent a sacred being; no idea in the minds of the multitude that there is anything greater or more powerful than mortal man.[489]

In 1923, a member of the LMS, J. Tom Brown, compiled an English–Setswana Dictionary. He was perplexed by a Setswana verb, *dima*:

> In his astonishment, he consulted an old Motswana man proficient in the traditions of his people. The old man demonstrated *go dima* to him by pouring a drop of ink on blotting paper. The ink penetrated, permeated, percolated, and spread, and the old man explained, 'You see, that is *go dima;* and that is what *Modimo* does'.[490]

According to Setiloane, Tom Brown made the following entry in his dictionary:

> [*D*]ima, v.pft dimile: the true original meaning of the word is very obscure. Some say it is the verb from which *Modimo* comes or a verb formed from Modi mo. It carries the force of a searching, penetrating insight into men and things (a kind of X-ray!). It may also mean to excel: Moea o o dimang excellent and searching spirit in understanding- to create.[491]

In his book[492] (1842), Moffat cites Sparrman's assertion about the Batswana conceptualisation of *Modimo*. According to Moffat, Sparrman argued that among the Bechuana tribes, the name Morimo[493] was embraced by the missionaries. In his assertion, Sparrman recognises the complexity of the

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489. Robert Moffat, *Africa: Or, Gospel Light Shining in the Midst of Heathen Darkness. A Sermon Preached in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, before the Directors of the London Missionary Society, May 13th, 1840* (London: William Tyler, 1840), 16.

490. Wilfred C. Smith, *Towards a World Theology* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 51. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

491. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 25.

492. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*.

493. I would argue that the missionaries learnt the language and concepts from listening. As such certain words or concepts, they wrote them according to the way they heard them or thought they have heard them. It is for that reason that perhaps we see the name *Modimo* transcribed as Morimo.

Batswana knowledge system. It can therefore be argued that his recognition of the genius of Setswana dispels the notion that these were a people without an idea of the Divine. He states, 'Mo is a personal prefix, and *rimo* is from *gorimo* [above]. From the same root *legorimo*, [heaven], and its plural *magorimo*, are derived'.[494]

The aforementioned citation highlights the Setswana understanding of the Divine. In other words, it points to the argument by Setiloane, Dube and Ntloedibe-Kuswani that the Setswana conceptualisation of the Divine is neither male nor female. Furthermore, there is no plurality within the Setswana understanding of the deity. I would argue that this is something that Moffat overlooked or chose to ignore in his pursuit to convert the Batswana. Additionally, the aforementioned citation not only points to the conceptualisation of the Divine, but it is also an indication that the Batswana clearly had knowledge of *Modimo*, most likely contrary to the knowledge held by Moffat. The ingenuity of Setswana is elaborated by Sparrman in reference to the use of singular and plural forms in Setswana. He states that:

> According to one rule of forming the plural of personal nouns beginning with *mo*, *Barimo* would only be the plural of *Morimo*, as *Monona*, 'a man', *Banona*, 'men.' But the word is never used in this form, nor did it convey to the Bechuana mind in the idea of a person or persons.[495]

Sparrman points to a distinct assertion concerning the concepts of *Modimo* and *Badimo* among the Batswana. The distinction between the two is key in understanding how Batswana spirituality is conceptualised – how they perceive the spiritual realm as well as how they feature within this realm. Setiloane, in his book,[496] discusses the Sotho-Tswana understanding of *Modimo*. According to him, there are signs that point to the knowledge and understanding of *Modimo*. Setiloane cites the sixteen images of *Modimo* among the Sotho-Tswana.[497] These images are not only indicators of a gender-neutral deity, but they also point to the mysterious nature of the Divine. Seven signs of *Modimo* are discussed for the purpose of this study.[498] Firstly, he argues that *Modimo o mongwe* [the Divine is One]. Consequently,

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494. M.L. Wilder, *Missionary Annals (A series): Memoir of Robert Moffat, Missionary to South Africa 1817–1870* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1887), 261. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

495. Wilder, *Missionary Annals*, 261. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

496. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 1976.

497. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

498. I have identified seven of the sixteen images. This does not suggest that the other images that Setiloane discusses are not important. The identified images are selected for advancing the argument of the gender-neutrality of the Divine within the spirituality of the Sotho-Tswana.

Modimo has no plural. Secondly, *Modimo* is supreme.[499] The oneness and supremacy of *Modimo* is conveyed in the following praises:

> (i) 'Hlaa-Hlaa Macholo', a phrase which is difficult to translate but means roughly, 'whose origin is in antiquity', 'ancient of days'. (ii) Somewhat similar in meaning is the praise already quoted, '*MODIMO wa borara*' (of my forefathers). Hence, the constant reference to them for better knowledge about. (iii) '*Ea Qhoeng tse Dithaba*' (whose abode is on the highest peaks of the mountains). (iv) '*Mong'a Tsohle*' (owner or Master of all), '*Mong'a rona*' (our owner).[500]

Thirdly, *Modimo* is invisible, intangible.[501] The invisibility and intangibility of *Modimo* are expressed in names such as *Modimo gaOitsiwe*, meaning unknown. IT is remote, inscrutable and has never been seen. It follows then that IT reveals ITself in various forms such as in natural occurrences. According to Setiloane, such phenomena are merely manifestations, and they are not in themselves *Modimo*. Fourthly, *Modimo* is *Motlhodi* (source or root): the concept encompasses the idea of God as originator and sustainer. The concept also challenges the binary description of the Divine.[502]

Not only does the name *Motlhodi* not mention gender, but it also reaffirms the belief in the eternity of creation. In other words, there was no point in time when things were not so. Such an observation by Setiloane was also observed by missionaries such as Casalis, Moffat and Willoughby. Fifthly, *Modimo* is *Montshi* [one who enables or helps to come out, enabler, midwife]: the metaphor signals that the Divine is the genesis of creation.[503] Sixthly, *Modimo* is *Mme* [mother]: this signifies someone who is tender, caring and nurturing. Lastly, *Modimo ke Lesedi* [IT is light]: this understanding appears very late in the literature, according to Setiloane.[504] This observation by Setiloane is also made by Berman (2014).

Furthermore, the image and symbolism of the Divine as gender-neutral is central to the Setswana concept of the Divine. This is depicted within the 'diviner' set with *Thakadu* as a symbol. As I will argue in the following section, it is in the image and symbolism of the Divine as nonbinary and that of the imported Christian tradition as binary that the tension arises. The Setswana symbolism in the form of the diviner sets an image of the

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499. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 25.

500. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 25. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

501. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 25. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

502. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 25. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

503. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 25. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

504. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, 79–80.

Divine that is gender-neutral, contrary to the Abrahamic religions that depict the Divine in anthropomorphic terms.

■ Emerging tensions: Universalism versus pluriversality

The 1840 translation, in as much as it was an attempt to render the biblical text in Setswana, was at the same time foreignising the concept of *Modimo*. In the translation, the Batswana conception of *Modimo* thus was redefined and reconceptualised, as *Modimo* had to now assume the Judeo-Christian, Western conception of God. Thus, in translating *Modimo*, the translator appropriates and institutionalises these types of discourses of general politics of truth in order to create binaries and categories factualised as a hegemonic tool, thus entrenching the power of the hierarchies between the Setswana religio-cultural practices, their understanding of the Divine and the Western religio-cultural practices (orthodox).

Departing from the premise that translation is an act of power to construct realities and to communicate a particular form of codes of cultures within the framework of the religio-cultural practices of the source text, the transmutation and altering of the Setswana religio-cultural understanding of the Divine was an act of reordering. Through the politics of association, the translation associates *Modimo* with the Western understanding of the Divine, and *Badimo* with the notion of evil. I argue in the next section that in associating *Badimo* with evil, the translation imports dualistic realities within the regimes of truth.[505] Moffat's error led him to conclude that the Batswana people had no concept of God, as he states:

> But all this ill-usage did not give the missionaries half so much pain as it did to hear these poor savages make a mock of the solemn truths they taught. The Bechuanas were atheists. They had no idols like other nations; no ideas of the soul, of heaven, or of hell; no notion of any god at all; no word in their language for God [...].[506]

It is important to point out that because he was operating within a general politics of truth that views itself as orthodox and as true, Moffat was actually basing his argument on the notion that the Batswana had no concept of the Divine precisely because he was looking for the familiar. It is the elements of the familiar that he was hoping for. He states that:

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505. Each society, according to Foucault, has its own regime of truth (general politics). These are types of discourse which it views as orthodox and function as true. Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (London: Penguin, 1991).

506. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 14–15. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

> *Morimo* did not then convey to the mind of those who heard it the idea, of God; nor did *barimo*, although it was an answer to the question 'where do men go when they die?' signify heaven.[507]

Thus, any concept that did not fit the frame of reference could not be associated with the 'Truth', that is, the Christian concept of the Divine. It is for that reason that he makes reference to the Batswana mocking the 'solemn truths'. As a result, he misunderstands the very concept of the Divine. This misunderstanding also led him to misunderstand their culture and their belief system. This initial view of Moffat was based on a misunderstanding of the Batswana culture and belief system.

It is this misunderstanding that led him to draw a conclusion regarding the Batswana. Such an error takes place within the regime of truth; anything that does not resemble the 'Truth' cannot be true. Not only does he not make an error, but it is also this mistake that makes him interpret and conclude that they are atheist and have no knowledge of the Divine, let alone linguistic reference to the Divine. I would argue that because he was operating within the Western Christian norms of categorisation and 'Truth', it is these normative landscapes that would necessitate the adoption of the Setswana name of the Divine (*Modimo*) to be foreignised and re-domesticated in order to conform to the orthodox, as well as function as 'Truth'.

Translation, as an act of rewriting, manipulation and appropriation, is always an act of power to construct realities and to communicate a particular form of codes of cultures within the framework of the regime or politics of truth. It can be argued that the translator, Moffat in this case, as a double agent, belonged to a missionary enterprise that was in the business of pursuing the conversion of the Batswana operating within the empire. At the same time, he had his own agenda of translating the Bible into Setswana. Through his translation agenda, operating within the norms of the regimes of truth, Moffat not only performs an act of denial and erasure in naming the presence as nothingness, but he also misconstrues the image and makes it conform to the orthodox universalisation of the Divine.

To be able to foreignise *Modimo,* he first measures the Setswana concept of the Divine using the criterion of the Western Christian concept. In doing so, he draws the conclusion that in terms of the Western Christian standards, he paradoxically describes the Western Christian theological understanding of the Divine (God), *Badimo* (Ancestors) and *Ngaka* (priestly healer) as fact.[508] While he has argued that the Batswana were atheist, in his book (1842), he admits that it was decided to adopt the name *Modimo*. It is important to note that, according to him, the Batswana associated *Modimo* with bad things. At

507. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 179. (Accessed from archive.org.)

508. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 261.

the same time, it raises the question of whether this is what they thought of *Modimo*: why use a concept that is associated with calamities? Moffat remarks:

> *Morimo*, to those who know anything about it, had been represented by rainmakers and sorcerers as a malevolent *selo*, or thing, which the nations in the north described as existing in a hole, and which, like the fairies in the Highlands of Scotland, sometimes came out and inflicted diseases on men and cattle, and even caused death. This *Morimo* served the purpose of a bugbear, by which the rainmaker might constrain the chiefs to yield to his suggestion, when he wished for a slaughter-ox, without which he pretended he could not make rain.[509]

To translate *Modimo* to the biblical God[510] illustrates the power of the translator as well as the effects of the norms of the discursive practices in effecting an act of erasure to foreignise and to re-domesticate *Modimo* through exclusion and renaming. To achieve this, he first performs the politics of erasure by stating that Setswana in its entirety is absent of theological ideas or religion. He states that:

> Among the Bechuana tribes, the name [*for God*] adopted by the missionaries is *Morimo*. *Morimo* did not then convey to the mind of those who heard it the idea of God [...] They could not describe who or what *Morimo* was, except something cunning or malicious; and some who had a purpose to serve, ascribed to him power, but it was such as a Bushman doctor or quack could grunt out of the bowels or afflicted part of the human body. They never, however, disputed the propriety of our using the noun Morimo for the great Object of our worship, as some of them admitted that their forefathers might have known more about him than they did [...] I never once heard that *Morimo* did good, or was supposed capable of doing so [...] Thus, their foolish hearts are darkened; and verily this is a darkness, which may be felt. Such a people are living in what Job calls 'a land of darkness and the shadow of death'," spiritually buried, and without knowledge, life, or light.[511]

In the above citation, the following can be observed. Firstly, the concept of the Divine from the perspective of the Batswana differs from that of Western Christianity. Thus, the foreignisation of the concept takes place because the Batswana (receptor culture) could not relate to *Modimo* in the manner in which *Modimo* was expressed in terms of Western Christianity as well as its intersection with the Divine. Secondly, in terms of the application of the regimes of truth, the issue was not that the Batswana had no concept of the Divine; rather, it is that their concept of the Divine was different from that of the translator. As a result, the translator (Moffat) could not comprehend the Batswana belief system. Succinctly put, the translator failed to understand their concept of the Divine. Thirdly, his exclusion of *Modimo* from divinity is based on his dismissal of the symbolism used to

509. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 179. (Accessed from archive.org.)

510. Moffat, *Missionary Labour*, 260–61.

511. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 257. (Accessed from archive.org.)

depict the divine. Fourthly, he alienates *Modimo* from its relationship with diviner healing, suggesting that the diviner-healers represented *Modimo*. Fifthly, he separates the mysterious nature of *Modimo* by insinuating that by labelling the *IT* as mysterious, *IT* was signified as a thing. Lastly, in performing an act of othering, Moffat used the power of the pen to 'construct' his own idea of the Divine based on the norms and truths of the Western patriarchal Christian theology. In so doing, he not only exercised the colonial matrix of power but he also performed governmentality. In other words, through othering the religion of the Batswana and categorising it as nonexistent, he foreignised the understanding of *Modimo* in order to govern their thoughts and their relationship with the Divine based on the terms, norms and customs governing the Western Christian theological understanding of the Divine.

It is for this reason that he had to first render their religion fictional, equating it to a thing that contained no elements of truth. Furthermore, he equated it to savagery as well as paganism by construing their customs as satanic. This includes their linguistic heritage of the meaning of the Divine as *selo*, suggesting that because they referred to the Divine as *selo*, it implied that they knew nothing of the Divine, thus failing to recognise the mysterious nature of the Divine in the manner in which Batswana referred to the Divine. In his critique of Moffat's assertion that Batswana had no religion, Smith makes the following observation:

> Nevertheless, we believe Moffat to have been wrong in his denial of all religion to the Bechuana. Not for a moment would we call in question his absolute sincerity, but we think his preconceptions as to the nature of religion led him astray. Whether you think people religious or irreligious depends upon your definition of religion. If, in the words of Mr Thwackum, you say: 'When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England', then, of course, Moffat was right, the pagan African has no religion; and on the same line of argument Moffat himself had no religion. If we broaden the term, as modern investigations require us to do, and define religion as a felt practical relationship with what is believed in as a superhuman power then we may be driven to different conclusions as to the Bechuana.[512]

The observation by Smith raises serious concerns in terms of how Moffat understood and defined the components of religion. Smith fails to question the power ascribed to 'naming' and 'othering', which belonged to the Westerner, particularly the Western man, in order to 'other' those who were not fulfilling the criteria determined by them and governed by the framework of normativity. The assertion also reflects the effects of institutionalism that produced the type of subjects that the missionaries were, as well as the factualisation used as a measuring tool in distinguishing orthodoxy

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512. Smith, *Robert Moffat*, 103. (Accessed from archive.org.)

from unorthodoxy and Truth from truth. This view, held by Smith, was also held by Livingstone. In contrast to Moffat, he felt that the Batswana were clearly religious and possessed knowledge of the Divine.[513] Accepting the use of *Modimo* is to allow the Batswana people to become inscribed in the biblical text and therefore expand the territory of their Divine, which means their divine being has also been at work in other people. The boundaries are broken, and when the Bible takes over, the Batswana conception, in a sense, also takes over the biblical text.

Through an act of re-domestication of *Modimo* into a biblical God, Moffat performed a colonial rhetoric of subjugation in that he subdued *Modimo* to conform to the norms and characteristics of the biblical God. It is within this process of translation of foreign text into the receptor culture that cultural concepts also become foreignised. In other words, the Setswana concept of the Divine now tells the tale of others. Furthermore, the re-domestication of *Modimo* becomes the tale of others through our concepts. Another element is the realisation that in the process of translating, the Setswana concepts take a new form as the text becomes the dominant other in the Setswana culture, resulting in the Batswana being unable to tell their own story of the Divine. Instead, the story is told in terms of the text that was domesticated into their culture. Then, through alienation, Moffat subdues *Modimo* in order to sustain a colonial rhetoric based on the social and epistemic location of the West within the colonial matrix of power. He argues that the Batswana had no knowledge of the Divine, and as such, a labelling renders them heathens or atheist. It follows then that the religion of the Batswana then becomes nothing but an obstacle to the dissemination of Western Christian norms and civilisation.[514]

His translation of the Gospel of Luke serves as an example of the importation of the characteristics of masculinity, racialisation and gendering of *Modimo*. As Coles rightly states, *Modimo* is a Class 2 noun and takes the impersonal plural prefix *me-*. Based on the observation by Coles, I would contend that his classification challenges the Western Christian binary classification of 'she' or 'he' or rather magnifies the nonbinary nature of the concept of *Modimo*. This act of foreignisation was to alienate the raceless and genderless *Modimo* from Batswana cosmology and to re-domesticate *IT* as an Israelite, Judaic, Westernised God. The key texts that I analyse in this chapter are the source text (1611 King James) and the 1840 Gospel of Luke as translated by Moffat.[515] The 1840 Gospel of Luke provides various

513. Smith, *Robert Moffat*, 106–07.

514. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 257.

515. Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke," a6914.

examples of images of this white male God. The first image is the image of God as Father.

The missionaries aimed to discursively replace and redefine the symbolisation of the Divine in the image of the *Thakadu* through the translation of the Bible. As I have indicated in the preceding section that deals with the conceptualisation of *Modimo*, the images used to depict *Modimo* are gender-neutral. This includes the symbol of *Thakadu* within the diviner sets. This links with the introduction of another symbol of the Divine, namely the characteristics of a male figure. In the following section, I discuss the foreignisation and re-domestication of the Divine from a gender-neutral to a gendered deity.

Thus, the foreignisation of *Modimo* does not only occur in gendering, but it also occurs on the racial level. The racialisation of *Modimo* redefines the space in which the Divine resides within the Setswana cosmological understanding of the deity. Racialisation can be defined as the marking of bodies. In other words, as Grosfoguel argues, 'some bodies are racialized as superior and other bodies are racialized as inferior'.[516] The foreignisation of *Modimo* as a racialised deity is found in the depiction of Jesus as a Jew. As a Jew, Jesus is racialised as being superior, hence the depiction of him as male. The Jewish male body that is depicted as white in Christian symbolism in Western art links whiteness with the Christian God and Jesus with the YHWH of the Judaic religion. The foreignisation and re-domestication of *Modimo* renders *Modimo* inferior so that the translator could foreignise and re-domesticate *Modimo* into the biblical God, alienated and separated from its original meaning. Scholars such as Ntloedibe-Kuswani and Mbuwayesango have argued from within their respective contexts that the genderisation of *Modimo* was an act of colonising and exiling *Modimo*.[517]

The re-domestication of *Modimo* as *Rara* is an act of erasing *Modimo*, firstly as a gender-neutral deity. This is seen from the linguistic point of view of the Batswana. Berman states that:

> The noun *Modimo* [*italics by author*] is not a class 1 noun, although it has the same prefix for personal nouns in Setswana. It does not take the plural prefix ba-. Thus, *Modimo* [*italics by author*] is traditionally and grammatically 'it' and not 'him', the re-domestication of *Modimo* [*italics by author*] as him necessitated the Christian usage of the name.[518]

Secondly, *Modimo* is viewed as a raceless deity. Furthermore, *Modimo* is no longer *Modimo wa Batswana*; it is no longer a gender-neutral deity. Rather, it

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516. Ramón Grosfoguel, "Racism, Intersectionality and Migration Studies," *Summer School Lecture, College of Human Sciences, University of South Africa*, 07 January, (2014), 4.

517. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 91–92.

518. Berman, "Analysing the Frames," 64.

is identified as *Modimo* of the patriarchs of Israel. The act of foreignisation and re-domestication of *Modimo* occurred without any effect on the receptor culture. It is these effects that I discuss briefly. The re-domestication of *Modimo* is characterised by a patriarchal system, the system of patriarchy that becomes reintroduced into a gender-neutral society in the understanding of *Modimo*. The re-domestication of *Modimo* not only reproduces a patriarchal system within the religio-practices that are characterised by a system of religion that is gender-neutral and raceless in a system that, although patriarchy exists, does not exist as the only hierarchical system. The reproduction of a patriarchal system also produces a new form of a political structure and governance. Rather, it coexists with a matriarchal system. As Mothoagae argues, the co-existence of both systems is represented by two genders, namely the *malome* [uncle] from the maternal side and the *rakgadi* [aunt] from the paternal side. These two genders, according to Mothoagae, complement each other, which is evident in the various ceremonies that are presided over by both the *malome* and the *rakgadi*.[519]

The introduction of a new political structure and governance, I would argue, replaces and alienates the key roles in the governance and religious spaces of the Batswana. The *Kgosi*, *ngaka* and women are replaced with a racial and gendered deity. Religiously, the *Kgosi* is the protector and mother of the nation. Under their guidance, together with the ancestors of the royal house, they intercede for the people. At the same time, the very *Kgosi* could have been *Moroka* [rainmaker], such as *Kgosi* Sechele.[520] Furthermore, as I have argued earlier in this chapter, the *di-ngaka* played a vital role in the life of the community, politically, religiously and economically. Similarly, women also made significant contributions to the community. This is expressed clearly in the diviner set, as none of the diviner sets is male- or female-dominated. All genders are represented equally.

In other words, they could perform rituals as *di-ngaka*, as being *ngaka* was not reserved for men. This is based on the diviner set. As stated earlier, they contain both male and female. Thus, a religious system that portrayed the divine in a male anthropomorphic manner meant that only men could preside over religious ceremonies. Their alienation meant that those who became Christians could not submit themselves to these practices, as their only father was a biblical God. The foreignisation and re-domestication of *Modimo* into a biblical God did not only genderise and masculinise *Modimo*, but it also located *Modimo* in a particular location, that is, in heaven, with attributes such as omnipotence, omnipresence and transcendence. The

519. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "Setswana Proverbs within the Institution of Lenyalo [Marriage]: A Critical Engagement with the Bosadi [Womanhood] Approach," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 36, no. 1 (2015): 1–7.

520. Ørnulf Gulbrandsen, "Missionaries and the Northern Tswana Rulers: Who Used Whom?," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 23 (1993): 44–83.

location of the Divine with such attributes also included the binary between good and evil. Hermanson reminds us that:

> *Modimo*, like *moya*, is actually Class 3, as can be seen from the pronoun used in the above-mentioned verses, viz, *ona*, instead of the Class 1 pronoun *yena*. So, *Modimo* is not placed on the same level as humans.[521]

The re-domestication of *Modimo* as a biblical God into the Setswana Bible was an act of performing rewriting, manipulation and appropriation of Western Christian theology in order to alienate and confuse Batswana from their *Modimo*, argues Mothoagae.[522] The foreignisation and re-domestication of *Modimo* illustrates Setiloane's assertion that 'there is no being whom the Sotho-Tswana could begin to compare with IT'.[523] Nor would it transpire that IT was any other than that called, in neighbouring societies, by other names. Ntloedibe-Kuswani concurs with the argument advanced by Setiloane:

> The assumption that the Christian patterns of thought are universal has led many translators and writers to colonise other religions, particularly African religions. Although we celebrate *Modimo* and God as the Divine, the different understandings that the two terms convey help us to understand the Christian and the Batswana traditions.[524]

The argument by Setiloane and Ntloedibe-Kuswani points to the notion of the universality of the Divine. The universalisation of the Divine not only limits the Divine to a particular religion and race, according to Ntloedibe-Kuswani, but it further presupposes that one particular religion has a better grasp of IT. Such a grasp of the Divine is based on the presupposition that the receptor culture does not possess knowledge of the Divine.

If it does possess such knowledge, it would be perceived as lacking and incomplete, thus justifying it being categorised as the *praeparatio evangelica* [preparation for the gospel]. Furthermore, the universalisation of the Divine is characterised by a strong gender characterisation, which is not the case with the precolonial *Modimo*, argues Ntloedibe-Kuswani,[525] who further states that:

> The Christian theological assumption that *Modimo* and God are the same gives the impression that, the Batswana have knowledge of the Divine, which in many ways exposes the missionary claim that Africans had no knowledge of God as a colonial rhetoric of subjugation. The unqualified equation of *Modimo* with

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521. Cf. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 85.

522. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God," 149–68.

523. The IT here emphasises the gender neutrality of *Modimo*. Cf. Setiloane, *The Image of God*, *25*. See also Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

524. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 93. Cf. Pöntinen, "Celebrating Life and Harmony."

525. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 93–94.

> YHWH/God justifies the religion of Batswana as the *praeparatio evangelica*; that is, it cannot be a religious tradition in its own right and for the salvation of its own adherents. The tradition of the Batswana is nothing other than the Christian tradition … religion can be defined in biblical Christian terms and thought of as belief in God, who is personified and highly gendered, thus hijacking the individual characteristics of Setswana and those of other religious faiths.[526]

The genderisation and racialisation of *Modimo* as the biblical God indicates the universalisation of the Divine. This is because, even though there may be similarities in the conceptualisation in different religious traditions, I would concur with Setiloane and Ntloedibe-Kuswani that it does not imply that those traditions understand the notion in the same manner. In other words, the similarities in concepts do not suggest that there should be a universal religious tradition, because the biblical God is patriarchal, gendered and racial, while *IT*, as expressed in the diviner set called *Thakadu*, is neither racial nor masculine and male.[527] The question then follows, having translated the biblical God into the Setswana Divine, what alternative name should the translator have used? What is key is not what could or should have been an equivalent name; rather, the main issue is the foreign characteristics, symbolism and imagery. The indigenous concept cannot be erased or uprooted. Furthermore, translations are not undertaken from the perspective of the receptor culture (Batswana). In a reading of the text from the social location and epistemic location, it is observable that the central tension is the foreignisation of *Modimo* in the importation of the foreign God. Furthermore, the interpretation of such texts should begin from lived experience.

◼ Findings

In this chapter, I focused on the specific texts that reference *Modimo* as *Rara* (Father) as well as those that made reference to Jesus as the Son of *Modimo* (God in English). These texts of Luke 1:32; 4:3; 6:36; 10:21–22; 11:2; 20:37; 22:29; 22:42; 23:34; 23:46; 24:49 were analysed from the social and epistemic location of the subaltern within a decolonial perspective. I further argued that the translator not only labelled the Batswana as atheist, but that he also misconstrued their concept of the Divine. This, I argued, was based on the discourse of orthodoxy versus the unorthodox. In other words, the translator applied Western universal Christian criteria of determining the components, attributes and characteristics of that which constitutes the Divine.

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526. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 93–94.

527. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 87.

This chapter also focused on the Setswana conceptualisation of the Divine. The aim was to draw conceptual differences between the biblical Divine and that of the Batswana. Furthermore, to highlight the tension between the two images, both the conceptualisation and the tensions were aimed at bringing forth the primordial Setswana comprehension of the Divine and to highlight the differences in the imagery of the Divine within the two cultures.

I further argued that by using the name *Modimo* in the biblical text, *Modimo* of the Batswana was foreignised; thus, IT becomes associated with a foreign nation. At the same time, the translation of *Modimo* into a biblical God expanded the territory of the Setswana concept of the Divine, thus implying that the Divine being of the Batswana has also been at work in other people. The boundaries are broken; when the Bible takes over, the Batswana conception, in a sense, also takes over the biblical text. In the next chapter, I focus on the translation of 'demon' and 'evil spirits' into Setswana.

The concept of *bademoni* as a demonising of *Badimo*

◼ The concept of *bademoni*[528]

This chapter examines the selected portions of the Gospel of Luke, namely Luke 4:41; 8:27; 8:33; 8:35–36; 8:38; 10:17; 11:14–20. In these texts, we are confronted with the exorcism narratives. Jesus, in this narrative, is identified by the 'devil spirit' as the Son of *Modimo*. It is the Son of *Modimo* who performs exorcisms on *Badimo* and authorises his disciples to do the same, while in the context of the receptor culture, the *Badimo* play a fundamental role in the lives of families and the community, because they are the ancestors. Furthermore, in these translated texts, we can identify that which could be called 'politics of association'. When the translator translates *Badimo* as 'evil spirits', it associates them with Satan or the realm of darkness. On a deeper level, the translator also performs an act of foreignisation by associating the symbol and image of *Badimo* with the characteristics of evil, thus uprooting the image and symbol from its cultural significance and meaning. The sign thus derives a new meaning through exorcism narratives. An interpretation of such a sign finds its meaning in its importation into the Batswana cultural and linguistic heritage.

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528. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, xxi.

Furthermore, to locate the motif of why the translator would translate in such a manner, the missionary archive material provides us with the contextuality and the scene leading up to the translation. Thus, the association of the *Badimo* with evil spirits emanates from Moffat's perception of the belief system of the Batswana as expressed in such literature.

Within this context, I aim to analyse these texts from the 'social and epistemic location of the subaltern (*damnés*)',[529] that is, as a Motswana. My analysis of these texts addresses the fundamental problem of transportation of foreign concepts into receptor culture, resulting in the disruption or reordering of the receptor culture. Therefore, this chapter argues that the concept of *bademoni* is a foreign word in Setswana, which was introduced through biblical translation, resulting in the association of *Badimo* with the foreign biblical concept of demons or devils. The concept of *bademoni* is problematic, as it disrupts the indigenous meaning, symbolism and imagery of *Badimo* by associating it with demons or devils or evil spirits. Thus, the concept of *bademoni* disrupts the cultural norms and beliefs as it imports meaning, symbolism and imagery which are foreign, thereby delegitimising the indigenous concept of *Badimo*. I will be probing the colonisation of the local language, Setswana, which resulted in it no longer serving the benefit of its custodians and cultural practices; instead, the language also became a weapon of control and victimisation.[530]

This chapter is structured as follows: firstly, there will be a brief discussion of transliteration; secondly, the concept of *Badimo* within the Batswana and the question of transmutation will be examined; and thirdly, the merging tensions between the translation and the receptor culture will be discussed, followed by a conclusion.

■ Exorcism in the Gospel of Luke

Here, I discuss the concepts of 'Satan', 'devil' and 'unclean spirit' within the Jewish and Greco-Roman world context. The context of the use of the concepts within a biblical cultural setting will enable me to locate how such a concept was used, its designation and its impact on the religio-cultural belief system of the time. Such an analysis will enable me to locate further meaning and interaction within the Moffat source text (1611 King James Version [KJV]) as well as its direct and indirect impact and interpretation within the receptor culture (Setswana).

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529. Mothoagae, "A Decolonial Reading of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke," a6914.

530. See John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (vol. 2; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 218–20.

Greek	1611 King James Version	1840 New Testament translation by Moffat
Luke 4:41		
⁴¹ Ἐξήρχετο δὲ καὶ <u>δαιμόνια</u> ἀπὸ πολλῶν, κράζοντα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι Σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.	⁴¹ And <u>devils</u> also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God. And he rebuking them suffered them not to speak: for they knew that he was Christ.	⁴¹ *Mi <u>bademoni</u> le bona, ba coa bontsiñ, ba bitsa ba re, Uena u Keresete Moroa Morimo. Mi a ba buéla, a si ka a ba leseletsa go bua, gone ba mo itse ha e le le Keresetse.*
Luke 8:27		
²⁷ Ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὃς εἶχεν <u>δαιμόνια</u> ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν, καὶ ἱμάτιον οὐκ ἐνεδιδύσκετο, καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν.	²⁷ And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had <u>devils</u> long time, and wore no clothes, neither abode in *any* house, but in the tombs.	²⁷ *Mi ka a coéla mo lehatsiñ, a khatlana le monona moñue, eo o coañ mo motseñ, eo o na le <u>bademoni</u>, a sa apara liaparo, le gona a sa age tluñ epe, mi a le mo liphupuñ.*
Luke 8:30		
³⁰ Ἐπηρώτησεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγων, Τί σοι ἐστὶν ὄνομα; Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Λεγεών· ὅτι <u>δαιμόνια</u> πολλὰ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτόν.	³⁰ And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion: because many <u>devils</u> were entered into him.	³⁰ *Mi Yesu a motsa, a re, Leina ya gago o mañ? Mi a re, Ligion; gone <u>bademoni</u> bantsi ba le ba tsenye go éna.*
Luke 8:33		
³³ Ἐξελθόντα δὲ τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u> ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους· καὶ ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ ἀπεπνίγη.	³³ Then went the <u>devils</u> out of the man, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked.	³³ *Mi ka <u>bademoni</u> ba coa mo mononeñ eo, ba tséna mo likolobeñ, mi serapa sa khkologéla ka logaga mo letseñ, mi sa hepéla.*
Luke 8:35–36		
³⁵ Ἐξῆλθον δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸ γεγονός· καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ εὗρον καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u> ἐξεληλύθει, ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα, παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.	³⁵ Then they went out to see what was done; and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the <u>devils</u> were departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.	³⁵ *Mi ba coa ba ea go bona se se rihetseñ; mi ba hitla go Yesu, mi ba bona monona eo <u>bademoni</u> ba ruleñ go ena, a rutse ha naoñ tsa Yesu, a apere tlaloganyo e e siameñ ea gague; mi ba boiha.*
³⁶ Ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἰδόντες πῶς ἐσώθη ὁ <u>δαιμονισθείς</u>.	³⁶ They also which saw *it* told them by what means he that was possessed of the <u>devils</u> was healed.	³⁶ *Mi le ba ba bonyeñ, ba ba bueleléla kaha monona eo o la cueroe ki <u>bademoni</u> o horisicoeñ ka gona.*
Luke 8:38		
³⁸ Ἐδέετο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἐξεληλύθει τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u> εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἀπέλυσεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων,	³⁸ Now the man out of whom the <u>devils</u> were departed besought him that he might be with him: but Jesus sent him away, saying,	³⁸ *Mi monona eo <u>bademoni</u> ba ruléñ go éna, a mo rapéla gore a ne nae; mi Yesu a mo roma a re,*
Luke 10:17		
¹⁷ Ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα μετὰ χαρᾶς, λέγοντες, Κύριε, καὶ τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u> ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου.	¹⁷ And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the <u>devils</u> are subject unto us through thy name.	¹⁷ *Mi ba sevente ba ba ba boea ka boitumélo, ba re, Moréna, <u>bademoni</u> le bona, ba re utlua ka eintla ea leina ya gago.*

Greek	1611 King James Version	1840 New Testament translation by Moffat
Luke 11:14–20		
¹⁴ Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν κωφόν. Ἐγένετο δέ, τοῦ <u>δαιμονίου</u> ἐξελθόντος, ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός· καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.	¹⁴ And he was casting out a <u>devil</u>, and it was dumb. And it came to pass, when the devil was gone out, the dumb spoke; and the people wondered.	¹⁴ *Mi a bo a khoromeletsa eintle <u>demoni</u>, mi a bo a sa bue. Mi ga rihala <u>demoni</u> a siua coa, eo o sa bueñ, a bua; mi bontsintsi yoa gakhamala.*
¹⁵ Τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπον, Ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u>.	¹⁵ But some of them said, He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the <u>devils</u>.	¹⁵ *Mi bañue ba yona ba re, Oa khoromeletsa eintle bademoni ka eintle ea Belesebule, mogolu oa bademoni.*
¹⁸ Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ <u>Σατανᾶς</u> ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν διεμερίσθη, πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; Ὅτι λέγετε, ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u>.	¹⁸ If <u>Satan</u> also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out devils through Beelzebub.	¹⁸ *Ekare ha <u>Satan</u> le éna a khaoganye khatlanoñ le éna, bogosi yoa gague bo tla éma yañ? gone lo re, Ki khoromeletsa eintle bademoni ka eintla ea Belesebule.*
¹⁹ Εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u>, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; Διὰ τοῦτο κριταὶ ὑμῶν αὐτοὶ ἔσονται.	¹⁹ And if I by Beelzebub cast out <u>devils</u>, by whom do your sons cast *them* out? therefore shall they be your judges.	¹⁹ *Mi ha ki khoromeletsa eintle <u>bademoni</u> ka eintla ea Belesebule, bomoroa ba lona ba ba khoromeletsa eitnle ka eintla ea mañ? ki gona ba tla nañ basékisi ba lona.*
²⁰ Εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ <u>δαιμόνια</u>, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.	²⁰ But if I with the finger of God cast out <u>devils</u>, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.	²⁰ *Mi ha ki khoromeletsa eitnle <u>bademoni</u> ka monuana oa Morimo yalo pusho ea Morimo e lo hitletse.*

The English word 'devil' is a descendant from the Greek word διάβολος via the Latin *diabolus*, while in other biblical texts such as the Septuagint (LXX), the Hebrew שָׂטָן [Satan] is translated *diabolos*, which is best rendered as 'adversary'. In the Apocrypha and the Dead Sea Scrolls, both 'devil' (3 Bar 4:8; AsMos 10:1) and Satan are found, as well as the terms Beliar (mostly 12 Patr), Mastema (Jub 10:11) and Samma'el (3 Bar 4:8; esp. rabbinic writings).[531] Lunn-Rockliffe argues that the concept or the name 'Satan', from the perspective of the Hebrew language, is a verb which means to 'oppose someone'. She states that:

> First had only the completely secular meaning of an opponent (Gen 50:15; Ps 38:21; 1 Sam 29:4; 1 Kgs 5:18). Only in postexilic writings is the term used in the religious sense. In the OT, Satan is not a being at enmity with God, but is in the service of God and acts as an accuser of mankind (Job 1–2; Zech 3:1). In 1 Chr 21:1 the word has no article and possibly is to be understood as a proper name; this would be the first sign of the development of an independent character (cf. Jub. 48:8f.).[532]

531. See Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Satan and Demons," in *Jesus and Friends and Enemies: A Historical and Literary Introduction to Jesus in the Gospels* (ed. Chris Keith and Larry W. Hurtado; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 173–97. Anneliese Felber et al., "Devil," in *Religion Past and Present* (cited 30 January 2021). https://doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_COM_025084

532. Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe, "Devil," in *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

Lunn-Rockliffe further states the following:

> Διάβολος, an adjective used as a substantive, had a specific sense in classical Greek of 'slanderer', but it came to be used in more general terms to mean 'enemy', and when used by early Christians, often with the definite article (ὁ διάβολος), it most often referred to a particular enemy, 'the devil'; in writings from the New Testament onward, Christians used διάβολος alongside many other epithets and names to describe a powerful and hostile spiritual creature who was the leader of multiple evil δαίμονες and δαιμόνια, 'demons'.[533]

This citation points to the epistemological application of the concept within the Greco-Roman world. Early Christians frequently read their understanding of the devil or Satan out of their Old Testament, partly because of the introduction of a daemonic lexicon by Greek and Latin translations of the Old Testament and partially under the influence of various pseudepigraphical and apocalyptic Jewish literature, argues Lunn-Rockliffe. Langton argues that in the Hebrew Bible, there are mysterious figures such as Azazel and Lilith who have sometimes been identified by scholars as 'demons'.[534] Nonetheless, according to Blair, this debatably imposes unfamiliar Greek terms and philosophies on the Hebrew text.[535]

The New Testament does not make a distinction between Satan and a devil. However, it should be noted that in the New Testament, specifically in older writings such as the Pauline letters and Mark, σαταν(ᾶς) [Satan, *Satanás*] is used, whereas in later writings (John, Catholic epistles) the concept *diábolos* [devil] is used.[536] Furthermore, the power of evil, also thought of as being personal, is assigned the term Satan. It is noteworthy that the New Testament describes it by various names: the evil one (Mt 6:13; 13:19; Jn 17:15; Eph 6:16; 1 Jn 5:18), destroyer (1 Cor 10:10; Heb 11:28), tempter (1 Th 3:5; cf. Lk 4:1–13), enemy (Mt 13:25, 39), ruler of this world (Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11) or Beliar (2 Cor 6:15). Other concepts associated with Satan are: Beelzebul (Mt 12:24; Mk 3:22); serpent or snake (Gn 3; Rv 12:9); demons as fallen angels (1 En 6–11; Job 5:1–11; Lk 10:18; Rv 12:7–12).[537]

Sorensen argues that the various evil spiritual beings possessed, harassed and opposed humans, including δαιμόνια and πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα [unclean spirits],

533. Lunn-Rockliffe, "Devil," in *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*.

534. Edward Langton, *Essentials of Demonology: A Study of Jewish and Christian Doctrine, Its Origin and Development* (London: Epworth, 1949), 43–48.

535. Judit Blair, "De-Demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lilith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2008), 55–95.

536. Felber et al., "Devil."

537. Felber et al., "Devil."

ἄρχοντες [rulers] and ἐξουσίαι [authorities].[538] Russell also holds this view and further maintains that this multiplicity of evil spirits was the singular leader of a realm entirely divergent from the 'kingdom of God'.[539] The argument by both Sorensen and Russell suggests that the proliferation of names within single passages proposes that they could pertain to a single antecedent, yet many of them appear interchangeable. Διάβολος occurs principally in Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, the Deutero-Pauline epistles and Revelation (Mt 4:1, 5, 8, 11; 13:39; 25:41; Lk 4:2, 3, 6, 13; 8:12; Jn 6:70; 8:44; Ac 10:38; 13:10; Eph 4:27; 6:11; 1 Tm 2:26; 3:3; 3:6, 7, 11; Tt 2:3; Heb 2:14; Jas 4:7; 1 Pt 5:8; 1 Jn 3:8, 10; Jud 9; Rv 2:10; 12:9, 12; 20:2, 10). According to Lunn-Rockliffe, Σατάν occurs in all four Gospels, Acts, Paul and Revelation (Mt 4:10; 12:26; 16:23; Mk 1:13; 3:23; 3:26; 4:15; 8:33; Lk 10:18; 11:18; 13:16; 22:3, 31; Jn 13:27; Ac 5:3; 26:18; Rm 16:20; 1 Cor 5:5; 7:5; 2 Cor 2:11; 11:14; 12:7; 1 Th 2:18; 2 Th 2:9; 1 Tm 1:20; 5:15; Rv 2:9, 13, 24; 3:9; 12:9; 20:2, 7). Beelzebul is mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15, 18, 19), and Beliar once by Paul (2 Cor 6:15).[540]

In this section, I locate the religio-cultural use of the concept of Satan, devil and unclean spirits within the Jewish and Greco-Roman world. This is to situate the use of the concept in the source text because it is a concept that would be brought into the receptor culture. In the next section, I discuss the concept of *Badimo* within the context of the Batswana cultural belief system.

◼ Setswana belief system

The Setswana religious worldview and conceptualisation of the *Badimo* are part of the Divine, as they dwell and work with *Modimo* and represent the people before *Modimo*. Put differently, the *Badimo* are the primary intercessors of the people. They also function as the conscience of the people. Through public and private ceremonies, the evoking of the *Badimo* leads people into the consciousness of the Divine, the environment and the other. The performance of both public and private ceremonies illustrates the centrality of the *Badimo* within the religious practices of the Batswana. Furthermore, as I will show in the section that deals with the *ngaka*, *Badimo*, as part of the Divine, are central to the process of becoming a diviner-healer. Hermanson makes the following linguistic point of view.

Grammatically, the word *Modimo* is interesting. From its form, one would expect that it would belong to the Class 1 group of singular nouns, all of

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538. Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 118–67.

539. Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 221–49.

540. Lunn-Rockliffe, "Devil."

which are personal and which have their plural in Class 2. However, *Badimo*, which is a personal plural in Class 2 and on the surface looks as if it is the plural of *Modimo*, is in fact used only in the plural. *Modimo*, like *moya*, is actually Class 3, as can be seen from the pronoun used in the verses as mentioned earlier, viz. *ona*, instead of the Class 1 pronoun *yena*. So *Modimo* is not placed on the same level as humans.[541]

The *Badimo* possessed the diviner-healers to enable them to diagnose and heal the individual, the family or the community. Through consultation with the *Badimo*, *ngaka* performed rituals that reconciled people with one another and with nature. At times, they could perform rituals that cleansed the land.[542] For example, a ritual *go phatlha* [libation] was a form of ritual that was used to plead with *Modimo* and the *Badimo*. Libations could be made in various ways, for example, snuff, tobacco, sorghum beer, *Helichrysum petiolare* [liquorice plant or *imphepho mokubetso*] and food are symbols used during libation. Throughout the African cultures (religious cultural practices), pouring libation is an essential ceremonial tradition and a way of giving homage to the ancestors. Ancestors are not only respected but are also invited to participate in all public functions and to intercede and help to heal and reconcile a family or a community with *Modimo*.[543]

The *dingaka tsa dinaka*[544] were priestly diviner-healers. They helped the people connect with the Divine community (*Badimo*, ancestors), illustrating the centrality of the *Badimo* as important factors in the health of individuals, families and the community. It meant that *dingaka tsa dinaka* were the primary priests in communicating the needs and will of the *Badimo* to the living. Similarly, as Dube explains, through their divination, they reminded their clients of the need to venerate the *Badimo*. The *Badimo* were a positive force, the lever between *Modimo* and the community. They reminded people of the need to maintain healthy and ethical relations among themselves and with the environment.[545] The above is contextualised

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541. Cf. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 85.

542. See Dube, "Translating Ngaka," 157–172.

543. Similarly, libation was an important and fundamental aspect of ancient Greek religion and was the most common form of religious practice. It was also part of daily life. See Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (trans. John Raffan; Malden: Blackwell, 1985). Louise Bruit Zaidman and Pauline Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (transl. Paul Cartledge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

544. In contemporary Nguni traditions, these diviner-healers are referred to as sangomas.

545. Dube, "Translating Ngaka," 160. Cf. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "An Exercise of Power as Epistemic Racism and Privilege: The Subversion of Tswana Identity," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 16 (2014): 11–27. See also Rima Moqattash, "From Theory to Practice: Literary Translation between Visibility and Invisibility," in *Translation Across Time and Space* (ed. Wafa Abu Hatab; Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 1–14.

within the religious worldview of Batswana. Mogapi explains the belief system of Batswana by pointing out that there is a hierarchy within the Divine. He states:

> *Mo tumelong ya Setswana Badimo ba ne na tlhatlologana go tloga ka Modimo wa leokaoka, go ya go tsena ka batsadi ba motho*[546] (literally translated, 'In the religion of the Batswana the ancestors are understood as starting with *Modimo* [God] of the heavens until the parents of a person'). The understanding of the order was as follows: God of the heavens, ancestors of the tribe who live within the world of the ancestors, the chiefs who have passed on (died), the chief of that time, the elders who have passed on, the elders who are still alive and the living parents. *Tlhatlologano e e ne e tsamaya jaana* [The hierarchy within the realm of the Divine is as follows]:
>
> *Modimo (wa leokaoka)*[547] [The Divine who is beyond the heavens]
> *Badimo ba morafe (ba ba nnang kwa Lentsweng la Badimo)* [The ancestors of the clan and those that are living within the voice of the ancestors]
> *Dikgosi tse di tlhokafetseng* [The kings that have passed on]
> *Kgosi ya motlha oo* [The king of that time]
> *Borremogolo ba ba tlhokafetseng* [The forefathers that have passed]
> *Borremogolo ba ba tshelang* [The grandfathers that are alive]
> *Batsadi ba me*.[548] [One's own parents]

The argument presented by Mogapi concurs with the description of *Badimo* as the living dead by Setiloane in his book.[549] Setiloane maintains that *Badimo* [ancestors] are biologically linked with those, whether dead or living, who mediate spirit. Additionally, there is a hierarchy within the realm of the *Badimo*, like the society of the living. There are *Badimo* of '*ramotse*' [man of the house] who are responsible for the household affairs. Then there are *Badimo* of '*morena or kgosi*' [king or chief, even though these words do not sufficiently express the Sotho-Tswana meaning of royalty] who guard the well-being of the whole chiefdom.[550] In his explanation of the *Badimo*, Setiloane points out that the missionaries failed to understand and see the Setswana belief system and spirituality as a continuous

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546. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523.

547. I would like to state that I use the word God with reservation, as the concept of *Modimo* among the Batswana is not a similar concept to that of Christianity. This is because for the Batswana, *Modimo* is gender-neutral, and as a result, *Modimo* cannot be reduced to a particular gender or even race. Furthermore, I use the word IT instead of referring to God in masculine terms. This is done deliberately to draw attention to the difference between Western Christianity and the Batswana religion or faith. It is on this basis that I intentionally refer to *Modimo* rather than God. Cf. Itumeleng D. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God in the Setswana Bible and the Captivity of *Modimo*: Moffat and the Translating of the Bible into Setswana," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40 (2014): 149–68.

548. Kgomotso Mogapi, *Ngwao ya Setswana* (Mabopane: Sikwane Publishers, 1991), 135–136. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Transmutation of *Bogwera* in Luke 2:21," a4523.

549. Gabriel Setiloane, *The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana* (Rotterdam: A. Balkema, 1976).

550. Cf. Mothoagae, "An Exercise of Power."

expression of life after death. Dube concurs with the argument by Setiloane, that the 'concept of an afterlife was known and accepted as represented by *Badimo* (Ancestors) who were regarded as the living dead'.[551] In the next section, I discuss how the cultural symbol acquires a new sign through translation.

■ The naturalising of the Devil through an act of *tswanafication*

In this section, the aim is to explore whether the translator of the 1840 Setswana Bible at the time of translation was transliterating the concept of devil(s) (Luke 4:41; 8:27; 8:33; 34–36, 38; 10:117; 11:14–20) into the receptor culture or whether he transformed an available concept within the receptor culture. In order to achieve this, consideration of the following is necessary: the missionary archives,[552] the biblical text (source texts and translated texts) and the receptor culture. I highlight some of the poignant aspects. I therefore begin with the receptor culture.

One of the difficulties facing missionaries during the colonial period, especially among African people, was that of unfulfilled expectations. Some hoped to find altars, temples and monuments which would have served as examples of false worship. For the Batswana people, contrary to the expectation, their belief system was interconnected with nature. Their altar was the earth; it was the space in which they pleaded with the Divine and a space wherein they beseeched the ancestors to intercede for them. It was the space where they performed various rituals. Out of the earth, they could plough and extract medicinal crops. Above all, it was where they placed their dead. Moffat remarks:

> The situation of the missionary among the Bechuanas is peculiar, differing, with slight exception, from any other among any nation on the face of the earth. He has no idolatry to arrest his progress, and his mind is not overwhelmed with the horrors which are to be found in countries where idols and idol temples are resorted to by millions of devotees; his ears are never stunned by their orgies; his eyes are never offended by human and other sacrifices nor is he the spectator of the unhappy widow immolated on the funeral pile of her husband; the infant screams of Moloch's victims never rend his heart. He meets with no sacred streams, nor hears of voluntary victims to propitiate the anger of imaginary deities. He seeks in vain to find a temple, an altar, or a single emblem of heathen worship. No fragments remain of former days, as mementoes to the present generation, that their ancestors ever loved, served, or reverenced a being greater than man.[553]

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551. Dube, "Translating *Ngaka*," 169.

552. 'Missionary archives' refers to the memoirs, biographies, letters and autobiographies.

553. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 168. (Accessed from archive.org.)

From the citation above, it can be argued that Moffat was naïve and ignorant of the Batswana. It is in the above citation that we can observe his ideological location. The above citation further elucidates the imagery of Africa as a barren land without any trace of religion, altars or any knowledge of the Divine, including any form of epistemological and metaphysical symbolisms. It is in this citation that the notion of Africa as a dark continent becomes evident. Thus, the translation of Christian literature with the aim of divesting the Africans themselves of previous beliefs, leading to a state of defamiliarisation and disorientation. Thus, he fails to engage with them at their level. He further states that:

> Our difficulties are certainly of a widely different character, and some have thought ours in Africa small compared with those which our brethren have to encounter in India and elsewhere. This may be so; but during years of apparently fruitless labour, I have often wished to find something, by which I could lay hold on the minds of the natives, an altar to an unknown God, the faith of their ancestors, the immortality of the soul, or any religious association; but nothing of this kind ever floated in their minds. 'They looked upon the sun', as Mr. Campbell very graphically said, 'with the eyes of an ox'.[554]

One of the misperceptions is that missionaries such as Moffat were applying their own worldview in their assessment of those they claimed to be serving. Such a misperception is demonstrated in the expectation of seeing any form of religious imagery or an altar, forgetting that there are various spiritualities as well as expressions of the Divine. Thus, he failed to recognise the deep spirituality that was linked with nature and, more so, the ground. The ground was and continues to be an altar for Africans. It is regarding this attitude that Schapera and Smith offer critique in their reflection on him. As Schapera notes:

> After more than twenty years of residence at Kuruman, Moffat was still capable of writing 'My object here is not to give a description of the manners and customs of the Bechuanas, which would require a volume, while it would be neither very instructive nor very edifying' [...] He was apparently interested in the Batlhaping, not as people with lives of their own, but merely as souls to be saved.[555]

It is in this citation that we can identify his disregard for the Batswana as people, only viewing them as being in need of salvation. It is in this citation that we can observe epistemic privilege as a technology of othering. It is through the power of the pen that we can identify how Moffat 'others' the Batswana by reducing them to beings that are in need of salvation. It is in this approach that it can be argued that he was performing pastoral power

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554. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 169. (Accessed from archive.org.)

555. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, xxvi. Cf. Itumeleng Daniel Mothoagae and Boshadi M. Semenya, "The Operation of Memory in Translation: on Moffat''s Desecration of the Batswana Linguistic Heritage in the Production of the 1857 English–Setswana Bible," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 41 (2015): 44–62.

on the Batswana. Smith made this observation about the religion of the Batswana:

> They also believe universally in the survival of the human personality after death, and revere the spirits of their ancestors, offering them prayers and sacrifices.[556]

For Smith, the Batswana people believed not only in ancestors but also in life after death, which is something that Moffat disputes in his writings. While Smith misconstrues veneration as prayers and libation as an offering of sacrifices, he does recognise some of the key tenets of the Setswana belief system. It is within this context that we are able to locate the belief system of the Batswana. Dube argues that 'scholars in postcolonial translation have argued that translations are also shaped by their intended functions, context, and time'.[557] More often than not, extrabiblical material provides us with a mosaic picture of the strategies that the translators deployed to 'appropriate', manipulate, transform and rewrite with cultural translations that occur to serve particular purposes.[558] Succinctly, translation does not happen in a vacuum. It is precipitated by context, hermeneutical paradigm, discursive practices and power.

To understand the technologies that the translator deployed in the domestication of the concept of demon(s) into the receptor culture, we begin by asking the question: in what way does he perform the act of domestication? In other words, how does the process of domestication take place? To answer this, it is essential to begin with the first gospel that was translated into Setswana, namely the 1830 Gospel of Luke. Dube (1999) argues that one of the strategies performed by the coloniser(s) was to implant their own languages. This, according to her, is an approach that leads to the oppressed perceiving the world from the perspective of their oppressors. Thus, the colonised not only had to adapt to and adopt the colonisers' language, but they also had to adapt to and adopt the culture of the colonisers. According to Dube, the outcome of such a strategy is that the coloniser takes possession of the geographical spaces and the minds of the colonised. She states that 'the imposition of the language of the colonizer is thus an effective instrument for colonizing the minds of the subjugated, for it alienates them from their own cultures.'[559]

556. Edwin W. Smith, *Robert Moffat: One of God's Gardeners* (London: Edinburgh House, 1925), 104. (Accessed from archive.org.)

557. Dube, "Translating *Ngaka*."

558. Cf. Bassnett and Lefevere, *Translation, History and Culture*, 1–3; Edwin C. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 187–203. Cf. Stefano Arduini and Siri Nergaard, "Translation a New Paradigm," *Translation: Transdisciplinary Journal, Inaugural Issue* (2011): 8–15.

559. Dube, "Cultural Bomb," 2.

I would argue that it was through making available the Christian documents such as the Gospel of Luke that the translator in this text imports into the language of the Batswana a foreign concept. For example, in the 1830 Gospel of Luke, the translator *tswanafies* (transliterates) the concept 'demon' to *demona* (Lk 4:33) and, in Luke 4:41, the plural as '*bodemona*'. When one performs an intertextual analysis of the source text and the 1830 text, the following can be observed: firstly, in the source text, the concept that is used is the notion of 'devil'. Secondly, the concept of 'demon' does not appear in the Gospel. The question then follows: how did the translator come up with such a concept if it is not in the source text? Bassnett and Trivedi remind us that:

> […] firstly and very obviously, translation does not happen in a vacuum, but in a continuum; it is not: [*A*]n isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer. Moreover, translation is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems.[560]

Bassnett and Trivedi's argument provides us with a broader point of reference to probabilities in terms of the tswanafication of the concept into the receptor culture. The concept was a familiar one to the translator and likely emanated from his theological framework. Another example of tswanafication is the transliteration of 'devil' [Gk. διάβολος] as *diabolos* in Luke 4:2, 3, 5–6. Thus, from the source text (1611 KJV), while it uses 'devil', the translator does not transliterate the English word into Setswana. Instead, he uses a concept from his theological framework. However, in Luke 4:8, in the 1830 and 1840 translations, the translator tswanafies (transliterates) the concept Satan as *satana* (Lk 4:2–8). It is in the 1830 text that the idea of 'demon' is tswanafied (transliterated or domesticated). Other examples of tswanafication in the text are: synagogue as *senagogeñ* (Lk 4:20); Christ as *Keresete* (Lk 4:41); Legion as *ligion* (Lk 8:30); five as *faev* (Lk 1:24); two as *tu* (Lk 5:7); three as *thri* (Lk 4:25); seven as *seven* (Lk 2:36); heathen as *baeteni* (Lk 2:32); altar as *aletara* (Lk 1:11); and angels as *baengeli* (Lk 4:10).

Dube's (1999) argument that Moffat, in his translation, performs a transliteration of the concept becomes valid in analysing the 1830 translation of Luke's Gospel. However, it was not a transliteration of what is in the text, the 1611 KJV, but a transliteration of a concept available in the translator's

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own theological purview. Therefore, in analysing the translations, it is necessary to determine whether the translator was working on the basis of the source text or on the basis of theological concepts available through memory.

Furthermore, it is essential to note how other translations during the time of Moffat translated the concept of 'devil'. For example, in the 1894[561] text, 'devil' is translated as *temona*, 'devils' as *batemona*, 'unclean spirits' as *motemona* and 'Satan' as *satan*. Like the Moffat text, it can be argued that they were not transliterating from the source text but rather improvising by implanting a new concept known to them. The concepts 'devil', 'Satan' and 'unclean spirit(s)' are completely foreign in the Setswana religio-cultural belief system because the notion of dualism in the universe, that of a good Divine and a fallen angel, does not form part of the faith of the Batswana. Rather, evil for them comes through witchcraft and from the Divine. Thus, the image of the Divine, who is utterly good, was not part of the belief system. Such a notion does not create tensions with the image. I contend that such an image appears to be similar to the image of the Divine portrayed in the mythological story of Job in the Old Testament. Another fundamental element related to the notion of 'devil' is the concept of sin. For the Batswana, one cannot sin against the Divine but only against one's own fellow brothers and sisters. Sin, in the context of the Setswana belief system, is relational between persons and between humanity and nature. Thus, the restoration of such a relationship was carried out through rituals such as libation.

In respect of the 1840 text, it appears that the translator had two choices, namely to transliterate (tswanafy) or use the available concept within the receptor culture at the time of his revision of the 1830 text. As Moffat was not trained in reading Greek, he was not working from the Greek text for him to transliterate from the Greek. Therefore, it may be reasonably concluded that there are instances in which the translator was not working on the basis of his source text but rather on the basis of his own theological framework.

Therefore, Moffat, as an outsider, had to learn the sound and pronunciation of Setswana. What is heard (sound) could be mispronounced, misconstrued and miswritten in translation in this process, for example, *Morimo* instead of *Modimo*, or *monona* (singular) and *bonona* (plural) instead of *monna* and *banna*. Furthermore, *dingaka tsa dinaka* [diviner-healers], whether it was at the *kgotla* [royal court] or on a family level, would get into an altered

561. John Mackenzie, *Testamente e Ncha ya Yesu Kreste ka puo ea Seroloñ* [The New Testament in the Secoana Language] (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894), 104. (Accessed from archive.org.)

state of consciousness to diagnose. Even further, he probably heard people say *o na le Badimo* [he or she has the gift of the ancestors]. He states that:

> The dominant cult was the worship of ancestral spirit (*Badimo*). Each family was held to be under the supernatural guidance and protection of its deceased ancestors in the male line, to whom sacrifices were offered and prayers said on all occasions of domestic importance.[562]

In my view, the translation of 'devil' as *bademona* in Moffat's 1840 translation does not fall under the category of transliteration; rather, it should be viewed as a deployment of the available concept within the receptor culture, in this case, the concept of *Badimo*. The word *bademona* is not a transliteration of the English word 'devil' or 'Satan', nor is it a transliteration of the two concepts of *diabolos* and 'demon', which were available in the translator's theological framework. As already noted, there were instances wherein the translator transliterated these two concepts: *diabolos* (source text [ST]) as *diabolos* (receptor culture [RC]) and 'demon' (ST) as *demona* (RC) or *batemona* (pl.).

In the case of translating 'devil' as *bademoni*, the translator takes the available concept within the receptor culture and morphs it to derive new meaning by applying it to a concept that is foreign. In doing so, he does what can be referred to as *go nyenyefatsa* [disparaging or demeaning] *Badimo* into *bademoni*, evil beings that need to be cast out. Through the performance of foreignisation and re-domestication of the concept, a new meaning emerges in the receptor culture. For the new meaning to make sense, it must find a further reference within the Setswana religio-cultural practices. These references become interpreted from the perspective of the re-domestication of the concept. The new connections emerge as the result of trying to find elements in the receptor culture associated with demons. On the part of the translator, there are two dimensions: that of a translator and that of an interpreter. The translator, in other words, engages in finding a new reference within the Batswana culture. Therefore, the translator, being influenced by their cultural background, preconceived perceptions and theological outlook, was drawing a connection between 'devil(s)', things satanic, demonic or evil, with the concept of *Badimo*, which in the receptor culture were believed to manifest themselves in ordinary people and the *ngaka* [doctors].

In terms of sound, *Badimo* and *bademoni* come very close, as the difference is only in the ending. Most of the people during Moffat's time would have simply heard the text being read without necessarily reading the text themselves. The two words *Badimo* and *bademo* sound exactly

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562. Moffat and Moffat, *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, xxi. Cf. Mothoagae, "The Gendered God."

the same. The addition of the *-ni* at the end of the word should be viewed as a process of *nyenyefatsa*, that is, an act of demeaning something. What we have in the case of *Badimo* and *bademoni* is therefore not just a case of similar-sounding words, as there is no such word as *bademoni* in the Setswana culture; instead, it is a case of association of a cultural concept with a biblical concept. In this case, the concept of *Badimo,* which had no negative connotation in Setswana culture, becomes associated with a negative concept of demons or evil spirits. In so doing, *Badimo* in the Setswana culture became associated with devils, demons or evil spirits as *bademoni*, because, in the Setswana culture, the only thing that the translator could construe as an example of what is projected in the biblical text would have been the manifestation of *Badimo* in the Setswana culture. Therefore, through an introduction of the concept *bademoni*, the *Badimo* are brought under the biblical purview of devils or demons or evil spirits.

The concept *bademoni* has no singular. For the term to be singular, the best option is to render it *ledomoni*. Another possible concept that he could have explored to singularise the concept would be to use *ledemoni*, *mademoni* as in *legodimo* [heaven] or *magodimo* [heavens]. However, concepts such as *mademona* or *modemoni* or *ledemona* or *ledemoni* are all foreign concepts. Therefore, it means that linguistically and culturally, there is no equivalent concept to devil(s).

■ Emerging tensions: Source text and receptor culture

In analysing and interpreting the said texts, the point of departure should begin with the targeted culture's lived experience. Such an interpretation peels off the upper layer resulting from the effects of translation. An argument can be made that Moffat intended to translate evil spirits as *bademoni*. If so, did he use the available concept from the receptor culture, or did he import the concept? In the previous section, I argued for the former, that he used the available sign and meaning that existed within the receptor culture. I further pointed out that the Batswana did not have a concept of 'demon' or 'devil'. What did he perceive to be at play when he witnessed the diviner-healers being in a state of trance? What did the Batswana understand about being in a trance? What images does the New Testament provide us with in relation to demon(s), devil(s) or unclean spirit(s)?

In his translation, Moffat re-domesticates *Badimo* and locates them with the various categories. The *Badimo*, in Luke 8:27; 8:30, 33, 35, 36, 38, are located in bodies. In the New Testament, the narratives on the image

of demon(s) are that they torment those that they possess. The Batswana hearers had to reorient their thinking, as an experience of the possession by the *Badimo* became associated with the image of demonic possession in the New Testament because the Batswana did not have a phenomenon of being possessed by a so-called evil spirit or demon. In other words, the notion of being possessed by a demon in the Setswana culture or tradition – linguistically, conceptually and in terms of the image or symbolism – does not form part of the Setswana religio-cultural practices. For that reason, the hearers (in this case, a Motswana) were hearing and reading a text that was not meant for them, as it was written within a particular context, addressing a particular phenomenon. Such a text that is embedded with its own identity is imported into their lived experience.

The link occurs at the point of reading and finding meaning in the text. The reference point then becomes the traditional practitioners because, from time to time, they would fall into a trance. It is at this point that the translator, and more so the interpreter, could link that phenomenon of being in an altered state of consciousness such that it would be associated with demonic activities. This is parallel to the calling of the person called to be a diviner-healer. For that reason, the tension between the source text and the receptor culture is an attempt to equate demonic possession with a calling or a state of trance that the diviner-healers experienced. These two concepts cannot be equated because being sick as a result of not responding to or experiencing a calling cannot be demon possession.

Furthermore, those possessed by evil spirits in the exorcism narratives are depicted as suffering and requiring healing. In Luke 4:41; 8:30; 11:15, the *bademona* are portrayed as evil spirits which make human bodies their residence, that is, living in the person's body, tormenting the person. Such an idea is entirely foreign in the Batswana culture, as *Badimo* never made human bodies permanent residences of their own. In the Batswana culture and many other African cultures, *Badimo* [ancestors] manifest themselves only occasionally and not as spirits which take over human bodies, as though the living dead come and occupy other people's bodies as their own. The association of *Badimo* with *bademona* subsumes the ancestors under the binary opposition of evil versus good, demons versus angels, evil spirits versus holy spirit(s), Satan versus God. In so doing, the *Badimo* were theologically viewed as falling within the scope of the evil, demonic and satanic.

The question then emerges: what alternative concept should the translator use when translating? The image(s) and symbol(s) of demon(s)

are found in texts such as the Greek, the Vulgate and the Septuagint.[563] In his book *Pagans and Christians* (1989), Fox makes a compelling argument that is worth noting. According to him, the image, conceptualisation and symbolism of demon(s) are essential in locating the concept's evolution, meaning, imagery and symbolism. He argues that in the context of Greek, the concept did not have any connotations of evil. In fact, for Fox, εὐδαιμονία *eudaimonia* [literally, good-spiritedness] means happiness. He further maintains that cults around statues were perceived to be inhabited by the gods' numinous presence in the early Roman Empire. He states:

> Like pagans, Christians still sensed and saw the gods and their power, and as something, they had to assume, lay behind it, by an easy traditional shift of opinion they turned these pagan daimones into malevolent 'demons,' the troupe of Satan [...] Far into the Byzantine period Christians eyed their cities' old pagan statuary as a seat of the demons' presence. It was no longer beautiful, it was infested.[564]

He further argues that the evolution of the concept moves from a positive image to a negative one. This, according to him, can be traced to the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. He maintains that it drew on the mythology of ancient Semitic religions. The negative connotation in the Koine text of the New Testament was inherited.[565] Following Fox's argument, it can be argued that the translator was probably influenced by the negative connotation attributed to the image and symbolism of the concept 'demon', as much as when translating, he imported a similar description, even though such an image did not exist within the receptor culture. Therefore, the very embodying of these attributes becomes a cultural reference.

The question then could be raised: what equivalent word or name should he have used? The Batswana culture and language do not have a concept of devils, demons or evil spirits, which are an army of Satan or the Devil. The closest that one can come is *boloyi* as a negative concept of tormenting, inflicting another with sickness and seeking the destruction of others because of jealousy. However, *boloyi* in the Setswana culture is not

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563. I would argue that the etymology of the word provides the conceptualisation of the image as well as its symbolism. In other words, it presents us with its frame of reference as well as the interpretation of the concept. In the Greco-Roman world, the term, depending on its social location, had its own reference: Latin *daemon* [spirit], from Greek *daimōn* [deity, divine power, lesser god, guiding spirit, tutelary deity] (sometimes included the souls of the dead). The image finds its malevolent meaning because the Greek word was used (with *daimonion*) in Christian Greek translations and the Vulgate for 'god of the heathen, heathen idol' and for 'unclean spirit.' While the Jewish authors earlier had employed the Greek word in this sense, using it to render *shedim* 'lords, idols' in the Septuagint, the synoptic Gospels have *daimones* (cf. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* [New York: Penguin, 1989]).

564. Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 137.

565. Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 137.

associated with possession by an ancestral spirit; however, it is an art which can move from one generation to another within the family as other family members take over the art, not as an act of possession but as an act of inheriting a practice which is associated with tormenting and inflicting pain on others. In Setswana culture, as in many other African cultures, *boloyi* is an act of human beings, human against human, and not interference of extraterrestrial forces in human life.

Other translations have opted to translate concepts such as δαιμόνιον, διάβολος, σατάν and πονηρός ('evil one', Mt 6:13) would be to follow the Greek concept of πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ('unclean or evil spirit', Mt 10:1; 12:43; Mk 1:23, 26, 27; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 13; 6:7; 9:25; Lk 4:33, 36; 6:18; 8:29; 9:42; 11:24; Ac 5:16; 8:7) or πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν ('evil spirit', Lk 7:21; 8:2; Ac 19:15, 16; see also Tob 6:8), which commonly rendered 'evil spirit', which is more of a descriptive phrase than an abstract term. The two terms are also used to qualify the word δαιμόνιον (Lk 4:33). This would require rendering the various concepts as *mowa o maswe* (singular) or *mewa e maswe* (plural). The use of *mowa o maswe* is a way of trying to make sense of the concepts of a foreign biblical worldview in which there is a belief in extraterrestrial forces which are evil and which enter into a person, tormenting or causing sickness or paralysis. However, the concept *moa o maswe* in Setswana does not imply an external force but one that a person projects or displays in and through his life. Furthermore, it would also require a hierarchisation of the *moa e maswe*. Therefore, abstract concepts such as διάβολος or σατάν are to be rendered *moholo wa moa e maswe* as a way of imagining the worldview of others in which there is a hierarchy of evil beings in the binary of evil–good.

◼ Findings

Wa Thiong'o holds that:

> [*T*]he biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance [*of the colonised*] is the cultural bomb. The effect of a bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves.[566]

These categories are, of course, the case already in the King James Version, but Moffat selects the sign of *Badimo* as the translational equivalent, yet the values that produced the sign are by no means equivalent to those of the SL. Through an act of re-domestication, the exorcism narratives in the Setswana translated text equate *Badimo* with the devil(s) and demons, thus foreignising their role from the Divine to evil. The same *Badimo* are 'cast out' by Jesus and are to be 'cast out' by his disciples.

566. Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, 16; cf. Mothoagae, "The Colonial Matrix of Power."

The re-domestication of *Badimo* performs an act of subjugating the *Badimo* to the power of Jesus to the extent that, in certain narratives, they tremble before the mighty and powerful Jesus, the Son of *Modimo*. The translator achieves the appropriation of *Badimo* as agents of Satan firstly by separating *Badimo* from *Modimo*. This is attained in the re-domestication of *Modimo* as the biblical God first.

Ntloedibe-Kuswani reminds us that in the exorcism narratives, the translator foreignises and re-domesticates *Badimo* and, in so doing, engages in the process of Christianising, colonising and hijacking many Batswana religious and cultural elements which do not share the attributes in the biblical text.[567] The re-domestication of *Badimo* as evil spirits through association led to the performance of epistemicide and pheumacide, culminating in the reordering of the culture of the Batswana. Thus, the translator re-domesticated the concept by giving it a new meaning. In the association of *Badimo* with evil spirits, through an act of re-domestication, Moffat reorders the Setswana cosmological worldview. It is in the re-domestication of *Badimo* that reordering and rewriting became affected. The translation of devil(s) as *bademoni* (*bademona*) shackles, exiles and marginalises the religious identity embedded in the belief that the ancestors intercede and also form part of the integral spirituality of the Batswana. The re-domestication of the *Badimo* as devil(s) sought to rupture the Batswana converts from their tradition and customs to Western colonial Christianity. The conceptualisation of *Badimo* within the framework of *ngwao* illustrates the extent to which the translator misconstrued the symbolism and image of *Badimo* within the cultural belief system of the Batswana. I argued that *ngwao* as a frame of reference embodies the belief in *Modimo* and *Badimo* and also functions as the education of the people.

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567. Ntloedibe-Kuswani, "Translating the Divine," 90.

The decolonial shift is a project of delinking

'Until the lion tells his side of the story, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.'[568]

■ Decolonial reflection

This study has analysed primary sources such as the journals, letters, biographies and the 1840 Gospel of Luke translated by Moffat and the 1611 King James Bible as a source text. The study had four questions underpinning it. These questions emanated from the social location and epistemic location of the subaltern. Such locations are informed by the consistent state of double consciousness, a state of supremacy and inferiority, with a constant call for the cutting of the umbilical cord, the denial of identity and of self.

568. The proverb can be explained in the following manner. The Lion is a metaphor for African People. While the Hunter is a metaphor for the colonisers. In the context of this study, the translated Christian literature, schools, governmental systems, and church institutions are systems brought about by colonisation through institutions such as missionary societies. Not only did they use this as a form of surveillance, but also as a form of power and knowledge. Through discursive methods, they documented and wrote what they thought of the 'discovered', 'heathen' and 'barbaric' people. The world only knows about the truth the hunters wrote since they were in authority and literate. Therefore, the stories are written from their perspective and therefore may not be entirely true. The proverb propels African people to tell their stories. Cf. Kole Odutola, "Orality, Media, and Information Technology," in *The Palgrave Handbook of African Oral Traditions and Folklore* (ed. Akinyemi and Falola; Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-55517-7_40

My key objective was to analyse the notions of power within the 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke and its effects on the reordering and erosion of the Batswana belief system – in other words, the agent behind the translation, the translator himself. The aims of the study were the following: firstly, to analyse the Moffat translation project among the Batswana people using three intersectional instruments, that is, the Foucauldian notion of power, decoloniality and cultural translation; secondly, to analyse the multilaterality of power performed by the missionary institutions, missionaries and the Batswana; thirdly, to analyse the various strategies and mechanisms performed by the translator in translating the Gospel of Luke into Setswana (Setlhaping dialect); lastly, to determine how translation was used to perform the erosion and epistemicide of the religio-cultural signs and practices of the Batswana leading to spiritualcide or pneumacide. The various chapters of the book analysed the layers of power within the colonial matrix of power.

I dealt with the significance of the study. The study focused on the three theories that are employed intersectionally in the study: the Foucauldian notion of power, the decolonial turn and the cultural translation. Therefore, the study proceeded from the social location and epistemic location of the *damnés*, that is, of my own people, the Batswana people. From this location, therefore, I analysed the missionary archives of the 19th century and the 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke, applying the Foucauldian notion of governmentality and the decolonial notion of the colonial matrix of power. This was taken as an initial analysis in order to provide the necessary context in which the 1840 English–Setswana translation emerged. This was key to understanding how power functioned during the 19th-century missionary enterprise within the missionary movement and between the Batswana and the missionaries themselves.

This led to analytically raising the problematics of Bible translation by focusing on the technologies and mechanisms that the translator employed, such as the notion of the gospel of condemnation. This further highlighted the various letters and journal recordings written by Moffat relating to his conversation with the target audience and his admission of lacking the basic lexicon and grammar. In an analysis of the translation of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke and its use of the concept of *Modimo*, I focused on specific texts that refer to *Modimo* as *Rara* (Father) and those that refer to Jesus as the Son of *Modimo*. The texts that the study focused on were Luke 1:32; 4:3; 6:36; 10:21–22; 11:2; 20:37, 22:29; 22:42; 23:34; 23:46; 24:49. These texts were read within the context of the source text. Succinctly put, the translator applied Western universal Christian criteria of determining the components, attributes and characteristics of what constitutes the Divine. The texts were analysed from the social location and epistemic location of the subaltern within the paradigm of the receptor culture, applying a decolonial perspective.

Furthermore, I began by contextually locating the notions of demons, Satan and evil spirits within the Jewish and Greco-Roman world context. I further analysed the exorcism narratives of the 1840 Gospel of Luke and their application of the concept of *Badimo*. I highlighted the mechanisms employed by the translator in selecting the sign *Badimo* as the translational equivalence, while the values that produced the sign are by no means equivalent to those of the SL. Through an act of re-domestication, the exorcism narratives in the Setswana translated text equate *Badimo* with the devil(s) and demons, thus foreignising their role from the Divine to evil. The same *Badimo* are 'cast out' or 'exorcised' by Jesus and are to be 'cast out' by his disciples. The re-domestication of *Badimo* was a performance of an act of subjugating the *Badimo* to the power of Jesus. This includes the *tswanafication* of certain concepts into Setswana. The introduction of these concepts and their conceptualisation are viewed from the perspective of the source text.

The study supports the argument by various scholars across disciplines on the interconnectedness between colonialism and Christianisation of the so-called heathen. Thus, in excavating the various layers, the missionary archives play a fundamental role in locating the missionary enterprise's social location and epistemic location within the 19th-century world order and the transmission of the Christian faith to the colonies and non-European worlds that were deemed to be characterised by heathenism. The Christianisation of Africa was a project intertwined with the colonial project, which had as its chief goal the exploitation of the colonised people and their land resources. In the Christian-colonial project, Bible translation was a mission; it was integral to spreading the Christian faith. Thus, the Christianisation of Africa formed part of the colonial matrix of power.

In this study, my focus fell on the Moffat 1840 English–Setswana translation, which he translated using the 1611 King James Bible as the source text. This study demonstrated how the colonial matrix of power was reproduced in the translation and functioned as a vehicle for transmitting Christian theological nuances. In translating the biblical text, the translator also engages in transmitting his theological outlook, thus, colonising the knowledge through the use of imperial knowledge to suppress colonised subjectivities. In doing so, the marginalisation of indigenous belief and knowledge systems was effected. The study makes the following findings:

1. Identifying the rule and recognising the colonial matrix of power in the production of the 19th-century genre, including the translated texts into the languages of the colonised.
2. The missionary enterprise was a site for the performance of multilateral power. In the manner in which the LMS functioned as an institution, their surveillance mechanisms, the nature of Moffat's response and the act of

translation itself, governmentality could be discerned as 'conduct of conduct.'

3. In his translation of the 1840 Setswana Bible, Moffat relied on the 1611 King James Bible. In the translation process, he *tswanafied* (domesticated, used loanwords or transliterated) some of the concepts into the receptor culture, thus rendering the text as an English–Setswana text. The text then became a tool for epistemic violence on the linguistic heritage of the receptor culture, while at the same time, he wrote down some of the receptor culture concepts in the manner in which he heard them being said.

4. Linguistic and conceptual tensions existed between the text and the receptor culture, for example, the translation of the sign and meaning of *Modimo* and *Badimo*. As these concepts were interpreted within their cultural reference point, tensions emerged. Such tensions reinforced the Western social hierarchical structure and, in so doing, paved the way to epistemic violence. The consequence of this epistemic violence led to epistemicide (including spiritual epistemicide) on the Batswana indigenous knowledge system, religion and culture. The Gospel of Luke thus became a symbol of colonial space, power and hegemony.

Therefore, any project of decolonisation must be fully aware of its positionality (social and epistemic) within a system that was designed to be exclusive of non-Western epistemologies – in other words, how power is performed within the colonial matrix. Border thinking becomes necessary for any decolonial programme that begins with the weakest link of the colonial matrices, modifications with the following imperatives in mind: that the continuing presence of Bible translations, which originated during the colonial period as part and parcel of people's lives in Africa, requires continuing decolonisation, not simply to understand how the missionaries translated the text but more so to rehabilitate and restore the African religio-cultural riches that were eroded in the process. This includes liberating the indigenous conceptualisation of the Divine and, in so doing, reclaiming the Divine who was textually masculinised, gendered and exiled. African biblical sciences must decentralise Western epistemological and hermeneutical paradigms and centre Africa and reading approaches that have developed from the periphery. Such a process requires an Afro-sense, as it is rooted in the existential experiences of the colonised. Additionally, Biblical scholarship in Africa must move beyond Western universality by embracing pluriversality. Such an approach would advance decolonisation and border thinking. The Maasai Creed serves as an example of decolonisation and border thinking. Furthermore, there is a need for those of us whose religio-cultural systems were ploughed under to reclaim our identity and address their annihilation from the self.

The analysis of 19th-century literature, such as the composition and translation of hymns and the translation of the 1840 English–Setswana Gospel of Luke, contributes greatly to the field of New Testament and Early Christianity Studies as a shift has been made from a focus on the meaning of the text, that is, a shift of the focus on the biblical text to biblical discourse, and how the biblical text functions and performs as an act of colonisation, in this case, as a translation in the 19th century. Some of the scholars working on postcolonial biblical hermeneutics and those in the paradigm of decoloniality, basing their analysis on biblical texts as well as translated texts, are attempting to respond to the proverb, 'Until the lion tells his side of the story, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter,' by analysing the 19th- and 20th-century material, bringing forth the silent voices in this literature. These scholars have indicated the importance of studying these materials. Therefore, this study has paid attention to the contemporaries of Moffat to ascertain the emergence of biblical discourse in South Africa within the missionary enterprise. It is these discourses of that time that made direct and indirect contributions to the production of the Moffat Bible. As the Zulu proverb warns us: 'Copying everyone else all the time, the monkey one day cut his throat.'[569]

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569. Accessed from *African Proverbs, Sayings and Stories*, n.p. [cited 13 June 2024]. Online: https://afriprov. tangaza.ac.ke/2003-weekly-african-proverbs/

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Extracts from the Bechuana spelling book compiled by Robert Moffat

BECHUANA

SPELLING - BOOK,

COMPILED BY

Mr. ROBERT MOFFAT,

MISSIONARY AT LATTAKOO.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

By J. Dennett, Leather Lane, Holborn.

1826.

Source: R. Moffat, *Bechuana Spelling Book* (ed. Robert Moffat; J Dennett, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1826). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books from the Harvard Depository Special Collection.

Appendix 1: Extracts from the Bechuana spelling book compiled by Robert Moffat

Source: R. Moffat, *Bechuana Spelling Book* (ed. Robert Moffat; J Dennett, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1826). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books from the Harvard Depository Special Collection.

AN ALPHABET, SHOWING THE SOUNDS.

Vowels		long	sound		Vowels		short	sound
A'	á	as	a in father		A	a	as	a in lad
E'	é	as	a in haste		E	é	as	e in clemency
I'	í	as	ee in leek		I	i	as	i in lie
O'	ó	as	o in pole		O	o	as	o in pot
U'	ú	as	oo in cool		U	u	as	oo in cook

Diphthongs.   **Sound.**

ae   has the sound of long e

ai   nearly like i in mine

au   as in caught

ei   nearly like the interjection heh!

oa   as in the true pronunciation of house

ua   as in quart

ue   as heard in query

ea ⎫

eo ⎬ both letters are distinctly pronounced

uá ⎪

oa ⎭

From this Table a tolerable idea may be formed, but the accuracy of many of the sounds can only be acquired by the ear.

Consonants.		Names.	Remarks.		Consonants.		Names.	Remarks.
B	b	ba			N	n	na	
C	c	cha			P	p	pa	
D	d	da	⎰ used in the eastern		R	r	ra	
F	f	fa	⎱ nations instead of b		S	s	sa	
Ġ	ġ	ga			T	t	la	Dental
H	h	ha			V	v	va	used in foreign words
J	j	ja	used in foreign words		W	w	wa	
K	k	ka			Y	y	ya	
L	l	la			Z	z	za	used in foreign words
M	m	ma						

Letters and Words denoting simple Sounds.

ch	as in child, chance		ny	nearly like in and ya pronounced both at once
kl	as in klick			
ng	as in king, rang		sh	as in shut, ash
ng	at the beginning of words forms the nasal sound		th	pronounced as if written tah
			tl	like the Welsh ll' but more acute

THE ALPHABET.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N
O P R S T U V W Y

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o
p r s t u v w y

Vowel Sounds.

A' á   E' é   I' í   O' ó   U' ú
A a   E e   I i   O o   U u

Diphthongs.

ae   ai   au   ei   ou   ua   ue

Both Letters distinctly pronounced.

ea   eo   ua   oa

Letters denoting simple Sounds.

ch   kl   ng   ny   sh   th   tl

Numerals.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.
1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	6,	7,	8,	9,	10,

XI.	XII.	XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.	XX.
11,	12,	13,	14,	15,	16,	17,	18,	19,	20,

XXX.	XL.	L.	LX.	LXX.	LXXX.	XC.	C.
30,	40,	50,	60,	70,	80,	90,	100.

Source: R. Moffat, *Bechuana Spelling Book* (ed. Robert Moffat; J Dennett; Harvard University, Cambridge, 1826). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books from the Harvard Depository Special Collection.

Appendix 2: Extracts from Rev. William Brown's work, which served as a source text for the translation
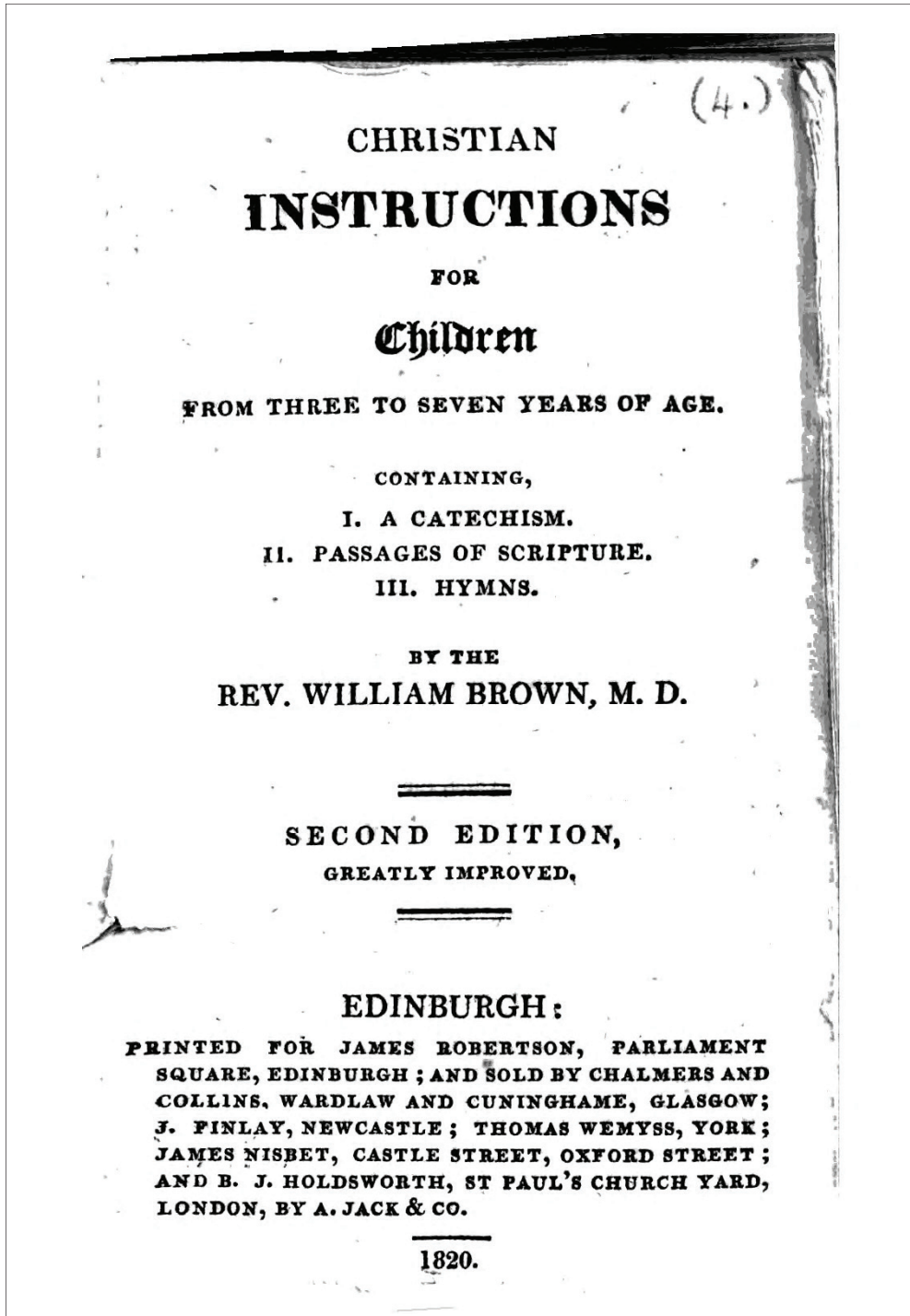
CHRISTIAN

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR

Children

FROM THREE TO SEVEN YEARS OF AGE.

CONTAINING,

I. A CATECHISM.
II. PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.
III. HYMNS.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M. D.

SECOND EDITION,
GREATLY IMPROVED,

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR JAMES ROBERTSON, PARLIAMENT
SQUARE, EDINBURGH; AND SOLD BY CHALMERS AND
COLLINS. WARDLAW AND CUNINGHAME, GLASGOW;
J. FINLAY, NEWCASTLE; THOMAS WEMYSS, YORK;
JAMES NISBET, CASTLE STREET, OXFORD STREET;
AND B. J. HOLDSWORTH, ST PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
LONDON, BY A. JACK & CO.

1820.

Source: W. Brown, *Christian Instructions for Children from Three to Seven Years of Age* (2nd ed.; James Robertson, Edinburgh, 1820). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books.

As the CATECHISM which forms the first part of this little work is intended for Children so young as three years of age, the author has endeavoured to render it level to their comprehension, by the use of such expressions as they were likely best to understand.

The PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE are meant to be commonly repeated in succession; but with the view of exercising the understanding of the learner, and of building his faith as much as possible on the word of God, it will be desirable that the Teacher in hearing the Catechism should, as often as it is practicable, make him bring forward from the Scripture a proof of what he has said. Thus, when the Child has answered the Question, " Can you see God ?" the teacher may say, " Will you give me a passage from the Bible which tells you that nobody ever saw God ?" To this the Child, if he understands what he has learned, will reply: " No man hath seen God at any time." In order to render this exercise more easy, the Editor has numbered the passages of Scripture, and has made references to them from the Catechism whereever they appeared to form a suitable proof of any question.

With the view of making the Child understand the Passages of Scripture and the Hymns more completely, it will also be necessary that the Teacher should ask a number of little questions upon them. Take, for example, the next text that occurs: " Thou God seest me; yea the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee." On this passage it may be useful to ask such questions as the following; Does God always see you ? Yes. " Thou God seest me." Does he see you when it is dark as well as when it is light ? Yes. " Yea the darkness hideth not from thee." Does he see you during the night as well as during the day ? Yes; to thee " the night shineth as the day—the darkness and the light are both alike to thee !"

It is quite unnecessary for the Editor to add, that the HYMNS are not of his own composition. They are taken chiefly from Dr Watts' Divine Songs for Children, and from three excellent little works by the Miss Taylors, entitled, Hymns for Infant Minds, Original Poems for Infant Minds, and Original Hymns for Sunday Schools. The others are by Brackenbury, Newton, and Steele.

B 👑 M

CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTIONS.

PART I.

A CATECHISM.

Q. **W**HO made the sun, the moon, and the stars?
　　It was God.

Q. Who made the sea, the trees, and the beasts?
　　It was God.

Q. Who made you?
　　It was God.

Q. Was it God who made all things?
　　Yes.

Q. How many Gods are there?
　　There is but one God.

Q. Where does he dwell?
　　In heaven.

Q. Where is heaven?
　　Far away, beyond the sun, the moon, and the
　　stars.

Q. Had God ever a beginning?
　　No.

Q. Will he ever die?
　　No.

Q. Is God present in every place?
　　Yes.

Q. Can you see God?
　　No: nobody ever saw God. (1.)

Q. Does God always see you?
　　Yes: he sees me wherever I am, both by night
　　and by day.

Q. Does God know all things?

Source: W. Brown, *Christian Instructions for Children from Three to Seven Years of Age* (2nd ed.; James Robertson, Edinburgh, 1820). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books.

PART II.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

~~~~~~~~

Of God.

1. No man hath seen God at any time.

2. Thou God seest me.

The darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.

3. With God all things are possible: the things which are impossible with men are possible with God.

4. Far be it from God that he should do wickedness, and from the Almighty that he should commit iniquity.

The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.

5. God is not a man that he should lie.

6. God is love.

Thou, O Lord, art good, and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee.

7. Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised; his greatness is unsearchable.

II. Of Man.

8. By one man's disobedience many were made sinners.

9. All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.

There is not a just man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not.

PART III.

H Y M N S.

I. ABOUT GOD, WHO MADE THE SUN AND MOON.

CHILD.

1. I saw the glorious sun arise
   From yonder mountain grey ;
   And as he travell'd through the skies,
   The darkness fled away,
   And all around me was so bright,
   I wish'd it would be always light.

2. But when his shining course was done,
   The gentle moon drew nigh,
   And stars came twinkling one by one,
   Upon the shady sky.—
   Who made the sun to shine so far,
   The moon and every twinkling star ?

MAMMA.

3. 'Twas God, my child, who made them all,
   By his almighty skill :
   He keeps them, that they do not fall,
   And guides them as he will :
   That glorious God, who lives afar,
   In heaven, beyond the highest star.

CHILD.

4. How very great that God must be,
   Who rolls them through the air !
   Too high, mamma, to notice me,
   Or listen to my prayer !
   O tell me, will he condescend
   To be a little infant's friend ?

MAMMA.

5. He will, my love ; for though he made
   Those wonders in the sky,
   You never need to be afraid
   He should neglect your cry ;

Source: W. Brown, *Christian Instructions for Children from Three to Seven Years of Age* (2nd ed.; James Robertson, Edinburgh, 1820). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books.

Appendix 3: Extracts from the 1826 *Bechuana Catechism* translated by Robert Moffat

A

BECHUANA CATECHISM,

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF

THE THIRD CHAPTER OF THE GOSPEL BY JOHN,

The Lord's Prayer,

AND

OTHER PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, &c.

In that Language.

———◆———

BY MR. ROBERT MOFFAT,

MISSIONARY AT LATTAKOO.

————

PRINTED FOR THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

By J. Dennett, Leather Lane, Holborn.

———

1826.

Source: R. Moffat, *A Bechuana Catechism, with Translations of the Third Chapter of the Gospel by John, The Lord's Prayer and Other Passages of Scripture* (J Dennett, Holborn, 1826). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books.

PART I.

—

(A CATECHISM.)

Book oa Botsa.

1 Botsa. E mang yo ú ríhíle letsátsí ung-
werí le línalerí?
Araba. Elele Morímo.

2 B. E mang yo ú ríhíle nukaekólu le ltílarí
le likomo? ꞏ
A. Elele Morímo.

3 B. E mang yo u guríhíleng?
A. Elele Morímo.

4 B. Elele Morímo a popíleng dílo chótle?
A. Ae.

5 B. Mèrímo e kai?
A. Ele Morímo mongwe héla.

6 B. Morímo u ága ki?
A. Kua legorímo.

Source: R. Moffat, *A Bechuana Catechism, with Translations of the Third Chapter of the Gospel by John, The Lord's Prayer and Other Passages of Scripture* (J Dennett, Holborn, 1826). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available on Google Books.

6

things we do ; if we ever go there, it must be through the love * of Jesus Christ.

Q. Will you ever get to heaven, if you continue a wicked child ?

No : though it is not as a reward for being good children that any are taken to heaven, yet unless we are holy, we shall never go to that happy place. (39)

Q. Who is Jesus Christ ?

He is the Son of God.

Q. What did Jesus Christ become ?

He became a man.

Q. Was it very wonderful in the son of God to become a man.

Yes : very wonderful.

Q. Who was his mother ?

The Virgin Mary, a poor woman.

Q. Where was he born ?

In a stable.

Q. Where did he sleep ?

In the manger.

Q. What did Jesus Christ do when on earth ?

He went about doing good.

Q. What were some of the good things he did ?

He healed the sick, made the lame to walk, the blind to see, the deaf to hear, and the dead to live again.

Q. Was Jesus Christ very kind to little children ?

Yes : He said, " Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Q. Did Jesus Christ ever do any thing that was bad?

No : he was without sin.

Q. What kind of a life had Jesus Christ on earth ?

* Or merits.

PART II.

(PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.)

———

Mahúka mo antsíchíng mo lokualong Morímo.

———

Ġa Morímo.

Ġaġope ósí a kía bonye Morímo.

O'na Morímo oampóna.

Lehíhí gale ke le sípe sa gágo; me bosígo bo a patsíma yaka mutsegare Lehíhí le mutsegare ġa le a chuana ha pele ġa gágo.

Ha Morímo dílo chotle o aba o sarí reteléla dílo, tse lí a bore ríle tháta ha bátu rí a bore sítháta ha Morímo.

Ġo ríha dlíbe ġosío mo Morímo.

29

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Rapela oa Krist Morena oa Chóna.

Hára chóna eo kua legorímo, lína ya gágo lí a kluklísíwa. Goloula ga gágo go etla, ríha mónu lehátsí kaha ú ratang go ríha kagon, yaka kua legorímo. Renáye gompíéno dlíyo tsa metla eotle me ha chuareléle melátu ea chóna yaka chóna hetla he chuareléle ba baríhíleng melátu ha pele ga chóna, seba re gogéla mo dlíbe, re íntse mo dlíbeng ka goloula ele ga gágo, me le thata, le mo gokluklesíwa. Amen.
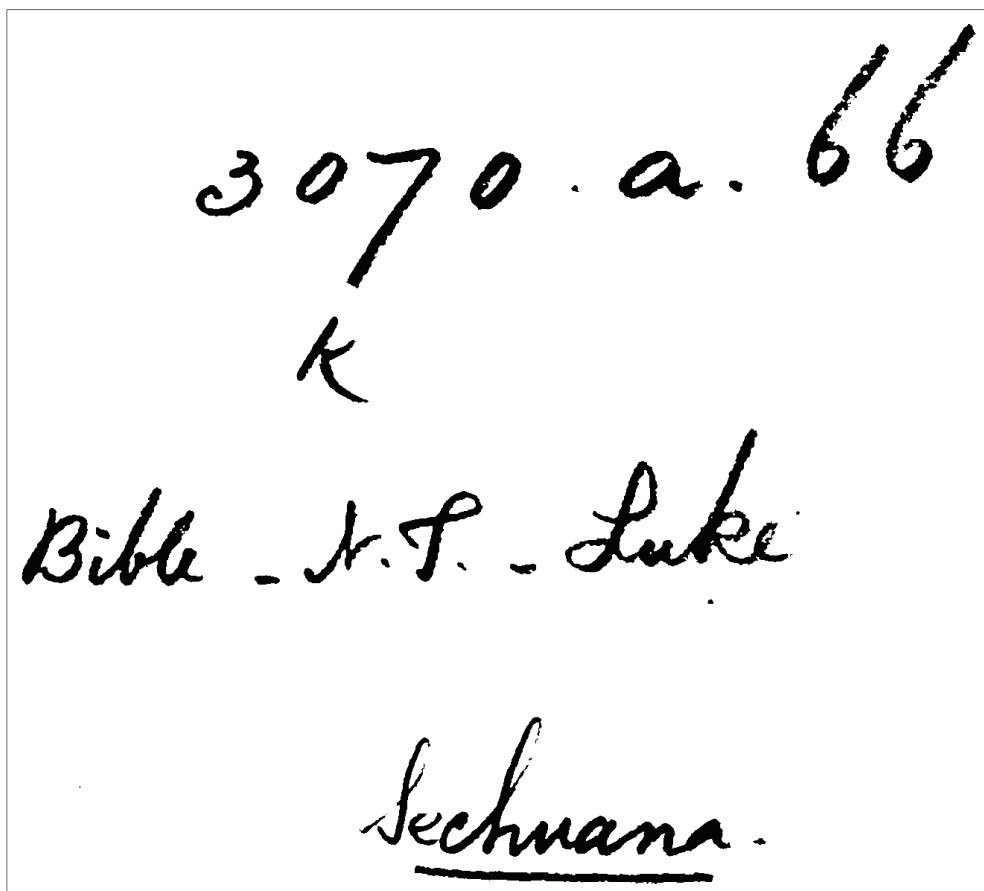
————————

THIRD CHAPTER OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

Motu ola ale gona mo Farasín, lína ya gágwe elele Nekodemus, ke éne elele mogólu mogo bo-yoden.

2. Eo ola atla bosígo mogo Jesus, atloko a moria are, Morena, chóna he ítse ha u le

D 3

Appendix 4: An extract of the 1830 Gospel of Luke translated by Robert Moffat

Source: R. Moffat transl., *Evangelia kotsa mahuku a molemo a kuariloeng ki Luka* (The British Library, London, 1830). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available from Google Books.

EVANGELIA

KOTSA

MAHUKU A MOLEMO

A

KUARILOENG

KI

LUKA.

―――

CAPE TOWN:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE,

FOR THE BECHUANA MISSION, LATTAKOO.

—

1830.

MAHUKU A MOLEMO

A KUARILOENG

KI LUKA.

———

KAUGANYO I.

A EREKA bontsi bole yoa chula go kuala ka gorulaganya goboléla ga, lilo tse li ruméloang amarure mo go rona.

2 Go chuana le re gonailoeng ka bona, ba ba bonyeng mo tsimologong, mi ba bale batlangka ba huku ye ouo.

3 Le 'na kitse ki gopotse yalo, ha ele molemo, ka ki tlalogantse lilo chotle tse ga tsimologo, go kualéla uéna, Theofole tulaganyong eo o tlotloang;

4 Gore u itse boamarure yoa lilo tse u li rutiloeng.

5 ¶ Gole gole Perista eo berioa Zakaria, mo metsing ea Heroda, khosi ea Juda, oa shomo ya Abia: mi mogatse elele morari oa bomorari, ba Arona, mi leina ya gague elele Elizabeta.

6 Mi ba bo basiame ha pele ga Morimo, mi ba bo be tsamaea mo melaung le liatlolo tsa Morenna, ba sina molatu.

7 Mi ba bo ba sinang nguana, gone Elisabeta a
3

Morungoi oa ei-   LUKA;   *pontsitse Zakaria.*

sina tsalo, mi bo bale ba chuhetse.

8 Gole garihala yalo, ka e riha meriho ea Perista ha pele ga Morimo motleng oa gague,

9 Yaka mokua oa tiho ea Perista ka motsi oa gague, o rile e tsenna mo tlung ea Morenna e hisa lilo tse ri 'nkhang.

10 Mi bogolu yoa batu, mi yoa bo rapélang kua eingtle mo motleng oa lilo tse ri 'nkhang.

11 Mi gabo gole morungoi oa Morenna eo o ei-pontsitseng go éna eo o émeng eintleng engue ea aletara eo ri 'nkhang.

12 Mi eare Zakaria e mona a choga, mi poego ea mo oélo.

13 Mi morungoi a mo ra are Zakaria, u si boege : ka tapélo ea gago e utluiloe; mi mogacho Elizabeta o tla gutsaléla mosimane, mi leina ya gague u tle le bitsa Johane.

14 Mi u tla rihana le boitumélo le tlapélo, mi bogolu yoa bona bo tla ituméla mo tsalong loa gague.

15 Mi éna o tla na mogolu ha pele ga Morenna mi ga kitla e noa boyoala, le boyoala bo thata; mi o tla tlala ka Moëa oa Khalalélo, a choa 'mpeng ea mague.

16 Mi o tla shukuloléla bana bantsi ba Iserele Morenneng Morimo oa bona.

17 Mi o tla moételalapele mo moëng le mo tha-teng ea ga Elia, go shukuloléla pelu tsa bohara baneng, mi ba balonyacho *go ba shukuloléla* botla-reng yoa ba basiameng; go itletsa batu go ba itlele-tsa Morenna.

18 Mi Zakaria a ra morungoi are, Ki tla itse se ouo ka eng ? ka ki chohetse, mi mosari oa ame ngua-ga tsa gague lintsi.

19 Mi morungoi a mora are, Kina Gaberele,

4

Ga tualo   KAU. I.   *ea Keresti.*

eo o émeng ha pele ga Morimo; mi ki rumiloe go bua na u, mi lilo tse ouo go li gubolelèla.

20 Mi, bona, u tla ririmala, mi u sike u bue ; go tlo go tsamae ga rihala lilo tse ouo pele, motsing oa chon', gone u sa rumèle mahuku a ame, a a tla rihalang motsi oa on'.

21 Mi batu ba le ba lebelèla Zakaria mi ba gakhamala ka tiego ea gague o e riegileng mo tlung ea Morimo.

22 Mi o rile e choa, a retelèla ki go bua na bo : mi ba itse ha a bonye sebono mo tlung ea Morimo : gone a ba goétla, mi a tloka puo.

23 Mi gole garihala yalo, metsi ea tihélo ea gague e sina héta, a ea tlung ea gague.

24 Mi morago a metsi e ouo Elizabeta mogatse a eituala, mi a eichuba ka kueri li tlanu,are,

25 Ki rihiloe yalo ki Morenna mo metsing o 'm-ponyeng ka e on', go 'ntlosa litlong mo batung.

26 Mi morungoi Gaberele o la rungoa ki Morimo ka kueri e bothataru motseng oa mongue oa Galelia, o birioa Nazereta,

27 Go kharibane eo o la nyala ka molomo le mo-nuna eo birioa Yosefa, oa eintlu ea Dabe ; mi leina ya kharibane elele Maria.

28 Mi morungoi e tla go éna, mi are, Hé, motsé-gaharioa ko uéna, Morenna o na na u : u tsegaha-richoe mo basaring.

29 Mi o rile e mona, a choga ka huku ya gague, mi a gakologéla mo perung ea gague tumerisho e e tla na yang.

30 Mi morungoi a mora are u si boege Maria : gone u bonye letsego Morimong.

31 Mi, bona, u tla eituala mo 'mpeng ea gago, mi u tla tsala mosemane, mi u tla bitsa leina ya

5

Morungoi oa   LUKA,   *bua le Maria.*

gague YESU.

32 Eo o tla na mogolu, mi o tla birioa Mora oa Mogorimo bogolu : mi Morenna Morimo o tla mo naea serulo sa 'rague Dabe :

33 Mi o tla laula mo tlung ea Yakoba ka bɔsina bokutlo ; mi ga bogosi yoa gague ga bo na sekutlo.

34. Mi Maria a ra morungoi are, Se se tla na yang, ereka ki sa itse monuna ?

35 Mi morungoi a moraba a mora are, Moëa oa Kahlalélo o tle etla go uéna, mi thata ea Mogorimo bogolu e tla gurutehaléla ; ki gona yalo mogalaléri eo o tsaloang gochoa go uéna, o tla birioa Mora oa Morimo.

36 Mi, bona, Elizabeta tsala ea énu, o la eituala mosimane mo choheng yoa gague ; mi, kueri e ele ea boratharu yoa gague, eo o birioang a sa tsale.

37 Gone go se sepe se retélélang Morimo.

38 Mi Maria are, Bona mohula oa Morenna ; a go rihale go 'na yaka lehuku ya gago. Mi morungoi a mo tlogéla.

39 Mi Maria a tloga mo metsing e ouo, a ea ka bonako, kua hatse ya makuyana kua motseng oa mongue oa Yuda ;

40 Mi a tsenna mo tlung ea Zakaria, mi a rumerisa Elizabeta.

41 Gole garihala yalo, ka Elizabeta a sina utlua tumerisho ea Maria, nguana a tlola mo 'mpeng ea gague ; mi Elizabeta a tlala ka Moea oa Kahlalélo :

42 Mi a bua ka koru e kolu, ma are, U tsegaharichoe mo basaring, mi loungo loa 'mpeng ea gago lo tsegaharichoe.

43 Se se, se cho kae go 'na, ka ma Morenna oa ame e tla go 'na ?

44 Gone, mi bona, e rile koru ea tumerisho ea

6

Sehela sa Maria,   **KAU. I.**   *Tsalo ea Yohane.*

gago e tsenna tsébeng, tsa ame, nguana a tlola ka boitumélo 'mpeng ea ame.

45 Mi motsegaharioe éna eo o rumélang : gone lilo tse li builoeng ki Morenna li tla rihale.

46 Mi Maria are, Moëa oa ame o gorisa Morenna,

47 Mi moëa oa ame o loa eituméla mo Morimong Moluki oa ame,

48 Gone a bonye bohutsana yoa mohula oa ona : gone, bona, ga yana litsika chotle li tla 'mpitsa motsegoi.

49 Gone ele éna eo o thata ka a 'ntihetse rigolu ; leina ya ona lele kbalelélo.

50 Mi chuaro ea ona e go ba ba o boegang mo tsika tsikeng.

51 O loa riha tiho e thata ka chogo ea ona ; o halaritse bopelu umpe mo megopolong ea pelu tsa bona.

52 O rigile bothati mo tulong tsa bona, mi oa gorisa ba ba hutsanyang.

53 O loa korisa batlala ka tsa molemo ; mi bahumi o ba rumile héla ba sina sepe.

54 O tusetse Iserele motlangka oa ona, gone o gopotse chnaro ea ona.

55 Yaka o buile le bara ba rona, yaka go Aberahama, le peu tsa gague ka bo sina bokutlo.

56 Mi Maria a aga na e ka kueri li tharu, mi a boeéla tlung ea gague.

57 Mi motla oa Elizabeta o sina hitla o tsala ka ona ; ma o la tsala mosimane.

58 Mi ba ba gague le tsala tsa gague ba le ba utlua yaka Morenna a moshupetsa chuaro e kolu ea gague ; mi ba ituméla na e.

59 Gole garihala yalo, ka motsi o hérang meberi

7

Polelélo ea LUKA, *Zakaria ga Yohane.*

ka ba le be tla go isa nguana boguéra ; mi ba mitsa Zakaria, yaka leina ya 'rague.

60 Mi mague a araba are, Nya, ga gona yalo ; o tla birioa Yohane.

61 Mi ba mora bare, Ga gona ope mo tsaleng tsa énu eo o birioang ka leina ye.

62 Mi ba goétla 'rague go itse kaha o ratang go mitsa ka gon'.

63 Mi a lopa lomati loa lokualo, mi a kuala, are, Leina ya gague ele Yohane. Mi ba gakhamala botle ;

64 Gone yana molomo oa gague oa tlama, mi loleme loa gague lo gunuloga, ma a bua a baka Morimo.

65 Mi poego e etla go ba ba agileng kua litukong chotle : mi ba bua segolu ga lilo tse ouo mo hatseng yotle ya makuyana ya Juda.

66 Mi botle ba ba li ba utluileng lilo tse ba li buluka mo perung tsa bona, bare, Nguana eo o tla na yang ! Mi seatla sa Morimo se le se na ua na e.

67 Mi 'rague Zakaria mi a la tletse ka Moëa ea Khalalélo, mi a boleléla, are.

68 Gotsegaharioa Morenna Morimo oa Iserele ; gone o bonye mi o kétetse batu ba ona.

69 Mi o re émiseritse lonako loa puluko mo tlung ea Dabe, kala ea ona ;

70 Yaka o buile ka molomo oa ba profeta ba khalalélo ba ona, ba batse bale gona ka tsimologo ea lehatse :

71 Ki ona kololo, gore re gololoe mo babeng ba rona, le mo atleng sa botle ba ba re ilang ;

72 Go shupetsa chuaro hareng ba rona, mi go gopola kologano ea khalalélo ea ona.

73 Mi le ikano e o ikanetseng Aberahama hara oa rona,

8

Kétisho ea   KAU. II.   *Sesare Agusta.*

74 Go re naea go re golola mo atleng sa baba ba rona, go o rihéla eseng ka poego;

75 Ka khalalélo le tsiamo ha pele ga 'ona, mo mesing e otle ea botselo yoa rona.

76 Mi uéna, nguana, u tla birioa profeta oa Mogorimo bogolu : gone u tla ea ha pele ga sehatlogo sa Morenna go itletsa tesla tsa gague ;

77 Go néla batu ba gague kicho ea puluko mo chuarong ea libe tsa bona,

78 Ka eintla ea boutluélo botluku yo bogolu yoa Morimo oa rona ; yo o bo re gopoletseng, ki yona bopépa yoa mosho yo bo chóang kua gorimo,

78 Go bonisa ba ba rutseng mo hiheng le mo moruteng oa loshu, go siamisa nau tsa rona mo tseleng ea khahisho.

80 Mi nguana a gola, a na thata mo moëng, mi o le ligareganageng go motsing ea chupo ea gague, o eichupetsang Iserele ka e ona.

KAU. II.

GOLE garihala yalo mo metsing e ouo, molau oa choa kua Sezare Agusta, gore lehatse yotle le kualoe, *go khétéla khosi.*

2 (Lokualo lo lo eintla lo lo kuariloeng ka Syrine ele Molauri oa Siria.)

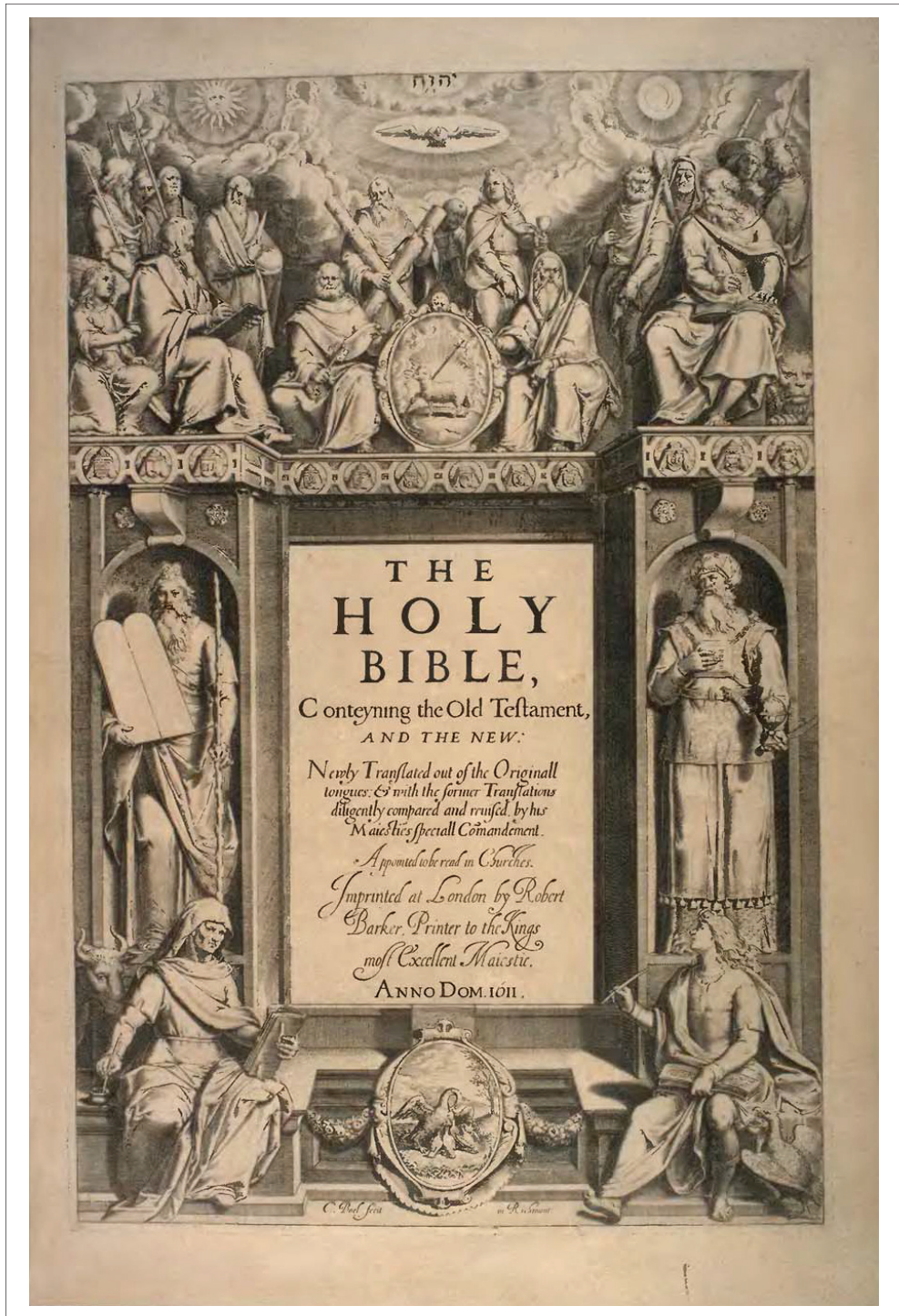3 Mi botle ba le ba ea go kualoa, le mongue le mongue yaka motse oa gague.

4 Mi Yosefa le éna a ea gochoa Galelia, gochoa motseng oa Nazereta, go ea Yuda, mo motseng oa mongue oa Dabe o o birioang Betelehema ; (gone ele oa eintlu ea Dabe le losika loa gague :)

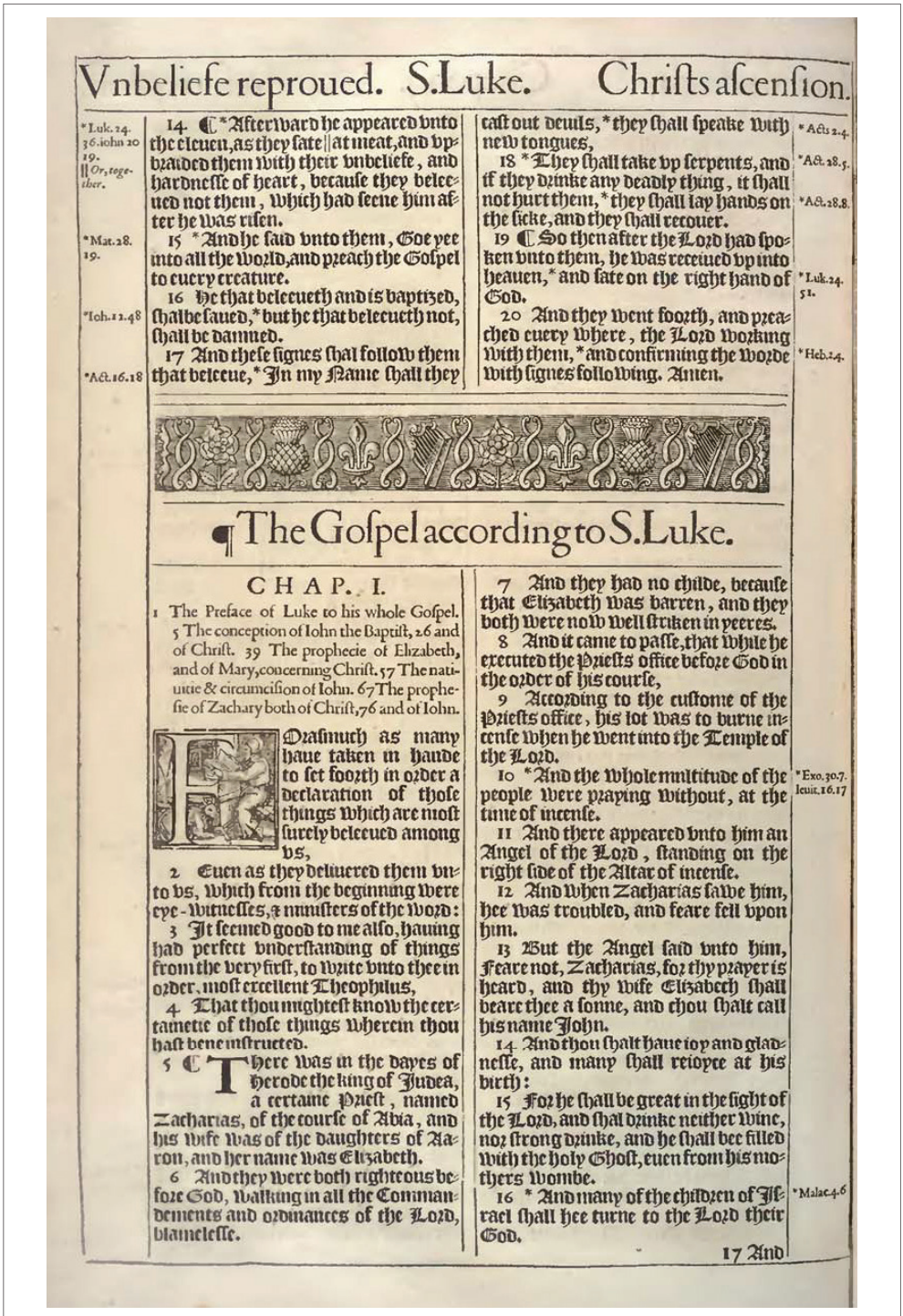5 Go kualoa le Maria mogatse oa nyalo ea molomo eo o ituiloeng.   9

Appendix 5: Extracts from the 1611 King James Bible, a source text used by Robert Moffat to translate the Bible into Setswana

Vnbeliefe reproued.   S.Luke.   Chrifts afcenfion.

*Luk.24.
36.iohn 20
19.
|| Or, toge-
ther.

14. ¶ *Afterward he appeared vnto the eleuen, as they fate || at meat, and vpbraided them with their vnbeliefe, and hardneſſe of heart, becauſe they beleeued not them, which had ſeene him after he was riſen.

*Mat.28.
19.

15. *And he ſaid vnto them, Goe yee into all the world, and preach the Goſpel to euery creature.

16. He that beleeueth and is baptized, ſhalbe ſaued, *but he that beleeueth not, ſhall be damned.

*Ioh.12.48

*Act.16.18

17. And theſe ſignes ſhal follow them that beleeue, *In my Name ſhall they caſt out deuils, *they ſhall ſpeake with new tongues,

18. *They ſhall take vp ſerpents, and if they drinke any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them, *they ſhall lay hands on the ſicke, and they ſhall recouer.

*Acts 2.4.

*Act.28.5.

*Act.28.8.

19. ¶ So then after the Lord had ſpoken vnto them, he was receiued vp into heauen, *and ſate on the right hand of God.

*Luk.24.
51.

20. And they went foorth, and preached euery where, the Lord working with them, *and confirming the Worde with ſignes following. Amen.

*Heb.2.4.

¶ The Goſpel according to S.Luke.

CHAP. I.

1 The Preface of Luke to his whole Goſpel. 5 The conception of Iohn the Baptiſt, 26 and of Chriſt. 39 The prophecie of Elizabeth, and of Mary, concerning Chriſt. 57 The natiuitie & circumciſion of Iohn. 67 The propheſie of Zachary both of Chriſt, 76 and of Iohn.

Oraſmuch as many haue taken in hande to ſet foorth in order a declaration of thoſe things which are moſt ſurely beleeued among vs,

2 Euen as they deliuered them vnto vs, which from the beginning were eye-witneſſes, & miniſters of the word:

3 It ſeemed good to me alſo, hauing had perfect vnderſtanding of things from the very firſt, to write vnto thee in order, moſt excellent Theophilus,

4 That thou mighteſt know the certainetie of thoſe things wherein thou haſt bene inſtructed.

5 ¶ There was in the dayes of Herode the king of Iudea, a certaine Prieſt, named Zacharias, of the courſe of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth.

6 And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the Commandements and ordinances of the Lord, blameleſſe.

7 And they had no childe, becauſe that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were now well ſtriken in yeeres.

8 And it came to paſſe, that while he executed the Prieſts office before God in the order of his courſe,

9 According to the cuſtome of the Prieſts office, his lot was to burne incenſe when he went into the Temple of the Lord.

10 *And the whole multitude of the people were praying without, at the time of incenſe.

*Exo.30.7.
leuit.16.17

11 And there appeared vnto him an Angel of the Lord, ſtanding on the right ſide of the Altar of incenſe.

12 And when Zacharias ſawe him, hee was troubled, and feare fell vpon him.

13 But the Angel ſaid vnto him, Feare not, Zacharias, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth ſhall beare thee a ſonne, and thou ſhalt call his name Iohn.

14 And thou ſhalt haue ioy and gladneſſe, and many ſhall reioyce at his birth:

15 For he ſhall be great in the ſight of the Lord, and ſhal drinke neither wine, nor ſtrong drinke, and he ſhall bee filled with the holy Ghoſt, euen from his mothers wombe.

16 *And many of the children of Iſrael ſhall hee turne to the Lord their God.

*Malac.4.6

17 And

An Angel is sent to   Chap. j.   the virgin Mary.

17 And hee shall goe before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turne the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient ||to the wisedome of the iust, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

||Or, by.

18 And Zacharias said vnto the Angel, whereby shall I know this? For I am an old man, and my wife well striken in yeeres.

19 And the Angel answering, said vnto him, I am Gabriel that stand in the presence of God, and am sent to speake vnto thee, and to shew thee these glad tidings.

20 And behold, thou shalt be dumbe, and not able to speake, vntill the day that these things shall bee performed, because thou beleeuest not my words, which shall bee fulfilled in their season.

21 And the people waited for Zacharias, and marueiled that hee taried so long in the temple.

22 And when he came out, he could not speake vnto them: and they perceiued that he had seene a vision in the temple: for he beckened vnto them, and remained speechlesse.

23 And it came to passe, that as soone as the dayes of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his owne house.

24 And after those dayes his wife Elizabeth conceiued, and hid her selfe fiue moneths, saying,

25 Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the dayes wherein he looked on me, to take away my reproch among men.

26 And in the sixt moneth, the Angel Gabriel was sent from God, vnto a citie of Galilee, named Nazareth,

27 To a virgine espoused to a man whose name was Ioseph, of the house of Dauid, and the virgins name was Marie.

28 And the Angel came in vnto her, and said, Haile thou that art ||highly fauoured, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among women.

||Or, graci- ously accep- ted, or much graced, see verse 30.

29 And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her minde what maner of salutation this should be.

30 And the Angel said vnto her, Feare not, Marie, for thou hast found fauour with God.

31 *And behold, thou shalt conceiue

*Esai.7.14. mat.1.21.

in thy wombe, and bring forth a sonne, and shalt call his name Iesus.

32 He shall be great, and shall be called the sonne of the Highest, and the Lord God shall giue vnto him the throne of his father Dauid.

33 *And hee shall reigne ouer the house of Iacob for euer, and of his kingdome there shall be no end.

*Dan.7.14. mich.4.7.

34 Then said Marie vnto the Angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?

35 And the Angel answered and said vnto her, The holy Ghost shall come vpon thee, and the power of the Highest shall ouershadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing which shall bee borne of thee, shall bee called the sonne of God.

36 And behold, thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath also conceiued a sonne in her old age, and this is the sixt moneth with her, who was called barren.

37 For with God no thing shall be vnpossible.

38 And Marie said, Behold the handmaide of the Lord, be it vnto me according to thy word: and the Angel departed from her.

39 And Marie arose in those dayes, and went into the hill countrey with haste, into a citie of Iuda,

40 And entred into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elizabeth.

41 And it came to passe that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Marie, the babe leaped in her wombe, and Elizabeth was filled with the holy Ghost.

42 And she spake out with a loud voyce, and saide, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruite of thy wombe.

43 And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to mee?

44 For loe, assoone as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine eares, the babe leaped in my wombe for ioy.

45 And blessed is she ||that beleeued, for there shalbe a performance of those things, which were told her from the Lord.

||Or, which beleeued, that there.

46 And Marie said, My soule doth magnifie the Lord.

47 And my spirit hath reioyced in God my sauiour.

48 For hee hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for behold,

F 2   from

Appendix 6: Extracts from the 1840 Luke's Gospel translated by Robert Moffat

KHOLAGANO ENCA

EA

YESU KERESETE,

EO E LEŃ

MORÉNA OA RONA LE MOREBULUKI:

E E ПETOLECOEN MO PUOŇ

EA

SECUANA.

LONDON.

E OATIBERIDOE PROTBEŃÉLO EA OO HALALETŚA BIBELIA MO
ŚERITANEN LE LO MAHATSIN A HANUE,
KI W. M'DOWALL.

1840.

Source: R. Moffat, *Kholagano enca ea Yesu Keresete, eo e len Morena oa rona le morebuluki* (British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1840). Permission sought and obtained from the Kimberley Africana Research Library. Copyright © 2015, Kimberley Africana Research Library.

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EVANGELIO

R R KUARILOEN

KI LUKA.

—

KHAOLO I.

1 *Trimologo ea Evangelio eotle ki Luka. A litaithualo yoa Yohane Mokapetini, 28 le yoa Keresete. 30 Pulélo ea tikakalo ea Elisabeta, le ea Maria ga Keresete. 57 Rotsalo le boguéra yoa Yohane. 67 Pulélo ea tikakalo ea Sakaria, le ea Keresete, 76 le ea Yohane.*

U̇REKA le mororo bontsi bole yon itséla, go kuala ka thulaganyo, pulélo ea lilo tse ri nan le tlomamo rure mo go rona,

2 Go euana yaka re li néiloe ki bona ba ba li bonyen, le ba ba le ba le barihéri ba le-luku mo tsimologon ;

3 Le 'na kintse ki ikaelotse ha e le molemo ka ki tlotlomisitse rure lilo eotle go tsa tsimologon, go gu kualéla ka thulaganyo, uéna Teofelo ea tlotlego ;

4 Gore u itse tlomamo ea lilo tse u rutiloen mo go conn.

5 ¶ GABO gole Moperiseti monue, eo o birioan Sakaria, mo metsin ea Heroda, khosi ea Yuda, oa phapano ea Abin ; mi mogatse e le le oa bomoroarin Aron, mi leina ya gague e le le Elisabeta.

6 Mi ba tu ba, ba bo ba sinme ba pele ga Morimo, ba tsamaea mo litaolon eotle, le mo mekhuen ea Moróna, ba sina molatu.

7 Mi ba bo ba si na ñuana, gone Elisabeta a la le möopa, mi ba tu ba, bo ba euhetse.

8 Mi ga rihala ka a riha meriho ea boperiseti mo phapänon ea gague, ha pele ga Morimo,

9 Yaka témalo ea tihélo ea boperiseti, ka motsi ea gague o mo tléla ha a tla taéua mo tempelen ea Morena, go hisa tse ri enkhañ monate.

10 Mi bontsi yotle yon bathu yon bo bo rapéla kun cintlo mo motlefi ea go hisa tse ri enkhañ monate.

11 Mi ga honala go éun moengeli oa Moréna, a éme

| 112 | LUKA. | Khaolo 4, 5. |

tleñ en thaba e motxe on bóna o ngiloeñ mo go conn, gore ba mo rigéle tlatxe ka lognga.

30 Mi a ralala gare ga bona, mi a en,

31 Mi a hitla Kapareuam, motxe on Galilea, mi a ba ruta ka metsi ea Sabata;

32 Mi ba gakhamarioñ ki thuto ea gagne; gone huku yn gagne le le na le thata.

33 ¶ Mi _abo gole monoun mo senagogeñ, eo o nan le moea on demoni o maxhue, mi a bitsa ka koru e kholu,

34 A re, Re loxe; re gu rihañ, Uéna Yesu oa Monaxarini? A u tletxe go re xenya? Kin gu itxe eo u leñ éna, u Moitxephi on Morimo.

35 Mi Yosu a muela, a re, Khautan; mi u coe go éna. Mi ka demoni a sina mo rigéla ha gare, a con gu éna, mi a sa mo xenya gope.

36 Mi ba gakhamala bótle, mi ba rana, ba re, Ana huku ye ki van! ka a lxotse meoea e maxhue ka tnolo le thata, mi en con.

37 Mi tumo en gagne en halaléla mahelon aotle a lehutsi.

38 ¶ Mi a éma a con senagogeñ, mi a taéna mo tluñ en Simon; mi 'ma maxari on Simon a bo a cueroe ki pobolo e kholu en khotélo; mi ba mo mo rapéléla.

39 Mi a mo okama, a burln pabolo en khotélo; mi ea mo tlogéla; mi a akolla a coga, a ba rihéla.

40 ¶ Mi ka lotsntsi le phirima, bótle ba ba nan le ba ba bobolan ka maloxtxe a sele, ba ba lore go éna; mi a baca liatla mo go mofiue le mofiue on bona, mi a ha horixa.

41 Mi bademoni le bona, ba con bountain, ba bitsa ba re, Uena u Keresete Moron Morimo. Mi a ba buéln, a xi ka a ba leaeletxa go bua, gono ba mo itxe ha e le le Keresete.

42 Mi ka boaxa a en, mi a hurugela heloñ ga gareganaga; mi bontxintsi yoa matla, mi yoa hitla ga éna; mi yoa mo thila, gore a xi bo tlogele.

43 Mi a bo raea, Ki cuanetxe go réréla le metxe e mefiue Evangelio ea puxho ea Morimo; gone ki romiloe go riha yalo.

44 Mi a rérn mo maxenagogeñ a Galilea.

KHAOLO V.

1 Keresete oa ruta hathu a le mo xhepeñ oa Petero; 4 oa mo xhupetsa kaka o tla rihilañ Petero, le lilekane tsa gagne haenari ba hathu, ka eintla en ruaro ea litlapi ea khakhamaro; 12 oa intlahatsa moleperoi; 16 oa rapela mo gareganaga; 18 oa horixa monue oa pobolo en tetxélo; 27 oa bitsa Mataio, Mophuthi oa lekhxtho; 29 oa ga le baloxhi, ba e la ena dake ea moxea; 34 oa bulelila pele mabixho ma yo le lijuugixho tsa Baupoxtoloi murago oa tlatlogo ea gagne; 30 en cuantxa laruted ba ba pelu pheho, le ba la xin thata, le mukuka a a onetxen le liexparo txe ri onetxeñ.

Khaolo 5.   · LUKA.   113

MI ga rihala ka bontsi bo mo pitlaganya go utlua huku ya Morimo, a éma ha letseñ ya Genesareta,

2 Mi a bona lishepa li tu li éme ha letseñ; mi baenari litlapi ba rule mo go eona, go cokotsa litlou tsa bona.

3 Mi a tséna go seéne sa lishepa, se e le sa ga Simon, mi a mo rapéla gore a se shutise go nyenye mo hatsin. Mi a lula, a ruta bontsintsi a le mo shepeñ.

4 Mi ka a sinn khutléla go bua, a raea Simon, Shutéla kua go teñ, mi rigéla litlou tsa gago go euara.

5 Mi Simon a araba, a mo raea, Moripa, re letse re riha le bosigo yótle, mi ga ren ka ra euara sepe; leha gon se valo ki tla rigéla lotlou ka huku ya gago.

6 Mi ka ba sinn riha yalo, ba phatha bontsi yo bogolu yoa litlapi; mi lotlou loa bona lon khaoga.

7 Mi ba goétla lilekane tsa boun, tse ri mo shepeñ se señue, gore li tle go ba thusa. Mi tsa tla mi ba thala lishepa li tu, tsa tsaunuen tsa batla go noéla.

8 Mi ka Simon Petero n ikona yalo, a oéla mañmoleñ n Yesu, a re, 'Ntlogéla Moréna, gone ki monona oa boleo.

9 Gone khakhamalo e mo euere, le bona botle ba ba nañ nae, mo euaroñ ea litlapi tse ba li euereñ :

10 Le bona Yakobo le Yohane, bomorou Sebedaio lilekane tsa Simon. Mi Yesu a raea Simon, U si boihe; Ga yana u tla euara bathu.

11 Mi ka ba sinn lere leshepa tsa bona hatsin, ba tlogéla cotle, mi ba mo latéla.

12 ¶ Mi ga rihala ka a le mo motseñ moñue, bonañ, gabo gole monona eo o tletsen lepero; ka a bona Yesu a oéla ka sehatlogo, a mo rapéla, a re, Moréna, ha u rata, u ka 'nutlahatsa.

13 Mi a entsa seatla, a mo ama, a re, Kia rata, intlahala. Mi lepero ya akola ya mo tlogéla.

14 Mi a mo laola gore a si buleléle ope; mi u tsaunaré, n icupetse moperiseti, mi u née boīntlahaco yoa gago, yaka Moshe n laotse, go na seshupo go bona.

15 Mi tumo ea gague ea halarioa bogolu bogolu; mi bontsintsi yo bogolu yoa tla mogo go utlua, le go horisioa ki éna maloétse a yona.

16 ¶ Mi a iphurusetsa garegauagn, mi a rapéla gona.

17 Mi ga rihala mo motsañ moñue, ka a ruta, gabo go rutse bafarisai le baruti ba molao gona, ba ba coañ mo metseñ cotle ea Galilea, le Yuda, le Yerusalem; mi thata ea Moréna e le le gona go ba horisa.

18 ¶ Mi bonañ, banona, ba lere monona oa pobolo ea

| 114 | LUKA. | Kkaolo 5, |

tetesélo ka bolao ; mi ba batla go mo tsenya ten, go mo latsa ha pele ga gague.

19 ¶ Mi ka ba sa bone kuha ba ka mo isan ten ka cintla ea boutsi, ba palama litlomesho, ba mo holosa ka lirulélo ka bolao ha gare ha pele ga Yesu.

20 Mi ka a bona tumélo ea bona, a mo raca, Monona libe tsa gago u li icuaricoe.

21 Mi bakuari le bafarisai ba simolola go gakololana, ba re, Eman eo, eo buan likhalo? Man eo o ka icuarélan libe, ha e si Morimo osi ?

22 Mi ka Yesu a lemoga khopolo tsa bona, a araba a ba raca, Lo gakologéloan pelun tsa lona ?

23 Ki gohe go nolo, go tua, Libe tsa gago u li icuaréloe ; leha go ka tua, Tloga u eme, u tsamacé.

24 Mi gore lo itse ha Moroa mothu a na le thata mo hatsin go icuaréla libe, (a raca eo oa pobolo ca tetesélo,) Kia gu raca, Tloga u éme, mi cula bolao yoa gago, u eé tlun ca gago.

25 Mi a éma ka bonsako ha pele ga bona, mi a culetsa se o la letse go shoua, mi a ca tlun ca gague, a galaletsa Morimo.

26 Mi bötle ba cuaroa ki go gakhamala, mi ba galaletsa Morimo, mi ba tlalon ki poiho, ba re, Re bonye lilo tse ri sa rɔméloen gompionu.

27 ¶ Mi morago oa lilo tse, a coéla cintle mi a bona mophuthi oa lekhétho, eo birioañ Levi, a rutse mo tlun ea khéthélo, mi a mo raca, 'Ntatéla.

28 Mi a tlogela lilo cotle, a tloga a éma, a mo latéln.

29 Mi Levi a mo rihéla moriho o mo golu mo tlun ea gague ; mi gabo gole leshumo ye legolu ya baphuthi ba lekhétho, le ba bañue ba ba rutsen nabo.

30 Mi bakuari ba bona, le Bafarisai, ba nonorrga khatlanon le barutoi ba gague, ba re, Lo yélan lo noélan le baphuthi ba lekhétho, le baleohi ?

31 Mi Yesu a araba, a ba raca, Ba ba horilen ga ba rihe ñaka sepe ; mi babobori ba e tloka.

32 Ga kia tléla go bitsa basiami, ha e si baleohi tlabologon.

33 ¶ Mi ba mo raca, Barutoi ba Yohane ba rihélan go bisa go ya ka gantsi, ba riha merapélo, le ba ba Bafarisai, mi ba gago ba ya, ba noa?

34 Mi 'a ba raca, A lo ka khanéléla bana ba cintlu ca monyaroi go riha go bisa go ya, ka monyari a sa na nabo?

35 Mi metsi e tla tla, e monyari o tla tlosioan go bona ka cona, mi eriha gona ba tla rihan go bisa go ya metsin euo.

36 ¶ Mi le gona a bua se-

cuanco nabo; Ga go ope
eo o biticlañ sebata sa apara
se sesha mo seaparoñ so se
onetsen; ha gontse yalo se
sesha se tla kékétsa *se se
onetsen*; gone sebata sa se
sesha se sa cuane le se se
onetsen.

37 Mi ga go ope eo o taélañ
boyaloa yo bosha mo maku-
ken a a onetsen, ha gontse
yalo boyaloa yo bosha bo tla
phanya makuka, mi bo tla
euloga, mi makuka a tla
héla.

38 Mi boyaloa yo bosha bo
euanetse go tséloa mo ma-
kuken a masha; mi go bulu-
koe mogo.

39 Mi ga go ope eo oa na a
sina noa *boyaloa* yoa bogolu-
golu, a batle yo bosha ka
honako; gone a re, yoa bo-
golugolu bo molemo bogolu.

KHAOLO VI.

1 *Kerasete oa buéla Bafarisai mo
bokohuñ yoa bona mo pululviñ ea
Sabata, ka cintla ea Lilmalo, le
triamo, le tiho ea khakhamaeo;
13 oa itsenkela Baaposodoloi ba
tuelo; 17 oa horisa babobori;
20 oa rérela barutui ba gague ha
pele ga hathu ga matsego le lita-
tlego; 27 le kaha re ka ratañ
.... ba rona ka gona, 40 le go
khatlantsa tino ea moconu ....
thuoñ ea lchutu; gore e ri re
lhutsa ra oele mo thatlou motsiñ
oa boshula yaka cintla e a agiloeñ
mo ombueñ, e e sa théona.*

II ga rihala ka Sabata oa
cintla morago oa motsi
oa tu, a ralaua tsimo ea mu-

béle; mi barutoi ba gague ha
roba liako tsa mabéle, mi ba
li shoshora mo liatleñ, go ri
ya.

2 Mi banue ba Bafarisai ba
ba raea, Ana lo rihélañ se se
sa haoloañ ka metsi ea Sa-
bata?

3 Mi Yesu a ba araba a
re, A ga lou ka loa buisa se
Davida o se rihilen, ka a
eueroe ki tlaln, le ba ba nañ
nae;

4 Kaha o la tséna mo tluñ
ea Morimo ka gona, a eula
linkhua tsa eupo, a li ya, a li
naéa le bona ba ba le ba na
nae, tse ri sa haoloañ go yeoa,
ha e si ki baperiseti busi.

5 Mi a ba raea, Moroa mo-
thu, le éna, ki Moréna oa Sa-
bata.

6 ¶ Mi ga rihala le mo Sa-
baten o monue, a tséna mo
senagogen a ruta; mi gabo
gole mouona gona, eo atla sa
gague se se siamen se omele-
tsen.

7 Mi bakuari le Bafarisai ba
mo élatloko, ha a tla horisa ka
motsi oa Sabata, gore ba bone
molatu khatlanoñ le éna.

8 Mi ka a itse khopolo tsa
bona, a raea monona eo atla
sa omeletsen, Tloga u émc, u
émc ha gare. Mi a tloga a
éma ha gare.

9 Erilua gona Yesu o ba
raean, Ki tla lo botsa seo
senue, A ki taolo go riha mo-
lemo ka metsi ea Sabata, leha
e le go looha? go buluka bo-

11G   LUKA.   *Khaolo* 6.

tselo, leha e le go *bo* sen-
ya?

10 Mi a ba shébashéba bö-
tle a raca monona, Otloloha
atla sa gago. Mi a riha yalo;
mi atla sa gague sa hola sa
cuann le se senue.

11 Mi ba tlaloa ki botséno;
mi ba rana, ga se ba tla se ri-
han Yesu.

12 Mi ga rihala mo metsin
euo, ka a coéla thaben go ra-
péla; mi a na gona bosigo
yötle mo thapélon go Mori-
mo.

13 ¶ Mi ka bosasa, a biletsa
barutoi ba gague *go éra;* mi
a itseñkéla ba tuelev go bona,
ba le bona o ba bitsañ Baapo-
sotoloi.

14 Simon (eo le énn o mitsañ
Petero,) le Anderea monnaue,
Yakobo le Yohane, Filipo le
Baretolomen,

15 Mataio le Toma, Yakobo
moroa Alefaio, le Simon eo o
birioañ Selote,

16 Yuda oa Yakobo, le Yuda
Isekariota, eo le énn o la na
moöki.

17 ¶ Mi a hologa naho, a
éma mo motlaben, le lesho-
mo ya barutoi ba gague; mi
bontsi vo bogolu yoa bathu
yo ho coañ mo Yudeñ yeotle,
le Yerusalem, le eintleñ ea
noka ea Turo le Sidon, yo
bo tlañ go mo utlua, le go
horision maloetse a yona;

18 Le bona ba ba cueñoan
ki meoea e mashue; mi ba
horision.

19 Mi bontsi yötle yoa batla
go mo ama; gone thata e coa
go éna, mi a *bo* horisa yotle.

20 ¶ Mi a culeletsa maitlo
a gague barutoin ba gague,
a re, Lo tsegaharicoe bala-
la; gone bogosi yoa Morimo
e le yoa loua.

21 Go tsegaharicoe ba lo
tlala yana, gone lo tla khori-
sion. Go tsegaharicoe ba lo
lelañ yana; gone lo tla tsega.

22 Go tsegaharicoe ba bathu
ba tla lo ila, mogañ ba tla lo
khaoganva nabo, le go lo kho-
ba, le go latla leina ya lona
raka boshula, ka eintla ea
Moroa mothu.

23 Itumélen motsin ouo, mi
lo tlapeloe; gone bonan, tuélo
ea lona e kholu mo legori-
moñ; gone bara ba bona ba
rihetse yalo baperofeti.

24 Mi go latlega lona ba-
humi! gone lo bouye kho-
moco ea lona.

25 Go latlega loua bakho-
ri! gone lo tla utlua tlala.
Go latlega loua ba lo tsegañ
yana! gone lo tla leléla lo
leln.

26 Go latlega lona motsi
botle ba tla buañ seintle ga
lona ka ona! gone bara ba
bona, ba rihetse yalo bape-
rofeti ba tsiéco.

27 ¶ Mi kin lo raca ba lo
utluañ, Ratañ baba ba lona,
rihélañ molemo ba ba lo ilañ,

28 Tsegahatsañ ba ba lo
rogañ, mi rapélélañ ba ba lo
senyañ.

Khaolo 8. LUKA. 117

29 Mi co o gu hapholan mo lesamen ye lenue, mo shupetse ye lenue; mi enn co o gu tlakolan kobo ca gago, u si mo itse *go cula* le cona koynan.

30 Mi naca mofiue le mofiue co o gu lopan; mi enn co o gu tlakolan lilo tsn gago, u si be ua li lopa.

31 Go cuune yaka lo rata bathu ba lo rihéln, le lona ba rihelen yalo.

32 Gone ha lo rata ba ba lo ratan, lo na le boitumélélo bohe? gone baleohi le bonn, ba rata ba ba ba ratan.

33 Mi ha lo rihéla molemo ba ba lo rihelan molemo, lo na le boitumélélo bohe? gone baleohi le bona ba rihn yalo.

34 Mi ha lo arima *bona*, ba lo shuluhelan go ba lo bona, lo na le boitumélelo bohe? gone baleohi le bona ba arima baleohi, gore ba be ba bone yaka se ba se ba arimilen.

35 Mi lona ratan baba ba lona, mi rihan molemo, mi ariman, lo si be loa shuluhéla sepe; mi tuélo ca lona e tla na kholu, mi lo tla na bana ba Mogorimo oa bogorimo bogolu; gone a le tsala go ba ba sa itumélélen, le go ba boshula.

36 Ki gona, nan icunrélo, yaka Rara oa lona a le boicuarélo.

37 Si sékiscn, mi ga lo kitla lo sékisioa; lo si latuhalatse, mi ga lo kitla lo latuharioa; mi icunrélon, mi lo tla icunrélon.

38 Naean, mi lo tla néoa; *ha tla naca* selekanyo sa molemo, se se kntecoen, se se tsikineoen mogo, se se culogan huben tsa lona. Gone ka selekanyo se lo lekanyan ka shona, e le shona lo tla ba lo lekanyerioa ka shona.

39 Mi a ba raca secuanco, A schohu se ka gogu schohu? A ga li kitla li oéla mogo mo lonopen?

40 Morutoi ga a mogolu bogolu mo Morutin oa gaguo; mi morutoi mofiue le mofiue co o rutegilen, o tla na yaka Moruti on gaguc.

41 Mi u honélan lohatsana lo lo mo itlon ya mokaulenue on gago; mi mosipuri o o mo itlon ya gago ga u o életloko.

42 Khotsn u ka raca mokaulenuc on gago yan, Mokaulenuc, a ki gu entse lohatsana lo lo mo itlon ya gago, le mororo u sa bone mosipuri o o mo itlon ya gago? Moitimokanyi ki uéna, cutsa mosipuri mo itlon ya gago pele, erilu gona u tla bonan go entsa lohatsana lo lo mo itlon ya mokaulenue on gago.

43 Gone tlarc sa molemo se sa unuc lounuo loa boshula, le gona tlarc sa boshula se sa unuc lounuo loa molemo.

44 Gouc tlarc senuc le senuc se itsioc ka lounuo loa

118   LUKA.   *Khaolo* 6, 7.

shona. Gone bathu go ba hule lifeige mo mitluen, le louñuo loa vina mo moñannen.

45 Mothu oa molemo oa entsa molemo mo lohumoñ loa molemo loa pelu ea gague, mi mothu oa boshula oa entsa boshula mo lohumon loa pelu ea boshula ea gague; gone molomo oa gague o bua yaka botlalo yoa pelu ea gague.

46 ¶ Mi lo 'mpiletsan Moréna, Moréna, mi lo sa rihe lilo tse ki ren lo li rihe?

47 Le moñue le moñue eo o tlañ go 'na, eo o utluañ mahuku a me, go a riha, ki tla lo shupetsa eo o cuanañ nae;

48 O cuana le monona eo o agañ cintlu, a e epetse, a e isa teñ, mi a thaea mothéo mo hikeñ; mi enre moroaléla oa metse o tla, moroaléla oa ndaea cintlu thata, mi oa reteleloa ki go e tsikinya gone e le théiloe mo hikeñ.

49 Mi eo o utluañ a sa rihe, o cuana le monona eo o agañ cintlu mo ombuñ, e sina mothéo; mi moroaléla oa metse oa e ndaea thata, mi oa ukoha ea oa; mi go oa ga cintlu e ga na go gulu.

KHAOLO VII.

mo loshun; 10 oa aroba baronoi ba Yohane ka litiho tsa khathamaco tsa gague; oa itsise bathu kaha o gopotseñ ga Yohane ka gona; 30 oa butla Bayudi ba ba ra heñuen ki mekhua ea Yohane, khatsa ea Yesu: 38 oa shupa ka cintla ea Maria Magadaline eo e len tsala ea baleuhi, erik go ha thusa mo libeñ tsa bona, mi go icuarela libe tsa bona, ba sina ruméla le go tlabologa.

VII Mi yana ka a sinn uétsa mahuku aotle a gague mo kutluon ea bathu, a tséña mo Kaperenam.

2 Mi gaho gole Mosenturi, a na le motlanka, eo o mo ratañ segolu, a bobola, a ikitleritse go shua.

3 Mi ka a utlua ga Yesu, a roma bagolu ba Bayudi go éna, ba mo rapéla, gore a tle go horisa motlanka oa gague.

4 Mi ka ba sina tla go Yesu, ba mo rapéla thata, ba re, O cuanetse go rihéloa yalo ki uéna;

5 Gone oa rata morahe oa rona, mi o re agetse senagoge.

6 Mi Yesu a ea nabo. Mi erilo vana a si khakala le cintlu, Mosenturi a roma litsala go éna, tsa mo raca, Moréna u si itapise; gone ki sn cuanéla, gore u tle kua tlatse ga tlomesho tsa me.

7 Ki gona le 'na ki ikacañ ki sa cuanéla go tla kua go uéna; mi bua lehuku leñue, mi motlanka on me o tla hola;

8 Gone ka le 'na ki le mo-

Khaolo 7.   LUKA.   119

nona co o laorisicoeñ mo thateñ ca *ba sele*, mi ki na le batlabani ba me, mi ki raca co moñuc, Ea, mi a cé; le go co monuc, Eintlo, mi a tle; le go motlañka oa me, Riha se, mi a se rihe.

9 Mi ka Yesu a utlua yalo, a gakhamala ka ga gaguc, mi ka a retologa a raca bontsi yo bo mo latetseñ, Kia lo raca, Ga ki c si 'nki ki bone tumélo e kholu yalo le mo go Yeserela.

10 Mi bona ba ba le ba rumiloe erile ba hoéla tluñ, ba bona motlañka, co o la bobola, a horile.

11 ¶ Mi ga rihala morago oa motsi ouo, a ca motsen o o hirioañ Naiñ; mi ga ca le éna bontsi yoa barutoi ba gaguc, le bontsi yo hogolu.

12 Mi ka a ataméla khoro ca motse, bonañ, gabo gole moshui a helegéloa cintle; ca bo e le moroa co esi oa maguc, mi ca bo e le motlalagari; mi bontsi yo hogolu yoa motse, yoa bo bo na nac.

13 Mi ka Moréna a môna, a mo utluéla botluku, mi a mo raca, U si lele.

14 Mi a ataméla a ama seculo, mi bamelegi ba émn. Mi a re, Lekau, kia gu raca, Tloga u éme.

15 Mi moshui a coga a lula, mi a simolola go bua. Mi a mo nela maguc.

16 Mi poiho ca ba cuara bothe; mi ba galaletsa Mori-

mo, ba re, Go cogile moprofeti ca mogolu garc ga rona; mi, Morimo o lekotse bathu ba ona.

17 Mi tumo e, ca gaguc ca halaléla Yudeñ yeotle, le mo lithokoñ tsa lehatsi.

18 Mi barutoi ba Yohane ba mulelela lilo cotle tse.

19 ¶ Mi ka Yohane a biletsa go éna barutoi ba gaguc ba tu, a ba romela go Yesu, a re, A ki uéna eo o tla tlañ? nampi a re lebelétse o sele?

20 Mi banona ba sina hitla go éna, ba re, Ite romiloe ki Yohane Mohapetisi go uéna, a re, A ki uéna eo o tlañ? nampi a re lebelétse o sele?

21 Ka e sale oura ouo a horisa bontsi maloétse le lipobolo, le meoca e e boshula; mi bontsi yoa lihohu a bo naca go hona.

22 Mi Yesu a araba a ba raca, Eañ lo buleléle Yohane lilo tse lo li bonyeñ, loa li utlua; lihohu lia bona, batlotsi ba tsamaca, baleperoi ba intlaharicoe, le ba ba sa utlueñ ba utlua, bashui ba cosicoe mi Evangelio e réroa mo balaleñ,

23 Mi go tsegaharicoe eo o si kitlañ a khocoa ka cintla ca me.

24 ¶ Mi ka haroñoi ba Yohane ba sina rulara, a simoloha go raca bontsi ga Yohane. Lo lo coéla kua gareganaga lua go bonañ? Lo-

120   LUKA.   *Khaolo 7.*

tlaka lo lo tsikincocn ki phe-
ho?

25 Ana lo lo coéla loa go
bonañ? Monona co o ape-
ren linparo tse ri nolo? Bo-
nañ, ba ba aperen khalalélo,
le ba ba tselañ mo letlapélon,
ba aga mo maloapen a li-
khosi.

26 Mi ana lo lo coéla loa
go bonañ? Moperofeti? E,
kia lo raca, Eo mogolu bogo-
lu go moperofeti.

27 Eo, ki éna, co go kuari-
locn ga gague, "Bonañ, kia
roma moronoi oa me, ha pele
ga hatlogo sa gago, co o tla
bakanyañ tseła ca gago ha
pele ga gago."

28 Gone kia lo raca, Ga go
moperofeti ope eo mogolu
go Yohane Mobapetisi, mo
go bona ba ba tseeocñ ki ba-
sari; mi co motlana mo pu-
shon ca Morimo, o mogolu
go éna.

29 Mi bathu bôtle ba ba
mo utluañ, le baphuthi ba
lekhétho, ba ba bapetisiocen
ka papetisho ca Yohane, ba
galaletsa Morimo.

30 Mi Bafarisai le bamolao,
ba nyaritse boikaélélo yon
Morimo ka ga bona ka bosi;
ba sa bapetisioc ki éna.

31 ¶ Mi Moréna a re,
Bathu ba losika lo, ana ki
tla ba euantsa ka en? mi ba
euana le en?

32 Ba euana le bana ba ba
rutseñ mo milen oa thékélo,
ba bitsañya ba re, Re lo lele-

ritse mo selecon, mi ga loa
ka loa bina; re lo opeletse
lihela tsa bohutsana, mi ga
loa ka loa lela.

33 Gone Yohane Mobape-
tisi o tlile a sa ye senkhun,
leha e le go nôa boyaloa; mi
loa re, O na le demoni.

34 Moroa mothu o tlile, a
ya, a noa; mi loa re, Bonañ,
monoi le monoi oa boyaloa;
tsała ea baphuti ba lekhétho
le'baleohi!

35 Mi botlale bo sinmisicoc
ki bana bôtle ba yôna.

36 ¶ Mi monue oa Bafari-
sai, a mo lopa gore a ye nae.
Mi a tséna mo tluñ ea Mofa-
risai, mi a lula ha liyon.

37 Mi bonañ, mosari oa
motse, co e le le moleohi, ka
a tlaloganya ha Yesu a rutse
ha liyon, mo tluñ ea Mofari-
sai, a lore segoana sa alebase-
tara sa setlolo.

38 Mi a éma kua morago
ha naoñ tsa gague, a lela, mi
a simolola go kolobetsa nao
tsa gague ka likeleri, mi a li
phumola ka moriri oa tlogo
ea gague; mi a mo atla linao,
mi a li tlotsa ka setlolo.

39 Mi ka Mofarisai co o
miritsen a bona yalo, a itha-
ca, a re, Eo, ha e le le mope-
rofeti, o kabo a itsile mosari
co o mo amañ, kaha ontsen
ka gona, gone e le le mole-
ohi.

40 Mi Yesu a araba a mo
raca, Simon, ki na le se 'nka se
gu racañ. Mi a re, Rabi, bua.

Khaolo 7, 8.   LUKA.   121

41 Gabo gele Muñ oa mo-latu, a na le ba tu, ba ba mo-latu nac; monue a le molatu dinari li faev hundereda, mi co monue *a le muluta nae* li faevte.

42 Mi ka ba sina sepe go leha ka shona, a ba icuaréla bo tu yoa bonu. Ki gona 'mpuléléla, man co mo go ba, co o tla nio ratui bogolu?

43 Mi Simon a araba a re, 'Nka re, Eo o icunricoeñ bo-golu, ki ena. Mi a mo raca, U sekisitse ka tsiamo.

44 Mi a shebéla mosarin, mi a raen Simon, A ua bona mosari co? Ki tlile mo tluñ ca gago, ga ua ka ua naca nao tsa me metse; mi co, o 'nkoloberitse linno ka like-leri, a li phumola ka moriri oa tlogo ca gague.

45 Ga ua ka ua 'nkatla; mi mosari co, o sa le a tséna, ga a ka lesa go 'nkatla linao.

46 Tlogo ca me, ga ua ka ua e tlotsa ka loukuaue; mi mosari co, o 'ntloritse linao ka setlolo.

47 Ki gona, ki gu racui, Libe tsa gague tse li li rintsi li icunricoe; gone o na le lorato lo logolu; mi co o icunricoeñ tse ri potlana. O na le lorato lo lo botlana.

48 Mi a mo raca, Libe tsa gago li icunricoe.

49 Mi bona ba ba rutseñ nae ha liyoñ, ba simolola go ithaea, Emañ co o icunrélañ le libe?

50 Mi a raca mosari, Tu-mélo ea gago e gu bulukile; ea ka kagisho.

KHAOLO VIII.

3 Basari ba rihéla Keresete'la lilo tsa bona. 4 Keresete ka a sina rérila uetse le metse, a na le boa-puntelui ba gague, a ba phutho-lolrla reenauco sa mosari, 16 le sa lubone; 21 oa itsise eo o boñ mague le bakaulenue ba gague; 22 oa buila liphcho; 26 oa khu-romeletsa cintlu ligion ya bademo-ni mo mononen, ba ea serapeñ sa litolohe; 37 oa nyarioa ki Ba-gadarini; 43 oa horisa mosari mo kélélon ea muri sa gague, 49 Oa cosa moroaria Yario mo lo-shun.

MI ga rihala morago oa mouo, a tsamaea a kha-luganya metse, le metsana eotle, a réra a buléla Evan-gelio ea pusho ea Morimo; mi ba tuelev bo ba na nac;

2 Le basari bañuo ba ba le ba horisicoe meoea e e boahu-la, le maloétse; le Maria Ma-gadalina eo bademoni ba se-ven ba le ba rule go éna.

3 Le Yoana, mosari oa Kousa, motlameri cintlu oa Heroda, le Susana, le hontsi yo bonue, yo bo mo rihélañ ka lilo tsa yona.

4 ¶ Mi ka bontsi yo bogolu bo sina phuthega, yo bo couñ metseñ eotle, yoa tla go éna, a buñ ka aecuanco.

5 Moyari a coéla go yala peu ea gague; mi ka a yala, tse riñue tsa oéla ha tseleñ;

a

Appendix 7: Extracts from the hymns composed by Robert Moffat 1831, 1838 and 1843 as they appear chronologically

724 101 A 27.

LIHELA

TSA TUTO LE PULUKO

TSA

YESU KERESTE;

TSE RI KUARILOENG MO PUONG EA SICHUANA.

KI ROBERT MOFFAT,

MORUTI OA BECHUANA.

—000—

CAPE TOWN:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1831.

Source: R. Moffat, *Lihela tsa tuto le puluko tsa Yesu kereste: Tse ri kuariloeng mo puong ea Sichuana* (*Sechuana Bible*) (1st ed; Reports of the London Missionary Society, London, 1831). This publication is in the public domain. Digitised material is available from Google Books.

LIHELA.·

SEHELA 1. (L. M.)

Sehela sa pako.

1 A re choheng re opéleng,
   Ga Yesu Montsi oa ron',
Lipelu chotle le ritem'
Li bake Yesu mo pakong.

2 Re opéleng lorato lo,
   Lo molerileng mo hatseng,
Go shuéla batu mo kórong,
Go ba golola mo libeng.

3 Re opéleng ga loshu lo,
   Le chogo ea 'gue mo pupung ;
Morapéléri oa bon',
Ba ba kétechoeng mo loshung.

4 Re opéleng e tle tsamae,
   Re utlue tató mo perung,
Lo o itleritse go re nae,
Go re rurisa mo moëng.

5 Opélanang mo loétong ;
   Lo ituméle mo tseleng,
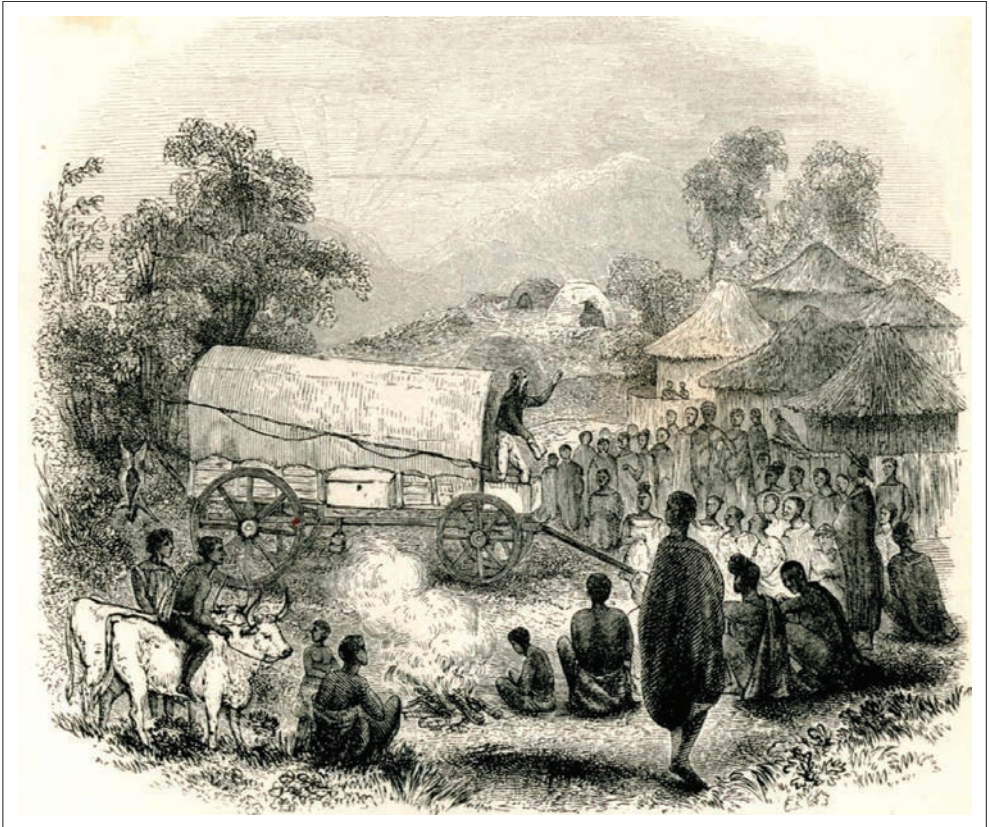Mi lo tla hitla kua gorim'.
Ka lo rékiloe mo maring.   A 2

4   **SEHELA 2.**

6 Erihe gon' re tla 'pélang
  Go Kuaneng e re tlabichoeng;
  E re eintla'ritse mo libeng,
  E re isitse kua gorim'.

SEHELA 2.   (C. M.)
Ga Morimo.

1 MORIMO khosi ea lehats',
    Le on' magorimo ;
  Ki on' molauri oa mahats',
    Le on' magorimo.

2 Ki ona eo o saeng gop' ;
    Oa agile kua gorim,
  Le eintleng chotle tsa lehats',
    Yehova ele én'.

3 Lehatse ye re le gatang,
    Magorimo le on',
  Le chotle tse re ri bonang,
    Li utlua taulo 'a on',

4 Rea o bona mo tsatsing,
    Le mo go e on' kuering ;
  Le linaleri mo go chon',
    Le chotle mo hatseng.

5 Chotle li re bolélang
    Ha Morimo o gona' ;
  Li re shupetsa molemo,
    Le thata ea on'.

LIHELA

TSA

TIHELO EA MORIMO;

TSE RI KUARILOENG MO PUONG EA

SECUANA.

━━━●◆◆●━━━

Kɪ ROBERT MOFFTA.

━━━000━━━

KURUMAN;

PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.

━━━

1838.

LIHELA.

SEHELA 1. (L. M.)

Sehela sa pako.

1' **A** RE cogeng re opéleng,
Ga Yesu Montsi oa ron',
Lipelu cotle le ritem',
Li bake Yesu mo pakong.

2 Re opéleng lorato lo,
Lo mo lerileng mo hatseng,
Go shuéla batu mo khorong,
Go ba golola mo libeng.

3 Re opéleng ga loshu lo,
Le cogo ea 'ague mo phupung ;
Morapéleri oa bon',
Ba ba khétecoeng mo loshung.

4 Re opéleng e tle tsamae,
Re utlue rato loa Morimo',
Lo o ratang go lo re naéa,
Go re rurisa mo moéng.

5 Opélanang mo loétong ;
Lo ituméle mo tseleng,
Mi lo tla hitla kua gorimo ;
Ka lo rékiloe mo libeng.　A 2.

---

4   SEHELA 2.

6 Mogang o re tla opélang
  Ga kuana e re tlabecoeng;
E re tlopileng mo libeng,
E re isitse kua gorim'.

SEHELA 2. (C. M.)

Ga Morimo.

1 MORIMO khosi ea likhos',
  Moréna oa barén';
Motlori eo re tlorileng,
  Le cotle tse ri nang.

2 Ki ona o o sa eeng gop';
  O agile kua gorim',
Le eintleng cotle tsa lehats',
  Yehova e le én'.

3 Lehatse ye re le gatang,
  Magorimo le aon',
Le cotle tse re ri bonang,
  Li utlua taolo ea on'.

4 Reä o bona mo tsatsing,
  Le mo go eon' khuering;
Le mo go con' linalering,
  Le cotle mo hatseng.

5 Ki gona cotle li kaeang,
  Ha Morimo o gon';
Li re shupetsa molemo,
  Le thata ea on'.

LIHELA

TSA

TIHÉLO EA MORIMO;

TSE RI KUARILOEÑ MO PUOÑ EA SECUANA.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Kɪ ROBERT MOFFAT.
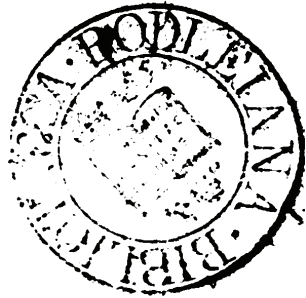
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

" Lo buaneñ ka lipesalem, le lihela tsa pako, le kopélo tsa moea, go opéléka Moréna mo peluñ tsa lona." — PAULO.

LONDON:

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

LI GATISICOE KI J. UNWIN,

BUCKLERSBURY.

1843.

LIHELA.

SEHELA 1. (L. M.)

Sehela sa pako,

1 ARE cogeñ re opéleñ.
Ga Yesu Montsi oa ron',
Lipelu cotle le litem',
Li bake Yesu mo pakoñ.

2 Re opéleñ lorato lo,
Lo mo lerileñ mo hatsiñ,
Go shuéla bathu mokhoroñ,
Go ba golola mo libeñ.

3 Re opéleñ ga loshu lo,
Le cogo ea 'ague mo phupuñ;
Morapéleri oa bon',
Ba ba khéthecoeñ mo loshuñ.

4 Re opéleñ e tle tsamae,
Re utlue rato loa Morim',
Lo o ratañ go lo re naea,
Go re rurisa mo moeeñ.

5 Opélanañ mo loétoñ;
Lo ituméle mo tseleñ,
Mi lo tla hitla kua gorim';
Ka lo rékiloe mo libeñ.

4   **SEHELA 2.**

6 Mogañ o re tla opélañ
   Ga kuana e re tlabecoeñ ;
   E re tlopileñ mo libeñ,
   E re isitse kua gorim'.

SEHELA 2. (C. M.)

Ga Morimo.

1 MORIMO khosi ea likhos',
     Moréna oa barén';
   Motlori eo re tlorileñ,
     Le cotle tse ri eoñ.

2 Ki ona o o sa eeñ gop';
     O agile kua gorim',
   Le eintleñ cotle tsa lehats',
     Yehova e le én'.

3 Lehatsi ye re le gatañ,
     Magorimo le 'on',
   Le cotle tse re li bonañ,
     Li utlua taolo ea on'.

4 Reä o bona mo tsatsiñ,
     Le mo go eon' khueriñ;
   Le linaleri o go con',
     Le cotle mo hatsiñ.

5 Ki gona cotle li kaeañ,
     Ha Morimo o gon';
   Li re shupetsa molemo,
     Le thata ea on'.

Appendix 8: Moffat preaching in Kuruman, Northern Cape province, South Africa, 1842

Source: R. Moffat, *Bibela ea Boitsépho* (*Sechuana Bible*) (1st ed.; Reports of the London Missionary Society, London, 1840).

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Index

One of the exciting developments in South African New Testament scholarship pertains to the increasing number of younger African scholars who bring forth a critical emic perspective on African culture, traditions and philosophy, thereby enriching critical reflection on biblical hermeneutics and the translation of the Bible in Africa. This book by Mothoagae provides a reflective critique, particularly in light of post- and decolonial insights, regarding the translation of the Bible into Setswana, one of South Africa's official indigenous languages. Mothoagae's work elucidates the myriad challenges inherently present in translations dating back to the 1800s, which were produced within a colonial context. Notably, he scrutinises the complexities surrounding the adaptation of concepts, such as *modimo* and *badimo*. Given that Western translators of the Bible into Setswana were compelled to reconstruct the worldview of the indigenous host culture, it is conceivable that inaccuracies might have arisen in the process. Such translations would also have impacted the host culture's worldview in significant ways. This book helped me to see, through the eyes of Mothoagae, the double consciousness that the African Bible reader might be involved in and why it is imperative for ongoing contemporary critical reflection on this matter.

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Itumeleng D Mothoagae's *The 1840 translation of the Gospel of Luke as a technology of power: A decolonial reflection* explicitly addresses a critical yet often unacknowledged issue in biblical scholarship: the political and contextual nature of translating biblical texts from their 'original' ancient languages into modern languages. The author highlights how translations, essentially interpretations, are predominantly produced and published by dominant white or Caucasian scholars and publishing houses and are often perceived as universal and objective. Mothoagae uncovers Robert Moffat's operative politics, as excavated from his speeches and other writings, as imprinted in his Setswana translation/interpretation of Luke's Gospel. Scholars recognise that there is ideological, theological and epistemological overlap and intersect in his translation. This scholarly book is both fascinating and necessary, encouraging further studies on the impact of translations on modern readers and advocating for new contextual translations by marginalised biblical scholars focused on decolonisation and the politics of translation.

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