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**The Gospel of Luke as a Model for Mission in an African
Context:
With Special Reference to Challenges of Mission
in the Anglican Church of Tanzania**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of
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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study is to offer the Anglican Church in central Tanzania (ACT) a new biblical mandate for mission so that its mission can bring holistic transformation to the community. To achieve this objective the study is divided into three parts: the first two chapters examine the historical mission of the ACT in the colonial context, the work of Church Missionary Society (CMS) in central Tanzania and the East Africa Revival Movement (EARM) influences upon its mission formation. The study finds that, because of the dominance of a Matthew 28:18-20 based narrow missional understanding of the CMS and the EARM, the ACT's mission in the post-colonial era has failed to address the political and social changes that have overtaken Tanzania in recent decades, despite the shift to indigenous church leadership.

Chapters' three to five form the second part, the reading of the Gospel of Luke. These chapters begin by proposing a hermeneutical method for reading the gospel, using a Tanzanian *ujamaa* lens. *Ujamaa* is a communal ethos which aims to build an equal society by liberating the community from threats to human well-being, such as poverty, ignorance and preventable disease. The *ujamaa* lens therefore allows an approach to the text that focuses on the social issues apparent in the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world in front of the text. I demonstrate that Luke's gospel presents Jesus as saviour of all, especially the socially marginalised poor. Throughout the gospel, Luke presents Jesus in solidarity with the powerless and the voiceless poor, bringing them life-transforming good news and intending to liberate them from suffering and dependence. As the manifesto in chapter 4.16-21 shows, Jesus comes to realise the promise of the prophets, bringing good news to the poor, releasing captives from bondage, and announcing the year of the Lord's favour. Jesus' mission thus has practical effects, bringing transformation, hope, and justice to communities, and so aligning with the Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture.

For further evidence of this alignment, I examine the story of Jesus raising the widow's son in Luke 7:11-17. Read through the *ujamaa* lens, this text appears pressingly relevant to the Tanzanian situation and so to the ACT's mission. Thus, in chapter 6, this thesis argues that by using an *ujamaa* lens, the ACT can recover Luke's missiology, and so expand the church's limited mission praxis to better reflect the mission of Jesus. In this way, the ACT will be equipped to practise holistic gospel mission that is transformative for the whole community.

DEDICATION

To

My grand-mother

The late Mdala Ndewo Chugulu Leya Muyanda
whose widowhood of 55 years inspired me to write this thesis

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My study on *The Gospel of Luke as Model for Mission in an African Context: With Special Reference to the Challenges of Mission in the Anglican Church of Tanzania* is the result of assistance from many mission supporters. It is not possible to mention all of them. The fact that I cannot list all of them here does not mean lack of appreciation or recognition for the part they played; the few that I mention here are intended to represent all those who have helped me in so many ways and to whom I am most grateful. The Anglican Church of Tanzania, especially the Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Bishop Mdimi Mhogolo, my fellow clergy, Christians and all the people in central Tanzania deserve special and first mention for they make the context of my nurture and mission field.

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To all I have named, and those I haven't, I say *Sandenyi sana, lukumyo kuli Mulungu mdaha vyose, asante sana utukufu kwa Mungu awezaye yote* (Cigogo and Swahili languages meaning 'thank you very much, praise and glory to ever living God').

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

My thesis reads the Gospel of Luke as a model for mission in the African Context, with special reference to the challenges of mission in the Anglican church of Tanzania (ACT). It aims to offer a new biblical mandate for the mission of the ACT in Tanzania with a view to bringing holistic transformation in the lives of the poor. In order to discover new meaning, the gospel of Luke will be read through a lens of *ujamaa* hermeneutics. In this way, the study will challenge the ACT's present mission activities and enable it to explore new ways of addressing issues that currently confront poor people in post-colonial Tanzania.

The national context poses particular challenges to Anglican mission in Tanzania, challenges which in certain particulars echo those of Luke in recording Jesus' announcement of good news to poor first century Palestinians. This being so, the present study proposes Luke's gospel as a missiological model for the ACT generally, and the Anglican church in Central Tanzania specifically. The central region is used here to illustrate the broader missiological application of the gospel.

A principal aim of the study is to provide an enhanced biblical mandate for the mission of the Anglican church in Tanzania. Such a mandate ought to enable a more *holistic* view of the gospel than previously—one that announces both familiar truth about God's love extended to humanity through Jesus, but now also incorporates practical dimensions of the gospel message, including the liberation Luke's Jesus offers the poor.

1 Background

Addressing the challenges of mission in an African context, especially in the light of the New Testament (NT), has not been given high priority in the works of Anglican theologians in Tanzania.¹ The present study intends to redress this neglect. It responds to the question as to

¹ Rev Dr Raphael Akiri Mwita was the first Anglican priest in Tanzania in 1998 to pursue a doctorate (at the University of Edinburgh) and his thesis subject was about the contribution of indigenous people in the growth of the Anglican Church in central Tanzania. Rev Dr Mkunga Mtingele was the second Anglican priest in Tanzania to pursue a doctorate with Open University, UK in 2004 and his thesis subject was on "Leadership and Conflicts in an African Church: An Inquiry into Nature, Causes, and Effect of Conflicts about Leadership in the Anglican Church of Tanzania during the Indigenous Leadership Circa 1960 – Circa 2000". Rev Dr Dickson Chilongani was the third Anglican priest in Tanzania to pursue a doctorate (at the University of Bristol) in 2005

whether Luke's presentation of Jesus' mission might relevantly address contemporary African social issues such as endemic poverty, HIV/AIDS, and high numbers of unsupported widows and orphans. Such issues currently threaten the stability of both Tanzanian society and the mission of the Tanzanian church. If the study proves that the gospel is able to offer a viable response, it can then function as a mandate for mission for the ACT, so that its mission can be a transformative force in contemporary Tanzanian society.

For many years most Bible readers and theologians in Africa, particularly in Tanzania, have focused on the Old Testament (OT) rather than the NT. Indeed, it is difficult to find an Anglican theologian in Tanzania dealing with NT texts. The reason for this might be that the African worldview is closer to the OT than the NT.² As Grant LeMarquand says: "many Old Testament ideas which seem quite foreign to western minds appear to be readily comprehensible in African contexts. It is easier to understand the meaning of the concept of 'covenant' for example, if one's people practice covenant rituals."³ LeMarquand's comment applies equally to the sacrificial rituals found in the OT narratives. These are easily understood and appreciated by Tanzanians, especially among the *Wagogo* people in central Tanzania who traditionally have seen and made sacrifice. The OT marriage traditions (where Abraham, Jacob and David had more than one wife simultaneously) are certainly understandable among the people in central Tanzania who have similar traditions.⁴ Indeed most Africans feel more at home with the OT than many western readers.⁵

While the OT is more easily understood and appreciated, it does not mean, however, that the NT is less important in Tanzania than in the West, since many of the OT ideas such as covenant, sacrifice and wisdom are also important in the NT. The statement that the African worldview has many similarities to the world of the OT is to acknowledge that the Tanzanian

and his subject was 'Reading the Book of Job with an African Eye: With Special Reference to the Problem of Suffering among the Wagogo in Central Tanzania'.

² Interestingly, historically and even today the OT is used in central Tanzanian preaching more frequently than it is used in the pulpits of western countries. Cf. Grant LeMarquand, "New Testament Exegesis in (Modern) Africa," in *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends*, ed. Gerald O. West and Musa W. Dube (Boston: Brill 2001), 72.

³ Ibid.

⁴ I grew up in the context of African Traditional Religious worship, where my clan would go to my ancestors' graves to offer sacrifice during drought or flood. Equally a thanksgiving sacrifice was offered after good rain and harvest. Indeed for most people in my community a complete break between Christianity and African traditional religion has yet to take place. Many still follow both religions. They act in a Christian manner when everything is going well, but once a problem occurs — a long illness, drought, famine or political upheaval — they turn to traditional ways. They visit witchdoctors, they consult ancestral spirits, as they think Christianity cannot provide real answers.

⁵ LeMarquand, "New Testament Exegesis in (Modern) Africa," 72.

and the NT worlds contain many similarities with the world of the OT and much continuity.⁶

LeMarquand writes:

many African readers do sometimes note that in the New Testament there is something which is radically new, something which is distinct from the Hebrew Bible, from African tradition and from the western world, but this discontinuity, this new thing is not a culture or tradition incomprehensible to Africa, but the person of Jesus Christ who seems both at home in and alien to every culture.⁷

2 The study area and its historical situation

My study focuses on the evangelical strand of the Anglican church in central Tanzania. This covers six dioceses: Central Tanganyika (DCT), Mpwapwa (DMP), Rift Valley (DRV), Kondoia (DKO), and Kiteto (DKI).

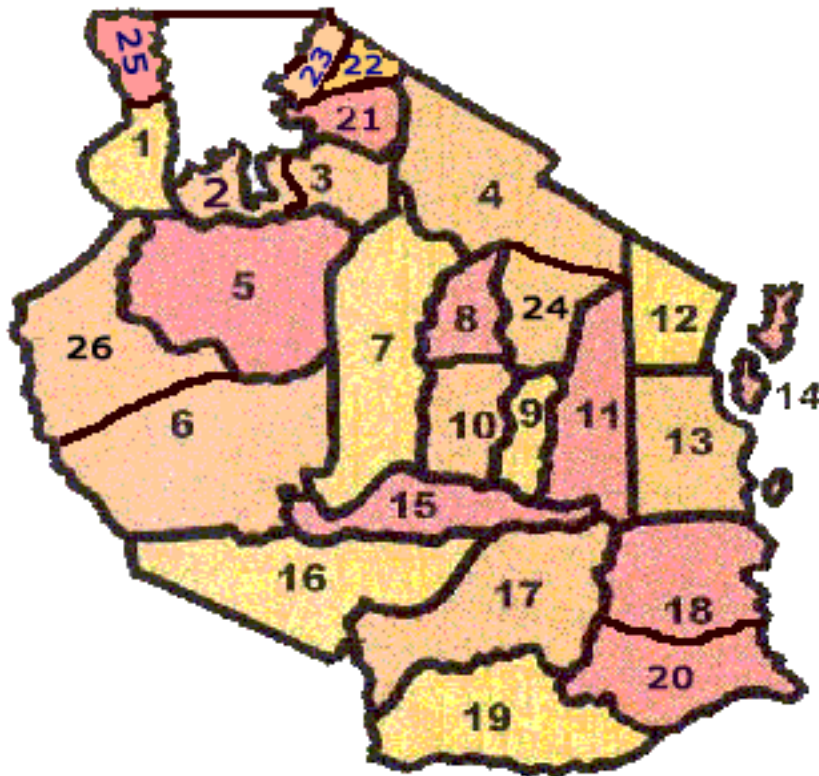


Fig.1. Map of the Dioceses of the Anglican Church of Tanzania, taken from www.anglican.or.tz:

In this map, the dioceses that make up central Tanzania, the focus of this study, are as follows:

- (10) Diocese of Central Tanganyika, (9) Diocese of Mpwapwa, (7) Diocese of Rift Valley,
(8) Diocese of Kondoia, and (24) Diocese of Kiteto.

⁶ My discussion section on the development of biblical interpretation in Africa in Chapter Three discusses further how African scholars have seen the biblical texts of the OT.

⁷ LeMarquand, "New Testament Exegesis in (Modern) Africa," 73.



Fig.2. The Tanzanian political map taken from www.nationsonline.org. The Anglican dioceses in central Tanzania indicated in Figure 1 fall mainly within two regions on this political map: Dodoma and Singida. The ACT Diocese of Kiteto is also regarded as part of the central Anglican dioceses: it lies at the bottom of the Manyara region.

It is important to understand that this thesis is not about evangelical mission study in general, nor even mission for the church in Africa. Rather, it is a biblical interpretation and reflection on my own situation and experience in central Tanzania as an evangelical male Anglican priest. I am aware, however, that many people in Tanzania and various other traditional churches face many of the same challenges we do in the ACT.⁸ Should my biblical interpretation and reflection be of some relevance to others, I will be humbly grateful. Anglican Christianity in central Tanzania was brought by English CMS missionaries during the era of British colonisation, and ever since no one has tried to interpret and contextualize the mission of the ACT in the light of the NT.

⁸ I have taken central Tanzania as an example, since it is the place where the CMS missionaries worked. But the challenges faced throughout Tanzania are the same.

CMS was founded on 12 April 1799, in conjunction with the establishment of colonial rule in Africa. CMS missionaries came to central Tanzania in 1876. Most Christians in central Tanzania are grateful for the work of CMS. Their effort, dedication and suffering, and finally their graves, still testify to the gospel. However, it is true that most Anglicans in central Tanzania today are unaware of the cultural blindness and even racial prejudice of much CMS mission activity that later was to have a negative effect on their church's mission work.⁹

During the early work of CMS missionaries in central Tanzania unintended cultural damage took place. Missionaries insisted Africans accept both Christian faith *and* western culture. When Livingstone preached in England about the need for missionaries to go to Africa, he did not say that they were needed just for the purposes of bringing Christianity, but to bring to Africa both Christianity and civilization.¹⁰ Christianity thus became a means of cultural imperialism. CMS missionaries—as later the members of the East African Revival Movement—focussed on personal salvation. They laid various laws on their converts, including the prohibition of African names, the forbidding of puberty ceremonies and other traditional rites. They insisted that time be valued and measured in terms of western values. This led to a move away from a corporate to an individual world view, devaluing traditional knowledge and communal patterns of life. These outcomes continue to impact both the church and wider Tanzanian society negatively today.

Presently Tanzanian Christians hold an acute awareness of having been “evangelized”, of having received the gospel from outside, from the West, and therefore of possessing a westernised gospel. They realize that such a gospel no longer serves the indigenous church well, and so are searching for a distinctly *African* reading of the text.

But in modern Tanzania it is not a simple thing to separate out western and African readings. For example, and to take a notoriously complex example, when missionaries came to Africa some condemned polygamy as unchristian and unbiblical. Yet, when the Bible was translated into African languages it did not escape African notice that many of the great heroes of the faith had a lot of wives: witness Abraham, Jacob and David.¹¹ The social significance of OT

⁹ Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1986), 37.

¹⁰David Livingstone, "Mission and Colonialism," in *Classic Texts in Mission & World Christianity*, ed. Norman E. Thomas (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1995), 67-68.

¹¹ LeMarquand, "New Testament Exegesis in (Modern) Africa," 72-75.

polygamous marriage was and remains perfectly apparent to the people of central Tanzania holding similar traditions. Is it Christian or merely western-cultural to condemn it?

The growth of Christianity in central Tanzania therefore raises many questions. Is Christianity to be tied to western culture? Today most Tanzanians (as most Africans) say in effect: “We can accept the Christian faith of the early missionaries, but we do not need to accept their western culture. We are free to express our faith in our own African way.”

Critical, and interrelated, issues for the African church today arise from its post-colonial context. These include poverty and its corollaries: hunger, lack of clean water, disease (particularly malaria and HIV/AIDS), and large numbers of unsupported widows and orphans. Along with these comes corruption.¹² Such problems undermine the well-being of the whole population, believers and nonbelievers.

Under the guidance of successive indigenous bishops over the last four decades, the Anglican church in Tanzania, especially in central Tanzania, has grown considerably. At the same time, it has failed to develop a powerful prophetic voice challenging the structural causes of social inequality. It will be argued here that this failure has occurred because the church’s inherited model of mission has understood mission in terms of individual conversion, missing the ancient biblical call to confront injustice.

3 The current biblical mandate for mission in central Tanzania

The early years of CMS work in central Tanzania did not include the idea of expanding the meaning of mission in the African context, something that would have enabled the mission to appreciate some of the good in the cultures of African people.¹³ Instead CMS missionaries regarded Africans and their culture as something evil which needed to be changed, transformed and civilized into a western form.¹⁴ In later years, the ACT in central Tanzania followed this lead, by focusing its mission on the proclamation of the gospel—that is, soul winning and planting many churches—which intended to convert people so that they could

¹² The analysis of Jesus’ programmatic declaration in Chapter Four will examine various evidence of the problem of corruption in Tanzania.

¹³ One needs to understand that CMS missionaries were the children of their own western time and culture, so intentionally, or unintentionally, could not see the richness of some aspects of African culture, such as community values.

¹⁴ Eugene Stock argues that CMS’s founders were mostly merchants who wanted to see the transformation of people’s lives through social service, and their major concern was to stop the slave trade in the British Empire. The establishment of Sierra Leone and Freretown in Mombasa as a base for liberated slaves was the result of their work, cf., Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, vol. I (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 45, 156-72, 449-62. Stock’s work, including the subsequent Volumes II and III, provides a good understanding of CMS, its background, its establishment and its work in East Africa, particularly in central Tanzania.

be civilized and join the Christian community. Why did CMS not think to expand its mission holistically? Why did it focus on individuals only? Why did it neglect social transformation? These questions continue to be widely discussed in the Tanzanian church. This thesis will explore four major explanations.

First, from its earliest years the basis for CMS's mission was the mandate of Matthew 28:18-20 (the great commission).¹⁵ Yet in hindsight this early evangelical basis for mission, as it was exported to Tanzania, was too narrowly understood. Actually Matthew's Jesus not only commands proclamation of the gospel but the ongoing training of new believers "to obey everything I have commanded". Jesus' mission is in fact all-encompassing. It should affect believers' whole lives, including their orientation to God and their willingness to feed, heal, and clothe the poor. Luke practically enforces Matthew here. I will argue that the ACT needs to recover Jesus' whole missional programme, as detailed in Luke, which involves eradicating poverty, speaking for the voiceless, and bringing hope to the widows and orphans.

Second, and as will be seen in Chapter One, the narrow CMS mission focus brought to Tanzania was strengthened by growing pietistic inclinations among some nineteenth century evangelicals. Such pietism, spread through such channels as the Keswick movement, had a strong eschatological emphasis on the conversion of souls before the return of Jesus Christ. Since most CMS missionaries to Tanzania were influenced by this kind of pietism, they thought that preaching the gospel and converting people to Christianity was the prior exclusive missionary task. It follows that issues of eradicating poverty and social justice were largely overlooked in their mission work. This thesis will therefore pay particular attention to the pietistic flavour of mission action in Tanzania, the flavour that ignores the social activist evangelical inheritance of the Clapham Sect, and individuals like Shaftesbury and William Wilberforce.

Third, the failure of CMS to develop a holistic biblical interpretation for its mission was amplified in subsequent decades with the rise of the liberal movement in Protestant churches during the 1930s. This brought worries among evangelicals about whether it was relevant to practise social concern as part of proclaiming the gospel. Evangelicals were worried about

¹⁵It should be noted that CMS's founders were the product of the Great Awakening in England. Keith Cole mentions how the founders of CMS spent much of their time reading Matthew 28:18-20 and discussing how they could respond to the great commission in relation to the heathen people in Africa, Cf., Keith Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia* (Melbourne: Ruskin Press, 1971), 1-5.

having Christians who would follow the Christian faith because of material benefits and not because of heart changes. Clearly CMS as an evangelical mission agency was affected by this attitude.¹⁶ Since this time, western evangelicals have become increasingly aware of the deficiencies in this position.

In 1974, the Lausanne Congress on evangelisation in its covenant highlighted the issues. John Stott wrote of this: “In the past, especially perhaps in nineteenth century Britain, evangelical Christians had an outstanding record of social gospel action. In this century, however, partly because of our reaction against the social gospel of liberal optimism—we have tended to divorce evangelism and social concern, and to concentrate almost exclusively on the former.”¹⁷

Yet the question remains whether the Lausanne covenant goes far enough to redress the deficient understanding of the gospel which CMS evangelicals gave to Tanzania. As we will see, it does not reframe an evangelical understanding of the gospel (such as through an *ujamaa* hermeneutic which I use in this thesis) in the way necessary to see that eradicating poverty and social justice is not an add-on to Jesus’ mission, but is rather an integral part of proclaiming the good news.

Fourth, in addition, the East Africa Revival Movement (EARM), which affected central Tanzania (mostly in the 1960s and 1970s), came as a response to spiritual dryness, with its roots in the deep distrust that existed between black Anglican Christians and the white CMS missionaries. EARM was, however, a charismatic movement that brought an emphasis on individual piety only and an associated view of mission – evangelism in soul winning through proclamation of the gospel and church planting.¹⁸ This one aspect of mission could not bring a real, holistic transformation to people’s lives: spiritually, culturally, socially and economically.

¹⁶ In this thesis I have not dealt in detail with the rise of the social gospel in the 1930s among the protestant churches in Europe, but I have to mention it here in the introduction because I believe CMS as an evangelical mission agency would have been affected by the evangelical reaction against the social gospel movement.

¹⁷ Cf., John Stott, "Lausanne Covenant, with an Exposition and Commentary " in *Making Christ Known: Historic Mission Documents from the Lausanne Movement 1974 -1989*, ed. John Stott (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 24.

¹⁸In his chapter “This World is not our Home”, Anderson pays attention to what EARM emphasized in their preaching as material benefits, which were dismissed as worldly things, and poverty was therefore regarded as a means of inheriting the kingdom of God. They selected passages which, interpreted literally, seemed to support poverty, cf., William B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974* (Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1988), 57.

In the last two decades, the ACT has been attempting to see how to expand its understandings of and activities in mission in the Tanzanian context. This is because it realised then that for the last couple of centuries most missionaries have been European and North American, and so the interpretation of mission in ACT has been influenced by the western worldview and interpretative context. Thus, in 1999 at the 11th ACT Provincial Synod, the issue of the need to expand the mission of the church in order to address the current challenges that face the Tanzanian community was discussed seriously.¹⁹

At that synod, Archbishop Donald Mtetemela in his opening speech challenged the ACT to expand its mission in order to address the issues of corruption and bribery, poverty, HIV/AIDS, widows, orphans, ever-increasing youth problems, the spread of western culture (accompanied by scientific and technological developments which are leading to increased individualism in the lives of many young people), tribalism and selfishness. Mtetemela's address challenged the ACT to be a transformative force in contemporary society.²⁰ While Mtetemela is far from the only person to have issued such a challenge, his analysis has so far largely gone unheeded in changed church practice. This study therefore takes Mtetemela's words as a catalyst, seeking to respond to his challenge by providing an indigenous biblical interpretation basis from which the ACT can become involved in confronting such issues.

4 A Tanzanian ujamaa hermeneutics (TUH) in reading the Gospel of Luke

One of the major observations in this study is that the communal values or principles represented in Isaiah's proclamation of a coming liberator of the poor, values later reflected by Luke's Jesus, are similar to what traditionally in Tanzania are known as *ujamaa* principles of social organisation. *ujamaa* principles involve, for example, ideas around social equity, justice, the belief that resources and opportunity should be shared by community members according to the needs of each, and the view that wealth disparity should be discouraged. The suggestion will be that the ACT, in seeking to address the social inequalities of their country, will profit by bringing a "Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutical lens" to a reading of Luke. Read in this way, Luke reveals the holistic nature of the liberation Jesus announces to the poor, a liberation which does not separate the spiritual from the practical. The further suggestion will

¹⁹ Donald Mtetemela, "Crossing the River into the Third Millennium," in *Voice from Africa, Transforming Mission in a Context of Marginalization: An Anthology*, ed. Andrew Wheeler (London: Church House Publishing, 2002), 27 - 29.

²⁰ Ibid.

be that the mission of the ACT to bring about spiritual and social transformation will be advanced as it encourages such a reading and applies its insights in the Tanzanian context.

Thus, this study challenges the traditional mission methodology of the Anglican church in Central Tanzania. In post-colonial Tanzania, an *ujamaa* reading of Luke encourages the ACT to approach Jesus' mission in word and deed—summoning change not only spiritually but also socially, structurally and practically, not only individually but also corporately and nationally. In light of an *ujamaa* reading of Luke's gospel, the contemporary Tanzanian church must therefore rethink the way it does mission in the contemporary context.

5 Approaching the study

The analysis in this study falls into three different sections: (1) an opening historical section (chapters one and two), (2) analysis of the biblical texts of Luke's gospel (chapters three to five), and then (3) Luke's gospel and mission praxis for the ACT (chapter 6).

The first section will be a critical examination of the historical work of early missionaries in central Tanzania during the colonial period and their impact on the church leaders' perception of mission today. This section considers two phases of mission activity in the history of the ACT: firstly, mission during the colonial period and the emergence of EARM in this time, and secondly, missionary practices during the post-colonial period. It includes investigation of the context which gave birth to CMS, and the impact and legacy of CMS and EARM on the ACT's present view of the biblical mandate for its mission.²¹

The second section will be a study of the Gospel of Luke and its theology of mission. This study is informed by a recognition that the bible needs to be interpreted through a contextual hermeneutics which is aware of Tanzanian socio-economic, cultural and religious realities. If biblical interpretation is to be in context, it cannot deal with a culture that does not exist.²²

The context of the biblical text will need to be brought into dialogue with the present context of Tanzania. As a biblical scholar I need to develop a model of interpretation which will be

²¹ As Laurenti Magesa points out, as far as this study is concerned, it will be crucial to mention some historical development of the mission work in central Tanzania. This is important not only to place the theme of the study into proper perspective, but—and this seems to me to even more vital—to appreciate the very nature of the struggle for new ways to expand the understanding of mission in ACT. Cf. Laurenti Magesa, "Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa," in *Mission and Spirituality: Creative Ways of Being Church*, ed. Howard Mellor and Timothy Yates (Hope Valley: Cliff College Publishing, 2002), 94.

²² Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2004), 20.

relevant to my own cultural context. John Pobee states, however, that “to announce the need of African theology is easy and reasonable. But it is far more difficult to construct it.”²³ I intend to develop an inculturation hermeneutics as used by African scholars while giving a perspective on it that will be shaped by the context of Tanzania.²⁴ I will name my particular Tanzanian hermeneutic as an *ujamaa* hermeneutic.

This second section will focus on the critical analysis of chosen texts from the Gospel of Luke as models for mission using contextual hermeneutics. The reasoning for this is that contextualisation considers the relationship between the gospel and the totality of human experience. Reading the Lukan text through *ujamaa* hermeneutics gives me a gospel lens to bring to an analysis of the problems of corruption, poverty, HIV/AIDS epidemic, widows and orphans as these are found in Tanzania.²⁵ Using this method will thus enhance the study by relating the socio-historical context of the gospel texts to the context of central Tanzania society in order to expand the ACT’s mission understanding, aid the communication and expression of the gospel and serve the needs of the people in the ACT spiritually, physically, culturally, socially and economically.²⁶

The study of the Gospel of Luke as a model for mission will demonstrate that Jesus makes a declaration of the year of jubilee in Luke 4:16-21 as he begins his mission in Galilee. Luke’s consistent stress on helping the poor, healing, and the proclamation stories throughout the gospel have significance for the ACT as it seeks to develop what is meant by mission. This is particularly important given the personal, socio-economic, and cultural impact of poverty and sickness, particularly with HIV/AIDS. Facing these issues gives the church a mission in the world where it will grow into Christ’s likeness.

The third section of this study discusses how the Gospel of Luke might shape a new missionary praxis for the Anglican church in Tanzania. It will critically analyze strategies for implementing mission praxis in the ACT and will use the insights of mission that have been

²³ John Pobee, "The Sources of African Theology," in *A Reader in African Christian Theology*, ed. John Parratt (London: SPCK, 1997), 23.

²⁴ Justin Ukpong, "Inculturation Hermeneutics: An African Approach to Biblical Interpretation," in *An Experiment in Contextual Hermeneutics: The Bible in World Context*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Ulrich Luz (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 17-32.

²⁵ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures*, 3.

²⁶ R. Musasiwa, "Contextualization," in *Dictionary of Mission Theology*, ed. John Corrie (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2007), 66.

learned from the Lukan texts to propose some constructive and feasible mission strategies for the ACT's mission in central Tanzania. Such a praxis will be grounded in a critical reading of the Lukan texts that seeks to discern the presence of the life-giving God in Jesus Christ in the suffering world of central Tanzania. It will reflect on God's transforming action in an increasingly globalised world. In this way, it will call for mission action that is prophetic and critical, hopeful and life-affirming. It will advocate for mission action that participates in Jesus' solidarity with the poor, widows, orphans, and other marginalized groups in the society and become their voice in central Tanzania. It is a mandate for mission that fosters engagement and action through contextualisation. This is a mission gospel in context, the gospel which attends to the spiritual and physical needs of the person. It is the gospel which deals with the person as a whole.

Thus, this study of the Gospel of Luke resolves to respond to social difficulties and upheavals experienced in central Tanzania in light of the Christian gospel. The study is aware that, although the gospel is unchanged and unchanging, it cannot be preached and taught in a vacuum. The study is convinced that the historic, crucified, resurrected and reigning Christ is himself Good News for the world of central Tanzania, and that he speaks to the women, widows, orphans and the poor who are longing for love, justice and liberation. The ACT needs to practise its mission in a way that will show this in action. This is because the mission practised in the gospel shows that true gospel ministry must involve spiritual, cultural, economic and social concern as a part of Christian duty. Because such concern is a fundamental part of the gospel, it ought not to be as controversial to evangelical Christians as it has been.

Through the work of this thesis, I argue that mission which deals with spiritual needs relates to saving the soul; mission that deals with physical needs relates to saving the body. These two are inextricably related. This relationship is like partnership in marriage. As John Stott argues "they are like two blades of a pair of scissors or two wings of a bird. The two were bound together in the public ministry of Jesus."²⁷ Jesus understood the lives of the poor which is why he went to live with them and served them, giving them the precious Good News in word and deed. In gospel mission, there should be no separation between the

²⁷ John Stott, *The Contemporary Christian* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 340.

proclamation and demonstration of the gospel—that is, words and deeds go hand in hand. These principles certainly need to be acted upon by the ACT in Tanzania.

Within a contextual approach, the personal experience of the researcher is important and will contribute significantly to the work being undertaken. As Jean-Marc Éla (a Roman Catholic theologian from Cameroon) suggests, the experience of the researcher is also a useful tool in theological research.²⁸ In order to reflect and write from within the community of the oppressed, Éla had to take temporary residence among peasants faced with famine, drought, and sickness. Consequently, practical, existential and radical questions were raised and reflected upon from his experience of living with these people. From this experience, Éla states, “a theologian must stay within earshot of what is happening within the community so that community life can become the subject of meditation and prayer.”²⁹

Indeed, Robert J. Schreiter argues that biblical interpretation is the task of both the local community and the theologian, for otherwise the whole process of reflection would remain metaphysical and therefore irrelevant to the life of the community.³⁰ The task of the local community is one of raising questions, of providing the experience of having lived with those questions and struggled with different answers, and of recognising which solutions are indeed genuine, authentic and commensurate with their experience. Though vital, the task of the professional theologian is not to dominate, but to help the community to clarify and reflect meaningfully on its own experience and to relate it to the experience of other communities, past and present.³¹

As a researcher, I believe I am equipped in the ways Éla and Schreiter discuss. I was born and grew up within the Anglican church in central Tanzania. I have served this church for 22 years as a lay evangelist, catechist, pastor and ordained priest. I have seen the extent of physical poverty and suffering in the people’s lives and witnessed people’s encounter with every kind of difficult situation, especially during famine caused by frequent drought. I have witnessed children who have passed primary or secondary schools with distinction, but been unable to go to secondary school or university because of problems paying fees. I have seen

²⁸ Jean-Marc Éla, *My Faith as an African* (Maryknoll: Orbis 1988), 11-12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁰ Robert J Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (London: SCM Press, 1985), 4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 16-19.

children dying from sickness which could be prevented. Through the presence of EARM, I have witnessed people's encounters with God in their lives.

Hence, I am convinced my pastoral experience is a useful tool in this study.³² As James H Cone has argued, what I am writing is urged out of my blood and of the blood of those who are suffering in central Tanzania; who see what I see, feel what I feel and desire what I desire.³³ I am convinced by my experience and by the gospel that mission in the ACT must bring up the voice of voiceless people, both in the rural villages and the urban areas of central Tanzania.

Conclusion

The first section of the thesis aims to uncover the mission legacy inherited from the past. It has two chapters. Chapter One—the first chapter of this section—will examine the mission of the Anglican church during the colonial period. This chapter traces the work of evangelical pioneers in the establishment of CMS in England. The intention is to see whether these earliest founders of CMS had social concern in their mission understanding and, if they did, how it might be reclaimed. The emergence of EARM during this period and its influence on mission practice is also examined and assessed.

Chapter Two will go on to examine the mission of the ACT during the post-colonial period. It will look at the ACT's mission emphasis at the time of many political and social changes in Tanzania, as the country was trying to recover from the experience of colonial exploitation. This chapter considers how the early years after independence were devoted to building national unity, development and democracy, and how *ujamaa* policy was established under the Arusha Declaration. The rejection of the Arusha Declaration that officially established *ujamaa* policy and the emergence of new social issues that have brought challenges to the society and to the mission of the church are also highlighted in this chapter.

In Section Two, which includes Chapters Three to Five, I read and interpret the Lukan texts through an *ujamaa* lens. The reading of the Lukan texts is to see whether they can

³² Dickson Chilongani also believes that life experience is a good tool for research work, cf. Dickson Chilongani, "Reading the Book of Job with an African Eye: With Special Reference to the Problem of Suffering among the Wagogo in Central Tanzania" (Bristol, 2004), 8-14.

³³ James H. Cone, *God of the Oppressed* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1997), 3. Cone writes out of his personal experience of the oppression of the black community by the whites in Arkansas where he was born and brought up.

significantly speak to the issues that confront the Tanzanian community today and so be able to serve as a biblical mandate for ACT mission that brings holistic transformation.

Chapter Three proposes Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture as a hermeneutics and methodology for reading the Lukan texts, with the intention of bringing new meaning to the text in a Tanzanian context. In a sense, this is a contextual study. This contextual reading intends to address the issues that are currently facing the Tanzanian community. Attention is given to the issues of corruption, poverty, HIV/AIDS, widows and orphans and other vulnerable children. The issue of poverty is addressed through the Tanzanian *ujamaa* lens as it is the root cause of other issues.

In Chapter Four I analyse Jesus' manifesto in Luke 4 and use it to consider the issues of poverty, debt and land alienation in Tanzania. I argue that this Lukan text deserves to serve as a biblical mandate for mission alongside the Matthean text known as the great commission. The story of Jesus raising the widow's only son at Nain is read in Chapter Five and this reading supports the claims of the previous chapter by observing Jesus' mission to one of the poorest groups in the first century. The chapter will observe the plight of widows in the first century and its implication for the plight of widows in Tanzania today.

Section Three contains just one chapter, namely Chapter Six, in which I discuss a new missionary praxis for the ACT in light of my analysis of the Lukan text. It will highlight some important steps that if taken by the ACT will make its mission a transformative force in Tanzania. In this chapter, I emphasize the relevance of contextual hermeneutics in Africa and how it can help an African reader to discover new meaning in the text that is relevant to his/her situation.

This thesis will then conclude with a reflection on the implication of the findings for me as an evangelical African reader and the importance of the Lukan model for bringing transformation of the ACT's mission in Tanzania. The conclusion will explain what has been achieved in this study and observe how the researcher's assumptions have been shaped by the research itself. It will finish by taking the stand that the church exists for mission, and mission is all about bringing transformation for the people whom God loves. The following is a comprehensive historical survey which prepares the way for my major research on the changes that a Tanzanian cultural hermeneutic of Luke could mean for my community.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF TANZANIA: COLONIAL, MISSIONARY AND EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT INFLUENCES ON ITS FORMATION

Introduction

The overall aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how the missiology of the Gospel of Luke offers a transforming model for the mission of the Anglican Church in Central Tanzania (ACT). To place that proposal in context, this chapter will consider the historical/theological influences impinging on the ACT during its formation and still affecting that church's struggle to find new ways of presenting the gospel. Most immediately, those influences are derived from two sources: those Anglicans who brought Christianity from Europe to East Africa, and early indigenous adopters of their message. The discussion will therefore consider the role and influence of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the East Africa Revival Movement (EARM).

In the process of the discussion, aspects of traditional East African culture as well as modern — colonial and postcolonial — Tanzanian history will be generally introduced. The intention is to lay a foundation of certain similarities between traditional Tanzanian and biblical worlds for later consideration; those similarities being able to resonate with Tanzanian Christians wanting to apply the Gospel today.

Recently addressing a CMS Ireland meeting on the topic of mission in the twenty-first century, the General Secretary of CMS UK, Tim Dakin, said: “The old ways of doing mission are rooted in our culture and they don't apply to global mission today.” This comment is relevant generally, but particularly so in Tanzania. Early CMS missionaries in Tanzania came out of a very English, very Western, Church of England, a context which has subsequently had considerable impact on how the ACT understands the mission of the church in the world. Yet this is not in fact the context in which the ACT exercises its mission today.

It follows that what is relevant in one place is not necessarily relevant everywhere and for any time. Given this, it is important to analyse the mission methodologies bequeathed by CMS to the church in central Tanzania, and where needed, vary them. Only by doing so can the indigenous Church adapt its presentation of the gospel to its rapidly changing contemporary context. This represents a considerable challenge.

How was mission understood by those European missionaries who first brought Anglican Christianity to central Tanzania? The question is significant because what they believed is what they transmitted down to the ACT as it is today. Largely, such beliefs have now become uncritically entrenched. That is (and to foreshadow future discussion), the early CMS missionaries to central Tanzania neglected the second strand of their parent organisation's dual evangelical emphasis, the two strands being: first, the conversion of souls and second, Christian service aimed at creating a society based on Gospel values. In time, this neglect has been passed to the ACT. The current discussion argues that to be properly evangelical the ACT needs to restore that neglected strand of social concern to the poor.

1.0 The CMS influences

During the nineteenth century colonial period there were two Anglican mission agencies in Tanzania. These were the United Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), which was a high church Anglican mission that worked in the coastal areas, and the CMS, which was a low church Anglican mission working in central Tanzania. Since it is concerned specifically with Anglican mission in central Tanzania the present discussion will focus on CMS.

It is important to understand that this is not a comprehensive survey of early CMS history but rather of the factors that contributed to the present understanding of mission in the ACT as it is today.³⁴ So as to outline the type of influences present at the beginning of the ACT's contemporary biblical interpretation, these will be briefly rehearsed in the discussion here.³⁵

To achieve this, the general political, social, and religious contexts leading to the founding of CMS will be examined, as will the biblical mandate for its mission. How the CMS missionaries proceeded in colonial central Tanzania, and what legacy they left for the ACT today, are also examined.

³⁴The history of CMS in East Africa has been analysed elsewhere and is well understood. Therefore the sources consulted in this chapter are by no means intended as a complete summary of the complexity of the CMS in this period. Rather, they are an intentionally selective cross-section of historical surveys and records. The sources that are selected indicate the general gist of those discussions.

³⁵ For the history of CMS in East Africa see for example definitive texts by Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 13-14. See also Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*. Raphael Mwita Akiri's Thesis is particularly important in understanding the establishment of the ACT in central Tanzania.

1.1.1 The influence of the context of the establishment of CMS and its biblical mandate

During the period 1700 to 1790 revival broke out among European Protestants under the influence of the Reformers and their descendants. In England, John Wesley was a significant figure. Inspired by his teaching, Anglican Evangelicals emphasised individual conversion and justification by faith. Human beings were considered dead in their sins and guilty before God. Christ died to save them from sin's penalty and lives to save them from sin's power. Faith in him alone ensured salvation. Total conversion of heart and life was required, and that required the sanctifying work of the Holy Ghost. For salvation could not be earned; rather it was via prayer and the searching of the Scriptures.

Into the later nineteenth century, Evangelicalism was shaped partly in reaction to a parallel liberal movement within European Protestantism. As Reed notes, "The roots of the 'liberal' movement were in the nineteenth century German school of 'higher criticism' of the Bible, using the methods of scientific investigation and contemporary scholarship. But in the view of conservatives this 'higher criticism' meant that doubt was being cast on the veracity of Scripture and its direct divine inspiration."³⁶ Instead, Evangelicals insisted on the authority of Scripture as the one basis for Christian belief and for a changed life.

By the end of the eighteenth century thousands of people in English society had been changed by the evangelical message, indirectly and gradually revolutionizing the Church of England.³⁷ One result of this was a greater humanitarianism in society — a rise in concern for the destitute and the enslaved. A second result was a deepening desire by Church of England Evangelicals to proclaim the Gospel across the world. Following their mentors they formed missionary organisations to do this. Thus both socially transformative and individual spiritual goals were intertwined in the roots of the evangelical movement.

For example the Eclectic Society was founded in 1783 by evangelical Anglican clergy and lay people. As Tony Andrews describes them, its members were indeed "a very eclectic assortment of people in terms of their background."³⁸ This society was principally based in London, and led by Revd John Newton, a converted slave trader and author of the notable

³⁶ Colin Reed, "The East Africa Revival and Australia" (Australian College of Theology, 2003), 128.

³⁷ The history of evangelicalism in Britain has been thoroughly documented in David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989). What follows is

³⁸ Tony Andrews, "Driven People" in *CMS in the C21*, ed. Tony Andrew (Christchurch: NZCMS, 2007), 4.

hymn “Amazing Grace”. It provided a forum for discussion of various questions related to the goals of the ‘English Reformation’ outlined above.

The Eclectic Society was related to another important evangelical forum with broadly similar aims. The ‘Clapham Sect’ (named for the village south of London where it formed), comprised a group of leading evangelical Anglicans. These included William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, and John Venn—Rector of Clapham Parish and leader of the Sect.

John Wolffe, writing of Anglican evangelical societies’ many years of work in society generally and particularly in parliament, comments of their social that: “Their effort secured significant changes in national policy.”³⁹ For example such groups, members of whom were frequently socially prominent and wealthy, lobbied for penal reform. As a humanitarian alternative to the prisons of the day they proposed sending convicts to Botany Bay in Australia.

But it was the issue of slavery which brought these societies to act together, driven by the biblical message that all people are created in the image of God (Genesis 1:27-28). As Wolffe notes: “The societies’ greatest achievement came in 1807 with the abolition of the British slave trade.”⁴⁰ That achievement was completed with the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. The societies then lobbied vigorously for Britain to use its influence to end slavery throughout the world.

Interlinked with their activities in social reformation, the mission societies wanted to encourage personal spiritual reform. The Eclectic Society, for instance, discussed the subject of Christian mission abroad for the first time on 13 November 1786. Interest in overseas mission among the members of the Eclectic movement continued to increase. On 8 February 1796 their key question became: “With what propriety and in what mode, can a mission be attempted to the heathen from the established church?” What, in other words, should the church do about mission, social and spiritual, to the far flung reaches of British settlement? The question continued to exercise the members of the movement over successive years. Eventually they decided to form a new missionary society. Cole further explains:

The proposal to form a new missionary society was raised by John Venn at the meeting of the Eclectic Society on 18 March 1799. He posed the question, “What

³⁹ John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*, vol. 2 (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2007), 14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 12

methods can we use more effectually to promote the knowledge of the gospel among the Heathen?" This was a distinct advance on the discussions of 1796. The question now was not, "What ought the Church to do?" but, "What can we do?" As the result of the ensuing discussion it was resolved to form the new society immediately.⁴¹

At a meeting on 1 April 1799, John Venn was asked to prepare the new society's rules and objectives. On 12 April at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate, London, the Church Missionary Society was officially established. CMS's guiding text became the great commission of Jesus Christ:

All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age (Matthew 28:18-20).⁴²

There are other missionary commands within the gospels, but the Great Commission in Matthew's gospel assumed particular significance. It lent biblical legitimacy to missionary work and by extension, to the British imperial enterprise that enabled that mission to proceed. Indeed it has remained the biblical basis for the CMS mission theology in central Tanzania to the present day.

1.1.2 The influence of evangelicalism of Keswick movement on CMS Missionaries

It can be said that early pioneers of CMS were formed first in strongly evangelical homes, and then via participation in evangelical Anglican parishes, under the influence of various student movements — notably the Oxford and Cambridge Christian Unions and the Scripture Union — and through the reading of evangelical publications put out by various evangelical publishing houses. Such evangelicalism was committed to engaging in political and social questions, as evidenced in the opposition to the slave trade. However, within nineteenth century evangelicalism, there was also a growing pietistic strand.

In the later nineteenth century, many of those involved with CMS, including those missionaries who came to Tanzania, showed the influence of such pietism. The tendencies of such pietism were to stress the private and individual nature of salvation in Christ. As a result, the pietist strand of evangelicalism was less world-engaged than the evangelicalism noted above. Along with all Evangelicals, pietists took issue with the liberal understanding

⁴¹ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 5

⁴² Unless otherwise noted all scriptures in this study are taken from NRSV

of eschatology in which human advances in education, science and politics attune humankind to the rule of God, inevitably ushering in the divine kingdom. Rather evangelical pietism strongly emphasised the eschatological expectation that God would intervene dramatically and directly in human history. Keswick evangelicalism of pietists therefore stressed the importance of waiting for the *Parousia* of Jesus Christ.

With its strong focus on individual salvation, evangelical pietism stressed personal holiness, the need for awareness of sin, conversion, repentance, and ongoing sanctification. In time, this personal rather than theological emphasis became the hallmark of pietist practice, and so helped to diminish the commitment to social transformation that marked the outlook of earlier Evangelicals.

One English branch of pietism, the English Keswick Movement, centred around annual conferences out of which a distinctive missionary focus developed. Along with standard evangelical emphases, the pietism evident in the Keswick movement and elsewhere emphasised the imminent return of Christ for final judgement and thence the need to preach the Gospel of salvation to all prior to his return. Scholarly controversy exists as to the significance of the particular influence of the English Keswick Movement on early English CMS missionaries, but it most likely contributed somewhat to their foundation. Reed and others also imply that it may have influenced Australian CMS missionaries, although this is debatable since there was no Keswick movement as such in Australasia.⁴³

Pietist missionary assumptions therefore eclipsed the more holistic missionary theology of earlier evangelicals. Thus, the second generation of CMS missionaries, those who went to central Tanzania, their understanding that salvation is personal emphasised the need to win converts prior to the *parousia*. In the process, they lost the more theologically grounded and Gospel-based emphasis on transformative Christian action in the world, in continuation of the mission of Jesus.

Thus, these early CMS missionaries to Tanzania concentrated on the importance of personal morality, and thence obedience to both spiritual and secular authority — a message which happened to well suit the colonial powers of the day. They believed that the God who had raised the Roman Empire to facilitate his kingdom had similarly raised the British Empire to

⁴³ Hugh Prentice, Lay Pearce, Philip Higgins, Colin Reed, Alan Mugridge and John Barret noted that their Christian lives were influenced by the Pietism of the Keswick movement. Many Australian CMS missionaries trained at Ridley College in Melbourne, and Moore College in Sydney - both very conservative institutions of Calvinist theology. Most of these missionaries have taught the researcher at St Philip's Theological College.

facilitate his mission to the heathen world. In Yates' words, such people asked rhetorically: "If God had used Constantine for his purposes, could he not also have used the Pax Britannica?"⁴⁴

Perhaps one reason for this unbiblical, one-sided missiological development was that many of the early CMS missionaries to central Tanzania lacked a strong theological foundation. This was in marked contrast to their better-educated, fellow UMCA priests in the coastal areas, or to the Roman Catholic clergy also active in the region. But however that may be, they were to transmit a narrowly evangelical approach to those who followed them.

1.2.0 Colonial influences

1.2.1 The influence of the socio-political world of the colonial CMS missionaries

The colonial history of modern Europe *vis-à-vis* its colonial adventures in East Africa is voluminously documented elsewhere and need not be reviewed here. Likewise the history of CMS in East Africa, while complex, is already well understood. A detailed historical overview of this would take the discussion further than it needs to go in order to indicate that the historical-political realities facing colonial CMS missionaries impacted their activities and so their legacy.

However, it is useful to sketch briefly some broad aspects of that CMS history. Doing so a) incidentally provides useful background to the historical formation of post colonial Tanzania and b) more immediately, it further links the understanding of colonial era CMS missionaries of what it meant to be 'evangelical' to the formation and view of evangelical mission held by the ACT today.

1.2.2 Colonial influence and the mission of the CMS

Those who introduced Anglican Christianity to central Tanzania were not the first Europeans to come into contact with the indigenous community of that area. Jonathan Hildebrandt writes: "During the period 1840-1878 . . . there had been other Europeans who were busy in Africa too."⁴⁵ There were explorers such as Richard Burton and John Speke who passed through central Tanzania between 1850 and the early 1860s. David Livingston followed

⁴⁴ See Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 138. Here Yates is quoting Max Warren's comments in the CMS Newsletter no. 139 (May 1952), 3.

⁴⁵ Hildebrandt, *History of the Church in Africa: A Survey*, 136.

shortly afterwards. In the mid-1870s Henry Stanley also visited the area.⁴⁶ They came for multiple reasons: discovery, to establish business, to open new lands for colonisation, and to proclaim the gospel.⁴⁷ They came too, for adventure and to get away from home.

During the 1830s the social conditions in Europe were poor — a fact often overlooked in histories of the period.⁴⁸ In Britain the onset of the industrial revolution had led to a period of significant social, economic and technological upheaval. At the same time, Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837 was accompanied by new expectations and new dreams of empire as England sought to become a global world power. New technology afforded greater opportunity to travel, to “discover” new parts of the world. Industrialization and associated new markets in northern Europe created an increasing demand for African raw materials, for coffee, tobacco, cotton, sugar cane, cashew nuts, sisal and diamonds.⁴⁹

During the mid-nineteenth century Britain's empire expanded considerably.⁵⁰ As the empire grew so the Church of England grew with it; the church increased in social prestige at home and political power abroad. Consequently, the government saw advantages in linking its work of colonisation with the church's work of civilising mission. Missionary explorers to distant Africa were thus formally encouraged by the state.

German authorities too saw the advantage of encouraging Christian mission. In 1890 German Chancellor von Caprivi believed that the German government: “should begin by establishing a few stations in the interior, from which both the merchant and the missionary can operate; gun and Bible should go hand in hand.”⁵¹

⁴⁶ Raphael Mwita Akiri, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933* (University of Edinburgh, 1999), 41.

⁴⁷ Livingstone, "Mission and Colonialism," 67-68.

⁴⁸ Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 272.

⁴⁹ Taylor, "The Growth of Tanzanian Churches: A Study of the Helps and Hindrances of External Aid," 22.

⁵⁰ Hansen in his *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting* analyses the emergence of politico-religious parties in East Africa. While he focuses on the Buganda setting, his general points may equally be applied to central Tanzania. See Chapter Two 'The Buganda Setting: The Emergence of Politico-Religious Parties,' in Bernt Holger, Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting Uganda 1890 - 1925* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1984), 12 -20.

⁵¹ See Klaus J. Bade, *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission: Kaiserliches Deutschland und koloniales Imperium*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), xiii., translated by David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York: Orbis, 2001), 304.

It follows that in the nineteenth century there was rising competition among European nations who wanted to rule Africa and control African resources.⁵² This competition risked war. To avoid this danger major European statesman and German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck convened what became known as the Berlin Conference. Between November 1884 and February 1885 this divided the African continent for colonial exploitation.⁵³ In this process Tanzania (Tanganyika) was 'given' to the Germans. Now, the scramble for Africa by European nations began in earnest.⁵⁴

The new African borders were drawn without regard to Africa's inhabitants. Africans were used to a widely-dispersed tribal life. Now, for example in East Africa, extended families might be divided between Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. They still can be. Into the twenty-first century the problems created by arbitrary borders continue to bedevil African life, too often resulting in violent conflict.

In 1884 a German explorer, Carl Peters (1856-1918), negotiated territorial treaties with twelve East African chiefs. The latter did not realise that they were ceding their sovereignty. On Carl Peters' return to Germany, Chancellor Bismarck ratified the agreements reached, publishing an imperial decree to this effect on 3 March 1885. When Peters along with other Germans returned to Tanzania, most of the signatory chiefs refused to surrender their lands. As a result they found themselves at war with a strong nation bearing technologically superior weaponry. Many Africans died.⁵⁵

Thereafter, the imperial German occupation occurred gradually but surely. Knox explains that 'German piracy' was legalised in successive steps between 1885 and 1890, aided by the enthusiastic settlement activities of the German East Africa Company, resulting finally in a German East Africa.⁵⁶

New Zealander Ronald Taylor, a CMS missionary who worked in central Tanzania in the late twentieth century, gives a detailed account of African resistance to German colonial rule in many parts of Tanganyika. He records that in 1888, for example, a considerable rebellion

⁵² Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 57.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁵ Taylor, *The Growth of Tanzanian Churches: A Study of the Helps and Hindrances of External Aid*, 26.

⁵⁶ See Elizabeth Knox, *Signal on the Mountain* (Canberra: Acorn Press, 1991), 98.

against harsh treatment broke out.⁵⁷ During the Maji-Maji war (in 1905-7), and the fourteen years following it, the Germans killed some 120,000 Africans.⁵⁸ Anderson notes similarly that while in some ways German rule was progressive, “it relied heavily on the whip.”⁵⁹

Forcibly colonised Africans failed to differentiate between their German rulers and other Europeans, including European missionaries. Missionaries preached love, but were often compromised. A story recorded by Anderson well illustrates this: “One man . . . asked Father Johannes how he could act as a priest after shooting people. The Father confessed he had fought, ‘but only for defence’. Three people had rushed his area of defence and he had shot one of them but, after the battle, he had taken the wounded man to the mission station hospital and restored him to health. He pleaded with chiefs condemned by the Germans [to accept Christ], baptizing many of them before they were hanged.”⁶⁰

The general policy established by Carl Peters was that no non-German missions were to be tolerated in the German colonies.⁶¹ The German state and the German church would act together without competition.⁶² From 1885 to 1918, when Germany lost its African colonies following its defeat in Europe, most missionaries in central Tanzania were indeed German. Thus, and unlike the encouraging British influence on CMS, the German influence was a negative one. This may be one reason why CMS in England paid little attention to its central Tanzania mission, a matter to be taken further below.⁶³

1.2.3 The influence of CMS under the German colonial rule, 1876-1918

As previously noted here, CMS missionaries were not the first Europeans to enter central Tanzania. Some treated the indigenous people harshly. Consider the case of Henry Stanley, one of the first English explorers in the mid-1870s. Mwitwa says of him: “The shortcomings of Stanley during his journeys in Africa, not least . . . the way he treated the local people he met

⁵⁷ Taylor, *The Growth of Tanzanian Churches: A Study of the Helps and Hindrances of External Aid*, 22.

⁵⁸ Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 70.

⁵⁹ Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*, 59.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁶¹ Peters’ intolerance of non-German missions in fact contravened both German law and the Berlin Act of 1885 which permitted non-German societies to work in the country with confidence, see, *ibid.*, 197.

⁶² Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 59.

⁶³ Taylor divides the mission period during the colonial era in Tanzania into four parts: Pioneer period 1870-1885, German period 1885-1918, British period 1918-1961, and the post-colonial period from 1961 to 1971. See Taylor, *The Growth of Tanzanian Churches: A Study of the Helps and Hindrances of External Aid*, 7-25. In distinction to Taylor, the present study finds that the colonial period of CMS mission effectively extended ten years past Independence, to 1971. It was not until that year that CMS leadership in Tanzania came under local control. See above, n. 8.

and sometimes murdered . . . should not be overlooked. The implication of some of his actions for the image of Britain abroad was often a matter of concern, even to politicians.”⁶⁴ Yet it was Stanley who greatly influenced the early CMS mission work in the interior of East Africa, including central Tanzania.

The CMS contact with that region commenced in 1876 with the arrival of the first CMS pioneers at Mpwapwa, en route to Uganda.⁶⁵ In 1876 an eight person CMS team was sent to establish mission work in Uganda as a response to King Mtesa of Buganda.⁶⁶ It was decided to use a route from the East Coast mapped out by the explorers Speke, Stanley and Grant.

In September 1876 the team arrived in central Tanzania at Mpwapwa. There they were received hospitably by the local chief, Lukole. The team duly recommended Mpwapwa to CMS in London as a suitable place from which to commence mission work in the area. Mwita explains further: “In January 1877, the Nyanza sub-committee recommended to the CMS main committee, that an intermediate station be formed between the coast of Tanzania and Lake Victoria. Nyanza was to support the operation undertaken under the Nyanza (Uganda) mission.”⁶⁷

This ‘eastern route to Uganda’ decision was then to enable CMS contact with central Tanzania.⁶⁸ As Gordon Hewitt explains, “CMS mission in Tanzania was a by-product of its Uganda mission.”⁶⁹ Sahlberg agrees. He argues that “it is correct to state that before 1885

⁶⁴ Mwita, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933*, 42.

⁶⁵ Both Anderson and Knox mention the presence of the Egyptian Army. See, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*, 18,22,25. Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 1-7.

⁶⁶ The fate of the first (1876) CMS party that entered what is now Tanzanian territory makes salutary reading. Those involved were: Charles T. Wilson, a clergyman; John Smith, a medical practitioner; Thomas O’Neil, a civil engineer and architect; Alexander M. MacKay, an engineer; W.M. Robertson, a blacksmith; G. J. Clark, a shipwright; another Robertson, J., an agriculturist; and another Smith, Lieutenant George, who was the leader. A ninth member, James Henry, died at Zanzibar on 5 August 1876 before the trip to the interior began. Clark and Robertson only reached as far as Mpwapwa and returned to Britain after falling ill. The remaining six travelled on beyond Mpwapwa. The party was further reduced when Dr Smith died south of Lake Victoria in Nyanza. On 7 December 1877 O’Neill and Lieut. Smith were murdered. They had been caught into a dispute involving Lukonge, King of the Ukerewe, and Songoro, an Arab trader, over outstanding payment for timber used to make a dhow they had bought. Only three of the party survived to reach Buganda in what is now Uganda. See, Mwita, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933*, 44.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁸ Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 96.

⁶⁹ Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, vol. I (SCM 1971), 180.

CMS mission in Tanzania was to be seen as an intermediary area for the big mission task in Buganda.”⁷⁰ (Buganda is the south central region of Uganda.)

The central Tanzania mission was supervised by the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa, the diocese being created in 1884 with James Hannington as its first bishop. At Mombasa, Kenya, he then ordained the first two Africans priests, W.H. Jones and Ishmael, both of them freed slaves. Bishop Hannington was killed in Uganda by Kabaka Mwanga who feared the European invasion from the East. After his death Bishop H.P. Parker was consecrated the second bishop of Equatorial East Africa, but he died after only two years. In 1890, Bishop Alfred Tucker replaced him.

In 1899 the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was divided in two, creating the diocese of Mombasa under William G. Peel (1853- 1916) and the Diocese of Uganda under Bishop Tucker.⁷¹ Tucker thus became the first bishop of Uganda. The central Tanzania mission became part of his new Diocese.⁷²

For many years after the establishment of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa, Uganda remained the centre of CMS mission work in East Africa. Mwita argues: “CMS always viewed its mission in central Tanzania as a burden that it could do without.”⁷³ It was a burden because for CMS it was mission in the wrong place.⁷⁴ During German colonial rule in Tanzania, Mpwapwa was merely a stop-over centre for CMS missionaries en route to Uganda and Kenya, their preferred destination. It follows that the initial CMS progress in Tanzania was rather slow.⁷⁵ CMS always remained close to the Mpwapwa— its first foothold in the country.

⁷⁰ Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 44.

⁷¹ Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 731.

⁷² Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 52-57.

⁷³ Mwita, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933*, 45.

⁷⁴ In fact, CMS abandoned some of its earlier Tanzanian mission stations: e.g., the Old Moshi station was handed over to the Leipzig Mission in 1892, CMS work in Bukoba was taken over by the Bethels, and the solitary station at Nassa on the south-eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika was handed over to the African Inland Mission in 1909. In 1912 CMS transferred its north-western Ugogo station to Roman Catholic direction. Being unable to staff it themselves, CMS was concerned that nevertheless a Christian presence be maintained in an area increasingly influenced by Islam. See Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 180. Cf. Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 81.

⁷⁵ ———, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 81.

Despite CMS London's neglect of central Tanzania, some CMS missionaries continued to recommend its potential as a major mission area. Both Lieutenant Cameron and Roger Price believed Mpwapwa could be more than simply a resting station; it would be a good place from which to advance both evangelical outreach and commerce.⁷⁶ As a result George Clark, one of the remaining eight team members to Uganda, was specially commissioned to establish a fully featured mission station on the Mpwapwa site.

Clark tried to build a thirty-foot square house, but by November 1876 he had not completed it. So he wrote, "taking all things into consideration, I fear I shall have to live under ... canvas for many months, which I do not mind if rain keeps away."⁷⁷ Unfortunately Clark was unable to finish constructing the mission house as soon afterward he fell ill and had to return to Britain. In Clark's place, in the autumn of 1877 CMS sent four laypeople: Dr Edward Baxter, Joseph Last, Alfred Coplestone and James Henry, to re-establish the mission. They arrived at Mpwapwa early in May 1878. Coplestone then decided to proceed north towards Lake Victoria Nyanza; Henry fell ill and returned shortly afterwards to Britain. That left Baxter and Last to recommence the mission work properly. Later, in the autumn of the following year, John Price and Henry Cole joined them.

1885 had seen the first two Africans baptized at Mpwapwa.⁷⁸ By 1909 there were 198 Christians at the mission, most of them captives who had escaped from Arab slave caravans out of Mombasa. A number of these gained employment as missionary servants.⁷⁹ Thus, in the period of German colonial rule (1885-1918) Tanzania was the only non-British colony in Tropical Africa with an Anglican mission. That mission extended into the period of British colonial rule between 1919-1961.⁸⁰

In 1900 CMS was able to develop and expand its work in central Tanzania with the help of CMS Welsh missionaries who came to Mvumi. Their arrival was permitted by the German authorities who by this time were somewhat less suspicious of British intentions in the

⁷⁶ Mwita, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933*, 45.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷⁸ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 59.

⁷⁹ Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 42.

⁸⁰ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 183.

region.⁸¹ That said, the major CMS focus in East Africa remained on Kenya and, especially, Uganda.⁸²

In 1900, Peel made his first visit to central Tanzania. After this visit, Peel wanted to close the mission and give it to other missionary agents; his preference was for the Bethel Mission, an evangelical Lutheran mission agency from Germany. There was a time when he wanted to give it to the other Anglican mission agent UMCA, centred in the Coastal areas, or to Roman Catholics, but three factors caused him not to do so. First, not only was Peel worried about UMCA and Catholic missionary activity. Islam also seemed to pose a threat. Second, there was some encouraging news from the missionaries who were on site, who reported that the work was now expanding.⁸³ And third, the CMS committee in England was worried about losing its supporters.⁸⁴

Peel decided to carry on with the work and it was approved by the CMS committee on 7 February 1911. Hewitt states: “The Christian community associated with CMS was still quite small. Statistics for 1910 gave a baptized membership of 810 with 97 catechumens. But, as with other missions in German East Africa, there was a sudden increase in response in the years immediately before WWI.”⁸⁵ Therefore we can say that, from 1910 to 1917, the mission in central Tanzania was still threatened, not only by Islam in the interior but also by uncertainty about its own future.

In 1915, during WWI, British missionaries were interned by the Germans, first at Kiboriani, then at Buigiri, and finally Tabora, where they were harshly treated.⁸⁶ The missionaries were released by the Belgians in September 1916. Peel died in 1916 and was succeeded by Bishop Richard Stanley Heywood (Bishop of Mombasa from 1918-1936).

⁸¹ Knox explains the difficulties facing the British CMS Tanganyika mission in the first decades of the twentieth century. It seems CMS Britain would have preferred to withdraw from Tanganyika because the reigning German colonial authorities were unfriendly toward non-German missionaries — especially British ones. In the event, it stayed only to appease its supporters who did not wish it to bow to the Germans. It was a relief to British CMS authorities then, when in 1927 CMS Australia agreed to take over its Tanzanian mission work. See Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 194-200.

⁸² CMS work in northern and north western Tanzania was established by and directed from its Mombasa centre. In due course many aspects of this work were transferred to German missionary organizations. See, Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, 81.

⁸³ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 180, 181, 187.

⁸⁴ Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 199.

⁸⁵ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 81.

⁸⁶ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 59.

1.2.4 The influence of CMS during the British colonial period after World War One (WWI)

After WWI Britain became the colonial master of the whole East Africa region. Kenya was directly under Great Britain as a colony; Uganda was a protectorate, and Tanganyika a territory, all entrusted to British administration by the League of Nations.⁸⁷ The CMS mission work in central Tanzania recommenced, although progress was slower than before the war.⁸⁸

By 1926 CMS work in central Tanzania was mainly focused in seven centres: Mpwapwa (established in 1876), Berega (1880), Mvumi—including Dodoma which was regarded as part of the Mvumi outstation (1900), Buigiri (1901), Kongwa (1904), and Kilimatinde (1922).⁸⁹ There were also eighty-three outstations. No church buildings made of permanent materials existed. The human complement included 211 African workers, 3,743 baptised Christians, and about 10,533 ‘scholars’.⁹⁰ There were only two African clergy.⁹¹ Haruni Mbega and Andrea Mwaka had been ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Heywood in 1921.⁹² Their ordination created some controversy, and they were not priested until 23 March 1924, after further training at Freetown in Mombasa.⁹³

To jump back a little, following the war CMS had initially wanted to close its central Tanzania mission for financial reasons, but the League of Nations wanted Britain to prepare Tanganyika for independence. Accepting that goal, Britain sought to improve education and raise health standards among the indigenous population. British authorities therefore looked to co-opt the existing CMS mission in pursuing these goals. On 5 October 1925, the colonial government convened a conference in Dar-Es-Salaam attended by its own officials, local mission organisations, and Bishop Heywood. It was presided over by the British Governor, His Excellency Donald Cameron. As a result of this meeting a new policy of cooperation was established between the colonial authorities and the missions. The government would provide funds for educational and medical purposes; the missions were to use them, thereby

⁸⁷ Magesa, *Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa*, 93.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 879.

⁹⁰ See Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 61. The term ‘scholars’ here applies to all engaged in learning at some level Cf., Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 183.

⁹¹ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 60.

⁹² Originally six Africans were to be ordained but four left after complaining about their stipends.

⁹³ Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 149.

consolidating the British presence in the region. The security of the funding now available persuaded CMS to continue its mission in Tanzania.

In a subsequent secret meeting the British Governor further encouraged Bishop Heywood not to bow to financial and other pressure and abandon CMS mission in central Tanganyika, but rather to accept the government support offered for the growth of the area. He provided the Bishop one thousand pounds sterling, a considerable sum for the day.⁹⁴

In consequence it was now possible for CMS to further its evangelical and educational work. Accordingly CMS called widely for further assistance for its work in the area. On 13 April 1926, for example, the CMS General Secretary in Britain wrote to the General Secretary of CMS in Australia (CMSAU) explaining the positive effect of new official support for CMS work in Tanganyika “and urging that steps be taken at once to find suitable educational missionaries in order to seize the new opportunity.”⁹⁵

To make the most of that opportunity, the formation of a new Diocese in German East Africa (central Tanganyika) was proposed — an idea originally suggested by Peel after the separation of the German East Africa mission from the Diocese of Mombasa. The renewed proposal was supported by Stock, the CMS editorial secretary, who suggested an immediate appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury be made on the matter. It was also supported by Bishop Heywood. By this time Bishop Heywood had moved his headquarters from Mombasa to Nairobi, which made it more difficult for him to visit central Tanzania. Hewitt argues that Heywood “was convinced that any future development of government-mission partnership in education required an Anglican bishop resident within that territory”.⁹⁶

Heywood suggested to the CMS general committee that CMSAU be asked to take over the central Tanzania mission, that it nominate a bishop for the new diocese and in partnership with CMS in London and the Colonial and Continental Church Society raise funds for stipends.⁹⁷ In turn the committee proposed that Heywood be invited to visit CMS in Australia, at their expense, to discuss his ideas.

⁹⁴ Wilson W. Cash, "A Letter to CMS Australia: A call to save Tanganyika mission," in *CMSAU Federal Council Minute 1916- 17 June, 1926* (Sydney: CMS, 11th October).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 187.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

In addition, the CMS general committee requested the CMS General Secretary to approach the Archbishop of Canterbury about the proposal for the new diocese. Hewitt continues: “Bishop Heywood left Mombasa for Australia in December 1926. On 19 February 1927 the Federal Council of CMS of Australia and Tasmania unanimously accepted responsibilities for the proposed new Tanganyika diocese; the support of Australian missionaries now or hereafter there; and the relief of the Parent committee from all mission costs save European salaries.”⁹⁸ Reed adds that,

The allocation of a particular area of interest for CMS Australia gave the Society a sense of identity and added purpose, and became a powerful motivation for missionary recruitment. It may well be the case that in the power structure of imperialism which dominated both East Africa and the wider Empire, the place allocated to Australia demonstrated its more lowly position in the British imperial Government Construct. Tanganyika was less prestigious than its northern neighbour Kenya in British colonial terms. Maybe this was reflected, unwittingly, in church attitudes. Perhaps indeed, it was partly because of its less prestigious status that the area had continued to be under-resourced even after the First World War. Tanganyika was less glamorous than Kenya and Uganda, its neighbours in East Africa. The agreement that the Australian Society, born in a colonial offshoot of Britain, should be responsible for Tanzania may have reflected the attitude to both the sending and receiving country.⁹⁹

The Australia CMS committee elected its General Secretary, the Revd George Alexander Chambers, as the first bishop of the new diocese of Central Tanganyika (DCT). He was duly consecrated at Canterbury Cathedral, on All Saints Day, November 1927. His bishopric was to last to 1947.

1.2.5 The influence of the Church Missionary Society Australia

1.2.5.1 The influence of CMSAU under Bishop Alexander George Chambers, 1927–1947

As seen, Australian George Alexander Chambers (1877-1964) became the first bishop of central Tanganyika. Chambers was a graduate of arts and economics from the University of Sydney, where he obtained his MA. His theological education was gained at Moore College, a conservative evangelical seminary. Chambers was deaconed in 1901, and priested in 1902. After two years as a curate at St Clement’s, Mosman (NSW), he returned to Moore to teach.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 188.

⁹⁹ Reed, *East Africa Revival and Australia (Australian College of Theology, 2003)*, 128.

He was appointed Vice Principal from 1904 to 1911 under Revd Canon Nathanael Jones who much influenced him.

Jones was a conservative evangelical who helped shape the Sydney Diocese to be one of the most conservative evangelical bodies of Calvinist theology in Australia.¹⁰⁰ He became Rector of Holy Trinity Dulwich from 1911-1927. During his time at Holy Trinity, he founded Trinity Grammar school in 1913, a school from which many ex-pupils later became missionaries to Tanzania.¹⁰¹

Though influenced by pietism, Reed regards Chambers as an evangelical of a rather broader school of theology and churchmanship.¹⁰² It seems Chambers was a dynamic, determined, capable man. In addition to his work as Rector and founder of Trinity Grammar School, he served on several committees in the Diocese of Sydney, including the Moore College Council and diocesan education and finance boards. Chambers was also acting General Secretary of CMSAU. His work with Bush Church Aid (BCA) which ministered in the Australian outback demonstrated his abilities as administrator, teacher and fund raiser.¹⁰³ Because of this last responsibility he travelled twice to Britain to recruit people to serve the Church in Australia, through BCA, in 1917-1918. Chambers was also a CMS Honorary Commissioner, a role tied to raising funds for the mission society. This wide and varied life experience was to prove valuable to Chambers in his subsequent role as bishop of Central Tanganyika.

Chambers favoured CMSAU adopting the central Tanzania mission because he broadly believed involvement in mission benefited both the sending and receiving churches. It enabled the sending church to gain maturity; mission was for it a means of grace. While in the past CMSAU had had some contact with Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, as Reed writes: “The allocation of a particular area of interest for CMS gave the society a sense of identity and added purpose and became a powerful motivation for missionary recruitment.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 127.

¹⁰¹ Revd W. Wynn Jones, who later became the bishop of Central Tanganyika, was a product of Trinity Grammar School.

¹⁰² Reed, *East Africa Revival and Australia*, 128.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

In order to receive funding from the colonial government CMSAU needed missionaries with university degrees. However at that time CMSAU did not have enough missionaries with degrees and the few who had degrees preferred to work in Kenya rather than Tanzania. Kenneth Gregory observes that “The Bishop was early on faced with the twin problems of untrained missionaries and the state of Africa. He suffered from helpers coming with no spiritual, emotional or practical training: a matter not confined to those going to his diocese.”¹⁰⁵ Because of this, CMSAU approached the New Zealand Church Missionary Society (NZCMS) with a request to provide missionaries with relevant degrees. One of the unique contributions of NZCMS to central Tanzania is the fact that unlike most CMSAU missionaries who, after getting a degree, chose to go to Kenya, NZCMS missionaries chose to stay in Tanzania. In that way they were the ones who successfully attracted funds from the colonial government to build schools and health centres. NZCMS agreed to provide teachers to work at Canon Andrea Mwaka primary and secondary schools, established to serve expatriates’ children, and Dodoma Alliance School,¹⁰⁶ as well as nurses and doctors. From this time on NZCMS became the second main mission partner after Australia for the mission work of evangelical Anglicans in Tanzania; a relationship which exists to this day.¹⁰⁷

The colonial service graded colonies into four grades for the appointment of governors. Kenya was placed in the top grade, while Tanzania (Tanganyika) was placed in the second, although later on in 1945 it was upgraded to the first class. Yet it never ranked alongside Kenya in the British system. Kenya had its sprinkling of European aristocrats and was billed as a pristine playground for big-game hunters.¹⁰⁸ The Governor in Kenya received a higher salary than the Governor in Tanzania. This hierarchal priority was not lost on CMS; from a mission perspective Tanzania was considered the Cinderella of the three East African countries. Perhaps because of this attitude, mission there experienced years of difficulty; there was a continual shortage of funds and personnel right up to the end of the WWI.¹⁰⁹ But none of this dismayed Chambers.

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth Gregory, *Stretching Out Continually: History of the New Zealand Church Missionary Society 1892-1972* (Christchurch: Kenneth Gregory, 1972), 139.

¹⁰⁶ To this day the head of CAMS has been a New Zealand missionary and for many years the head of Dodoma Alliance was a New Zealand missionary. Even when the government took over running the school the presence of NZCMS was still there.

¹⁰⁷ Observation of senior NZCMS missionary who worked in Tanzania for eleven years (1964 – 1974) Revd Canon Ronald Taylor, 14 July 2011. It is because of this long time relationship that it was possible for this research to be done in New Zealand.

¹⁰⁸ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 48.

¹⁰⁹ Reed, *East Africa Revival and Australia*, 129.

In July and August 1926, after his approval as bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Chambers visited all the main stations of the central Tanzania mission. On his arrival in central Tanzania, he saw a mission starved of staff, buildings in need of repair, and a future of breath-taking possibilities. Finishing his visit he travelled to Britain briefly for his consecration, and then home to Australia to prepare for his DCT role. Bishop Chambers proved an excellent choice as the first bishop of a missionary diocese. He had confidence and enthusiasm; he was unusually gifted in raising funds, and in recruiting expatriate university graduates able to work towards prevailing joint mission–government objectives.¹¹⁰

In September 1928 Chambers set out for central Tanzania with a team of newly recruited missionaries. Heywood duly enthroned him in a newly-built church at Mvumi on 2 November 1928 and again in the chief civil centre in the diocese, Dodoma, on 4 November. Chambers proceeded to build his cathedral in Dodoma. The Cathedral of the Holy Spirit was consecrated on 15 July 1933.¹¹¹ Dodoma thus became an ecclesial centre also.¹¹²

Chambers first set about strengthening the proclamation of the gospel in the diocese, training indigenous evangelists at Kongwa College. Taking advantage of government grants, schools and medical centres were also established in all mission stations. Mpwapwa station gained a school and a health centre; Berega gained a boarding school for girls and a hospital used to treat lepers; Chamhawi had a school for boys; Kongwa provided a centre for training school teachers, evangelists, and clergy. Mvumi Mission Hospital was then established and a nursing school opened there. Another mission hospital was established at Kilimatinde. In Handali a school for boys was established, later transferring to Dodoma. In Dodoma too the Alliance School for boys was built. In Buigiri a boarding school for girls was opened (in the 1950s this became a school for the blind.) Eventually, every mission centre had a school and a dispensary.¹¹³ All this took place within a few years of Chambers' episcopacy.

¹¹⁰ In February 1927 the British Government published a 'Native Education Ordinance', effectively placing native schools in colonial territories under official administration, and regulating funding for them. See, Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 197.

¹¹¹The Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Spirit, Dodoma, was built in 1932 from the donation of Mrs Rees Mogg in memory of her brother, Frederick Noel Hamilton Wills, *ibid.*, 191.

¹¹²Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 65.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

The principal work of CMS in central Tanzania, however, was always evangelism. Bush schools were established to enable students to read the Bible and eventually lead worship.¹¹⁴ I argue here that during Chambers' episcopacy CMS had no real theology of social liberation. Its development of schools and medical centres was prompted chiefly by the availability of government funding for them, funding which enabled CMS to pay its missionaries. Influenced by the pietist strand of evangelicalism, CMS continued to believe the winning of converts to the gospel to be its fundamental *raison d'être*.

CMS constantly sought missionaries with university qualifications for Tanzania, and it was they who attracted government funding.¹¹⁵ If it had had more such people CMS could have extended its work to many more places. Instead during the colonial time personnel shortages restricted it to centres along the old trade route to Uganda. There were scarcely any mission stations in the northern and western parts of central Tanzania. There were almost no mission schools in the north. This situation has continued up to the present. Contemporarily the ACT is sometimes accused of deliberately neglecting the north and west of the diocese. In fact the roots of a present lack of facilities lie in the history just outlined.¹¹⁶

In retrospect, can it be said that after the end of WWI, CMS work in central Tanzania was successful? It now appears that the message of the early CMS missionaries did not attract large numbers of Christian converts. In time it was the EARM that was to do this.¹¹⁷ But CMS under Bishop Chambers may yet be deemed successful, for it set the foundation stone without which the later growth is, in the present view, unlikely to have taken place. The first Synod of the DCT, held between 10 and 12 August 1936 and attended by 135 African and European delegates, acknowledged that foundation. Cole records the relevant minute: "The first Synod of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika, recognising the great debt it owes to the Church Missionary Society for bringing Christianity to these parts, expresses its thankfulness to Almighty God for the work of the Society in Tanganyika since 1876."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ George A. Chambers, *Tanganyika's New Day* (London: CMS, 1931), 43.

¹¹⁵ As noted above, most university educated missionaries preferred placement in Kenya or Uganda, since these territories had more colonial status than did Tanzania. Those who did go to Tanzania often later transferred elsewhere in East Africa. But on occasion colonial transfer could go the other way. For example the third bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Alfred Stanway, had previous experience in Kenya. See Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910 -1942*, 199. See also Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 72.

¹¹⁶ It should be noted there were a few government schools, e.g. Mundemu and Mwitikira in the west.

¹¹⁷ To be discussed further in section 1.3.4 below.

¹¹⁸ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 66.

The second Synod was held in Dodoma from 7 to 11 August 1941. About 145 people attended, and for the first time the majority of the Synod members were African. There were now twenty-eight African priests, indicating the growth of the diocese. During the Synod the constitution was amended, and a resolution advocating diocesan self-support passed. CMS realised that it would not be in a position to fund stipends for African clergy. On 2 February 1943 the Revd William Wynn-Jones was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury at St Paul's Cathedral in London and became assistant bishop in DCT.

The Second World War (1939-1945) affected the mission of CMS in central Tanzania. Chief Mazengo Chalula of the central Tanzanian Ugogo tribe hated the harsh German rule of the past, but had formed good relations with the British colonial authorities. Afraid that should they be victorious, the Germans would return, Chalula encouraged his people to join an English regiment: the King's Rifles. Many, including many Christians, did so.¹¹⁹ Indigenous Anglican clergy were assigned as chaplains to minister to them.¹²⁰ The work of mission thus continued in the army; at one point Bishop Chambers and Bishop William Wynn-Jones visited Tanzanian troops in Palestine to take confirmations.¹²¹ The regiment was also posted to Burma.

In summary the major effect of World War Two (WWII) was that, for the first time in history, many Tanzanians were exposed to the outside world.¹²² In turn, this ushered in a period of national change along with a gathering demand by the indigenous population for independence. In 1929 the Tanganyika African Association was formed, later changing its name to the Tanganyika African Nation Union (1954). The new union was headed by Julius Kambarage Nyerere who, in 1961, was to become the first President of Tanzania.

Reflecting the change in wider society, over the post-war period until Independence the leadership of the Anglican Church became increasingly indigenized. African Anglicans

¹¹⁹ Akiri, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933*, 324.

¹²⁰ The following went to war as chaplains: Daudi Mhando 1942–1945, Yonathan Songolo 1942–1945, Petro Lusinde Malecela 1942–1945, Eliya Sadala Boma 1942–1945, Yakobo Mganga Mheta 1942–1945, Yona Mnyangwila 1943–1945, Musa Mtili 1947–1950, and Aram Mkamilo 1950–1953. Finehas D. Ntemo, *Yubile ya Almasi ya Dayosisi ya Central Tanganyika 1927 - 1987*, (Dodoma: Diocese of Central Tanganyika, 1987), 11.

¹²¹ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 78.

¹²² Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 68.

demanded, and gained, more and more decision making responsibility within the church. African clergy, many now seasoned Army chaplains, felt freer to criticise certain of the CMS attitudes to African life and the Christian faith.¹²³ For example they drew issue with condemnatory CMS approaches to polygamy.

In more detail: in 1947 Jonathan Songolo was chosen as a member of the central Tanganyikan Diocesan Council (DC), the first African ever to be so. Mwitwa adds here that “The number of African representatives in the council was increased to three when the Synod meeting of 1948 elected Canon Daudi Mhando, and Rev Yohana Omari, to join Canon Jonathan Songolo.”¹²⁴ By the time Bishop Chambers retired the same year the local church was well established. It was governed by its own constitution, aided by a synod and diocesan council. The diocese had been strengthened by the appointment of an assistant bishop. In 1927, there had been 18 CMS missionaries, now there were 80, 50 of whom had come not from Britain but from Australia and New Zealand.¹²⁵ There were about 10,000 CMS Anglicans in central Tanganyika diocese.

Chambers wrote a closing annual report to the CMS African committee in Australia. After reiterating the continued presence of financial and staffing difficulties (the needs were immense and the colonial Government had never been able to provide enough funds), Chambers offered his own assessment of progress under his watch:

When the Diocese of Central Tanganyika was founded in 1928, two African deacons were the only native clergy; but the Church has now more than 30 African priests and deacons. Of these six are serving as chaplains in the forces, and the Senior Chaplain has written enthusiastically of their witness. They are all perfectly splendid, and it is obvious that they gave of their very best. They have won the confidence and admiration of the European Commanding Officers. In the western area the year has been marked by further expansion, for the Australia CMS has accepted responsibility for financing the Western area of the Diocese, which offers a wonderful opportunity of service among the virile tribes of this area.¹²⁶

¹²³ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 78.

¹²⁴ Akiri, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933*, 167.

¹²⁵ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 69; Gregory, *Stretching Out Continually: History of the New Zealand Church Missionary Society 1892-1972*, 235-53.

¹²⁶ George Alexander Chambers, "Chambers' Reports," in *CMSAU Federal Council Minute Book 11 July to 17 June 1950* (Sydney: CMS, 11 July 1947).

1.2.5.2 The influence of CMSAU under Bishop William Wynn-Jones (1948-1950)

On Chambers' retirement CMS proposed his assistant bishop, William Wynn-Jones, to the Archbishop of Canterbury as his replacement. Jones was well prepared, having been second in charge for the previous four years. On 3 January 1948 he was enthroned in the Dodoma Cathedral of the Holy Spirit to become the second bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika.

Bishop Wynn-Jones was an Australian from New South Wales. He was a conservative theologian, a product of the Kewick-influenced Trinity Parish. At the age of 18 he had moved to Sydney at the invitation of Bishop Chambers. There he undertook tertiary studies at the University of Sydney, and joined the staff of Trinity Grammar School. He then undertook his theological education at Sydney's conservative Moore Theological College. In 1925, he was ordained deacon, and was priested in 1926.

Wynn-Jones was one of the first people Bishop Chambers recruited, and the first to arrive in Central Tanganyika after the formation of the new diocese. Since Wynn-Jones had a university degree and missionary qualifications it appears Chambers felt able to rely on him considerably. From 1928 to 1932 Wynn-Jones was Vice Principal and then Principal of Kongwa College. In 1932 he was appointed head-master of Arusha School¹²⁷ which served the European population of the area. He worked there until he was consecrated Assistant Bishop in 1943.

Wynn-Jones's episcopacy began at a challenging time, it being only three years after the end of WWII. As noted previously, African chaplains had returned home with a new perspective: new ideas, new criticisms, and new hope. During Bishop Wynn-Jones' episcopate the focus was on evangelism in the western province. Existing education and medical services continued, but further development of them was affected by continual financial problems. There was never enough funding for new centres.¹²⁸

Tragedy then struck when Bishop Wynn-Jones was killed in a car accident at Kongwa on 29 May 1950.¹²⁹ His sudden death came as a great shock to many in the diocese and in Australia.

¹²⁷Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 70.

¹²⁸ Cole mentions the development of education and health mostly in the existing mission stations. See, *ibid.*, 71.

¹²⁹ Ntemo, *Yubile ya Almasi ya Dayosisi ya Central Tanganyika 1927-1987*, 20.

On 3 June 1950 an Australian mission pamphlet, *The Gleaner*, reported the death under the heading "A Great Man Passes On."¹³⁰ On 25 July 1950 the Federal Executive of CMSAU formally acknowledged Wynn-Jones' work. After relating the major events of his life the executive recorded that he "was a wise administrator, a devoted pastor, and a beloved shepherd to his flock of European and African alike. During his brief Episcopate he spent himself unsparingly in the building up of the Church in Central Tanganyika, on the foundations well laid by his predecessor."¹³¹

1.2.5.3 The influence of CMSAU under Bishop Alfred Stanway, 1951-1971

Once again the Diocese of central Tanganyika needed a bishop, but this time the question as to who had the right to nominate that person caused much debate. The Federal Council of CMSAU prevailed. It insisted that:

"In view of the fact that when the Diocese of Central Tanganyika came into being as the responsibility of the Australian CMS, it was understood that the Federal Council of CMS would have the right of nomination to the Bishopric (as the first case); and in view of the fact that the stipend of the Bishop is the responsibility of the Australian CMS, it is hoped that the Federal Council will be allowed to make a nomination to the Archbishop of Canterbury."¹³²

Nevertheless there was no obvious CMS candidate already present in the diocese; no missionary there possessed the requisite university qualifications. With the permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury CMSAU therefore looked beyond the diocese, settling on Rev. Alfred Stanway, an Australian missionary working in Kenya.

Stanway, 1908-1989, a native of Victoria, became a Christian through the preaching of Revd C. H. Nash at St Paul's, Fairfield (NSW) on 29 July 1928. From this time on he dedicated his life to serve the church. Stanway received his theological education at Ridley College, a conservative evangelical college in Melbourne. He was ordained deacon in 1934, and priested in 1936. The same year he joined CMS and went to Kenya to work in the Diocese of Mombasa. After nine years there he was transferred to Nyanza. He was Area Dean there from

¹³⁰ The Gleaner Reporter, "A Great Man Passes On," in *An Australian Mission Council*, ed. CMS (Sydney: An Australian Mission Pamphlet, 3 June 1950).

¹³¹ General Secretary of CMSAU, "The Federal Executive of CMSAU acknowledgement of Bishop William Wynn Jones' work.," in *Federal Council Minute Book 11th July, 1927 to 17 June, 1950* (Sydney: CMS, 25 July 1950).

¹³² Ibid.

1947 to 1950.¹³³ While in Nyanza, Stanway also served as Secretary for the African Council and Archdeacon for African work in the Diocese.¹³⁴

Stanway was consecrated as the third bishop of Central Tanganyika by the Archbishop of Canterbury on 2 February 1951. Bishop Chambers was present and assisted in the laying on of hands, marking the apostolic link between the past and future leadership of DCT. Cole notes that the new Bishop Stanway “was enthroned in the Cathedral of the Holy Spirit, Dodoma, on 11 March 1951.”¹³⁵

In his first sermon Bishop Stanway announced himself a reformed bishop of the Church of England. His was “a church which by the Reformation was cleansed of the accretions of the dark ages. Indeed no church remained alive when its members individually have no knowledge of Christ the Saviour.”¹³⁶ The mission of this church was, and was to be, grounded in the great commission of Matthew 28:18-20.

In retrospect Bishop Stanway stood in the middle between the colonial period and the post-colonial period. During his episcopacy CMS mission work in Tanzania faced great challenges. It was a time of political and social upheaval accompanied by unsettling spiritual change.

1.2.6 The struggle for independence: colonial, mission and indigenous influences on the ACT in the post-war period

The 1950s were a time of unrest in Tanzania. In 1952, *Mwalimu (Teacher)*¹³⁷ Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999) returned from the United Kingdom, having gained a Masters of Arts degree in history and economics from the University of Edinburgh. Nyerere was the first Tanzanian to study at a British University, and only the second to gain a degree from an institution outside Africa. While in the UK Nyerere had been influenced by Fabian socialism,¹³⁸ and began to develop ideas connecting socialism with African communal

¹³³ Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 71-72.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 72.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ *Mwalimu* (the Kiswahili word for teacher) was colloquially attached to Nyerere’s name throughout his adult life. Formally Tanzania recognised him as *Baba wa Taifa* (Father of the Nation).

¹³⁸ Fabianism or Fabian-socialism was a late 19th and early 20th century British political and intellectual movement. The Fabian Society, for which it was named, wanted to advance principles of social democracy via

living.¹³⁹ His ideas were to shape his politics and thence those of his homeland, into the future.

In 1953, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) which had been a civic organization dominated by civil servants, elected Nyerere as its leader. On 7 July 1954, Nyerere changed its name to Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). TANU believed that all human beings are equal, and every person is entitled to respect and recognition of his or her human dignity, and that socialism and self reliance were the only ways to build a society of equality and free individuals.¹⁴⁰

TANU's main aim was to liberate Tanganyika from British colonial rule. From its beginning it sought to recruit and mobilize new members. It campaigned first in schools, motivating and encouraging indigenous teachers and students to join it, to claim independence, and to fight for universal human rights. Young people attracted to it included those from mission schools such as the CMS Alliance School in Dodoma.¹⁴¹

This political struggle inevitably affected the Anglican Church. There was a strong desire among indigenous people, both lay and clergy, that leadership be local. Thence TANU criticised the missionaries openly.¹⁴² "Why don't the missionaries give us the money set aside for clergy housing and churches, instead of spending it on their own stipends?" "Why do African clergy not enjoy the same conditions of employment as the foreign missionaries?" CMS policy was that indigenous clergy be paid by their parishes, yet the parishes had no money with which to pay them.¹⁴³ Above all: "Is the prevailing situation of inequality between Africans and missionaries really Christian?"

gradual reform, rather than via the political revolution advocated by more extreme left European movements. Fabianism was therefore a more moderate form of socialism.

¹³⁹ Julius K. Nyerere, *ujamaa- Essays in Socialism* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1967), 14.

¹⁴⁰ Taken from www.ccmtz.org, accessed on 30 March 2009.

¹⁴¹ The Alliance School produced many political figures in Tanzania. One of them, John Malecela, became Prime Minister and then Vice President of Tanzania.

¹⁴² S.C. Begbie, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU on Major Changes in Tanzania," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney: CMS, 15 February 1969).

¹⁴³ Peter Dawson, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney: CMS, 5 December 1969).

1.2.6.1 The state of CMS mission work in the 1950s

During the early 1950s there were 77 CMS missionaries and 35 African clergy working in the diocese of central Tanganyika. In a report to the CMSAU Federal Council, Bishop Stanway acknowledged that the education standard of the African clergy was low.¹⁴⁴

In 1954, just six years before Tanzania was to gain its independence, the first translation of the Old Testament in Cigogo, the Gogo¹⁴⁵ tribal language, appeared. The Gogo are the main tribe in the ACT. The translator, Archdeacon O.T. Cordell, had worked for many years on this project. He also translated many western hymns into Cigogo. However, the original tunes to such hymns were retained; the missionaries regarded African music as heathen and prohibited its use in worship. Attitudes like this confirmed the African view of Christianity as a European religion.

The following year the first African was appointed Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika,¹⁴⁶ the appointment being a significant milestone for the CMS mission there. The Rev. Yohana Omari (d. 1963), the first Anglican indigenous bishop, was consecrated in Kampala, Uganda. Originally a Muslim, he became a convert to Christianity through the EARM. A gifted preacher, prior to his call to the priesthood he served as an evangelist.

On 11 June 1959, Archdeacon Max L. Wiggins (1915-2005) was appointed as a second Assistant Bishop. He was consecrated in Dodoma by Bishop Stanway at the Cathedral of the Holy Spirit. By now the diocese was growing and with it, the number of its staff. There were now 104 CMS missionaries and 58 African clergy and two assistant bishops.

1.2.6.2 The CMS mission in the early years after independence 1961-1971

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, some African clergy who were not happy with missionary leadership broke away from the Anglican Church and established their own church known as Tanganyika African Church. In the western part they appointed Rev. Joseph Kamzola as their

¹⁴⁴ Alfred Stanway, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney: CMS, 15 October 1952). See also Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, 73.

¹⁴⁵ *Gogo* is the actual name of the tribe. *Wagogo* refers to the people themselves, and *Cigogo* to their language.

¹⁴⁶ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 49.

bishop, and in central Tanzania they were led by Rev. Benjamin Lisasi and Rev. Paulo Mwaluko. These leaders were excommunicated by the Anglican Church.¹⁴⁷

In 1963, Bishop Omari, the first indigenous Anglican bishop, died and was buried in the Tanzanian town of Morogoro. In the same year the Diocese of Victoria Nyanza was inaugurated and Bishop Max Wiggins, a missionary from NZCMS, became the first bishop of the diocese. This marked two significant events for CMS mission in Tanzania; first, the growth of the Anglican Church in Tanzania and secondly NZCMS's significant contribution to the Tanzanian mission.

In 1964, Rev. Yohana Madinda (d. 1989) was consecrated as Assistant Bishop of DCT, becoming the second indigenous bishop in DCT. Madinda was also a product of the East African revival. He had received his theological education at St Paul's Limuru, Kenya, where he had encountered EARM. In 1965, the Diocese of Morogoro was established under Bishop Gresford Chitemo. The following year the Diocese of Western Tanganyika was established under Bishop Mussa Kahurananga. All of these indigenous leaders were the product of EARM and so their mission formation focused on soul winning.

1.2.6.3 Major changes in Tanzania: the Arusha Declaration and the establishment of *ujamaa* policy

After 70 years of colonial rule, on the 9 December 1961, Tanganyika achieved independence from Great Britain. Nyerere was its first president. A staunch Roman Catholic, he professed his faith openly and ardently and counted both Roman Catholic and Anglican missionary priests and bishops among his close friends.¹⁴⁸ But he was critical of the past cosy association between the English Church and colonial authorities. He regretted the negative colonial attitude towards African religiosity (also to African culture generally). Nyerere, supported by his political confreres, was among the first to champion Tanzanian culture and Tanzanian

¹⁴⁷ Ntemo, *Yubile ya Almasi ya Dayosisi ya Central Tanganyika 1927-1987*, 38.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Stanway was among Nyerere's close friends. Nyerere promised him work permits for professional missionaries who could take roles for which there were no Tanzanian candidates. Permits would be provided, for example, for theologians at Kongwa College and Msalato Bible School, teachers in diocesan secondary schools, and for doctors at Mvumi and Kilimatinde hospitals. See Peter Dawson, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book of 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney: CMS, 18 October 1970).

religiosity as positively different from that of Europe.¹⁴⁹ Magesa argues that “this was a platform that gained them a political hearing from people of all faiths. They were articulating a truth that was close to the heart of most Africans.”¹⁵⁰

Indeed, after independence, indigenous Tanzanians sought responsibility for their own political, social, and spiritual needs. The policy of the new Government was that Tanzanian Africans should occupy all leadership positions, not only in the state but also in the Church. Focussed down to CMS, this policy took the form of a simple argument: since CMS had never paid its African church workers, the African Church ought no longer to be asked to support the leadership of its expatriate workers.

1967 saw the promulgation of Nyerere’s Arusha Declaration¹⁵¹ which laid down *ujamaa*¹⁵² policy principles for guiding the new state.¹⁵³ The Arusha Declaration held that all human beings are equal; that every individual has a right to dignity and respect; that every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national levels. It stated that all citizens have the right to freedom of expression, movement, religious belief, and association.¹⁵⁴ All citizens have the right to receive a just return for their labour, while all citizens should possess the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants. In order to ensure economic justice, the state must have effective control over the principal means of production and has the commensurate duty to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation. The state must ensure the well-being of all its citizens and prevent the exploitation of one person by another, or one group by another, so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.¹⁵⁵ The greatest enemies of the nation were declared to be poverty, ignorance, and disease. The Government promised to mobilize all the resources of the

¹⁴⁹ Magesa, *Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa*, 101.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ The Arusha Declaration expressed the principles and beliefs of the TANU Party, which followed African socialism. When TANU united with the ASP Party to form the CCM Party, these principles were adopted to continue to lead the Tanzania nation.

¹⁵² The meaning of *ujamaa* and its principles will be discussed in detail in chapter three; it is only mentioned here to show how it was officially established under the Arusha Declaration.

¹⁵³ Nyerere, *U*

jamaa- Essays in Socialism, 5-9.

¹⁵⁴ See the Arusha Declaration and TANU’s policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance found at www.ccmtz.org (accessed 31 March, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ Begbie, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU on Major Changes in Tanzania."

country towards the elimination of these ills.¹⁵⁶ It would eradicate all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption.

The theme of the Arusha Declaration was thus a genuine desire to found an egalitarian society. To do this the government considered Tanzania would advance best if it were governed by a democratic socialist government of the people, through a one party system.

Internationally Tanzania thus aligned itself with major socialist countries. China especially became a major influence on Tanzanian policy. Nyerere visited China to strengthen this relationship, one result of which was the building of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA) by the Chinese government. These government initiatives were widely welcomed by the citizens of the new nation. At its promulgation the Arusha Declaration became a song in the heart of every Tanzanian.

In practice the nation's turn to socialism brought significant upheaval in almost every aspect of Tanzanian life. In 1969 Peter Dawson, a CMS missionary in central Tanganyika, wrote to the Federal Council in Australia describing that impact. He explained: "The Arusha Declaration after three years continues to direct both the politics and economics of the country. This is a declaration that must be read in its entirety by anyone who wishes to understand present day Tanzania. State ownership and control of the key points in the economy is an established fact."¹⁵⁷

Ujamaa villages (communal farms) were established in order to make it easier for the government to offer social services effectively. Citizens were forcibly removed to them. Peter Dawson, in a 1969 letter to CMSAU, describes this development:

The rapid establishment of "*ujamaa* villages" ... is perhaps the most significant development within this nation. Everywhere these farms are beginning and people are being encouraged to leave their traditional small villages and live [and] work together in the *ujamaa* villages. In some areas the movement is slow. In other areas there are great movements of people. Whether or not this will be a good thing remains to be

¹⁵⁶Nyerere, *Ujamaa- Essays in Socialism*, 3.

¹⁵⁷ See Peter Dawson's letter to the Federal Council found in African Committee Minutes of 5 December 1969: a letter from the office of the representative in Tanzania, 12 October 1969 to the General Secretary of CMSAU, in Dawson, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU."

seen. But the government is determined that villages will be the way of life for many of the people of Tanzania.¹⁵⁸

In due course the missionaries were to see that that the establishment of the collective *ujamaa* villages provided an opportunity for a different style of ministry. In the DCT, it was suggested that suitable candidates for ordination should be found among village members. Such clergy would minister on an ex-stipendiary basis.¹⁵⁹ In that way the church might become fully involved in the life of the community concerned.

The government promised to provide all citizens with free social services, including education and medication; all hospital costs and school fees were to be removed. This in particular was to impact CMS work, since many Mission hospitals and schools were nationalised.

The government took control of all but two mission health centres in the DCT. The CMS was left with two institutions: Mvumi Hospital and Kilimatinde Hospital where, while the government provided salaries for some of the indigenous doctors, day to day administration remained with the CMS. Nevertheless the missionaries worried. Dawson, in a further letter to the CMS Federal Council in Australia, warned: "We may expect the Church Hospitals, where our missionaries serve to be taken over by the government in due course. Just two months ago the large Kiomboi Hospital run by the Lutheran Church was taken over. I expect that missionary doctors, technicians, and tutor sisters, will be able to continue to exercise an effective ministry in such circumstances."¹⁶⁰

Change also took place in mission education programs. In 1970, the last of the DCT primary schools was transferred to the government. Missionaries might still teach in them, but were now answerable to official regulations and government administrators. From the CMS perspective, the position of the ex-CMS secondary schools was perhaps of more concern. Prior to their nationalisation the schools had been run by a Board of Governors instituted by the CMS, and missionaries and other expatriates predominated on their faculties. After

¹⁵⁸ See *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ ———, "A letter from the office of representative in Tanzania to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Minute Book 17 June 1950 to 1971* (Sydney: CMS, 12 December 1968).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

nationalisation the leadership of the schools passed to nationals, and the majority of the teaching staff were Tanzanian, though the CMS teachers largely retained their positions.

Dawson explains the effect of these changes on the staff involved:

Our missionaries in these situations have heavy teaching programmes, and they must play their part in self-help projects. Some are frustrated because they cannot complete their syllabus as they would wish, because of the interruptions and other demands that are made upon the students. I am not aware of any restrictions upon Christian activity within the schools. At Msalato Girls' Secondary School, where I am chaplain, Sunday Services, Bible Knowledge Classes and Christian Union continue as usual. The government is still welcoming expatriate teachers and some fifty Canadian teachers arrived recently to teach in Tanzania Secondary Schools.¹⁶¹

Tanzania's new recipe for the development of an egalitarian society, also manifested itself in changing understandings of Christian mission and leadership. Both at a corporate and individual member level, the ACT was broadly in sympathy with the Arusha declaration's guiding principles. The ACT in central Tanzania saw its primary responsibility as the preaching of the gospel and the winning of converts, and the government's primary responsibility as the provision of state welfare. Thus there was an acceptable division between church and state, whereby social liberation was seen to be a state rather than a church duty. This study proposes that the Arusha Declaration, and the state socialism that ensued, likely discouraged the ACT in central Tanzania from developing a deeper Christian liberation interpretation of the gospel and corresponding practice.

The indigenous church embraced the 'Africanisation' of the nation's leadership. Increasingly there came appointments of African bishops and archdeacons, African heads of church councils and other mission institutions (e.g. health and education), echoing similar appointments in the wider society. Gaining confidence, African members of diocesan councils and church synods were increasingly prepared to criticise CMS policies openly, when they considered it necessary. Unsurprisingly, CMS missionaries of the period were not always comfortable with the detail of the social and ecclesial changes taking place. But they also saw that a new era of indigenous leadership was beginning, and generally supported this. In 1969 the Revd S.C. Begbie, who represented all the CMS missionaries working in western Tanzania, wrote to the Federal Council of CMS in Australia:

¹⁶¹ See ———, "A Letter from the Office of Representative in Tanzania to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney: CMS, 14 December 1970).

In 1928 the Church Missionary Society of Australia was challenged to establish the Church in Tanganyika/Tanzania, a task at that time for primary evangelism. Under God and the leadership of Bishops Chambers and Stanway this has been successfully accomplished. In the new era created by ... the coming of independence in 1961/2, Christian Missions in Tanzania entered a new era out of which an entirely new missionary strategy has emerged.¹⁶²

In any case it was difficult to get work permits for expatriate missionaries:

Permits for working within the country are becoming increasingly difficult to obtain, though none have yet been refused. From time to time, especially over the past three years, Government pronouncements seem to indicate movement toward refusal. To still rumours which are constantly recurring, Bishop Stanway elicited from the President an assurance that while in office he would always welcome missionaries provided, 1. They work under African leadership and 2. They hold positions which could not be held by Africans. Despite this assurance, the uneasy feeling persists.¹⁶³

To illustrate the above point, Begbie added:

Our two missionary bishops recognise that future bishops must be nationals. They have both strongly made this point to me more than once. African headmasters have recently been appointed to the large Secondary schools in Dodoma, Kigoma, and Musoma, and the Teachers' College at Katoke, all of which positions were held by missionary personnel up till two years ago. It is interesting to hear the younger clergy in Synod demanding the appointment of an African Assistant Bishop, especially when it requested Bishop Wiggins to appoint an African assistant. Last year, Archdeacon Frank McGorlick resigned his Archdeaconry of West Lake in DVN as both he and the Bishop realised the time was overdue for the appointment of an African. Some pastors and certain influential laymen within the Church have on numerous occasions freely criticised CMS to my face for not offering money instead of missionaries to the Church; for not providing and maintaining cars for the clergy; for not being ready to build houses for pastors of equal standard to those lived in by missionaries. I must add that no African Bishop or Archdeacon has ever taken this line with me.¹⁶⁴

Dawson similarly wrote to Australia of "the rapid changes". He made two points:

Firstly, as far as Tanzania is concerned, there is a very real intention on the part of the government and in the aspirations of the people to see Africans occupying every post of leadership, whether in the state or the church. This is putting the matter bluntly, and is no doubt an oversimplification, but I feel that it is by and large accurate. This means that if a local congregation is asked to provide assistance to pay a clergyman,

¹⁶² S.C. Begbie, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU on Major Changes in Tanzania," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney: CMSAU, 12 November 1968).

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

government on one side, or local Christians on the other could well step in and insist that that post be filled by a national.

Secondly, there is the whole concept of the commitment and responsibility of the Society not to support the national workers by paying their salaries. This is, I am sure, good and conducive to local independence and growth. However, I think that the corollary applies equally that the sending Society [Australia CMS] be fully responsible for the pastoral workers it provides, unless there is agreement regarding individual people in the light of other overseas help.¹⁶⁵

Concerning the effect of the Arusha Declaration and commensurate national changes on CMS activities in Tanzania, Dawson wrote:

Almost anyone beginning a report these days refers to the changing situation. I cannot break from this tradition for it describes accurately the situation in which the missionaries of the society in Tanzania find themselves. You may expect the word to re-occur in reports for the foreseeable future. If this report has any value it is only for the present. Tanzania has adopted a policy of self-reliance and socialism.¹⁶⁶

Begbie recommended that:

The Society Committee and the Missionary Training College must have an exact understanding of the [new] situation ... so that recruits do not leave for Tanzania without a very clear picture of what lies ahead. The missionary role has changed dramatically and suddenly from Director to Disciple; from one who acts with authority to one who works under authority.¹⁶⁷

Hearing of the changes wrought by Tanzania's socialist program on their missions made the CMS authorities in Australia and Britain anxious. Bishop Stanway sought to reassure them. Writing to the African Committee of CMSAU, he drew attention to relations between CMSAU and the newly indigenised Tanzanian church. Stanway said that there was still much that CMS might do to assist and moreover that it risked being sidelined if it did not in fact reassert itself. "CMS home bases must get down to thinking out how they are to serve in the future and what kind of work they wish to offer, because the new Bishops are going to look everywhere they can for help and they are likely to get all sorts of offers from America, and Canada, and Europe and CMSAU will be left with just doing the old uninteresting missionary jobs."¹⁶⁸ The African committee duly agreed; as required, CMSAU would continue to serve

¹⁶⁵ Dawson, "A letter from the office of representative in Tanzania to the General Secretary of CMSAU."

¹⁶⁶ ———, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU."

¹⁶⁷ See Begbie, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU on Major Changes in Tanzania."

¹⁶⁸ See Bishop Alfred Stanway, "Report letter to G. M. Fletcher, Secretary Committee for Africa," in *CMSAU Federal Council Minutes 1961-1971*. (Sydney: CMS, 31 March 1970).

an indigenous Tanzanian church. Dawson echoed a similar sentiment; “I see no reason for any anxiety for the missionary in either the context of the nation or the context of the church. Missionaries have never been able to choose the circumstances in which they will serve. It does not affect our obedience to the call of God and our dedication to the Master.”¹⁶⁹

In this period however perhaps the most important change within the DCT was the decision in August 1971 of Bishop Alfred Stanway to resign in order to meet the demand for an indigenous person to lead the diocese. He had (and is still remembered for having) done much to prepare indigenous African leaders. In 1951 when he began his episcopate there were 20,000 Anglican Christians. By 1971 that number had quadrupled.¹⁷⁰

The question before the diocese then was that of his successor. An electoral panel of twelve was established. It considered several candidates including Bishop Yahana Madinda, Bishop Gresford Chitemo, Archdeacon Naftari Lusinde and Archdeacon Meshack Meda.¹⁷¹

According to Dawson any one of these candidates would likely command the respect of CMS missionaries.¹⁷² There was, however, debate concerning them among African church members. Some, especially older pastors and laymen, faced the post-Stanway era with apprehension. Others, though, supposed that God would continue to guide and nourish his Church. As it happens, Bishop Yohana Madinda was elected the first indigenous bishop of DCT in 1971. His episcopate lasted until his death in 1989.

In interim conclusion, it is noted that all CMS bishops and missionaries in central Tanzania have been evangelicals, drawing their theology from pietist revival movements, and influenced in their missionary outlook by the great commission of Matthew 28:18-20.¹⁷³ Proclamation of the gospel, and the extension of the kingdom of God by bringing Africans to Christian faith, has been key to their understanding of mission.

¹⁶⁹ Peter Dawson, "Report Letter to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1971* (Sydney CMS 27 October 1970).

¹⁷⁰ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 49.

¹⁷¹ Dawson, "Report Letter to the General Secretary of CMSAU."

¹⁷² ———, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU."

¹⁷³ J. I Packer, defines *Evangelicals* as those who accept: 1. The supreme authority of Scripture for knowledge of God as a guide to Christian living. 2. The majesty of Jesus Christ as incarnate God and Lord and the saviour of sinful humanity. 3. The Lordship of the Holy Spirit. 4. The need for personal conversion. 5. The priority of evangelism for both individual Christians and for the church as a whole. 6. The importance of Christian community for spiritual nourishment, fellowship and growth. Noting that other leading conservative Anglicans accept Packer here, it is in Packer's sense that the term *evangelical* is used in the current study. See, Alister E. McGrath, *Evangelicalism and the Future of Christianity* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 51.

1.2.7 The influence of cross cultural mistakes made by CMS

Because of the cultural assumptions they brought to Tanzania, CMS missionaries made numerous mistakes in their presentation of the gospel. The first and major cross cultural mistake made by early CMS missionaries concerned their complete misunderstanding of the religion of the dominant Wagogo tribe of central Tanzania, failing to recognise even its presence, let alone its diversity. Pointing to this, Mwita evidences a letter written by George Clark to CMS in November 1876: “. . . there are plenty of people in this district, who, as far as I can see, have no form of religion of any kind. Even the fetish houses and charms seen on the road earlier have disappeared here. They fire guns and make good noise at the new moon’s appearance, but seem to have no knowledge whatever of a God.”¹⁷⁴ Another missionary, Revd C. T. Wilson, detected Wagogo religious practice without recognising it as such. He found the Wagogo to be: “superstitious and afraid of evil spirits, a people with great faith in their *maganga waganga* (medicine-men) who profess to make rain.”¹⁷⁵ Incongruously he too goes on to describe them as being without religion.

In reality, the Wagogo had a sophisticated religious framework. Its mythological heart related to a clash between the parallel worlds of the living and the dead, threatening peace in both realms. Here was the explanation for crises in the world: witchcraft, sickness, drought, and other calamity. Prayer and sacrifice might ameliorate such disaster. Likewise where life was abundant, when the harvest was good, the Wagogo offered prayer in thanksgiving.

The ‘clerical’ head of Wagogo religion was the *Mtemi* (chief), who was responsible for religious as well as temporal affairs, the two being intertwined. His was a threefold office. As king he led his people; as prophet he was ultimately responsible for discovering the cause of their problems, spiritual and natural; as high priest he directed the worship of God.

Indeed a religious perspective permeated Wagogo life. If for example a child were sick, the extended family would consult a diviner. The diviner then discovered the spiritual root of the illness, whether for instance it was the work of a dead grandfather, or a witch. In the former

¹⁷⁴ Quoted by Mwita from *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (CMI) Vol. II, March 1877, 152-153. See Akiri, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876-1933*, 48.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

example the diviner might explain what the dead grandfather wanted—beer brewed for him or a sheep slaughtered and its blood poured upon his grave. The libations duly offered, the grandfather appeased, the sickness was expected to be cured — and if it wasn't the procedure could be repeated. In the latter example more magical remedies might be directed toward a witch.

But the early CMS missionaries in central Tanzania also made other cultural mistakes.

They presented Christianity as a faith for individuals. Roger Bowen explains further:

“Missionaries preached about individual sin more than corporate sin, even though Africans need their faith to affect the community life which is so important to them.”¹⁷⁶

Likewise, the missionaries were future focussed; as seen, they expected the *parousia* of Jesus Christ.¹⁷⁷ Thence they taught the significance of the coming kingdom, the danger for those outside it (eternal separation from God) and the joy of those within it (eternal life with God). But this message clashed utterly with the present-focussed perspective of their audience. The Wagogo worldview holds God to be active in the present. It is the *now* that is vital. *Now* God meets the everyday material needs of his people. *Now* God's curse on the disobedient is worked out in disaster and calamity—especially drought— *now* a curse is discernible. How could the Wagogo embrace a message which appeared to relegate the present to unimportance?

There were other problems. The CMS missionaries forced converts to change their African names, names redolent with ancient tribal significance, to Western names holding no meaning for the converts whatsoever. Further, the missionaries did not share their material wealth, nor present Christianity as a way to present prosperity. Mwitwa explains: “CMS missionaries, most of whom at this time were from Europe, carried substantial quantities of materials with them, thus the local people viewed CMS as rich people.” Missionary attempts to deny this were not always successful.¹⁷⁸ Certainly the missionaries provided clothing where there was need, and food during time of famine. But they did not transfer their possessions to common ownership, thereby transgressing basic African communal values. They spoke of storing up wealth in *heaven* for the *future*. The Wagogo were much more

¹⁷⁶ Roger Bowen, ...*So I Send You: A Study Guide to Mission* (London: SPCK, 1996), 234.

¹⁷⁷ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 17.

¹⁷⁸ See, Mwitwa, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876-1933*, 49.

interested in acquiring wealth on earth, now! It seemed that Christian conversion did not lead to increased communal prosperity.

The CMS missionaries also opposed the normative African practice of polygamy. Those who practised it were to be excluded from the church. Male converts were required to retire their additional wives. Knox says that in such cases “the retired wife lived with her children in her own quarters at her ex-husband’s homestead or *tembe*.”¹⁷⁹ But upon reading the OT in their own language, Cigogo, the Wagogo saw that polygamy was practised in ancient Israel; Abraham, Jacob and David each had more than one wife simultaneously. There was thus a confusing disjunction between what the missionaries taught and the text they provided.¹⁸⁰ The CMS missionaries of course believed that monogamy was axiomatically Christian. Most Africans thought it a quaint European tradition.¹⁸¹

In traditional Wagogo society polygamy was practised for several reasons.¹⁸² Many wives meant many descendants, and a strong extended family. A strong extended family was considered a prerequisite for the successful raising of children. Again additional wives might support the first wife when their mutual husband required care. Further again, multiple wives increased available agricultural labour, such labour being women’s work. Finally the possession of several wives lent the whole family stability and status.

Polygamy was practised with care. Should a young woman find marriage to an older man distasteful, provision existed for another bridegroom to be found for her. Polygamy was meant to be a supportive, not oppressive, structure for women.

In Tanzania today the issue of polygamy is still alive in the Christian community. The first question is whether converts from polygamous relationships—something which is far from unusual—should be accepted into the church. To require a man to put away all but one wife

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁸⁰ In fact the OT presents various positions on the number of wives permitted. In the earlier portions polygamy is presented as normative, at least for prominent leaders. In the later parts monogamy is affirmed. In the NT monogamy is assumed. Possibly the practice of polygamy gradually ceased because of economic factors: maintaining multiple wives, their children and houses is expensive!

¹⁸¹ See Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 170.

¹⁸² Conflicting assumptions like this reveal situations where Africans recognise in the biblical text cultural norms that are common to both their own and the biblical world. The importance of such recognitions for a peculiarly Tanzanian reading of the biblical text will be discussed in detail later in this study. The African view of polygamy itself though may be elaborated on now.

may consign the retired wives to poverty. Then there is the question of what becomes of their children. The issue is complicated by the competition for converts posed by resurgent Islam; Islam accepts polygamy. It follows that wives in polygamous relationships gravitate to Islam, and take their children with them. As Knox says, “If only a small percentage of Christian women are forced to take refuge with Moslems, their offspring are necessarily made Moslems, and the Moslem community in Tanzania will one day swallow up the Christian community.”¹⁸³ There is also the question as to how the church ought to treat a Christian woman who marries a previously unmarried Moslem and he then marries other women? Finally the most basic question here presents itself. Is polygamy *really* not Christian? Divorce¹⁸⁴ is common in the west and European Christians largely accept it. Africans ask whether this is not akin to accepting polygamy “by successive marriages.”¹⁸⁵

These are just some of the queries before the African church, and not least the ACT in central Tanzania today. Nothing is simple here and the church needs to act in a pastoral manner, rather than from culturally blind convictions.

1.2.8 Assessing the CMS Mission in Central Tanzania during the Colonial Period

In retrospect, the strengths and weaknesses of the CMS mission in central Tanzania during the colonial period can be assessed in the following way:

First, on the positive side CMS was successful in its objective of bringing Christianity to the region. Speaking of western mission to the African world generally, South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu has written: “These people from overseas brought to us something too wonderful for words.”¹⁸⁶ Such a comment might well be applied to the CMS legacy in central Tanzania. For the gift of the Gospel brought Africans a sense of liberation. As Tutu also says: “Once Africans got this gospel, then the liberation struggle was well and truly launched.”¹⁸⁷ In reading the Scriptures for themselves Africans began to perceive what it meant to be Christian, and to want the liberation they discovered inwardly to be reflected outwardly and socially. The CMS missionaries were then a source, even if to some extent an unwitting source, of a valuable new and liberating spirit in the regions in which they worked,

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Divorce had always been unacceptable in Wagogo society. Consequently Wagogo Christians therefore recognise their shared values here with ancient Israel — the God of Israel detested divorce (Malachi 2:16).

¹⁸⁵ Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 170.

¹⁸⁶ Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*, 1.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

including central Tanzania. Practically too the missionaries introduced improved forms of commerce and important new technologies.

On the negative side however the colonial CMS missionaries were direct emissaries of foreign imperialism and dominating cultures. In central Tanzania they demonstrated a consistent failure to understand and appreciate important African religious, cultural, and social values, actually undermining their own objectives thereby. At times they also caused harm. In rejoicing in Africa's receipt of Christianity, Archbishop Desmond Tutu observes critically that it arrived "wrapped in western swaddling clothes."¹⁸⁸ Those clothes were unneeded and unwanted. "Is it really necessary for Africans to take on western culture, the western worldview, in order to be Christian?" In central Tanzania the Wagogo answered: "No!"

Above all though, the weakness of the CMS mission to Tanzania was theological. The CMS missionaries in Eastern Tanzania did not bring with them, and failed to develop, an evangelism based on the holistic biblical interpretation that had led to their Society's formation: that is a two-sided stress on both individual conversion and transformative social action in the name of Jesus Christ.

In assessing the early CMS contribution I wish to make one final comment. Having said the above, I believe these early CMS missionaries should not be judged unfairly against twenty first century understandings of cross-cultural missionary engagement. They were, of course, children of their time. It is important to understand that cross-cultural studies as they are currently understood had not yet been introduced and so could not be addressed at that time. This lack of understanding of cross-cultural engagement contributed to the failure of the early CMS missionaries to understand the culture of other people. In the main, they were courageous, deeply faithful to their mission as they understood it and genuinely caring for the people to whom they felt sent. Many died in pursuit of their mission. Without them many would not have heard the Gospel at all.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ See Akiri, *The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876-1933*, 47.

It is outside the scope of this study to consider fully the rise of liberal Protestantism, but this too had an impact on the attitudes of the early CMS missionaries. One effect of this rise was an effective divorce between liberal and evangelical Protestants. Evangelicals came to deeply mistrust any emphasis on ‘the social gospel’ as an emphasis bypassing the divine person and work of Jesus Christ. It was not to be until 1974 and the international Lausanne Congress on evangelisation, that English churchman John Stott sought to bring the two traditional strands of Protestant evangelicalism back together. “In the past, especially perhaps in nineteenth century Britain, evangelical Christians had an outstanding record of social gospel action. In this century, however, partly because of our reaction against the social gospel of liberal optimism, we have tended to divorce evangelism and social concern and to concentrate almost exclusively on the former.”¹⁹⁰ Stott went on to bemoan this split and urge its redress. This study argues that he was right to do so. While in the west many evangelicals have again presented the Gospel in word and deed, in the appeal for repentance and active Christian social service, in central Tanzania the legacy of the divorce continues, and the ACT is yet to heed this plea.

1.3.0 The influences of East Africa Revival Movement

Besides CMS, the second major evangelical influence on the formation and subsequent development of the ACT is much more recent in origin. Unlike CMS, this later influence was rooted indigenously. The 1930s saw the genesis and rise of what is now formally known as the East African Revival Movement (EARM).

It can be said that as an evangelical movement EARM demonstrated several distinctive characteristics:

1. *EARM involved communal life.* Christian fellowship was central to the life of EARM members. As Reed says, members met “regularly outside of church services, but usually in a church building.”¹⁹¹ They demonstrated a warmth of fellowship which itself attracted potential converts.¹⁹² Leadership was indigenous. There was an emphasis on morality and holiness, members’ lives being bounded by rules pertaining to food / fasting, dress, and regular repentance.

¹⁹⁰ Cf., Stott, *Lausanne Covenant, with an Exposition and Commentary*, 24.

¹⁹¹ Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 12.

¹⁹² See *Ibid.*

2. *EARM emphasised living transparently before God and others.* Its watch phrase became *kutembea nuruni* (walking in the light). Reed further explains: “Walking in the light meant being open with God’s people about sins and failure and included also sharing information and personal plans.”¹⁹³ This openness was thought necessary for Christian communion to be authentic. This desire for transparency was not however shared by CMS missionaries. They were not prepared to confess their faults publicly, likely fearing loss of face. Neither were they happy to be judged and publically reminded to cease identified wrong actions.¹⁹⁴ On this point therefore they did not embrace EARM.

For EARM members the catch-cry had a second meaning also. ‘Walking in the light’ spoke to them about the nature of Christian personhood: one is a Christian as one participates in the Christian community. Or as Reed says: “The phrase expressed the value of being part of a community in which individuals gained a sense of themselves as they understood themselves to be part of a greater corporate.”¹⁹⁵ This conception was easily accepted by African EARM members since it meshed with their traditional belief that personhood is realised as the individual interrelates with the community as a whole. “I am because *you*—corporately and individually—are.”

3. *EARM was fiercely evangelical,* if in the narrow sense that it concentrated on preaching the message of individual salvation to the exclusion of a stress on Christian service aimed at social transformation. New converts went forth from their fellowships in teams to witness to what they saw Jesus had done for them. The main objective was to see many people accept Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour. The gospel thus spread like a fire throughout East Africa. Most of these convert-preachers were lay people lacking in-depth theological education.¹⁹⁶ They were simply inspired by Acts 4:13: “Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John and realized that they were uneducated and ordinary men, they were amazed and recognized them as companions of Jesus.”

¹⁹³ Ibid., 108.

¹⁹⁴ For more information on this see, *ibid.*, 107-17.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ EARM members suspected that dogmatic theology led away from the true gospel and they therefore rejected formal theological education. Members of the movement who later became bishops were not often well prepared formally. In turn they were apt to ordain those who also lacked formal theological training.

4. It follows from the above that EARM promoted lay ministry and the importance of the laity generally: the primary calling of every saved person, laity as well as clergy, was to preach salvation and foster fellowship with the Lord. The movement thereby challenged ecclesial authoritarianism and with it the presumption of European superiority in the church.¹⁹⁷ So it opened the way for African church leadership.

This distinctive movement came as a reaction to a prevailing spiritual dryness on the one hand, and distrust of foreign missionaries who might have eased that dryness on the other.

To take up this last point, into the twentieth century Africans had come to identify European missionaries and also the message those missionaries proclaimed, with colonialism, imperialism, paternalism, isolationism, and exclusion. From the African perspective missionaries hypocritically preached equality but treated Africans as second class people, for example excluding them from *uzunguni* areas where Europeans lived. Added to this, missionaries supported colonial rule, continuing to do so even when that rule was harsh. Making similar points Gehmann concludes with an apt biblical allusion: “The dead bones of an external ecclesiastical organization needed the breath of divine life.”¹⁹⁸ The time was thus ripe for revival. Two stories are instructive here.

Gehmann writes that: “In Rwanda-Burundi there were two co-workers, a European and an African, who could not tolerate one another. After intensive prayer for God’s guidance, each on his own, they were commanded by God’s Spirit to go and ask forgiveness of each other. Obeying the command, they discovered one another as Christian brethren; as a result of this experience, they went out with new joy and fresh testimonies to tell other people about it.”¹⁹⁹

Anderson records a broadly similar story:

There was a difficult situation at Katoke School near Bukoba, where relationships between white staff and African students had seriously deteriorated. A crisis was reached over the distasteful job of emptying latrine buckets. The missionaries

¹⁹⁷ Gehman says here that the “emphasis on the responsibility of every believer could only rectify the former imbalance of clericalism in the Anglican church.” Gehman, “The East Africa Revival,” 51.

¹⁹⁸ Richard Gehman, “The East Africa Revival,” *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 5, no. 1 (1986): 38.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

themselves did the job the first day, and then ordered the students to do it. The students simply walked out.²⁰⁰

Shortly afterward an EARM team led by Dr. Joe Church visited Katoke. In response to the team's preaching and powerful personal testimonies from Dr. Church and team members Simeon Nsimbambi and Erisafati Matovu, both African and European groups present sincerely repented and were reconciled with each other. It appears then that in various places a new openness to God and to each other began among East African Christians. Principally this new move affected Africans, although Europeans were caught into it also.

In 1933 Christian revival broke out among the African population of Rwanda and over a number of years spread to Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania.²⁰¹ This revival continued to grow over a decade or more, impacting central Tanzania in 1946 and strengthening there into the 1950s.²⁰²

Initially central Tanzanian CMS bishop Alfred Stanway had not favoured EARM.²⁰³ He and his fellow missionaries were concerned by what they perceived as the movement's judgemental approach,²⁰⁴ undue emphasis on sexual as opposed to other sin, and anti-authoritarianism.²⁰⁵ They also feared that EARM's modification of western worship forms to suit African sensibilities lent itself to syncretism.

Later on however, in the face of the movement's evident success in winning converts, Stanway and his compatriots ameliorated their position. The EARM signified that CMS efforts in central Tanzania over so many decades were finally bearing rich fruit. Illustrating this later view, in 1948 Australian missionary Langford Smith commented enthusiastically to the CMS Federal Council in Sydney: "For the first time Africans are spreading the gospel

²⁰⁰Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*, 125.

²⁰¹At first CMS missionaries did hold significant positions in the movement, but they soon gave way to African leaders. Missionaries might join an evangelical team if they wished, but they were not asked to be decision-makers; decisions were made by consensus. Reed, *Walking in the Light: Reflections on the East Africa Revival and Its Links to Australia*, 109.

²⁰²In 1945, Canon Bank, CMS Education Secretary in Dodoma and Commissary to Bishop Chambers, visited south-west Uganda. There he was asked to speak briefly at a service. He drew a picture of the church in Tanganyika as backward and spiritually dry, and called for volunteers to help it. As a result in 1946 Festor Kivengere (who later served as bishop of Kigezi) and his wife moved to Dodoma. In his early work Kivengere faced opposition from CMS missionaries and some Africans and was banned from preaching. In time though, he gained acceptance. See *ibid.*, 29.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, 203.

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 28.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 30.

spontaneously, gripped and empowered by the Holy Spirit. To us at Dodoma this comes as light and hope where before things seemed dead and useless.”²⁰⁶

1.3.1 Assessing the EARM

Negatively assessed, the EARM evangelists placed little or no emphasis on Christian service in the world. Leaders completely avoided civil political comment or involvement, thinking it unspiritual. Indeed EARM would extend aid only to its own members. This inward focus meant EARM tended to be legalistic and judgemental, being particularly so toward those Christian leaders and lay people who stood outside its fold. Members did not appear to enjoy freedom in Christ. Beyond all this the major problem however was that EARM’s missiology failed to recognise that a truly biblical evangelicalism requires both the preaching of the Gospel *and* active service in the world.²⁰⁷ The EARM was simply not open to the need for Christians fully faithful to the Gospels to be engaged in structural transformation as well as individual conversion. This would influence the legacy it passed on to later Christian generations.

Positively assessed, EARM demonstrated Africans were not to be merely passive recipients of missionary activities; instead they claimed the gospel, absorbed it and made it their own. Indeed, the Spirit of God had directed them to a peculiarly African understanding of the Scriptures. If the Gospel had come to Africa in foreign swaddling clothes, African Christianity could be, and now was, uniquely African. It need not rely on Western thought-forms, or involve itself in peculiarly Western debates. Indeed African worship was different, even as the same Trinitarian God who directed the West, directed EARM. Hymns were therefore translated into indigenous languages and set to African tune – an innovation which for the missionaries raised a spectre of syncretism. For Africans this in itself was liberating for indigenous Christianity.

Conclusion

The foregoing chapter has argued that CMS and EARM missiologies were truncated. Indeed the missiology of the early generations of CMS missionaries to the region was narrower than that of those who founded the organisation which sent them. This chapter has looked at the

²⁰⁶ Langford Smith, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book 11 July to 17 June 1950* (Sydney: CMS, 15 February 1949).

²⁰⁷ Later discussion will draw out the elements of proclamation and service in the missiology of Jesus as presented in the Gospel of Luke.

CMS mission of the Anglican Church in central Tanzania during Tanzania's colonial period. The CMS mandate for mission stemmed (as it still does) from Matthew 28:18-20, the great commission of Jesus to take his message to all nations. The second CMS General Secretary, Henry Venn (1841-1872) teased out the practice that might enable that objective to be achieved. He established three rules for foreign mission; it was to be self governing, self supporting, and self expanding.

However, the CMS missionaries who eventually came to Tanzania were influenced by a pietistic evangelicalism, and so lost the more holistic, world-engaged outlook of the movement's founders. In 1876 CMS missionaries brought the Christian faith to central Tanzania on their way to Uganda. At first however, established mission in the area suffered neglect. British Christian mission and British colonial expansion were mutually associated and Tanzania was not initially as interesting to the British—missionaries or colonisers—as other East African territories. Indeed even after WWI when Tanzania became a British territory, the CMS was still reluctant to establish a fully-orbed mission in central Tanzania. It was CMSAU with the assistance of NZCMS that eventually did that, in return for funds provided by the colonial government for schools and medical centres. These last endeavours, however, the CMS considered simply a means to an end. The deeper objective was always the winning of converts, evangelism being narrowly conceived in this pietistic way.

In parallel with the CMS mission, an indigenous EARM did much to increase the growth of the ACT. It too took the great commission of Jesus to spread the gospel as its mandate. It too interpreted the great commission in a narrow way, viz., the winning of souls.

What is meant by 'narrow' here, is that only one of the twin strands making up a fully rounded evangelical missiology was emphasised by CMS and then EARM. They each focussed on proclamation but largely excluded attention to transformative service to the world. Later discussion will show that the gospels, especially that of Luke, emphasise the need for both strands, proclamation of winning souls *and* service, in a missiology properly modelled on Jesus' mission to the world.

This narrow focus affected the missiological legacies bequeathed by CMS and EARM to the emerging indigenous ACT. The next chapter will suggest that influenced by its received

missiology that church is yet to develop a holistic, properly evangelical programme of proclamation and transformative action *vis-à-vis* the world around it.

In the present view and in spite of their faults in retrospect, both CMS and EARM together laid a firm foundation for the ACT. They were organisations of their time and up until the nation's independence they did not encourage a Christian critique of society or a move away from a narrow understanding of the great commission to transform the world.

If in the new post-colonial period the lives of the people of central Tanzania were to be fully transformed in Christ, new Christian initiatives would be required. A better understanding of Lukan liberation texts, for instance, might bring a needed holistic understanding of the Church's mission of proclaiming and implementing the gospel message of liberation. Better theological education of laypeople and clergy seemed required. The following chapter will look at what actually occurred in ACT mission in the post-colonial period.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MISSION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN CENTRAL TANZANIA IN THE POST- COLONIAL ERA

Introduction

In Chapter One, I examined the reality of the ACT in the colonial era; that is, through to Tanzanian independence. I had hoped that the situation of the ACT in post-colonial Tanzania would have seen church leadership not only trying to convert people to Christianity and indigenize the church but also addressing socio-economic problems of the poor. This chapter examines whether or not this has happened. A critical examination of the post-colonial church which identifies its strengths and weaknesses is required if I am to identify what shape a contextual missionary praxis for the third millennium should take.

Any discussion of an appropriate missionary praxis should understand both the past and present in order to project a future for mission work. One of the essential arguments of the current study is that the contributing missional foundation to the ACT in central Tanzania must, in Laurent Magesa's words, "not be allowed to fade away from memory."²⁰⁸ The ACT must sift its CMS and EARM heritage so as to retain what is valuable and discard what is not. If it maintains an ethos developed not for its own culture and time but for another, then its transition to a fully self, fully independent, indigenous church will be impeded. The ACT will be less likely to free itself from the need for ongoing western personnel and financial support. Neither will it shape its biblical interpretation in an original way, fitting it to its uniquely African context.²⁰⁹

What is needed in the ACT is a new approach to biblical interpretation and to church mission, incorporating what is good of the past, but also drawing on traditional African forms and communal values. In this way a distinctive African Anglicanism might fully develop in the ACT. There is equally need in the ACT for a new understanding of the nature of evangelism and of church mission. Jesus Christ holds out his transforming love not only to individuals but to whole societies; he offers new life to human beings not only spiritually but also practically. In the gospels Jesus presents that model to the church and the ACT is required to do likewise.

²⁰⁸ Magesa, "Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa," 94.

It is a truism that the present is rooted in the past. As already suggested the contemporary direction of the biblical interpretation and missional policy of the ACT is rooted in its colonial foundation, a foundation planted by CMS missionaries and EARM. But the contemporary direction of the ACT is also rooted in its post-colonial experience under an *ujamaa* policy state, and the aftermath of that *ujamaa* policy experiment. This chapter critically analyses the mission of the ACT in central Tanzania in the post-colonial period. The discussion will be laid out in three parts.

The first section deals with the western orientated legacy bequeathed to the Anglican church in central Tanzania by CMS and EARM, a legacy including the blanket rejection of everything of African culture. In the present view the wisdom of that complete rejection needs to be re-evaluated. African Christians have tended to maintain aspects of their traditional religion quietly, but this has placed them effectively outside the guidance of the church. This legacy has resulted in a rejection of African culture among evangelicals in central Tanzania even today.

The second section examines the Anglican church in central Tanzania under indigenous leadership during the *ujamaa* period, from the 1970s to the 1990s. It looks at what political, economical and social changes took place, and examines the contingent shape of church mission and leadership. This helps the study place the mission of the ACT in its own context. This examination will reveal that as a result of the *ujamaa* policy, the ACT in central Tanzania increasingly could not speak for the poor and other weaker people in the society. It seems this silence still continues to this day when the voice of the ACT is needed in the midst of the reversal of *ujamaa* policy which has brought social unrest to the community.

The last section deals with the Anglican church in central Tanzania under indigenous leadership during the post-*ujamaa* period, from the 1990s to the 2000s. Again the political, economic and social changes that took place at this time are considered, along with resulting challenges for the church. This is a period when Tanzania experienced some of the greatest changes in its history. The chapter explores and highlights the issues which have emerged out of those changes. In light of the latter, a new approach to biblical interpretation and a new model of mission for the ACT needs to be developed.

This study argues that the legacy of CMS and EARM for the mission of the ACT in the post-colonial context has resulted in indigenous leaders who were products of EARM and who pay more attention to soul winning and church planting and are less involved in the social needs of the community.

2.1 The western-orientated legacy bequeathed to the Anglican Church in Central Tanzania

To recap: the CMS missionaries who planted Christianity in central Tanzania were influenced by the more pietistic currents within evangelicalism. Such pietism was rather different in emphasis from the evangelicalism of the earlier founders of CMS, who believed very much in practical humanitarianism, based on the conviction that God has created all human beings in his image and therefore all human beings are important. The missionaries bequeathed to the Anglican Church of Tanzania in general, and the evangelical Anglicans of central Tanzania in particular, certain attributes. They proposed an ecclesial structure that was authoritarian and hierarchical, they privileged the individual and the spiritual, they looked to the future as against the present, and they bequeathed a condemning assessment of traditional social structures (particularly family structures) and traditional religions. All this means that the Anglican church in Tanzania, and its individual dioceses, have inherited a somewhat narrow understanding of church mission, and of the gospel imperative to announce the liberation Jesus Christ offers socially and corporately, as well as spiritually and individually.

To demonstrate this, in the colonial period, on the basis of texts such as Matthew 16:18, Romans 13:1-3, and 1 Peter 2:9-14, CMS missionaries emphasised uncritical obedience to duly established authority, whether church or state. So the authority of scripture was used to silence dissent. In the present view, the ACT today has perpetuated this approach. There are few formal avenues in the diocesan organisation for 'bottom-up' criticism of the establishment. Indeed some church leaders have used Scripture to silence those wanting a more just church governance, demanding obedience to allow their personal agendas to pass during church meetings.

This type of imperialist structured organization and leadership in the ACT are part of the colonial legacy of CMS missionaries that sadly still influences some of the indigenous leadership today. But equally seriously, the ACT has failed to develop an indigenous approach to church governance, one that is able to critique authority which operates outside

the law of God, wherever that authority may be. Allied to this, CMS's advocacy of the western hierarchical model of organisation means that the ACT departs from traditional African forms of governance.

Traditional tribal authority normally took the form of gerontocracy—oligarchical rule in which leaders are significantly older than most of their subjects. In traditional Wagogo community, for instance, an elderly chief ruled, guided by a council of elders, and all were in communication with ordinary tribal members. As Magesa argues, although not democratic this traditional system promoted an exchange of ideas between the governing and the governed.²¹⁰

As seen in the previous chapter, CMS missionaries and EARM emphasized personal, individual salvation, an emphasis that ran completely counter to the outlook of a people used to thinking in communal categories, a people used to putting the welfare of the many before the individual. But the CMS emphasis on individualism continues to impact the ACT in Central Tanzania today. There is no real encouragement from the present church for its members to be concerned not simply for their individual relationship to God but for the community's relationship to God, and for just relations within the community. Currently, there does not seem to be room for a developed social critique of civil and/or ecclesial structures. In the present view, though, such a concern and critique would better reflect the traditional African world view the missionaries displaced.

Related to the above, as a result of its past the ACT in central Tanzania looks seriously to the spiritual health of its people, but is less concerned with the social processes affecting the health of the whole society. Again as noted, CMS missionaries tended to emphasise the importance of the eternal future, whereas Africans have traditionally been concerned with the present. This approach has created an ethos in the ACT in central Tanzania that feeds into the lack of a critical analysis of the present.

It was however the (already noted) condemnatory missionary assessment of traditional social structures and traditional religions, an assessment passed on also by the East African Revival Movement, that has meant that the present day Anglican church of Tanzania—including the

²¹⁰ Magesa, "Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa," 97.

Diocese of Central Tanzania—is also condemnatory. Its perpetuation of the CMS attitude has led to a number of undesirable results.

In African eyes Christianity can appear an utterly foreign religion. An African church which perpetuates a western ethos, albeit one bequeathed to it, is necessarily out of step with its local context. Its converts take on western names; its views on education and health vary from those Africans traditionally hold.²¹¹ Christianity itself becomes associated with Europeans. Above all its scriptures appear confusing. Some biblical ideas mesh with an African world view, while many do not. Ancient Palestinian history is by definition not African history. At first glance, ancient Israel's solutions do not answer Africa's questions. Christianity is then an appropriate faith for those far away in strange lands, those with different gods, different customs, different languages; it is not right for Africa.²¹²

The church denying traditional African culture and technologies may appear unwelcoming, unable to meet real spiritual and/or material needs. In this case Christian converts may quietly turn back to their old religion. This is particularly so in relation to issues of health. Today Christian converts turn back to traditional healers for two reasons: 1) Often the church which has prayed for their recovery unsuccessfully, has then condemned them as being sinful and/or lacking faith. 2) They cannot afford western medicine, and may not trust it anyway.

2.2 Excursus: the vexed matter of witchcraft

CMS and EARM rejected many aspects of traditional Wagogo culture, including traditional names, and various African rituals, including ways of socializing and relaxing. In particular, they rejected local, traditional medicine. Anyone found visiting or utilising a witchdoctor (or taking a child to the witchdoctor for treatment) was excommunicated. Nonetheless, many African Christians continue to practise their African Tribal Religion (ATR) in secret, in the desperate search for healing. Dr. Hadji Mponda, Minister of Health and Social Welfare, says that “recently research done by the ministry of Health and Social Welfare shows that sixty percent of Tanzanians rely on tradition medicine.”²¹³ They will first try medical clinics, but medication is expensive and limited. They will next ask the priest or evangelist to pray for

²¹¹ As will be seen, more recently there has been a move to use traditional music forms in Anglican worship in Tanzania. Nevertheless older Tanzanians are still apt to regard Christianity as an alien faith.

²¹² This study believes many OT stories bear similarities to traditional African ones. The missionaries, however, did not make such comparisons.

²¹³ Lucy Ngowi, "Asimilia 60 Wanatumia Tiba Asili-Dk Mponda," *Tanzania Daima* Jumanne, 20 December 2011, 1-2.

them, but if they are not healed, the average, uneducated priest or evangelist will dismiss them, saying that they do not have enough faith! Thus, they feel their only alternative is to seek help in ATR, which many African Christians in Tanzania therefore consider more effective than Christianity.

Beside sickness, Africans also face other problems not addressed by the form of Christianity they know. If they are attacked by spiritual beings, they must go to the *mganga* (diviner) who will help them repel the evil spirits. Likewise, difficulties in school, in business, in the work place, or in politics; problems with infertility, poverty, or family; these are all faced by asking the shaman to invoke the spirits' help.

Thus, although Christianity has been in central Tanzania for around 130 years, still there is strong belief in witchcraft.²¹⁴ This is because the missionaries did not address this issue openly, nor try to understand it, but presumed from their rationalist viewpoint that witchcraft was a delusion.

One of the biggest reasons why some African Christians still engage in witchcraft is the fact that Christianity was not initially adopted for theological reasons. African people were taught to believe that the new system of religion was better than their African system of life and the beliefs of ATR. Probably most accepted Christianity because it seemed better than Islam which promoted slavery. Weapons were now available to defend themselves from Arab slave traders and friendly contact with the outside world was now established.²¹⁵

The CMS missionaries who came to Tanzania first were educated in England, Australia or New Zealand. They came to Tanzania knowing only some Swahili, the language of communication, and having a western worldview. They set out to instruct new believers in the Christian faith and to encourage them to abandon their superstitions. As Gailyn Van Rheenen argues, this inevitably involved following “the Christian faith in western

²¹⁴ Recently, speaking on why belief in witchcraft remains strong among Tanzanians, the Roman Catholic Cardinal Polycarp Pengo decried “the phenomenon common in many African societies of Christianity on Sunday mornings and the practice of witchcraft and sorcery during the rest of the week.” See “Africa: Why Belief in Witchcraft Remains Strong Among Africans.” <http://clericalwhispers.blogspot.co.nz/2009/04/africa-why-belief-in-witchcraft-remains.html> (accessed May 25, 2009).

²¹⁵ See Elizabeth Knox's account on CMS work at Mpwapwa. Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, 35-43.

worldview”, as well as involving misunderstanding around “the African beliefs the missionaries labelled superstitions.”²¹⁶

Richard Cox elaborates:

The missionaries denounced these *ushirikina* (superstitions) as not based in fact. They were simply made-up explanations of a primitive and unscientific people to explain events which they could not logically understand. Therefore, the missionaries held that Africans thought sickness was caused by evil spirits or the living-dead because they did not have a scientific understanding of how illness worked. The CMS missionaries also taught that drought was a meteorological phenomenon and not the curse of the living-dead or the witches, as the Africans traditionally believed. In fact, all the traditional beliefs that the Africans held concerning the spiritual world were considered to be a result of their ignorance in scientific thought and lack of exposure to the outside world.²¹⁷

Thus, CMS missionaries were ignorant of the depth and intensity of ATR among Africans. Their western theology held that the way to salvation was through the intellectual teaching of the church and the path to development was through education in terms of the western worldview. The supernatural explanations that the Africans applied to events and circumstances were rejected by the missionaries, thus creating a void in their response to the everyday life of African people. By contrast, the Africans knew there was a supernatural world that profoundly affected their lives, and impacted every significant daily activity.²¹⁸ The outcome was that Christianity was consequently seen by Africans as exclusively what happened in the Church building. ATR was left to explain and give answers to the reality of the world in which the Africans lived every day.

For reasons like these, most Africans maintain that Christianity is a foreign religion. Christianity came to the region through white people from Europe. Most Christian names are different from traditional African names; the Church service is very different from African traditional ways of practising religion; and the educational and health system are different

²¹⁶ Gailyn Van Rheenen, *Communicating Christ in Animistic Contexts* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991), 67.

²¹⁷ Richard Cox, "Why Rangi Christians Continue to Practice African Traditional Religion," www.gial.edu/Gialens/issues.htm. Accessed 20 July 2009

²¹⁸ In no way does this mean that everything about ATR is good. A recent salutary example involves the killing of 50 albinos for their body parts, on the recommendation of a witchdoctor, who told representatives of the fishing and mining industries that this would increase their productivity, See Daily News Magazine of 23 February 2009 in www.dailynews.co.tz; also Tanzania Daima Magazine of 17 July 2009 in www.freemedia.co.tz. Accessed 23 July 2009.

from what was traditionally practised.²¹⁹ In some ways, many ideas from the Bible are seen as good and beneficial, while others are simply strange and not understood. Christianity is seen as a solution for the Jews and people of faraway lands, dealing with different spirits and problems from those Africans deal with in everyday life. The customs are different, the language is different, and the way Christianity is presented is foreign to how the Africans have traditionally lived.²²⁰ An adequate presentation of the Christian message must therefore engage with all these issues. It must engage with what Magesa calls “the mystery of the human person”,²²¹ which the witchcraft of ATR, for all its faults, fully encompassed. In thinking about the legacy of CMS and EARM in central Tanzania, Simon Eliya Chiwanga describes “the Anglican identity in the context of Tanzania, where the predominant traditional communitarian values shape and are shaped by dynamic social change”, and the consequent need to address the “issue of liberation from oppressive leadership we have inherited from our colonial past, from fear and a dependency mentality implanted in us by colonial history.”²²² Chiwanga is right that this is the model that the ACT must escape. CMS understanding of mission implanted in central Tanzania is a “master” model of ministry which is contrary to the teaching of Jesus, who called his followers to “servant” ministry (Luke 22:25-27). The African concept of ministry among the *Watemi* in the *Wagogo* community followed this concept of servanthood and can inform the mission of ACT in central Tanzania.

The legacy of mission inherited by the ACT in central Tanzania from CMS and EARM is not therefore relevant to the context of today and cannot transform the life of the people today. This fact can be proved as we look at the ACT’s mission in central Tanzania under indigenous leadership. To overcome the CMS legacy will be one of the subjects of chapter six, which looks to construct a new model for mission in the ACT.

²²⁰ As noted above, many Old Testament stories are similar to African stories, and these might therefore be used to grow deeper connections between Christianity and African people. However the missionaries made no attempt to use these stories in such a way, while ordinary Africans do not have the capacity to make such comparisons either. This is why a new generation of African theologians is needed to do this work.

²²¹ Laurenti Magesa quoted in “Why Belief in Witchcraft Remains”, in <http://clericalwhispers.blogspot.com/2009/04/africa-why-belief-in-witchcraft-remains>. Accessed 25 May 2009.

²²² See Simon Eliya Chiwanga, “Beyond the Monarch/Chief: Reconsidering Episcopacy in Africa ” in *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ian Douglas (New York: Church Publishing Incorporated 2001), 302.

2.3 The Anglican church in Central Tanzania under indigenous leadership during the *ujamaa* (socialist) period

During Tanzania's 1961 independence celebrations Nyerere invited departing British district and provincial commissioners to visit Tanzania ten years hence, when they should certainly witness "development miracles."²²³ Ten years later his socialist program had not yet lived up to its initial promise. The price of the nation's export commodities—cotton, tea, coffee, sugarcane—had fallen dramatically, its foreign debt was huge, and the receipt of foreign aid negligible.²²⁴ Linus Mbajo observes that, "since early 1970s, Tanzania happened to be in an economic crisis and it was one of the poorest African countries in the world."²²⁵

In order to meet this challenge, Nyerere decided to establish collectivization of agricultural villages, and large-scale nationalization into a unique blend of socialism and communal life. The vision was set out in the Arusha Declaration. In the previous chapter I noted the main objectives of the Arusha Declaration, which were as follows:

The objective of socialism in the United Republic of Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury."²²⁶

Mukandala says that "*ujamaa* policy was also an expression of nationalism and independence because *ujamaa* was claimed to be a home-grown initiative rooted in indigenous traditions."²²⁷ Ernest T. Mallya observes that

The Arusha Declaration under *ujamaa* policies were in use for 30 years (1967-1997) before they were replaced by the vision of 2025. The general assessment of the Declaration was that Tanzania was "neither socialist nor self-reliant". The three "enemies" that the then Tanganyika had declared war against in 1961 – poverty, disease and ignorance – are still rampant. In fact, the situation is not promising as poverty has increased; old diseases have persisted, new diseases have surfaced, and those already eradicated or somewhat controlled are resurfacing with new vigor.

²²³ Taylor, "The Growth of Tanzanian Churches: A Study of the Helps and Hindrances of External Aid," 23.

²²⁴ Linus Mbajo, "The Significance of Subsidiarity and Solidarity on Justice to the "Poor": Challenging Structural Adjustment Policies and Strategies in Tanzania," www.sedosmission.org.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Chapter One dealt in detail with the content and aims of the Arusha Declaration. See also, Julius K. Nyerere, *Man and Development* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1974), 37.

²²⁷ Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," in *The Nation Convention on Public Sector Reforms* (Ubungo Plaza, Dar es Salaam Tanzania 2008), 4.

Literacy levels are falling and with the current practice of charging user fees, it is likely that the rates will fall even further.²²⁸

In the period between the 1970s and early 1990s, the Arusha Declaration continued to direct the social and political life of Tanzanian Society.²²⁹ *ujamaa* produced disciples and critics both at national and international levels. As noted in Chapter One, CMS missionary Peter Dawson in 1972 considered that it was necessary to digest the Arusha Declaration “in its entirety ... to understand present day Tanzania”.²³⁰

Part of the reality addressed by the Arusha Declaration was that the nature of Tanzanian society was rural. Therefore in order to bring development to the rural areas people were encouraged to live and work on a co-operative basis in organised villages known as *ujamaa* villages (meaning familyhood). The idea was to extend traditional values and responsibilities around kinship to Tanzania as a whole. In order to provide social services to people, therefore, development had to go to the rural areas, where people came to live together as one family.

In every *ujamaa* village someone was elected chairperson of TANU/CCM and then became the village leader. He was assisted by the TANU/CCM secretary who became the village secretary. There was a village manager, a professional post responsible for facilitating village projects. This was a government post. The village was divided into ten houses; each ten houses would elect their own leader.²³¹ In village life people were encouraged to work cooperatively in order to bring about their own development.

The purpose of establishing *ujamaa* villages was to enable the government to offer effective social services to its citizens. The government, by cooperating with the people, built schools in every village, and every child was required to attend school from the age of seven.²³² It

²²⁸ Ernest T. Mallya, "A Critical Look at Tanzania's Development Vision 2025," *Strategic Long Term Planning and Policy Management* VII, no. 2 (November 2000): 1.

²²⁹ Mkandala has divided Tanzanian reform history into five periods: (i) The Nationalist Period 1961-1966, (ii) The *ujamaa* Period 1967-1985, (iii) The *ujamaa* – Liberation Transition, 1986- 1992, (iv) The Liberal Phase– One, 1993-1999, (v) The Liberal Phase–Two, 2000 onwards. See Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," 3.

²³⁰ Peter Dawson, "A letter From the Office of the Representative in Tanzania to the General Secretary of CMSAU," in *Federal Council Minute Book 17 June 1950 to July 1973* (Sydney: CMS, 12 October 1972).

²³¹ Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 347.

²³² Julius K. Nyerere, *Man and Development* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1974), 277.

was compulsory to send children to school; education was free of charge. The government also built dispensaries in every village; medication was free of charge to everybody.

One of the advantages of *ujamaa* is that it provided what we may term as *Pax Tanzaniana*. Swahili was introduced and became the national language. This helped unite the different tribes in Tanzania and so it brought a sense of unity in the country. There was a good relationship among different people. This focus on human development and self-reliance did bring some success, notably in health, education and in political identity

Therefore as already seen, to meet these challenges of the 1970s Nyerere collectivised agriculture, boosted existing health and education programs, made Kiswahili the nation's official language, and generally encouraged the nation's self-reliance and sense of unity. He also set about building a climate of religious tolerance. All this helped to make it easier for the Anglican church of Tanzania to spread the gospel and plant churches in the many villages of its central diocese.

Nyerere's approach to religion involved realising early the vital importance of mutual religious tolerance between the predominant world faiths impacting his country—broadly speaking, Islam on the coast and Christianity in the interior. At independence, the constitution of the new state therefore contained articles guaranteeing freedom of religion. These were to be further ratified in 1984, 1992, and 1997. The Anglican church took advantage of state sponsored religious tolerance to propagate Christianity throughout the central region. By 1997, out of Tanzania's population of 35 million, 45% professed some degree of Christian allegiance, 35% Muslim, and 20% African Traditional Religion. Among Christians, the Anglican church is the third largest Christian denomination after the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches. The majority of these Anglicans live in central Tanzania.²³³

²³³ Simon Eliya Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy" (Episcopal Divinity School, 1999), 17. A conversation with the General Secretary of the Anglican Church of Tanzania leads me to use these statistics cautiously, particularly because our census does not allow us to ask people for their religious affiliation and it is difficult to get proper figures from congregations, parishes and dioceses. However, Rt. Rev. Dr. Mwita Akiri of the Anglican Diocese of Tarime, who is former General Secretary of ACT, thinks that the total membership of Anglicans in Tanzania would not be less than 4 million (conversation on 21 July 2011). Dr David Barrett's research shows that in the year 2000 there were 2,650,000 Anglicans in Tanzania: see David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, "Tanzania" in *World Christian Encyclopaedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 729. If that is the case Mwita's estimate of 4 million Anglicans today would be plausible.

In general during the 1970s most members of the Christian community in Tanzania regarded state socialism sympathetically. It appeared a practical outworking of the ideas examined in the liberation theologies then to the fore. Certainly Nyerere encouraged the church to appreciate socialism in such theological terms. At the same time he publically honoured the church (as also other voluntary organisations) as a vital component of the state. For Nyerere church and state each contributed to the other. On one hand the ACT in central Tanzania thought the government was responsible for providing physical needs, while on the other hand the church's responsibility was to provide for people's spiritual needs. Two influences need to be noted on the mission of the ACT during the post-colonial context under *ujamaa* policy at this time.

2.3.1 Excursus: Anglican mission during the collapse of state socialism

In the 1970s there was to be an attack on the socialist program, on *ujamaa*, both from within and from without. Unlike the situation in the otherwise influential China, most Tanzanians were not assiduously taught socialist ideology. They did not think critically or radically about society.²³⁴ Thus, while Nyerere personally lived out his socialist ideals, most village leaders simply stepped into the vacuum left by departed colonial rulers, marshalling the same systems to oppress the same local people. Instead of resurrecting the ancient African principle of communitarity—each member of the community works for the welfare of all—they ruled harshly.²³⁵ This internal oppression undercut the viability of the African *ujamaa* concept among ordinary people.

But Tanzanian *ujamaa* also attracted external opposition. Mukandala explains that foreign donor organisations worked with the government's *ujamaa* agenda until 1979. In that year a misunderstanding involving the Tanzanian Government, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, resulted in donor funding being withdrawn—a situation that was to last three years.²³⁶ In consequence a key plank of the government's domestic plan, its National Economic Survival Program, went unfunded and unimplemented. By the mid-1980s world donor organisations were openly rejecting Tanzanian socialism, claiming it failed to provide

²³⁴ Benson K. Bagonza, "Theology of Sustainable Development in Tanzania. The Role of the Church in a Paradoxical Fast-Changing Society" (Lutheran School of Theology 2003), 1.

²³⁵ Linus Mbajo, "The Significance of Subsidiarity on Justice to the "Poor": Challenging Structural Adjustment Policies and Strategies in Tanzania," <http://www.sedos.org/english/mbajo.htm>.

²³⁶ Mallya, "A Critical Look at Tanzania's Development Vision 2025."

a good economy for Tanzania. They made further aid conditional on the nation's rejection of it.²³⁷

Other unfavourable events in the external environment around this period included the breakup of the East African Community in 1977, the Tanzania–Uganda war of 1978-79, and threats from South Africa and Portugal who were upset at Tanzanian assistance to insurgents in those countries. All of these pressured the viability of the socialist government. In 1985 Nyerere—in distinction to other African leaders of the time still genuinely respected by his people—retired from presidential office. On top of the other pressures on the socialist state the resignation heralded the end of *ujamaa*. It had been an impossible dream.

It is a truism that the lens through which scripture is interpreted determines the interpretation that results. In the 1970s the ACT in Central Tanganyika diocese read the Bible as its leaders had been taught by the earlier CMS missionaries. Thus, to borrow LeMarquand's words, their "reading of the text was filtered through cultural lenses which were not always congenial to African traditional life."²³⁸ This resulted in a call from within the diocese for a new way of reading the Bible, one that properly reflected African social and cultural contexts. At the time however that call went largely unheeded.

Some four decades later, leaders in the ACT still appear to read the bible predominantly through a received western, and now often North American, hermeneutic—shaping the mission of the ACT accordingly. Perhaps oddly it has not proved easy to bring a distinctly African hermeneutic to bear. Jehu-Appiah's more general observations of the twenty-first century African church can be appropriated here: "African worldviews and traditional beliefs are constantly under attack"²³⁹, he says: "The problem is that European and North American philosophies, for the most part, still rule over thinking in institutions and churches in Africa. Even teaching in the churches is still strongly within the grip of European and North American concepts."²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," 6.

²³⁸ LeMarquand, "New Testament Exegesis in (Modern) Africa," 74.

²³⁹ Jerisdan H. Jehu-Appiah, "The African Indigenous Churches and the Quest for an Appropriate Theology for the New Millennium," *International Review of Mission* LXXXIX, no. 354 (July 2000;89).

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Broadly put, in the 1970s African nations struggled to emerge from the colonial past as viable autonomous nations. The African church too struggled to find its own voice. It wanted a biblical interpretation that would guide the people of God in the struggle for independence and new nationhood. Such a biblical interpretation needed to reach into the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of Africa. It had to address its audience individually and corporately. It would have to announce the liberation that the God of the Bible offers across all levels of analysis.

This was the challenge Yohana Madinda faced when, in 1971, he became the first indigenous bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika. As a Christian, Madinda had grown up under the influence first of CMS, and then of EARM. At the time of his election some African Anglicans criticised him for drawing his mission understanding narrowly from these sources. Most others though noted his genuine piety and love for people; CMS missionaries themselves rejoiced in his election for these reasons. Missionary Peter Dawson told CMS Australia: "Bishop Madinda commands the confidence and respect of diocesan workers, national and overseas staff. He is not strong on finance and administration, and will need help in these areas. His strong points are a genuine concern for the well-being of his people. He will be a pastor to his clergy."²⁴¹

In 1971, immediately after his enthronement, Bishop Madinda set a five year plan for evangelism. He challenged the diocese with a call to respond to the great commission with evangelism. He said "Revival will not come if we wait for the people to come to church on Sunday. We must go out and seek them."²⁴² Teams of lay evangelists were established in every parish in order to take the gospel to every *ujamaa* village. The result of this outreach was that in each village a church was established.

Madinda began his work at the time the collective *ujamaa* villages were operating. They presented him and his CMS partners a new direction for ministry. Dawson also explained this to CMS Australia:

I have already mentioned the establishment of *ujamaa* villages, and the Church has recognised that a different type of ministry is required for them. It has been agreed to search out men of God who have already entered *ujamaa* villages and become part of

²⁴¹ See, Dawson, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU."

²⁴² Diocese of Central Tanganyika, "A Special Report of the Diocese 1986," (Dodoma: Diocese of Central Tanganyika, 1986), 5.

that community, to be ordained, and then to be fully involved in the life and work of the village, take services on Sundays, and Bible Classes, in their free time, without pay.²⁴³

Within the *ujamaa* villages there was also need for the diocese to train indigenous leaders in other spheres of Christian work.

In connection to this, in 1971 the diocesan council elected the Rev. Alpha Mohamed as the first African principal of Msalato Bible School. Mohamed had been converted from Islam to Christianity under the influence of EARM.²⁴⁴ The fact though, was that more than an African principal was required if Msalato and similar institutes were to train African-thinking Christian leaders. That is, leaders were required with access to a critical African, rather than a critical Western, biblical interpretation approach to the gospel and to society. There needed to be a move to an indigenous African-oriented curriculum, and an indigenous African expression of worship. One problem was that at this time most teaching texts were written outside the country by Europeans, or internally by missionaries who lacked deep understanding of African culture.

In regards to the promotion of a distinctly African worship, probably the most important step taken by the Diocese of Central Tanganyika was also one of the simplest in design; that is, the replacement of western musical instruments with familiar African ones, from the 1970s on.²⁴⁵ Similarly, choral worship using traditional rhythms was introduced by the diocese—choral singing being already embedded within African culture. For the first time familiar Anglican hymns were set to African melodies. By 1977 the Diocese of Central Tanganyika could officially approve the use of African cultural forms in Christian worship.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ See, Dawson, "Report to the General Secretary of CMSAU." At this time there was no question of women's ordination before the Anglican Church of Tanzania.

²⁴⁴ Mohamed was converted after reading Revelation 3:14-16.

²⁴⁵ The move to traditional instruments in the Diocese of Central Tanzania was to have an added role. In the 1980s and 90s charismatic revival came to Tanzania via the Pentecostal churches—especially the Assemblies of God. Large numbers of Christians left mainline churches for the apparently livelier Pentecostal ones. Not so Central Tanzania's Anglicans; their services enjoyed the "liveliest worship of all" reputation. Without accompanying African instruments the hand rhythms of the Pentecostals could not compete with the stamping leg bells of *Wagogo* dancers!

²⁴⁶ Thus, from the 1970s on, the diocese began to justify African traditional melodies and rhythm in worship. In 1979, this researcher heard indigenous preachers insisting in their sermons on the use of traditional hymns and rhythm in worship. These preachers were influenced by the students at St Philip's Theological College, where they were learning to use African instruments and tunes in church worship. While it is difficult to trace this to a new and explicitly African way for reading the bible, it was perhaps due at least indirectly to the emergence of African scholars in East Africa. It is very possible that St Philip's students might have been aware of the development of comparative methods, since it was around this time that the comparative method of reading the

The creation of uniquely African worship was paralleled by the emergence of a new comparative hermeneutic and eventually became a dominant hermeneutic in Africa. The main focus of this hermeneutic was religious rather than economic.²⁴⁷ The mission of the ACT did not encourage Anglican converts to examine their faith in relation to their economic circumstances. This way of reading, however, made the OT in particular come alive for Africans. Not only were broad similarities discovered between the ancient biblical and contemporary African worlds, but there were even some direct links. For example the psalmist advised the use of African instruments in Christian worship (see Psalm 150:4).²⁴⁸ As a result of all these innovations—an African approach to training Christian leaders, an African orientated worship, and an African way of reading the Bible—Christianity began to seem less foreign. The church began to grow enormously.

In July 1974, Bishop Madinda attended the First International Congress on World Evangelization, held in Lausanne. Attended by some 2,700 participants from 150 nations, the aim of the conference was to discuss the progress, resources and methods of evangelizing the world. Out of the conference came what has come to be known as the Lausanne Covenant. In summary, the conference moved evangelicals toward the realisation that the evangelization demanded by the great commission of Jesus Christ is multifaceted. It calls Christians to work not only for individual conversion but for social conversion and social transformation, by bringing good news to the poor as part of love for one's neighbour. The communiqué of the Lausanne Congress in which this broadening of interpretation took place bears quoting at length:

We express penitence both for our neglect of our Christian social responsibility and for our naïve polarization in having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive. ... [We] must repudiate as demonic the attempt to drive a wedge between evangelism and social action. ... Secondly, and positively, we affirm that evangelism and social-political involvement are both part of our Christian

biblical texts was introduced by African biblical scholars such as John Mbiti; cf. John S. Mbiti, "The Bible in African Culture," in *Paths of African Theology*, ed. Rosino Gibellini (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994). In this method, African and biblical contexts were compared and contrasted, so that each might cast light on the other. Out of critical reflection on the insights gained, a new and culturally appropriate apologetic could be mounted. This methodology incidentally highlighted the radical importance of a Christian practice that is both in line with Scripture and informed by the local culture. The present study considers the move to use indigenous worship forms a natural extension of that fresh observation. See Justin S. Ukpong, "Developments in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," in *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (New York: Orbis, 2006), 50-51.

²⁴⁷ The development of comparative hermeneutics will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

²⁴⁸ Ukpong, "Developments in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," 50.

duty. Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of Christian duty. For both are necessary expression of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbour and our obedience to Jesus Christ. The message of salvation implies also a message of judgment upon every form of alienation, oppression and discrimination, and we should not be afraid to denounce evil and injustice wherever they exist. When people receive Christ they are born again into His kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread His righteousness in the midst of the unrighteous world. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without work is dead.²⁴⁹

While the broader approach of the Lausanne Congress is now internationally accepted by evangelicals, in Tanzanian evangelical circles, including the Anglican church in Central Tanzania, these insights have yet to take hold fully. Lausanne 1974 means that in the mission of the church there can be no separation between the proclamation and demonstration of the gospel, between words and deeds.

The effect of this change on leading evangelicals and on the evangelical world generally, was profound. For instance in a book published soon after the Lausanne conference, leading English Anglican evangelical John Stott candidly confessed that he had changed his mind on the interpretation of the great commission. At a 1966 world evangelical conference in Berlin he had interpreted the commission exclusively in terms of evangelism. After Lausanne he could “see more clearly that not only the consequences of the commission but actual commission itself must be understood to include social as well as evangelistic responsibility.”²⁵⁰ Stott added that failure to address the social implications of the great commission was “to be guilty of distorting the words of Jesus.”²⁵¹

All this was good news for the many third world evangelicals who were already questioning what it meant to proclaim the gospel to the poor. As Bosch says succinctly, they “were ready for a new advance.”²⁵² In the Anglican Diocese in Central Tanganyika, however, an interpretation of the great commission focussed on personal conversion rather than social transformation was to remain for some years. The inherited concentration on evangelism at

²⁴⁹Cf., Stott, "Lausanne Covenant with an Exposition and Commentary," 24.

²⁵⁰ ———, *Christian Mission in the Modern World* (London: Falcon, 1975), 23.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² David J Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York: Orbis Books, 2001), 405.

the expense of broader understandings of mission was yet too strong for the diocese to take on board the new understandings reached at Lausanne.

In 1975 Msalato's principal, Alpha Mohammed, was consecrated as an Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanzania. In 1976, the diocesan general synod had declared the remote northern area of the diocese an outreach zone. Madinda's intention was to make the northern area eventually an independent diocese, the better to evangelise its people. This also demonstrates the synod's continuing fidelity at this time to the 'narrow' form of response to the great commission it had inherited. In 1982 that objective was able to be realised. The Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro was duly established, with Alpha Mohammed as its first bishop.

Although his own focus remained on personal evangelism, at the beginning of the 1980s Madinda invited major Christian aid organisations to work with him. These were Water Aid UK, Tear Fund UK, and World Vision, more evangelical groups than Oxfam or the WCC agencies, and they duly assisted in the development of what continues to be a very large diocesan social services programme. Beyond this the aid organisations sought to bring economic transformation to Central Tanzania. Particular emphasis was placed on the young. For example in 1981 Tear Fund founded secretarial and tailoring courses for girls, and carpentry, stonemasonry, and mechanics courses for boys. These courses were provided alongside bible courses at the Msalato Bible School (MBS) campus. Those programs at MBS were intended to give young people skills for life and they were very beneficial for young people.

Similarly World Vision established support centres for children and young people in rural villages, on the understanding that local clergy would then oversee them. This endeavour was comparatively less successful, at least at first. The centres arrived, but local pastors lacked the will to acquire the skills to run them. The pastors felt they ought not be involved in such worldly affairs, but should rather evangelise. Once again the deeper problem was the received narrow view of the mission of the church. Consequently Madinda looked for secular government help. While that did come official involvement was inevitably accompanied by layers of corruption. The centres failed.

In 1982, the Rev Donald Mtetemela was chosen as an Assistant Bishop for the (nevertheless still geographically large) Diocese of Central Tanzania. On the basis of his earlier training in the EARM he too associated mission first with personal evangelism.

At the diocesan general synod the following year, 1983, Bishop Madinda announced that the diocese was to proclaim the gospel to every person in the region—whether urban dwellers or members of the *ujamaa* village—over the next few years. To accomplish this there was need to train lay evangelists. Two bible schools were therefore established: the Kilimatinde Centre of Evangelism and Leadership Training, and the Chamhawi Christian Centre for Rural Development.

In due course Mtetemela personally directed what was a considerable evangelism programme. As part of it he instituted a system of large public outreach events known as ‘spiritual meetings’. All church leaders were required to organise three to four of these annually. In this way it was intended to reach every town in the regions with the gospel. The evangelism program was accompanied by an allied diocesan objective, church planting. In particular the diocese wanted to found churches in every *ujamaa* village within its boundaries. Accordingly it sent lay and sometimes ordained leaders to live in every village.

One particular problem arose. Being highly respected, many lay leaders and clergy sent to the *ujamaa* villages were soon elected to the village leadership bodies. But many of those bodies, or at least their existing members, were corrupt. The Christian leaders who then joined them too often became drawn into that corruption. Instead of standing for the poor, they accepted gifts buying their silence.

Out of this unhappy situation there came a positive result. In retrospect the diocese realised that the lay leaders and some clergy sent to the villages had been ill-prepared. Indeed many lacked any formal theological and other suitable training for their task at all. To remedy this, the diocese established lay bible training programmes of between three and nine months at Chamhawi and Kilimatinde Bible Schools (established 1982). In time these were to be so successful that a number of students went on to be ordained. Certainly with better trained leaders congregations were finally able to be founded properly in the *ujamaa* villages.

The new congregations predominantly consisted of new converts who were by definition immature in their faith. Many had been attracted to the form of the church rather than the substance. That is, they had been drawn by the lively African style of worship offered, rather than by the Word of the gospel itself. There was then an urgent need in the diocese not just for evangelism but for the provision of good teaching and pastoral care to strengthen converts. As noted, the diocese was already holding ‘spiritual meetings’ aimed at attracting converts. The objective of these was now broadened; they were to be used not only to evangelise those who hadn’t accepted the gospel, but to enliven nominal Christians.

By 1985 the diocese was quickly expanding numerically. In light of this Bishop Madinda now proposed that by 1990 the diocese further divide, adding an additional three dioceses alongside Central Tanzania. Sadly before this could happen Madinda died in 1989, and Rev. Godfrey Mdimi Mhogolo was elected that year as the second indigenous bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika. Bishop Mdimi continued Madinda’s vision for three more dioceses. In 1990 the diocese of Ruaha was founded with Mtetemela as its first bishop. In 1991 the diocese of Mpwapwa and the diocese of Rift Valley were also established.

In all four dioceses the major focus of mission continued to be the direct proclamation of the gospel. The 1991 the Central Tanzanian diocesan synod declared that evangelism would continue to be the backbone of its mission.²⁵³ In line with this it was decided to make Msalato Bible School (MBS) a Bible College (MBC) in order to train more ordained ministers. In 1992, it was decided to close the carpentry, masonry and mechanical courses in order to provide space for training more pastors at MBC. This study argues that this shows the narrow mindset of mission understanding in the ACT in central Tanzania.

In interim summary, then, into the early 1990s, the ACT in central Tanzania continued to interpret the mission of the church in the terms of its CMS and EARM founders. Mission meant evangelism, and evangelism meant the winning of souls and church planting; it was this that the great commission commanded. If the parish church was full on Sunday worship, church leaders could be confident that the great commission had been rightly taken up and rightly fulfilled. The now old 1974 Lausanne conclusion, that the great commission of Christ

²⁵³ See, DCT Synod, the Declaration of 1991.

required a broader interpretation incorporating direct evangelism on one hand, and social critique and action on the other, had not really made any impact.

One reason for the diocese's failure to pick up the social mandate of the gospel could be that the existence of the socialist state seemingly made it unnecessary for it to do so. For the state had taken full responsibility for social transformation on itself, effectively permitting the church to neglect a proper response to the corporate strand of the great commission.

A second reason might be that Christian leaders continued to lack broad based evangelical theological education. Such training might have enabled them to understand that not only individuals, but also institutions, need the redeeming power of Christ. It might also have helped them develop a rigorous theological critique of culture and society, and to see that social action rooted in the Bible is an integral part of the Christian response to the great commission.

2.3.2 The collapse of ujamaa and its aftermath

To some extent by sheer force of personality, Nyerere had single handedly protected the state from international demands he thought would ultimately weaken it economically and deflect it from its socialist direction. With his retirement in 1985, however, the government was forced to adopt *laissez-faire* economic policies imposed by western donors, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, policies aimed at reducing the nation's debt. These new policies moved Tanzania precisely in the economic and social directions Nyerere had feared. The move to the right economically and politically meant the severe curtailing of social services. This adversely affected the great mass of Tanzanians whose per capita income by 1990 fell to USD 175, placing them among the poorest people in the world. The Tanzanian experiment in African socialism had come to an end.²⁵⁴ The *Encyclopedia of the Nations* which gives the United Nations Development (UNDP) reports writes:

Indeed, the United Nations Development Programme 's (UNDP) human development index (HDI) listings, which arranges countries according to their overall level of human development, ranks Tanzania 156th out of a total of 174 nations. The HDI, a composite index (one that assesses more than one variable) that measures life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, school enrollment ratio, and GDP per capita, is indicative of a country's general social and economic well-being. As such, Tanzania's HDI ranking demonstrates that the country is one of the poorest and least developed in the world.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Encyclopaedia of the Nations, "Tanzania - Poverty and wealth," www.nationsencyclopedia.com.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

It goes on to report that:

Under the socialist policies of Julius Nyerere, the Tanzanian government focused heavily on achieving social equity through the development of a strong health and education sector. Inequality in the early years of *ujamaa* was mainly the result of the colonial legacy in which some peasants were connected to the cash crop export economy while others were not. Those that lived in areas favorable for cash crop production enjoyed a slightly higher standard of living than their subsistence peasant compatriots.²⁵⁶

To draw this out, Tanzania relied (and relies) heavily for its vital export receipts on its cash crops, especially coffee, tea, cotton and sisal. But in the years following Nyerere's departure and into the 1990s, repeatedly the crops failed and/or the markets did. This put huge pressure on the government to reverse Nyerere's refusal to accept financial assistance on terms undercutting policies built on the Arusha Declaration.²⁵⁷ Finally it did so, duly becoming dependent on foreign lenders—notably the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. But it also borrowed directly from some first-world nations. As Nyerere had predicted, the end of state socialism was at hand. Between 1986 to 1990, the nation gradually moved away from *ujamaa* and toward a thoroughgoing economic liberalism.

At first socialism's slow decline in deference to international pressures was not so widely mourned. Socialism had failed to deliver on its early promise; the country had not become self-reliant. Moreover, and in Mallya's words: "The three enemies that in the Arusha Declaration Tanzania had declared war on, poverty, disease and ignorance—were still rampant."²⁵⁸ It is true that *ujamaa* had led to some significant gains in health and education, but these were not easily appreciated when viewed alongside its failures.

In 1990, Nyerere retired completely from politics after resigning as CCM²⁵⁹ party chairman, to be replaced by Ali Hassan Mwinyi.²⁶⁰ Nyerere's retirement left the way for President Mwinyi, pushed by foreign lenders, to formalise the final overthrow of Tanzanian socialism. Mukandala's explanation of this "Zanzibar Declaration" he quotes at length:

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ See Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," 3.

²⁵⁸ Ernest Mallya, "A Critical Look at Tanzania's Development Vision 2025," *Strategic Long Term Planning and Policy Management* VII, no. 2 (November 2000): 1.

²⁵⁹ *Chama Cha Mapinduzi CCM* meaning the Revolutionary party.

²⁶⁰ Mwinyi's presidential term was to last till 1995.

In 1991 the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the Central Committee (CC) of the ruling CCM party, under the chairmanship of Mwinyi, met in Zanzibar and to the shock and dismay of many CCM and non-CCM members alike, passed an earthshaking resolution renouncing and ditching the Arusha Declaration. It meant the CCM officially abandoned the Arusha Declaration and its [anti-corruption] leadership code. The Arusha Declaration was replaced by the Zanzibar Declaration. However, the term *ujamaa* [socialism] was retained in the Union Constitution as a guiding principle for the nation's ethos for fairness and human equality. To bring economic reforms the Zanzibar Declaration introduced a privatization system in the country. The period saw the privatization of a number of public corporations.²⁶¹

Within the new declaration Mwinyi instituted four categories of reform. Mukandala lists these as follows:

First, there was a donor-imposed structural adjustment programme which aimed to achieve macroeconomic stability, to use idle productive capacity, and to roll back the state in favour of private operators. ... Second, an investment code and centre were established to attract investors, and a law to permit private banks was passed. Third, there was political reform to open up the country to a multiparty political system. A presidential commission recommended multipartyism—which was officially allowed in July 1992. Fourth, the Civil Service Reform Programme was designed and implemented in 1993.²⁶²

In summary the aim was to create a conducive environment for private enterprise within the framework of a new and liberal democracy. It is doubtful that the full meaning and implications of the reforms made were immediately apparent either to the population at large, or it seems, those actually making them.²⁶³ But all too soon the mass of the population found itself without the free services it had come to rely on. The Zanzibar Declaration declared a new era of personal responsibility. State services received were to be paid for by those receiving them. Education from primary school to university was no longer free. And neither was health care.

By any measure what happened next was a tragedy. Under *ujamaa* Tanzania had been the first country in Africa to enjoy universal primary education, achieving a literacy rate higher than that of the USA.²⁶⁴ Under the impact of the Zanzibar decisions the poor were unable to

²⁶¹ Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," 6.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," 7.

²⁶⁴ See Crosslinks missionary report on Tanzania of March 1995: www.crosslinks.org, "Tanzania," www.crosslinks.org/countries/Tanzania.html.

afford to send their children to school. In 1992 primary enrolment dropped from 84% to 70%, and continued to decline thereafter.²⁶⁵ There were no books or other materials supplied to state primary schools—pupils studied without desks. The marks awarded in entrance exams to high schools were scaled to allow 10% of candidates to pass. Perhaps half of those who were successful managed to afford the high school fees. It follows that at least 95% of Tanzanian citizens today lack post-primary education.

Under *ujamaa* a system of state-sponsored dispensaries administered free primary health advice and drugs. Under the impact of the Zanzibar decisions these state dispensaries now charged for their services. Health care became unaffordable for most. Morbidity and mortality rates increased. The mortality rate for children under five rose from 154 per 1000 children in 1989 to 162 per 1000 in 1992. Preventable deaths from malaria and other treatable diseases skyrocketed.²⁶⁶

Even when care from state dispensaries was able to be afforded, the care these offered their patients often proved less adequate than previously. State dispensary employees were apt to steal official supplies and sell them to newly established privately run dispensaries—in which they likely also had an interest. Moreover when customers in state dispensaries discovered there were no drugs available, they were directed by the same employees to the private dispensaries. In the new world of private enterprise the privately run dispensaries charged more than the state run ones. This web of corruption almost became the norm.

The practical removal of access to scientific medicine for the majority, however, was accompanied by a commensurate demand for treatment by traditional practitioners, since these could be compensated in ways not involving money. But the skill of traditional healers varied enormously, and so did their results. In rural western Tanzania, for example, witchdoctors frequently attributed their patients' misfortune to the bewitching power of elderly relatives. Many elderly people were therefore killed.

In general, Mwinyi's government neglected the supply of services to collective and other rural villages. As a result rural dwellers migrated in their thousands to urban areas. The latter grew dramatically and could not cope with the new demand on their infrastructure. There was

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Conversation with Dr Charles Mndolele at Hombolo Hospital on 10 November 2009.

no one to work the countryside. There was no employment to be had by the academically unqualified masses in the bright new private sector of the town.

Mallya makes the further point here that “the Zanzibar Declaration did away with an important pillar of the Arusha Declaration: the anti-corruption ‘leadership code.’”²⁶⁷ The latter had prohibited all officials, including politicians, from using their office to accumulate personal wealth. That admitted, positively the Zanzibar Declaration explicitly encouraged political leaders to be involved in the nation’s economic sector—provided of course they did so legally.²⁶⁸ It was, Mwinyi explained, only just that political leaders should benefit from their positions!²⁶⁹

The peoples of Tanzania are not traditionally dishonest. But today corruption, especially the common practice of bribing politicians, presents their society with one of its greatest challenges.²⁷⁰ In the present view this problem can be traced directly to both the economic desperation of the poor after the economic reforms of 1991, and the unfettered greed of the powerful after the accompanying removal of the leadership code.

In effect, by renouncing the Arusha Declaration, the CCM party gave *carte blanche* to political leaders to accumulate wealth by any means, honest or no, without fear of the law. The outcome up unto the present is that most political leaders engage in corruption. They are known now as *mafisadi papa*, literally ‘notoriously corrupt sharks’. The moral code of conduct set down in the Arusha Declaration, a code that guided the leadership of Tanzania for more than two decades, is no more.²⁷¹ This is, of course, to the great detriment of the developing nation. In an already poor nation the majority rural poor become poorer, the minority powerful become richer. The official rejection of the *ujamaa* code meant also the curtailment of the program of social services established under the Arusha Declaration. In turn that meant utter destitution for the majority rural poor. Social unrest grew.

²⁶⁷ Ernest T. Mallya, "A Critical Look at Tanzania's Development Vision 2025," *DPMN Bulletin*(2008).

²⁶⁸ See Mukandala, "The Challenges of Ensuring Effective Leadership and an Enabling Political Environment for Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania," 6.

²⁶⁹ This earned him the unofficial title of “*Mzee Ruksa*” (an elder who permits). See Mwinyi speaking with the Dar es Salaam elders on 25 February 1991, online resource at, accessed 10 February 2010

²⁷⁰ Mtetemela, "Crossing the River into the Third Millennium," 28.

²⁷¹ Mallya, "A Critical Look at Tanzania's Development Vision 2025," 2.

Nationally, then, Nyerere's retirement created a moral leadership vacuum. His loss was keenly observed by those, including those in the Anglican church, who had relied on his *ujamaa* creativity and acumen to guide the transformation of Tanzania into a modern social democratic state. For a restraining voice on power was desperately needed. From a Christian perspective the question was whether the church, with its exclusive emphasis on soul-winning and church planting, could yet provide it. What was needed was a new theology, a new biblical interpretation for a new situation.

2.4 The mission of the Anglican church in Central Tanzania during the post *ujamaa* period and its challenges

What shape ought a new biblical interpretation take? Should the ACT in central Tanzania move from a biblical interpretation oriented exclusively to the reformation of individuals, to include a biblical interpretation orientated to the reformation of society? If the latter, should it shape its added biblical interpretation in support of government imported monetarist policies to reduce the national debt—a debt arguably impeding national progress? Or should it rather shape that interpretation to support the liberation of those classes impoverished by those same policies? Then, should the church side with the state with at least the chance of exercising an ameliorating influence, or should it defend the masses outright? Bagonza put that last dilemma this way: “To stay with the state the church needed to formulate a theology in support of state reforms and pragmatic practices. To stay with the masses the church needed to formulate a practical theology, which would sustain them in the absence of impractical *ujamaa*.”²⁷²

The ACT in central Tanzania finally resolved to create a critical “theology of mission, liberation, and development.”²⁷³ Influenced by the Roman Catholic liberationists of South America, Tanzanian Anglicans (including those in the Diocese of central Tanzania) saw that the voice of the church was needed to proclaim Jesus' Word of liberation to the poor: the poor conceived not only individually but *corporately*, liberation conceived not only spiritually but *socially*. The voice of the church was needed also to proclaim Jesus' word of correction to those social institutions that oppressed the poor.

²⁷² Bagonza, "Theology of Sustainable Development in Tanzania. The Role of the Church in a Paradoxical Fast-Changing Society," 3.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1.

In short the advent of monetarism had effectively forced the diocese to expand its understanding of the great commission, adding to the nineteenth century ‘western individual’ conception it had inherited an additional word of social transformation. As earlier seen here, this was then an additional word already widely acknowledged by evangelicals elsewhere. Through the 1990s, the work of consolidating a biblical interpretation grounding for the broadened the ACT’s conception of mission so as to include social transformation, continued. In tandem with this, new methodologies for mission practice needed to be developed.

Therefore, in 1999 at the 11th ACT Provincial Synod, the issue of the need to expand the mission of the Church was discussed seriously. Donald Mtetemela (now Archbishop of ACT)²⁷⁴ challenged the ACT to expand and interpret its mission in order to meet the challenges that faced the Tanzanian church and society, so that the church’s mission could be a transformative force in the contemporary society.²⁷⁵ He called the nation, and thence the ACT, to meet six challenges he identified facing both church and state: poverty, HIV/AIDS, children and young people, technology and globalization, corruption, and tribalism.²⁷⁶ This was a significant event because it set the agenda for the ACT mission into the future. It will therefore be discussed here in some detail.

The first challenge Mtetemela noted was that of poverty.

The great enemy of the millions of Tanzania Christians we address every Sunday and at mid-week services, as well as of the non-Christians who never come to church and need the good news of gospel brought to them. Poor people in Tanzania are victims of three of the nation’s greatest enemies: poverty, disease and ignorance. These people have been deprived of basic human needs such as: food and water, medical care and education.²⁷⁷

Archbishop Mtetemela added:

If the Anglican church of Tanzania is to survive in the third millennium, it must seriously address the question of poverty among individual Christians, the Church as an institution and the communities in which we find ourselves. ACT must address the question of social service through mission understanding.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Note that Mtetemela is not cited here as the final word on social conditions in Tanzania. However, his address to the church in 1999 was a dramatic wake-up call to a church that had been naïve about the extent of the social problems surrounding it. Only since Mtetemela’s address has the church been willing to face its own reality.

²⁷⁵ Mtetemela, "Crossing the River into the Third Millennium," 27-9.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 27.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

The second challenge the Archbishop noted was that of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. He pointed out that over four million Africans, including Tanzanians, were being infected with the virus every year, with a morbidity rate of two million. The life expectancy in Africa had fallen from 50 to 40 years. AIDS therefore presented a great threat both to the stability of states and major organisations including the church.²⁷⁹ In Tanzania productivity in many sectors of national life was badly affected. The intellectual class who might be expected to provide leadership, education and advancement, was being devastated disastrously. What, the Archbishop asked the synod, was the church to do in this alarming situation and in the light of Old and New Testament teachings?

Further, in Tanzania AIDS had left many unsupported widows, and some three million orphans, overwhelming extended families and such social agencies as did exist. In African culture an orphan child, just like any child, is a child of the community. The community cares for and defends the widows and orphans. With the shift towards an individualistic society, traditional communal care of the disadvantaged had broken down, and the widows and the orphaned children found themselves in a very difficult situation. Indeed the church had to take some responsibility for that breakdown since the missionaries had contributed to it by rejecting African communal customs as ‘unChristian’.

What was needed, the Archbishop said, was a contextual hermeneutic, one reminding society that the bible required help for the disadvantaged, and especially widows and orphans. The ACT had to expand its perspective and its ministry so that it could become a transformative social and spiritual force in the community. The gospel promoted the care of widows and orphans materially and spiritually, but it also promoted an address to power in their defence. It *was* directly relevant and the church must proclaim it as such.

The third challenge noted was that of ever-increasing youth problems. In Tanzania 60% of the population is under the age of 35. If the ACT was to survive in the third millennium, it would have to face and radically deal with escalating youth problems. Should it fail to do so it would effectively commit ecclesial suicide: there would be no future congregations! But the real disaster of the diminished church was already apparent: the moral decay of many of

²⁷⁹ See also Dodoma Regional Medical Officer Report to the 11th ACT Synod, found in the minutes of this synod, Cf., Mtetemela, "Crossing the River into the Third Millennium," 28.

the nation's young people. The new western-influenced individualism invading African society had already led to their neglect, spiritually and morally. What was needed was a recovered sense throughout the country of the fundamental African care for the stranger, a recovery that ought to be led by the church. The ACT, the Archbishop said, had to expand its mission in that direction.

The fourth challenge noted was that of the wider invasion of western culture, science and technology, and the impact of so-called 'globalisation'. Under these influences, the modern use of technology, satellite and computer-based communications has made the world a global village.²⁸⁰ Whatever the benefits here, the inevitable changes wrought also impacted negatively, and again particularly on youth.

The fifth challenge was that of (the aforementioned) corruption. Bribery is a major problem in Tanzania. The Archbishop noted that a 'National Bribery Commission' led by Judge Sindi Warrioba in 2000, revealed how seriously bribery undercut Tanzanian society.²⁸¹ The commission did not investigate corruption in the church as they did other sectors. If they had done, Mtetemela opined, many church leaders would have been found at fault. What was the ACT to do to restore its own integrity?

The sixth challenge the Archbishop identified facing both state and church was that of the resurgence of a tribal nationalism threatening national communal and national political stability. During the *ujamaa* era, the government, with the support of the church, had almost succeeded in wiping out negative forms of tribalism. Now elements in the church were actively promoting it. Archbishop Mtetemela further explained:

I was formally elected Archbishop of Tanzania on 6 June 1998, and installed on 11 October 1998. Since that day, most of my time has not been spent in planning for the development of the province, but in sorting out tribal problems in the dioceses and the church as a whole.²⁸²

He noted for example that even the appointment of bishops was being decided according to tribal loyalties and prejudices, rather than by the inherent qualities of the candidate. This

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid., 29.

practice had no biblical foundation, and the establishment of less able people could only threaten the peace and well-being of church, destroying its mission.²⁸³

Having set down his summary of the major challenges before the church Mtetemela proposed the sort of church action he felt necessary.

- I. The church should always train and equip leaders called first by God, and not by their tribal affiliation. Only such leaders would be strong enough to carry the church into a new century and beyond.
- II. The church should be fully aware that God has commissioned it with a full-time task in the world. Its prophetic voice was to be heard 24 hours a day round the world.
- III. Practically the church should focus on both long and short-range goals, always checking its progress, always asking where it was leading its people to. What support must it provide that its people be and remain firmly grounded in faith despite the tumult around them caused by the challenges he had noted?²⁸⁴

Yet in spite of Mtetemela, the beginning decade of the twenty first century has seen the mission of the ACT in central Tanzania continue in practice to focus on personal evangelism and church planning programmes, rather than those social issues that are confronting the church and society today. In the first decade of the twenty-first century the challenges noted in 1999 by Archbishop Donald Mtetemela have not gone away. The question remains as to what extent the ACT has now prepared itself to meet them. What can its mission be in their continued light?

In answer this thesis proposes that in central Tanzania, the ACT adopt a renewed holistic and integrally biblical emphasis on mission. To reiterate the point, mission here means addressing the needs of Tanzania not only individually but socially, in the light of the gospel's message that God desires to bring salvation not only individually but also corporately. As seen here, in the past CMS understood and taught the 'Great Commission' of Matthew 28:18-20 as the foundation of Christian mission. In Tanzania this inherited foundation must now be expanded. What is required is a new reading of the many texts giving clear support to a more holistic mission focus by the church. In turn this expanded focus must be taught in the church, that members may relate the bible message of divinely ordained liberation to their own context, their own social and spiritual context.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

This also means, practically, that in central Tanzania the Anglican church must identify and meet the spiritual and social needs of ordinary Tanzanians, working not just for them but in partnership with them to meet their needs. It is in these ways that the church can realistically address the many spiritual and practical challenges that remain, not least those noted by its Archbishop in 1999.

Conclusion

To summarise: inspired by its missionary heritage, and then by local EARM revivalists, in the post-colonial decades and up until the present the ACT has viewed mission as the proclamation of the gospel to win individual converts to Christianity. It has also sought to 'indigenize' the worship of the church. Little attention has really been paid, however, to addressing the socio-economic problems of the mass of Tanzanians. The hermeneutic the ACT had did not encourage a holistic—individual and communal, material and spiritual—approach to mission.

Tanzania became an independent nation state in 1961. In the 1967 Arusha Declaration a socialist program was inaugurated that would last over two decades. Consequent on external and internal pressures, in 1991 the Zanzibar Declaration formally, and dramatically, swung the country to the right. The consequent social disruption caused by this move was, for an already poor nation, nothing short of catastrophic.²⁸⁵ It also brought about the need to explore a new model of mission in order to meet the new challenges. The church saw the need for it to revision its biblical interpretation so as to have a platform from which to address the effects of this social rupture locally.

As it happens, broadly coincident with the period Tanzania moved away from socialism, worldwide evangelical Christianity enhanced its response to third world poverty. It added a second strand to its traditional understanding of the great commission of Jesus Christ to his church. Evangelicals now realised that this guiding commission demanded they critically address unjust social institutions; not least those setting unfair economic agendas for the world's poor. A properly faithful proclamation could do no other. Here was a lesson in the twofold nature of mission which the ACT in central Tanzania might also adopt. In 1999

²⁸⁵ See Mbajo, "The Significance of Subsidiarity on Justice to the "Poor": Challenging Structural Adjustment Policies and Strategies in Tanzania".

Tanzanian Archbishop Donald Mtetemela called his nation's Anglicans to meet six social challenges facing both church and wider society. His call has not been fully responded to, but that call and the challenges themselves remain.

The current study proposes that Mtetemela be heard again. What is needed is a holistic conception of the mission of the church based on biblical texts supporting a mission focus that brings the liberation of Christ not only individually but also corporately and communally, not only spiritually but also materially and practically. The Gospel of Luke has much to offer in this regard, and the next chapters will take this suggestion further.

CHAPTER THREE: A TANZANIAN *UJAMAA* HERMENEUTIC — READING THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the mission of the ACT during the post-colonial period and identified several major problems facing the post-colonial mission of the church in Tanzania. Today the Anglican Church in central Tanzania faces significant problems in the exercise of its mission. Some of these problems have their origins in the understanding of mission that the CMS missionaries brought to Tanzania, and which persisted after 1961 when Tanzania became an independent nation. I have identified and critiqued these problems in the previous two chapters, and will briefly summarise them here before attempting to demonstrate in this chapter why a new biblical hermeneutic is required, one which will allow the Church to carry out its mission in a more holistic manner.

This chapter situates the reading of Luke into the central Tanzanian context and provides a Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutics (TUH) as its methodology for reading that gospel. Since the rejection of Arusha Declaration (which comprised the principles of *ujamaa*) has caused social unrest in Tanzania, this new biblical hermeneutics will use Luke as a case study to see how the lives of the marginalized people in central Tanzania might be transformed.

To demonstrate a contextual reading, chosen texts from Luke will be read in the light of the problems facing Tanzania: poverty itself and corruption (as there is a close link between these two), disease (such as malaria and the AIDS epidemic), unsupported children, and unsupported widows. Widows and children are most vulnerable to poverty in Tanzania. In my Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutics the problem of the Tanzanian poor comprises the ‘umbrella issue’ to be examined in the light of Luke’s understanding of Jesus’ mission.

As seen, the ACT in Central Tanzania is currently searching for a new hermeneutic, a new lens through which to read the Bible. This new reading is required to better ground biblical interpretation in the ACT if it is to develop a two-pronged response to the great commission of Jesus Christ to his church. In line with the ACT’s evangelical and EARM heritage, the first prong of this response involves the proclamation of the ontological transformation Jesus

Christ offers to individuals. Following the recognition in international evangelicalism since the 1970s that accepting the great commission also requires the proclamation of the gospel to institutions, the more recent prong of the ACT's mission has been socially directed.

Given the ACT's two pronged approach to mission, any new hermeneutic it adopts in its approach to biblical interpretation will need to satisfy a number of criteria. That new reading needs to light the way of the church internally and externally: to clarify the direction of discipleship and worship within the existing body of believers on one hand, and to clarify its mission in the world on the other. It should radically illuminate and critique all social modalities—individuals, but also corporate institutions and the lore and law governing them. It must shed biblical light on human culture—culture as such, and cultures (plural). Above all the hermeneutic will need to be integrally African, so as to be applicable in an African context.²⁸⁶

Thus, a hermeneutic for the ACT must show that the Christian bible is not of itself culturally bound to a western or any other worldview, even as the stories and peoples and histories in the biblical record are formed in specific cultures and ancient societies. Bosch observes that:

By the time the large-scale Western colonial expansion began, Western Christians were unconscious of the fact that their theology was culturally conditioned; they simply assumed that it was sub-cultural and universal valid. And since Western culture was implicitly regarded as Christian, it was equally self-evident that this culture had to be exported together with the Christian faith.²⁸⁷

As shown, one of the problems for the acceptance of Christianity in Tanzania has been that Christianity has been perceived to be an alien faith. If a new way of reading the Bible is to be integrally African, then in keeping with African culture it must hold together the material and the spiritual worlds holistically, in so doing opening a bridge between the biblical and the African worlds. So as to outline a hermeneutic capable of meeting these criteria, to enable an understanding of my TUH, the following are discussed in this chapter:

²⁸⁶ The present study is written with a particular area of Africa in mind. The Africa which the author knows is Sub-Saharan, East Africa, Tanzania and indeed central Tanzania. In this study, Africa should therefore be read as meaning particularly Tanzania, and indeed as is often stated, central Tanzania.

²⁸⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 448.

(1) A reminder of the contextual issues, which arose in the previous chapters, highlighting factors which the reading will be examining through its textual analysis of Luke (poverty, disease, widows and orphans); (2) Reviewing existing African biblical hermeneutics; its definition, and its development, and the contributors who have shaped my own lens of African cultural hermeneutics; (3) Phases in the development of an African contextual/inculturation hermeneutics; (4) A Tanzanian hermeneutics on the basis of these contextual issues. I will propose one specific hermeneutical approach for use by the ACT in central Tanzania. I propose *ujamaa* as the basis for a Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutic. This section will exemplify the use of this hermeneutic to read a section of the Gospel of Luke. The attempt will be made to show how insights from this new reading can enrich the ongoing development of two-pronged ACT mission in central Tanzania response to the social issues that are currently confronting the community. This theoretical discussion will give the later textual analysis a hermeneutic that is appropriate to the Tanzanian context, and so will help the ACT to address its mission holistically; (5) Methodologies; and (6) Criteria for the selection of the Lukan texts to be examined.

3.1 Contextual issues facing the post-colonial Anglican Church in Central Tanzania in the exercise of its mission

Any successful African biblical hermeneutic must demonstrate that the bible is relevant to the contextual challenges facing the Tanzanian Church. In the present view the Gospel of Luke can provide such a demonstration, and thus serve as a relevant foundation for the ACT's mission. Luke's solutions for the challenges within his own religio-political context appear to be valid equally for Tanzania, and thence the ACT, which faces broadly similar challenges. In particular a reading of Luke can provide useful insights into three crucial matters facing the ACT's mission in central Tanzania. To recap: these matters broadly comprise poverty, the devastation wrought by AIDS, and the situation of unsupported widows, orphans, street children and other vulnerable people. Thus instead of emphasising the saving of souls as the key aspect of mission, the ACT must expand its understanding to address those issues currently facing the community.

3.1.1 The saving souls gospel and the holistic approach

As we have noted, in the nineteenth century, CMS missionaries like their Protestant and Catholic counterparts elsewhere, prioritised the salvation of souls over mission understood as

holistic development or human liberation. To say this is not to suggest that CMS missionaries were not involved in health and educational works. They were, but such missionary activity was regarded as a preliminary stage that had as its long-term goal the saving of souls. The gospel text that mandated such an approach was Matthew's great commission (Matt 28:19-20).

The important task of the missionary, usually the ordained minister, in the Anglican and Catholic communities but not in all other churches was to baptise and teach people to obey everything that Jesus commanded. Generally speaking, Tanzanian converts bought into this hierarchical understanding and failed to recognize the cultural imperialism enshrined in such an approach. The resulting cultural and theological domination of the Tanzanian people by the missionaries was complemented by the political and economic domination, first of the German imperial authorities, and after 1918, by that of the colonial British government. The situation has not changed significantly since political independence in 1961.

This is because CMS missionaries

were predisposed not to appreciate the cultures of the people to whom they went—the unity of living and learning; the interdependence between individual, community, culture and industry; the profundity of folk wisdom; the proprieties of traditional societies—all these were swept aside by a mentality of missionaries shaped by the Enlightenment which tended to turn people into objects, shaping the entire world into the image of the West, separating humans from nature and from one another, and developing them according to Western standards and suppositions.²⁸⁸

For this reason, as we saw earlier, Western theology was transmitted unchanged to the Tanzanian Anglican Church.²⁸⁹ As a result, the mission of the Anglican Church in Tanzania in the postcolonial context is still captive, in some ways, to the English forms brought by pioneer missionaries.

With regard to the establishment of the Anglican Church in central Tanzania, the focus on personal conversion meant that salvation has been largely understood in individualistic terms and with its associated dualisms has been contrary to the practice of indigenous African Tradition Religion (ATR). In ATR, the dichotomy between the spiritual and the physical is

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 294.

²⁸⁹ Musa W. Dube, *Hiv/Aids and the Curriculum: Methods of Integrating Hiv/Aids in Theological Programmes* (Geneva: WCC Publication, 2003), 89.

not as absolute as it tends to be in the West: “Both aspects of life impinge upon the individual and the community in a way that makes reality integrated.”²⁹⁰ This means that this Christianity is irrelevant to the understanding and needs of the locals. If it is to be relevant, it needs to look quite different.

The first key question, therefore, in my reading of the Gospel of Luke is to see whether its presentation of Jesus’ ministry is directed toward the mission of saving souls or toward a more holistic approach. A textual analysis of Luke and re-reading of Luke’s account of Jesus’ ministry will try to determine whether Luke presumes or does not presume a dichotomy between the spiritual and the physical. This is needed because our Western-derived evangelical Anglicanism has converted many souls, but it has left many bodies hungry, and left the root causes of much poverty unaddressed.

3.1.2 The gospel and the problem of poverty in Tanzania

The reason why people are poor is because poverty is structurally engrained in conditions in Tanzania. Poverty, a great enemy to human lives in Tanzania, is caused by both external and internal factors. The external causes of poverty in Tanzania include unequal exchange in international trade; for example, agricultural products are sold at a low price compared to industrial products. Other factors include the burden of debt, world insecurity and the impact of colonization. A further external factor is the conditions imposed on Tanzania in the 1990s and 2000s by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed as part of their assistance. These conditions included multiparty democracy; privatization of public services; trimming the civil service; devaluation of local currencies; and opening up of subsidies on strategic industries. Tanzania, like other countries in Africa, became poorer than before.²⁹¹ Mugambi insists of these countries that “their devalued currencies reflected the devaluation of the labour of their citizens. Thus Africans became, in essence, enslaved at home, as they tried to repay debts whose value they could not determine, whose use they could not choose.”²⁹² The WB and IMF introduced Structural Adjustment Programmes which could not help the individual poor in Tanzania.

²⁹⁰ Zablon Nthamburi, *The African Church at the Crossroads: A Strategy for Indigenization* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1995), 26.

²⁹¹ Jesse N.K. Mugambi, *Christian Theology and Social Reconstruction* (Nairobi: Acton 2003), 163.

²⁹² Ibid.

Among the internal factors which cause poverty in Tanzania is a low level of productivity. This is caused by insufficient support to the agricultural sector, e.g. poor infrastructure, lack of subsidies to farm inputs, poor gender division, frequent natural disasters, diseases such as AIDS and Malaria, laziness and irresponsibility, low levels of production technology especially in the agricultural sector, a culture of large households, and inadequate support for rural industries. In recent years, the main cause of poverty in Tanzania has been corruption and poor governance.

The abandonment of the Arusha Declaration in 1992 and its replacement by the Zanzibar Declaration, which introduced the idea of cost sharing and the removal of the Arusha Declaration's leadership code, has brought social unrest to Tanzanian society. The investment programme which was introduced in the 2000s has benefited a few individuals, leaving the majority of people in extreme poverty, where they find it difficult if not impossible to get their daily food.²⁹³ This appears to be very similar to the social situation of the majority in first century Palestinian society.

In Chapter Two a thorough description was given of the factors contributing to poverty in central Tanzania. Because their impact is historical and far-reaching, and because poverty continues to exist despite long years of missionary involvement, the second question to be addressed in reading Lukan texts requires being attentive to the economic exploitation of the poor by those few individuals who accumulate wealth at the expense of others, with the poor becoming poorer and the rich becoming richer. Jesus' mission program in Luke 4:18-19 is particularly important to the Tanzanian community. This text will serve as the key in opening dialogue between Lukan texts and the Tanzanian context. Jesus' manifesto in Luke significantly addresses the issues of poverty in Tanzania, therefore the basis for interpretation of Lukan texts in this way will be the African ideo-theological orientation of liberation hermeneutics.

3.1.3 The gospel and the problem of disease in Tanzania

The impact of poverty on people in Tanzania is seen in the fact that if people are hungry, and do not have enough to eat, then the next problem they will face is disease. At least 43,000 children will die prematurely this year just because of lack of basic nutrients needed to build

²⁹³ Each of these issues was examined in great detail in Chapter Two. Here they are only mentioned to show the necessity of addressing them with a new model of mission, not solely reliant on the great commission.

strong immune systems. This will make Tanzania the third worst affected country in Africa.²⁹⁴ Diseases like HIV/AIDS are thus a major problem in Tanzania, as well as infectious diseases like malaria and typhoid, which are both curable and preventable. The policy of cost sharing has caused many people to die with preventable diseases, as many of the poor cannot afford the treatment. For those who suffer, life is defined by pain and an inability to work. HIV/AIDS affects mostly young people.

HIV/AIDS epidemic has led to another big problem to the community, which is the problem of orphans. In a country where the young are expected to look after their parents once they get old it becomes even worse when these young people are dying, and leaving behind their grandparents and young children who are unable to feed themselves and the orphans.²⁹⁵ These orphans choose to go to urban areas in order to find opportunity for life and end up on the street.

This study will address the problem of the sickness caused by poverty in the gospel of Luke, concentrating on Jesus' manifesto in Luke 4:16-21 and the story of Jesus' raising the widow's son at Nain in 7:11-17. These texts will be examined through the lens of the Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutics that will touch among other things HIV/AIDS epidemic. This will be my third key analytic category that will influence the development of my cultural hermeneutic and my reading of the gospel text.

If the Church is to confront these issues, then it needs to develop a hermeneutic that allows it to move beyond the narrow mandate of saving souls that nineteenth century interpretations of Matthew 28:19-20 seemed to justify. Before discussing Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutics and what that has to offer here, there is, however, the need to understand African biblical inculturation hermeneutics and the development of inculturation hermeneutics in Africa in order to discover a relevant hermeneutic that will be applicable in addressing our Tanzanian situation.

²⁹⁴ The Guardian Reporter, "Failure to Fortify Costs Tanzania Dearly," *The Guardian* 17 March 2010.

²⁹⁵ In Tanzania where there is no retirement benefit and there is no social welfare for the elderly it is expected that young people will look after their parents once they become old. In fact that is why having children in African culture is crucial because you need them to look after you once you become old.

3.2 Reviewing existing African biblical hermeneutics

We noted earlier that the CMS way of reading the Bible has not helped people understand the Bible in the context of central Tanzania community.²⁹⁶ In responding to what has been Western missionary marginalization of African culture, African biblical scholars have developed African Cultural hermeneutics relevant to the African context. This is particularly important in the area of mission. African Cultural hermeneutics is a way of promoting a form of African Christianity that is not embarrassed about being African, and does not capitulate to Western views of African culture.

African Cultural biblical hermeneutics looks at and understands the biblical text through the lens of the African context. The dynamic that takes place at the meeting of the gospel and the particularities of a given culture or context has been described in various ways as adaptation, indigenization, contextualization and inculturation. The relationship between any text and the culture where it is read is always complex. How do the text and the culture relate and interact? To analyse this relationship, Simon Chiwanga distinguishes between these four terms whose meaning in my view overlaps. I will group the four terms in sets of two, firstly because Chiwanga sees the terms adaptation and indigenization as carrying the same meaning and so stand together and, secondly, because I also see contextualization and inculturation carrying the same meaning and so standing together. These concepts, which are most commonly used in Tanzania, I will define in order to highlight the nature of our captivity to Western mission theology which was transmitted unchanged to the Tanzanian Anglican Church and the nature of my call to contextually relevant hermeneutic through the *ujamaa* culture hermeneutics.

3.2.1 Adaptation and indigenization

The terms adaptation and indigenization refer “to the process of accepting a practice or a system of one culture into another without an in-depth engagement between cultures.” Chiwanga describes “adaptation and indigenization” as “the process of accepting a practice or

²⁹⁶ One needs to understand this study is not an attempt to blame the CMS missionaries for African woes. Despite all the mistakes that the CMS missionaries might have made, it is an indisputable fact that they have brought immense blessing to Africans. They translated the bible into African languages and they provided the educational foundation to enable Africans Christians to read the bible from their own cultural perspective. (See, Justin Ukpong Reading the Bible with an African Eyes in *Journal of Theology for South Africa* 91: 1995:3-14)

a system of one culture into another without an in-depth engagement between cultures.”²⁹⁷

He then adds: “The main difference between adaptation and indigenization is that in adaptation the culture that perceives itself superior in power chooses what to admit.”²⁹⁸ In other words in *adaptation*, dominant culture ‘A’ separates out and adopts those aspects of recently encountered culture ‘B’ it finds useful to it, but without in-depth engagement with culture ‘B’. In *indigenization*, culture ‘A’ again adopts aspects of culture B, but this time does so after a somewhat greater (but not all encompassing) exploration of culture B.

This can be clearly seen during early missionaries’ period where they assumed more responsibilities in the process of adapting certain local cultural practices, as a way of winning converts, while rejecting those they did not like, even if they made sense to local people. By so doing they did not allow themselves to be converted by the local culture. In supporting my argument Hugo F. Hinfelaar says:

We, the missionaries of Europe, have not always followed St Elizabeth and John the Baptist. We did not allow ourselves to be moved by the presence of the embryonic Christ within the womb of people’s cultures. We cut away age-old trees of custom without looking at the fruits; we burnt the good seed of tradition with the chaff and at times threw away the Christic baby with the dirty water.²⁹⁹

Acknowledging Hinfelaar, Chiwanga insists that “the problem now, however, is not with the missionaries; it is with us who have the advantage of the lesson of history and cross-cultural understanding. Whatever the missionaries did they were consistent with the context of their time and their home church.”³⁰⁰ There is a need to ask ourselves whether the ACT can continue to grow into Jesus’ likeness in the present context.

James O. Buswell suggests that “the word indigenization which means ‘to bear or to produce within’ is not a static concept. It is as future orientated as the people who use it. It is particularly appropriate for the church as the point where Christianity is indigenous within a culture. The term is less abstract and technical than context and more symbolic and effective.”³⁰¹ In Henry Venn’s view, indigenization aimed to make the church self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. David Bosch observes that

²⁹⁷ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 52.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Hugo F. Hinfelaar, "Evangelization and Inculturation," *Africa Ecclesial Review*, no. 36 (1994): 3.

³⁰⁰ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 52.

³⁰¹ Quoted by Bruce J. Nicholls, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1979).

The Protestant missionary movement was so linked to colonial expansion that it effectively exported Western culture alongside the gospel, even though it was understood that, to expedite the conversion process, some adjustments were necessary. The strategy was called adaptation or accommodation (in Roman Catholicism) or indigenization (in Protestantism) but it was often limited to accidental matters.... Accommodation never included modifying the prefabricated Western theology. So while Western Christianity in its missionary outreach had some understanding about the need to allow people to use some elements of their culture, this was seen as a special concession, limited to accidental matters such as liturgical vestments, non-sacramental rites, art, literature, architecture and music.³⁰²

Because of this history, missiologists such as Titus Presler have understood indigenization to mean either the rooting of Christianity in the deepest levels of a culture but mainly looking back into history, or as the church's adoption of the externals of local custom, such as traditional costumes for vestments, but without substantive engagement with local culture and cosmology.³⁰³ In the mission of the postcolonial ACT in central Tanzania, indigenization took place under the indigenous leadership. Yet the mission also adopted some of the western style of mission and leadership. In fact some of us have criticized the ACT for not being contextual and instead the ACT has mostly been seen as having an over-adopted western style. As Chiwanga says "what others criticize it [the ACT] for, such as being conservative, legalistic, and practical rather than theologically open are the very form of adaptation."³⁰⁴

Philip Turner in refuting the presumption that Africa received Christianity passively claims that "all influences from Europe have been filtered through a grid of more traditional ideas and assumptions."³⁰⁵ Turner says that the African Church is in a closed predicament. As such, it produces anxious totalitarianism which does not allow room for a critical intellectual reflection.

Christians of the older generation view the Church as a society whose duty is to remain faithful to a model of laid down in the almost mythical period of its foundation. The great men of early days (Mackay, Pilkington and Kivebulaya) have taken on the numinous characteristics of eponymous ancestors. In the popular imagination, they are culture heroes who laid down the proper and inviolable pattern

³⁰² Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 448.

³⁰³ Titus Presler, *Wilderness Nights: The Vigil Movement in Mission Perspective* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1999), 287.

³⁰⁴ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 53.

³⁰⁵ Philip Turner, "The Wisdom of the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ: Some Notes on Christian Adaptation in Africa," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 4, no. 1 (1971-1972): 46.

of the Church's life, a pattern viewed as a "heaven-sent paradigm of ecclesiastical order".³⁰⁶

Although Turner in his statement has some pejorative and paternalistic attitudes to the African Church, however there are some points which deserve attention by the Anglican Church in Tanzania. For example as Chiwanga notes "as a precondition anyone who attempts African theology must master the full breadth of the Biblical witness, familiarize himself with theological tradition of the past."³⁰⁷ Turner's advice to the African theologian still takes him back to adaptation, which I believe is not enough, because it loses the critical interaction of cultures. Biblical interpreters need to take seriously and read the signs of the context. Also Turner overlooks the historical facts. The phenomenon of conservatism in Africa has to be considered in those historical experiences.³⁰⁸

Indigenization as a term is used in Tanzania in the sense of adapting various aspects of church life under the leadership of the local church, but with the view to making the outside fit into the inside, or vice versa. I thus find the term inadequate in expressing dynamics that one would expect to take place in genuine contextual engagement. One good example as we noted in the previous chapters is that the ministry of the Church was handed over at the grassroots from missionaries to Tanzanians much earlier because of the need for native-speaking agents and the numerical feebleness of missionaries. At the diocesan level, the handing over took at least one hundred years from the planting of the Church. The question is: was there a substantive engagement with the local culture to determine the kind of ministerial style needed in the local context, or was it a question of identifying a local structure or practice which was fitted like a garment onto that which was being handed over by the missionaries? Is it not possible that power was simply transferred from an expatriate to a local without critique, transformation or, as Chiwanga calls it, metamorphosis?³⁰⁹

3.2.2 Contextualization and inculturation

Bosch and Chiwanga note that the term *contextualization* first appeared in a 1972 World Council of Churches "Theological Education Fund" report with the self-explanatory title "Ministry in Context."³¹⁰ In his book *Transforming Mission*, Bosch offers broad definitions of

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 52.

³⁰⁷ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 54.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 56.

³¹⁰ Ibid; Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* 420.

the whole areas of contextualization and inculturation.³¹¹ In his understanding, the term “contextual theology” encompasses both inculturation and liberation theologies. He goes on to define *contextualization*, as also the allied term *inculturation*, as now commonly used in missiology particularly Roman Catholic missiology.

I define contextualization as interpreting the gospel in terms of a particular context. Contextualisation brings the biblical text into dialogue with the world of the reader’s context. Stephen Bevans considers contextualization as the best term to be used in biblical interpretation as it includes all that is implied in the older terms indigenization and inculturation.³¹² The term contextualization “includes the realities of contemporary secularity, technology, and the struggle for human justice. ...contextualization broadens the understanding of culture to include social, political, and economic questions.”³¹³

This study, like Bevans, prefers to use “contextualization” because, as Bevans suggests, “contextualization is the preferred term to describe the theology or biblical interpretation that takes human experience, social location, culture and cultural change seriously.”³¹⁴ Contextual biblical interpretation interacts and dialogues not only with traditional culture (where inculturation and indigenization tend to focus) but also with social change.³¹⁵

As used in missiology, Bosch describes the use of *contextualization* after it was first coined in the early 1970s:

It soon caught on and became a blanket term for a variety of theological models. Ukpong ... identified two major types of contextual theology, namely the indigenization model and the socio-economic model. Each of these can again be divided into two subtypes: the indigenization motif presents itself either as a translation or as an inculturation model; the socio-economic pattern of contextualization can be evolutionary (political theology and theology of development) or revolutionary (liberation theology, black theology, feminist theology, etc).³¹⁶

³¹¹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 420-21.

³¹² Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures*, 26 -7.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 26. C.f. David J. Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen, *Contextualization: Meanings, Methods, and Models* (Leicester: Apollos, 1989), 31.

³¹⁴ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures*, 27.

³¹⁵ Nicholls, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture*, 21.

³¹⁶ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2001), 421.

Bosch follows this broad understanding of contextualization, although suggests that “only the inculturation model in the first type and only the revolutionary model in the second qualify as contextual theologies proper.”³¹⁷

Nigel Rooms argues that “this uncovers a fundamental issue which is how widely the “culture” in inculturation or the “context” in contextualization is understood. Inculturation is often taken as dealing with culture alone, leaving liberation theologies to emerge from socio-economic issues (poverty, sexism, racism etc).”³¹⁸ Most Roman Catholic missiologists such as Aylward Shorter take the approach of differentiating these,³¹⁹ but others such as Ukpong prefer to include socio-economic issues under the banner of inculturation in calling for a more holistic approach.³²⁰

Inculturation is the incarnation of Christian life and of the Christian message in a particular context in such a way that this experience not only finds expression through elements proper to the culture in question, but becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies the culture, transforming and remaking it so as to bring about a new ways of understanding the biblical text. The mission of the Church is to promote an encounter between the gospel and the people. It is the people who receive the gospel and who make it bear fruit in their life and society. A T. Dalfovo insists that

the people are the real agents of this inculturating process which is both hermeneutical and creative. It is hermeneutical because the community which receives the gospel has to constantly interpret it in order to make it relevant to its life situation. It is creative because encounter of the gospel with people is not for the purpose of re-creating the primitive Church or perpetuating the contemporary Church, but for building something new: a new culture, a new people, a new community.”³²¹

The term “inculturation” uses the theological idea of incarnation, taken from John 1:14 where the word is made flesh within a community. In seeing inculturation as incarnation, Roman Catholic African scholars talk of “immersing Christianity in African culture so that as Jesus

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Nigel James Rooms, "Towards a Pedagogy for Inculturation: Adult Theological Education and the Interaction of Christian Faith and Culture" (University of Birmingham, 2007), 6.

³¹⁹ Aylward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998), 59-60.

³²⁰ Justin S. Ukpong, "Towards a Holistic Approach to Inculturation Theology," *Mission Studies* XVI-2, 32(1999): 100.

³²¹ A.T. Dalfovo, "Contextulizing Spirituality and Work in Africa," (Kampala: Makelele University, 2009), 9.

became man, so must Christianity become African.”³²² Joseph Healey and Donald Sybertz see incarnation and inculturation as carrying the same meaning. They give the following definition:

Inculturation is the process of incarnating the good news in a particular context. Most specifically it is a process by which people of a particular culture become able to live, express, celebrate, formulate and communicate their Christian faith and their experience of the Paschal Mystery in terms (linguistic, symbolic, social) that make the most sense and best convey life and truth in their social and cultural environment.³²³

Healey and Sybertz’s definition makes inculturation identical with contextualization, a term mostly favoured by Protestant missiologists. Louis J. Luzbetak seems to be in line with this definition when he states: “we understand contextualization as the various processes by which a local church integrates the gospel message (the text) with its local culture (the context).”³²⁴ Stephen Bevans, who is Roman Catholic, says: “contextualization describes an understanding of the Christian faith in terms of the reader’s context in dialogue with the context of biblical text.”³²⁵ The Protestant scholars use the word contextualization to deal with all issues of culture and context.³²⁶

The word contextualization replaced the word indigenization which by the 1970s ceased to excite people in the field of mission. The scholars of missiology saw that indigenization was inadequate because, as Chiwanga argues,

it referred to relating the Gospel to traditional culture as if they were static. ... Contextualization means relating the Gospel to cultures undergoing rapid social change due to the secularization of society, technology, and the liberation struggles of the third world. The difference has been mainly in viewing culture as dynamic rather than the static view of indigenization. However, relating the Gospel to cultures undergoing rapid social change may still be an inadequate way of interpreting contextualization.³²⁷

For this reason African biblical scholars began to develop an interpretation which could provide a proper meaning to the African context because they found that there was a

³²² Justin Ukpong, "A Christology and Inculturation: A New Testament Perspective," in *Paths of African Theology*, ed. Rosino Gibellini (London: SCM, 1994), 27.

³²³ Joseph Healey & Donald Sybertz, *Towards An African Narrative Theology* (Nairobi: Pauline, 1996), 26.

³²⁴ Louis J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures: New Perspective in Missiological Anthropology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989), 69.

³²⁵ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology: Faith and Cultures*, 3.

³²⁶ Rooms, "Towards a Pedagogy for Inculturation: Adult Theological Education and the Interaction of Christian Faith and Culture," 6.

³²⁷ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 57.

possibility of the verb “contextualize” giving the impression that it was a one-sided process, as Chiwanga says “a fitting in of the outside into the inside.”³²⁸ The impression that contextualization also begins with contextualizing the inside may have been missed, however. For this reason I propose a Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutics (TUH). By understanding my context first I will be enabled to interpret the gospel.

TUH, as is the case for many African interpretations, has three elements of biblical interpretation: the biblical text, the African context and the act of appropriation.³²⁹ The role of the reader who is the interpreter is to activate and form the dialogical appropriation that will have a theological and praxis-oriented dimension. In other words, the interpreter sets up a “dialogue” or “interpenetration” between African culture and text, which leads to a new theological dimension and new ways of behaving, or new praxis. This can be termed “ideo-theological orientation.”³³⁰ This ideo-theological orientation has received five different emphases in the field of African biblical interpretation, which are: Liberation, Contextual, Inculturation, Feminist, and Post-Colonial hermeneutics. My TUH will be informed by these hermeneutics in reading the Lukan texts in a way which addresses the key issues of poverty, corruption, HIV/AIDS, unsupported widows, and unsupported children (especially orphans and street children facing the Tanzanian community).

3.3 Phases in the development of an African inculturation hermeneutics

In recent years African scholars have started to develop their own hermeneutical approach in order to engage their context. African hermeneutics is mainly derived from reader response theory, without neglecting literary and historical critical theories. This is particularly important because of the realization that, within history, Christian missionaries had condemned and termed African culture as evil and failed to condemn colonial imperialism as evil.³³¹ Over the last three decades Africans themselves have tried to identify their particular

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ I am aware that although these three steps are used by African scholars, they are also used by other biblical scholars around the world. But for African scholars they are crucial. See Gerald O. West, "Biblical Hermeneutics in Africa," (Pietermaritzburg: *ujamaa* Centre, School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2008), 1-3.

³³⁰ Ibid., 2.

³³¹ Ukpong writes of “two well-known issues associated with the nineteenth and twentieth-century Christian missionary work in sub-Saharan Africa—negative attitudes towards African culture and the missionaries’ failure to directly confront colonial oppression...”. According to Ukpong, the development of African cultural hermeneutics can be traced from the 1930s to this day. However, originally it was not established by the Africans themselves, but instead by western scholars who sympathized with the Africans over western condemnation of African culture. See, Ukpong, "Developments in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," 49 - 64.

ways of interpreting the bible through the lens of the African context.³³² Louis Krog has argued that these developments were influenced by political and social changes that were sweeping the continent during this era.³³³

These changes also influenced the theological field. Ukpong analyses the development of biblical interpretation in Africa as comprising three phases. The first phase, which lasted from 1930-1970s, was reactive and apologetic, focused on legitimizing African Religion and culture.³³⁴ It came as a response to the condemnation of African religion and culture by the Western Christian missionaries. African culture and religion was seen as demonic and immoral, and treated with the intention of destroying it before any Christianity could take roots in Africa.³³⁵ This first phase was dominated by the comparative method.³³⁶

The second phase from the 1970s to 1990s, Ukpong terms the “reactive-proactive period.”³³⁷ The reactive approach to developing a hermeneutics gave way to a more proactive approach to doing so. Early steps were made towards developing an inculturation hermeneutics; the significance of the reader’s cultural—including political—context in the interpretative encounter with the biblical text began to be recognised. In part this was due to the influence of radical theological scholarship elsewhere, including that of (mainly Central and South American) Roman Catholic liberation theologians. Now a distinctly Christian theological framework for hermeneutical development replaced that of the purely secular discipline of comparative religions or religious studies.³³⁸

The third phase, beginning in the 1990s, saw inculturation hermeneutics develop more assertively, a hermeneutic which (as already indicated) relies on the interpretative filter offered by the ordinary reader’s context and associated worldview. One outstanding book on

³³² Ibid., 50.

³³³ Louis Krog, "African Hermeneutics: The Current State" (South Africa Theological Seminary, 2005), 17.

³³⁴ One needs to understand that the difference between an African scholar and a Western Scholar in interpreting the biblical text is that western method of biblical interpretation uses western critical tools without openly and directly relating the biblical text to the African context. African biblical interpretation uses western biblical tools, but the text is interpreted in relation to the African context.

³³⁵ In East Africa the pioneer scholar of this phase was John Mbiti. See especially Mbiti’s two books which are good examples of the comparative method: John Mbiti, *The Bible and Theology in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1986); John S. Mbiti, *The Concept of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970).

³³⁶ Justin S. Ukpong, "Development in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," in *The Bible in Africa, Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Gerald O. West (Boston: Brill, 2001), 12-14.

³³⁷ Ibid., 12.

³³⁸ Ernest Van Eck, "The Word is Life: African Theology as Biblical and Contextual Theology," *Harvard Theological Studies* 62, no. 2 (2006): 682.

the way Africans see and interpret the biblical text is *The Bible in Africa*, published in 2000.³³⁹ The common key concern of recent African hermeneutical approaches, as Dada observes, is that “they arise from, and aim to address a particular or specific context. Their contextual character, therefore, makes it easier for them to be classified as contextual biblical hermeneutics.”³⁴⁰ In East Africa recently, the notion of “reconstruction biblical interpretation” has emerged, led by a Kenyan Anglican theologian Jesse Mugambi. Reconstruction biblical interpretation wants to move African nations towards nation-building and community development in Africa.³⁴¹ However, in Tanzania under the name of “nation building through economic reconstruction”, we have witnessed unjust policies that come under the nation-building slogan “A Good Life for Every Tanzanian is Possible.”³⁴² Nonetheless, instead of these policies producing a good life for every Tanzanian, the opposite is true: a few people are getting richer and the majority are getting poorer. For Tanzania, the biblical texts need to show the majority that God is at work justly to liberate them from their condition of poverty. While reconstruction is an important development, yet a contextual biblical hermeneutic is urgently required to serve Tanzania better in transforming the lives of the community.

Thus, the present study’s proposal for a Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutic is in keeping with contemporary hermeneutical approaches, and these three phases inform my TUH, which I will use to read the gospel of Luke.³⁴³ Because of space limitations this present study is interested primarily in the third phase, especially its use of context as the subject of interpretation and the use of an African conceptual (worldview) frame of reference in reading the text. One aspect of the *ujamaa* hermeneutic is that it includes the experience of ordinary readers, but it also will consider the many dimensions opened by scholars.³⁴⁴

³³⁹ Ukpong, "Development in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," (Boston: Brill, 2001), 11-16. For more African biblical interpretation see also Justin Ukpong, "The Story of Jesus' Birth (Luke 1- 2): An African Reading," in *An Experiment in Contextual Hermeneutics: The Bible in World Context*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Ulrich Luz (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 59-69; ———, "Inculturation Hermeneutics: An African Approach to Biblical Interpretation," 17-32.

³⁴⁰ Adekunle Oyinloye Dada, "Repositioning Contextual Biblical Hermeneutics in Africa Towards Holistic Empowerment," *Black Theology* 8, no. 2 (2010): 164.

³⁴¹ For detail about Christian Theology and Social Reconstruction see Mugambi, *Christian Theology and Social Reconstruction* 36 - 62.

³⁴² See CCM Manifesto, 2005- 2010, and then CCM Manifesto, 2010-2015, *Maisha Bora kwa Kila Mtanzania Yanawezekana* (A Better life for every Tanzanian is possible). See CCM, "Ilani ya Uchaguzi ya Chama Cha Mapinduzi: Maisha Bora Kwa Kila Mtanzania Yanawezekana," www.ccmtz.org.

³⁴³ Ukpong, "Developments in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," 50.

³⁴⁴ Ordinary readers are non biblical scholars. West says that the term ‘reader’ alludes to the well-charted shift in hermeneutics towards the reader. However, he places the term in inverted commas to signal that his use of the term is both literal and metaphoric in that it includes the many who are illiterate, but who listen to, retell and

3.4 A Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutic

What then is a Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutic? Simply put it is a method of reading the Bible drawing on the Tanzanian cultural context with particular attention to the socio-cultural principles of *ujamaa* (familyhood). It will be recalled that the recent (1967 to 1992) Tanzanian *ujamaa* policy of the government allied itself with what were in fact pre-existing, indeed ancient principles of social behaviour commonly embedded within the cultures of the nation's peoples.

Ujamaa principles may again be employed theoretically, this time to guide a reader-contextual interpretation of the Bible. *Ujamaa* biblical interpretation is not a new model. It was first articulated by a Roman Catholic Priest in Tanzania, Camillus Lymo, in his article, 'The Quest for Relevant African Theology: Towards an *ujamaa* Theology'.³⁴⁵ Lymo argued that

Tanzania which experienced *ujamaa* impact more than any other country in Africa could develop a theology in the line of *ujamaa*, which may be authentic and faithful to the people's aspirations. If this becomes relevant by answering their problems, it could then be shared by other Christians in countries whose problems whether political, social, historical or economic share the same evolution. At a level, theology shall be concretely 'localized' and 'contextualized'.³⁴⁶

Lymo suggested an *ujamaa* theology because he believed in the values of *ujamaa*. *Ujamaa* values centred upon the basic belief in the equality of people, upon the reality and sense of community, freedom, sharing and love. These values have Christian elements. The value of *ujamaa* was relevant because of the situation of Tanzania's poor.³⁴⁷ The relevance of *ujamaa* theology, as Lymo further observes,

is about the possibility of creating a theology centred upon the basic belief in the equality of men, sense of community, freedom, sharing and real love. These five elements are consonant with any real Christian living. Thus they are uniquely relevant

remake the Bible. The other term in the phrase, the term 'ordinary' is used in a general specific sense. The general specific usage includes all readers who read the Bible pre-critically. But West uses 'ordinary' to designate a particular sector of pre-critical readers, those readers who are poor, and marginalized. In the inculturation hermeneutics it is this particular usage that usually takes precedence over the general. See Gerald O. West, *The Academy of the Poor: Towards a Dialogical Reading of the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 10; Ukpong, "The Story of Jesus' Birth (Luke 1- 2): An African Reading," 23.

³⁴⁵ Camillus Lymo, "Quest for Relevant African Theology: Towards an *ujamaa* Theology," *African Ecclesiology Review* 1, no. 18 (1976): 134-53.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

for the *Wajamaa* Christians. They are part and parcel of a sound theology because they are found both in the Scriptures and in the official teaching of the Church.³⁴⁸

For Lymo, *ujamaa* has five characteristics as far as my Tanzanian *ujamaa* biblical interpretation is concerned:

3.4.1 Historical nature of *ujamaa* interpretation

An *ujamaa* biblical interpretation must be historical because it is obliged to take into account the historical circumstances proper to Tanzania. The making of history must be raising the standard of living for the people. Historical also implies that we have to take the historicity of the biblical story seriously. It is not just a collection of pious fairytales, but the record of God's action in history. An *ujamaa* hermeneutic then links God's action in the historical, biblical past, with the real-world present of 21st Century Tanzania.

3.4.2 *Ujamaa* biblical interpretation must be communal

The sharing of the community is part of the whole economy of salvation. This means that a person is saved in a community. It also affirms the basic equality of people. Therefore to be a community member means that you enter into the sharing of relationship; into the sharing of resources and wealth, talents and especially work. It also means sharing of burdens; the failures as well as the successes of that community. Thus, biblical interpretation that is built on the reality of community must prioritise this kind of sharing.

The human person never lives in isolation in the African context, but is always part of a community. For the Christian human life therefore with its communal emphasis is a reflection of the life of Trinity. God shares with humanity, and the entire creation, his own community life in the person of Jesus who became human with us. In the ACT, Bible study groups can be used as a community in which sharing of resources and talents empower each other economically.

3.4.3 *Ujamaa* biblical interpretation must be love centred

The *ujamaa* biblical interpretation is centred on love. Such love is modelled in the early church at its best (Acts 4 and 5; c.f. 17:28). The opposite of love is selfishness. The greatest commandment is love. To love your neighbour is to love God. Concrete love liberates a person from his affliction. Community life without love makes it impossible to share

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 140.

resources and talents. In line with this practice, *ujamaa* becomes salvific. Where there is love, there is true freedom and each individual is protected, respected and valued.

3.4.4 *Ujamaa* biblical interpretation must be practical

Any sound African biblical interpretation must be prophetic and practical. The Church by nature is called to be prophetic. Hence its biblical interpretation must be prophetic and practical. The Lukan Jesus was an excellent prophet. He spoke for the voiceless, he was critical of institutional power. Jesus did not accept everything the people of his time considered to be ideal. In creating a better Tanzania for everyone, aberrations might occur. The prophetic voice of the Church is needed to criticise and warn in order to improve things. That is where *ujamaa* biblical interpretation seeks to be a prophetic and practical.³⁴⁹

The tools for *ujamaa* Biblical interpretation is the biblical text itself and the contextual situation of Tanzania. Lately, there have been cries in the political arena in Tanzania to return to *ujamaa* culture in order to help the poor and avoid the gap between the rich and the poor. Yet without a sustaining narrative, *ujamaa* is unlikely to take root and grow again. Therefore, those who find authority in the biblical story in Tanzania need to contribute to this demand, by providing a basis on which *ujamaa* can become a permanent part of Tanzanian life. Further, the post-colonial mission context in Tanzania requires the ACT to be a part of establishing this *ujamaa* society, so that it has a mission focus that deals with economic empowerment for the poor. And, as the next section insists, it is important to be establishing skills for such mission empowerment.

In general the *ujamaa* “philosophy of being” encourages the enjoyment of life in all its fullness.³⁵⁰ This philosophy therefore also promotes social equity, that being the environment in which life is best able to flourish. Three principles stemming from this lively philosophy become important for the *ujamaa* inculturation hermeneutics being proposed here. They touch on personhood, mutual support, and work. The first of these traditional principles holds that existence is necessarily ‘existence in relation’.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 141-44.

³⁵⁰ See G. Mdimi Mhogolo, "A Vision of Full Humanity: An African Perspective," *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* 15, no. 1 (1998), 6. Mbiti, 1970, 55.

I noted above that culture is a way of being. For Africans, this way of being is strongly influenced by the principle, ‘*I am because you are*’ (Swahili *Niko kwa kuwa Mpo*’).³⁵¹ It is operating out of this way of being which, in the African worldview, makes a person to become a full human. This African Worldview in Tanzania is based on the *ujamaa* culture. I explore *ujamaa* in detail in the previous chapter so here I only summarize its meaning. *ujamaa* is a Swahili word meaning “familyhood”. This has been a way of life such as can be found within the nuclear family, or an extended family. Chiwanga says that “through belonging to a family, clan, and tribe, the Africans learned to say ‘I am because I participate.’”³⁵² In Tanzania, the *ujamaa* community life was always made possible through interplay of three cardinal principles which permeated the customs, manners, and education of the people from birth to death: respect for everyone, hard work by everyone, and mutual caring by everyone.³⁵³

In 1967, after the establishment of the Arusha Declaration which officially announced *ujamaa* as a way of life for Tanzanians, Nyerere described these principles when he said that “the traditional African family lived according to these principles of *ujamaa*. Its members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms.”³⁵⁴ In 1992, as noted in the previous chapter, when our political leaders were rejecting the Arusha declaration, it was the *ujamaa* principles which they were really rejecting. Yet despite all the great changes which have swept across the country, *ujamaa* principles are still predominant in the lives of most Tanzanians.

The *ujamaa* culture has three principles which hold the Tanzanian community together. The centrality of these principles is set around human being, property, and work. Briefly, I will explain each of them.

First, the central idea of human being. Respecting the dignity of each person involves recognition by each member of the family of the place and rights of other members. This understanding is based on the above key phrase of “I am because you are.” Both John Mbiti

³⁵¹ _____, "A Vision of Full Humanity: An African Perspective," *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies*, no. 15;6 (1998): 1.

³⁵² Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 63.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, 337.

and G. Mdimi Mhogolo agree on this African understanding of full humanity.³⁵⁵ This means that a person is fully alive by relating with other beings. This relationship has both human and divine aspects, which further indicates that spiritual and physical are inseparable in the African worldview.³⁵⁶ According to the African worldview the identity of an African person is found not only in oneself but more importantly among other people in the community in which s/he lives. The significance of this is that one cannot live a full life unless s/he relates with others. However, this cannot remove the fact that an individual also exists. Mhogolo insists that “there would be no other people if there were no individuals that make the other people distinct from the first individual.”³⁵⁷

This *ujamaa* understanding of being human is analogous to some aspects of Christian theology. Thus, in 1 Corinthians 12:12-27 the description of the church family as one body finds its expression in Christian theology, “just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ” (1 Corinthians 12:12). Hence, 1 Corinthians 12:12-27 is one of the good examples analogous to an African worldview of full humanity. Key to this is that everyone needs someone to exist; you cannot exist by yourself. To gain full humanity, inter-dependency and accountability are important. In both the African and the biblical view, everyone is accountable to another person. Chiwanga argues that “respect for every person involves recognition by each member of the family of the place and rights of other members.”³⁵⁸ Rights differ according to age, gender, ability and character, yet as Nyerere insists, “there was a minimum below which no one could exist without disgrace to the whole family.”³⁵⁹ Tanzanian social norms and mores safeguard each member’s rights and privileges.

Second, related to this principle is the belief that all basic goods should be held in common. This does not mean that basic goods are completely shared, as in the early Christian community found in the story of Acts when Christians sold their property and pooled the revenue together (Acts 4:32-35). Even here, however, Luke is presenting his community with an idealised picture of the Christian life. Presumably, they still kept their own clothes, for

³⁵⁵ Mhogolo, "A Vision of Full Humanity: An African Perspective," 6.

³⁵⁶ That is why I outlined above that the reading of the Gospel of Luke will test whether the presentation of Jesus’ ministry divides the aspect of the spiritual and the physical dimension, as evangelical Anglican biblical interpretation tends to divide the two by spiritualizing everything.

³⁵⁷ Mhogolo, "A Vision of Full Humanity: An African Perspective," 6.

³⁵⁸ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 64.

³⁵⁹ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, 338.

example. Something close to that in the Tanzanian community is found in nuclear families, but not in larger units of community. “Holding in common” means that there is an understanding and accepted belief that whatever a person has in the way of basic necessities is held for the common good. Nyerere notes that “there was not complete equality; some individual could own more than others, but the social system was such that in time of need it was available to all.”³⁶⁰ In addition, as Chiwanga says, “extended family responsibilities are based on this principle of common ownership. When my relatives come to me to ask for help, however politely they may frame the request-like the prayer of humble access,”³⁶¹ yet deep down they know, as well as I know, that I have an obligation to help if I really consider myself in relationship with them.³⁶²

The African worldview is that one helps, supports, encourages, shares with and protects other people and other people should do the same. If one member suffers, for example, if one is hungry, the rest have to help. Every child was nurtured by the whole community. The whole community was responsible in raising the child. That is why there was a phrase “our children” not “my child!” The phrase “my child” is a new term for most Tanzanian people. The orphaned children were looked after by the whole community. In central Tanzania it was normal to see whole villages agonizing with hunger rather than seeing some holding food and others dying of hunger. As Mhogolo says: “all the people combat together that which dehumanizes people, and cherish the things that humanize people.”³⁶³

Third is the understanding that all are obligated to work. The culture of *ujamaa* and its principle of full humanity require that every member of the family or clan or tribe has an obligation to work, and to work hard, not just on communal projects but also in their own individual production activities. Laziness by one member is viewed as a liability to the community, since no member is allowed to starve. Again, social norms and mores support the virtue of hard work and the attitude of responsibility for every member of the community. *ujamaa* culture also believes that there should not be any kind of exploitation, which means that there should not be two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 64.

³⁶² Something similar to the prayer of humble access, prayed before approaching the Holy Eucharist in ACT as well as other Anglican liturgies: “we do not presume to come to thy table...”

³⁶³ Mhogolo, "A Vision of Full Humanity: An African Perspective," 7.

for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others (children and elderly people were excepted).³⁶⁴

This thesis argues that we need *ujamaa* so that the leadership code is returned to prevent leaders from abusing their office. Currently, there is a huge debate discussing the needs for a new constitution that will prohibit leaders from power abuse. In this debate, the ACT should be a major player in discussions, and it can bring a significant voice if it takes seriously an *ujamaa* approach to the gospel texts.

My reading of Lukan texts will have an eye on the African worldview of full humanity and the consequences of this, as found in the Tanzanian *ujamaa* principles. As such, it will be committed to the spiritual, political, economic and social liberation struggle in Tanzania and to the subsequent reconstruction development of our post independence country. Choosing this approach means I have to take sides with particular sectors of society, especially the poor and other marginalized groups, such as the victims of HIV/AIDS, women, orphans and street children and other vulnerable children in the society, and to let their voice be heard in the Lukan text.

3.4.5 Anticipating objections to an *ujamaa* biblical hermeneutic

Such are the features of an *ujamaa* hermeneutic. Yet it is possible at this point to imagine an objection. One might argue that *ujamaa* culture, when applied politically by the Tanzanian government with all of its huge resources, nonetheless failed in its implementation. How then can *ujamaa* be applied in a theological field without resulting in the same failures? This study can respond in the following ways:

Firstly, if an ideology fails in its implementation, that does not automatically negate a theology that has borrowed from it. Thus, for example, even if socialism has never been fully and successfully implemented, that does not mean that liberation theology/or biblical interpretation shaped with a socialist eye should be abandoned. It is indeed possible that one could take some of the positive parts from an ideology to form a method of biblical interpretation. One is not enslaved to the whole package. And, as I argue, this is also the case with *ujamaa* biblical interpretation.

³⁶⁴ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 68.

Secondly, it is true that *ujamaa* was tried by the government — and it failed. But the government was not trying to read the Bible through the lens of *ujamaa* to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to the poor. The government was using *ujamaa* culture as a lens through which to read and implement a socialist political programme. And of course, as I have stated, this was admirable as far as it went. But the government's programme was naive about human sin and human fallibility (as socialism and Marxism always are). These will always remain key obstacles to achieving a just society. Yet where the government failed, the church can succeed because it is empowered by the Holy Spirit who leads, teaches and reminds the church to do its mission work through an *ujamaa* lens. Likewise, as people bring their lives under the Lordship of Christ, so human sinfulness can be forgiven, and transformed lives can work more honestly for the achievement of a gospel-based *ujamaa*.

Thus, thirdly, the TUH for which I am arguing is trying to do something new, something which the government never did. It is trying to read the life-giving word of God to bring good news to the poor through the communal lens offered by *ujamaa*. This has never been tried, so it is never had a chance to fail. If the first CMS missionaries had been willing to listen to Tanzanian culture, they might have tried to read the bible with *ujamaa* eyes. This might have led to a more transformed form of mission which could have put the ACT on a more sustainable platform for doing mission into the 21st century.

Finally, it is important to understand that any biblical interpretation discovered by a TUH cannot bring transformation by human effort. As noted above, it is important to recognize that human beings are limited and sinful creatures, who live in the now and not yet; and who are waiting for the *eschaton*. As a result, the church's efforts to do justice and redress poverty are necessary and (as it will be seen) commanded by Jesus' mission manifesto in Luke. But they can only ever be partial. The ACT, reading the gospel through a TUH lens, will work for justice, and work to implement the Nazareth Manifesto, all the while trusting its mission and its future to the greater purposes of God.

So, *ujamaa* can provide a vital resource in the church's development of its missional hermeneutic, if the church approaches its mission with the twin elements of gospel proclamation and gospel justice. The government of the 1960s to 1980s pursued only justice, without any commitment to proclamation of the gospel, or any methods for the transformation of lives. So, intriguingly, there is a similarity between the one-dimensional

CMS gospel and the one-dimensional government approach to *ujamaa*. A TUH combines both dimensions. To achieve this, the ACT will have to partner with other Christian communities and other development partners. It will need to borrow from others who share similar aspirations, and learn from theologians with similar concerns (e.g. liberation theologians). But it is important for the ACT to know that it must start somewhere and so the ACT needs to wake up and be a key player in beginning to establish a gospel form of *ujamaa*. If the ACT or DCT, or indeed the Diocese of Kondoa, could do this, they would be establishing gospel-focused, Nazareth-Manifesto-based prophetic communities, modelling to the CCM what is possible when *ujamaa* is aligned with the gospel.

3.5 Methodology

For a long time, biblical interpretation has been guided by Western scholarship. Biblical interpretation in the West has been categorized in three ways that have influenced African scholars, based on where the interpreter wants to locate the meaning. The study adopts TUH to revisit the mission of Jesus as presented in the Gospel of Luke. TUH is a contextual approach, in that it endeavours to interpret the mission of Jesus from the perspective of the Tanzanian community facing difficult social and political issues. While almost all contemporary African biblical interpreters are interested in context,³⁶⁵ nonetheless the African continent is enormously diverse, with different ethnicities and many particular contexts. Consequently, it is necessary for all African theologians to develop specific readings that are relevant to their own people. African theologians are currently taking three approaches in the quest to discover the intended meaning of the biblical text and to explore the text's relevance to their audience.

The first approach common to some African scholars is diachronic, technically known as historical-critical approach. In this approach biblical interpreters approach the text by considering the world behind the text—the text's wider context. This approach explores the original social context of the text and the development of the text. It investigates the original form of the text, its historical and grammatical development, the form and sources of the selected passages. It is when these are settled that the exegete may proceed to the exegesis of the texts. All these elements together comprise an historical-critical interpretation. In the

³⁶⁵ See the work of Justin Ukpong, who says that African biblical scholars see their "point of departure [as] the context of the reader, [they want to link] the biblical text to the reader's context." See, Justin S. Ukpong, "Can African Old Testament Scholarship Escape the Historical Critical Approach," in *SNTS* (Oslo: Norwegian School of Mission, 2009), 1.

African context, one may find these Western tools being used, before the text is then applied in relation to the African context. The danger of the historical-critical approach is that it sometimes tends to mute the text by concentrating on the social issues of the world behind the text. Alternatively, this approach can be irrelevant to the context of the interpreter, by paying little attention to the issues facing his or her world.³⁶⁶

The second approach which African scholars use is the synchronic approach to textual analysis. In this method, the text is approached through the world of the text itself—treating the text as a self-enclosed field of inquiry. This approach has characterized the literary critical method. It focuses on close reading of the text and the world of the text, and makes use of the tools of literary analysis. This approach is also known as the critical-narrative approach. Its main interest is in the final form of the text as it occurs in the Bible as we have it. This approach intentionally sidelines questions about the history of the text, such as the existence of oral sources or earlier versions of the text. This approach serves as an important component of TUH, because it deals with the textual words themselves in the form in which they are read and valued in churches and Christian communities today. It therefore enables a reading that addresses the situation of those communities, rather than speculating about putative communities of the first century.

The third approach is existential and is not keen on the technicalities surrounding the passage, neither in its historical nor its final form. This approach focuses on the world in front of the text—the context of the text's readers. This is the approach that dominates the reader-response critical method. Interpreters here do not treat the text as an historical or literary artefact, but as something to be engaged in experimentally. In another words this approach highlights the world in front of the text, and considers its rhetorical effect in the context where it is read today. In the present study, this third approach informs the TUH lens by enabling the reader to explore the text's relevance for the contemporary Tanzanian reader.

This study draws in different ways from each of these three approaches, thus attempting something of an integrated approach. However, it does draw more on the latter two approaches than the first. While appreciating the insights of the historical-critical method, the

³⁶⁶ Some of the African scholars who have used contextual hermeneutics are Jean Claude Loba Mkole in his article "The Kiswahili Mwana Wa Mtu and the Greek Ho Huios", in *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, ed. Gerald O. West and Musa W. Dube (Boston: Brill, 2001), 557 - 66; Ukpong, "The Story of Jesus' Birth (Luke 1- 2): An African Reading," 17-32.

TUH lens has a more urgent and practical focus. To be sure, the historical-critical method helps to ensure that interpreters do not force the text to say whatever they want it to say. Further, as Ukpong says,³⁶⁷ historical criticism with its concern for the social world behind the text is very important within a contextual hermeneutics. Only when the background to the biblical world is understood can the links between it and present day African culture be identified, provided that questions relevant to the African context are asked by the historical critical method.³⁶⁸

Yet the TUH lens takes much of that work for granted. Instead, it recognises the reality that Christian communities in Tanzania, including the ACT, accept the authority of the bible almost uncritically and almost (ironically) without reading it. Though Ukpong is less enthusiastic here, the TUH lens therefore draws on the synchronic approach, by asking readers to engage with the gritty reality of the gospel as it is, rather than as the CMS missionaries said that it was.

The TUH lens invites readers to see that Jesus in Luke does much more than preach a spiritualised message of forgiveness, but engages with issues of poverty and pain. At this point, the TUH lens invites the recipients of the text to pay attention to the crossover between the world of the text and their own world, that is the Tanzanian context. By paying attention to the world of the text itself, the TUH lens finds that world to be a mirror, in which more can be discovered about the world in front of the text, the world inhabited by the Anglican Church in present day Tanzania. As Mugambi, who opts for an approach which allows and presupposes the unrestricted movement between the text and the context says, “on the one hand the context gives me the operational platform on which theology has to be done. On the other the text provides the analytical stimulus for creative reflection.”³⁶⁹ TUH is based on a similar two-way communication between the text and the context.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Thus, Ukpong says, “[For] the historical critical method to attain optimal usefulness (as a component of inculturation methodology) in the African context ... the type of questions posed in the Western approach will have to be replaced with those generated by insights from the African context. Modes of questions determined by the historical, sociological and anthropological contexts of Africa must be made to frame the historical enquiry in African biblical interpretation. What is important to note here is that the historical background of a text is multifaceted. What determines which facet is to be focused on in the process of exegesis is the scholarly community-based on the experience of their contexts (though this is hardly acknowledged).” See, Ukpong, “Can African Old Testament Scholarship Escape the Historical Critical Approach,” 3-4.

³⁶⁹ Mugambi, *Christian Theology and Social Reconstruction* 168.

Yet the TUH is not content merely to discover parallels between the world of the text and the world in front of the text. Rather, it sees the world of the gospel making urgent demands for practical action to radiate out beyond that literary world, into the world of the reader. In particular, the TUH sees the mission of Jesus having a natural ally in the context of present day Tanzania. That ally is the ethos of *ujamaa*. An *ujamaa* reading is primarily practical; it calls readers to bring the mission of Jesus discovered in the synchronic world of the text into their own context.

Therefore the TUH approach works to link the Biblical text to the African Context.³⁷⁰ It considers the social cultural setting³⁷¹ of the ACT in the interpretation and understanding of the biblical text, and especially in the application of that text,³⁷² where the traditional concept of *ujamaa* helps to direct the Tanzanian reading community to the radical transformative perspective that *ujamaa* shares with Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God. The TUH is therefore a species of inculturation Biblical hermeneutics, about which much has been written. Loba-Mkole argues that

the novelty of inculturation Biblical hermeneutics may very well reside in the fact that it explicitly seeks to interpret the biblical text from the present socio-cultural perspectives and make them the subject of interpretation. Inculturation Biblical hermeneutics acknowledges the sacred status of the Bible and its normative value for Christian life. Nevertheless, taking the Bible's status as ancient literary text into account, this method uses insights from historical analysis and dynamically rereads the text against the contextual background of the present reader.³⁷³

Ukpong insists that "in inculturation hermeneutics the meaning of the text is seen as a function of the interaction between the text studied in its socio-historical context on the one hand, and socio-cultural context of the readers on the other."³⁷⁴ Thus, my TUH sees the points of contact between the reader's situation—my Tanzanian world—and the world of the text, and brings them into relationship, in that way discovering the meaning of the text's message for the people of central Tanzania.

³⁷⁰ Ukpong, "Development in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," 11.

³⁷¹ See, D.T. Adamo, *Reading and Interpreting the Bible in African Indigenous Churches* (Benin: Justice Jeco Press, 2005), 46.

³⁷² Ukpong, "Development in Biblical Interpretation in Africa: Historical and Hermeneutical Directions," 17.

³⁷³ Jean-Claude Loba-Mkole, "Rise of Intercultural Biblical Exegesis in Africa," (Pretoria: Department of New Testament Studies, University of Pretoria, 2008), 4.

³⁷⁴ Justin Ukpong, "Rereading the Bible with African Eyes: Inculturation and Hermeneutics," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 91, no. 7 (1995): 6.

3.6 Criteria for the selection of texts

This reading focuses on Luke's approach to mission, and is done from the perspective of those being marginalized in a Tanzanian post-*ujamaa* context.³⁷⁵ The reading of Luke intends to concentrate on particular texts, given the socio-economical reality of central Tanzania. Therefore the criteria of selecting the texts will identify those texts which yesterday and today speak to the reality of such marginalized groups. These marginalized people are challenging the ACT to identify with them as an able and vibrant agent of God in their liberation. The ACT needs to participate in their suffering and to join hands with them in solidarity, in their struggle for justice.³⁷⁶ As part of God's mission, the ACT in central Tanzania must strive for justice and peace and to respect the dignity of every human being.

The criteria of selection of the texts also follow Luke's presentation of Jesus' mission in his gospel, in connection to issues facing the Tanzanian community as related to my three categories mentioned above. That is, texts will be chosen which help us to address the three categories: firstly to consider whether his presentation of Jesus' ministry is directed toward the universal mission of saving souls or toward a more holistic approach; secondly, to be attentive to economic exploitation of the poor by those few individuals who accumulate wealth at the expense of others, with the poor becoming poorer and the rich becoming richer; and thirdly to address the issues of unsupported widows, orphans and vulnerable children in the ministry of Jesus in the gospel of Luke, through the lens of the Tanzanian HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The texts chosen are taken from Luke's presentation of Jesus' ministry recounted in the first phase of Jesus' ministry in Galilee (4:14-9:50), and from this phase I have chosen Jesus' mission program in Luke 4:16-21 as a key text.³⁷⁷ As already mentioned, this will serve as the

³⁷⁵ I have chosen the term "marginalized" to accommodate various groups of people who experience suffering in a Tanzanian context. Such groups are the poor, HIV/AIDS sufferers, widows, orphans, street children, and vulnerable children. It may also include other groups which society marginalizes for various reasons, such as people from different tribes living in another tribe's setting or refugees from either political or economical situations.

³⁷⁶ Samuel O. Abogunrin, "Jesus' Sevenfold Programmatic Declaration at Nazareth: An Exegesis of Luke 4:15-30 From An African Perspective," *Black Theology: An International Journal* 1, no. 2 (2003): 248.

³⁷⁷ In the Nazareth Manifesto, especially verses 26 to 27, it is notable that Jesus confronts the Jewish exclusivist tendency, by suggesting that his ministry will be better received by people outside the people of Israel. Thus he confronts a tendency in first century Judaism comparable to the tribalism of present-day Tanzania. The Nazareth Manifesto therefore acts as a strong denunciation of tribalism. Such tribalism was one of the key problems noted by Archbishop Mtemela in his challenge to the 1999 provincial synod. Nonetheless, the present study focuses on the problems of poverty and social injustice and pays less attention to the issue of tribalism, as this issue has been addressed well by Mkunga Mtingele in his PhD thesis on "Leadership and Conflicts in an African Church: An Inquiry into Nature, Causes, and Effect of Conflicts about Leadership in the Anglican Church of Tanzania during the Indigenous Leadership Circa 1960 – Circa 2000", Open University, UK, 2004.

key in opening dialogue between Lukan texts and the Tanzanian context. This will be followed by a consideration of Jesus raising the widow's son at Nain (7:11-17) to address the mission of the church to the widows and orphans who are victims of poverty and HIV/AIDS. These two Lukan texts will serve as a key model of mission for the ACT in addressing the issues that confront the Tanzanian community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed my inculturation biblical hermeneutics and its methodology for reading the Gospel of Luke in a Tanzanian context. My inculturation biblical hermeneutics is informed by Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture and theology in its principle of full humanity. *Ujamaa* culture is a gift which Tanzania can use to bring transformation to the marginalized people in the Tanzanian society. It is sad that the current generation have not experienced enough the benefit of this culture due to social reforms forced by internal and external factors. This has caused social unrest for the majority poor and other marginalized people in Tanzania. The reading of the Gospel of Luke is part of a process of testing *ujamaa* culture in order to transform the lives of individual marginalized people in the society. The issues raised in the previous chapters need to be addressed with biblical hermeneutics relevant to Tanzanian context. It is through this means that the mission of the ACT can bring transformation to the lives of the poor, victims of HIV/AIDS, women, orphans, street children and other vulnerable children in the community.

The following chapter analyses Luke 4:16-21, which is Jesus' declaration of Jubilee. The text is a jubilee opening of Jesus' mission. The purpose is to provide a critical analysis and interpretation of Jesus' programmatic declaration of his mission, determine how holistic it is intended to be and reflect on what it might mean in the Tanzanian context today. The main purpose is to see whether Jesus' mission in the Gospel of Luke has a holistic approach or a soul-winning one, as evangelical Anglicans in Tanzania have always understood. It is this declaration which serves as the main theme of Jesus' ministry throughout the entire Lukan gospel.

CHAPTER FOUR: READING JESUS' MANIFESTO IN A TANZANIAN CONTEXT (LUKE 4:16 – 21)

Introduction

The previous chapter developed a hermeneutical lens with which to read the biblical text, viz. a 'Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutic'. Guiding this approach are a number of principles stemming from traditional Tanzanian cultural values, values with many similarities to those present in the gospels.³⁷⁸ The chapter proposed that the use of such a hermeneutic could assist the Tanzanian Anglican church to broaden the scope of its mission in line with the gospels, and so as to support a program of social critique and social action alongside its older strictly evangelical focus.

In this chapter I turn to analyse the Lukan text of Jesus' Nazareth manifesto (Luke 4:16–21). In this passage Luke emphasises that Jesus' mission was directed first to the liberation of the poor. In turn (and as will be seen below) that mission was informed by Jesus' own cultural inheritance in ancient Israel's concept of the year of jubilee. A Tanzanian contextual reading understands Jesus' mission to be directed, not only to the poor of first century Palestine, but to the poor everywhere and at all times, including the poor of contemporary Tanzania. As noted earlier, therefore, the problem of the Tanzanian poor comprises the 'umbrella issue' to be examined in the light of Luke's understanding of Jesus' mission.

To understand Jesus' manifesto in a Tanzanian context, the context of the Luke 4 narrative will be examined in order to understand the whole theme of Jesus' mission in the entire gospel. Verses 16-21 will be analysed using TUH lens in order to relate a message given in first century Palestine to the contemporary Tanzanian context.

4.1 The background story of the gospel of Luke

This study takes the consensus date of Luke's gospel to be 80 C.E., or shortly thereafter, and the audience of the gospel to be predominantly Gentile.³⁷⁹ Possibly Luke's gospel was

³⁷⁸ Tanzanian political leaders on the right, arguing against a society built on *ujamaa* principles, blame it for creating dependency. In distinction and in my view this was not the case. To reiterate the point, *ujamaa* required that in order for a person to become a full part of the community it was important that they not only receive but also contribute.

³⁷⁹ See, Richard Cooke, *New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 2009), 272; Mark Allan Powell, *Introducing the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 153; Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in*

intended for young Christian communities around the Mediterranean associated with Paul,³⁸⁰ which seem to have been less pro-active toward the poor in their midst than they should have been.³⁸¹ Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (e.g. in chapter 11), written to such a community about the Lord's Supper, suggests some indifference to the poor.³⁸²

It seems that such communities were not overly aware of the structural reasons for the poverty of their members, or indeed of the poor as such. See, for example, Luke's story of Lazarus and the rich man (16:19–31), in which the implicit suggestion is that both the rich man and the poor man are each fully responsible to God for their particular economic positions in life; macroeconomic forces are not recognised by Luke as being at least partly responsible for those positions.

The theme of mission is, nonetheless, particularly significant in Luke. There are two passages especially important for mission in the Gospel: 4:16-30 and 24:44-49. This reading is specifically interested in the first. Bosch observes that "Luke 4:16-21 has, for all practical purposes, replaced Matthew's "great commission" as the key text not only for understanding Christ's own mission but also that of the Church."³⁸³ Understanding these verses and their place in the Gospel as a whole will enable the ACT to determine how it can apply Luke's missional interest in its very different contemporary context.

Like contemporary Tanzania, first century Palestine was marked by disparity between the minority rich and the majority poor, by the presence of disease, by a history of colonization (loosely defined), by the presence of marginalized³⁸⁴ groups, including widows and orphans,

Theology of Mission, 85. C.f. Keith Anderson, *Old Testament and New Testament* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1984), 112. Scholars suggests Luke's gospel was written between 75 CE to 95 CE. Accepting this, I adopt 80 CE as a starting point for it.

³⁸⁰ A good detailed argument about the first recipients is given by Richard Bauckham, "For Whom Were Gospels Written," in *The Gospels for All Christians*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9-48; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I - IX: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 28, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1981), 35-41; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2002), 14-18; Thorsten Moritz et al., eds., *Luke-Acts*, Biblical Studies: New Testament (Gloucestershire: Open Theological College, 1995), 1.1-13.

³⁸¹ See e.g. the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man, which is directed to those with money.

³⁸² See here Bauckham, "For Whom Were Gospels Written," 9 - 48; Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I - IX: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 35-41; Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 14-18; Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 1:1-13. Bauckham's discussion on the nature of Luke's audience is particularly useful.

³⁸³ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 84.

³⁸⁴ I have chosen the term "marginalized" to accommodate various groups of people who experience suffering in Tanzania. These—sometimes overlapping—groups include: those affected by HIV/AIDS, widows, orphans—and other vulnerable children (some resident outside their tribal areas), political and economic refugees, and the poor generally.

and in all of this by lively contact between many cultures.³⁸⁵ It follows that Luke has the potential to speak particularly clearly to Tanzanian readers, including those in central Tanzania, and that in return a Tanzanian lens can add to a general understanding of Luke's world. This is especially so because Luke 4, which opens the section of the gospel that introduces Jesus' mission manifesto is, in my reading of it, focused on the needs of the poor.³⁸⁶

The Gospel divides into several sections. The first section begins with the birth stories of John the Baptist and Jesus (1:1-2:52). Secondly Luke recounts the preparations for Jesus' ministry (3:1-4:13). The third section is Luke's presentation of Jesus' ministry (4:14-24:43). This is presented in three sub-phases. The first sub-phase concerns Jesus' ministry in Galilee (Luke 4:14-9:50), the second is Jesus' ministry on his journey to Jerusalem (9:51-19:27), while the third covers Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem followed by his death, resurrection and ascension (19:28-24:43).

Luke 4 therefore introduces Jesus' mission, and my reading of Jesus' manifesto in Luke 4 focuses on his mission towards the poor in the first century Palestine. I have focused on this issue, because poverty is the biggest challenge to the Tanzanian community today, even though it is the product of other issues.³⁸⁷ The reading attempts to show how the mission of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke not only addressed the social setting of the Greco-Roman world, but is also applicable to my Tanzanian social context today.

The main source of poverty in Luke's gospel is the socio-economic inequality inherent in the Roman Empire.³⁸⁸ I argue that, for Luke, the central theme of Jesus' missional manifesto meant that salvation brings social and economic liberation to the poor in first century

³⁸⁵ Abogunrin, "Jesus' Sevenfold Programmatic Declaration at Nazareth: An Exegesis of Luke 4:15-30 From An African Perspective," 248.

³⁸⁶ The main source of poverty in the Roman Empire of Luke's Gospel was socio-economic inequality. John E. Stambaugh and David L. Balch, *The New Testament in Its Social Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 63-76; Douglas E. Oakman, ed. *The Ancient Economy, The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody: Hendrickson 1996), 126-37; James Malcolm Arlandson, *Women, Class, and Society in Early Christianity* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 14-116; Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 15.3-7.

³⁸⁷ Chapter Two identified six issues that confront the post-colonial/*ujamaa* mission in Tanzania. Because of limited time and space my reading of the Lukan narrative will engage with two issues which mostly affect the Tanzanian community. First, the general issue of poverty and secondly, the issue of street children and other vulnerable children who are connected with the issue of women/widows as one of the two groups mostly affected by the problem of poverty. This will be addressed in Chapter Five.

³⁸⁸ Stambaugh and Balch, *The New Testament in Its Social Environment*, 63-76; Oakman, *The Ancient Economy*, 126-37; Arlandson, *Women, Class, and Society in Early Christianity*, 14-116; Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 15.3-7.

Palestine.³⁸⁹ This is particularly important for Tanzanians who have seen the horror of colonialism and economic exploitation, and who long for a restoration of their hope through *ujamaa* principles. At the end of this chapter, I link the reading of Luke to Tanzania's experience of the colonial past and the consequent present suffering of most poor people. One of the key conclusions of this reading is that Jesus' manifesto in Luke 4 prepares the reader for Jesus' solidarity with the poor throughout the gospel, in a context of social unrest. I wish then to argue that Jesus' followers in the Tanzania of today need to be demonstrating that same solidarity with the poor if they are to be faithful to his original mission.

4.2 The context of the narrative of Jesus' manifesto (Luke 4:16-21)

The wider context of Jesus' programmatic declaration is Jesus' ministry in Galilee, which runs from 4:14 to 9:50. Luke 4:16-21 is part of the wider narrative of 4:16-30 and is the second part of three sections (4:1-15; 4:16-30 and 4:31-44 respectively) that introduce Jesus' public ministry. This section contains a number of miracles. Luke 4:14-44 presents Jesus' powerful teaching and healing ministry. Having noted how that ministry is received on the Galilean stage, Luke goes on to give an exemplary day in the synagogue where Jesus announces himself and his ministry to be the fulfilment of promise (Luke 4:16-21).³⁹⁰ Scholars such as Culpepper³⁹¹ and Mark L. Strauss³⁹² argue that the Luke 4:16-21 pericope derives from two sources, Mark and Q. They consider that the 'Nazareth event' seems to be the same one recorded in Mark 6:1-6 and Matthew 13:53-58.³⁹³ Indeed it may be that most of the material in the pericope is the work of a redactor, hence its distinction from the similar passages in the synoptic gospels. It may equally be the case; however, that the ministry manifesto presented in Luke 4 is peculiar to Luke, deriving not from Mark and Q but from the L source,³⁹⁴ for in its particulars the Luke story is significantly different from that of Mark and Matthew. Luke's pericope is much more detailed and different in emphasis.³⁹⁵ This

³⁸⁹ Philip F. Esler, "The social Criticism of Luke-Acts (1987)," in *Socio-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation*, ed. David G. Horrell (Edinburgh: T&T Clack, 1999), 125-26; Richard A. Horsley, ed. *The Imperial Situation of Palestinian Jewish Society*, The Bible and Liberation (London: SPCK, 1993), 395-9.

³⁹⁰ Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 2-4.

³⁹¹ R. Alan Culpepper, *The Gospel of Luke: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections*, vol. IX The New Interpreter's Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 7.

³⁹² Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, ed. Stanley Porter, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995), 219.

³⁹³ For more detail about the differences between the Mark, Matthew and Luke pericopes see, *ibid.*, 224-26.

³⁹⁴ See *ibid.*, 225. There are about 338 verses that are not found in other synoptic gospels that are peculiar to Luke. While scholars have debated the point, in the present view the 4:16-21 pericope may be regarded as one section of them because of its specific location and the detail.

³⁹⁵ For a useful overview of the scholarly discussion on the sources of the pericope, see, Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I - IX: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 526-27.

study supports the latter possibility because Luke's pericope is alone in highlighting issues of poverty and injustice.

As Prior observes, generally scholars see the 4:16-30 pericope as a paradigm of the Lukan portrayal of Jesus' ministry.³⁹⁶ Roger Bowen supports this convincing view that "Luke probably placed it right at the beginning because he wanted to show especially clearly the pattern and principles of the whole of Jesus' ministry."³⁹⁷ It operates as a thematic introduction to and foundation for his entire Gospel.

The pericope comes after Jesus returns to Galilee in the power of the Spirit, after the temptations in the desert, and before he goes teaching and healing in the synagogue in Capernaum, a city in Galilee. Most importantly, it comes after his baptism which signifies his call to mission. As well as introducing Jesus' teaching and miraculous healing ministry in Galilee, it shows his identity as an observant Jew, in good standing with the synagogue, sent by God to save and liberate the poor.

The narrative location has been critically debated in New Testament scholarship. Luke's deliberate choice of this text as a thematic introduction is supported by the fact that the events depicted most likely occurred chronologically later in Jesus' ministry. In the suggested parallel synoptic passages, Matthew 13:53-58 and Mark 6:1-6, the Capernaum sequence follows rather than precedes the Nazareth text.³⁹⁸ I agree with claims that the text is placed earlier to serve as a foundation for Jesus' ministry in the entire gospel.

4.3 Jesus attending worship at the Nazareth synagogue, (vv. 16-17)

When he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, he went to the

³⁹⁶ See Michael Prior, *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4: 16-30)* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 41. See also, Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 394; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. One: The Gospel According to Luke (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 77-79; Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* trans. Geoffrey Buswell (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 34.

³⁹⁷ Bowen, ...*So I Send You: A Study Guide to Mission* 36. Craddock observes that "Luke places the Nazareth visit first because it is not chronologically but programmatically important. This event announces who Jesus is, of what his ministry consists, what his Church will be and do, and what will be the response to both Jesus and the Church." See Fred B. Craddock, *Luke*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1990), 61.

³⁹⁸ Sampson Madubochi-Reuben Nwaomah, "The Concept of the Church in Luke-Acts and Implication for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in West Africa" (Obafemi Awolowo, 2005), 7-14.

Synagogue on the Sabbath day, as was his custom, He stood up to read, and the scroll of the prophet Isaiah was given to him. He unrolled the scroll and found the place where it was written... (NRSV).

In these two verses, Luke uses the word “custom” to depict Jesus as a Palestinian Jew in the habit of attending Sabbath worship in the synagogue.³⁹⁹ Luke presents Jesus as “pious, but the character of his piety is different from that of the Jewish leadership. On the Sabbath Jesus will heal, meet people’s needs, and instruct them”⁴⁰⁰ (see Luke 4:15-16, 31-33; 6:6; 13:10). In fact Luke shows Jesus not only attending synagogue worship but as a faithful Jew who reads in the synagogue. Within first century Judaism, only a competent member of the congregation would be chosen to stand up and read, before sitting to preach as verses 20-21 indicate.⁴⁰¹

Discussing the function of the synagogue, Prior observes that while “the early synagogue fulfilled many roles... the two main activities were prayer and study.”⁴⁰² Central tool to the life of the synagogue was therefore the scroll of the scriptures, particularly the Torah and the prophets, and the transportable wooden ark for the Torah.⁴⁰³ Nolland notes that “the major elements of synagogue worship were the recitation of the *shema* (Deut 6:4-9), the praying of the *Tephillah* by one of the congregation, a reading from the Torah... a reading from the prophets and a sermon based on the readings.”⁴⁰⁴

It is possible the prophetic reading which Jesus was assigned to read that day came from Isaiah 61:1-2, from the Septuagint (LXX) version which the NT writers relied on.⁴⁰⁵

Alternatively, if Jesus himself chose the passage of the day, as Luke informs his readers, then this indicates the priorities of the Lukan Jesus. He selects a text that concerns liberation for the oppressed Israelites in Exile, and applies it to his contemporary context. This shows his commitment to addressing the oppressed classes of first century Palestine. This incident has further significance for Luke because by including it and at this point, it makes clear that he

³⁹⁹ On the four occasions of Jesus’ appearing in a synagogue on the Sabbath (apart from general reference to preaching in synagogues in v 44), this is the only setting in which Jesus is actually shown preaching. See, Elaine M. Wainwright, *Women Healing/ Healing Women* (London: Equinox, 2006), 176.

⁴⁰⁰ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 402.

⁴⁰¹ Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 4.2.

⁴⁰² Prior, *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4: 16-30)*, 110.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ John Nolland, *Luke 1:-9:20*, vol. 35A (Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989), 194.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 193.

sees the OT promises, especially those of Isaiah, being fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus.

4.3.1 What Jesus' attendance at the synagogue teaches the ACT in Tanzania

In selecting a text which shows compassion for the marginalised, Luke shows Jesus to have values similar to those of the *ujamaa* culture. Jesus' selection of a text that shows compassion for the marginalized resonates with the values of *ujamaa* culture; through compassion the marginalized poor can be liberated. The *ujamaa* culture was by nature compassionate. It intended to serve the community equally, so that all were able to receive social services such as education, medical treatment and water, regardless of their status or economic situation. Today we witness pregnant women dying during childbirth, either because there are no dispensaries in their villages, or because they are unable to afford the medicine. Likewise, only well-to-do people have easy water access while the majority poor in villages do not: women go miles to fetch unsafe drinking water. Jesus, as Luke portrays him, is a model of compassion which is significant for the ACT's involvement in its mission work. The mission of the ACT needs to be directed by a compassionate spirit, modelled upon the Lukan Jesus in order to bring its prophetic voice to bear on behalf of the voiceless poor.⁴⁰⁶

Verses 16-17 provide Luke's reader with the context in which the programmatic declaration was given. There are three important things to be aware of.

Firstly, it took place in his home town of Nazareth; a small, rural setting.

Nazareth was a town in Lower Galilee, north of the valley of Jezreel.⁴⁰⁷ The gospels tell us that this was home to Mary and Joseph, the parents of Jesus (Matthew 2:23, Luke 1:26; 2:4, 39), while Luke tells his readers that this is where Jesus grew up (2:39, 51). So Jesus was familiar with the place. Blomberg notes that "the majority of Galilee was made up of as many as a hundred small villages, few as large as Capernaum, which had possibly one thousand inhabitants."⁴⁰⁸

Strange observes that "as inferred from the Herodian tombs in Nazareth, the maximum extent of the Herodian and pre-Herodian village measured about 900 x 200 m, for a total area just

⁴⁰⁶ James F. Strange, "Nazareth," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1050.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Craig L. Blomberg, *Jesus and the Gospels* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2009), 61; Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee, History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995), 193-94.

under 60 acres. Since most of this was empty space in antiquity, the population would have been a maximum of about 480 at the beginning of the 1st century AD.”⁴⁰⁹ It seems that villages in Palestine did not change in size once Herod came on the scene (pre-Herodian and Herodian).⁴¹⁰

Secondly it took place in a context where Romans were the colonial rulers of Palestine.

The story of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke is set in the wider context of the Greco-Roman world where Romans were the colonial rulers.⁴¹¹ Luke’s readers are reminded from the beginning of the social and political situation that confronted first century Palestine (Luke 2:1-6. 3:1-14).⁴¹² The Romans appointed governors to help them rule Palestine. During Jesus’ lifetime, Herod Antipas (BC 4 to AD 37) was the appointed tetrarch (governor, whom the Jews called king) of Galilee.⁴¹³ Richard Cooke notes that “in return he paid a handsome tribute to Rome and made a very good living for himself too.”⁴¹⁴ Herod Antipas’ execution of John the Baptist (Luke 3:19-20) and Jesus’ appearance before him (c.f. Luke 23:7-12) further remind Luke’s readers of the fear-filled political situation that confronted the first century Palestinian community.⁴¹⁵

It is also important to understand that the appointed Jewish governors collaborated with Roman colonial rule to humiliate people by using foreign soldiers to enforce law and order and in many occasion to torture people.⁴¹⁶ People also had to pay taxes to Caesar and the ruling class of governors sided with the rich who influenced the economic and political system to oppress the poor. Burrus makes this same point that, throughout Luke:

readers are reminded of the political circumstance of early first-century Judaea, ruled by the Herodians, a Judaized Idumean dynasty that had come to power through the patronage of Rome, profiting directly from the rise of Roman military influence in the

⁴⁰⁹ Strange, "Nazareth," 1050.

⁴¹⁰ Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 15.5-15.6. See also, William R. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994), 120.

⁴¹¹ Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom has given a good analysis of Roman Colonial rule in the first century Palestine as presented in the Lukan-Acts narrative. Chapter Three on the “Imperial and Cosmic Contexts of Luke-Acts” and his Chapter Four on “The Lukan Portrayal of Roman Provincial Governors” are particularly important. See Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom, *The Roman Empire in Luke's Narrative* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 69-160.

⁴¹² Mark Allan Powell examines the situation of the first century Greco-Roman world, see, Powell, *Introducing the New Testament*, 25-33.

⁴¹³ See Powell, *ibid.*, 27-30. Cf., Cooke, *New Testament*, 11.

⁴¹⁴ ———, *New Testament*, 12.

⁴¹⁵ Virginia Burrus, "The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles," in *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia and R. S. Sugirtharajab (New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 134.

⁴¹⁶ Mark A. Chancey, *Greco - Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 46.

region. The formidable influence of the Romans is marked in Luke's text both by the imposed power of taxation conveyed by the census and by the presence of a Roman governor (and thus the threat of Roman military forces) in the neighbouring province of Syria.⁴¹⁷

The majority of people who lived in Nazareth were poor. Very few were landowners.⁴¹⁸ In this vein, David Wenham observes that, across Israel people were

dispossessed to make room for the friends of the governing class, and the gap between rich and poor was wide. Taxation hit most people, often very hard—there were individual taxes, taxes on goods, as well as the traditional temple tax. Tax collectors were unscrupulous and unpopular. Debt was a major problem.⁴¹⁹

The majority longed for liberation from an unjust system. They longed for God to intervene in their cause through the arrival of a messiah. When this happened, it would be the fulfilment of prophecy.⁴²⁰ Even when it is not directly in view, this complex colonial situation informs the mission of Jesus as it is expressed in the programmatic declaration and indeed in the entire gospel.

Thirdly, Jesus' manifesto was given in a Synagogue setting, with all that should entail.

Luke presents Jesus giving his sermon in the synagogue and the whole pericope is set in this context. Synagogue worship, which started in exile, was a gathering that brought people together to study the law. Although the point is debated, it seems likely that there were no synagogues prior to the exile. Rather, as Blomberg says, "without access to a temple in which to gather or a divinely authorized place to offer sacrifices, Jews began to congregate in local places of worship."⁴²¹

The synagogue was used as the centre for reading and learning the Torah, the prophets, and wisdom literature, and as an assembly for worship, a school, a community centre and a place for administering justice.⁴²² It was not, therefore, a place purely for cultic activities. In the

⁴¹⁷ Burrus, "The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles," 134.

⁴¹⁸ C.f. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed*, 119-21.

⁴¹⁹ David Wenham and Steve Walton, *Exploring the New Testament: A Guide to the Gospels and Acts*, vol. One, New Testament (Illinois IVP, 2001), 22.

⁴²⁰ George Ladd and Thomas Schreiner describe how the Jewish community of first century Palestine longed for God's intervention in order to liberate them from their oppressors. See George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 33-37; Thomas R. Schreiner, *New Testament Theology* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2008), 45-53.

⁴²¹ Blomberg, *Jesus and the Gospels*, 10.

⁴²² Craddock, *Luke*, 62.

gospels, synagogue activities included giving alms to the poor (Matthew 6:2) saying prayers (Matthew 6:5, standing up), conducting trials (Luke 12:11; 21:12), and for the purposes of scourging (Matthew 10:17; 23:34; Mark 13:9). One of the demands of the Torah was to care for the poor in the community. Failure to observe the Torah had led to Israel being taken into exile. Thus, after the exile, the need to study the Torah and obediently apply it to every area of life became paramount.⁴²³

Unfortunately by Jesus' time, Jewish religious leaders, especially the high priestly clan in Jerusalem, had lost sight of the Torah's commitment to justice and community values.⁴²⁴ The collaboration with Roman injustice, noted above, was compounded by a failure to live the teaching of the Torah by administering justice. Nor, did they provide a voice for the voiceless. Instead of teaching and living the Torah, religious leaders provided theology and taught in a manner which justified the system that oppressed the poor (Luke 11:37-54). Thus they, and other community leaders, were able to circumvent the Jewish laws that protected the poor.⁴²⁵

Meanwhile, Luke indicates that the Old Testament scriptures had truly inspired and informed Jesus for his mission. Prior writes:

Jesus, a Palestinian Jew, was nourished and his mission was stimulated by the record of the Israelites' dealings with God preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures. There can be no doubt that behind the great number of references to his use of the scriptures is the fact that they were constantly in his mind and heart, and on his lips.⁴²⁶

Given his context, it is no surprise, therefore, that when Jesus is given the Scripture in the synagogue, he highlights these verses from the prophet Isaiah as a message for desperate people. They are desperate because their religious leaders are not administering justice as they should, but their freedom from oppression is coming. These opening verses from Luke's pericope offer the following to the ACT situation:

⁴²³ N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1996), 157-70; Blomberg, *Jesus and the Gospels*, 9-11.

⁴²⁴ I am aware that it is possible some of the Pharisees especially in rural villages taught the Torah seriously to the point that Jesus could follow their example of teaching the Torah. Jesus told his disciples to follow the Pharisees' words but not their deeds. However the top leaders in Jerusalem were the problem. It may be possible their influence went as far as to rural villages such as Nazareth where Jesus gave the Programmatic Declaration.

⁴²⁵ George O. Folarin, "The Parable of the Talents in the African Context: An Inculturation Hermeneutics Approach," *Asia Journal of Theology* 22, no. 2 (April 2008): 99.

⁴²⁶ Prior, *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4: 16-30)*, 128.

4.3.2 Resonance for the ACT's rural majority

Jesus' declaration is made to rural people in need of liberation. This was the original intention of *ujamaa* culture in Tanzania: to offer liberation for the rural village people and to give them their dignity. The establishment of *ujamaa* villages in Tanzania was the fruit of independence and it was marked by social services offered equally to everyone. People of rural communities were encouraged and equipped to interdependently share their resources for the benefit of the whole community. Tanzanian communities with a memory of *ujamaa* culture can therefore see how relevant, in the light of Jesus' Nazareth declaration, it is to be suggesting the application of an *ujamaa* Hermeneutic in Tanzania.

4.3.3 Resonance with the context of the Nazareth declaration given to people under imperialist rule

Where Roman imperial rule in Palestine led to injustice and oppression, neo-colonial rule from the West today seems to do the same for Tanzania. Neo-colonialists are the ones who have most influence on the political, economic and social system in Tanzania. Most Tanzanians who have become rich under the name of investment policy are political leaders who side with foreigners to make wealth for themselves. Western companies, when they want to invest in mining, are given deals under which they can operate for a number of years before they must pay taxes. The reason given is that they need to make a profit so that they can return their capital investment, yet when they become profitable they only give a small percent as tax to the government and keep the rest as profit.⁴²⁷ My reading suggests that today there is also concern about China's growing influence in Africa, while countries like South Korea and Saudi Arabia have bought up millions of hectares to plant crops for direct export to their own countries.

The question is why these companies do not enjoy the same conditions in Ghana, Botswana, or South Africa?⁴²⁸ The reason behind this is that in Tanzania they bribe those people involved in signing the contracts. By the time the contractual term finishes, not only have they sent huge profits back to their home countries, but they have also destroyed the Tanzanian environment and left Tanzanian people in massive poverty.

⁴²⁷ Raphael Kibiriti, "Kamati ya Madini Yataka Mfumo Mpya wa Sekta ya Madini " *Nipashe* 25 May 2008, 1-2.

⁴²⁸ Zito Kabwe, Member of Parliament, contributing to the budget of the Ministry of Minerals and Energy to the parliamentary session in August 2009 was shocked to learn that Tanzania was the only country in sub-Saharan African that could not benefit from its mineral richness. His information came from intensive comparative research done the previous year on the mineral sector from other African countries; especially Botswana, South Africa, and Ghana.

In complete contrast to the profit-driven values of neo-colonialism, the core theme of *ujamaa* culture was to achieve an equality where no one would be oppressed by any person in the society. *Ujamaa* cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all people lived together in harmony and with equal opportunity. The *ujamaa* community elected representatives who would serve the community, seeking to achieve the well-being of everyone in the society. The views of everyone were respected in the interests of developing the whole community. An *ujamaa* democratic community believed “*wengi wape, wachache wasikilizwe*” (the majority must be given to and the minority should be listened to). In this way everyone was accommodated.

Today, the majority poor in Tanzania are experiencing a painful reality. They have no say in the economy and social welfare of their country. Instead the rich decide what to do, in the name of liberal economics and the free market, driven by investors who sit in western countries deciding what policy Tanzania should follow, regardless of whether that policy benefits the majority poor or not. This neo-colonial rule exploits the poor of Tanzania. The Lukan Jesus’ manifesto challenges Tanzanian political leaders to shape their policies with *ujamaa* principles in mind and not to use their position for their own sake but for the sake of the poor.

4.3.4 Resonance with the religious context of the Nazareth Declaration

The fact that Luke shows Jesus issuing his manifesto in a religious setting gives the ACT much to ponder. Jesus, unlike many contemporary religious leaders, was not intimidated by the power structures of the Jewish religion. In Tanzania, the leadership style of the Anglican Church when established did not facilitate the mission of the church in serving the community. Rather, it matched the imperialism of colonial rule.

In the post-colonial era, the *ujamaa* leadership code established under the Arusha Declaration prohibited government leaders from accumulating wealth, and it involved everyone who had a position in society, including religious senior leaders. This was in line with the belief that *cheo ni dhamana, sitatumia cheo changu kwa faida yangu mwenyewe* (in English, “position is held in trust” or “position is accountability”; “I will not use my position for my own advantage”). Everyone who held leadership positions, including church leaders, was monitored so that they could not use their position to accumulate wealth at the expense of the

people.⁴²⁹ This leadership code was vital. As Judge Joseph Warioba says: “The Arusha declaration was a manifesto which carried the foundations for a leadership ethics. This was very important”. He further says “that those ethics define the qualities of leadership. That is, if you are a member of CCM, then you are leader and so there are standards by which you must abide. You must recognise that the position you hold is entrusted to you with accountability. These values were the foundation of the nation”.⁴³⁰

In the last twenty years, some (if not most) ACT top leaders⁴³¹ have not only not fulfilled their prophetic role or paid attention to the poverty that confronts the Tanzanian community, but they have also used their positions to accumulate wealth at the expense of the poor.⁴³² As already noted in Chapter Two above, Archbishop Donald Mtetemela addressing the 11th Synod of the ACT noted the presence of corruption among church leaders. He said that “if Judge Joseph Warioba’s National Bribe Commission had investigated the Church as they did other sectors of society, many Church leaders would have been found guilty.”⁴³³ The abuse of power remains very common among some church leaders in Tanzania.

At the ACT provincial synod in 2004, ACT top leaders presented an agenda that required every diocese to build a house for its retired bishop and a salary payment to the end of his life. This agenda was supported by all but two bishops. While the majority thought this was their entitlement, the two minority bishops thought it was not wise to impose such baggage on poor Christians, for whom even getting a single meal per day was difficult.⁴³⁴

Interestingly, although the agenda did not pass at the provincial level, it was agreed that each individual diocese would make its own decision. Since, however, in the ACT the top authority has the ultimate power to decide (because of the imperial colonial legacy of top-

⁴²⁹ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 70.

⁴³⁰ Judge Joseph Sinde Warioba, Prime Minister of Tanzania from 1985-1990, speaking with journalists about his current worries on the gap between the rich and the poor, leaders being involved in various scandals, and the danger of placing our nation's unity and peace at risk. (Translated from Swahili). See Godfrey Dilunga, "Udini ni Tatizo la Wakubwa - Jaji Warioba," *Raia Mwema* 8 December 2010, 2; *ibid*.

⁴³¹ I am using “top leaders” to mean those who hold senior positions; an authority of similar type to the post of the high priestly clan of first century Palestine. I am not thinking of priests who live in rural villages, those for whom most of their work involves struggling to find *Lisala* (Lisala is special money given to the Bishop during confirmation services) and to fund the Church Central Fund (CCF) from the poor Christians, to enable the church’s top authorities to get their salaries, buy executive cars, build houses and have money to run church affairs. This Tanzanian case would be similar to the temple tax of first century Judaism.

⁴³² Corruption is one of the key causes of conflict in many dioceses. According to the story, there are five dioceses currently facing conflicts related to the problem of corruption.

⁴³³ See Mtetemela, "Crossing the River into the Third Millennium," 28.

⁴³⁴ Raphael Mwita Akiri, "Agendas for the General Provincial Synod," in *Files for the Provincial Synod* (Dodoma: Mackay House, 2004), 3.

down leadership),⁴³⁵ most dioceses have been given the huge burden of buying or building a house for the retired bishop and paying him and his wife to the end of their lives.

In some cases, a top authority, if not given a house, will sell Church property in order to buy a retirement house for himself. Examples like these have led to conflicts within individual dioceses. Some church authorities have sided with politicians to meet their ends, ensuring support for politicians during election campaigns and receiving support in return when there is an episcopal election. Thus, Samuel Sitta, speaker of the National Assembly, describes his disappointment with most church leaders: "I am very disappointed when I think of the church leaders' problems; I wish these would not come to the church. Some of those who are supposed to direct our lives are the ones who are also now living corrupted lives."⁴³⁶

This text analysis argues that the Spirit must be seen moving the Church to its prophetic mission on behalf of the majority poor. This is the Spirit who Luke sees empowering Jesus to combat poverty and injustice (See Luke 3: 22; 4:1, 14). In Luke, Jesus' text for his mission manifesto is different to that of most ACT preachers. Most of them select passages that suit their agendas rather than addressing the needs of the people, for example, Luke 10:7, Romans 13:1. It is rare to hear a sermon dealing with people's socio-economic conditions that will make them realize God's compassion for their situation and call those in power to behave justly and generously as the law requires. In most preaching, God seems to be silent to their suffering, as if they were created for it. This reading argues that the Lukan Jesus' declaration from within the religious structures of Judaism challenges the ACT to raise its prophetic voice and be in solidarity with the poor.

4.4 The Isaiah text and its significance for Jesus' mission (vv. 18-19)

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour.

There are three statements in verses 18 and 19 that need to be analysed: firstly Jesus' anointing by the Spirit to empower his mission work, secondly his mission towards the poor,

⁴³⁵ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 33,38,45,48.

⁴³⁶ Samuel Sitta speaking at Kijitonyama Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam: Betty Kanyonga, "Sitta: Mungu Ananilinda Mapambano Dhidi ya Ufisadi," *Tanzania Daima* 29 December 2009, 1,3.

including the captives, the blind and the oppressed, and thirdly, announcing the year of the Lord's favour.

4.4.1 Jesus' anointing by the Spirit to empower his mission work

In applying the passage to himself as anointed by the Spirit "to bring good news to the poor," Jesus is showing that the purpose of his mission mandate is consistent throughout Luke's gospel. The reader of Luke is aware of the movement of the Spirit in the entire Gospel, mentioned eighteen times compared to twelve in Matthew and only six in Mark.⁴³⁷ Right from the beginning, Luke speaks of the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Spirit comes upon Mary to bring about the birth of Jesus (1:35). The Spirit fills Elizabeth so that she recognizes the pregnant Mary carrying the Lord of the new creation (1:41-44). Then, the Spirit comes on Jesus at his baptism, drives him into the desert to be tempted, and accompanies him in power as he begins his ministry (Luke 4:14).⁴³⁸ It is only Luke who informs his readers that Jesus returned from the Jordan 'full of the Holy Spirit' (4:1), and as Mark S. Strauss observes, he alone among the synoptic gospels tells his readers that Jesus returns to Galilee after the temptation 'in the power of the Spirit' (4:14).⁴³⁹

For Luke, the outpouring of the Spirit both before and after Jesus' birth indicates that the new age of the Spirit has come. In the Old Testament when the spirit of Moses had been given by God to the 70 elders, Moses expresses the pious wish: "would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them" (Numbers 11:29). Moses had also promised that the Lord would raise up a prophet like himself (Deuteronomy 18:5). Now, Luke indicates, that great prophet had been born of whom John testified: "I baptize with water, but he who is mightier than I ... will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire" (Luke 3:16). If the age of the Spirit had come, then it is not surprising that the mission of the prophet like Moses should be accompanied by a great movement of the Spirit of God.

Thus, when Jesus stands up to speak in the Synagogue, it is fitting that he quotes from the prophet's words: "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me." This clearly shows, as Strauss argues, that "the link between the descent of the Spirit at the baptism and the Spirit-anointing

⁴³⁷ Anderson, *Old Testament and New Testament*, 160.

⁴³⁸ Mark S. Strauss argues that "for Luke, the anointing described in Lk. 4:18 almost certainly refers back to the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus at his baptism (Lk 3:21-22)." Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 202.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

described by Jesus in Luke 4:18 (Isaiah 61:1) is unmistakable.”⁴⁴⁰ In Luke’s portrayal, the Spirit is empowering Jesus for the prophetic role to be a voice for the poor and for the messianic role of bringing them salvation.

The words “anointed by the spirit” would have been familiar to Jesus’ first audience. In its OT background, anointing was a practice of Jews for people who were set apart for a particular role in society. This included the prophetic role (c.f. Exodus 29:7, 1 Samuel 9:16, 1 Kings 19:15, 1 Samuel 26:6; Psalm 45:1, 84:9).⁴⁴¹ Craddock observes that:

By reading Isaiah he not only announces the fulfilment of prophecy (v.21) but defines what his messianic role is. Isaiah 61 is a servant song, and “anointed me” means “made me the Christ or Messiah.” When understood literally, the passage says the Christ is God’s servant who will bring to reality the longing and the hope for the poor, the oppressed, and the imprisoned. The Christ will also usher in the amnesty, the liberation, and the restoration associated with the proclamation of the year of Jubilee (v 19; Lev. 25:8-12).⁴⁴²

Thus, the best way to understand Jesus’ statement that he has been anointed by the Spirit, and indeed the whole pericope, is to consider the degree to which the Old Testament text determines the interpretation. The question is: should we interpret the pericope messianically or prophetically? The context of Isaiah leads many to suggest that the text should be interpreted in relation to Jesus’ prophetic role. As Bock points out, “this prophetic role fits nicely with Luke’s emphasis on Jesus as prophet and teacher.”⁴⁴³ Moritz supports the idea that “the natural understanding of both Isaiah 61 and Luke 4:18f is primarily that the anointing was that of a prophet”.⁴⁴⁴ However, I wish to argue that both messianic and prophetic interpretations are suggested here.

At his baptism Jesus was anointed by the Spirit and commissioned for both his prophetic role and his messianic task.⁴⁴⁵ As Moritz writes later: “Jesus is both, and this ambiguity would have ensured that the people had to think hard about the implicit claims of the one who read out the quotation.”⁴⁴⁶ Hence although the text suggests a prophetic role, for Luke, Jesus is both the prophet and the anointed messiah, the bringer of salvation. Since as Strauss argues

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 405.

⁴⁴² Craddock, *Luke*, 62.

⁴⁴³ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 408.

⁴⁴⁴ Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 43.

⁴⁴⁵ See Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts*, 203.

⁴⁴⁶ Moritz et al., *Luke-Acts*, 43.

“for Luke the prophecy may encompass Jesus’ Spirit-empowerment to accomplish the messianic task of saving which has to do with liberation such as healings during his ministry”,⁴⁴⁷ the anointing therefore signifies that the power of the Spirit will lead Jesus in his prophetic saving mission. His mission as prophet thus has holistic implications. Jesus will speak against the injustice of his society which oppresses the people and speak up for the voiceless people in society.⁴⁴⁸ I argue that the anointing also signifies that Jesus’ messianic role implies saving the poor who suffer from diseases. This is clearly shown by the fact that Luke emphasises both Jesus’ teaching and healing ministries.

4.4.2 “To bring good news to the poor:” Jesus’ mission towards the poor

In first century Palestine, as Powell says: “There was nothing comparable to what we would call a “middle class”; for the most part, people were either extremely rich (about 3 percent of the population) or extremely poor (about 90 percent of the population).”⁴⁴⁹ Craig S. De Vos further explains:

In socio-economic terms, the first century Mediterranean world was a pre-industrial, agrarian society. ... approximately ninety percent of the population was engaged in agricultural production using simple, non-mechanized technology and either human or animal power, where any surplus produced (and hence profit) was controlled by the elite, and where the vast majority worked simply to try to produce sufficient for their own needs.⁴⁵⁰

Luke sees Jesus as empowered by the Spirit to enable a special mission to the poor, one bringing “good news to the poor,” *εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχός*. The key Greek word used for this aspect of Jesus’ manifesto is the word *πτωχός* (*ptochos*). It is used eight times in the Gospel of Luke (4:18; 6:20; 7:22; 14:12, 21; 18:22; 19:8; 21:3). In Greek, and indeed in English, according to Nissen, “The term *πτωχός* (*ptochos*) is often a collective term for all the economically disadvantaged.”⁴⁵¹

The first century Palestinian poor included those who were unemployed, unskilled day-labourers who were often without work, peasants on farms, widows and orphans, the

⁴⁴⁷ Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts*, 202. Italics mine.

⁴⁴⁸ Nwaomah, "The Concept of the Church in Luke-Acts and Implication for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in West Africa," 5.

⁴⁴⁹ See Powell, *Introducing the New Testament*, 41.

⁴⁵⁰ Craig S. de Vos, ed. *The Meaning of 'Good News to the Poor' in Luke's Gospel: The Parable of Lazarus and Rich-Man as a Test Case*, In *Other Words: Essays on Social Science Methods & the New Testament in Honor of Jerome H. Neyrey* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 68.

⁴⁵¹ Johannes Nissen, *New Testament and Mission* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), 51.

disabled, the ill, prisoners and slaves.⁴⁵² Prior says that: "The reasons for this state of poverty may be traceable to natural causes, or human causes, or to some combination of the two."⁴⁵³ Mainly though poverty was rooted in the prevailing economic and social structure of Greco-Roman society. The ruling classes owned massive land-holdings which they rented to the poor at high rates, using the money they received to live luxurious lives, while the poor incurred substantial debt.

This debt was exacerbated by the burden of crippling taxes. Blomberg further explains:

For many ... taxation placed a heavy burden on all of one's earnings. The Jewish triple tithe—10 percent to priests and Levites, 10 percent for temple festivals, and 3 1/3 percent for the poor—came on top of the sales taxes, customs, and annual tribute paid to Roman government, much of which went to fund its vast military machine. Tax to Rome varied from about three weeks' earnings per year to 30 percent of all one's income. The annual temple tax for Jerusalem amounted to a half-shekel—or two denarii (cf. Matt. 17:24-27). No doubt, some Jews paid half or more of all their wages in tax of some form. The burden of unpayable taxes led to a lucrative business for loan sharks. Foreclosing on property followed inability to repay loans and led to people being sold into slavery or, worse, languishing in debtors' prisons.⁴⁵⁴

Some of the indebted rural poor sold themselves in to a life of indentured labour, effectively becoming slaves. Many moved to cities where they were reduced to begging. In fact the Greek word *πτοχῆρος* Prior considers might best be translated in English as "destitute or beggar."⁴⁵⁵ Many beggars were sick, disabled or otherwise unemployable. Almost by definition they lacked relatives who could or would support them.⁴⁵⁶

The poor normally lacked food, clothing, and shelter. As Prior says: "[In Palestine] poverty related to the serious absence of sufficient food and clothing, or of the means to secure them."⁴⁵⁷ He adds that: "Some of the food [the poor] had to eat, because of their poverty, was unclean, being less pure or less white. Barley bread, *cibarium*, was the mark of the common

⁴⁵² See *ibid.*, 52.

⁴⁵³ Prior, *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4: 16-30)*, 173.

⁴⁵⁴ Blomberg, *Jesus and the Gospels*, 66-67.

⁴⁵⁵ Prior, *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4: 16-30)*, 165.

⁴⁵⁶ See Albert Nolan, *Jesus Before Christianity* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985), 22.

⁴⁵⁷ Prior, *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4: 16-30)*, 173.

person, the slave, and the poor.”⁴⁵⁸ Commonly the poor relied on charity, and the giving of alms was an established part of the culture.⁴⁵⁹

In Swahili the Greek *ποχηρος* takes on perhaps greater meaning. It is commonly translated “*kuwahubiria masikini habari njema*”, meaning literally those who are poor materially, economically, those who are imprisoned, those surrounded in massive poverty and overwhelming desperation. Nissen finds that: “In our western society poverty is primarily an economic category, but in Luke’s Gospel—as in the rest of the New Testament—this concept is more comprehensive.”⁴⁶⁰ He adds: “Primarily ... poverty is a social category in Luke.”⁴⁶¹ Thus effectively he lends support for the Tanzanian conception of the poor. Though I prefer that wider understanding of poverty, here I want to focus particularly on those poor who are economically disadvantaged – those *maskini wenye ufukala wa kutupwa* (those with massive poverty; poverty below the poverty line) because they are the most significantly disadvantaged group in Tanzania.

As D. P. Seccombe observes, it was the economically and politically deprived people of Israel who had direct need for salvation.⁴⁶² They did not enjoy the economic, political and social freedom or privileges enjoyed by the rich. They suffered more in the payment of taxes, and tributes to Roman rule and Jewish religious temple taxes. They experienced no consolation.

Yet in Palestine the poor were not supposed to exist, the law of God intended no one to be reduced to distress. Mhogolo makes this point in observing that: “The impact of the Exodus, of life in the wilderness, became the basis for many of the practices which Israel was required to observe.”⁴⁶³ He goes on to say that at Sinai God entered into a covenant relationship with the people of Israel, which covered the full range of communal life (Exodus 19-24).⁴⁶⁴ Israel was expected to live a life of obedience to God, so that all members of Israel would prosper and live peaceably (Deuteronomy 5-8, c.f. 28:1-14). Because of God’s faithfulness to the

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 170-75.

⁴⁶⁰ Nissen, *New Testament and Mission*, 51.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 52.

⁴⁶² D. P. Seccombe, "Possessions and the Poor in Luke-Acts" (University of Cambridge, 1978), 36-48.

⁴⁶³ Godfrey Mdimi Mhogolo, "The Rich and the Poor in Luke-Acts" (Australian College of Theology, 1980), 23.

⁴⁶⁴ See J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1974), 74-6; S.R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), XXIII-XXV.

weak (Exodus 22:22-23; 23:9, Deuteronomy 10:18-19, Leviticus 19:34), the covenant was particularly concerned to protect the disadvantaged from oppression and exploitation by the well-to-do (Deuteronomy 15:9-10, Leviticus 19:9-10; 13-16). The poor were not expected to pay interest (Leviticus 25:35, Exodus 22:25), and servants were to be paid their wages (Leviticus 19:13). The leftover of harvests was to be left in the fields for the poor (Leviticus 19:9-10), and the produce of the sabbatical year to be shared by all, rich and poor (Leviticus 25:1-7, 20, 21). On the Sabbath, all people had the right to rest from toil.

The Sabbath principles were extended into the sabbatical and jubilee years, a concept that will be discussed further below. In the sabbatical year, Hebrew slaves were to be released from their bondage (Exodus 21:1-6, c.f. Deuteronomy 15:12-18 and Jeremiah 34), property was to be released without interest (Exodus 22:25 c.f. Deuteronomy 15:1-11, Leviticus 25:35), and debts were to be forgiven. During the jubilee year, release of property and slaves were to be observed (Deuteronomy 25:8-34).

The sabbatical and jubilee years were instituted partly to show that the land belonged to God (Leviticus 25:23), and partly to curb poverty (Leviticus 25:18-28, c.f. Deuteronomy 15:4). By releasing land to its original owners, the rich could not get richer at the expense of the poor continually (cf. 1 Kings 21), and the poor had the opportunity to recover from poverty. All these laws of land distribution and rights of ownership were enacted so that no poor person should exist in the community of Israel (Deuteronomy 15:4).

The prophetic books of the OT show the difficulties Israel had in keeping these laws. As Wafawanaka says:

This egalitarian picture was shattered with the rise of the monarchy. Between the tenth and eighth century BCE, a social revolution took place as kingship created a class of rich and poor. Resulting in the poor suffering from oppressive burdens of the monarchy. It is in this context that the prophecy arose to take up the cause of the poor and their suffering.⁴⁶⁵

In the northern kingdom the prophets Amos and Hosea preached in a society which was full of injustice against the poor, needy, and afflicted. Corruption was rife, land allocated to families was often seized by the rulers, the fatherless and widows were exploited by the

⁴⁶⁵ Robert Wafawanaka, ed. *African Perspective on Poverty in the Hebrew Law Codes*, The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, INC., 2001), 493.

powerful (see Hosea 4:1-10, Amos 4:6-11). Corruption in all its forms was rife. Against this, Amos and Hosea sought social renewal (Amos 5:24; Hosea 4:4, 6:6). They wanted not charity for the poor but justice, and an end to all forms of corruption. They wanted the rights of the poor and afflicted to be acknowledged and defended by all, so that the powerful should not acquire wealth by exploiting and oppressing others (Amos 5:21-23).

In the southern Kingdom, Isaiah and Micah addressed similarly unjust societies. They preached against leaders who had abandoned righteousness by siding with the wealthy to exploit the helpless, poor, orphans and widows (Isaiah 1:21-3; 3:14-15; 10:1-2, Micah 2:1-2; 9; 3:10-11; 6:12; 7:2-6,). They stood against a pervasive greed for wealth, a system where princes robbed their own people. They warned that societies that failed to act justly would not stand. Indeed in time the systems they addressed did fall.

As already noted, the Torah contains strict laws against the exploitation of the widows and orphans (Exodus 22:22-24, Deuteronomy 27:19), helpless aliens (Leviticus 19:33), and the poor in general (Exodus 23:6; Leviticus 25:6; Deuteronomy. 15:17). Similar messages are found in the prophets. Yet the prophets were rarely heeded. Rather, as Folarin says: “The priests and scribes provided theological justification for the exploitation and oppression of the poor. Tax collectors inflated their taxes. Stewards increased the cost of their master’s goods.”⁴⁶⁶ And the societies that failed to listen fell. They became subject to colonial rule, their peoples were sent into exile by their captors. By Jesus’ time, Jewish society had passed under various colonial rulers; Babylonians, Syrians, Persians, Greeks and Roman. Still the law that would promote an equal society was not heeded.

All this was in stark contrast to the original ethos of Israel, where land was understood as God’s gift to all. In the OT, Israel's lifestyle was marked by the Exodus and wilderness experiences (see Exodus 3-12), where food, drink and security were given to all the people equally. There was no inequality, because all were recently escaped slaves (Exodus 2:35-3).

In the Nazareth manifesto Luke’s Jesus announced himself a new prophet in support of a fair society. He promised to liberate the poor, the prisoners, and the oppressed. He challenged the rich to fulfil their responsibilities under the law not only by giving alms, but more

⁴⁶⁶ Folarin, "The Parable of the Talents in the African Context: An Inculturation Hermeneutics Approach," 99.

importantly by acting justly toward the poor so that a new society might arise (Luke 18:3-5, 12, 22; 19:8). Indeed this is a theme that Luke pursues through his gospel. In the Magnificat Mary says that God has remembered his lowly servant (1:48). He has brought down mighty kings from their throne and lifted up the lowly (1:52), while the hungry are filled with good things (1:53). In the sermon on the plain Jesus states that the kingdom of God belongs to the poor, while the hungry will be satisfied, and mourners will be made happy (6:20-26). The Magnificat and the Beatitudes both therefore demonstrate Jesus' concern about the plight of the poor.

The poor are constantly contrasted by Luke with the rich: rulers on thrones (1:52), those filled up with good things who have already received their consolation (6:24-6). Specifically, the rich included those who ruled the people, kings and kingly officials in Galilee and Herod's court in Jerusalem, the Roman Governors' courts, the aristocratic high priests (Annas and Caiaphas), some leading priestly families,⁴⁶⁷ the leading families of Jerusalem, a large part of the Sanhedrin (which constituted groups from Sadducees and Pharisees and others); landlords, Roman officials, chief tax collectors and commanders.⁴⁶⁸ George O. Folarin observes that "the elite . . . engaged either directly or indirectly in business activities and in politics. They worked with Roman authorities to protect their mutual interests at the expense of other members of the society."⁴⁶⁹ Few of them were traders.⁴⁷⁰ They operated rather in an economy measured in terms of land and flocks.⁴⁷¹ Those who had land and flocks belonged to the aristocracy. They owned land and rented out farms and profited by a share of the crops.⁴⁷² As the rich, they enjoyed the goods of material possessions (Luke 16:25). They were filled with food, clothing, and joy-making parties (6:24-6, 12:13-21, 16:1). They had economic monopolies, social freedom, and some measure of political freedom and participation. In the Gospel, the rich are contrasted with the poor. A rich young ruler is told to sell his possessions and distribute to the poor (18:18-30). A rich man is made low beside the poor Lazarus

⁴⁶⁷ See, J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1969), 87-99.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 87-108.

⁴⁶⁹ Folarin, "The Parable of the Talents in the African Context: An Inculturation Hermeneutics Approach."

⁴⁷⁰ Richard Rohrbaugh describes the socio-economic situation of Palestine in the time of Jesus, noting that: "In the peasant world of imposed limitation, with the ethic of family subsistence and village security rather than imperial exploitation and commercial wealth, one experienced rich people as inherently evil, because to have gained, to have accumulated more than one started with, is to have taken over the share of someone else." See Rohrbaugh cited by George O. Folarin in *ibid.*, 99.

⁴⁷¹ Stambaugh and Balch, *The New Testament in Its Social Environment*, 63.

⁴⁷² Folarin, "The Parable of the Talents in the African Context: An Inculturation Hermeneutics Approach."

(16:19-31). A poor widow is set beside the rich man who offers a more magnificent, but compared to hers far less worthy, gift to God (21:1-4).

4.4.3 To announce the year of the Lord's favour

The OT teaching in Deuteronomy 15 sets out a broad framework for the general release of debts and slaves every seven years. The 'Jubilee year' concept is then in addition to this Sabbath year, and was to take place after seven Sabbath years or every fifty years (See also Leviticus 25).

In Luke 4:19, Jesus applies to himself the prophecy which says that the servant of the Lord is "to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour" or "to preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (KJV). By this, Luke's audience is meant to understand Ancient Israel's Jubilee year (see Isaiah 61.) In Swahili the term connotes an 'official year'.

In the OT the Jubilee concept originates in Leviticus 25:8-55 and Deuteronomy 15, "when once in every fifty years, slaves were freed, debts were cancelled and the ancestral property was returned at no price to the original family." As Christopher Wright explains: "In this [Jubilee] year there was a proclamation of liberty to Israelites who had become enslaved for debt, and a restoration of land to families who had been compelled to sell it out of economic need in the previous 50 years."⁴⁷³ Jubilee addressed important issues:

First, Jubilee valued the extended family unit, safeguarding and if necessary restoring the identity, status, responsibility, and security of individual people within the wider family group.⁴⁷⁴ It placed the value of community against individualism, its main concern was for weaker members of society unable to claim their rights for themselves. It offered social dignity to all members of society, encouraging full participation in community through the maintenance of economic well-being over time. Second, Jubilee was concerned with economic justice. As Wright suggests: "The Jubilee existed to protect a form of land tenure that was based on an equitable and widespread distribution of the land and to prevent the accumulation of ownership in the hands of a wealthy few."⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ Christopher J. H. Wright, "Jubilee, Year of," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1025.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1029.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

The moral principles of Jubilee were based on the moral consistency of God. God required the Jewish community to distribute the resources of the earth, especially the land, and to curb the tendency to accumulate, with its inevitable oppression and alienation. Therefore, as Wright observes: “Jubilee ... stands as a critique not only of massive private accumulation of land and related wealth, but also of large scale forms of collectivism or nationalization which destroy any meaningful sense of personal or family ownership.”⁴⁷⁶

The Year of Jubilee was therefore potentially hugely significant for the poor. It promised not only relief from their debts but economic opportunity. Of course the law relating to it was never really kept—though perhaps Nehemiah made the attempt. Possibly it may have been applied at a family redemption level. Unfortunately at national level most kings were unwilling to enact it. Thus it stood as an ideal in the consciousness of Israel, but that was all.

4.5 The fulfilment of scripture in Jesus’ mission (vv. 20-21)

And he rolled up the scroll, gave it back to the attendant, and sat down. The eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. Then began to say to them, “Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing.”

Culpepper comments that here: “The narrator provides a transition between the reading of Isaiah and Jesus’ first words.”⁴⁷⁷ Jesus began to say to them: “Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing.” Thus Luke informs his readers that Jesus fulfils prophecy. The time of God’s intervention has arrived. The new era of God’s favour has started and redemption is at hand. Luke’s presentation of Jesus’ mission to the poor entails three important ways in which Luke considers Jesus fulfils scripture.

First, Luke shows Jesus’ mission as a continuation of divine concern for the poor recorded in the Old Testament. In Israel’s sacred texts God portrayed himself as the protector and defender of the poor, as well as the corrector and chastiser of the rich. In the NT God in Jesus continues the same salvific ministry, offering new life in the kingdom of God. Jesus continues the message of the Torah and of the OT prophets. His manifesto announces the existence of the new life of the kingdom of God.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Culpepper, *The Gospel of Luke: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections*, 106.

Second, Luke is defining the new life Jesus promised in the light of the OT expectations of a messianic age. Mhogolo agrees. Jesus demands that: “The rich have to reduce deliberately their standard of living in responding to the needs of the poor (e.g. Luke 18:30, 19:1-10), their problems of poverty being solved in the new life of the kingdom of God.”⁴⁷⁸ In the community which follows Jesus, Luke shows God looking after the interests of all believers (c.f. Acts 5:1-11), when the lives of Jesus’ followers are characterized by love and peace, eliminating oppression of the poor and the grip of wealth among the rich (4:18; 18:18-25). This was the type of life the OT prophets had propagated and promised. This type of life was not to be an abstract theory but a practical reality, as Luke's account of life in the early church shows. The Jerusalem church made use of property in the right ways (Acts 2:42-7, 4:32-7); no needy person was present among them (4:34).

Third, the poor are the key to the Lukan Jesus’ mission. Luke shows that Jesus’ mission is involved with the poor and that his mission should be understood in terms of his ministry to them. This is clearly shown through Jesus’ healing, preaching and teaching in Luke. In Jesus’ manifesto, understood in the light of Isaiah 61:1-2 and 58:6, Jesus declares his mission to be for the poor, the oppressed and down-trodden, and the blind (v 18). Jesus’ mission is summarized by his reply to John’s messengers in chapter 14: “go and tell John ... the poor have the good news preached to them.” In a series of parables, Jesus gives the same message: the poor should be invited to the feast (14:13), while the parable of the Rich man and Lazarus (16:19f), and the parable of the widow and unjust judge (18:2) urge a similar message that concerns the poor.

Luke considered God to be present and active here and now, in the life and ministry of Jesus. Luke thus depicts people in chapter 4 realizing the fulfilment of Jesus’ prophecy as soon as his ministry was launched. When John the Baptist’s disciples ask on his behalf: “Are you the one who is to come or are we to wait for another?”, the response Luke records Jesus making is that he directs people to his work in curing many people of diseases, plagues, and evil spirits, and giving sight to many who were blind (7:18-23). In other words, through Jesus’ agency these people are realizing and experiencing God’s liberation at the present time.

⁴⁷⁸ Mhogolo, "The Rich and the Poor in Luke-Acts," 86.

4.6 The implication of Jesus' manifesto for the mission of the Anglican church in Tanzania

4.6.1 Implications of Jesus' empowerment by the Spirit for the mission of the ACT

In the Lukan literature, the mission of Jesus and the church originates from God and therefore is guided by the Spirit. In Luke's gospel, the Spirit enabled Jesus to move and perform his mission in the midst of other powers confronting the Greco-Roman world.⁴⁷⁹ In this, there are parallels with the *ujamaa* culture. Like the Spirit, the *ujamaa* code empowered the community "to serve the desperate poor people to attain their dignity."⁴⁸⁰ Wherever justice operates, there the Spirit of God is, and it is this exactly this Spirit, which is also the Spirit of *ujamaa*, which is needed by the ACT if it is to exercise its mission in the context of social evils resulting from bad governance in Tanzania today. The ACT is called to be submitted to the Spirit of God that in the power of that Spirit it may serve the poor and raise its prophetic voice for voiceless rural poor.

4.6.2 The implication of Jesus' manifesto for poverty in Tanzania

As noted above, after independence the population of Tanzania expected to receive both dignity and access to social services and economic growth, including enjoying and owning economic resources. Now in the wake of economic reforms in the last twenty years, reforms supposed to rectify the disappointment of those early expectations, recent government reports paint a different picture. They show that the number of people who live below the poverty line has grown from 11 million in 2001 to 12.9 million in 2009.⁴⁸¹ Of these 12.9 million people, 10.7 million or 83 percent of the total reside in rural villages.⁴⁸² Abednego Keshomshahara observes that: "Following the structural adjustment program implementation, literacy *fell* from 96.8% in 1986 to 77% in 1998."⁴⁸³ In addition a recent report shows that

⁴⁷⁹ Burrus, "The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles," 141.

⁴⁸⁰ Dilunga, "Udini ni Tatizo la Wakubwa - Jaji Warioba," 3.

⁴⁸¹ Mkukuta, "National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty in Tanzania," (Dar Es Salaam: www.povertymonitoring.go.tz, 2010), 75-92; A. F. Mkenda et al., "Poverty in Tanzania: Comparisons Across Administration Regions," in *An Interim Report* (Dar es Salaam: Mkukuta, 2009). Mkukuta is the most reliable source established by the Tanzanian government to monitor poverty reduction and economic growth and whether the country is achieving the millennium development goals. It comprised different scholars from various sectors in Tanzania. It deals with every problem currently faced in achieving millennium development goals.

⁴⁸² See the Tanzanian government report on poverty found in the report of Research and Analysis Working Group, "Poverty and Human Development," (Dar Es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania, 2009), 146-49; Mkukuta, "National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty in Tanzania," 51-83. See also Mkukuta, "Poverty and Human Development Report," www.povertymonitoring.go.tz.

⁴⁸³ Abednego Keshomshahara, "The Theology of Poverty Reduction in Tanzania. A Quest for Christian Socio-Economic and Political Vision," (Bukoba: Ruhija Theological Training Centre 2010), 1. (Italics mine.)

despite the fact that many schools have been built, the education sector has dropped 40 percent. Many children leave school too early.⁴⁸⁴ Some leave to care for their grandparents, their parents being unable to since having succumbed to HIV/AIDS. Some leave because their families cannot afford to keep them in school. In any case 90% of Tanzanian children do not gain the qualifications required to, and certainly do not have the money to, graduate to high school. Likewise, grave problems exist around pregnancy, childbirth and child-rearing—problems associated with poverty. A recent report suggests that for every 350,000 people, 53 women die during delivery every year.⁴⁸⁵ The number of children dying from preventable diseases has also grown enormously in recent years.⁴⁸⁶

In 2010 Dr Wilbrod Slaa, a Tanzanian Member of Parliament, said:

When we were obtaining independence, the first president Mwalimu Nyerere said that we would fight the three greatest enemies of our nation: poverty, ignorance and disease. But sadly forty-nine years after independence the enemies of the country have increased and now the fourth enemy is grand corruption. Sadly, too, corruption and theft have prevented our children from gaining a good education, or all people from obtaining adequate medical treatment, or prisoners from being properly fed. ... During Mwalimu Nyerere's time, UNESCO ranked Tanzania as one of two countries in Africa to perform well in education, with 75% literacy, but now literacy has dropped to 40%.⁴⁸⁷

The contribution of corruption (discussed earlier) is a major cause of poverty in Tanzania. A second key cause of poverty is unnecessary expenditure. To reiterate the point, the government fails to provide basic social services including education, health care and other services, spending money instead extravagantly in other directions. Dr Slaa provided a good example: the government bought itself expensive cars, Land Cruisers (VX) costing Tsh 200 million (USD 150,000.00), money which might have paid for four primary health dispensaries (dispensaries dispense primary health care in the nation.)

⁴⁸⁴ Recent research findings show there is a crisis in education in Tanzania. By standard 3, 7 out of every 10 children cannot read basic Swahili, 9 out of every 10 children cannot read basic English, and 8 out of 10 children cannot do basic mathematics. By the time they complete primary education, large numbers of children still cannot do what they should have mastered five years earlier in standard 2. See Mtandao wa Elimu Tanzania, "Are our Children Learning? Annual Learning Assessment," www.uwezo.net. Also, Ministry of Planning Economy and Empowerment, "Poverty and Human Development Report (PHDR) 2009," (Dar Es Salaam: Tanzanian Government, 2009).

⁴⁸⁵ Reporter, "Failure to Fortify Costs Tanzania Dearly," 2.

⁴⁸⁶ See Mkukuta, "Poverty and Human Development Report," www.povertymonitoring.go.tz.

⁴⁸⁷ Elias Msuya, "Ni Gharama Kubwa Kuiacha CCM Iongoze Nchi," *Mwananchi* Tuesday 24, August 2010, 1. (My translation.)

A third key cause of poverty is the problem of debts. There are two types of debts: national, and individual. The Tanzanian Central Bank reports that during the year ending July 2010, the national debt stock soared by more than US\$1.185 billion to a staggering US\$10.1 billion.⁴⁸⁸ The report showed that in the last three years the national debt has increased by \$3 billion. Economists warned that the nation's debt could balloon further in the coming years following a decision by development partners to cut aid to Tanzania for failing to combat corruption among its political leaders.⁴⁸⁹

A recent analysis by a Dar es Salaam-based civil society organization shows that, at present, for every one shilling it collects as tax revenue, the Tanzanian government spends 1.9 shillings.⁴⁹⁰ The different between the two is borrowed money from foreign grants. The report noted that: "If Tanzania's existing debt was apportioned equally to every living Tanzanian, each Tanzanian owes lenders 332,000 shillings in public debt. Of this 264,354 shillings (80%) is owed to foreign lenders. With the borrowing planned in 2010/11, each Tanzanian will add 54,300 shillings to their debt obligation."⁴⁹¹

In this situation, foreign lenders effectively determine the nation's future, placing its independence at risk. Yet many Tanzanians fail to estimate that risk. Warioba warns:

At the moment we do not have confidence in our own ability. We talk of the salvation available via donors. The government accepts this and citizens accept this. We have a dependency mentality, we believe we cannot do anything without relying on our donors. It is time to change this mentality and remember the confidence in the future expressed by our pre-independence freedom fighters. We need to remember that the donors we call development *partners* place hard conditions on us. As a result, we have lost our ability to plan development for our people. The donors are the ones who decide which policy we should follow. Where is our freedom? I am very worried that our freedom is decreasing.⁴⁹²

Prof. Issa Shivji finds similarly: "Sadly after 49 years of independence Tanzanians are now not free to make decisions for themselves as a nation; they first need to listen to Washington

⁴⁸⁸ Reporter, "Tanzania Faces New Debt Crisis....As National Debts Soars to More Than US\$ 10 Billion," *ThisDay* 25 October 2010, 1. See also BOT various report on www.bot-tz.org

⁴⁸⁹ In 2011, western donors refused to donate on Tanzanian budget.

⁴⁹⁰ Reporter, "Tanzania Faces New Debt Crisis....As National Debts Soars to More Than US\$ 10 Billion," 1.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

⁴⁹² Dilunga, "*Udini ni Tatizo la Wakubwa - Jaji Warioba*," 3. (My translation.)

or London as to the path they must follow.”⁴⁹³ Shivji observes that “*ujamaa* made us to be free to make our own decisions for our people. It brought honour and dignity to every Tanzanian, especially to the poor. It served their cause”.⁴⁹⁴ If there is national debt there is also individual debt. Masses of deeply indebted individuals live in *ufukala wa kutupwa* (massive poverty).

The free market economy introduced in the last twenty years has increased individual indebtedness, for two reasons. First, financial institutions were encouraged to lend money to the poor. Many poor but landed young people were pushed to join savings and credit cooperative societies (SACCOS) in order for them to get loans from banks, using small holdings as collateral. But the interest charged was very high and most of the borrowers eventually lost their land, meaning also their means of sustenance and their home. Second, the practice arose where business people from urban centres went to rural villages during the habitual food shortages from November to February, selling the staple maize on a time payment system. The poor are charged usurious rates, at least 200% interest.

A fourth cause of poverty is HIV/AIDS. Earlier discussion on this devastating condition and the havoc it has wreaked nationally need not be repeated here. It is enough to point out that HIV/AIDS is part of a vicious cycle in which poverty is linked to mortality which is linked to poverty.

4.6.3 The implication of Jesus’ manifesto for the Tanzanian Anglican church’s mission to the poor

Jesus’ message must be announced, and then accompanied with powerful actions, so that it impacts society in a lasting way. It was proclaimed in the context of the Greco-Roman situation that has many similarities to that of the Tanzanian community today. At Nazareth Jesus not only announced his intention to bring good news to the poor but also proclaimed his mission of “release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour.”

Yet, as already indicated, many involved in pursuing unjust social policies, or engaged in corrupt practices, call themselves Christian. They were educated in mission schools, they

⁴⁹³ Edmund Mihale, “*Watanzania bado si huru-Shivji*,” *Majira* 12 December 2010, 3. (My translation.)

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.* (My translation.)

attend church regularly, they profess to follow Jesus Christ. They even contribute money to run the church. These people control the affairs of the church and the state, they set the policies that exploit the majority poor. They have silenced the prophetic voice of church ministers, many of whom find it difficult to preach against corruption.

Fortunately, there remain some leaders who do speak against injustice and corruption. Tanzanian Roman Catholic Cardinal Polycarp Pengo, preaching at Christmas 2010, declared: “Our leaders are placing the peace of our country at great risk; because there is a day when the poor will refuse to go hungry while their leaders are accumulating wealth at their expense”⁴⁹⁵ The Anglican church must also bring its prophetic voice to issues like these which contribute to the poverty confronting the Tanzanian community. Empowered by the Spirit, the church must address the structural problems and corruption ruining the nation, and so come to the aid of the poor. And in doing so it can be guided by Jesus’ Nazareth manifesto. During the *ujamaa* era it was illegal to treat your neighbours in a way that humiliated them. Jesus’ manifesto can be read as condemning such treatment. This manifesto challenges both the mission of the church and the priorities of the government.

It is clear that Tanzania needs change. Yet what the church must call for is not to take the nation back to the *ujamaa* of *mwaka 47* (the *ujamaa* principles of 1947) but rather change fitted to the present context. As John Bwire argues: “It is impossible to have the same *ujamaa* as recognized by the Arusha Declaration of 1967 which came only six years after independence. Rather an adapted *ujamaa* code of national life is needed which will match the present time”.⁴⁹⁶ It is such a code, matched to the biblical call to mission, matched also into the traditional values of the nation, that the Anglican church in Tanzania must present as a biblical solution to poverty.

4.6.4 Imagining the Year of the Lord’s Favour in Tanzania

In Tanzania, the ancient Jewish concept of Jubilee has its counterpart in *ujamaa* culture. The provision of security for the weaker members of the community, the disabled, widows, orphans etc., is integral to both concepts. In both cases, failure to observe the practices of justice and compassion courted a curse that worked itself out in natural calamity or other harm.

⁴⁹⁵ Chalila Kibuda, Francis Godwin, and Hassan Shaaban, "Maaskofu Wacharuka," *Tanzania Daima* Jumapili 26, December 2010, 1-3.

⁴⁹⁶ John Bwire, "Azimio la Arusha Litalinda Wote," *Raia Mwema* April 14, 2010, 1-2. (My Translation.)

4.6.4.1 Land problems in Tanzania

As in first century Palestine, most Tanzanians dwell on small rural landholdings. Land has not only economic but spiritual importance. Traditionally in Tanzania land belonged to the community rather than the individual. A recent government report on land in Tanzania states that “agriculture is the leading economic sector in Tanzania, providing a livelihood to 80% of the population who subsist on less than two hectares. It is the primary source of food and raw materials accounting for not quite half of the nation’s GDP and a leading export sector. It remains critical for achieving sustained growth, poverty reduction and rural development.”⁴⁹⁷

Contributing to the 2011/12 Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements

Development budget debates, Tanzanian Members of Parliament (MPs) noted that escalating land conflicts were occurring, fuelled by a legal framework which considers land as the possession of the state and not individuals. Exploiting loopholes in the law, state and other government officials had habitually stolen land from the poor and sold it to wealthy investors, or they stole it directly on behalf of political leaders who then themselves sold it on for personal gain, in all cases without consulting local people. MPs identified numerous instances where this had happened.

In this way, foreign investors are cooperating with some political leaders in grabbing large landholdings through corrupt methods. Above all, they are given the most valuable and fertile land, leaving the local people with unfertile dry land. A good example for this is the current crisis in Bagamoyo district, where “a Swedish company is in the process of securing 400,000 hectares of land for sugarcane production. Evidence suggests that 1,000 small-scale rice farmers will need to move and may not be eligible for compensation since their land rights are not recognized.”⁴⁹⁸ These people who have lived there all their lives will be moved to unfertile dry land where they will suffer hunger and disease. Much of this land grab has happened in the guise of creating nationally significant investments.

During the commemoration of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Day on 14 October 2010, noted Professor Issa Shivji said: “We are not seeing the patriotism that many of our leaders preach.

⁴⁹⁷ United Republic of Tanzania, "Guidelines for Sustainable Liquid Biofuels Investment and Development in Tanzania," (Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of Energy and Minerals, 2008), 35; ———, "Kilimo Kwanza Resolution," (Dar Es Salaam: www.actanzania.org, 2009), 1 - 26.

⁴⁹⁸ Department of Economic and Social Affairs: United Nations, "Foreign Land Purchases for Agriculture: What Impact on Sustainable Development?," *Sustainable Development Innovation Briefs*, no. 8 (January 2010): 6.

Their kind of patriotism sees thousands of hectares of Tanzanian land given to foreign companies."⁴⁹⁹ He added that globalisation was yet to liberate Tanzanians, and that the amount of land going to foreign investors is increasingly injuring Tanzanian citizens, and risking the country's internal stability.⁵⁰⁰

Developments like these have led to calls for land reforms and constitutional protection for small communal, owners.⁵⁰¹ Without protections like these, the poor will continue to be exploited. Practically Tanzania needs to return to its *ujamaa* principles, principles both preventing leaders from abusing their office, and protecting the security of the poor, which includes their land security. When Tanzania adopted *ujamaa* principles after independence, it was believed that land had to be distributed equally for the nation to develop. No one was to be allowed to own unused land, or own larger pieces of land while the majority suffered. In this way, everybody was able to produce his or her family's food.

It is clear that today Tanzania needs *ujamaa* principles more than any time previously, in order to distribute land equally to enable the poor to have land access. Otherwise we will be risking our peace, because the majority poor will choose to fight for their rights. In the Torah Jubilee meant a new start where everything was forgiven. Like *ujamaa*, Jubilee prohibited the rich from getting richer and the poor from getting poorer. I believe the Anglican church should therefore join these calls for reform and for a return to the old *ujamaa* principles of land security, as an approach immediately in line with Jesus' announcement that with him the time of Jubilee has come. To act consistently with the Jubilee aspects of Jesus' Nazareth declaration, the ACT must proclaim a return to *ujamaa* principles in Jesus' name.

4.6.5 Implications of “the fulfilment of scripture” for the ACT’s mission today

The fact that Jesus was able to declare OT scripture fulfilled in the present has massive implications for mission work in present-day Tanzania. CMS Missionaries preached salvation in the life to come; they did not site salvation in the present. Today, it is important to renew

⁴⁹⁹ Issa Shivji, "Let's be fair to all foreigners on allocation of land," *The Guardian* 15 October 2010, 1.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁰¹ Habel Chidawali, "Mdee awalipua Mwinyi, Mkapa," *Mwananchi* 15 August 2011. Examples of corrupt land dealings were given by Halima Mdee, MP. For example, a Mbalali farm in Mbeya was sold to one business person, removing 30,000 people from their land. Again, in Mvomelo District, Narco farm plot was taken by seven political leaders for later sale, leaving the inhabitants of Wami village landless. See also the comments of Rev. Israel Natse, a Lutheran clergyman and MP, in: Parliament of Tanzania, "Majadiliano ya Bunge," www.parliament.go.tz and the comments of Ezekia Wenje reported in Rodgers Luhwago, "MPs: Revisit fundamental law to end land conflicts," *Nipashe* 17 August 2011; Tanzania, "Majadiliano ya Bunge".

the traditional Tanzanian concept of salvation in the “now”, so that the poor in Tanzania can begin to experience present the implications of salvation in the present, in accord with what Jesus’ announcement at Nazareth intended. In the Torah, Jubilee meant a new start in the material world. The ACT must likewise proclaim the immediacy of salvation, a Jubilee year in which *ujamaa* principles, being aligned with gospel principles of conduct in just community, are restored.

Indeed there is no reason why the prophets’ visions of relief for the poor should not begin to be realized in the present instead of only being deferred to the eschatological future. The Tanzanians’ understanding of God has been always that God is active and liberates his people now. When he does not, it does not mean that God is unable, but only that there is something going wrong in the community. When the Christian community in Tanzania sees poor people continuing to suffer, it does not mean that God is unable to help them, but that there is something going wrong in the Christian community, which has not acted as it should. It means that people are neglecting the culture of community values and failing to look after the weaker people in the community, such as the poor who are dominated by the unAfrican individualism that has infiltrated the community.

Jesus’ announcement of the year of Jubilee intended a new community in which resources were shared equitably with the poor, and their rights were protected. On 9 December 2011 Tanzania celebrated fifty years of independence. The time is ripe for Jubilee year, the time when the independence dream of *ujamaa* community is restored concretely. Surely the Christian community can proclaim the gospel message that that time is already at hand. It must act in solidarity with the poor. The nation itself requires a new start.

A gospel call for a Jubilee year must be more than vague rhetoric, but have material goals. People with no land should be provided with an equitable share of it. People with no food must receive the means to plough and grow their own food. There is wisdom in the saying “give a man a fish and you feed him for one day. If you teach him how to fish, you will feed him for the rest of his life”. The elderly without support must be assisted, as must those who care for orphans. The gospel must do away with injustice and the yoke of oppression. It also means giving food, shelter, and clothes to the poor, and working to change the situation where they have no food, shelter and clothing (c.f Matt 25:31-46). Religious and political

leaders must become servants of the community (see Luke 22:25-27). The time of national reliance on donor nations must cease.

In this, the church must teach a Christian love that reaches the needs of other Christians. It should not be strange to see, for example, rich Christians deliberately taking action to reduce their standard of living in love to raise the standards of their fellow poor Christians living next door. The sharing of resources in this way would not be an expression of the 'left-overs' but real sacrificial acts of love made concrete in response to the life of poor Christians.

The methods which the church can use in responding to poverty will vary.⁵⁰² Some of the early church's practices in relation to those in need might still have some relevance for contemporary Tanzania. Last but not least the fact that the gospel still stands implacably against injustice and the yoke of oppression needs to be shouted out. This is the practical gospel, a *ujamaa* gospel responsive to the Nazareth call to bring in the year of Jubilee.

Conclusion

In the Tanzanian context today, Jesus' missional program must be understood as meaning that he came for the neglected people in the community, the poor. The ACT must learn from the Lukan Jesus' manifesto, not only in theory, but in practice. In this chapter we have seen how Luke depicts Jesus using Isaiah 61 in chapter 4:16-21, in order to show the nature of his mission. Drawing from the OT concern for the poor, Jesus' mission is concerned to relieve the material situation of the poor in community. This practical concern is one of the main mission themes in Luke. It is consistent with a Tanzanian *ujamaa* model and, it has been argued, should be the foundation of the ACT's own missional model.

The next chapter is a textual analysis of Jesus' raising the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:11-17). We will see how Luke shows Jesus going to one of the poorest groups in first century Palestine, in order to bring hope of transformative life that enables the realization of the concepts underlying the Jubilee year.

⁵⁰² Chapter Seven will offer some suggestions on how ACT can respond to the needs of the poor in Tanzania.

CHAPTER FIVE: READING THE STORY OF RAISING THE WIDOW'S SON AT NAIN IN A TANZANIAN CONTEXT (LUKE 7:11-17)

Introduction

The previous chapter examined Luke 4:16-21, demonstrating how the Isaiah text appropriated by Jesus shows that he is part of the OT prophetic tradition. To recap, with the aid of the TUH proposed in Chapter Three, Chapter Four analysed Jesus' mission manifesto to show that Luke understood Jesus' ministry in the prophetic light of Isaiah 61:1-2 and 58:6. Luke then demonstrates how Jesus' ministry was likewise a prophetic ministry.

Jesus announces that the poor—the majority population in first century Palestine—can realize Isaiah's prophecy in their own lives. This announcement gives voice to the voiceless; it saves. For Luke this messianic salvation critically includes economic liberation. Chapter Four concluded that this Lukan perspective is equally relevant to other poor communities, not least that of contemporary Tanzania. The multi-layered socio-cultural textures of both first century Palestine and contemporary Tanzania are not, after all, so dissimilar. In both settings, there exists economic inequality and accompanying social unrest.⁵⁰³

The current chapter further considers the meaning of Luke's radical account of Jesus' mission for contemporary Tanzania. It considers in particular the story of the raising of the widow of Nain's son (Luke 7:11-17) and how this story can inform the mission activities of the ACT, in order to more effectively respond to the problem of widows and their children that faces contemporary Tanzania. The text shows Jesus' solidarity, compassion and concern for the poor. The ACT at this time is called by God to do likewise.

A key issue for Tanzanian readers of the Lukan story is the issue of the word *uciwa*.⁵⁰⁴ The consequence of being *muciwa* is the fact that you have no economic means to help you,

⁵⁰³ In the previous chapter it was noted that people in the countryside or in rural villages in first century Palestine suffered most economically from the hands of those powerful elite living in urban areas, who rented land to the poor at high rents. This situation is similar to the Tanzanian context. The majority people in rural villages in Tanzania suffer more economically than those living in urban areas. Cf., Mkukuta, "Poverty and Human Development Report".

⁵⁰⁴ I cannot find a sufficiently good English word to describe *uciwa*. In Swahili it means *umaskini*, with the sense of material poverty. The other word for *uciwa* in Swahili would be *ufukala*, however, when the word

including family support. The most vulnerable group affected by *uciwa* in Tanzania are the widows. One of the key conclusions of the current textual analysis is that by raising the widow's son at Nain, Jesus demonstrates his compassion for the widow's state of *uciwa*: that state has motivated his action. In turn this indicates to Tanzanian readers that Jesus' solidarity with the most marginalised of his own time is equally a solidarity with the contemporary poor of Tanzania.

To demonstrate the above, the following will be discussed: the context of the narrative of raising the widow's son at Nain in the Gospel of Luke (7:11-17), the analysis of text itself, and its implications for Tanzanian *ujamaa* context.

5.1 The context of the pericope

Structural analysis of the Gospel of Luke shows that the story of Jesus' raising the widow's son at Nain is part of the wider context of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, which runs from 4:14 to 9:50.⁵⁰⁵ This section contains teaching and miracles. Luke 7:11-17 is one of the miracle narratives.

The miracle stands between two different narratives, relevant to Jesus' missional agenda. First, it is preceded by the healing of a centurion's servant at Capernaum. In this narrative Luke informs his readers that the centurion's servant deserved healing since the centurion, although a Gentile, loved the Jewish people and helped them to build a local synagogue (7:4). Thus, the healing of the centurion's servant serves the Lukan purpose of focussing on Jesus' mission to reach all people, both Jews and Gentile, male and female. For Luke, Jesus is saviour of all people.

Second, the narrative is placed before John sent his messengers to Jesus. Milton Moreland argues that it is one of the "miracle stories in Luke that foreshadow the statement to John the Baptist's disciples that Jesus is one who was expected because he had performed many signs,

uciwa is used in a Cigogo context, it means someone who is not only poor materially but also lacks any means of support, protection and resources. A childless person is *muciwa*, an orphan is *muciwa*, and someone who does not have any means to support himself is *muciwa*. So the person who lacks any means of resource support, such as cattle, or farming land, is *muciwa*. *Uciwa* is also *upina*; extreme poverty. Other people in *ugogo* have used the word *ududi* for extreme poverty. There are many descriptions of the word *uciwa*. But most Gogo people would agree that *uciwa* is extreme poverty which includes a childless person, a widow, and an orphan; when all these feature in the life of a person it makes that person genuinely *muciwa*.

⁵⁰⁵See, George O. Folarin, "Luke 12:13-21 In the Context of Human Corruption," *Asian Journal of Theology* 24, no. 2 (2010): 315.

including raising the dead (7:22).”⁵⁰⁶ Moreland’s quote above suggests the fact that Jesus’ manifesto is fulfilled in his healing miracles. This pericope therefore has messianic and prophetic import. Leon Morris observes that Luke “probably includes the story at this point as a preparation for the reply to John’s messengers (v 22).”⁵⁰⁷ Jesus’ reply to John’s messengers demonstrates the significance of the two miracle stories in relation to Jesus’ missional programme: “Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind regain their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised and the poor have the good news proclaimed to them.” Jesus’ response to John’s disciples clearly demonstrates that his actual mission program as given in Luke 4:18-19 is now fulfilled in his mission, such as in the miracle of raising the widow’s son at Nain.

Luke presents the story of raising the widow’s son immediately after the contrasting story of the centurion. It is a contrasting story because the widow is poor, where the centurion is not. Luke has already told his audience that Jesus has come to bring good news to the poor (4:18). Therefore by raising the widow’s son, Jesus does exactly that, bringing good news to a poor widow, and so demonstrating, as Luke Timothy Johnson notes, that “Jesus proclaimed good news to the poor.”⁵⁰⁸ In Luke 4, Jesus describes his prophetic role to be a voice for the voiceless majority, those suffering the weight of poverty and injustice. In Luke 7:11-17 Jesus’ compassion for the poor is then emphasised, with Luke concluding that a great prophet has appeared among the people (v.16).

The analysis of the text and its implication for the Tanzanian context is divided into three sections: verses 11-12, 13-15 and 16-17.

5.2 The milieu of the miracle of raising the widow’s son (7:11-12)

Soon afterwards he went to a town called Nain, and his disciples and a large crowd went with him. As he approached the gate of the town, a man who had died was being carried out. He was his mother’s only son, and she was a widow; and with her was a large crowd from the town.

⁵⁰⁶ Milton Moreland, "Nain," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Me-R*, ed. Brian Blount, Joel B. Green, and Pheme Perkins (Nashville: Abingdon, 2009), 217.

⁵⁰⁷ Leon Morris, *Luke*, Revised ed., Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Leicester Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), 139.

⁵⁰⁸ Luke Timothy Johnson, ed. *The Gospel of Luke*, vol. 3, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 120.

These verses give the context of the event of raising the widow's son, providing the location of the event, the crowd of mourners who encounters Jesus, and the situation of the woman who will dominate the story. Joel B. Green observes that "Nain was a Galilean town located some six miles to the southeast of Nazareth; Luke refers to it as a city, though he goes on to present a village-like atmosphere, with a community mourning the widow's loss."⁵⁰⁹

The rural location of the story is significant for a Tanzanian reader. In a rural setting, everybody would be known to each other and everyone in the community would be expected to attend the funeral. *ujamaa* community in Tanzania shares this attitude of lamentation, as it provides comfort for the family members of the dead person.⁵¹⁰ In a rural setting, unlike an urban setting, the death of a person would bring the community together.

In this pericope, Luke here presents Jesus as a leader accompanied by his followers and a huge crowd of people. It seems the large crowd of people is following him because they have just seen the previous miracle of healing the centurion's servant. On their way they meet a second large crowd going to the cemetery to bury a man. Luke includes the detail of the crowd on their way to the cemetery in order to prove that the son was really dead and all the people present knew he was dead. The crowd was mourning to sympathise with the widow, as a sign of love for her. I. Howard Marshall comments that this was the Jewish culture, and it signifies a work of love.⁵¹¹ Thus, for Jesus to raise the dead person, it will prove the power which Jesus has to restore life back, a sign of even stronger love.

Luke states that, as Jesus approached the gate, a man who had died was being carried out. Gates in rural first century Palestine served as a security for the city community and usually the cemetery would be outside the city.⁵¹² The reference to the gate strengthens the way Luke's story echoes the OT stories of the Prophets Elijah (1 Kings 17:8-24) and Elisha (2 Kings 4:18-37). Similarly, in the programmatic declaration, Jesus used the story of Elijah's raising the widow's son in Zarephath (Luke 4:25). These references confirm that Luke sees

⁵⁰⁹ Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), 290.

⁵¹⁰ Richard B. Vinson, *Luke* (Macon: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2008), 208.

⁵¹¹ I Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on Greek Text* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1978), 285.

⁵¹² Gates like this would also be familiar for a Tanzanian reader in a rural village, where having a *mlulu* in each family/*boma*, especially among the *Wagogo* in central Tanzania, is very common. The *Wagogo boma* is surrounded by *mlulu* (fence). The *mlulu*/fence is there for security reasons. The *Wagogo mlulu*/fence has a gate or main door which is used to pass through. When a person dies, they are buried outside the *mlulu*/fence. This is similar to the case/situation in the first century Palestine.

Jesus as a prophet, as his ministry echoes the ministries of the prophets Elijah and Elisha in the OT. Green observes that “the most impressive of these echoes is the identification of the dead man as the only son of a widow, the meeting of the prophet and the widow at the gate of the city, and the return of the resuscitated son to his mother.”⁵¹³

By reminding readers that Jesus’ mission is informed by the prophetic background in the OT, Luke is evoking God’s special concern in the OT for widows and their children. This concern is seen right through the Jewish Torah, Psalms, and Wisdom and Prophetic Writings. The Torah sets out the legal guidelines that protect the poor, and the prophets draw attention to these legal guidelines.⁵¹⁴ The guidelines in the Torah were necessary because widows had few rights and little help in the Ancient Near Eastern world. To be a widow in the ancient world, O. J. Baab says, was “a disgrace.”⁵¹⁵ In general, a widow could not inherit property, even her husband’s property, so that she was usually left destitute on her husband’s death.⁵¹⁶ Widows would have to find a home wherever they could, perhaps with their in-laws or their own parents (if still alive).⁵¹⁷ Indeed, because of the difficulty of accommodating widows, the Torah provided for the custom of Levirate marriage, whereby the deceased’s brother (if there was one) would marry his widow.⁵¹⁸ Clearly, the plight of widows presented a major social problem in the world of the Old Testament, one which prompted God to declare himself as the protector of widows and orphans. William R. Herzog observes that “the plight of the widows and orphans posed an acute problem for Israel.”⁵¹⁹

When later Israel transgressed those laws, God sent prophets to warn and call her to treat widows and orphans justly. Thus, Jesus must have learned from Isaiah (among others) that God does not accept the sacrifices and prayers of those who practice social injustice and other evils: “Stop bringing meaningless offerings! ... When you spread out your hands in prayer, I will hide my eyes from you; even if you offer many prayers, I will not listen... Stop doing

⁵¹³ Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 290.

⁵¹⁴ C.f. Exodus 22:21-24, Deuteronomy 10:16-18; 14:28-29; 24:17-18; 26:12-13; 27:19; Isaiah 1:16-17, 23; 10:1-2; Jeremiah 7:5-7; 22:3; Ezekiel 22:6-7; Zechariah 7:8-12; Psalms 68:5; 94:6; 146:9. Because of space considerations, it is impossible for me to deal with each of the OT books. I have highlighted these important passages as particularly relevant for this study.

⁵¹⁵ O. J. Baab, "Widow," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), 842. See also Ruth 1:20-21; Isaiah 54:4.

⁵¹⁶ J. D. Douglas and R. V. G. Tasker, "Widow," in *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, ed. J.D. Douglas (Leicester: IVP, 1980), 1642.

⁵¹⁷ Geoffrey Wigoder, "Widow and Orphans," in *The New Encyclopedia of Judaism*, ed. Geoffrey Wigoder, Fred Skolnik, and Shmuel Himelstein (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 798.

⁵¹⁸ See Baab, "Widow," 842-3., c.f. Genesis 38:11; Leviticus 22:13; Deuteronomy 25:5-6; Ruth 1:8,11.

⁵¹⁹ Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed*, 225.

wrong, learn to do right. Seek justice, encourage the oppressed. Defend the cause of the fatherless, plead the case of the widow” (Isaiah 1:13-17). Jeremiah similarly preached against the unjust system that oppressed widows and orphans (Jeremiah 7:5-6). Thus, he showed that it was not enough to attend Temple worship; rather, living the Torah and performing justice was needed. Failure to do so, the prophets warned, would incur God’s punishment (Malachi 3:5).

Jesus was shaped by these OT prophetic traditions. The situation of the widow of Nain and Jesus’ concern for her is therefore relevant for the ACT and the contemporary Tanzanian widows who experience the same suffering in a society that seems to pay little attention to them. The Christian community is less concerned about them, and the ACT biblical mandate for mission so far has not sufficiently implemented a ministry to them.⁵²⁰

Thus, the *ujamaa* hermeneutic lens endeavours to challenge the Christian community and the ACT to respond to this challenge to liberate the widows and their children. The *ujamaa* hermeneutic reads Jesus’ action in raising the widow’s son as bringing *ujamaa* to bear in her situation. This is revealed by the fact that the miracle is more concerned about the widow than the crowd or the dead son.⁵²¹ Luke 7.11-12 demonstrates two important things to the reader for understanding the plight of the widow that caused the miracle: firstly, the mother of the man who has died was a widow, and second, the man who had died was the only son to his mother. Both these factors are significant for the mission of Jesus as Luke portrays it.

⁵²⁰ In September and October 2009 I visited three dioceses in central Tanzania: Central Tanganyika, Rift Valley, and Mpwapwa. Each diocese has a department for education, health and development, and these are traditional departments. The Diocese of Central Tanganyika has also established “Carpenter’s Kids”, which aims to help orphans to get school uniforms, a pair of shoes and porridge while at school. The program takes 50 orphans and other vulnerable children in a rural village. However, because there is a large number of poor children in the village the programme has raised huge complaints from other poor families whose children have not been elected for the programme. On top of that the programme does not help the widows with economical empowerment to enable them to provide for the needs of these children. We need to do like Jesus who helped the widow by raising the son to life, so that he can look after his mother. In the four parishes that I visited, six people out of ten with whom I had conversations think that Carpenter’s Kids only benefits a few people at the head office. There was a complaint that their children are not sent to a good school but instead they are sent to a business secondary school because of a deal with the Carpenter’s Kids leadership and the owner of the school. Four people out of ten think that the program is very good although it needs to make some changes in order to improve its services. The Diocese of Rift Valley, although they have departments and in their strategic plan mention service to the widows, have never done any implementation. The Diocese of Mpwapwa does not have even a strategic plan to meet the needs of the widows and their orphans. That is why I say the ACT gives little attention to the ministry of widows and orphans.

⁵²¹ For detail about the situation of widows in first century Palestine see, Andrew M. Mbuvi, ed. *Jesus and His Mother: An Analysis of their Public Relationship as a Paradigm for African Women (Widows) Who Must Circumvent Traditional Authority in Order to Thrive in Society* Mother Goose, Mother Jones, Mommie Dearest: Biblical Mothers & Their Children (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 129 - 39.

5.2.1 The death of a widow's son

Luke informs his readers that the dead person was the son of a widow. In first century Palestine, women were at the margins of society.⁵²² Among the marginalized women, widows were the most oppressed group of all, because of the social system noted in the previous chapter. For a widow, the death of a husband meant loss of protection and defense.⁵²³ The death of a husband brought misery to herself and to her children, as they were left helpless and vulnerable. Widows had no right to inherit land, given the first century situation of land problems noted in the previous chapter. Since landlessness was a major problem in first century Palestine, this then compounded the situation of widows who were defenseless.

A leading cause of widowhood in first century Palestine was the age difference between husbands and wives. Ebeling comments that

there may have been many widows in ancient Israel because of the age difference between a man and a woman when they married; men are believed to have been eight to ten years older than their wives, making widows more common than widowers even after taking into account women's low life expectancy caused by child birth.⁵²⁴

The gospel of Luke shows a concern for women which includes a particular concern for widows. This concern continues into Acts. Turid Karlsen Seim, a feminist scholar arguing on the issue of widows in Luke-Acts, observes that "widows appear more often in Luke-Acts than in any other NT writing."⁵²⁵ Throughout, Luke constantly shows widows in a favourable light. Anna the prophetess (2:36-38) is a widow who accepted Jesus as the promised saviour, the widow at Zarephath (4:25-26) although a Gentile received God's blessings after welcoming prophet Elijah, the widow of Nain of our case study (7:11-17) receives God's blessing, and the importune widow is praised for her persistence (18:1-8). Luke's interest in widows continues into the book of Acts.⁵²⁶

The parable in Luke 18:1-8 is only found in Luke, and shows the general situation of widows situation in first century Palestine. This widow was too poor to influence an unjust judge.

This parable shows the oppression of widows in first century. This parable, as noted by

⁵²² See the following scholars on Luke: Anderson, *Old Testament and New Testament*, 171-84; Cooke, *New Testament*, 3-11; Powell, *Introducing the New Testament*, 2 -27; Vinson, *Luke*. Vinson discusses Luke's interest in women in the first century Palestine and their social status at that time.

⁵²³ Walter Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke - Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981), 44.

⁵²⁴ Jennie R. Ebeling, *Women's Lives in Biblical Times* (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 132-3.

⁵²⁵ Turid Karsen Seim, "Feminist Criticism," in *Methods for Luke*, ed. Joel Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 64.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

Herzog, shows “a widow as an oppressed woman whose voice breaks the culture of silence in which she is immersed and forces an accommodation with the Torah as practiced by the judges of unrighteousness or injustice.”⁵²⁷ This parable is built on the presumption that the widow did not have a son who could help her get her rights. If she had one, then he would usually pursue her case.⁵²⁸

John Isaak argues that “the poor widow approached the judge with the only weapon she has; a weapon of a dogged persistence that will wear the judge down until out of sheer desperation he gives her justice.”⁵²⁹ As Isaak further comments, the widow seems to be a young woman who was denied her inheritance. Yet in a *ujamaa* reading, she is symbolic of all those who cry out for justice in Tanzania. The parable shows the necessity of persistence for justice on our part and the reality of God’s mercy, for God is a God of the poor and the needy such as widows and children.⁵³⁰ The ACT is called to the necessity of persisting for justice for the widows in Tanzania, whose rights are denied by the community.⁵³¹

Widows make a further appearance in Luke 20:47. There, as Isaak observes, “the religious leaders in their outer appearances, they are very religious, yet the reality of their lives is that they devour widows’ houses; that is, they take them as pledges for debts that cannot be paid.”⁵³² This indicates how widows experienced poverty and were generally unprotected.⁵³³ Likewise in Tanzania most church leaders pay little attention to protect the rights of the widows. In part, the plight of widows comes from traditional African culture. A Ugandan Lawyer, Leda Hasila Limman, has done intensive research on the plight of widows in East Africa, taking Uganda as a case study. She suggest that as well as the socially unjust system which seems to oppress widows, (some of the) African traditional culture is a major cause of

⁵²⁷ Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed*, 215.

⁵²⁸ I am aware one can argue that this is only a parable; however I take Jesus’ parables to be similar to stories told in a Tanzanian context, whereby when parables are given, they are taken from everyday life situations. This means that even if the widow is not a specific one, however such a situation for a childless widow would be common among Jesus’ hearers in first century Palestine.

⁵²⁹ Paul John Isaak, *Luke Africa Bible Commentary* (Nairobi, Kenya: WorldAlive, 2006), 1238.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵³¹ These rights are not only denied by the family members of the deceased husband, but also as the Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Justice, Ms Celina Kombani told the National Assembly on August 9, 2011, the problem is caused by gender inequality and disempowerment due to prevailing socio-economic, political and legal setbacks.

⁵³² Isaak, *Luke* 1245.

⁵³³ Bonnie Bowman Thurston, "Widow," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2009), 846.

their plight.⁵³⁴ There is therefore a need for church leaders to stand up and defend the rights of widows by speaking against those aspects of the traditional culture that oppress women, and particularly widows.

In Luke 21:1-4, Jesus demonstrates his compassion towards a widow as a person living on the margins of society. Isaak notes how the poor widow who gave everything “is one of the little people: humble, timid and disadvantaged in comparison to the rich. Not only was she disadvantaged by her poverty but also by her widowhood.... She was one of those with almost no legal, religious, political or social status.”⁵³⁵ The story of this widow shows how poverty affected widows in the first century Palestine to the point that it was even difficult to have something for offering in worship.

Thus, these situations demonstrate Luke’s emphasis on Jesus’ special concern for widows, and for their vulnerability. Indeed it is this vulnerable situation that moved Jesus to act in Luke 7. As we will see later on it seems the miracle took place, not so much because Jesus wanted to perform a miracle per se, nor even for the sake of the widow’s son, but more importantly because he was moved to compassion by the situation of the widow.⁵³⁶ My Tanzanian context enables me to see how vulnerable the widow is and how the miracle addresses her situation. In my view, shaped by the Tanzanian village experience, it is the vulnerable situation of the widow that prompts the miracle. To be sure, death is a sad thing that brings sorrow, yet this story shows that the interest of Jesus is not so much in the death of the man but mostly on the widow’s situation. The narrative shows us a widow who has lost the only means of support, she was friendless. The tragedy of the situation, as it affects the whole village, is well highlighted by Bock. He notes that “the emotion in the verse carries deep pathos. The town shares in the grief as they gather with her. Such mourning was seen as an act of love by one’s neighbors and was especially significant where a widow was

⁵³⁴ Uganda and Tanzania have many cultural similarities, as they are both part of East Africa. See Leda Hasila Limann, "Widowhood Rites and the Rights of Women in Africa: The Ugandan Experience" (Makerere, 2003), 27-48. Some African cultures are very oppressive to widows. For example, traditionally in Tanzania, the culture does not allow women/widows to inherit land. Such cultural practices play a significant role in oppressing widows; especially if the widow does not have children.

⁵³⁵ Isaak, *Luke* 1245.

⁵³⁶ In the other gospels, miracles have a role in calling people to faith. When people see a miracle they are motivated to believe in Jesus. But the Lukan Jesus seems to perform miracles not so much to bring people to faith but because he is moved by compassion to deliver them from their suffering. Most of those for whom Jesus performed miracles were on the margins in society; those who are helpless. The compassion required of the church that would follow Jesus, not least the ACT in Tanzania, is clear.

involved” (Jeremiah 6:26; Amos 8:10; Zechariah 12:10).⁵³⁷ Yet, in a society that was overwhelmingly poor, their love would make no difference to the widow, as they were unable to help childless women in her situation.

Approaching Nain, therefore, Jesus was confronted with a situation of great sorrow. It is sorrow because of the death of the only son to his mother who was also a widow. In reversing his death, Jesus deals with the most fundamental obstacle which every human will face, and he does it to relieve the plight of this one woman.

We do not know how long she had been a widow, but the death of her son puts her in a position of double grief. She has lost her husband and on top of it, her only son also has died. The Lukan author is conscious not only of the particular situation in the book of Kings (1 Kings 17 and 2 Kings 4), but also the general tragic situation of the loss of an only child.⁵³⁸ As noted above, as long as the widow of Nain had a living son, she would have had some rights from the family of her deceased husband. In particular, she was able to stay at her deceased husband’s house. Thus, the loss of her son ended these rights and doubled her tragedy. The painful reality is that she has not only lost protection, hope and reliability but has also been exposed to new fears. She has every reason to fear how she will be treated by the family of her deceased husband. The *Cigogo* Bible translation uses language which describes her deceased son as middle aged. While this involves some freedom in translation, it does evoke the stories of many forgotten widows in Tanzania. It suggests that he provided support for his mother, who was now aged, which means she could not get remarried and bear a child. Unless her relatives could come and help her, it could be impossible to get support.

We know this dilemma affected the first century world, since Acts provides information on how the early Christian community had to address this problem (Acts 6:1-6). Therefore although the widow had many sympathizers who attended the funeral, yet all their mourning could not make any difference to the deep sense of loss she had experienced. Losing this only son for a widow means losing a hope which needs to be recovered. So by restoring the son to

⁵³⁷ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*.

⁵³⁸ Francois Bovon, ed. *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50*, Hermenia- A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 271.

life Jesus would restore the lost hope to this widow. Thus this miracle would represent restoration and hope, the very marks of God's mission in the OT prophetic ministry.

5.2.2 The death of the only son

Luke informs his readers not only that the dead man was a son of a widow but more significant in this textual analysis, he was the only son to his widowed mother. The importance of having children and the precariousness of having only one beloved child is clear in Luke. Luke tells his readers in the following chapter of Jairus' only daughter (Luke 8:42), while the epileptic boy in chapter 9 was his father's only son (Luke 9:38). The crucial issue about the only son in the present story is that he was the only hope to his mother for protection and support, such as providing food, shelter and clothing.

Indeed, Jesus would have been fully aware of these issues from his own family. Andrew M. Mbuvi, in "Jesus and His Mother," discusses Mary's widowhood⁵³⁹ in a way that sheds light on understanding the situation of widows and the importance of having a son in first century Palestine. Crucial to all is the responsibility of the son in looking after the mother. Mbuvi argues that,

The death of the father would allow for a less precarious widow situation if they had a son: When the father dies he will not seem to be dead, for he has left behind him one like himself, whom in his life he looked upon with joy and at death, without grief. . . . The expectation of the son is not only to continue the legacy of his family but also to assume some of the paterfamilias roles that used to be played by the father, defending both the honor and interest of the family property and, if old enough, assumes the role of the breadwinner for the family. In this regard, the son that is old enough (thirteen years and above) has the mandate to take the reins of the household at the demise of the father, overshadowing the mother. He becomes the public face of the family.⁵⁴⁰

When Jesus faces the widow in the present story, he is only too aware that the widow after the death of her husband would have relied on her only son.

Jesus' programmatic declaration in Luke 4 mentioned the widow who encountered the Prophet Elijah. She too had only one son, and the Prophet Elijah showed solidarity with her by raising her son (c.f. Luke 4:25-26, 1 Kings 17:7-24). Clearly, Jesus' interpretation of the

⁵³⁹ For detail about the basis of Mary's widowhood see discussion in Mbuvi, *Jesus and His Mother: An Analysis of their Public Relationship as a Paradigm for African Women (Widows) Who Must Circumvent Traditional Authority in Order to Thrive in Society* 130 -35.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 133.

text is that Elijah was sent to be in solidarity with this woman, not only because she was a widow but further because she was poor in the context of a society that was overwhelmingly poor. Luke brings both stories—the programmatic declaration story of Elijah and the miracle here—to highlight the fact that the grief of these widows involves also the insecurity of a future without support.

In this situation, the Lukan Jesus is portrayed as a prophet, since the event is related to the story of Elijah. Because of this, some NT scholars such as John Nolland, “suggest that this connection has been reinforced (by Luke or a redactor) at the Greek stage of the tradition.”⁵⁴¹ It is Luke’s interest in the marginalized, such as widows, that leads him to parallel this event with the story of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath. This parallel is clearly shown through the crowd’s response to the miracle: “a great prophet has risen up among us, and God has visited his people” (Luke 7:16).

The fact that the woman had only one son furthers her social vulnerability. In first century Palestine, one of the marginalized groups was those without a number of children. A similar situation exists in Tanzania, and is seen with the issue of *waciwa/maskini*. A *muciwa* person in the *Wagogo* community in central Tanzania includes anyone who does not have a number of children. In the *Wagogo* tradition, those without children were oppressed since they were defenseless and above all, because they have no one to look after them once they became older. Children in Tanzania are the breadwinners for their parents. So those without children are truly *waciwa*, and in need of compassion.

5.3 Jesus’ compassion a key for his mission work (vv. 13-15)

When the Lord saw her, he had compassion for her and said to her, “Do not weep”. Then he came forward touched the bier, and the bearers stood still. And he said, “Young man, I say to you, rise! The dead man sat up and began to speak, and Jesus gave him to his mother.

When Jesus realises that the dead man was the only son to his mother and that his mother was a widow, his heart was moved with compassion. Thus, we learn the mission of the Lukan Jesus is led by compassion.

⁵⁴¹ Nolland, *Luke 1:-9:20*, 321.

Compassion is one of God's attributes in the OT and describes the essence of God's own characteristic nature (c.f. Exodus 34:5-7; Nehemiah 9:17; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2). Jesus as a Jew has been informed by the OT tradition to have a concern for widows. The Lukan Jesus' compassionate character is a key factor for his mission. Indeed, it is the essence of God's own nature. When God appeared to Moses, he revealed himself saying, "The Lord, the compassionate and gracious God..." (Exodus 34:6), which indicates compassion as the fullness of God's characteristic nature.⁵⁴² The OT regularly addresses God as a God of compassion and mercy (cf. Lamentation 3:22-23; Psalm 57:10; Nehemiah 9:31). This peculiar miracle is therefore not only a preparation for Jesus' reply to John-the-Baptist's messengers. Rather, as Leon Morris observes, it shows a key theme, the fact that "Luke stresses the compassion of Jesus as well as his power."⁵⁴³ Compassion is the main reason for Jesus' action in these three verses.

Yet Luke implies that this is not simply human compassion. Before mentioning the word "compassion" Luke uses the word "Lord" for Jesus, the very word used for Yahweh in the Septuagint translation of the OT. The word is used to identify the divine power of Jesus which will be seen immediately when he acts on his compassion. Luke mentions the name Lord for Jesus: "when the Lord saw her". S. MacLean Gilmour comments that "the Lord was part of the confession of early Christians, and the church's favorite name for the exalted Christ."⁵⁴⁴ Commenting on Luke's use of the word "Lord", Green says that "Luke's identification of Jesus as Lord, his remark concerning Jesus' effective response to the woman, and his record of Jesus' first words to the woman, "Do not weep," all point to an understanding of this account that does accord privilege to Jesus as someone capable of powerful acts."⁵⁴⁵ Jesus is identified elsewhere by Luke as a saviour (*soter*). In this miracle he will save the life of the dead man. Both these actions suggest that he is acting in line with the divine compassion of the OT.

Christologically speaking, therefore, this miracle story offers a Tanzanian reader with a Jesus who knows the future pain and grief of God, his father, in his own death and also shares the future joy his father will experience in Jesus' resurrection, as in the gift given to the widow as

⁵⁴² Walter Brueggemann, "Exodus," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. Bruce C. Birch, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 946.

⁵⁴³ Morris, *Luke*, 139.

⁵⁴⁴ S. MacLean Gilmour, Walter Russell Bowie, and John Knox, "The Gospel According to St. Luke," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), 133.

⁵⁴⁵ Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 291.

she experiences her son coming into life again. When the son is raised, as Jesus is “raised” by the power of God, when “Jesus gave the young man back to his mother”, that is the moment of her resurrection, when Jesus fully demonstrates the compassion of God.⁵⁴⁶

Yet this story is not primarily a demonstration of Jesus’ divine power. Rather, the miracle comes from Jesus’ compassion to the widow. Kevin James Waldie observes that the story of Jesus raising the widow’s son in Luke 7:11-17 “is inserted here not so much as an act of power but rather as an explicit act of compassion.”⁵⁴⁷ Waldie writes: “in English, compassion is a compound of com-and-passion, which designates it as a feeling with someone.”⁵⁴⁸ The Greek word for compassion is *σπλαγχνίζομαι*. It means “to be moved with pity or compassion, have pity or compassion, to have mercy.”⁵⁴⁹ Philip H. Towner notes that “the primary Hebrew term for mercy is *hesed*, which refers to the love, compassion and kindness upon which God’s covenant with Israel was founded.”⁵⁵⁰ Apart from Matthew 18:27, when the Greek word *σπλαγχνίζομαι* appears in the Synoptic gospels including Luke 7:13, it portrays Jesus as one who compassionately takes an interest in those in need and helps them.⁵⁵¹ In the story of the widow of Nain who had lost her only son, Jesus compassionately steps in to bring life, hope and restoration.

This motivation of compassion is seen clearly in the translations used in Tanzania. The *Cigogo* Bible translation does not have a word which includes any sense of mercy or pity, which “compassion” does in Greek and English. The word used in *Cigogo* language is *lusungu* which means “compassion.” Indeed, in this context “mercy” is not the proper word, and the *Cigogo* language rightly does not imply “mercy”. The Swahili word for mercy is *rehema*; *rehema* has a connotation of grace; the Swahili word *neema* is not the same word as

⁵⁴⁶ Bruce Malina and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 330.

⁵⁴⁷ Kevin James Waldie, "Compassion, Jesus and Luke - Words and Deeds in a Redaction-Compositional Study of Luke 6:12 - 8:3" (Otago, 2008), 92.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁵⁴⁹ Philip H. Towner comments that compassion or mercy is a quality fundamental to God’s interaction with humankind. In the English Bible, the noun signifies concrete expressions of compassion and love. Verbal phrases such as “to be merciful”, “to have mercy on” or “to show mercy towards” underline further the active merciful quality of God and a requirement of his people. See Philip H. Towner, "Mercy/Compassion " in *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, ed. T Desmond Alexander and Brian S. Rosner (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2000), 660. Cf. Richard J. Goodrich and Albert L. Lukaszewski, *κατὰ Λουκᾶν A Reader's Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 153.

⁵⁵⁰ Towner, "Mercy/Compassion " 660.

⁵⁵¹ Nikolaus Walter, "splanchnizomai " in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 265.

compassion. The Swahili word for compassion is *huruma* which is the *Cigogo* word *lusungu*. For the purpose of this reading, I choose the *Cigogo* word *lusungu* which means *huruma* in Swahili and “compassion” in English. I suggest these have the same sense as the word used by Luke to describe Jesus’ feeling to the widow. He felt compassion/*huruma*, *lusungu*, without any sense of condescension. Helmut Koster commenting on the Greek word for “compassion” says: “it is always used to describe the attitude of Jesus and it characterizes the divine nature of his acts.”⁵⁵²

The word *lusungu/huruma/compassion* connotes the effect of someone feeling in sympathy with someone else. Compassion/*lusungu/huruma* is caused by a particular situation. That is why Jesus’ *lusungu* broke boundaries. *Lusungu* is not conditional on whether the sufferer belongs to your ethnic group or not. By nature *lusungu* arises because of the situation. This is what happened to Jesus when he saw the situation of the widow. The *Wagogo* people understand that someone having *lusungu* by nature will step in to the other person’s situation. *Lusungu* steps in to bring a better end to someone. There is no *lusungu/huruma* without the effect of improvement to someone’s situation. Therefore, where there is compassion there is a better result. This is an *ujamaa* concept that intends to bring better results for everyone in the community.

Significantly, in the three parables that are unique to Luke’s gospel, Luke uses the word “compassion” to show the characteristic nature of God and of Jesus’ mission. In the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30-37), the story is given to show the Samaritan’s compassion to the wounded person who did not belong to his ethnic group. The power of compassion moved him to help. The dominant theme in the parable of Good Samaritan is that compassion leads to actions. Compassion has fruit, and it does not count costs.⁵⁵³ The compassion the Samaritan had provided an opportunity for him to serve and bring a better end. In this parable the nature of the Samaritan’s compassion represents God’s own compassion, which does God’s will.

Likewise in the parable of Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32), where the waiting father sees his son coming, and having realized the condition of his son, his heart was moved “with

⁵⁵² Helmut Koster, "σπλαγχνίζομαι" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Kittel Gerhard and Friedrich Gerhard (Grand Rapids Eerdmans, 1971), 553.

⁵⁵³ Bock says: “This compassionate act, as many compassionate acts do, involved a concrete price that the Samaritan was willing to pay”. Cf. Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2002), 1033.

compassion.” The Greek word used here is *σπλαγχνίζομαι* as it is in the story of Jesus’ raising of the widow of Nain’s son. In verse 28 the father ran and put his arms around his younger son and kissed him. This shows that compassion requires acceptance, as Jesus himself will accept the widow. As the parable shows, this is God’s own character toward human beings; he accepts his people and shows compassion towards them in his actions. In Luke 16:19-31, we have a contrasting story of the Rich Man and Lazarus. The rich man is condemned because of a lack of compassion to the poor Lazarus. He himself, although he had no compassion on Lazarus, now was crying for compassion. Thus, in verse 24 he asks father Abraham, “have mercy on me, and send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water to cool my tongue; for I am in agony in these flames.” The Swahili words used say he called; “*Ee baba Ibrahimu nihurumie*,” which asks Abraham to “have compassion,” not *rehema*/mercy. In all three parables, compassion is indicated as essential to the character of those who share God’s heart for the poor.

This same compassion is clearly seen in the case of the widow from Nain. As we have seen, the story focuses on her as a widow rather than on the raising of the son (people still died during Jesus’ ministry!), or on the crowd at the funeral procession. In v. 15, the dead man speaks, to prove that he was really raised by Jesus, but Luke does not tell us what the dead man says. For Luke, the emphasis is not on the dead man but rather on the compassion of Jesus for the widow. The plight of this widow calls for action in line with God’s OT compassion for the oppressed.

Thus, as Fitzmyer observes, “it is important to note that the miracle is not particularly related to faith in Jesus; that is not demanded either of the mother of the boy or of friends who are carrying him to burial. It is attributed to Jesus’ compassion.”⁵⁵⁴ Acknowledging compassion as the basis of the miracle, Andrew Gregory supports Fitzmyer’s observation when he comments that in “the previous story, Jesus miraculously healing the centurion’s servant was occasioned by the centurion’s faith. Here Jesus raises the widow’s son on account of the compassion that he feels for her plight.”⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I - IX: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 657-8.

⁵⁵⁵ Andrew Gregory, "Gospel According to Luke," in *The New Proclamation Commentary on the Gospels*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory (London: Fortress Press, 2006.), 126.

In the narrative, Jesus' compassion/*lusungu* also removes the boundary of Jewish religious rituals. As Robert Price observes

when Jesus raises the young man, he gives him back to his mother; she is clearly the center of concern. This story depicts Jesus as benefactor and patron of widows, just as the Old Testament cast Yahweh in the role of the defender of widows (Exodus 22:22-24), even if no man would trouble to defend them.⁵⁵⁶

This is not only because his concern is for a woman. Rather, it is also seen in Jesus touching the coffin, through which in Jewish law he defiled himself (Numbers 19:11, 16).⁵⁵⁷ Jesus' compassion/*lusungu/huruma* reaches across such purity boundaries as human markers to bring compassion, to bring a better end for the widow. *Lusungu/compassion* is a powerful motivation for mission action.⁵⁵⁸

Throughout Luke's Gospel, Jesus' compassion is seen to extend to all people, without condition. It was gracious compassion, extended to all people, whether they were holy or sinners. This includes Gentiles, and those economically disadvantaged, such as widows and orphans. It is very clear right from the beginning of the gospel that Jesus' mission in Luke is motivated and guided by compassion. In the miracle of the raising of the widow's son, Jesus' action of touching the coffin that carries the dead son and his raising of him is an action that challenges the social and religious structures of first century Palestine that prohibited a person to touch the body of a dead person (as the person would be defiled). This provides a good model for the ACT to be courageous and resourceful in its actions, and challenges it to support the widows who are the greatest victims of the socially unjust system of Tanzania, despite potential opposition. The ACT and the Christian community as a whole will be able to do that only if it will follow the Lukan Jesus' example of compassion.

5.4 Jesus' mission echoes the OT prophetic ministry (vv 16 -17)

Fear seized all of them; and they glorified God, saying, "A great prophet has risen among us! God has visited his people!" This word about his work spread throughout Judea and all the surrounding country.

⁵⁵⁶ Robert M. Price, *The Widow Traditions in Luke - Acts: A Feminist-Critical Scrutiny* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 85-86.

⁵⁵⁷ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 651.

⁵⁵⁸ This reading is not doing a study of the word "compassion", but rather considering Jesus' act of compassion as the source of his healing ministry. For details about the meaning of the word compassion see Waldie, "Compassion, Jesus and Luke - Words and Deeds in a Redaction-Compositional Study of Luke 6:12 - 8:3," 49 - 51.

These verses provide readers with the reaction of the crowd. Once again, they interpret Jesus' work in connection with the work of the prophets in the OT, perhaps particularly of Elijah and Elisha in 1 Kings 17:8-24 and 2 Kings 4:18-36.⁵⁵⁹ Fitzmyer argues that "Jesus is seen as a great prophet in the service of God's people. His ministry extends not only to the poor, the imprisoned, the blind, and the downtrodden, but even to those in the grip of death."⁵⁶⁰ Morris observes that "those who saw this reacted as men and women in the presence of God. Fear, which we must understand as awe, took hold of them."⁵⁶¹ They glorified God, not Jesus, as Jesus' mission did not intend to bring glory for himself but rather to God, underlying again the connection between Jesus' compassion and the character of God. The mission of the ACT should likewise intend to bring glory to God rather than human glorification; this will reflect Jesus' model. Luke's readers know from the beginning that it was Jesus' intention to make people recognize the presence of God's power and praise him for his wholeness, healing and salvation in the full sense that this word brings.

It is by showing divine concern for the poor (just as it was for the OT prophets) that the mission of the ACT will bring glory to God. Only then will it fulfill Luke's promise that Jesus' coming is good news of great joy for all people (Luke 2:10). Waldie argues that "the way in which the audience reacts to what has taken place (Luke 7:16) highlights the presence and mission of a great prophet who serves God's people and thereby acts for God and in God's name. All this is contributing to a deeper sense of Jesus and his compassionate outreach to the poor."⁵⁶² Thus, Jesus' raising the widow's son not only brought great joy to her but also the mourners who were present. Likewise the mission of the ACT in Tanzania must bring good news to all people, including widows and their children.

5.5 The situation of the widow and the death of her only son and its implications for the mission of the ACT in a Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture

The number of widows in Tanzania is currently growing rapidly. Although even the Mkukuta Poverty and Human Development Report (PHDR 2010)⁵⁶³ does not mention the number of widows in Tanzania, recent research done by Tanzania Organization for Restoration of Ethics

⁵⁵⁹ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I - IX: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 660.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Morris, *Luke*, 140.

⁵⁶² Waldie, "Compassion, Jesus and Luke - Words and Deeds in a Redaction-Compositional Study of Luke 6:12 - 8:3," 93.

⁵⁶³ See Mkukuta Reports both for 2009 and 2010: Mkukuta, "National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty in Tanzania."

(TARE) in Arusha Region identified 479,000 orphans and 127,000 widows in the Arusha region alone.⁵⁶⁴ This means that if research had been done for the whole country we would be surprised at the enormous number of widows and orphans.

The plight of widows and their children in Tanzania is increasingly becoming a challenge to society. As Nwachuku observes “the African widow is a neglected and deserted lonely woman.”⁵⁶⁵ It is therefore urgent to understand the plight of widows and their children in Tanzania.

5.5.1 The plight of widows and orphans in Tanzania

I take my central Tanzania rural village experience to highlight the widows’ plight. The central region of Tanzania is dominated by the *Wagogo* tribe. *Gogo* is the tribe and *Wagogo* are the people. Social injustice in Tanzania caused by the present system, adherence to some cultural traditions, and the failure of the church to act with compassion, have meant that widows have failed to appreciate the full richness of Christian faith to transform their lives.

After the death of their husbands, widows in Tanzania experience real pain. The deceased’s wife and children cut their hair on the third day after the burial to mark sorrow and mourning. The wife not only grieves about missing the companionship of a husband and the loss of a father of her children but it becomes even worse if the woman had no children. Very often the brothers of the deceased husband treat her badly during the lamentation period, regardless of whether she has children or not. Very often, a widow is forced by the relatives of her deceased husband to be married to one of them, whom she does not necessarily love. In the current epidemic of HIV/AIDS, this becomes even more dangerous for her. In addition, as Dorcas Ndolo observes, “the death of a husband may sometimes lead to the wife being dispossessed of all her husband’s property, including their children and land.”⁵⁶⁶

In 2001, I remember leading a burial service for a deceased man. His widow, when the body of her husband was lying in the grave was crying, saying “my beloved husband, you have left me naked” (translated from Cigogo). What she meant by “being left naked” is that she was

⁵⁶⁴ Veronica Mheta, "Arusha kuna yatima 479,000," *HabariLeo* 28 June 2011, 2.

⁵⁶⁵ Daisy N. Nwachuku, "The Christian Widow in African Culture," in *The Will to Arise: Women, Tradition, and Church in Africa*, ed. Meco Oduyoye and Masimbi Kanyoro (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1992), 61.

⁵⁶⁶ Dorcas Chanya Mlamba Ndoro, "The Women God Created: Some Cultural Implications for the Coastal Bantu of Kenya" (The University of Auckland, 2006), 242.

now left without any means of support. She was crying, saying, “who will help me pay school fees for my children, who will help me rebuild this house when the rainy season comes.” Such a widow requires divine attention from the compassion of the Lukan Jesus, through the church.

The major cause of widowhood in Tanzania is poverty. In order to get a wife in central Tanzania, a young man needs to have a dowry to pay the parents of his spouse. Paying a dowry is part of strong culture as a sign of saying “thank you” to the bride’s parents, and partly signifies the value of the bride. However, it is this cultural more which has become a burden for most young people. For some this is the source of women being oppressed by their husbands. In some parts of central Tanzania the only dowry the parents will agree to is cows. Apart from paying the required dowry, he also needs to save a large sum of money for the wedding day. This is expensive for young people, most of whom do not have employment to earn money. By the time they have aggregated enough money they are older: as a result, most men get married at the age of thirty to forty years and they choose young girls of between twenty to twenty five years for their wife. So there is gap of more than ten years’ difference. This problem is similar in Greco-Roman marriages, as noted by Keener.⁵⁶⁷

A second reason is that poverty has led many girls, instead of going to school, to choose marriage at a very early age, since their parents or caretakers are unable to provide their needs, including school needs. Sometimes they do this in order to help their grandparents who now have the responsibility of looking after them because their parents have died of AIDS. It is true that it is illegal not to send your child to school, and primary education is free in Tanzania. Nevertheless, parents and caretakers are supposed to provide uniforms and other school items for their children. Since many children’s parents have died with AIDS and they are looked after by their grandparents and other caretakers, most of whom are older, so they are unable to provide food, clothes and other school needs. Instead of going to school and being beaten by the school teacher for missing school uniform and other items, and because girls suffer more than boys at home, they choose marriage, hoping they will get a better life.

In central Tanzania, wealthy people with lots of cows decide to marry these girls. They are able to marry them since they can pay dowry to the poor parents and guardians. They are also

⁵⁶⁷ Craig S. Keener, "Family and Household," in *Dictionary of the New Testament Background*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter (Leicester: IVP, 2000), 359.

able to bribe the school principals and village leaders not to follow up those children who do not attend school.⁵⁶⁸ So widows' girls are forced to enter marriage at the earliest age, hoping that their own needs and that of their parents/caretakers (now days most of them grandparents) will be provided. In such marriages, there is a big age gap between the husband and the wife; this is a major problem, especially in polygamous marriages.⁵⁶⁹

While most girls enter marriage early, some of them and most young men go to cities hoping they will find money in order to help their mothers, but end up on the streets.⁵⁷⁰ Recent research of an overview of the national response on the plight of most vulnerable children done by the Ministry of Health and Social Services reports that:

About 2.5 million Tanzanian children (10- 2%) under 18 are vulnerable children (National Census, 2002), 5-8% are classified as Most Vulnerable Children (about 1 to 1.5 million). These children are those living in child-headed households, or cared for by elderly, or orphan, or with disabilities, or caring for chronically ill parents, or those without home. 42% of Orphans and Vulnerable Children are due to HIV/AIDS. 53% of them are cared for by the elderly, 12% live in child-headed households and only 1% receives support from relatives.⁵⁷¹

Another report suggests that about 75% of the street children in most Tanzanian cities are orphans. "The current number of orphans is 2.5 million and 1.4 million of the orphans are due to AIDS."⁵⁷² The Dodoma Health officer estimates "there are 2.3 million Tanzanians living with HIV, 230,000 Children (0-16) living with HIV; most of these people live in urban areas, and the number is growing"⁵⁷³ Again when they are in the cities, girls enter prostitution while

⁵⁶⁸ While I believe education would have transformed the life of many children in Tanzania, including orphans, as a priest, I have seen many children not going to school and their parents and guardians not sending them, and so they disappear without reasons given. When I have tried to follow up such cases, I realized that one of the school's head teachers, a village chairperson and the village executive officer (VEO), had been given bribes to overlook their absence. In a country where corruption is common, it is hard to see all children attending school, such as girls in situations like those described above.

⁵⁶⁹ In central Tanzania most wealthy people with cattle are polygamists. They like to marry young girls, so that they can get more children. They allow them and their children to be Christian but not themselves. One of the main reasons why they do not want to be Christian is that Christianity does not allow polygamy. Most of them need polygamy in order to have a big family who would look after the cattle and provide security for the *boma*. Some of these people in central Tanzania contribute much to the church so that their family can be taken care of by the church. Others do not like the church because they see it as destroying their family. Most of these people when they die leave behind widows, some of whom have suffered much, especially those who do not have children, since they are unable to get any inheritance.

⁵⁷⁰ The growing number of street children, who have become a big problem in the cities, is largely caused by orphans whose parents have died with AIDS.

⁵⁷¹ Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, "Most Vulnerable Children," www.moh.go.tz.

⁵⁷² President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete mentioned the situation of HIV/AIDS in addressing the Nation on December 31, 2009. Source: President's Speech to the Nation, 31 December 2009.

⁵⁷³ Private conversation with Dodoma Health Officer, August 2, 2004.

boys enter criminal activity. As a result, they end up in prison and some of them die with AIDS.

These children who are most vulnerable face many challenges, such as death and/or long-term sickness of parents and guardians, distress, bereavement and abandonment, hunger and poor nutrition, poor shelter, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, rights violations and exclusion from education. The ACT as an agent of God's compassion should step in to respond to the needs of these children. The needs of the Most Vulnerable Children are numerous, including food and nutrition, shelter, family-based care and support, social protection and security, primary healthcare, psychosocial care and support, education and vocational training, and household economic strengthening.

5.5.2 The problem of food, shelter, clothing and water for widows and their children

Food is a major problem for widows. People in rural villages are subsistence farmers. They totally depend on the product of the land to get food and sell some of their produce to get other needs such clothing and school costs for their children. Therefore rain is necessary for them to live, because no rain means no food and no water. For the past ten years or so, women in most rural villages of central Tanzania have been suffering from food and water shortages because of the drought caused by cutting trees for charcoal and the effects of global climate change.⁵⁷⁴ Shortage of food and even water is not a strange phenomenon in Dodoma, Tanzania's heartland; although in good years the peasants used to have enough and sold surplus foodstuffs. But over recent years, the situation has gone from bad to worse. Faced with water shortages, it is usually the responsibility of men to leave the area to find food for their families. Women rely on their husbands to go to other places in the country to find food.

Men traditionally perform the tasks of maintaining shelter, and finding food for their families. Without a husband, a woman needs an eldest son or she will not survive. But widows and their children do not have someone to find food for them. Widows cannot leave their children and go far away to seek food for their dependents. This is a major problem for widows who do not have husband or children able to find food for them.

⁵⁷⁴ This report is found in Gerald Kitabu, "Dodoma hit hard by Climate Change effects," *Guardian Sunday* 26 December 2010. On a fact-finding mission on climate change and its effects in the Dodoma Region, a team of six soil conservation experts, accompanied by a Guardian reporter, found the shortage of water evident even at tea rooms and food outlets. Very little water was given to customers for washing hands and the toilets were in a pathetic condition. The team had been commissioned by the Journalists' Environmental Association of Tanzania

Shelter is another major problem for widows in Tanzania. Houses in central Tanzania are built from mud bricks and roofed with special mud, to prevent the house falling from rain. Traditionally, constructing these houses is the role of men. A husband in central Tanzania repairs the house almost each year before the rain comes. It is a husband's responsibility and this is a major role. It involves a lot of work in the forest, where men go to find wood and materials for roofing. For a widow the death of her husband brings all this to mind. Most widows' houses in Tanzania are not safe. They suffer without shelter especially during the rainy season. The only hope a widow can have is if she has a mature son who is able to help. So the death of her son, as often happens because of HIV/AIDS, brings terrible suffering for her.

Inadequate rainfall, due in part to deforestation, has occasioned low productivity of maize, sorghum and millet. Thus, food, shelter and clothing are the problems that widows encounter daily in central Tanzania. One widow at Mvumi Mission told me that in the past she and her husband could harvest ten sacks of maize or sorghum or millet. Owing to the persistent drought and unpredictable rainfall pattern now she manages to get just one. This brings a major problem for her. Where other women rely on their husbands to travel far away to find food for their families, she does not have anyone to rely on for support.⁵⁷⁵ It is little wonder that widows in this plight are often driven to prostitution. As one widow said to me, "when a man promises to give Tsh 500 to Tsh 1000 for having sex with a widow or their girls, they accept the offer because they want to survive. As a result they end up having HIV/AIDS."⁵⁷⁶

5.5.3 Problem of deceased husband's relatives taking a widow's and her children's property

Vanessa Von Struensee who has done intensive research on the plight of widows in Tanzania writes:

widows in Tanzania have been neglected and they are the poorest of the poor, the most oppressed, violated and invisible and their voices are the most unheard, most of widows are young mothers, some still children, all subject to extreme discriminatory practices and victims of neglect by government.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Personal conversation, 6 November 2009 .

⁵⁷⁶ Personal conversation 6 November 2009. The woman preferred anonymity.

⁵⁷⁷ Vanessa Von Struensee, "Widows, AIDS, Health and Human Rights in Africa," (Washington DC: Social Science Research Network, July 26, 2004), 1.

Widows especially in rural villages are persecuted by the relatives of their deceased husbands. Addressing a women's conference organized by Care International on women's rights, Geryson Frednand from Plan International said that in her research she discovered that "Seventy one (71%) of women, mostly widows who are oppressed by the relatives of deceased husband, will not report their situation anywhere." She said they will not report "because they fear that they may be killed by the relatives of the deceased husband."⁵⁷⁸ In fact, some of them have been killed. For example, on 1 January 2011, Clara Matimo of *HabariLeo* Newspaper reported that, in the village of Gundyia in Kwimba District, Agnes Luchagula was killed in front of her four children by the deceased relatives because they wanted to take her property by force.⁵⁷⁹ Speaking at a conference on "Understanding How Women are Suffering in Tanzania", Morogoro Municipal Council Mayor Amir Juma said that "between 2009 and 2010 about 57 widows and children were killed in Tanzania because the relatives of the deceased husbands wanted to take their property."⁵⁸⁰ Juma further argues that many more cases are not reported.

The Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture placed community values above individuals. Among the *Wagogo*, the extended family played a significant role in taking care of widows and orphans.⁵⁸¹ In the *Wagogo* community, the family provided a sibling to marry the widow in order to look after the children, or to provide children to the deceased brother (as in levirate marriage in Jewish tradition). If the widow had children, she still could be inherited by one of her deceased husband's brothers, in order to provide security and care for the children. Since traditionally, Gogo is a polygamous society, the deceased's brother could have several wives and the deceased's wife would be added to them.⁵⁸² While the church rejected polygamy, it could not replace it with Christian values that will take care of the widows and orphans.

⁵⁷⁸ Raymond Mihayo, "Wanawake hujamiiana bila ridhaa yao," *HabariLeo* 22 June 2011, 2. My translation.

⁵⁷⁹ Clara Matimo, "Ndugu wa marehemu waua mke wao," *HabariLeo* 5 January 2011, 3.

⁵⁸⁰ Nickson Mkilanya, "Semina ya Kutetea Haki za Wajane " (Morogoro: STARTV, Sunday 5 June 2011). I have translated this quotation from Swahili. Juma's verdict is supported by a typically tragic recent case: on June 18, 2011, in Mbeya Region, Shedy Mdeka (40 years old) killed Vicky Christopher (9 years old), the daughter of his deceased young brother. Her mother had fled to Dar Es Salaam and left her daughter with Mdeka. Earlier after the death of his brother who died with AIDS, Mdeka had claimed to look after the child. It is very possible that such a person might have taken the property of his deceased brother. See Joachim Nyambo, "Baba amua mtoto wa mdogo wake," *HabariLeo* 18 June 2011 3.

⁵⁸¹ For understanding the network of the extended family that cared for one another, see Peter Rigby, *Cattle and Kinship Among the Gogo* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), 235-51.

⁵⁸² It should be noted that in a Tanzanian situation polygamy strengthened community life for the family. My great-grandfather had many wives and all of his children from different wives were considered as one, without any discrimination. The idea of polygamy as something wrong is new to most of the people in central Tanzania. It is thought by many in Tanzania that this is a western culture brought by colonial Christianity. That is why, as

Writing on the plight of women in *ugogo* society, Rigby argues that “women felt deprived of this legal right to the acquisition and accumulation of property in these terms.”⁵⁸³ Only married women with children could have more access in controlling the *sawo*.⁵⁸⁴

The perpetuation of the traditional patriarchal African marginalization⁵⁸⁵ of widows must be confronted by a different understanding, such as that shown in the story of Jesus raising the widow’s son at Nain. The scourge of HIV/AIDS, by exponentially expanding the population of widows in Tanzania, has made the plight of widows in Tanzania a desperate concern that demands immediate attention by the whole Tanzanian community, including the ACT. The problems of poverty and HIV/AIDS have led to the growing number of widows in Tanzania, for whom Jesus’ miracles are a vital offer of hope.⁵⁸⁶ The story of Jesus raising the widow’s son at Nain is an *ujamaa* image that identifies with and challenges the poverty and the suffering of widows in Tanzania.

It is true that women’s rights to own and inherit property are violated throughout Tanzania.⁵⁸⁷ However, although all women are vulnerable to these abuses, widows (especially AIDS widows) experience the most extreme violations. Von Struensee observes that “widows—both child and adult in Tanzania....face discrimination on regular basis. Tanzanian NGOs have been desperately trying without success to get their government to change the inheritance law.”⁵⁸⁸ Tanzanian social change in recent years, as Mbuvi notes, has caused “rapid migration, urbanization, and transformation of African economies by colonialism and

noted earlier, that some Africans when they read the Bible, and find the heroes of Christian faith like David had more than one wife, are surprised that polygamy is rejected by the church.

⁵⁸³ Rigby, *Cattle and Kinship Among the Gogo*, 56.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Although traditionally widows were looked after by the community, yet women including widows were marginalized by the same cultural system in other ways, e.g. the right to choose another spouse to marry after her husband’s death. This was only decided by the clan leader who told one of the deceased’s brothers to marry her. The effect of this is that many self-sufficient widows became poor, as the person who had power to decide on the use of their wealth was this new spouse, who was not necessarily able to look after the cows or other property owned by the deceased brother and his wife.

⁵⁸⁶ Edward C. Green, director of the AIDS prevention Research Project at the Harvard Centre for Population and Development Studies, and Allison Hearling Ruark, a research fellow, have done intensive research on the problem of HIV/AIDS on Sub-Saharan African countries and have discovered a huge problem of AIDS, mostly affecting women, see Edward C. Green and Allison Herling Ruark, "AIDS and the Churches: Getting the Story Right," *Religion and Public Life*, no. 182 (April 2008): 22 - 26.

⁵⁸⁷ Mkilanya, "Semina ya Kutetea Haki za Wajane".

⁵⁸⁸ For further detail on the plight of widows in Tanzania, see Struensee, "Widows, AIDS, Health and Human Rights in Africa," 1-5.

post-colonialism, so that the strain on the family unit has virtually shredded the extended family.⁵⁸⁹

Apart from Christianity, that prohibits polygamy and inheriting widows as wives, in recent years HIV/AIDS has forced changes to levirate marriage customs in Tanzania. This is because the siblings are now refusing to marry the widows, as they fear being victims of HIV/AIDS, so they will not marry a widow when they are not sure what killed her husband. Indeed, sometimes they know for sure their deceased relative died with AIDS. Refusing to marry widows, whether for religious reasons or because of HIV/AIDS, has caused suffering to their children who do not have someone to care and provide security for them.⁵⁹⁰ Mbuvi notes a “two-fold stigma—the family reject her and then no one else wants her, especially if she is herself potentially infected with the disease.”⁵⁹¹ Elias Kifon Bongmba argues that “as a result, such widows, often with their children, are essentially kicked out of their deceased husband’s families and denied any inheritance, ending up with no one to provide for them.”⁵⁹²

In 1990, the Tanzanian Women Lawyers Advocate (TWLA) was established to defend women’s rights.⁵⁹³ However, women in rural areas in Tanzania are not aware of TWLA. Ussu Malya, Director of Tanzania Gender and Children issues, argues for the need to educate women about their rights. He insists that organizations such as TWLA must devote themselves to empowering women by educating them to know their rights, especially in rural villages where the majority of women live.⁵⁹⁴ A recent government report shows that

⁵⁸⁹ Mbuvi, *Jesus and His Mother: An Analysis of their Public Relationship as a Paradigm for African Women (Widows) Who Must Circumvent Traditional Authority in Order to Thrive in Society* 130.

⁵⁹⁰ It is important to note that the ACT strongly prohibits polygamy among its members. However, some people in central Tanzania still hold the traditional culture of inheriting a widow secretly. They inherit under the name of taking care of the family of their deceased brother. I know some Christians in central Tanzania who have inherited the wives of their deceased relatives. They were given responsibility of looking after the family of their deceased relatives, but the looking went further and now secretly they live as husband and wife. As a church pastor I can say nothing unless it is brought to me. If I inquired, they may have replied: “did you come to our bed pastor, and see us sleeping together?” This is a challenge; some of the widows are forced to such marriage as they are literally poor. They need someone to take care for them and their children. The ACT must act on their behalf to provide a means of support such as food, shelter and clothing. Unless those needs are provided for, prohibiting polygamy would not help anything.

⁵⁹¹ Mbuvi, *Jesus and His Mother: An Analysis of their Public Relationship as a Paradigm for African Women (Widows) Who Must Circumvent Traditional Authority in Order to Thrive in Society* .

⁵⁹² Elias Kifon Bongmba, *Facing a Pandemic: The African Church and the Crisis of HIV/AIDS* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 113.

⁵⁹³ Marshy Abdu, "Kutana na Wanawake wa Shoka," www.habaritanzania.com.

⁵⁹⁴ Nasser Kigwangallah, "Wanawake Waelimishwe Kuhusu Haki Zao," *Tanzania Daima* 4 December 2010, 1-2.

although there have been efforts to increase women's rights, including the rights of widows and their orphans, yet those efforts have not reached the grass roots people, especially those living in rural villages.⁵⁹⁵ The report shows that "Tanzania has committed itself to the abiding to the global commitments set under the Millennium Development Goal 2000 to 2015 which inter alia call for promotion of gender equality and empowering of women. ... So far, notable progress has been achieved over the last ten years 1999–2009."⁵⁹⁶

Yet this progress is of limited effect. The story of the suffering of widows remains common throughout Tanzania. Everywhere you look, you see them struggling for their children's and their own lives. They are the biggest victims of poverty in Tanzania. In the light of the widows' situation the ACT is challenged to re-read the story of widow of Nain. I argue that, as in the story of raising the widow's son at Nain, Jesus would be moved by compassion to act on their behalf. Likewise the ACT is called to interpret the story through the lens of *ujamaa* which aims to remove oppression and bring hope for the voiceless in the country. In this way, the ACT will be able to address the situation of the widows and children of Tanzania.

5.6 The implication of widows' plight for the mission of the ACT

Just as Jesus had to pay attention to the widow of Nain, having realized her situation, so the plight of widows in Tanzania requires special attention by the whole community, including the ACT. Treating widows and orphans properly is a form of Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture, which requires the right response for the situation. As Matthew M. Theuri argues:

African development was holistic and inclusive – it was always guided by fundamental values of generosity, solidarity and hospitality to all... Everyone was equal to each other; resources were well and equally distributed among all. The sick, the orphans, the widows were taken care by the community. The Africans lived in the model that reflected the early Church... African communities practised more or less what the early Church practised (cf Acts 4:1ff).⁵⁹⁷

This evidence is seen in the Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture discussed in Chapter Three.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁵ Mkukuta, "National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty in Tanzania," 52-92. See also PDHR, "Tanzania Poverty and Human Development Report," (Dar Es Salaam: www.repoa.or.tz www.crop.org/research/resouces, 2010), 77,81.

⁵⁹⁶ Empowerment, "Poverty and Human Development Report (PHDR) 2009," 84.

⁵⁹⁷ Matthew M. Theuri, ed. *Religion and Culture*, Quests for Abundant Life in Africa (Nairobi: Acton, 2002), 193-94.

⁵⁹⁸ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 62-71.

Bearing this argument in mind one can say with certainty that Africa was developed in all aspects of life. Everyone did what was best for the community regardless of their personal gains. The African traditional system thus seems in many ways to be the ideal one.⁵⁹⁹ Such ideal African culture in Tanzania is the value of community, that everyone in the community including orphans was cared for by other members.⁶⁰⁰ The story of raising the widow's son at Nain challenges the Christianity community to value the needs of other members in the community such as widows and orphans.

In this light, the story of Jesus raising the widow's son at Nain offers a significant model of mission to the ACT, challenging it to return to the *ujamaa* system of caring for its widows and their children. The ACT has a crucial role to play in this situation, to bring hope and restoration to many widows. Bongmba comments that the Church in Africa "has an indispensable responsibility in calling to task the aspects of the patriarchal social structure that have inhibited the empowerment of widows, resulting in the devastation of the HIV/AIDS pandemic."⁶⁰¹ Indeed, it is imperative that the ACT addresses this situation if it is to operate as the Church.

From the beginning, the church was marked by a concern for widows. The early Church addressed seriously the plight of widows and orphans. Richard N. Longenecker observes that this was inherited from Judaism. "Judaism had a system for the distribution of food and supplies to the poor, both the wandering pauper and to those living in Jerusalem itself. There were also special religious communities (like the Pharisees and the Essenes) that had their own agents in every city to provide their members a social service."⁶⁰² In Acts, Luke informs his readers that the Early Church seriously cared for the widows as an expression of its spirituality. They had a communal sharing of possessions with those in need, like the Tanzanian *ujamaa* community (2:44-45; 4:32-5:11). Luke tells us that when the Hellenists' widows were overlooked in the daily distribution of food, the Apostles had to call the Christian community to find a solution (Acts 6:1-6). James, one of the Early Church leaders, says that "Religion that is pure and undefiled before God, the Father, is this: to care for

⁵⁹⁹ Theuri, *Religion and Culture*, 193-94.

⁶⁰⁰ Chiwanga, "From Monarch/Chief to Mhudumu: An African Re-Visioning of Episcopacy," 64.

⁶⁰¹ Bongmba, *Facing a Pandemic: The African Church and the Crisis of HIV/AIDS* 131.

⁶⁰² Richard N. Longenecker, "Acts of the Apostles," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: The Zondervan Publishing House, 1981), 330.

orphans and widows in their distress” (1:27). This is purely a true spirit of Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture that the ACT must follow.

In Luke 7:11-17, one can imagine Jesus observed a huge funeral procession in Nain. Traditionally, the entire community was present. Jesus observed the young men and women weeping. He observed the religious leaders who might be there to lead the funeral service weeping. He observed the elders weeping. He observed the fathers weeping. He observed the children weeping. He observed the sadness on people's faces. Nothing seemed to move him, until Jesus saw the mother. Luke says Jesus was moved with compassion when he saw her and immediately raised the boy from the dead (Luke 7:12-15). It was the cry of a mother that moved Jesus to the very heart of God. Still today, mothers cry before the Lord for their beloved children who have died with malaria and AIDS; orphans suffering from starvation must move the church to the very heart of God. It is possible that the church as an institution may not be seeing but still God sees the suffering of his beloved people. The ACT as an institution needs to have the eyes to see the plight of widows and their orphans and move for actions to demolish the forces of evil seen in unjust social systems and traditions that result in suffering for widows and orphans.

5.6.1 The implication of Jesus’ compassionate mission for the ACT mission in Tanzania

I see considerable contrast between Jesus’ compassion to the widow and our mission in Tanzania. In the late 1990s, the charismatic movement was established within the ACT and other mainline churches in Tanzania. It rose out of EARM. This charismatic movement (as other movements in the Pentecostal churches in Tanzania) held various crusades in the central Tanzania and in other parts of the country. One of the main methods of charismatic revival, apart from preaching, is praying for the sick. This is because, unfortunately, most Africans suffer from various diseases caused mainly by poverty, and widows are no exception.⁶⁰³

In order to attract many people to their meetings, revivalists call people by saying “come and receive your miracle.” It is true many people come with anticipation that they will receive their miracles. During these meetings they are told “if you believe you will receive your

⁶⁰³ Africans also strongly believe in the presence of evil spirits. The charismatic movement has used this as a tool to attract people to their meetings.

miracle today.” Then the time comes to pray for a healing miracle of Jesus. They pray continuously to midnight. However, when the healing miracle does not occur, the preachers tell their audience that it is because of their lack of faith in Jesus. They are ordered to fast and yet nothing happens. And then they are told to repent—perhaps they have sins—yet nothing happens. These unfortunates leave the meeting very upset, thinking that they have done wrong before God to have faced such suffering. Many of them think that they do not have enough faith.⁶⁰⁴ This type of ministry emphasizes faith as the only means of healing power.

Jesus raised the widow’s son through compassion to the widow. The widow did not know about Jesus, yet Jesus raised her son because he felt a certain compassion for the situation he found her in. I argue that God is able to heal his people because of his compassion to those who suffer, regardless of whether they believe or not. Above all, he is not limited to one method of healing. Praying is a good way to show our humility and our total reliance on him alone. Yet at the same time we should understand that God is able to use modern tools through the knowledge he has given to people to bring healing. The ACT needs to offer those modern tools such as establishing dispensaries, health centres, and schools which will provide education to people, and which will result in preventing diseases.

The ACT mission action very often demands a conversion to Christian faith in exchange for services. I think our ministry and mission should be given as an expression of love and compassion to those whom we serve, especially those who suffer most, such as widows. The power of unconditional love and compassion should be the source that will bring people to Christian faith. This is much more the model of the Lukan Jesus, as seen in this narrative. Recently, addressing Muslims during an Idd el-Fitr Baraza in Dodoma, President Jakaya Kikwete said it was only through co-operation that religious institutions can effectively participate in national development and the country's peace and stability will be maintained. Kikwete further noted that under the 1992 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), the government will extend assistance to religions that have requested assistance.⁶⁰⁵ “Religious

⁶⁰⁴ This reading, as an evangelical one, believes strongly in God’s power to heal miraculously. Africans also believe strongly in casting out evil spirits. African Traditional Religion in the past used diviner healers, and one role of the diviner healers was to cast out demons. Today evil spirits are cast out in the name of Jesus. However, God is not limited to one way of healing. In the past, because of lack of knowledge, everything including malaria was attributed to demons. Modern tools can identify what is malaria and not. Moreover, people who come to a crusade should be preached the word of God which brings salvation in Jesus Christ. God can heal through his compassion to his people.

⁶⁰⁵ Daily News Reporter, "Kikwete: Tanzania is a Secular State," *Daily News* 31 August 2011.

bodies have been in the forefront in assisting the government to bring development to the public, otherwise, some would have gone without education or health services,” he commented.⁶⁰⁶ He urged Muslims to forward their requests, noting that his government was ready to work with them to ensure better living standards for the people. “If you have not forwarded your requests, do not blame the ones who have. Forward your requests and when you are denied, fight to get your rights,” he stressed.⁶⁰⁷

There is no doubt that the ACT has used the opportunity given by the Tanzanian government and support from other mission supporters overseas to offer social services to people. However, this reading argues that in many cases those services lack deeper theological grounding. Those services must be offered according to Jesus’ model of compassion. They should not be offered only to attract donors to give more money.⁶⁰⁸ Regularly, those services offered by the ACT are not motivated by compassion; the main intention is to convert people to Christian faith. The ACT should not offer social services as bribery to people to join Christianity. Christian faith must express itself in love and compassion for all.

In Tanzania, such compassion towards widows does exist. As a result, many people have established NGOs to help; however, some of those NGOs just use the label of “helping widows” for their own sake. People want the world to hear that an effort is being made to help the widows and provide rights to them, but in fact, little has changed in the reality of widows’ suffering in Tanzania.⁶⁰⁹

These people are like the crowd who came to sympathize with the widow of Nain but did nothing practically for her. However, Luke informs us repeatedly throughout his gospel that Jesus had compassion on those he reached out to help. So he reached out to the widow and

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Recently the USA gave million of dollars to the Tanzanian government to support efforts to eradicate malaria and HIV/AIDS. The government decided to use religious institutions such as mission hospitals to help the programme. For any dollar given, an honest accounting has to be given. The ACT, as a religious institution, is benefiting from this programme at its mission hospitals such as Mvumi Mission Hospital, Kilimatinde Mission Hospital and Hombolo Mission Hospital. That is why I argue that our ministry should be mostly directed by compassion, not only focused on writing good reports.

President Jakaya Kikwete commenting on government use of religious institutions has commented: “I am saying this from the bottom of my heart; the government has this stand because it acknowledges the position and importance of religions in contributing to the development of the country.” See, *ibid*.

⁶⁰⁹ Speaking in Geneva recently to those supporting Africa, President Jakaya Kikwete challenged the NGOs working in Africa to speak the truth for the good of Africa, instead of lying in order to attract donors. Kikwete’s challenge shows that some NGOs are not honest in giving report to their donors. See Stella Nyemenoh, “Jakaya Kikwete: Ukosefu wa Ajira kwa Vijana ni Changamoto” *Habari Leo* 17 June 2011.

restored her son to her. This widow experienced the mercy of God manifested through Jesus' love and compassion for her. Jewish religious love has two concepts; love for God and love for neighbour. Jesus' ministerial compassion in the gospel of Luke does not discriminate; instead, it is moved by his unconditional love.

In raising the widow's son at Nain, Jesus challenges the ACT to have a vision for serving widows and orphans and other vulnerable children in Tanzania. Women, especially widows and their children have experienced painful situations and it seems the church is not paying much attention to them. This can be demonstrated by the fact that in the five dioceses that dominate the central zone of Tanzania there is not one orphanage that is run by the ACT, even though each diocesan mission statement states the diocese will serve human spiritual and physical needs. I argue that the ACT's mission focus is currently on the spiritual conversion of individuals only, whereas there is a need to develop programmes of ministerial formation which will challenge the candidates trained to priesthood to explore issues of social justice. When they are church leaders, they will be able to inform their congregations of the compassionate heart of Jesus, which will motivate the people to begin serving the marginalised poor, the widows and orphans, as Jesus directed.

5.6.2 The ACT and ministry of compassion to widows and their children

Unfortunately, the ACT in Tanzania has paid little attention, or even one can claim has not established anything, to serve the poor widows. Why has the ACT not done as Jesus did? There are several reasons:

First, the ACT does not understand the essential ministry of serving the widows and orphans as a missional task. This is mainly due to the lack of proper theology in our theological institutions. Our church leaders' mission formation focuses on soul-winning as the key for their ministry. We lack the proper, holistic understanding of what salvation means to people we serve. We understand salvation as something to come in the future, without any present dimension. There is a need to revisit our curriculum in our theological colleges, so that our ministerial formation for church leaders can cover the whole person. I am not saying that soul-winning is not important but what I am arguing is that we should take the two together seriously. The ACT has paid little attention to serving the poorest of the poor, such as

widows, because its mission priority lies elsewhere.⁶¹⁰ In most diocesan budgets, no budget is set apart to help the poorest in the community, such as widows and orphans, or indeed any person in dire need.⁶¹¹

Secondly, the ACT has not done much to help the marginalised because it is a poor church. The founders of the ACT in the CMS era did not sustain the church economically, or set up sustainable economic structures that would be able to serve the poor in dire need. As a result, the ACT in central Tanzania does not have any endowment funds to help the church serve the community, especially the poor. The ACT has relied on the people who themselves are poor to help sustain the church; especially to pay those who serve in the diocesan head office. These poor cannot give enough to sustain the church's mission. There is therefore a need for the leadership to be creative to establish projects that will help the mission of the church, including serving and helping the widows; even helping to pay the school fees of bright orphans who, because of financial difficulty, have failed to continue with their education because they do not have someone to take care of them. The church could take care of them if it had economic capacity.

Third, the ACT shows an unbiblical preference to the people who will benefit the church structures economically. As seen in the previous chapter, they favour people who will contribute financially to the church structures, but not to the church's mission. The ACT's preference has been with the wealthy, such as political leaders and business people, and not the weak people in society. As I noted in the previous chapter, the ACT has lost its prophetic voice, so it cannot speak against an unjust system that oppresses the weak in society. A church that has sided with the political leaders and business people—who seize wealth through dirty means such as corruption and fake contracts with the government in return for donations to the church—cannot stand on the side of the poor. That is why I argue for the church to have its own economic stability, so that it can become involved in non-corrupt business activities. There is much work to be done here, but perhaps the ACT could do more

⁶¹⁰ See recently DCT, "Financial Report 2010 and Proposed Budget for the Year 2011," (Dodoma: Diocese of Central Tanganyika, 2011), 1- 4. This financial report and the proposed budget mainly covers administration costs of paying salaries and allowances. There is no budget set to help people in need such widows and orphans.

⁶¹¹ In 2009, I visited four dioceses to see how they are involved in holistic services. I discovered that these dioceses have development departments. But realistically those departments deal with writing up projects that in my view intend to attract donors. But their ministry at the grass roots is very weak. Only one diocese had a budget for widows, and that was for those widows whose husbands were priests in the diocese and are now dead. There is no budget for widows whose husbands were not priests This needs to be addressed.

with Micro-Enterprise initiatives route, or alternatively, it could look to establish monasteries and convents like those in the Middle Ages, which organise people to farm locally, and make enough money to support other mission. Only this will give authenticity to its mission mandate.

Four, western secularism has sunk into the hearts of most ACT leaders. This secularist mindset cannot help other people. It is led by a spirit of individualism. The *ujamaa* culture which stands on the side of community life is no longer there. This in effect has brought spiritual dryness to some people. It has created a spirituality with no compassion at its heart. It has lost the essence of our spirituality. There are indications in the bible that God has created the peoples and nations of the world to each exhibit their unique characteristics (e.g. Revelation 7.9). For Tanzania, this God-given essence is encapsulated in the *ujamaa* culture. This essence flows from the Holy Spirit, who in return gives us the fruit of compassion that can serve to help others, but it is no longer there in most church leaders. It is indeed only the Spirit of God who can cause the ACT to move to love the oppressed in Jesus' name. It is for these reasons I call for holistic mission approach.

The ACT should serve the widows and their children by establishing special programmes. It should build vocational training for orphans and other street children, which will give them skills for life, so that they can employ themselves. It should establish orphanage centres that will provide safety for them. It should teach other Christians to adopt children whose fathers and mothers have died. These are only some of the practical examples that the ACT needs to adopt. At this moment, the ACT has done little to address this practical mission. In this way, by being in solidarity with the poor, they would be living out the compassion of God and the ministry of Jesus to establish the kingdom of God. Living like Jesus means standing in solidarity with the marginalized of our world, such as widows and their children in Tanzania.⁶¹²

In this study I argue that as the ACT is confronted by the sufferings of widows and their children, it is called to act on their behalf. And it can only act if it has compassion for them. In its mission it is called to follow fully the model of Jesus' mission. It is important to follow

⁶¹² As noted above in note 111, it is encouraging to learn of recent DCT initiative to establish a ministry to serve the orphans and vulnerable children, "Carpenter's Kids" Although it is not without problems, it does show a new commitment in the mission of church to engage in serving the poor. For detail about Carpenter's Kids see DCT, "Carpenter's Kids," www.thecarpenterskids.org.

Jesus' model because for many years the ACT's mission has focused exclusively on preaching a gospel of repentance, and has done little to live out a gospel of serving the majority poor such as widows and their children holistically.

Theologically, the miracle of raising the widow's son also implies that Jesus is the only means of support and the only source that can bring hope and restoration to suffering widows and their children in Tanzania. Jesus' solidarity with this widow challenges the ACT to bring hope and restoration to those who suffer in the society.

Conclusion

The plight of widows in the ancient world was very desperate. Jesus shows solidarity with the widow of Nain by raising her son. The story is a window through which the ACT can see how Jesus' compassion to the widow demonstrates an image of *ujamaa* culture in Tanzania. This reading believes that such an image can become an inspiration to the ACT's mission to widows and their children in the Tanzanian context. Jesus' solidarity, compassion and concern for the poor remain relevant to them. For the mission of the ACT to be equally relevant it needs to be moved by a compassionate spirit, which is Jesus' model in the Gospel of Luke.

Thus, this story from first century Greco-Roman culture has much to say to Tanzanian widow now. Jesus' solidarity and compassionate character in this text has a significant implication for Lukan readers, and widows in particular, in Tanzania, because Jesus' mission to the poor and marginalized—the widow of Nain and her dying son—can motivate the church to love the widows in Tanzania who experience suffering today.

The story of Jesus raising the widow's only son at Nain not only restored hope to his mother who was a widow but also gives back to her a provider and a breadwinner for the future, and so solves her poverty in the first century Palestine. This is the key to this textual analysis. Jesus comes not only to restore hope for the resurrection to come, but also to offer salvation in the present. In this way, the community of believers sees the year of the Lord's favour here and now. Today the year of the Lord's favour is to be fulfilled in the life and the mission of the Church.

If the ACT and the whole Christian community in Tanzania do not raise a prophetic voice, who will stand for justice and truth in the cause of widows and orphans, who continue to experience suffering because of the unjust system? This reading implores the ACT in its mission to champion the cause of oppressed widows. Their desperate situation needs the courage and clarity of the Lukan Jesus' manifesto "to bring good news to the poor and to announce the year of the Lord's favour."

Bringing good news to the poor also means overcoming the patriarchal male system, by promoting the role of women in the church and in society, in order to bring about gender equality. This has happened unevenly in the ACT, although the DCT has taken the lead. I am pleased to say that the Diocese of Kondoa has recently begun this journey. At the 2012 Synod, it was agreed that there should be equal representation of men and women on various diocesan committees. As bishop for the first time, I appointed two women lay canons, and discussions about ordaining them are under way. This is a big move for the Diocese. So the journey of overcoming male patriarchy has begun in Kondoa, in response to the gospel's call for us to learn from the Lukan Jesus' treatment of women.

The ACT is called by God to bring liberation to the widows and in that way glorify God in its mission. In the previous chapter I argued that the time for liberation was the year of the Lord's favour, the Jubilee year. Jesus shows that the year of the Lord's favour is now. Liberation in the eschatological present that Jesus enacts means that the "Jubilee year" for the oppressed poor, such widows and their children, is today; "now" is the jubilee year. However, liberation cannot come if there is no compassion for the widows. It is only in compassion that scripture can be fulfilled. It is compassion which will make church and the community move in the power of the Spirit. It is only compassion that will force the ACT to step in for the poor. It is only compassion that will open the eyes of the ACT to see the plight of widows and orphans and step in to change their situation in creative ways. The following chapter discusses how the Gospel of Luke might inspire a new missionary praxis for the mission of the ACT and recommends possible ways that will change the ACT's mission in order to model itself on the Lukan Jesus.

CHAPTER SIX: THE GOSPEL OF LUKE AND A NEW MISSIONARY PRAXIS FOR THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN TANZANIA

Introduction

The previous chapter analysed the text of Jesus raising the widow's son at Nain. The analysis concluded that Jesus raising the widow's son aligned with his mission manifesto in Luke 4:16-21. Jesus' manifesto clearly stated that he came to bring good news to the poor, and announce the year of the Lord's favour and that this mission was being fulfilled in his own life and ministry. Thus, to raise the widow's son was an example of fulfilment of this mission. Jesus' consideration for the poor shows his compassion to them as an oppressed group in first century Palestine, a group powerless and voiceless in the unequal society caused by Roman colonial rule. Throughout Luke, compassion for the oppressed plays a significant role in motivating Jesus' mission.

For a Tanzanian reader, Jesus' ministry in Luke has similarities with Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture, which makes this gospel highly relevant for ACT personnel in the exercise of their mission. This relevance lies in the fact that, when they model the compassion and concern of Jesus in their ministries today, God is in solidarity with the poor of Tanzania, and is at work to liberate the poor from their situation. As I read it, *ujamaa* is foreshadowed in the ministry of Jesus and in his programmatic declaration as it is enacted in raising the widow's son at Nain. Jesus' manifesto in Luke's gospel can therefore serve well as a biblical mandate for the ACT's mission, as it aligns with *ujamaa*. Such a mandate expands the ACT's understanding of mission to include transforming the lives of the poor in the community in Tanzania. To understand Luke's relevance for the mission of the ACT, it is necessary to review the aim of this study, in dialogue with the analysis of the situation of the ACT in Tanzania and selected pericopes of Luke's gospel.

6.1 The aim of the study

The aim of this study has been to determine if Luke's gospel can provide a biblical mandate for holistic mission in Tanzania. Such a mandate is necessary if the ACT's mission is to be a transformative force within Tanzanian society. To achieve this aim, it was important to understand how mission has been carried out from the colonial period to the present day. My study concentrated on the evangelical mandate of the ACT's mission work, the major concern

of which is to preach the gospel so that all would be baptised. Such a mandate, inherited from the CMS and EARM, meant that the ACT's mission did not prioritize redressing the issues of poverty and economic empowerment for the majority poor in Tanzania.

Examination of CMS and EARM documents revealed that their biblical mandate for mission was derived from their reading of the great commission (Matthew 28:16-20). The CMS understanding of mission in Tanzania was to make disciples of Jesus by converting people into Christian faith. They did not emphasise what Jesus also says in Matthew 28 about "teaching people to obey everything" he had commanded; if they had, then the mission of the ACT would have put much more emphasis on social justice. As CMS read it, Matthew's great commission also harmonised with the imperial task of extending the political and cultural goals of the colonising power.

On the other hand, the study discovered that although the evangelical founders of the CMS in England were among the pioneers of social transformation in England in the first decades of the nineteenth century,⁶¹³ by the 1870s the CMS members of the Keswick movement were far less concerned with social issues. It was, unfortunately, during this time that CMS evangelicals from the Keswick movement came to Tanzania, at the same time that Britain was extending its influence in East Africa. So mission agencies such as CMS at this time, however unintentionally, served as tools for establishing colonial rule in Africa, including Tanzania. British influence in East Africa increased when, after World War I, Tanganyika was given to them as a territory by the League of Nations.⁶¹⁴ Mission agencies undertook to provide formal education and health services in the territory. In general, as this study identified, the mission agents used these services as means to convert people to Christianity. At the same time, however, we need to note that the tools of conversion, namely education and health services, did also seek to address the material problems and challenges facing many Tanzanians.

As evangelicals, the main emphases of CMS missionaries were the authority of scripture, the centrality of the cross, the return of Jesus Christ to judge the living and the dead, personal conversion and Christian duty. Evangelical eschatology focused on the return of Christ to

⁶¹³ In one way or another, through this thesis I want the evangelicals in Tanzania to recover this lost legacy of earlier evangelicalism in England.

⁶¹⁴ Magesa, "Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa," 93.

judge the living and so brought the need to preach the gospel before Christ's return in order to bring every person to a personal encounter with Jesus as Lord and Saviour. The emphasis of salvation was therefore understood as personal, in order to escape negative future judgement that would result in eternal damnation. On this understanding, the establishment of the Kingdom of God meant converting people to accept Jesus as their Lord and saviour. For many evangelical Anglicans in Tanzania, this still remains central for ACT missionary practice today.

The new converts were given rules to guide their daily lives. Raphael Mwita comments on the ongoing impact which these rules have on converts:

they find a set of 'do's' and 'don'ts, or in a word—*legalism*. So ethical issues dominate sermons preached, with little else about the power of God, little else about the concerns that the converts have brought with them from their previous lives in the old religion or social life... They realise they have left one religion—the traditional religion, and have joined just another—Christianity.⁶¹⁵

Most converts after joining the church could not see Jesus transforming their lives holistically, but rather viewed him solely as the one who would save them from personal sin, thereby ensuring they would have eternal life. They could not see Jesus, the founder of Christianity, addressing their problems, such as poverty and sickness. For solving their daily problems, most of them returned to their pre-Christian ATR, while still holding their new religion. Such syncretism created what is known as 'day-time' Christians and 'night-time' ATR followers. As a result, what happened was a competition between Christianity and Traditional Religion. As Mwita says:

the one that delivers its claims fast, and does so with minimum conditions (or conditions that can be fulfilled without much struggle with one's self), acquires the upper hand in the actual control of the daily lives of people, both in church and outside church. In most cases, it is the traditional religion that acquires the upper hand, and the reason is simple: the converts stay with what they already possess.⁶¹⁶

Initially it was difficult to convert Africans to Christianity, but the rise of EARM paved the way for accepting this new religion. The EARM was a mighty power that worked to bring people to Christian faith. This is because the majority of people influenced by EARM were

⁶¹⁵ Akiri, "The Growth of Christianity in Ugogo and Ukaguru (Central Tanzania): A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Role of Indigenous Agents 1876 - 1933," 274.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 275.

Africans themselves who went out to preach the gospel to other Africans.⁶¹⁷ The majority of EARM members were lay people without theological education.⁶¹⁸ As a result, the church grew mainly from the grassroots, not from above. Among the members of EARM, some were later ordained and became significant leaders in the Church. Most of these had only bible school education of three to nine months.⁶¹⁹ Mission during the early years of the post-colonial context was thus dominated by the leadership of EARM, whose emphasis remained converting people to Christianity before the return of Christ; that is, salvation in the life to come. The biblical mandate for mission remained the great commission. It is clear that in such a situation one would expect mission understanding among ACT evangelical leaders to be very narrow.

In 1967, six years after Tanzanian independence, the Arusha Declaration was promulgated. It intended to combat the three greatest enemies of the country, identified as poverty, ignorance and disease. The Arusha Declaration introduced a leadership code that prohibited leaders from accumulating wealth at the expense of the majority poor. It aimed to provide social services to the citizens freely. For 25 years, *ujamaa* was established as official Tanzanian policy,⁶²⁰ and the poor received free education and health services. However, the Arusha Declaration failed due to economic recession. In 1992, as we saw earlier, the Zanzibar Declaration replaced the Arusha Declaration, introducing a free market economy and cost sharing for social services. It also removed the leadership code. As a result we have witnessed the abuse of power among government leaders. Most political leaders have been using their position to accumulate wealth and the number of poor people has grown enormously, mostly in rural villages where there is not enough food, clean water, electricity, good schools or good health services. This has led to social changes that have caused social

⁶¹⁷ Gregory notes that even at Kibondo, where there was a school and hospital, it was work of the Rev Joseph Kamuzola (an indigenous EARM member) whose effective work converted many indigenous people. See, Gregory, *Stretching Out Continually: History of the New Zealand Church Missionary Society 1892-1972*, 139.

⁶¹⁸ As noted earlier in fact, apart from teachers, doctors and nurses who were required by the government to have a degree in order for the CMS to be given government funds, even missionaries themselves who were pastors had very minimal theological education. See ———, *Stretching Out Continually: A History of the New Zealand Missionary Society 1892 - 1972* (Christchurch: Kenneth Gregory, 1972), 139. Cf. also Chapter One of this study.

⁶¹⁹ When Bishop Yohana Madinda, the first indigenous bishop of DCT, died in 1989, there were only 3 clergy degree holders out of 221 (personal conversation with Bishop Godfrey Mdimi Mhogolo on 10 October 2009).

⁶²⁰ The Tanzanian constitution still acknowledges *ujamaa* as an official policy in Tanzania, although practical *ujamaa* was abandoned in 1992. Yet because the constitution has not been amended, the phrase *ujamaa* is still in the constitution. Recently, because of corruption, the demand for *ujamaa* (especially its leadership code) has grown among Tanzanians, especially the educated ones. Generally, they argue not for a return of the code in its full form, as it needs some changes to meet the current economic reforms (See debate prepared by Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, *Turudishe Azimio la Arusha*, 13 March 2010.)

unrest throughout Tanzania. The issues of corruption, poverty, HIV/AIDS, widows and orphans challenge both the society and the mission of the church. It is therefore imperative that the church's biblical mandate for mission includes those texts that speak and address the issues currently challenging Tanzania. Though the great commission has helped grow the ACT's membership, by itself it cannot provide a sufficient basis for ongoing ACT mission. The ACT's mission needs to be guided by texts that speak for today's situation. Most African scholars call this "contextual biblical hermeneutics."⁶²¹

Thus, Adekunle Oyinloye Dada uses the term "contextual" in the sense that a deliberate attempt is made to introduce African situational concepts and ideas into the reading of the biblical text. The necessity of such method of interpretation is predicated on the fact that if there will be anything called Christian theology in Africa, it must be derived from an African reading of the scripture. Besides, if African biblical scholars are to enjoy any originality they must go themselves to the Bible and make the word of God the key to their own understanding of the African problems that are both age-long and contemporary.⁶²²

It was for this reason I proposed the Lukan text as a model for the mission of the ACT. For the biblical text to speak for the context of today there was a need to identify a particular hermeneutic that would make the reading of the biblical text come alive and uncover new meaning. I therefore developed a Tanzanian *ujamaa* hermeneutic as a lens for reading the Lukan text. *ujamaa* hermeneutics looks for the point of connection between the Tanzanian heritage of *ujamaa* and the emphasis of Luke's gospel. An *ujamaa* reading of Luke can expand the ACT's understanding of what contemporary missionary action requires, thus enabling the mission of the Church to be a transformative force for the Tanzanian community.

6.2 The Gospel of Luke can transform the lives of the majority poor in Tanzania

I argue from what I have read regarding Jesus' mission in Luke that this gospel can serve as a transformative force for the lives of the majority poor in rural Tanzania. The Lukan Jesus wanted to transform the situation of the marginalized people of first century Palestine, a Roman colony. These marginalized people included not only the outcast in the society but also the majority poor, women, widows and orphans. Right from the beginning Jesus was in

⁶²¹ Dada, "Repositioning Contextual Biblical Hermeneutics in Africa Towards Holistic Empowerment," 161.

⁶²² Ibid.

solidarity with them. Jesus came to release them from their sufferings and bring good news for them. Jesus' encounters with these poor made him realize their suffering and so he was moved by compassion to act to restore them. Likewise the mission of the ACT should involve the work of transforming the lives of the poor people to a better condition.

The author of Luke situates Jesus in the Old Testament prophetic tradition. The Lukan Jesus begins his ministry through turning to Isaiah to demonstrate what type of mission he will follow. It will be a mission that shows Jesus bringing good news to the poor, release to the captive, recovery of the sight to the blind, and promising the Year of the Lord's favour (Luke 4:18-19). This is a manifesto that is truly holistic, in that it promises to meet people's material, emotional and spiritual needs.

In this way, Jesus' mandate represents a radical departure from the expansionist understanding of Matthew 28:16-20 associated with Western missionaries during the age of imperialism, where saving souls all too often seemed prioritised at the expense of holistic mission and ministry. This was surely not what Matthew intended, but it was perhaps an inevitable consequence of mission pursued by Western missionaries who were blinkered by their Western presuppositions.

By contrast, Luke's gospel emphasises a holistic approach, and so is well suited to meet the issues faced by the former colonies of the empire in a post-colonial age, when neo-colonists in the form of transnational companies still seek to exploit countries such as Tanzania. Luke 4:16-21 offers a model for mission that the ACT ignores at its peril if it is to be truly responsive to the needs of the people.

In reading Luke's gospel, the story of Jesus raising the widow's son at Nain can be seen as having fulfilled Isaiah's prophecy (Isaiah 61:1-2) through empowering and restoring hope for the poor widow. An *ujamaa* hermeneutic alerts the reader to the absolute desperation of a childless widow, read through the lens of what is presently experienced by widows in Tanzania. This then helps to show how Jesus completely transforms her situation by restoring her only son to life.

In order for the ACT's mission to transform the community, it needs to marry Jesus' compassionate outreach to the poor with Tanzania's *ujamaa* model. In this way the coming of

the reign of God will be hastened. *ujamaa* culture is intended to liberate the poor economically, socially, and spiritually. It is intended to create a just society without exploitation that would eventually produce peace and stability, and in that way eradicate poverty in the country. It is intended to build a community in which every person's basic needs—food, water, shelter, clothing, education, basic health care—are met. Jesus' mission in Luke likewise has a holistic intention, in that it seeks to overcome the material and spiritual afflictions that overwhelm so many people. As Chris Wright argues "Holistic mission includes the whole of what God calls and sends us to do."⁶²³

Luke presents the story of Jesus' mission as God being in solidarity with the poor. In Luke, we have a story of God's intervention on behalf of the poor and the lowly to raise them up (c.f. Luke 1:52). Thus the coming of Jesus was an anticipation of God's intervention to bring liberation for the oppressed. When Jesus appeared and proclaimed he had come to bring good news to the poor, to release captives from their bondage, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour, and bring recovery of sight to the blind, the message was significantly relevant to the oppressed's own situation (Luke 4:18-19). This message from Isaiah was fulfilled in Jesus' life and ministry that liberated the poor from their situations (v. 21).

Today in Tanzania the impact of Isaiah's message as proclaimed by the Lukan Jesus has not been realized in the lives of the poor. Fifty years after independence the greatest enemies of the nation—ignorance, poverty and diseases—are still oppressing the majority poor. The study discovered that the failure of the people to realize Isaiah's message in the independent Tanzania has its roots in the selfishness and corruption of some political rulers—colonial and post-colonial—who have sided with wealthy potential investors, indigenous and foreign, thereby ensuring that the poor stay poor. Sadly the ACT has failed to challenge the politically and economically powerful whose policies mean poverty and no effective political voice for the majority of Tanzania's people.

Luke's manifesto challenges both those political leaders and church leaders who side with the wealthy to oppress the majority poor in Tanzania. If Tanzanian political leaders continue to ally with powerful foreign investors, and to give foreign companies the freedom to think of their foreign shareholders' good rather than that of ordinary Tanzanians, then Tanzania shall

⁶²³ Chris Wright, "Re-affirming Holistic Mission: A Cross-Centered Approach in All Areas of Life," (<http://www.lausanneworldpulse.com/themedarticles.php/61/10-2005>, October 2005).

continue to lurch from crisis to crisis despite the food aid that might come into a country that is blessed with plenty of fertile land. Foreign investment is necessary but not at the expense of the well-being of the majority of the people. A government's responsibility lies in ensuring that foreign investment serves the needs of the people as well as of foreign investors.

The relevance of Luke's Gospel is the fact that it calls the ACT to challenge development partners and the government in Tanzania to solve the problems of poverty, especially in rural villages. It also calls the ACT to be involved in addressing these issues directly. The problem of diseases such as HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Tanzania will be solved only if we solve the problem of poverty. As Justin Ukpong argues, "apart from cultural factors such as taboo, witchcraft and stigma, the prevalence of AIDS in Africa is strongly associated with poverty. Fighting it therefore requires action at different levels—economic, political, social, cultural, and religious—with a focus that embraces education, prevention, and treatment."⁶²⁴ Although there is no cure for AIDS, there is medication that can more effectively control its effects. It is also still necessary to help Christians cope with AIDS given that some church personnel blame AIDS on personal sin, whereas Luke's gospel invites the pastoral worker to demonstrate what a healing ministry towards AIDS sufferers might entail. For common people in Tanzania, the mission of Jesus in the gospel of Luke is therefore a mission of hope. Luke shows that God consistently operates to assist the poor by restoring hope in their lives.

The CMS and EARM taught that Christians believe in a loving God who is good. Many Tanzanians are now raising questions about this perception of God given the anguish and suffering caused by poverty and HIV/AIDS. In the Lukan worldview, people saw suffering (including poverty and sickness) as a result of God's curse and punishment for sinners (Luke 13:2; c.f. Exodus 20:5). But Luke demonstrates that the coming of Jesus was good news for all human beings (Luke 2:10). Jesus' holistic mission reveals how the reign of God is realised here on earth. Thus, as Ukpong comments, "the real question is not why we suffer, but how we should respond to suffering."⁶²⁵ As part of responding to poverty, it is important for the ACT and other development partners to be foremost spokespeople for the poor in Tanzania, in fighting the present unjust economic order and the root causes of Tanzanian poverty.

⁶²⁴ Justin Ukpong, "Matthew, and HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: God is in Solidarity with Us in Our Suffering" in *The Gospel of Matthew: A Contextual Introduction for Group Study*, ed. Daniel Patte (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 142.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

Good news for poor people in Tanzania means an experience of economic liberation that will meet their basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. Good news to the poor means that the greatest enemies of human life—ignorance, poverty, and diseases—will be overcome. In light of my *ujamaa* reading of Luke's gospel, I therefore recommend the following to be done in order to enhance the reading of the biblical text so that it will be a tool that expands the understanding of mission for the ACT.

6.3 The need for a Tanzanian contextual biblical hermeneutics

A contextual hermeneutic in Africa intends to introduce African socio-cultural elements into reading and understanding the biblical text.⁶²⁶ African contextual biblical interpretation makes the socio-political and economic contexts a subject of interpretation; this means the analysis of the biblical text is done from the perspective of the African worldview. In such an interpretation, the African context is central. In Tanzania, especially within the ACT, biblical interpretation is still heavily influenced by Western critical methodologies, although that situation is changing somewhat. In Chapter Three I discussed the development of African biblical methodologies in the last fifty years. This development took shape in other countries like South Africa, Botswana, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya.⁶²⁷ Yet, there was little such development in Tanzania. This needs to change if the gospel is to remain relevant, and it is for this reason that the present study proposes the TUH.

6.4 Contextual biblical hermeneutics for Tanzania

In the 2000s, the Tanzanian government began to work to reduce poverty among its citizens. The intention was to give Tanzania a middle economy by 2025.⁶²⁸ Tanzania's Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) was formulated, as is documented in the PRS paper that was written in 2000 and that guided poverty alleviation efforts from 2000 to 2004. Further efforts followed. The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP/MKUKUTA) was written in 2005, and it guided Tanzania's poverty eradication efforts from

⁶²⁶ Dada, "Repositioning Contextual Biblical Hermeneutics in Africa Towards Holistic Empowerment," 162.

⁶²⁷ In Tanzania, the work on inculturation biblical hermeneutics by Roman Catholic scholars like Charles Nyamiti, ed. *African Christologies Today*, Faces of Jesus in Africa (Maryknoll: Orbis 1991), 3 - 23; ———, ed. *Contemporary African Christologies: Assessment and Practical Suggestions*, Paths of African Theology (Maryknoll: Orbis 1994), 62 - 77; ———, ed. *The Doctrine of God*, A Reader in African Christian Theology (London: SPCK, 1987), 58 - 68; Laurenti Magesa, ed. *Authentic African Christianity*, Classic Texts in Mission & World Christianity (Maryknoll: Orbis 1995), 212 - 3; ———, ed. *Christ the Liberator and Africa Today*, Faces of Jesus in Africa (Maryknoll: Orbis 1991), 151 - 63; ———, ed. *African Christian Spirituality*, African Theology on the Way: Current Conversations (London: SPCK, 2010), 68 -78; ———, "Recapturing the Original Models: Creative Ways of Being Church in East Africa," 93-111. Apart from the doctoral studies that a few Anglicans have done, none has written books.

⁶²⁸ See the purpose of Mkukuta, "Poverty and Human Development Report".

July 2005 to June 2010. MKURABITA was also formulated in an effort to reduce poverty.⁶²⁹ From July 2010, Tanzania was supposed to have another document to guide efforts towards realization of the Tanzanian Development Vision (TDV) by 2025.⁶³⁰ Although efforts to eradicate poverty have been practised and many strategies have been implemented globally and at the national level, the problem still exists. The major cause as noted in the previous chapters is corruption and the negative influence of many foreign investors on economic development. An *ujamaa* biblical interpretation will allow for the implementation of Tanzanian *ujamaa* culture in the context of the global economy that will defend the majority poor in Tanzania. An *ujamaa* biblical hermeneutic, taken seriously, would address both the problem of poverty and prevent corruption among politicians.

An *ujamaa* biblical hermeneutic will encourage the church to speak on behalf of the voiceless poor in Tanzania, those rural people who depend on the land for their livelihood, land which is now being taken by powerful local and foreign elites. Such concern is clear in the biblical texts, both in the OT and in the NT. As noted, the Jubilee was intended to liberate the poor from their suffering, to restore land to the landless, to recognize that land was owned by God. Peter Cotterell observes of Leviticus 25:23: “a very remarkable concluding sentence brings together and expresses the principle behind the Jubilee-year regulations. It shows that land was in general and in principle not to be sold, because it was Yahweh’s property, which men might not dispose of as of private property.”⁶³¹

Twenty years after the repeal of the Arusha Declaration, *ujamaa* has been neglected, yet even still, the values of *ujamaa* remain relevant today. Therefore in order to apply and implement *ujamaa* in the context of Tanzania now, there is a need for concrete study on how well *ujamaa* can be practically applied today, since even if the principles of *ujamaa* remain the same, the context of today is different. The remaining sections make some practical suggestions about how this might be done, and how the ACT might contribute to it.

⁶²⁹ See United Republic of Tanzania, "National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty," (Dar es Salaam: Vice President's Office, 2005).

⁶³⁰ K. A. Kayunze and A. O. A. Malinza, "Compendium of Poverty Analysis, Institute of Development Studies," (Morogoro Sokoine University of Agriculture 2010), 45.

⁶³¹ Peter Cotterell, *Mission and Meaninglessness: Good News in a World of Suffering and Disorder* (London: SPCK, 1990), 192.

6.5 ACT ministerial formation for church leaders in theological colleges

Our ministerial formation for clergy in the ACT must change so that, not only are clergy formed for proclamation of the gospel, but so that they are also formed as the voice of the voiceless in the communities they serve. Social concern should be part of their ministerial formation, as it is part of their Christian duty and their calling. Likewise, the theology in which they are formed should be African and Tanzanian. They should be given a hermeneutical understanding that empowers them to develop contextual theologies, and makes them therefore less influenced by Western models of doing theology. To change this, the following must be taken seriously by the ACT.

6.5.1 The need to train theological scholars

The ACT must be ready to continue to prepare indigenous scholars in the field of theological education, in order to write and teach in ways relevant to the Tanzanian situation. Currently there are not enough scholars in the ACT who can write and teach a well-formed Tanzanian theology.⁶³² While we are happy for our mission partners to provide theology teachers, it is good also to prepare our own scholars who are formed by the Tanzanian context. Our mission partners should be encouraged to help us train our own people in the field of theology. I am glad that the University of Auckland provided me with a scholarship to do this study that will enable me to begin the task of teaching the future leaders of the church in Tanzania with a relevant theology from their own context. While my research has been undertaken in a western context, yet the skills with which my supervisors have provided me, skills such as using contextual and post-colonial hermeneutical tools, will be relevant to Tanzania. The emphasis in the School of Theology at The University of Auckland on contextual theology is relevant in many situations; in fact, this is what makes the School unique, as it deals with contextual issues in our world today. For the Tanzanian church, it is therefore important before sending people to study abroad that we learn whether contextual issues are taken seriously by those institutions where they go to study. Further, this means that our own theological colleges should also emphasise contextual theology in order for the theology taught to meet the current challenges that face the Tanzanian community where the clergy will serve.

⁶³² I am aware that recently young ACT theological scholars such as Mwita Akiri, Dickson Chilongani, and Mtinge Mtengele have emerged using contextual issues to facilitate the mission of the church. These emerging scholars, combined with scholars from other traditions such as the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches in Tanzania, through ecumenical theological dialogues can develop Tanzanian contextual biblical interpretation.

6.5.2 Improving African academic resources

Books used in Tanzanian theological courses need to include resources written by African scholars. Most books used in our theological libraries have been obtained in the West, and were written for western contexts. At Msalato Theological College, St. Philip's Theological College, and at St. John University of Tanzania School of Theology, 90 percent of books used are from the Western world.⁶³³ Some of them were written fifty years ago, and are no longer used in the West. They represent a past theology. This is because when an Anglican Church leader goes to the West and asks for books for theological education, retired clergy then donate their books. Most clergy who donate books were at theological college fifty years ago, so donate books that are well out of date.⁶³⁴ There is no doubt that something is better than nothing and so these colleges are very grateful for this generous support. Nevertheless, it would be good if our mission partners contributed money to enable us to buy current books, possibly written by African scholars in other African countries, where at least the context is similar. This will help us shape our future leaders of the church with a focus towards the poor.

6.5.3 The shape of theological curricula

While it is good that our current curriculum reflects evangelical perspectives, it is important that these qualities be complemented by an emphasis on contextual theology, and the need for churches to be involved in the great social and justice issues of our time. In this, we can learn as appropriate from liberation and related theologies. Pastoral theology and missiology programmes should also include church teaching on social justice as part of our Christian duty. Future leaders of the Church should be given tools on how to make social justice possible. They should be given skills for life, such as agricultural and other vocational training so that when they go to a parish they are well equipped to begin transforming the community holistically. We need clergy who are able to transform the rural sector through the example of their own lives. Clergy should be given skills that will enable them to be aware of social changes that are taking place so that they can identify with the community. The Curriculum should include an understanding of HIV/AIDS and the problems that are caused by HIV/AIDS, notably the situation of widows and orphans.

⁶³³ I have taught at Msalato Theological College. During my research trip in October 2009 I visited three theological libraries (St. Philip's Theological College (the provincial college), Msalato Theological College owned by DCT, and St. John's Anglican University of Tanzania) to see the books used by theology students.

⁶³⁴ For example, in 2006 Msalato Theological College received theological books from the clergy of the Diocese of Atlanta and the Diocese of Virginia, most of whom were retired. This came after the request of the DCT bishop and the Atlanta missionary who works at Msalato Theological College.

In the curriculum a strong community theology must also be included so that the students, when they finish their training, are able to empower their congregations to work together in transforming the lives of the poor. This will require training so that our clergy in turn receive skills in developing their lay people. In their parishes, they will then be able:

- To empower our young people and give them skills for life, by establishing vocational training centres in their local areas.
- To promote the role of the lay people to participate in transforming the community.
- To provide the skills to discover readily available resources (such as land) that can be used to bring about that transformation.
- To encourage the study of African scholars in the field of social liberation.

6.6 Practical implementation of a TUH

6.6.1 Decision making for a new missionary praxis

The study suggests that it is good for the ACT to involve various groups in decision-making around mission policies and strategies, so that the Church is able to respond to the issues facing minority and marginalised groups. In the DCT, various groups such as women, men, youth and children have been involved in the Synod, Diocesan General Council (DGC) and Parish Council (PC) (most ACT Dioceses do not have such representation). However, groups like widows, orphans and the disabled are left without involvement in such committees and assemblies. Reliable information on the numbers, ages, life-styles, needs and roles of widows is crucial for effective policy-making on their behalf. Unfortunately Tanzania has not made systematic efforts to collect information on widows' status or on AIDS sufferers.

I argue that the ACT in its mission must therefore pay attention to combating all forms of discrimination against widows through collecting relevant data, and passing and implementing targeted policies that will prevent exploitation of them, and will assist them to escape their poverty. The ACT could do this in liaison with Government departments and other development partners so that this might have an effect not only in the ACT but in the country as a whole.

6.6.2 Vocational training centres

The study suggests that the ACT needs to consider establishing vocational training centres that can bring the good news and practical vocational skills to young people in Tanzania,

especially to orphans and other vulnerable children in rural villages. This will enable them to realize the prophet Isaiah's message as proclaimed by Jesus at Nazareth in his manifesto.

In January 2011, DCT established a vocational training school at Ibihwa. This has come as part of the Carpenter's Kids (CK) programme. The goal of CK is not only to educate children, but to have them make a difference in their villages. At Ibihwa, young people are being trained in sewing, carpentry, metalwork, and agriculture, and catechists are being trained as well. While this vocational training is not a part of CK, it is an important extension of the education children are receiving through the CK link, and an opportunity for them to bring much-needed skills back to their villages.

DCT Ibihwa Vocational Training centre was opened in January 2011, and 141 young people, most of them from Carpenter's Kids, are now living there for a one year training program, with 90 studying sewing and 51 studying carpentry and welding.⁶³⁵ It was difficult for the children who found themselves living away from home. The need for teachers who will provide not only expertise in their chosen field, but much needed emotional support as well is important. The students will return home in a year with skills to enable them to help their families survive. In addition to the vocational training, every student acquires agricultural and horticultural skills. The DCT Ibihwa Vocational Training Centre will be bringing newly learned agricultural techniques back to students' villages.

Unfortunately while such ministry is important as it serves the real mission of Jesus as good news to the poor, the major challenge is that there are not enough teachers or resources to meet the growing number of students. There is also no financial stability that can give future prosperity for the centre. Relying on students' fees means poor students will be unable to attend such an important ministry that offers skills for life. It is therefore important for such ministries to establish profitable projects that will financially sustain their training centres. There is also a need to establish these centres at a parish level, or if it is too expensive, at deanery level, where a number of parishes can join together to establish vocational training. This will reduce the cost for students' fees, as they will sleep and eat at their homes.

⁶³⁵ See July 2011 report of DCT, "Carpenter's Kids".

The good news learned from DCT is that other dioceses in the ACT can learn this model of services that will bring the holistic good news of Jesus to the majority poor in rural villages, who are poor materially and socially.⁶³⁶ Defining the meaning of good news to the poor, Vinay Samuel writes:

We can see God at work as people are able to make their own contribution to the life of the community, especially as participants in decisions which affect them in the family, the community, in religious matters and the political structures. We can see God at work as people develop...self-respect and a sense of worth that they believe the community sets on them; as people share in such a way that it enhances the humanity of those they share with rather than reduces it; as people are committed to struggle against evil and injustice and as people have a sense of equity and justice. We can see God at work when women, the weak and the handicapped have roles which accords them dignity and equality, and when their needs receive priority. We can see God at work when power is shared in such a way that all benefit from its exercise and none are dehumanised.⁶³⁷

6.6.3 Office for Development, Social Justice, Peace and Gospel Transformation

Although Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in Africa, it is blessed with fertile land for farming. What makes people poor is lack of training in agricultural best practices, business skills, and available capital for small business. The ACT has long been concerned with the spiritual aspect of its people. However, the current challenges faced by the church require bold steps in new directions. The ACT now needs to grow its vision and combat the core issues which have left its people trapped in extreme poverty and unable to feed their families, pay school fees, buy mosquito nets to combat malaria, buy medicine or find sufficient food. In the past, the ACT's response to these social issues has been through the form of direct aid, a response which can only ever be a temporary vision.

The ACT needs to empower Christians and the community through small business training and the provision of small "microfinance" loans to become the subjects of their own development. In the past, the ACT has attempted to build the capacity of its people and connect them to locally available resources in order to better provide for their families, their churches, and their communities. The recent successes of microfinance institutions across the developing world provide a good model that can improve on these earlier efforts.

⁶³⁶ Christopher Sugden, "What is Good about Good News to the Poor," in *AD 2000 and Beyond: A Mission Agenda*, ed. Vinay Samuel and Christopher Sugden (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1991), 57.

⁶³⁷ Vinay Samuel, "God's Intention for the World: Tension Between Eschatology and History," in *The Church Response to Human Need*, ed. Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 149.

I am aware that almost every ACT diocese has a department for development services. There is a need for the ACT, especially at a diocesan level, to establish microfinance services for the poor, especially in rural villages, so that young people do not have to move to urban areas for work. Development service departments need to provide training on microfinance and small business provision skills and manage small loans, as well as conducting public health training on malaria and HIV/AIDS. In short, to bring good news by teaching the poor to fish and not to give fish. In this way, as they do these things in Jesus' name, they will begin to realize the prophet Isaiah's message declared in Jesus' manifesto (Luke 4:18-19).

I think it is important to see these things being done as part of a commitment to Jesus. If they are being done in his name, they demonstrate the importance of Luke's gospel for the ACT. I am aware that part of the problem that I have seen in the Western church is that important groups in the mainline churches started emphasising the importance of social justice, particularly after World War II. In a few instances this could mean a less obvious emphasis on the importance of one's personal relationship to Jesus. Institutions like City Missions could be identified as simply social service providers. On the other hand evangelicals were often criticised for ignoring social action. The challenge today for Christians is to recognise that their ministries must be rooted in a strong spiritual life. Evangelical Christians in Tanzania need to recognise that the Lukan emphasis on holistic mission requires social action on behalf of and with the poor. I argue that a true gospel theology has to see that social action and prayer, faith, and trust in Jesus Christ are part of the same package.

Reporting on John Stott's death in 2011, and on Stott's understanding of evangelicalism, Tim Stafford observed that "Stott recognized that evangelicalism could and sometimes did sink down into mere piety, whereas the Bible spoke of a robust transformation of the world brought about by God's people engaged in mission."⁶³⁸ Without ever compromising our firm evangelical faith, I argue that we in the Tanzanian church must show ourselves willing to challenge the ways in which our missionary practice is often exercised in a non-contextual way, and so fails to address the issues people are facing. It is not too much to say that the Gospel of Luke can help us to change our evangelicalism and make it more truly evangelical in Tanzania. Since the word *evangel* means gospel, and since my main argument is for a more gospel-based appeal to Jesus' manifesto, I therefore argue for Tanzanians to become more

⁶³⁸ Tim Stafford, "A Reformer Who Joined Preaching With Compassion," *Christianity Today* 27 July 2011, 3.

truly evangelical. A truly Jesus-focused evangelicalism will result in holistic mission that applies the gospel to every area of life, including liberating and transforming the lives of the poor from their situation, voicing against social injustice in our country and facing political questions that will deal with removing corruption. Since Tanzania celebrated a 50 year Jubilee of independence on December 9, 2011, the biblical Jubilee calls evangelicals to work to create a better future for everyone in our nation. Luke's gospel calls us into that holistic mission of Jesus.

One response for the ACT could be the establishment of an Office for Development, Justice and Peace and Gospel Transformation both at provincial, diocesan and parish level. The provincial office will empower and encourage bishops to speak for the oppressed people both in rural villages and in urban regions. The diocesan Office for Development, Justice and Peace and Gospel Transformation will empower and encourage clergy in rural parishes to speak for the oppressed poor. This will give the church genuine contact with Tanzanian situation. This department will address the major areas of societal concern—Development, Communication, Justice, Peace and Reconciliation, as well as researching the roots of societal evils and coming up with positive solutions. The office at the parish will do same at the village level.

I consider the establishment of such a development and social justice desk to be a gospel imperative. I am aware that most dioceses in the ACT have a department of development service. However, in most cases this department works to find funds overseas for particular projects, and those projects have not always been well implemented. Instead, therefore, it is good to encourage each diocese to establish a desk for social justice. This office should encourage the Church to make a strong, costly and prophetic stance for justice in their own areas or at a national level, rather than waiting for aid funding from abroad.

The provincial Office for Development, Social Justice, Peace and Gospel Transformation will address issues affecting the whole country. The diocesan Office for Development, Social Justice, and Peace and Gospel Transformation will address issues affecting its particular region. It is important to understand that such concern will not only look outside the church but also inside the church when any of those bodies discriminates on grounds of tribalism, gender, or status, or when it marginalises others in ways contrary to the gospel. It is this Office which will be the arm of the church to speak for the powerless and voiceless majority

poor, in both urban areas and rural villages. Such an office can be a possible place to ensure that ongoing reading of Luke's gospel and action on behalf of the poor are combined for all those involved in this Office and its processes at all levels of the church.

In rural villages, the Office will give its prophetic voice on behalf of the poor who very often are oppressed by some corrupt leaders, such as some of the Village Executive Officers and Ward Executive Officers.⁶³⁹ The Office must speak up on behalf of those village communities, not only to strengthen good relationships with the government for the sake of eradicating poverty among the poor, but also to support those good programmes established by the government, such as "*Kilimo Kwanza*" (agriculture first), or formerly "*Kilimo ni Uti wa Mgongo*" (agriculture is backbone), so that the poor can realize their own development.

Its role, as Office for Development, Justice and Peace and Gospel Transformation, will also be to promote the discipline of structural analysis, as a vital way of understanding the roots of injustice in Tanzanian society. It will build relationships with other partners who work and support social justice in order to achieve good results, as it is better to work together than individually.

The members for Development, Justice and Peace and Gospel Transformation at the provincial office should include bishops, theologians, lawyers, social workers, and representatives of marginalized groups i.e., women and widows. The same should apply to the diocesan level. At the Parish level, probably members can include the Parish Rector/Vicar, Catechist, Social work, School teacher, Village Officer, Rural Agricultural Officer and respected elders in the village community.

The purpose of the Office for Development, Justice and Peace and Gospel Transformation also will be to encourage Anglicans, the Christian Community and the society as a whole in Tanzania in understanding and practising social justice and in integrating it into the centre of Christians' faith journey. It will function as a public voice of the Church on social issues and

⁶³⁹ In rural villages, despite the fact that land is granted through the investment programme contract, some investors are taking the land of the poor in collusion with corrupt Wards and Villages Officers. Recently farmers from rural villages in Mbalali District blamed their WO and VEO for siding with an investor who wanted to take their land and rent to other farmers from outside the area and decided to take arms to defend their land, claiming they were ready to die for their land. Such a situation is becoming common in Tanzania. It is only through the prophetic voice of the church in rural villages that such incidents will stop. See, Daniel Mbega, "Mbarali wadai wapo tayari kufa kwa risasi," *Mwananchi* Saturday, 17 September 2011 .

make presentations to the government, media, and Tanzanian society as a whole. These missionary praxes of the ACT will make the Gospel of Luke relevant to the poor people in Tanzania who are longing for the economic liberation promised in the Arusha Declaration that officially introduced *ujamaa* principles, which were and remain the hope for the poor.

In concluding this study of the application of a TUH, I acknowledge that the *ujamaa* of Mwalimu Nyerere may not be the same as the *ujamaa* needed today in Tanzania, bearing in mind the current global economy. It is definitely clear that mission in the post-colonial context in Tanzania after the cold war needs an updated *ujamaa* model.⁶⁴⁰

I suggest that the ACT when establishing such an office or any Christian centre will need to mobilize, train, support and empower the poor and the marginalized. Such an office or centre should prioritise work with widows, orphans and other vulnerable children, youth and people living with HIV/AIDS in order to bring good news to them.

It is important to understand that the primary task of such an office or centre will be to address those sinful structures which trap and keep people oppressed and marginalized. Thus, this office would need to address:

- Economic systems which maintain a rich elite and leave the masses in poverty;
- Patriarchal systems which sustain male privilege and power and keep women, especially widows, subservient and subject to various forms of gendered abuse;
- Residual racial systems and tribalist attitudes which maintain people in positions of political and economic power;
- Hierarchical systems which enable a few to exercise control over the many, especially in the (ACT) churches;
- Cultural systems which stigmatise and discriminate against those who are HIV- positive and those who are striving to live positively with HIV and AIDS;
- Governmental systems that fail to deliver our country's resources to those in need;

⁶⁴⁰ For a good discussion considering mission in the Post-Cold War Era, see Laurent Magesa, "Mission in the Post Cold War Era Considerations for the 21st Century," *Exchange* 30, no. 3 (2001).

- Ecclesiastical systems that fail to engage prophetically with the systems that cause suffering to the poor.

6.7 Study limitation and suggestion for further study

The study is limited to the interpretation of the Gospel of Luke through the lens of Tanzanian *ujamaa*. It is intended to enable the mission understanding of the Anglican Church in central Tanzania to bring transformation to the poor. The study concentrates on what it means to be the good news that Jesus offers to the poor of central Tanzania. Thus, the problem of poverty, especially among widows and children, has been discussed in light of the situation in central Tanzania.

The world has become a village and the free market global economy is dominant. It is therefore important for further studies to be done on how *ujamaa* can be practically applied within the context of social life in Tanzania in this era of free market domination. It might be good for such an intensive research to be done by the department of practical theology. That would be a good contribution from the religious institutions field in Tanzania.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this study was to identify in the gospel of Luke a model of mission that would challenge the Anglican Church of Tanzania in pastoral and missionary outreach. The traditional ACT emphasis on mission as ‘saving souls’, on conversion and on preparing people for life hereafter is no longer adequate if the ACT is to exercise its mission in prophetic ways among the rural poor of Tanzania. In order to appreciate how the ACT has arrived at this situation, I have examined the ACT’s mission during the colonial period in Chapter One, and the ACT mission during the post-colonial period in Chapter Two.

Initially, I assumed as did many others, that the ACT’s mission focus has always been holistic, because of the presence of mission hospitals such as Mvumi Mission Hospital, Berega Mission Hospital, Hombolo Leprosy Mission, Kilimatinde Mission Hospital, Murgwanza Mission Hospital, and schools such as the Dodoma Alliance, Katoke Teachers College, and Msalato Girls’ School established by the CMS during colonial rule. However, these assumptions have been challenged by my research. While I still believe that they functioned as good tools for mission in serving the community in central Tanzania, they did not operate out of a biblical mandate for mission.

Above all, these institutions were not founded as church initiatives, but rather it was a colonial government who collaborated with the mission agencies from the beginning by seeking to establish these institutions as tools for colonization and who gave funds to mission agencies to fund these kinds of education and health services. The mission agencies were happy to comply, using the new schools and health services as tools to convert people to Christianity. The research admits that such tools for conversion also sought to address the material problems and challenges faced by many Tanzanians. Yet the biblical mandate for mission underlying these initiatives was always the great commission; that is; converting people and to bring them to a personal relationship with Jesus.

Mission in the post-colonial context still sees some indigenous leaders continuing to focus on soul winning and church planting. The transition from European leadership to African indigenous leadership has not meant changing the underlying biblical understanding of mission. Too many indigenous leaders, formed by the EARM, paid little attention to social issues. Instead their missionary emphasis was on proclaiming the gospel to all people and

church planting. While it is true that they managed to convert many Africans to Christian faith through the introduction of indigenous language in worship, preaching and outreach evangelism, yet they failed to address social issues that confronted the community.

I then considered a hermeneutical lens for reading the Gospel of Luke that would address those issues that the Tanzanian community faces today. I therefore adopted the TUH as a lens for reading the Lukan texts. The reading of the Lukan texts was enriched by TUH. The method of reading through an *ujamaa* lens involved considering the world behind the text, the world of the text and the world in front of the text. The *ujamaa* lens is characterized by investigation of the social context of the textual world and the social context of the world in front of the text.

The results of this investigation meant seeing that the Gospel of Luke profoundly and explicitly demonstrated that Luke 4 presents the heart of Jesus' mission as transformation of the lives of those most in need. This understanding is not limited to a narrow, CMS/EARM understanding. Jesus mission in Luke includes liberation and healing for the marginalized and poor in colonial Palestine. The good news of the Lukan Jesus is that transformation begins with ordinary marginalized poor in the society. In Luke's Gospel, Jesus is consistently shown interacting with and relating to the marginalized poor. The *ujamaa* hermeneutic focuses on the poor who form a core focus of Jesus' ministry and of the Tanzanian context today.

The two Lukan narratives I selected both deal with Jesus' mission towards the poor. Jesus' programmatic declaration (4:16-21) and Jesus raising the widow's only son at Nain (7:11-17) profoundly demonstrate that Jesus' mission is concerned for the poor in first century Palestine. Jesus' proclamation that he came to bring good news to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free and to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour, is dramatically realised in an incident like Jesus' raising of the widow's only son. This miracle shows Jesus' concern for the plight of this poor widow, a woman whose situation is echoed in numerous stories from contemporary Tanzania. Thus, Jesus' mission in Luke is good news to all people, especially the poor.

Jesus' concern for the poor has an *ujamaa* quality, which I also noted shows the relevance of Luke for the mission of the ACT in transforming the lives of poor people in Tanzania. Luke can therefore serve well as a biblical mandate for mission. This discovery was only made

possible through contextual reading of the biblical texts. Thus, it was suggested that, in order for the text to be relevant and speak in the situation of the reader, it is important for an African reader like me to read the biblical text using contextual hermeneutics.

As I have read the text in this way, my conviction that the Gospel of Luke is a model for mission has been strengthened and affirmed. My commitment to see the Lukan Jesus transforming the life of the poor people in Tanzania through the mission of the ACT has been invigorated. My missional understanding as to the questions I should be asking myself and my fellow mission sojourners have been greatly expanded, and my love for mission and devotion to God and my people has been deepened.

Engaging with *ujamaa* as a possible basis for a biblical hermeneutic, I have found greater depths and gained new insights into the concept. I am therefore convinced that *ujamaa* has considerable power and, by God's help, I believe that it can be successfully employed in a church setting. The Lukan Jesus, as seen through the lens of *ujamaa*, is the one who values community, develops the strength of listening, empowers others, facilitates dreams and visions, and advocates for the poor and the powerless in the society. Above all, those who follow the Lukan Jesus are called to work for the transformation of the context of the poor and powerless, so that they become restored and equal members of the community again.

The Gospel of Luke as a model for mission demands an urgent change in models of ministerial formation for our clergy, especially theological colleges, so that we form people who have passion for, and are trained in, the art of equipping the people of God for holistic mission and ministry at the grass roots. The Lukan Jesus, who is the true model for the mission of the Church, should be our focus as we find better ways to reform the ACT's mission, so that it can be a transformative force for the Tanzanian community that God's kingdom might come. Only the testing of this thesis in the context of the ACT will enable me to determine whether its claims can take root on Tanzanian soil.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	Anglican Church of Tanzania
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ATJ	Africa Theological Journal
ATR	African Traditional Religion
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DCT	Diocese of Central Tanganyika
DKI	Diocese of Kiteto
DKO	Diocese of Kondoa
DMP	Diocese of Mpwapwa
DRV	Diocese of Rift Valley
EARM	East Africa Revival Movement
EPA	External Payment Arrears
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPTL	Independence Power Tanzania Limited
JET	Journalists Environmental of Tanzania
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
MKUKUTA	Mpango wa Kupunguza Umaskini na Kukuza Uchumi Tanzania
MT	Massoretic Text
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NZCMS	New Zealand Church Missionary Society
PAT	PanAfrican Energy Tanzania Limited
PHDR	Poverty and Human Development Report
REPOA	Research on Poverty Alleviation
SACCOS	Saving and Credit Cooperative Organizations societies
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes

SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TAORE	Tanzanian Organization for Restoration of Ethics
TICTS	Tanzania International Container Terminal Services Ltd
TPDC	Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation
TTCL	Tanzania Tele-Communication Company Limited
TUH	Tanzanian <i>Ujamaa</i> Hermeneutic
TWLA	Tanzanian Women Lawyers Advocate
UMCA	United Mission to Central Africa
VETA	Vocational Education Training Authority
WB	World Bank