

The Eye of the Storm

Bishop John William
Colenso and the Crisis
of Biblical Interpretation

Edited by Jonathan A. Draper



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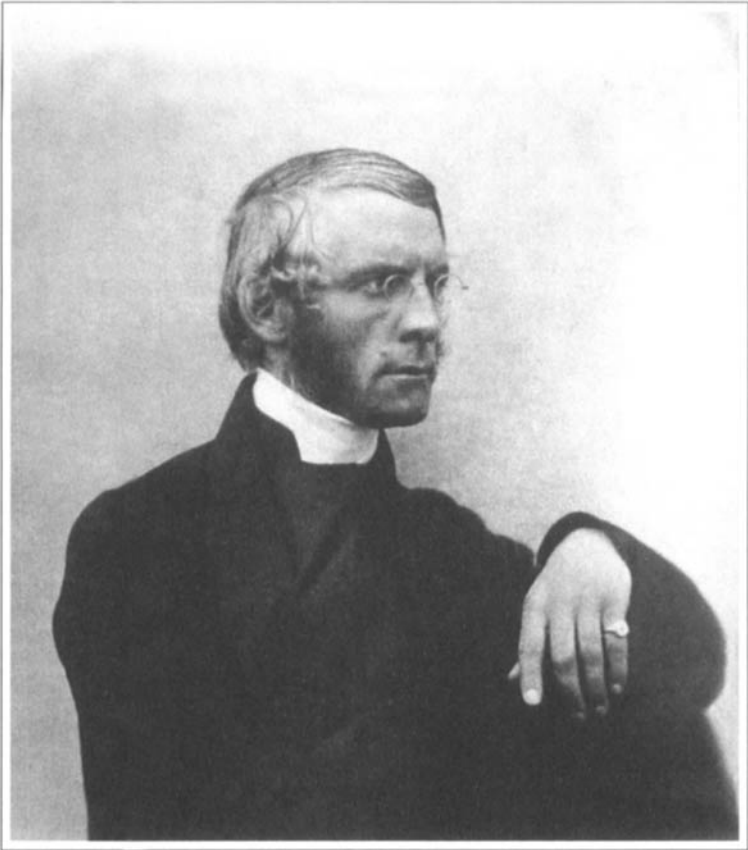
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Bishop John W. Colenso

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and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration

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FOREWORD

Archbishop Njongonkulu W. Ndungane

In some ways, the history of South Africa has been a microcosm of the collision between Western expansionism and the stubborn resistance of the indigenous peoples. The history of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa is almost as convoluted and conflicted as the history of the relationship between colonialism and empire. From the very beginning, it was dogged by controversy and ambiguity. Bishop John William Colenso stands at the heart of this history. The conflict between Colenso and his metropolitan, Bishop Robert Gray, gained notoriety for the South African Church and polarized opinion in England itself. The majority applauded the stand taken for orthodoxy and autonomy taken by Gray, but key figures in the English Church, such as Tait, the Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thirlwall, Bishop of St David's, recognized the significance of Colenso's contribution even then.

In some respects, Colenso was a child of his time, a product of the Enlightenment and a creation of Empire. After all, he held Letters Patent from the British Crown, trusting to them in defence of his right to freedom of thought, and he opposed the emerging autonomy of the Church of the Province of South Africa, with its Synods, Canons and Courts. Here the future clearly lay with Gray's energetic construction of a truly independent local African church, with the right to make its own choices. In other very important respects, though, Colenso represents the possibilities for creative dialogue and fusion between the indigenous culture of the colonized people and the emerging global culture of the West. His openness to the value of African religious experience and culture, his defence of justice and freedom for the Zulu people, his defence of religious tolerance and his study of the Bible, have been vindicated by history also. The bitter struggle between Gray and Colenso is thus, in some respects, the epitome of the ambiguity of the cultural exchange between Africa and the West.

The occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Consecration of Bishop John William Colenso and the creation of the Diocese of Natal is a celebration of the rich heritage of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Today we can proudly claim the contributions of both Colenso and his adversary, the Metropolitan of the South African Church, Bishop Robert Gray, visionary Christian leaders as our own, sorrowing for the scandal, pain and suffering caused by their division, but rejoicing in the creative diversity which is the hallmark of the Anglican communion and is so characteristic of our Province. I commend this collection of essays published on this Anniversary not only to members of our modern Anglican Church of the Province of Southern Africa, but also to students of history and to all who are fascinated, as I am, by this complex and visionary man, Bishop John William Colenso.

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INTRODUCTION

Philippe Denis

The significance of Bishop Colenso not only as a key missionary figure but as a major protagonist in South African colonial history is now widely recognized. This, one should note, is a relatively new development in South African historiography. Until the publication of Jeff Guy's groundbreaking book *The Heretic* in 1983, the prevalent view, to quote Peter Hinchliff, the author of a biography published two decades earlier, was that the Bishop of Natal 'cannot be regarded as a great figure in the history of English theology', and that, if he were to be tried again today, he 'would probably be found guilty on half the charges against him' (Hinchliff 1964: 2, 137). Guy's interpretation of Colenso's life had a profound impact on subsequent research. While not ignoring the Bishop of Natal's work as a missionary and a theologian, he chose a different approach. He described Colenso as an imperialist who despite his love for his country, managed to gain insights into the colonial world as it was perceived by the colonized (Guy 1988: 358) and, on the basis of this information, attempted to change the system from the inside. On two important occasions he openly defied the authorities of the Natal Colony: at the trial of the Hlubi chief Langalibalele in 1873 and after the invasion of Zululand in 1879. Even though he succeeded in alerting public opinion in Britain, he failed to prevent the dismantling of the Zulu kingdom. He died in a situation of forced isolation in 1883. Yet his memory is treasured by the African people who call him 'Sobantu', the father of the people. The bishop's relationship with William Ngidi, with Magema Fuze, the Zulu writer, and with the other Ekukhanyeni students, significantly influenced his thought and his action.

Guy argued that one cannot separate Colenso the pastor and theologian from Colenso the social reformer and political campaigner. The Bishop of Natal was condemned as a heretic by his peers. He retained his see against the wish of the Anglican Church but was *de facto* marginalized in his own

diocese. In his later years, the political apparatus rejected him in the same way, starting with Theophilus Shepstone, his erstwhile friend. Church and State alike found his views unacceptable.

Twenty years after the publication of *The Heretic* the time has come to re-examine Colenso's life and work. The advances made in areas such as biblical hermeneutics, historical theology, cultural anthropology and African linguistics warrant the need for a new book. Hence this collection of essays whose authors come from a variety of backgrounds. Several of them are black South Africans.

Another reason for proposing to the public a new book on Colenso is that the Anglican Church has changed its position regarding the bishop's orthodoxy. As Ron Nicolson points out in this volume, many contemporary Anglican theologians, including himself, would subscribe to the theological positions which the highest Church authorities declared heretic in the nineteenth century. In fact, if we follow Jonathan Draper's analysis, the trial was seriously flawed. Colenso was not judged fairly. This is now publicly recognized. In September 2002, the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA), voting by houses, passed a resolution to lift the condemnation by an overwhelming majority.

This book only laterally touches Colenso's career as a political activist. This may be the topic of another study. The present collection of essays primarily focuses on Colenso's work as a reader of the Bible, as a Christian thinker and as an educationist. They show that the Bishop of Natal developed a distinctly novel approach to biblical scholarship, soteriology and missionary work. His familiarity with Zulu society, epitomized by his famous dialogue with Ngidi on the plausibility of the Pentateuch's stories, transformed not only his understanding of the faith but also his social practice. As David Jobling argues in this volume, the most important reason why Colenso's biblical work was controversial was that it originated in the colonies. The Bishop of Natal fed back African scholarship from the periphery to the centre.

Should we, for this reason, regard Colenso as a liberation theologian *avant la lettre*? Certainly not. Neither should we see him as an anti-colonial hero. He was an imperialist (Etherington 1997: 95) and remained so until the end. He objected to the policies of the Natal government because he thought that they would bring the British Empire into disrepute. The Bishop of Natal marked his times because of his strong views and his indomitable energy. But one should not hasten to describe him as a unique person. Several contributions to this volume show that he was less

isolated in his enterprises than one would think. As Iain Maclean demonstrates, for instance, his views on polygamy and *ukulobola*, controversial as they may have been, were not fundamentally different from those of Rufus Anderson, the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Colenso was good at networking, as one would say today. His indebtedness to F.D. Maurice, who broke off contact with him after the publication of *The Pentateuch*, and to the Christian socialist movement at the beginning of his career has long been noted. But he had many other connections. More research is needed to understand his intellectual milieu. Authors like Timothy Larsen, who finely chronicled the Pentateuch affair in 1862 Britain, or Cornelis Houtman, who analyzes the 29 letters from Colenso to Abraham Kuenen, the Dutch biblical scholar, at the Leiden University Library, show the way. One should also look at the Bishop of Natal's American connections. Some of his views on the universality of salvation were shared across the Atlantic Ocean, where his *Commentary on Romans* was published in 1863 and enjoyed considerable popularity, judging by the number of surviving copies (Draper 2003: ix). Likewise Colenso's translation work was not done in a vacuum. Eric Hermanson's paper has the merit to locate the bishop's pioneering work against the background of other, equally innovative translation practices. And one should not forget, as Sam Tshehla reminds us, that Colenso was, as he says, an 'outsider-translator'. The fact that he was an Englishman does matter. Translation is a political as much as a theological affair. The Bishop of Natal's legacy needs to be re-evaluated from an African point of view. In this respect, a paper like that of Vukile Khumalo, which examines the intellectual production, mostly in Zulu, of the Ekukhanyeni students, is very revealing.

Colenso's most effective network, if one may use that word, was his family. The contributions offered by Mandy Goedhals and Jeff Guy, which close this volume, highlight the extraordinary importance in his life of the women who composed his family: his wife Frances and his three daughters. They also confronted imperialism but, being women in a fundamentally patriarchal society, they suffered even more, especially Harriette and Agnes who continued the struggle until an advanced age.

Part I

BIBLE

COLENZO'S FIRST ATTEMPT AT BIBLE TRANSLATION IN ZULU

Eric A. Hermanson

Records suggest that about two decades before Bishop Colenso first visited Natal, members of the Church of England had been involved in translating passages from the Bible into Zulu.

During 1835, Captain Allen F. Gardiner, who had applied to the Church Missionary Society, journeyed through Natal attempting to spread the gospel to the Zulu population (Gardiner 1836). In a lengthy letter written from the Gloucester Hotel, Piccadilly, on 1 March 1836, he says:

Some progress has already been made in translating the New Testament into the Zulu tongue; Mr Fynn, the only competent person in South Africa, having kindly undertaken that work, and I trust that there will soon be a considerable portion prepared for publication. (CMS Mission Book C A4/M1, pp. 1-3)

Whether or not Henry Francis Fynn did actually translate any of the New Testament into Zulu is not clear. If he did, as Gardiner's letter asserts, it seems certain that nothing of it was ever published. Ries (1957: 4) suggests that certain copies of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts and Jude published in 1836 and now in the Natal Society Library in Pietermaritzburg may be his translation because the word 'Erini', to which Ries adds in parenthesis (perhaps Henry Fynn?), is on the title page. This suggestion is totally erroneous, however, as the publications in question are in Xhosa, not Zulu, and were translated by various missionaries such as William B. Boyce and William Shaw (Luke, 1833 and 1837), W.J. Shrewsbury (Matthew and John, 1836), R. Haddy (Mark, 1837), John Ayliff (James, 1-3 John and Jude, 1837) and Henry H. Dugmore (Acts, 1837), and published by the Wesleyan Mission at Erini, the Xhosa name for Grahams-town (Coldham 1966: 726-28).

On 20 November 1837, the Reverend Francis Owen, of the Church Missionary Society, also recorded in his diary that he was busy with translating Scripture (Cory 1926: 70). He wrote:

Commenced this morning with the aid of my Hebrew lexicon, etc. turning the 19th Ps. into Zoolu. In the evening commenced the translation from the Greek Testament of the Gospel of St. Johns [*sic*—These exercises will I trust contribute to my improvement in the language, and will accustom me to the important work of translation: at the same time that they bring me to a closer acquaintance with the sacred volume itself. I record this humble commencement of my labours in this branch notwithstanding I am fully aware that not only every sentence, but perhaps every word of my new exercise will hereafter bear criticism.

Francis Owen kept in contact with the missionaries of the American Zulu Mission and often discussed the orthography of Zulu with them (Cory 1926: 89, 106). He was in Mgungundlovu, Dingaan's (*recte* Dingane's) kraal, reading his Bible, on 6 February 1838, the day that Piet Retief and his party were massacred, and immediately fled to Port Natal (now known as Durban), and from there went by ship to Delagoa Bay and eventually to Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth). Had he been able to continue his ministry among the Zulu, he might have been able to play a significant role in translating the Bible. Instead, he returned to England after a brief ministry among the Tswana, when the Church Missionary Society decided in September 1840 to close its work in South Africa (Leverton 1972a: 540).

Gardiner also left Natal after the massacre and sailed with his family for South America where he ministered in a number of countries before his death in Terra del Fuego in January 1851 (Kotzé 1972: 259-60).

So, when Bishop Colenso arrived in Durban on 30 January 1854 for a ten-week tour of his new diocese, the Church of England had no missionaries ministering to the Zulu population. In this British Colony, instead of missionaries of the Established English Church, he found 'Dissenters'—American Congregationalists, a Wesleyan Methodist turned Independent, and German and Norwegian Lutherans.

The Americans had been the first to establish mission work among the Zulu. At the end of December 1835, during the reign of Dingane, Dr Newton Adams, the Reverend George Champion and the Reverend Aldin Grout, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived in Port Natal to establish the first mission to the Zulu, or 'Maritime Zoolahs' as they are called in *Champion's Journal* (Booth 1967; 1968: viii). For the previous four months, they had been on a London Mission Society station at Bethelsdorp, near Port Elizabeth, which ministered to the Hottentot (Khoi), and the Xhosa who speak a language of the same Nguni group as Zulu. Missionaries to the Xhosa had been reluctant to use the existing words referring to the Supreme Being in that

language, so as to try to avoid any unbiblical connotations which those words, used in local accounts of creation for example, might convey about the God revealed in the Bible. Instead they had begun to use the word *uTixo* (recte *uThixo*), said to have been adopted from the Khoi, to refer to 'God'. This influenced the missionaries who went to the Zulu, particularly as they had first come into contact with an Nguni language in Bethelsdorp, sometimes used Xhosa interpreters, and were given grammars and translations in Xhosa to aid their language study (Booth 1967: xi, 12; Cory 1926: 10).

As Colenso travelled around the country, he sought to discover what concept the Zulu had of God and what word(s) they used to refer to him. In their preaching and publications, the Americans had followed the lead of the Wesleyan Methodists working among the Xhosa and were using the word *uTixo*. It soon became clear to Colenso that this decision had its problems. For example, uNceni, who had been Captain Allen Gardiner's servant for three years told him, 'The Zulus first heard of *uTixo* (recte *uThixo*) from Capt. Gardiner; but before he came, they thought the origin of all things was *umKulunkulu*' (Colenso 1855g: 137). Colenso found that two words, which he gives as *umKulunkulu* (recte *uNkulunkulu*, 'the Great-Great One') and *umVelinqange* (recte *uMvelinqangi*, 'the One Who Appeared First'), were volunteered naturally by the majority of those to whom he spoke. He also found that the Norwegian missionaries had adopted the word *uNkulunkulu* (1855g: 214-16). In addition to their connection with creation myths which differed from the biblical account, the basic objection by others against using either of these words seems to have been that the word *unkulunkulu* was also used to refer to some sort of beetle, and the missionaries did not want to cause confusion by giving the impression that the God whom they were proclaiming was an insect. If the word *unkulunkulu*, perhaps with a different tonal pattern, did have this additional meaning at the time, it is certainly not generally known today, if it is known at all. On the other hand, it was believed that the use of the name *uMvelinqangi* for the God of the Bible would suggest that he was the first of all created beings, whereas in reality he is eternal.

The missionary influence on Colenso's Zulu respondents was no more apparent than at Edendale, where the Reverend James Allison, a former Wesleyan Methodist but at that time an Independent missionary, was stationed. Allison, the son of 1820 British Settlers, was one of a group converted in the remarkable religious revival in the Albany District (Mears 1967: 2; Eveleigh 1920: 116-21). Colenso records that Allison told him

that the word *uTixo* had no meaning to the Kaffirs. The proper word for God was *iTongo* (recte *iThongo*), which meant to them ‘a Power of Universal Influence’—a being under whom all are placed. How Allison came by this word, let alone to this conclusion, requires more research. Previous to his being obliged to flee to Natal with some Swati refugees from tribal unrest, he had ministered in Swaziland. There he had translated the Methodist Catechism (1846) into Swati, another cognate language to Zulu, and had used the word *iThongo* for God. In an article on this translation, Professor D. Ziervogel (1950: 183) questions the word and I myself was unable to find anyone who knew it while I was Translation Consultant for the Swati Bible (1997) translation during the period 1987 to 1997. In Zulu the word refers to an ancestral spirit (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 801), while Berglund (1976: 87, 89-90) says that it refers to a shade who reveals himself in dreams during sleep (*ubuthongo*) and appears to be used more in the southern part of the Zulu region. In his *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1905a: 595), Colenso lists the word as meaning ‘ancestral spirit; may be used as equivalent to good genius or saviour’. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on the extended meaning ‘good genius or saviour’, so it is not clear under which conditions and context such an equivalent meaning would be appropriate. Regarding Allison’s followers, however, Colenso comments:

I cannot account for his people not even naming to me the other two names *umKulunkulu* and *umVeliqange*, which, in every other instance were given to me at once by the natives. They might have done so, if I had asked for them; but, at the time of my visit to them, I was not myself alive to the importance of the question. (1855g: 60 [my emphasis])

Why Allison chose this word in favour of *uTixo*, the word used by his erstwhile Wesleyan colleagues among the Xhosa, while it was adopted by the American Congregationalists, remains a mystery.

Daniel Lindley was one of the original band of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionaries. After an ill-fated attempt with Henry Venable and Alexander Wilson to minister to the Ndebele, who are referred to as the ‘Interior Zoolahs’ in Champion’s Journal (Booth 1968: viii), he joined his colleagues in Natal. When Colenso visited him, his respondents said that they thought that *umKulunkulu* would be the best word to use for the unconverted heathen and that it was the best word altogether. Colenso records:

Mr Lindley was quite convinced by their replies, that there was more of truth in their rude conceptions of the Divine Being, than he had imagined;

and regretted with me that the Americans had not—as the Norwegian Missionaries now have done—laid aside altogether the word *uTixo*, and adopted at first *umKulunkulu*, or some other word. He said they had thought of doing so; but, being strangers in the land, they had deferred to the example and judgment of the Wesleyans and others, whom they found in the field before them. (1855g: 239-40)

One can only conjecture as to whether or not these were Lindley's sentiments, for Lindley's daughter was later to write after reading Colenso's book (Smith 1949: 290): 'Papa counted eight fibs in his account of his visit to Inanda. You can't think what a lot of fibs there are in it!'

It did not take Colenso long to become convinced that the American missionaries had erred in using the word *uThixo* in accordance with those who were ministering among the Xhosa. He expressed his conviction as follows:

It is incalculable what mischief must be done by this barbarous unmeaning, Hottentot name (*uTixo*), for one which is connected in the mind of the Kaffir with such grand associations, as Almightyness and Original Existence—however much they may have lost sight of the full meaning of their own expressive words for the Deity. They are the very ideas contained in the Hebrew words Elohim and Jehovah. (1855g: 115)

So, while the earlier missionaries had feared that the existing vernacular names for God would convey unbiblical connotations about the God of the Bible to the people, Colenso concluded that these Zulu words in fact conveyed the exact meaning of the Hebrew terms! Later, however, after working on translations of Psalm 100 and the Apostle's Creed with Mr (later Sir) Theophilus Shepstone (Gordon 1976: 746-53), the son of a Wesleyan missionary who had been brought up among the Xhosa and who had acquired the language at an early age, he says:

We have the greatest difficulty in fixing on a proper name for God. I cannot bear the mean and meaningless name *uTixo*, with its disagreeable click, and poverty of sound. *umKulunkulu* and *umVelinganqe* are both too long for common use; and so would be *uLungileyo*, 'The Good One'. We have thought of adopting *umPezulu*, 'He above, or in Heaven'; and by this Name, in fact, Kaffirs are often sworn in courts of justice. Standing up and lifting the first and second fingers in Dutch fashion, he will repeat the words, *Ngi bona*, 'nKos' iPezulu, 'Behold me, Lord above', or *Ngisize*, 'nKos' iPezulu, 'Help me, Lord above'. But there are objections to this word also. I am not sure that it would not be best to employ the word *uDio*. It is a new word, it is true, like *uTixo*; but it is easy of utterance, is directly connected with the Greek and Latin names for God, and is not very far removed from the word

which it displaces. No one, who has not tried, can conceive how hard, and almost impossible, it is, to give correct representations in another, and that a barbarous tongue, of the refined and expressive language of some parts of the Bible and Prayer Book. (1855g: 159-60)

So, because he found the normal Zulu words ‘too long for common use’, and the word used by the American missionaries, not only meaningless, but to contain a ‘disagreeable click and poverty of sound’, he proposed another new, and therefore equally meaningless word of his own invention! It should be noted that the lateral palato-alveolar click, represented by the letter *x* is one of the phonemes of Zulu, and would not have been at all disagreeable to them, while two vowels do not occur in juxtaposition in the Zulu language, as they do in the word *uDio*. In his *Grammar*, Colenso has a section giving rules for ‘obviating, if possible, the hiatus which would arise when any particle ending in a vowel is prefixed to a word beginning in a vowel’. The fourth rule is ‘In other cases, when *i* or *u* (the only vowels to which this *can* happen) come before a vowel, they may be changed to the semi-vowels *y* or *w*’ (1855b: 10-11). He does not seem to have realized that his new word contained the exact type of hiatus which the *i* changing to a semi-vowel in the examples he gives prevented. Therefore, whereas his new name for God might have been ‘easy of utterance’ for Colenso, the Zulu would most naturally pronounce the word with a semi-vowel between the vowels. This would then result in them pronouncing the word Colenso had coined for the God revealed in the Bible as an ordinary Zulu word, *udiyō* (‘drinking pot’). So, even if Colenso was unaware of it at the time, the possibility was great that if the Zulu did not find the word he had coined as foreign to them as *uThixo*, they could very easily totally misunderstand the meaning it was intended to convey. Nevertheless, Colenso adopted the word *uDio* in his adaptation of the American missionaries’ 1848 translation of the Gospel of Matthew published in 1855 and continued to use it in his publications for a number of years. It is therefore interesting to note that in the title of his gospel narrative, published in 1857, *Izindaba Zokupila kuka 'Jesu-Kristu indodana ka 'dio unkulunkulu Inkosi yetu* (*Reports of the Life of Jesus Christ the Son of Dio God Our Lord*) he uses both his own and the traditional word for God in apposition to one another. Henry Callaway, one of Colenso’s early recruits (Hinchliff 1976: 156-58), and later Anglican Bishop of Kaffraria, also used *uDio* in his translations. Callaway wrote extensively, both in books and letters to the newspaper, on what he understood to be the true meanings of the names for God already mentioned and various other terms

used in Zulu religion and folklore, based on interviews with scores of informants over many years (Callaway 1870). This debate was also recorded by the Reverend W. Wagner of the Catholic Mission at Mariannhill (1923–26). Commenting on Colenso's suggestion to use *uDio*, Wagner says: 'I feel sure that the later Zulu scholar Colenso would not have subscribed to what here the newcomer Colenso says' (1923: 667). It seems that he was right, because in his translation of the New Testament, probably first published in 1876 (Hermanson 1992: 80), Colenso uses *uNkulunkulu* for God, and *YAHWE* in quotations from the Old Testament containing the tetragrammaton (see Mt. 22.37, 44; Mk 11.10). In these verses, the Americans used *uJehova* in 1848 and Colenso used *uYEHOVA* in his 1855 adaptation. Also, the word *uDio* is not listed in the fourth edition of his *Zulu-English Dictionary*, published in 1905.

The American missionaries, however, continued to use *uThixo*, not only in the first New Testament published in 1865, but also in the first complete Bible published in 1883. However, in their extensive revision of the New Testament in 1917 and the complete Bible in 1924, they changed to *uNkulunkulu*. The word *uNkulunkulu* was also used in the translation of the New Testament and Bible published by the Hermannsburg Mission also in 1924.

So, gradually, the term *uNkulunkulu* has been generally accepted for use in Zulu churches and in Bible translations. It is found in the Catholic New Testament (1966) and also in the Bible published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1959, and with updated orthography by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1997. This is the Bible in general use in the majority of Zulu churches today. The Bible Society of South Africa, however, also still publishes a facsimile of the 1893 revision of the 1883 Bible which uses the term *uTixo*. This edition continues to be used by a few churches such as the Nazareth Baptist Church founded by Isaiah Shembe, in spite of the fact that it is in an extremely old orthography which has not been used for almost a century.

On 18 February 1835, about a fortnight after arriving in South Africa from America, George Champion recorded in his journal:

There is an opinion prevalent here among those interested in missions, that those entering new missionary fields should sit down immediately, & in the infant schools teach the children the English Language, in order that in the course of 2 or 3 generations the native language may be extirpated, The English introduced, & thus that all the stores of literature, science & religion that there are in the English tongue may be laid at their feet. Thus you save translations, & you have a language adapted to civilized & Christian

men. The language will not cramp their minds as those minds expand under the influence of Christianity. This is an experiment probably yet to be tried in the work of converting the world to Christ. The interest in infant schools is felt only among the intelligent English in town. (Booth 1968: 5)

Although this opinion was not shared by the American missionaries, one might not have been surprised if it had been adopted by someone from the British Establishment with the academic training and as widely read as Colenso. However, nothing could be further from the truth. Certainly he established schools and taught English, seeking to give them a good command of the language. He even taught his pupils to sing 'God Save the Queen', five verses of which in Zulu are found as hymn 27 at the back of the Prayer Book (Colenso 1856b: 125). In two essays in Zulu with English translations by Mankanjane ka Sotyenge and Skelemu ka Magwaza and a number of drawings by pupils, which accompanied Colenso's letter dated 1 February 1857 to Sir George Grey reporting on the previous year's progress, both boys mention singing *igama likaViktoria inkosikazi yase-Ngilande* ('The Anthem of Victoria, Queen of England'), although Mankanjane spells her name *Vikitolia* and it is *Viktolia* in the printed version. Colenso nevertheless had a deep respect for the Zulu language and culture, and encouraged the Zulu to continue to do so also. From the very beginning, Colenso realized that if the Zulu were to be reached with the gospel of Christ, it would have to be through their own language. He immediately began collecting everything he could find written in and about Zulu and the related language Xhosa. His aim was to learn as much as possible about the language himself before his return to Natal to take up his responsibilities as Bishop. In addition, during his sojourn in England, recruiting clergymen for his mission, he also wanted to prepare material such as a Zulu grammar and dictionary and to provide them with Scriptures in Zulu. With these texts they could begin studying the language on the long voyage out to South Africa and so gain a head start before they even reached the people to whom they were to minister. This seems an impossible task, but it is a task he accomplished to the best of his ability in spite of his insufficient experience of the language and the inadequate and often inaccurate material at his disposal. So, on his return to Natal, he and his recruits carried with them a Zulu grammar, a Zulu-English dictionary, and an adaptation of the Gospel of Matthew originally published by the American Zulu Mission in 1848.

Printed in square brackets across the centre of the cover of the *Gospel* are the words '[Reprinted, with some alterations, from the Translation published by the American Missionaries]'. It would be interesting to know

exactly how Colenso decided upon the alterations he made and whether or not some were corrections or improvements requested in the reprint by the Americans themselves. It seems that he must have made the corrections and adaptations he felt necessary, rather inconsistently at first, on a printed copy of the American publication, and submitted that to the printers in England for typesetting. From marked page proofs of part of the *Gospel*, housed in the Grey Collection in the Cape Town branch of the National Library of South Africa, it can be seen that as he read the proofs he not only corrected typographical errors made by the printers, but included many 'author's corrections' in an attempt to make his adaptations consistent. From the published *Gospel*, however, it is evident that he was not entirely successful on either count. A brief overview of some of the main changes he made is presented in what follows.

1. *Orthography*

It is not clear why Colenso made the changes he did to the orthography. In Schreuder's *Zulu Grammar* (1850), written in Danish, which Colenso used as a basis for his *Grammar*, Schreuder had used many different symbols to represent the phonemes of Zulu. The Americans, on the other hand, had used the normal 26 letters of the alphabet. In fact, Colenso says in his *Grammar* (1855b: 4):

The Zulu-Kafir alphabet contains 26 letters, which are represented by Roman characters. The letters c q x and r are used to represent the three clicks and the guttural, not English, but corresponding in sound to the strong German *ch* (as heard in *auch, noch*).

However, having established a 26-letter alphabet for Zulu, he then goes on to say:

In addition to the above letters, it will be found convenient to employ \hat{J} , \hat{j} (which may be called the letter *chay*)¹ for the combination of sounds, represented in English by *tsh* or *ch*; and also the Spanish \tilde{n} which has the sound of *ni*, as heard in the English word *onion*.

So, Colenso ended up with a 28-letter alphabet, which he uses both in the *Grammar* and the *Gospel*. Notably, he did not use this alphabet when he

1. The characters used by Colenso are *J* and *j* with a horizontal line through them. Due to the non-availability of these characters in modern word processing packages, in the present study the forms \hat{J} and \hat{j} will be used in place of Colenso's unique characters.

edited Perrin's *Dictionary*, the third book in the trilogy prepared for his new missionary force. In the *Dictionary* it is clearly stated not only that 'The orthography adopted is that which is at present used by the American Missionaries', but also that: 'ty has generally the sound of soft ch, as in "church"' (Perrin 1855a: iii).

So, in the *Grammar* and the *Gospel*, but not the *Dictionary*, words with either a voiced or voiceless prepalatal fricative, previously spelt with *Ty/ty* following the Xhosa orthography, are spelt with *J/j*, usually, but not consistently with a horizontal line through it, for example, *-tyo* > *-jō* ('say'), *-tyela* > *-jela* ('tell'), spelt today as *-sho* and *-tshela*. The fact that the horizontal line is sometimes omitted could have caused confusion, particularly as the letter *J/j* is also used for words containing the voiced prepalatal affricative such as *-jabula* ('be happy'). Interestingly, Colenso sometimes uses *sh* in words like *pesheya* ('on the other side'), as did the Americans, which suggests that they could not always clearly distinguish when the Zulu used a voiced and when they used a voiceless palatal fricative. However, Colenso also changed proper names beginning in *iota* in Greek, for which the Americans had used *J* to *Y* as is done in Xhosa, for example, *Ujesu* > *uYesu* ('Jesus'), *Ujudia* > *uYudia* ('Judea').

Colenso also substituted the prepalatal nasal *ny* with *ñ* in some words and not in others in the *Grammar* and the *Gospel*, but not the *Dictionary*. It seems that he uses *ñ*, except at the beginning of noun stems. There he uses *Ny* for words which in the singular are in classes with prefixes which do not end with *n*, for example, Class 1a *uNyana* ('son', in Xhosa), *uNyoko* ('his/her mother'); Class 3 *umNyu* ('sourness'), *umNyango* ('doorway'); Class 11/10 *uNyawo* ('foot'), *iziNyawo* ('feet'). All of these words are listed in the *Dictionary* under 'N' (Perrin 1855a: 107), with the exception of *umNyu* which is not listed at all. Instead there is the entry: 'MUNYA (*U* or *Ubu*) n. Salt, sourness, agony' (p. 97). For words in classes with prefixes ending in *n* he uses *nY*, for example, Class 9/10 *inYama* ('meat, flesh'), *inYoni* ('bird') *izinYoni* ('birds'), *inYoka* ('snake') *izinYoka* ('snakes'). Indeed, all of these words are listed under 'Y' in the *Dictionary* (pp. 161-62). However, the locative form of *iziNyawo* is consistently spelt *ezinYaweni* ('at the feet'), where one would have expected *eziNyaweni*. A possible explanation for the confusion is the fact that the *Dictionary* has two entries, namely, 'YAO n. (*In*) A foot' (p. 161) and 'NYAWO (*I* or *U*) n. Foot' (p. 107), where not only do the noun prefixes differ, but the one entry is spelt without semi-vowel *w*.

Fortunately Colenso found it 'convenient' to introduce these two extra letters only in his first two publications, and then reverted to the American

missionaries' orthography. His system certainly could not have been very convenient for the printers, nor for those who were trying to learn Zulu using his *Grammar* and *Gospel* with his innovations, with the *Dictionary* in the simpler orthography.

It would indeed have been convenient had he found a way to distinguish between the unvoiced and voiced lateral alveolar fricatives. The note in the *Dictionary* reads: '*hl* is used to express two different sounds which, as well as the difference between them, can be accurately expressed only by the living voice' (Perrin 1855a: iii). This, however, was done a few years later, when Colenso (1859c: 2) writes: 'The student must be careful to distinguish between the sounds of *hl* and *dhl*, since there are some words, essentially different in meaning, which only differ in sound by the insertion of the *d*. Compare in English *thigh* and *thy*.' Although nowhere stated, both the Americans and Colenso used the apostrophe to indicate the elision of a vowel in a word

A problem with translation is that often the grammatical form of the source language and/or that of the non-mother tongue translator, rather than that of the target language is reflected in the translation. It seems that the Americans equated the Zulu verbal infinitive prefix *uku-* with the English infinitive 'to'. They therefore retained the letter *u* in concords and other prefixes before both consonant-commencing and vowel-commencing stems or words, where the prefix usually has an allomorph ending in *w*, or without the *u*. So, for example, they wrote *uku azi* instead of *ukwazi* ('to know', Mt. 13.11); *uku enza* instead of *ukwenza* ('to do', 23.15); and *li ya ku onisa* instead of *liyakonisa* ('it causes you to sin', 5.29). They also retained *u* at the end of nouns before the locative suffix *-ini*, for example, *ezinHluini* ('in the houses', 9.35). Nevertheless they presumably pronounced the *u* before a vowel as *w* wherever it occurred. Colenso was obviously made aware of this, and notes it in his *Grammar*, and so usually changed a *u* before a vowel to *w*, but not at all consistently, for instance, he spells 'in the houses' in three different ways: *eziNhlwini* (4.23); *ezinHlwini* (6.5); *ezinHluini* (9.35).

Colenso, like the Americans, equated the locative prefix *ku-* with the English prepositions 'to' or 'from'. They therefore prefixed the locative prefix *ku-* to nouns and qualificatives without regard to their initial vowel, for example, *ku abahlakanipi* ('from the wise men', Mt. 2.16); *ku enye* ('to one', 6.24); *ku elo 'lizue* ('from that land', 15.22); *ku ilizue lakubo* ('to their country', 2.12); *ku inceko* ('to the servant', 8.9); *ku omunye* ('to another', 8.9). Again, Colenso is inconsistent, but he usually changes *u* to *w*,

apparently not having been made aware that in this locative construction in Zulu, the initial vowel of the noun elides, for example, *kubahlakanipi* (‘from the wise men’); *kulizwe lakubo* (‘to their country’); *kunceko* (‘to the servant’). Unfortunately, when he deals with this in his *Grammar*, Colenso gives three examples of how *ku* is used ‘to express any shade of meaning in reference to place’, but in all three he prefixes *ku* to the pronoun *ye* (‘him/her’), and so has no examples of what happens when *ku* is prefixed to a noun with this meaning (1855b: 13).

The Americans used the Xhosa form of the demonstrative pronoun *elo* instead of the Zulu *lelo*. Colenso explains that demonstrative pronouns are derived from the Relative by prefixing *l* to imply ‘this’, prefixing *l* and changing the final vowel to *o* to imply ‘that’ and prefixing *l* and affixing *ya* to imply ‘that further off’. He tabulates the forms and then inexplicably adds: ‘NB All the above, except those that are formed from monosyllabic Relatives *a, e, o* frequently drop that *l*’ (1855b: 22-23). So in the *Gospel* he changed *ku elo ’lizue* to *kwelo ’liZwe* instead of correcting it to *kulelo ’li-Zwe* (‘from that land’). When a demonstrative pronoun comes before a noun in Zulu, the initial vowel of the noun elides, as indicated by the apostrophe. However, Colenso’s examples in his *Grammar* do not indicate the elision. Instead he has ‘Ex. *leli iliZwe, lelo iliZwe, leliya iliZwe*’. The Americans always prefixed *ku-* instead of the allomorph *k-* to words beginning in *o-*. Therefore, for example, Colenso changed their *ku omunye* to *kwomuñe* instead of to *komuñe* (‘to another’).

The Americans also wrote the Class 15 possessive prefix and remote past tense concord as *kua*. Presumably in most, if not all of these cases, they pronounced the *u* as if it were a *w*, for Colenso changes them to *kwa-*.

Colenso seems also to have been influenced by English grammar in the way in which he inserted quotation marks in Mt. 23.18 *Na ’ye o-fungayo gelAti* (‘And he who swears by the altar’). He is inconsistent in sometimes having two words *na ye* and sometimes hyphenating *na-ye* (‘and he’), the latter indicating the correct connection between the two. This is the second claim made by those the Lord is accusing, the first being in v. 16 *Yena o-fungayo geTempeli* (‘He who swears by the Temple’). However, Colenso, and probably the original translators, must have understood the morpheme *na* as equivalent to the English conjunction ‘and’, which would be a separate word. However, *na*, which in Zulu is an associative and not a conjunction, does not join sentences. As it stands, the translation would suggest that what the people said was ‘He who swears

by the Temple *as well as* he who swears by the altar', in which case it should be punctuated '*Na-ye o-fungayo gelAti*'. It would, however, have been better to use a conjunction like *futhi* ('in addition') and use the same construction as '*Yena o-fungayo geTempeli*' in v. 16, as he did in his translation of the New Testament, so as to read *abati futi 'Yena o-fungayo gelAti'*.

Whereas the Americans used upper case letters at the beginning of sentences and as the first letter of personal and place names, Colenso uses upper case for the first letter of the stem after the nominal prefix in personal and place names. He therefore often starts a sentence with a word beginning in a letter in the lower case, instead of making both the prefix and first letter of the stem upper case as is done today. He also uses many additional upper case letters, apparently to denote the beginning of the stem of the word, possibly to make it easier for a reader to find in the *Dictionary* where 'The root of the word is always placed first. After it the incipient particle or prefix' (1855a: iv), or to distinguish the stem clearly from the surrounding morphemes. Unfortunately, this is not done consistently, so that often a different letter is in upper case in the same word in a different verse. For example, 'on the sea' is rendered as *eLwanhle* in Mt. 2.18 and *elwAnhle* in 21.21 (Perrin's *Dictionary* listing is 'LWANHLE [u] n. The ocean' [1855a: 94]), and 'power; strength' is rendered as *amaNhla* in 3.11 and *amanHla* in 7.29 (the *Dictionary* listing is 'NHLA [Ama] n. Strength, power' [1855a: 102]). It is interesting that Colenso changes *imali*, which may have been derived from the English 'money', or more probably from the Arabic *māl* ('wealth') to *imAli*, whereas the stem is obviously *-mali*. In Zulu this word is in Class 9, which does have *im-* as prefix in certain cases. However, Colenso retains the Class 4 adjectival concord in *imAli emiNingi* ('much money', 28.12) instead of correcting it to Class 9 *eningi*. In the *Dictionary*, this word is listed both as 'ALI (Im) n. Money' and 'MALI (I) n. Money' (1855a: 2, 94), which suggests that Colenso and Perrin were unsure of the derivation of the word.

2. Vocabulary

Just after the title page of the 166-page dictionary, *A Kafir-English Dictionary of the Zulu-Kafir Language, as Spoken by the Tribes of the Colony of Natal*, compiled by James Perrin, and printed in England under Colenso's direction, Colenso writes:

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Perrin for this Vocabulary of the Zulu-Kafir language, which he has prepared with much care, and after an experience of some years among the natives of the Natal District, and has freely given for the use of our Mission. Through the liberality of the Christian-Knowledge Society, the work has been printed under my superintendence, and will be found, I trust, upon the whole, accurately edited; though, from my limited acquaintance with the language at present, I cannot hope to have escaped error altogether, in deciphering some doubtful words in the manuscript.

London, January 12, 1855

JWNatal

The orthography adopted is that which is present used by the American Missionaries.

If any words of the IsiXosa dialect are inserted in this Lexicon, which do not strictly belong to the Zulu, it is because such are now in frequent use among these tribes.

James Perrin was secretary to Sir Theophilus Shepstone and had worked with the American Missionary Josiah Tyler at Esidumbini. He later joined the Baptist Church (Louw 1972: 554-55). It seems that he too was not idle while Colenso was away, for his 255-page companion volume, *An English-Kafir Dictionary of the Zulu-Kafir Language as Spoken by the Tribes of the Colony of Natal* was published in Pietermaritzburg by the Church of England Missions, soon after the bishop's return. About this, Colenso wrote:

I am again indebted to Mr Perrin for the contents of this little book, which will be found, I doubt not, a most valuable help for Missionaries and others, in acquiring the language of the Natives. In the compilation of this, and of the Kafir-English Dictionary, Mr Perrin has derived considerable assistance from the Vocabularies prepared by some of the American Missionaries, to which they very kindly gave him free access. I shall be very much obliged to any, who, from their acquaintance with the language, as spoken by the Zulus especially, would suggest to me any corrections or additions to be made in this Vocabulary, or who would point out any words which have been here introduced, but which belong to the AmaXosa tribes, and are not used by the AmaZulu.

Pietermaritzburg, October 15th, 1855

JWNatal

An understandable vocabulary change in the *Gospel* in the light of the explanation given above concerning the debate about what word to use for God, is the substitution of *uDio* for *uTixo*. This is consistently done, except in Mt. 8.29, where *uTixo* was obviously overlooked in both adaptation and proofreading.

It is interesting to note that in the Zulu–English edition of the *Dictionary*, the word Colenso coined for God, *uDio* is not listed, whereas *udiwo* ('a cracked or broken pot') is. So is *uTixo*, the word used by the Americans, which Colenso had rejected (Perrin 1855a: 33, 143). The *Dictionary* also lists 'Kulunkulu (*Um*) n. A traditional being, the Creator, the larva of an insect found in trees' and 'Umvelinqangi = *Umkulunkulu* A traditional great Being, the Creator' (pp. 83, 153).

The English–Zulu edition of the *Dictionary* (Perrin 1855b: 108, 60), on the other hand, has the following entries:

GOD UDIO	<i>uTixo</i>
God Almighty n.	<i>uDio</i> , 'n <i>Kulunkulu</i> <i>UDio o-namanhla</i>
Godhead	<i>ubuDio</i>

and

Creator n.	(Maker) <i>umenzi</i> traditional name for <i>Umkulunkulu</i> .
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So, whereas in the first volume Colenso's neologism is omitted, in the second volume it takes precedence over the word used by the Americans. The *Dictionary* indicates that it may be used on its own, or with the relative *o-namanhla* (recte *onamandla*, 'who has power'), with the meaning 'God Almighty', as may 'n*Kulunkulu*. Another neologism *ubuDio* 'Godhead' formed by prefixing the abstract Class 14 prefix *ubu-* to the coined nominal stem *-Dio* is also listed. However, all words with the stem *-Dio* are omitted even from the *Isipiki* section, listing what are called 'hybrid words commonly used (1895)', of Colenso's own *Zulu–English Dictionary* (1905a: 721–24). This is clear proof that although he decided to introduce a word of his own invention in adapting the American missionaries' translation of the Gospel of Matthew for use in his diocese and continued to use the word for some years thereafter, he later came to recognize the adequacy of vernacular Zulu terms for deity to refer to the God of the Bible.

The 1848 American publication of the Gospel of Matthew is recorded as having been translated by George Champion, who had returned to Boston in 1839 and died in 1841 (Booth 1968: xi), and revised by Newton Adams. Coldham (1966: 772) says that Bleek records an edition in 1841 and adds in parenthesis '(possibly a misprint?)', as there seems to be no extant copy bearing that date. If the 1848 *Gospel* is Champion's translation, that could explain why it contains Xhosa stems such as *-bini* ('two'), instead of *-bili*, since Champion had been aided by Xhosa material and informants in

learning Zulu. However, it is not clear why Adams did not change the spelling to reflect the Zulu form, if he revised the manuscript for printing after having spent at least ten years in the Zulu area, allowing for the period when the missionaries left Natal after the massacre of Piet Retief and his party in 1838. Furthermore, one would have expected that this would have been brought to Colenso's attention as something which needed correcting in a reprint. In the *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1855a: 12) only *-bili* ('two') occurs, whereas in the English-Zulu edition (1855b: 212) both forms are given: '*-bili, -bini* a. two'.

In fact, there are a number of Xhosa words in the American version which Colenso retains in his adaptation, such as: *uNyana* ('son'), *uNyana womuNtu* ('Son of Man'), *ubomi* ('life'). Not only so, but he also introduces Xhosa words where the original Zulu text was correct: *umNyu* instead of *umunyu* ('sourness') in Mt. 5.13, and *ubuKumkani* instead of *umbuso* ('kingdom') in the Lord's Prayer (6.10, 13), although he retains *umbuso* in other places, including 3.2 where the Kingdom of Heaven is *umBuso weZulu*. The word *ubuKumkani* is not listed in the Dictionaries. He also has *umZi* instead of *umuzi* ('town') in 5.14, 35, and *ombi* and *omhle* instead of *omubi* ('bad') and *omuhle* ('good') in 7.17-18. An interesting verbal stem found 16 times in both versions is *-giba* ('take out, cast out'). The Xhosa form of the word *-kupe* (18.9) is also found both in the original and in Colenso's version. The correct stem is *-kipa* (recte *-khipha*), which occurs twice in 7.4-5, where *-giba* also occurs once. The occurrence of *-giba* suggests that the missionaries did not always hear the Zulu phonemes clearly, which also probably accounts for their use of *g* instead of the nasal *ng* and *j* instead of *nj* in many places, such as in the first person singular subjectival concords of the verb, and the instrumental adverb morphemes.

Attempting to determine possible reasons for other changes effected is often made more difficult by the fact that where some words have been corrected, in other places errors have been introduced. Most such errors are probably typographical, the result of an English compositor misreading the text in an unfamiliar language, rather than an error in the text adapted by Colenso itself. For example: *uNyawa* instead of *uNyawo* ('foot', Mt. 4.6); *ku-kona* ('on it') instead of *ku-hona* ('on those', 4.16); *uYESU na-hamba* ('Jesus you pl. went') instead of *uYESU wa hamba* ('Jesus went', 4.23); *na-ti* instead of *wa-ti* ('he said', 9.4); *emTabeni* instead of *enTabeni* ('on the mountain', 5.1); *yi'nKaṅiso yeliZwe* instead of *yi'nKaṅiso yeliZwe* ('light of the world', 5.14); *na-Yihlo* instead of

no-Yihlo ('and your Father', 6.4); *ukavatiswa* instead of *ukuvatiswa* ('be clothed', 6.29); *gapewheya* (8.28) instead of *gapesheya* ('on the other side', 14.22); *si-ya-rama* instead of *si-ya-yama* ('we are accustomed', 9.14); *ga-ba-u-sa-hlizo* instead of *ga-ba-u-sa-hlezi* ('it would still be there', 11.23); *emiPefumleni yenu* instead of *emiPefumulweni yenu* ('in your souls', 11.29); *li-tambele* instead of *li-tambile* ('soft', 11.30); *isi-Xukulwana* instead of *isiZukulwana* ('generation', 12.29); *o-ncilileyo* instead of *o-ncolileyo* ('unclean', 12.43); *kwaba* instead of *kwabo* ('their', 13.58); *wokuGala* instead of *wokuQala* ('first', 28.1). It is a pity that these errors were not detected and corrected when the page proofs were read.

In places the probable typographical error is not so obvious for one not familiar with the text, as it changes the meaning while still making sense. So, in the Parable of the Sower, some of the seed fell *emaFeni* ('among the inheritances', Mt. 13.5, 20) instead of *emaJeni* ('on stony ground'), which would reflect Colenso's normal change for the word *ematyeni* in the 1848 version. Matthew 6.26 says the birds *a-zi-hlwangeli a-zi-vumi* ('do not sow nor agree') instead of *a-zi-hlwangeli a-zi-vuni* ('do not sow nor reap').

At times, Colenso missed correcting errors which seem so obvious that someone should have seen them in the original American edition and pointed them out to him, even if he did not see them himself. For example, one would have expected him to correct *wa-hla pansi* to *wa-hlala pansi* ('he sat down') in Mt. 13.2, especially as the phrase *wa-hlala pansi* also occurs in the previous verse.

In other cases, however, Colenso did indeed correct typographical errors in the 1848 publication. So, *a yu dabuka* becomes *a ya dabuka* ('they burst', Mt. 9.17). While both forms are used in the American publication, the Xhosa *umsa* becomes the Zulu *umusa* ('mercy', 9.27), but is retained in seven other verses. The word *umbapatiza* is corrected to *umBapatizi* ('Baptist', 14.8) in line with other occurrences, *nyihlo* is changed to *uYihlo* ('your father', 17.20), and *ku-me* to *ku-mi* ('to me', 25.45). However, when Colenso changes *umtuana* to *umNtwana* ('child', 2.8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 20, 21; 10.21) and *umTwana* (17.18; 18.2, 5; 23.15), there is obvious inconsistency. The Dictionary listings are 'TWANA (Um) n. Child, small person' (Perrin 1855a: 147) and 'Child, n. *umtwana*' (Perrin 1855b: 44). Colenso must have become aware of the fact that the noun stem does begin with a nasal *ntwana* because of the plural *abantwana*. This is also the logical conclusion if the diminutive suffix *-ana* is added to the word

umuntu ('person')—*umuntu* + *ana* > *umntwana* ('small person'), with the contracted prefix with polysyllabic stems.

Where Colenso changes words, his changes are not always improvements. For example, in the Lord's Prayer in Mt. 6.9-11, the 1848 version had: *Ubaba wetu o s'ezuluini: ma li dunyisue li be ingcuele igama lako: Umbuso wako ma u ze: intando yako ma y'enziwe emhlabeni, ku be njenga s'ezuluini. Si pe namhla isinkua semihla setu* ('Our Father who is in Heaven, may your name be praised and holy; may your kingdom come, may your will be done on earth as in heaven. Give us today our daily bread'). Colenso starts correctly with the vocative, '*Baba wetu o-se'Zulwini* ('Our Father who is in Heaven'), *Ma-li-hlukaniswe iGama lako* ('May your name be separated as distinct'). He then replaces the Zulu word with the Xhosa word for 'kingdom' twice where it occurs in the prayer, while retaining the Zulu word 35 other times in the Gospel: *Mabu-ze ubuKumkani bako* ('May your kingdom come'). He also changes the word for *intando* ('will') to *iliZwi* ('word') while retaining *intando* in six other places, including in the Lord's prayer in Gethsemane, for God's will to be done (26.39, 42), *iliZwi lako ma-l'enziwe emHlabeni njenga s'ezulwini*. He changes *isinkua semihla setu* ('daily bread') to *ukuHla kwetu kwemihla* ('daily food'), a change which would find general acceptance in Bible translations today, because in this context what is requested is a daily supply of staple food, rather than 'bread' which would have been a luxury, or at least a foreign food to the Zulu. He nevertheless retains *isinkwa* the 21 times it has specific reference to bread.

It is not clear why he changed *u ya ku hlaulela nga ni umpefumlo wake na?* to *u-ya-ku-kokela nga-ni umPefumlo wake na* ('with what will he pay for his soul') in Mt. 16.26, as both words occur in Zulu with almost the same meaning. The *Dictionary* however does make a distinction, which possibly explains Colenso's thinking in doing so: 'HLAULELA v.n. Pay a penalty, expiate, atone for' and 'KOKELA v.a. Pay for compensate, bribe, remunerate' (Perrin 1855a: 62, 79).

In the *Zulu-English Dictionary* Colenso says: 'Proper names of persons have of course been omitted; but those of the principal and many of the minor rivers are included' (1855a: iv). It might have been good if he had decided on the spelling of proper names in the Gospel of Matthew, for here he changed the American missionaries' spelling of *uPontio Pilati* to *uPontiusi-Pilati* (Mt. 27.2). In the prayer book published a year later in 1856 he has *uPontius-Pilate*, before he finally settled on *uPontio-Pilato* in the New Testament (1876[?]b/1897). In his later translations, Colenso

changed the Zulu spelling of many New Testament personal and place names (Hermanson 1995: 204-21).

3. *Grammar*

In his adaptation of the *Gospel*, Colenso drew on what he had learned about the language in the preparation of his first *Grammar*, which he explains as follows (1855b: 39-40):

In the composition of this Grammar I have derived assistance from those written for the dialect of the Frontier Kafirs, by Messrs Appleyard and Boyce, Wesleyan Missionaries. But I am still more indebted to a Grammar of the Zulu Dialect composed by Mr Schroeder [*sic*], a Norwegian (Lutheran) Missionary, and printed in Danish, but most kindly translated for me into English by Miss Grote of Trumpington, Cambridge. I must also express my thanks to the Rev J Grote, Vicar of Trumpington, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for some valuable suggestions. I cannot hope to have escaped all error in the preparation of this Grammar, after so recent an acquaintance with the language itself; but I believe it will be found correct in all essential particulars. And it was most desirable that the large party of Missionaries who are about to sail with me to Natal, should have the means of studying the Zulu-Kafir language to some extent during the voyage. This they will now be able to do, as they will each be provided with a copy of a Grammar, Dictionary and Translation of St. Matthew, in the Zulu-Kafir tongue.

March 1, 1855

JWNatal

Nouns in Zulu are categorized into classes according to their distinguishing prefixes. In this first *Grammar* Colenso refers to 'species' of nouns, but to 'classes' in his later publications. Syntactically there is concordial agreement between words based on the prefixes of the nouns in the sentence. Twice, in Mt. 8.1 and 18, Colenso makes the error of mixing concordial agreement between the noun and adjective by changing the noun to the singular and retaining the adjective in the plural: *isiXuku ezikulu*, where the original *iziXuku ezikulu* ('large crowds') is correct. Similarly, in 13.30 the correct possessive concord in *s'esiKatini sokuvuna* ('the time of harvest') has been incorrectly changed to *lokuvuna*.

Whereas some African languages are written disjunctively, Zulu today is written conjunctively, that is, prefixal and suffixal morphemes are joined to nominal stems and verbal radicals to form longer words. Colenso began to do this in his adaptation of the Gospel of Matthew by inserting hyphens between the morphemes which go together, although once again he

unfortunately did not do so consistently. Griesel (1991: 74) says that Colenso is generally associated with introducing conjunctivism into Zulu. He quotes J. Stuart as saying in his address to the Natal and Zululand Conference on Zulu Orthography in Durban in 1906 that Colenso's approach, which had obviously developed greatly since 1855, was 'the best known representative of the conjunctive method' (Stuart [ed.], 1907: 6). Griesel comments that although he was a leader in this as far as Zulu is concerned, it does not mean that Colenso initiated the conjunctive method, for Bennie and Boyce had used it in Xhosa, and Colenso had used Boyce's *Grammar* in developing his own for Zulu. It was nevertheless a positive step forward.

There are some places where it appears that Colenso had been made aware of improvements which could be made. For example, when a noun is used as a vocative, it is without the initial vowel. This he corrects in Mt. 7.21, 9.28 and 21.30 where a person is addressed and he has *'nKosi*, but not in 8.2 where the initial vowel of *inKosi* is retained. In 4.7, he corrects *nokuthi* ('and that') to *ukuti* ('that'). He also deletes certain unnecessary words in some cases such as the *kwa* in *wa-muka kwa lapo* ('he went away from there', 11.1), but in other places deletes words which should have been retained such as *kuni* (to you) in *ku-ya-ku-piwa kuni* ('it will be given to you', 10.19). Possibly misled by the plural *gi-fo kuni* (I say to you) in 5.28 where Jesus is addressing the crowd and the plural is appropriate, he incorrectly changes the singular *ku we* ('to you') to the plural *ku ni* ('to you') in v. 26, where the reference is a warning to a single person being thrown into prison until restitution is made.

A most useful alteration made to the Matthew text was to introduce quotation marks to indicate direct speech. In what was apparently the convention at the time, the opening quotation mark, comes not only before the first word of direct speech, but also at the beginning of each line of the continuing speech.

4. Colenso's Translations—Fruits of Controversy?

Although Colenso began by adapting the American missionaries' translation of *Matthew*, once in South Africa he began to make and publish his own Scripture translations and other books in Zulu. In a letter dated 1 February 1857 to Sir George Grey, reporting on his previous year's work, Colenso said that he was planning to publish a gospel narrative, and went on to say:

I have also in hand a First and Second Reading Book in Kafir, and a new Ed[ition] of the Zulu Grammar which I hope to produce in the course of this year. But in order to do this I have been obliged to send to England for *type* (I have a press) that we may print at the Station ourselves with the help of my boys: as the Printers' hands in Town are so full of work that it is very tedious to have anything to do with them.

I transmit also herewith copies of the Kafir Liturgy [Colenso, 1856b] and a Zulu Tract on the Ten Commandments which we have produced during the past year. These latter have had the benefit of Mr Shepstone's vision—the Gospel narrative not.

It seems that Colenso had to put up with the tedious printers for a little longer, for the gospel narrative was published in Pietermaritzburg by May & Davis in 1857. However, although the complete New Testament, which is undated but probably published in 1876 (Hermanson 1992: 80), bears the name of the publishers P. Davis & Sons, it was printed at Bishopstowe by Magma & Co., his own Zulu printers. Magma was one of the boys whose essays on life at Ekukhanyeni Colenso had sent to Sir George Grey in February 1857, when the boy must have been about twelve years old. A little booklet *Amazwi Abantu (Words of People)* in the Grey Collection in Cape Town, bears the following written inscription on the bottom of the front page: 'Composed and Printed by Magma, a Zulu boy of about 14 years, from a rough M.S. (formerly Skelemu)'. The name Skelemu means 'rogue' or 'scallywag'. Under Colenso's tutelage this young scallywag not only took charge of the press and set and printed the New Testament and other books printed at Ekukhanyeni, but he also was one of the first Zulu authors to have a book published. It was called *Abantu Abamnyama, lapa bavela ngakona (The Black People and Whence They Came* [Fuze 1922]).

Other books of the Bible Colenso published were First and Second Samuel in 1871, and Exodus in 1882. When Colenso arrived in Natal, the American Board Missionaries had already begun translating the Bible into Zulu. The translation initiative eventually led to the first complete Zulu New Testament in 1865 and Bible in 1883. Doke (1958: 89) is of the opinion that it was really the theological differences around the name of Bishop Colenso that were responsible both for his own translations and for those of his erstwhile colleague, Bishop Henry Callaway. Colenso published a commentary on Romans in 1861 and the first volume of a critical evaluation of the Pentateuch and Joshua in 1862. The opinions he expressed in these publications led to his being put on trial for heresy (Ive 1966: 22-26), so it is not surprising that Callaway was 'troubled with the Bishop's Scripture translations' (Benham 1896: 115). Doke considered

Callaway's translations to be extremely good, and stated that Colenso's translation of the New Testament 'is also a very good translation'. He continues, 'Colenso spoke scathingly of Callaway's translations, an attitude partly due, in all probability, to the bitterness of the controversy: but it is a pity that Colenso, accomplished Zulu scholar, found it difficult to acknowledge another's ability in Zulu' (Doke 1958: 89-90). It is a great pity that these two could not work with one another and that the missionaries of the Congregational, English and Lutheran traditions did not cooperate in the task of Bible translation in Zulu until much later.

5. Conclusion

When Colenso arrived in Natal he found that Matthew's Gospel was the only book of the Bible published in Zulu. While the old adage states that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, nevertheless Colenso can be commended that after only a brief encounter with the Zulu language, he undertook not only to adapt this translation, but also to provide a grammar and dictionary, so that those he recruited to work with him in Natal should have at least some knowledge of the language before they arrived. Colenso's first attempt at Bible translation in Zulu was therefore more of a revision to meet his own needs, but it also included grammatical and lexicographical work as an integral part of the same task. Although he was not able to correct the problem at the time, he was very aware that the *Gospel* and *Dictionary* contained words which were probably not Zulu, but Xhosa. He therefore pleaded that those with such knowledge should point out any inaccuracies they found in the publications he had produced, realizing that although he had done his best with his limited acquaintance with the language, he could not expect to have escaped error completely. The result of his first endeavours was that in spite of the errors he missed and those which were introduced in resetting the text, he made two significant contributions. First, although sometimes inconsistently and inaccurately, he started to identify what constitutes a word in Zulu as different from what constitutes a word in English; then, by joining the morphemes he believed should go together with hyphens, he began the tradition of writing Zulu conjunctively. Second, he introduced quotation marks to identify direct speech, a definite advantage which inexplicably was not used in other translations of the Bible in Zulu until recently. From these first imperfect efforts, Colenso went on to become a most competent Zulu linguist, eventually publishing his own translation of the New Testament.

He also produced his own *Grammar* and *Dictionary* which Griesel (1991: 32) describes as important reference books during the second half of the nineteenth century. After his death on 20 June 1883, his daughter Harriette continued to edit and publish new editions of the *Grammar* to at least 1903, and the *New Testament* to 1905. The *Zulu–English Dictionary* was still in print in 1940.

Scripture Translations Cited

- 1837(?) *Incuadi Yokuqala Yabafundayo (First Book for Readers)* (Port Natal: American Zulu Mission Press).
- 1848 *IVangeli E Li Yingcuele E Li Baliweyo G'uMatu (The Holy Gospel Written by Matthew)* (UMkungunhlovu [Pietermaritzburg]: D.D. Buchanan & Co.).
- 1855 *IVangeli Eli-Yingcwele Eli-baliweyo G'uMatu* (reprinted, with some alterations, from the translation published by the American Missionaries; London: Richard Clay).
- 1865 *ITestamente Elitya Lenkosi Yetu uJesu Kristu NgokwesiZulu (The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ in Zulu)* (Esidumbini, Natal: American Zulu Mission).
- 1897 J.W. Colenso, *Izindab'ezinhle Ezashunyayelwa Ku'bantu ng'uJesu-Kristo Inkosi Yetu Kanye Nezinncwadi Ezalotshwa Ng'abapostole Bake (The Good News Preached to People by Jesus Christ Our Lord Together with the Letters Written by His Apostles)* (London: J.M. Dent & Co. [printed and published for Miss H.E. Colenso] [1st edn = 1876?]).²
- 1883 *IBaible Eli Ingcwele NgokwesiZulu (The Holy Bible in the Zulu Language)* (New York: American Bible Society).
- 1917 *ITestamente Elisha eli isivumelwano esishaseNkosi uMsindisi wetu uJesu Kristu li hunyushwe li kishwa olimini lwesiGrecki li hunyushwe ngokusha. 1916 (New Testament Being the New Covenant of Our Lord Saviour Jesus Christ Translated from the Greek and Translated Anew in 1916)* (New York: American Bible Society [printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society])
- 1924 *IBaibele Eli Ingcwele Eli neTestamente eliDala, neliSha kuhunyushwe isiHeberu nesiGrecki izilimi okwa lotshwa kuqala. Li hunyushwe ngokusha (The Holy Bible which has the Old and New Testament Translated from the Hebrew and Greek, the Languages in which it was First Written: Translated Anew)* (New York: American Bible Society).

2. The edition I have and used is dated 1897. The first edition, a copy of which is in the Grey collection of the South African Library, is undated. Through my own detective work I have established the date of publication as being 1867, and cover the problem in this article by saying 'However, although the complete New Testament, which is undated but probably published in 1876 (Hermanson 1992: 80), bears the name of the publishers P. Davis & Sons, it was printed at Bishopstowe by Magema & Co., his own Zulu printers' (p. 25, above).

- 1924 *ITestamente Elitsha Lenkosi Umsindisi Wetu uJesu Kristu Ngolimi LwesiZulu* (*The New Testament of Our Lord Saviour Jesus Christ in the Zulu Language*) (Empangweni: Moorleigh; Natal: Hermannsburg).
- 1924 *Incwadi Engcwele etiwa IBibele noma ImiBhalo: ITestamente Elidala neTestamente Elitsha Ngolimi LwesiZulu* (*The Holy Book Called the Bible or the Scriptures: The Old Testament and New Testament in the Zulu Language*) (Empangweni: Moorleigh; Natal: Hermannsburg).
- 1959 *IBhayibhile Elingcwele* (*The Bible in Zulu*) (London: British & Foreign Bible Society).
- 1966 *Izincwadi Eziyingcwele ZeThestamente Elisha Lenkosi Umsindisi Wethu uJesu Kristo, NgesiZulu, Zahunyushwa, Zachazwa Ngabafundisi BeBandla EliKatholika*. (*The Holy Books of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Zulu, Translated and Explained by Ministers of the Catholic Church*) (Mariannahill: Mariannahill Mission Press, 2nd edn).
- 1979 *Indaba Enhle kaNkulunkulu* (*Good News According to Mark, Acts, Ephesians, Psalms in Zulu*) (Cape Town: Bible Society of South Africa).
- 1986 *IThestamente Elisha namaHubo* (*The New Testament and Psalms*) (Cape Town: Bible Society of South Africa).

COLENZO, JOHN 1.1-18
AND THE POLITICS OF INSIDER- AND OUTSIDER-TRANSLATING

Maarman Sam Tshehla

Whenever the translation is approached in a theoretical manner, a type of perfectly competent translator, who does not exist in reality, is presupposed. (Whang 1999: 48)

1. *A Pretext for the Present Exercise*

Translations bear the marks of their makers as much as they communicate something of the source culture.¹ We differentiate between the translator's culture, the broader milieu of the literature being translated, as well as the target language's cultural environment. If we accept that something of each of these factors² is captured in the translation, then the translator can clearly tip the balance this or that way. It is from this perspective that I believe South Africa must see the emergence of insider-translators³ of the

1. We remain warned that 'no culture can be reproduced completely in any literary text, just as no source text can be fully reproduced in a translation' (Tymoczko 1999: 23), with stern emphasis on the adverbs 'completely' and 'fully'.

2. These three aspects are singled out without ignorance of other contributing factors, such as the period in history when a translation was effected or for instance the policies of the commissioners/funders.

3. My use of 'insider' and 'outsider' is not meant in any racist or xenophobic sense, rather only to distinguish those who were breastfed the language into which a translation is being made from those who come to that tongue as adult learners. In this sense I am like Colenso since *isiZulu* is not my mother tongue. In fact, I prefer the expression 'missionary-translators' to 'outsider-translators' because their goal is to benefit the target culture through the translated corpus and, chronologically, their endeavours strictly belong in the so-called missionary era. For 'insider-translator' I should prefer 'endogenous-translator' since their work (ideally) arises from within their cultural milieu. Nevertheless, for reasons of convention, I will retain the use of 'insider' and 'outsider'.

Bible on a more convincing scale than is yet the case after some centuries of sustained missionary efforts in the region.

This need is bluntly betrayed by a recent publication, composed of papers read at a symposium I was privileged to attend, entitled *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation: A South African Perspective* (Naudé and van der Merwe 2002). In the words of the local Bible Society's General Secretary (Kritzinger 2002: v), 'the Bible Society of South Africa has had the privilege of arranging a symposium involving academics and Bible translators from South Africa and the United Bible Societies'. Of the 16 papers presented at the symposium and subsequently published under the above title, only one was by a person of indigenous African descent, the non-South African Regional Coordinator of the Africa Region of the United Bible Societies (UBS). It is no longer sufficient to explain this disparity on the grounds of our apartheid past.⁴

'A vital part of the mission of the Bible Society of South Africa is to provide affordable Bibles in the language of the people. As a first step, this entails the translation of the Biblical source texts into the constantly changing languages indigenous to Southern Africa, a task which requires well-trained and competent translators' (Kritzinger 2002: v). The process of producing competent translators in all indigenous African tongues has begun, I believe. I wish though that all stakeholders could play a more meaningful role instead of delegating the entire responsibility to the various national Bible Societies as such. The African Church will have positively come of age when it can boast renditions of the Bible inspired by and articulated through indigenous perspectives.

Those who in missionary discourse are characteristically called 'informants', in addition to being the actual missionaries in many cases, are also the ones responsible for our missionary-translators or translation consultants' acquaintance with native languages; it is only unfortunate that in its Western wrappings Christian historiography could not escape the tendency to credit individuals for what are in fact products of collective activity. Thus the coming of age of African translators as envisaged by this paper leans more on the inclusive than on the exclusive side.⁵ (The

4. See my comments on this saddening South African reality in Tshehla 2002 and 2003.

5. 'Because the Bible functions so pervasively in the black community we black biblical scholars are relieved of the impossible burden of carrying on the task of interpretation alone. It is exciting to think about real collegiality, wherein individuals don't have to be responsible for everything' (Felder 1991: 5)—surely this is equally true of translation!