An archive of ephemera seems almost a contradiction in terms. If archives come into being because governments and individuals preserve papers they consider to be worth keeping, then an archive should be a crystallisation of past and present values concerning texts. Most of Nigeria’s archives are in fact that kind of crystallisation, whether they are local government records, newspaper collections, Arabic-language chronicles, or little-known collections of personal letters and diaries, preserved because the individuals concerned, and subsequently their heirs, had a sense of their value.

Unlike these treasures, the archive we are going to discuss here is an artificial creation for a specific purpose, an aggregation of print and media texts that hardly anyone in present-day Nigeria would think were worth collecting and preserving. It is one outcome of a collaborative project funded by the British Academy, involving ourselves and two colleagues from SOAS - John Peel and Louis Brenner - to investigate the role of the media in the constitution of new religious publics in Yorúbáland. The aim was to cut a narrow but deep slice into contemporary social history in western Nigeria. We selected a particular geographical focal point (the suburb of Íbádán called Agbowó) and a particular temporal frame (1996-9, the duration of the project funding but also, as it turned out, the last and darkest three years of military rule before General Obásanjó converted himself into a civilian and became President of the first elected government in Nigeria for 16 years.) The 1990s were not only marked by ever deepening financial crisis, recession and disorder; they were also a period during which the longstanding live-and-let-live cohabitation of Muslims and Christians in western Nigeria – which is evenly divided between the two faiths, and formerly remarkable for the non-politicisation of religion – unravelled into ever more strident and polarised competition and antagonism. An array of increasingly evangelical, uncompromising Christian sects emerged to confront an increasingly purist Islam. Just at the same time, new media technology became widely available, notably desk-top publishing and video tape; and with the proliferation of states and the crumbling of government revenues, the long-established medium of TV became fragmented and vulnerable to private interests. Thus the explosion of religious activity, led by Born-Again Christians, coincided with unprecedented means for colonising and exploiting public space.

The project intended to look at what happened as a result of this conjuncture, over a short time period but in detail. It intended to look at both Christian and Muslim activity, and to focus on their relations - of competition and emulation - rather than just at one side, as has been more commonly done. The project’s research fellows (Hakeem Danmole, Ruth Marshall-Fratani, Matthews Ojo) set out to do a trawl of newspapers, magazines, video tapes, audio tapes, television programmes, leaflets, tracts, pamphlets, car stickers,
posters and any other medium used by religious groups to debate or proselytise – in English, Yorùbá or Arabic. Their main area of operation was Agbowó, but some material was collected in other parts of Îbàdàn, and in Ilorin and Lagos as well. The result was a collection of material which was not assembled in response to local perceptions of historical or personal value, but was rather constituted almost randomly, simply by sweeping up everything that fell into a particular (roughly defined) category at a particular moment.

Such a drag-netted archive quickly becomes unmanageably large and heterogeneous. What does this mass of material mean – what can it be used for? Our first consideration, in establishing it, was to attempt to retrieve not just the material texts themselves, but also their uses and their meanings to producers and consumers. One vital dimension of the project was the mapping of public space – marking the mosques, churches, bookshops, meeting rooms, and prayer-grounds of Agbowó – in which the texts were displayed, circulated and used; and another was the pursuit of information about Christians’ and Muslims’ reading and watching habits, their attitudes to the media and to religious and secular messages, and the store they set by different kinds of texts in their devotional lives. Thus the archive is intended to be read in conjunction with the findings of interviews, questionnaires and reports on participant observation, which give at least an approximate and preliminary sense of the social life of the texts we have collected. The archive is incomplete without at least some understanding of the ways in which its contents are mobilised for propaganda, argument, evangelism, self-development and worship.
Collecting across the whole range of media and genres has an important advantage, namely that there is interaction and a division of ideological labour amongst them. An exclusive focus just upon video drama, or just upon religious newspaper columns, would give a narrow and unbalanced view of the repertoires of arguments and discourses circulating among Muslims and Christians: similarly, concentrating only on the English-language press would be to privilege one style of religious argumentation over a different – more synthesising and inclusive - style found in the Yorùbá-language “culture”-oriented newspapers. Even within a single genre, there are subdivisions according to the target audience: as Mike Bamiloye explains in a pamphlet he wrote to justify the use of drama for evangelisation, “when a message is strictly for the believers and the church, you do not present it before a public audience” (Bamiloye 1997:13). Likewise some Christian pamphlets are written for fully-committed fellow-evangelists, some to galvanise less active Christians to evangelical action, and some to recall backsliders or encourage those who are struggling with their faith. Among Islamic texts, some are written for scholars and assume erudition in Arabic as well as English and Yorùbá; others are simple instruction manuals for neophytes.¹ Thus a comprehensive sample is necessary if we are to form a sense of what are the trends, available concepts, prevalent arguments, what can and probably cannot be thought, what are the horizons of

¹ It should be added that none of them, whether Christian or Islamic, appears to be preaching to the unconverted: Christian pamphlets occasionally speak of the “unreached” (pagans and Muslims) but only in the third person, as a potential target for evangelisation, and not as addressees. Muslim texts address only Muslims.
Introduction

This public discourse, how it is segmented, where the barriers and blockages are, and where the potential points of growth.

One component of the archive is a collection of 133 religious booklets and pamphlets, which we now want to discuss in more detail. Even a preliminary search across this corpus reveals some striking features. The texts range from flimsy 8-page leaflets a few inches square to glossy, well-produced books of over 100 pages. The vast majority of them – 104 out of the 133 - were produced by and for a variety of Christian groups, ranging from long-established organisations such as the Scripture Union, whose publishing division produced six of the booklets in our collection, to individual charismatic preachers. Both Christian and Islamic publications were overwhelmingly published within Nigeria. The Christian side of the collection contains only six books by non-Nigerian authors, and three of these books (including one by the Korean evangelist Yonggi Cho) were not physically imported but locally reprinted, with or without permission. Only two Nigerian Christian authors used publishers or printing facilities outside Nigeria. On the Muslim side of the collection, 5 of the 29 publications are by authors identified as non-Nigerian (two are by Ahmed Deedat, the South African preacher) and in six more the author's nationality cannot be deduced: but again, all but two were actually printed in Nigeria. The local religious market, then, does not seem to be swamped by imported goods. On the contrary, there seems to be a ferment of do-it-yourself writing, publishing and printing. This needs explanation, when American and Saudi Arabian funding is sponsoring massive flows of religious materials into other parts of Africa.

Not only are the Muslim pamphlets thinner on the ground, they were also gathered from further afield within Nigeria than the Christian ones, and tend to be older. One Islamic booklet, a prayer instruction manual in Yoruba, is dated 1928 (though it is obviously a reprint of more recent provenance than this), and of the 22 that are dated, only four were published in 1995 or later. Though mainly collected in Islamic bookshops in Ibadan, 22 of the 27 that give their place of publication were published outside Ibadan – mostly in Lagos, but also in Ilorin, Abeokuta, Iwo, Auchi, Sokoto and Minna. The Christian pamphlets by contrast are not only far more abundant, but more recent and more likely to have been published and printed in Ibadan. Of the 104 Christian pamphlets, 63, or over 60%, were published in 1995 or later and thus were at most a couple of years old when our researchers bought them, and 89 or 86% were published in 1990 or later. And 54 – more than half – were published in Ibadan. It is the Christian groups, then, which predominate in the production and dissemination of religious print texts there.

One of the limitations of the project’s narrow time-frame is that we do not know for sure whether the abundance of brand-new Christian publications available in Ibadan between 1996 and 1999 represented a sudden upsurge in activity, or whether earlier periods had been equally productive and the older pamphlets had simply sold out or been replaced by newer ones. Since marketing and distribution are neither centralised nor highly controlled, however, it seems unlikely that, if there had been prolific booklet production in the 1980s, these older booklets would all have been sold out or systematically cleared from the bookshops by the mid-1990s. It is much more likely that there was indeed a huge upsurge in print publication in the mid-1990s. In spite of the worst economic conditions that people could remember ever having
experienced, at least one kind of book production in western Nigeria was not just surviving but in all likelihood expanding by leaps and bounds. It was not necessarily profitable or even commercially viable – many Christian missions supported their “outreach” and propaganda activities, including their publications, with donations collected from their congregations, and many pamphlets were distributed free. But it was certainly a thriving enterprise. It coincided with – and intersected with, in ways we need to explore – a similar explosion in video drama production, in which the Christian and Muslim groups were highly active (again, with the Christians dominating the field).

How was this spectacular productivity managed? A second immediately obvious feature that can be read from the Christian pamphlets’ publication data is that there were almost as many publishers as authors, and that many of these publishers in turn used one of a large number of local printing firms to print the texts, design the covers and bind or staple the booklets. There were some large religious organisations which had their own publications division and their own presses, among them the Scripture Union, the Baptists’ Convention and Capro, a missionary group devoted to evangelising the “unreached” in northern Nigeria. These published a range of texts by different authors. But most of the Christian “publishing houses” were apparently set up by individual charismatic preachers or evangelists solely as an outlet for their own writings. Some of them were equipped with their own printing presses, for example Dr D.K. Olukoya’s Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries and G.F. Oyor’s God-Will-Do-It Ministries, in which case they might also occasionally publish booklets by other authors under their patronage. But most relied on a commercial printer. The
most prolific author in the collection is Aminat Kikelomọ Alli, a Muslim woman who became converted to Christianity as she was actually making the pilgrimage to Mecca. She founded a mission which had several branches or chapters outside Ibdan; she published her books – eleven of which are represented in our collection – under the imprint of “Field Mission Evangelical Ministries”. Seven of these were printed by AKT Ventures (with which, however, Alli had a close relationship, revealed in her affectionate acknowledgements page) and four by Feyisetan Press, Ibadan. Tracking Feyisetan Press’s activities in turn suggests that sometimes the printer may be a more stable factor than the name of the publisher. Another prominent and prolific author, the Pastor E.A. Adeboye², eight of whose books are represented in our collection, published three of them through The Book Ministry and five through Christ the Redeemer’s Ministries (again, both of these appear to have been his own creations) – but all eight were printed by Feyisetan printers. Feyisetan, however, was the only printing press to be widely patronised by religious publishers (14 of the books in the collection were published by them, on behalf of five different publishing outfits); otherwise, there is very little overlap, every publishing outfit going to a different printing firm. A few of these clearly specialised in Christian texts (Eternal Praise Printers, The Anointed Group of Printers), but most appear to be the kind of small-scale, all-purpose printing firm that has been ubiquitous in Western Nigeria since the 1940s.

Many of the Muslim pamphlets were published by Islamic organisations established to disseminate knowledge about Islam. One of these - the Grand Council for Islamic Affairs in Nigeria - is a large pan-Nigerian organisation with many interests and functions, including the sponsorship of video dramas, TV serials and radio broadcasts. Another, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, represents the interests of a distinct branch of Islam. There are also smaller Islamic centres for the study of Arabic and Islam which publish instructional and scholarly texts in Arabic and Yoruba of various levels of difficulty: two such are the Darun-Nur Arabic/Islamic Cultural Centre in Ilorin and Al-Hajj Adam al-Iluri’s Centre of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Agege, Lagos. Other organisations are more explicitly devoted to argumentation against Christianity: for example, the Islamic Education Trust (which published Jesus, a Prophet of Islam) and the Islamic Conscious Group of Nigeria (Answer to the Question “Who Is This Allah?”). Al-Hajj Adam al-Iluri’s Centre of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Agege had its own printing press which published al-Iluri’s writings and those of his disciples at the Centre. But most of the Islamic organisations, like most of the Christian ones, used commercial printers – often, however, with names that signalled an Islamic orientation (e.g. Ibrahim Kewulere Islamic Press, Nas-Tumobi Printers, Allahu-Sati Printers and Binders). A higher proportion of Muslim than of Christian publications named only a printer, not a publisher; no doubt because in the absence of rival charismatic sects and movements, they were not spurred by competition into “branding” their output as the Christian preachers were.

What we are looking at, then, is not the growth of a formal publishing industry but a proliferation of individual ventures made possible by desk-top

² Pastor Enoch Adejare Adeboye, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God and President of Christ the Redeemer’s Ministries, was frequently mentioned as an inspirational preacher and writer by the respondents to our questionnaires.
Introduction

By Ahmed Deedat

publishing facilities (some books, in addition to a publisher and printer, name a typesetting or computer graphics firm) and the artisanal printshops which, like the rest of the western Nigerian informal economy, can produce small batches of products quickly and cheaply.

Nonetheless, a growing professionalism is in evidence, especially in the Christian publications. Nearly three-quarters of these carry ISBN numbers and full publication data. This appears to be a relatively recent trend, and some prolific authors – Alii and Adeboye among them – have not yet joined it; while, strikingly, four-fifths of the generally older Islamic texts are devoid of ISBN numbers, and some do not give date or place of publication either.

Accompanying the new professionalism of many Christian operations is a certain showiness and propensity to advertise the other products and activities of the mission concerned. The back pages of Francis Wale Oke’s booklet Don’t Lose Your Focus (1997) advertises a list of 20 other books, 19 audio and 19 video tapes: there is much overlap in the titles, showing that a publishing house may seek to produce the same “message” through a variety of channels simultaneously. Bro Kunle Adigun’s The Weapons of Our Warfare (1996) lists 10 other books by the same author and also carries several full-page adverts for individual titles from this list. In some cases, the oral message came first and was transcribed and published only after being distributed on tape, for example Lawrence Osagie’s How to Handle Obstacles and Oppositions in Life, whose back page advertises 9 audiotapes and states that the book is a transcript of one of them. Dr Chris O. Nwakanma’s Prosperity Identity (1996) advertises 40 other books by the same author and also notifies the reader of the revivals, seminars
Introduction

and Bible Training available from his mission. Others advertise music instruction and certificate courses in evangelism. Biographical information on the back cover not only advertises the author and vouches for his or her personal credentials (usually as a devoted husband or wife, and parent of several delightful children), but also sometimes mentions the fact that he or she has regular TV and radio programmes and edits religious magazines. Many authors give their addresses, often with painstaking explanations of how to find the house: follow-up personal contact seems to be considered an important possible outcome of the buying and reading of a text. A Christian booklet or pamphlet, then, is often part of a bigger, multi-media operation and one of its functions is to testify to the success and effectuality of that operation.

The Muslim publishing operation is clearly not as slick. The pamphlets tend to be on poor quality paper, poorly printed, and less frequently bound with the shiny polychrome covers that are common in the Christian pamphlets. None of them advertises video or audio taped versions of their “messages”, nor do they display the biographical information about the authors which is so often an important part of the Christian self-projection. Nonetheless, considerable expertise goes into Islamic publishing. The presses are able to handle complex texts in English, Arabic and Yorùbá, separately and in combination. For while the Christian publications are predominantly in English (only 4 out of 104 are in Yorùbá), the Muslim pamphlets are linguistically varied: twelve are in English, six purely in Arabic, two in Arabic with English additions, three in Yorùbá, three in a combination of Yorùbá and Arabic, and one in all three languages. Some of the Islamic publishers have built up substantial lists of titles, which – as in the Christian pamphlets – are listed at the back, sometimes with information about Islamic bookshops where they can be obtained. (The Islamic Education Trust advertises 21 other titles at the back of the anonymous Let Us Reason Together; the Daawat-ul-Islamiyyat Book Centre list nine other books available from them; while an individual, Alhaji Abdul Baki Mohammed - the “senior teacher” at a Qur’anic school in Ìwò, and author of a 10-page treatise in Yorùbá on female seclusion - lists five other works by himself.) Thus while the Muslim print production appears to be slower-moving and less showy than its Christian counterpart, it is not inert: there are organisations active in generating texts, specialist printers to produce them, and a network of outlets through which they are disseminated.

The Christian pamphlets are almost all projected as a personal message from an inspirational spiritual leader to his or her actual or potential followers. They address the reader on an intimate, private and domestic footing. They are concerned with the reader’s personal life, problems, doubts and fears. They lay much stress on relationships – with husband or wife, but even more with Jesus and God. The language may be rousing, exhortatory, commanding, or friendly and consoling: whatever its tone, it is always directed to the reader as an individual, pictured as responsible for the spiritual welfare of his or her (monogamous, nuclear) family but always acting on his or her own inner spiritual vision and consciousness of God. It assures the reader of success. This is sometimes presented as literal, material success, and there are books that give helpful advice about prayerfully passing exams, managing one’s finances and gaining promotion (e.g. How to Succeed, and You can live debt-free). But more often what is offered is a metaphorical or sanctified success, the outcome of spiritual growth. Breaking Limitations tells the reader “What God wants for you
is to make it. He wants you to flourish and fulfil His plan for your life” (Jaiyebo 1996:11); the way to achieve this is through a change of attitude (“Apply the force of patience” (ibid.:24)... “don’t focus on what you don’t have” (ibid.:28)... “get organized... step out in faith” (ibid: 31)). This inner change can be facilitated if you “talk it over with God” (ibid: 15). But there are formidable forces, both internal and external, ranged against the individual. Destroying Satanic Manipulations warns “The havoc caused in various families by evil manipulations are numerous. Millions of people are victims and precious marriages have been broken as a result” (Ofoegbu 1998:v). However, “the prayers contained in this book are enough to deliver anybody under the manipulation of the devil”. Spiritual Warfare and the Home explains that “The world is not a playground, it is a battlefield” (Olukoya 1996a:2), and that “The best entry point of the enemy is through those closest to you” (ibid.: 3). Deliverance is from one’s own past inheritance as well as from contemporary enemies: Pray Your Way to Breakthroughs offers “prayer points” to assist with “defeating evil inheritance”: “I refuse to inherit any evil load from my ancestors in Jesus’ name...I cut off every evil communication link with dead, ungodly relatives in the name of Jesus... Lord Jesus, wash away with Your Blood the repercussion of any unclean money spent on me by my parents” (Olukoya 1996b:80). The Christian pamphlets almost without exception cite verses from the Bible and expound them to support their points. But hardly any of them are concerned with Biblical scholarship, doctrine, law, theology, history, the Christian community at large or debates within Christianity. Hardly any of them mention Islam unless - as in the cases of Aminat Kikelomo Alii and Paul
Introduction

Jinadu – the author is a convert from Islam, in which case the experience can be related as personal testimony. Varied as they are, the Christian pamphlets have clearly established a definite repertoire and range of themes and discursive strategies within which they almost unfailingly operate.

The Muslim pamphlets are quite different in orientation and scope. There are three distinct kinds of text: scholarly disquisitions on language, literature or history (including those in Arabic); elementary works of instruction on the basics of Islamic worship; and polemical, often very well informed arguments against Christianity.

The scholarly works mostly come from university departments of Arabic, and include a bilingual Yoruba-Arabic study of popular Islamic songs in Ilorin; two books demonstrating that Yoruba and Hausa each had their origins in Arabic; a reasoned discussion of the history of religious tolerance in Nigeria, and another on “The Friday Question”, explaining, with many bibliographic citations and footnotes, why Friday as well as Sunday should be a national work-free day; and several Arabic texts edited and made available for Nigerian students of Arabic language and culture. The works of practical instruction are most likely to be in Yoruba or Yoruba-Arabic, and are illustrated with diagrams or photographs. Even these elementary works stress their basis in scholarship, as attested by the title Afini moja irun kihi ti a yo jade nínu orísírísi ọwé ẹkọ Esìn Islam fun gbgọ akirun (Guide to Islamic prayer, extracted from all kinds of instructive books on the Muslim religion, for all those who pray). The polemical works of argumentation are informed by a detailed knowledge of the Bible, which is cited against itself, sometimes vehemently and sometimes wittily. One of these, in Yoruba, is a compilation of citations from the Bible and the Qur’an to demonstrate that Prophet Musa (Moses), Prophet Issa (Jesus), and Prophet Mohammed were all true Muslims – but “Iṣẹ iyanu Mose ju ti Jesu lọ” (the miracles of Moses exceeded those of Jesus), because “Iye eniti Mose fun ni onjẹ je (600,000) ogbon-oke, iye eniti Jesu si fun ni onjẹ (5,000) egbedogbon, ẹ wo iya tọ o wa larin mejeji” (The number of people that Moses gave food to was 600,000, the number that Jesus gave food to was 5,000, look at the difference between the two) (Adediran 1988:52). Let Us Reason Together subjects the Bible to a critique in the form of a series of pointed questions about revisions to the Biblical text and its authenticity, as well as the concepts of original sin, the Trinity, and Jesus as the son of God: “Can the Unbegotten (God) beget an Unbegotten?” “Is there only One God? Is Jesus God? If so, is God Jesus? If so, was God a Jew and a carpenter? Is Jesus the son of God? Is the son of God, God? If so, is God the son of God? If so, is God His own son?” (anon. 1992:4,5).

Most of these polemics seem to be undertaken in a spirit of defensive pre-empting of evangelical Christians’ lines of attack, as the subtitle of Ahmed Deedat’s pamphlet Combat Kit against Bible Thumpers suggests: “Bible Thumpers: Christians like the Jehovah’s Witnesses etc. who harass Muslims in their own homes” (Another of Deedat’s pamphlets shows, in a strip cartoon, exactly what a Muslim should say to the importunate Jehovah’s Witness: “I will get my wife to prepare a glass of strawberry flavoured caustic soda. Are you prepared to drink it? Your own scripture says that ‘them that believe’ can do it.”) (Deedat n.d.:13).

The pamphlets, then, reveal broad differences in the purpose and orientation of religious print publication. The Christian writers are offering personal
messages to inspire and empower the individual worshipper and draw him or her closer to the charismatic preacher. The Muslim writers discuss public issues, disseminate Islamic scholarship, offer impersonal instruction on the universal tenets of Islam, and engage in argument with Christianity. Although they do not address Christians directly, their texts are dialogic in the sense that they are informed about Christianity and offer Muslims strategies by which to argue with Christian evangelists. This dialogic character is signalled by the frequency of question-and-answer formats and point-by-point comparisons. Neither the Christian nor the Muslim pamphlets ever directly address the third religious presence in Nigeria – the pagans or “traditional worshippers”. The Muslim pamphlets scarcely mention them. The Christian ones recast the spirits and powers of indigenous religion as Satanic forces, assimilate them to the demonology of world Christianity, and comprehensively condemn them while still entertaining them (in this gruesomely mutated form) as enemies to be reckoned with.

These contrasting orientations are reflected also in the statements made by Christian and Muslim respondents in our survey of media use. Most of the Christians, and especially the Born-Again Christians, said they read Christian literature regularly. “There are a number of times I have been encouraged by reading Christian literature. God has also spoken to me from reading or listening to messages” said one Born-Again woman. Another said she liked “the wisdom of God in their write-ups, the simplicity with which they write, above all, great challenges and aspiration to greater heights as I receive edifying words”. A third praised “the authors’ relationship with God and the Holy Spirit and the way they write about Him in a very personal way. It makes me desire to
have that kind of relationship with him too”. Christians valued “Life-
transforming testimonies, i.e. testimonies of dramatically transformed lives and
families through contact with Christ”. One respondent spoke of the need to
read receptively, “opening one’s mind to fresh ideas from the author”, while
another described the experience of reading almost as a spiritual transfusion:
“The above quotations have done mighty works in my life; the very day I read
over the part in my book, the Holy Spirit removed every spirit of fear and
timidity in me and replaced them with the spirit of boldness, that preaching in
public and in buses on short and longer journeys gave me no fear”.

Perhaps because they saw the media – including print publications – as
having this capacity to work directly on the spirit, the Born-Again Christians
were extremely vigilant about what they exposed themselves to. They
unanimously condemned “ungodly” media, a category which conflated
pornography, “late night films”, “worldly music”, “fashion display with
indecent dressing”, musicals, soaps, Indian films, and “Yorùbá dramas where
incantations are chanted… they may be a source of demonic invasion”. There
are evangelical video dramas that support this perspective, rejecting as Satanic
not only ọrìṣà, diviners, and jùjì, but all forms of “traditional culture” including
orìkì (praise poetry) and other Yorùbá genres of oral art, music and dance.

The Muslim respondents, by contrast – along with more relaxed Christians,
those who did not claim to be “Born Again” – felt that the secular media were
by and large a good thing: educational, entertaining and informative at best,
harmlessly stupid at worst. And with regard to specifically Muslim print
publications and media, Muslim respondents stressed above all their pedagogic
value. The media are “a form of continuing education for fellow Muslims who need to be educated on the teachings of Islam”. One respondent watches the TV series *İtvâ Lɛsin* “because it teaches what one feels one knows, but does *not* know, about Islam. It is very educative and in my opinion represents a modern way of putting Islamic teachings across”. Pamphlets which contain prayers and short quotations from the Qur’an are useful for young Muslims who “because of the school system have not been able to acquire much knowledge about their religion”. Several Muslim respondents lamented the fact that the Muslim community was so far behind the Christian community in print and media production and spoke of the need to put more effort into sponsoring Muslim programmes and publications.

This archive, then, invites a line of systematic questioning which the project has now started to carry out. But the intention is that it should also be available for other researchers to use in other ways. From its inception, the aim of the project was not just to collect the material, but to experiment with digitisation as a way of storing and presenting it. While we are not certain yet how much of the mass of material can actually successfully be digitised, one outcome of the project will certainly be a multi-media CD, presenting selected printed texts, video clips, audio clips, and transcriptions as well as summaries of the interview findings and descriptive and analytical pieces by the contributors to the project. We thus hope to produce a metatext in the same medium as the archived texts themselves, in a way that will enable users to explore the material in different directions, following pathways of their own choosing.

**References**


