THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN SWAHLI TRACTS
BY MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN EAST AFRICA
by
JOHN ANTHONY CHESWORTH

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theology and Religion
School of Historical Studies
The University of Birmingham
October 2007
ABSTRACT

This research assesses the use of scripture in tracts published in Swahili in East Africa. The use of tracts for the propagation of religion is introduced through the work of Tract Societies in Britain and the use of Christian tracts in overseas missions. Printing in Arabic and the propagation of Islam through tracts is surveyed. The historical use of tracts by Christians and Muslims in East Africa, and Swahili as a religious language, are examined. In 2000 and 2001, Christian and Muslim tracts in Swahili were purchased from particular locations in Kenya and Tanzania. Of these, sixteen tracts, eight by Christians and eight by Muslims, were selected. The tracts use passages from the Bible and/or the Qurʾān mainly for outreach purposes. They are described and analysed and scriptures within them recorded. Eighteen Biblical and Qurʾānic passages that appeared in more than one tract were chosen. These scriptures, together with the interpretations of them within the tracts, are translated, presented thematically, analysed and compared. The research found differences between Christian and Muslim use of the passages, noting that the approach of most tracts is polemical, thus raising concerns that they may increase misunderstandings between Christians and Muslims in East Africa.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to begin by expressing my appreciation for the advice, encouragement, guidance and support of my supervisor Dr. Sigvard von Sicard over the years that this thesis has taken. Our mutual interest and concern for Christians and Muslims in East Africa has led to many fascinating discussions in and around the topic of the research.

Having lived in Kenya for most of the period of study, I gratefully acknowledge the help given me by Professor Mary Getui, Kenyatta University, as my ‘local’ supervisor.

My gratitude also goes to colleagues at St. Paul’s United Theological College, now St. Paul’s University, Limuru, Kenya for their support and encouragement. My thanks especially to Professor Esther Mombo and Professor Joseph Galgalo, for their help as we together set up the MA programme in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations at St. Paul’s, in co-operation with the Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) whose General Adviser Dr. Johnson Mtibilla also supported and encouraged me in my research.

I thank the tract sellers in Kenya and Tanzania who were happy to show me tracts and to talk with me about them.

The assistance of librarians and archivists at the following universities has been invaluable, and my thanks go to them: St. Paul’s United Theological College, Limuru; University of Birmingham, Edgbaston campus and the Orchard Learning Resource Centre, Selly Oak; School of Oriental and African Studies, London University; Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford; Edinburgh University and University of Bayreuth.

I thank my former students from St. Paul’s, Limuru and St. Phillip’s, Kongwa, Tanzania as well as the Junior Scholars involved in the ‘Sharia Debates and Their Perception by Christians and Muslims in Selected African Countries Project’ for their help and encouragement.

I appreciate the help of the many people who have assisted in confirming details while I have been finalising the thesis. They are acknowledged in a section of the Bibliography.

I would like to thank Crosslinks for allowing me study leave for the final twelve months.

I am grateful to Colin Chapman who taught me and fostered my interest in Islam and introduced me to the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations and Dr. Sigvard von Sicard.

Lastly, I thank my wife, Phyll, for the tremendous support she has given me, spending many hours patiently correcting my English and discussing the Swahili translations with me.

John Chesworth
Kidderminster
October 2007
THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN SWAHILI TRACTS BY
MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Abstract
Acknowledgements
Contents
List of Figures, Tables & Maps
Notes
Abbreviations
Glossary

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY
1.1.1 Statement of the Problem
1.1.2 Justification of the Study
1.1.3 Research Objectives
1.1.4 Limitations

1.2 METHODOLOGY
1.2.1 Historical background to tracts
1.2.2 Collection of tracts
1.2.3 Criteria for selection of the tracts to be examined
1.2.3.1 Purpose of composition
1.2.3.2 Language of composition
1.2.3.3 The use of Scripture
1.2.4 Analysis of selected tracts
1.2.4.1 The original language of composition
1.2.4.2 Title and subject matter
1.2.4.3 Authors of tracts
1.2.4.4 Use of Scripture
1.2.5 Selection of Passages of Scripture
1.2.6 Analysis of Selected Passages of Scripture

1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RESOURCES
1.4.1 Tracts
1.4.2 Islam and Christianity in East Africa
1.4.3 Swahili
1.4.3.1 Swahili as a Language
1.4.3.2 Swahili as a Religious Language
1.4.3.3 Translatability
1.4.4 Christian and Muslim Relations
1.4.4.1 Interpretation of Scriptures
1.4.4.2 Contemporary Christian and Muslim writing
1.4.4.3 Apologetics and Polemics

1.5 ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN EAST AFRICA
1.5.1 Islam
1.5.2 Christianity
1.5.3 Relations between Christians and Muslims

1.6 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS
INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO
CHAPTER FIVE: TRACTS IN EAST AFRICA

5.1 EARLY CHRISTIAN TRACTS IN EAST AFRICA
5.2 SUPPORT FROM SPCK AND RTS FOR WORK IN EAST AFRICA
   5.2.1 SPCK
   5.2.2 RTS and MSAFIRI
5.3 UMCA
5.4 W.E. TAYLOR AND RAHA ISIYO KARAHA
5.5 TRACTS FROM LUTHERAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN
   DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA
5.6 MUSLIM TRACTS
5.7 CHRISTIAN OUTREACH AT THE END OF THE COLONIAL
   PERIOD
5.8 PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE
   5.8.1 UMCA
   5.8.2 Islam in Africa Project (IAP)
   5.8.3 Bookshops
5.9 MUSLIM OUTREACH AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE
5.10 NEW METHODS OF MUSLIM OUTREACH
5.11 CHRISTIAN OUTREACH POST-INDEPENDENCE

CHAPTER SIX: SWAHILI

6.1 INTRODUCTION
6.2 STANDARDISING SWAHILI
6.3 PROBLEMS FACING CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES WHEN
   TRANSLATING INTO SWAHILI
   6.3.1 Miss Barton’s understanding of Swahili
   6.3.2 Isa Masiya or Yesu Kristo?
   6.3.3 What word can be used for ‘Holy’?
6.4 TRANSLATING THE WORD
6.5 THE BIBLE IN SWAHILI
6.6 THE QUR’ÂN IN SWAHILI
INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

CHAPTER SEVEN: TRACTS IN CURRENT CIRCULATION IN EAST AFRICA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

7.2 CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF TRACTS TO BE EXAMINED

7.2.1 Purpose of composition

7.2.2 Language of composition

7.2.3 The use of Scripture

7.3 THE SELECTED TRACTS

7.3.1 The original language of composition

7.3.2 Title and subject matter

7.3.3 Author

7.3.4 Use of Scripture

7.4 SELECTION OF PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE

7.5 DETAILS OF THE SELECTED TRACTS

7.5.1 Muslim Tracts

1. Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani
2. Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu
3. Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo
4. Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)
5. Uislamu Katika Biblia
6. Injili ya Barnaba
7. Uungu na Umoja Wake
8. Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha

7.5.2 Christian Tracts

9. Kutafuta Uhakika
10. Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa
11. Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuwapata wokovu
12. Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani
13. Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injil
14. Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini
15. Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia
16. Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN TRACTS

INTRODUCTION AND FIRST THEME: TAWHĪD

8.1 INTRODUCTION

8.2 THEME: TAWHĪD OR TRINITY? (The Unity of God)

8.3 TAWHĪD OR TRINITY?

8.3.1 Al-Nisā’(4):171

8.3.2 Al-Māʾida (5):72-78

8.3.3 Al-Māʾida (5):116-119

8.3.4 Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4

8.3.5 One God One religion/Uniqueness of God

8.3.5.1 Al-Shūrā (42):13

8.3.5.2 Isaiah 45:18-22
### CHAPTER NINE: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN TRACTS
#### THEME: JESUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>JESUS</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>TO WHOM JESUS WAS SENT: MATTHEW 15:21-28</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>MIRACLES OF JESUS</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.1</td>
<td>Al-İmran (3):45-51</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.2</td>
<td>Al-Mā‘ida (5):111-115</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>DEATH OF JESUS</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.1</td>
<td>Al-Nisā‘(4):157-159</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.2</td>
<td>Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.3</td>
<td>Philippians 2:5-8</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER TEN: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN TRACTS
#### THEMES: JESUS AND MUHAMMAD, ALL HAVE SINNED, TAHRĪF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>JESUS AND MUḤAMMAD</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.1</td>
<td>Who is a Prophet like Moses, Jesus or Muḥammad?</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.2</td>
<td>Deuteronomy 18:16-20</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.3</td>
<td>Who will God send after Jesus?</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1.4</td>
<td>John 14:15-17, 25-26</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>ALL HAVE SINNED</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.1</td>
<td>Romans 3:19-25</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>TAHRĪF (CORRUPTION OF SCRIPTURE)</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.1</td>
<td>Example of taḥrīf</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>PART ONE</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>PART TWO</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>PART THREE</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.1</td>
<td>Analysis of tracts</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.2</td>
<td>The use of scripture in the tracts</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX ONE  EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE IN SWAHILI  378

1.1 BIBLE PASSAGES
Deuteronomy 18:16-20  378
Isaiah 45:18-22  380
Matthew 10:23  382
Matthew 15:21-28  383
John 1:18  385
John 14:15-17, 25-26  386
Romans 3:19-25  390
Philippians 2:5-8  392
Jude 1:14  394

1.2 QUR’ÂNIC PASSAGES
Âl 'Inrân (3):45-51  395
Al-Nisâ’(4):157-159  399
Al-Nisâ’(4):171  401
Al-Mâ‘îda (5):72-78  403
Al-Mâ‘îda (5):116-119  409
Al-Shûrâ (42):13  412
Al-Ikhlâs (112):1-4  413

APPENDIX TWO: OUTLINE OF TRACTS STUDIED  414

2.1 MUSLIM TRACTS
[5] Uislamu Katika Biblia  426
[6] Injili ya Barnaba  428
[7] Uungu na Umoja Wake  429
[8] Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha  431

2.2 CHRISTIAN TRACTS
[9] Kutafuta Uhakika  433
[10] Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Hajabatalishwa  434
[12] Nuru Ing’ayo Gizehi  435
[13] Ushahidi wa Kiislamu  437
[15] Isa (Yese Kristo)Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia  439
[16] Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani  440
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 PRIMARY SOURCES
1.1 TRACTS SELECTED FOR STUDY
1.2 OTHER TRACTS COLLECTED

2 ARCHIVAL MATERIAL
2.1 CENTRAL LITERATURE COMMITTEE FOR MOSLEMS
2.2 CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
2.3 CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION
2.4 GERMAN MISSION SOCIETIES’ ANNUAL JOURNALS FOR EAST AFRICA
2.5 PROGRAMME FOR CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN AFRICA
2.6 RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY
2.7 UNIVERSITIES’ MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

3 REFERENCE MATERIAL
3.1 VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE CONSULTED
3.2 VERSIONS OF THE QUR‘ĀN CONSULTED
3.3 COMMENTARIES AND TAFSĪR
3.4 CONCORDANCES
3.5 DICTIONARIES CONSULTED
3.6 DISSERTATIONS, THESES AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

4 CORRESPONDENCE, DISCUSSIONS, ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE

5 BOOKS, ARTICLES AND WEB-SITES
LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND MAPS

FIGURES
Figure 3.1  Samuel Crowther’s Sketches for proposed tract on ‘The Three Religions’ (CMS CA2/032/29)  63
Figure 5.1* The Frontispiece and Title Page of the RTS/UMCA edition of Msafiri (Madan 1888)  86
Figure 5.2* Cover of 1902 printing of the tract Raha isyo Karaha (Taylor 1902)  95
Figure 5.3* Final Pages of 1934 printing of tract, showing publishing details (Taylor 1934)  96
Figure 5.4* The tract in Roman script (Taylor 1940?)  97
Figure 7.1* Cover and a page from Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani  Facing page 168
Figure 7.2* Cover and a page from Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu  Facing page 171
Figure 7.3* Cover and a page from Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo Muislamu  Facing page 174
Figure 7.4* Cover and a page from Maisha ya Nabî Isâ (Alahais Salam)  Facing page 179
Figure 7.5* Cover and a page from Uislamu Katika Biblia  Facing page 183
Figure 7.6* Cover and a page from Injili ya Barnaba  Facing page 187
Figure 7.7* Cover and a page from Uungu na Umoja Wake  Facing page 189
Figure 7.8* Cover and a page from Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha  Facing page 192
Figure 7.9* Cover and a page from Kutafuluta Uhakika  Facing page 194
Figure 7.10* Cover and a page from Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa  Facing page 196
Figure 7.11* Cover and two pages from Kurani na Biblia  Facing page 198
Figure 7.12* Cover and a page from Nuru Ing’ayo Gizani  Facing page 200
Figure 7.13* First page of Ushahidi wa Kiislamu  Facing page 202
Figure 7.14* First page of Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini  Facing page 205
Figure 7.15* First page of Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia  Facing page 207
Figure 7.16* Cover and two pages from Neno la Mungu

TABLES
Table 2.1 Showing when the first Religious Tract Society was begun in selected countries (Gaustadt 1972:207-208)  50
Table 2.2 Showing the different sizes of paper used in printing (based on Fyfe 2003:159)  53
Table 5.1 German Missions present in German East Africa in 1914 (Führer 1914:6)  99
Table 5.2 Details of Tracts listed in Führer 1914 (Führer 1914:48-64)  100
Table 5.3 Selected Muslim tracts published in late colonial period and still in circulation  104
Table 5.4 Showing Protestant Missions working in East Africa in the late 1930s (Kalenda 1938:35-36; 1939:32-33)  107
Table 7.1 Showing the average number of pages in each of the selected tracts  157
Table 7.2 Showing the average number of scripture passages in each tract  158
Table 7.3 Showing the tracts that these passages were chosen from:
   (a) Qur’anic Passages  165
   (b) Biblical Passages  164
Table 7.4 Showing column divisions in tract Neno la Mungu  208

MAP
Map 7.1* Showing the location of the places where tracts were collected (Based on map in H.R.J. Davies Tropical Africa 1973:13)  Facing page 153
*NOTE*

Due to technical difficulties when converting the thesis to .pdf format the Map and the Figures marked with an asterisk are placed in different positions than those indicated on the List above.

The Figures for Chapter Five appear immediately before Part Two.

The Map and Figures for Chapter Seven appear immediately before Part Three.
NOTES

Translation of Swahili texts
All translations of Swahili texts, into English, are the author’s own unless otherwise stated.

Transliteration
The transliteration system used for Arabic words follows that of the Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān edited by Jane D. McAuliffe (2001-2006).

Scripture
Quotations from scriptures in English are from the New Revised Standard Version (1995) of the Bible and Arthur J. Arberry’s The Koran (1955), unless otherwise stated.

Calendar
In order to avoid confusion all dates in the research are given following the Common Era calendar.

Type Face
Times Beyrut Roman is used in order to facilitate the use of diacriticals.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIC  African Instituted Church(es)
AIM  Africa Inland Mission
AS  ‘alayhi salam – Peace be Upon Him, used for other Messengers and Prophets
ASP  Afro-Shirazi Party
ATIEA  Association of Theological Institutions of East Africa
ATS  American Tract Society
BAKWATA  Baraza Kuu la Waislamu wa Tanzania
          (Supreme Council of Muslims of Tanzania)
BEA  British East Africa
Berlin I  Berlin Missionary Society
BFBS  British and Foreign Bible Society also appears as B&FBS (now Bible Society)
CCK  Christian Council of Kenya (now NCCK)
CCT  Christian Council of Tanzania
CfAN  Christ for All Nations
CLCM  Central Literature Committee for Moslems
CMML  Christian Missions in Many Lands
CMS  Church Missionary Society (now Church Mission Society)
CSM  Church of Scotland Mission
CTP  Central Tanganyika Press
DOA  Deutsch Ostafrika (German East Africa)
EAMWS  East Africa Muslim Welfare Society
EMS  Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsche Ostafrika
          (The Protestant Missionary Society for German East Africa)
ESA  Educational Supply Association
FTFC  Frere Town Finance Committee
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GEA</td>
<td>German East Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HGF</td>
<td>Holy Ghost Fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAP</td>
<td>Islam in Africa Project (now PROCMURA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICET</td>
<td>International Consultation on English Texts (Liturgical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILC</td>
<td>Inter-territorial Language (Swahili) Committee for the East Africa Dependencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMC</td>
<td>International Missionary Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISIM</td>
<td>International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUWAKITA</td>
<td>Jumuiya ya Wahubiri wa Kiislamu Tanzania (Society of Muslim Preachers of Tanzania)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC</td>
<td>Kenya Missionary Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSAUD</td>
<td>Muslim Students’ Association of the University of Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NECC</td>
<td>Near East Christian Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCK</td>
<td>National Council of Churches of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLM</td>
<td>New Life Ministries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROCMURA</td>
<td>Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBUH</td>
<td>Peace be upon Him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>raḍiyallāhu ‘anhu – May God be pleased with him, used for Companions of the Prophet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTS</td>
<td>Religious Tract Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(now a part of United Society for Christian Literature (USCL))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAW</td>
<td>ṣallā’lāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam – May God’s Peace be Upon Him, used for Muḥammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Seventh Day Adventists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAS</td>
<td>School of Oriental and African Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPCK</td>
<td>Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPG</td>
<td>Society for the Propagation of the Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(now a part of United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STBC</td>
<td>Swahili Text Book Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPKEM</td>
<td>Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEC</td>
<td>Tanzanian Episcopal Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TELM</td>
<td>Tanzania Evangelistic Literature Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMC</td>
<td>Tanganyika Missionary Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UBS</td>
<td>United Bible Societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMCA</td>
<td>Universities’ Mission to Central Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(now a part of United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USCL</td>
<td>United Society for Christian Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USPG</td>
<td>United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td>White Fathers (Missionaries of Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARSCHA</td>
<td>Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (Muslim Writers’ Workshop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>Young Women’s Christian Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNP</td>
<td>Zanzibar National Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

ahad (Arabic)  One
ahādīth (Arabic)  Plural form of ḥādīth
‘aḥēhem (Hebrew)  Brethren (בְּנֵי אָחֵיָּם) from the root אָחָי (אָח) brother, (also in the widest sense)
-ake (Swahili)  His, hers or its (Possessive Adjective)
al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā (Arabic)  Most Beautiful Names, of God
‘ālayhi sallām (Arabic)  Peace be Upon Him, used for other Messengers and Prophets (AS)
al-ʿalim (Arabic)  a scholar, plural ʿulamā’
Askari (Swahili)  Soldier or guard
bidʿa (Arabic)  Innovation, changing the original teaching of Muḥammad, something introduced into Islam after the formative period
Bismi’llāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm (Arabic)  “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate”, the basmala – this phrase appears at the start of all the Sūra in the Qur’ān, apart from Sūra Al-Tawbah (9)
Bwana (Swahili)  Lord in a religious sense, also as a title or honorific Sir, Mr.
Colporteur (French)  A hawker; specifically, one who travels about selling and distributing religious tracts and books. From the French colporteur one who carries on his neck: col neck, porteur to carry
daʿwa (Arabic)  calling others to Islam (دعوت)
dāʿī (Arabic)  one who invites people to the faith of Islam
Dei Genetrix (Latin)  Mother of God
dhū (Arabic)  Possessor, owner (dhū rūḥ – spirit endowed)
din (Swahili)  Religion (Arabic ʿdin) also used for school lessons on religion
Duodecimo (Latin)  formed of sheets folded so as to make twelve leaves, usually written 12mo
fatwā (Arabic)  An authoritative statement on a point of law
Folio (Latin)  a sheet of paper folded once to make two leaves for a book
Ḥaḍīth (Arabic)  Traditions, the reported speech of Muḥammad
Handbill  a small printed notice or advertisement distributed by hand
Hazra (Urdu)  Presence, used as a title of respect (Arabic ḥazra)
Hexadecimo (Latin)  formed of sheets folded so as to make sixteen leaves, usually written 16mo
Ijāza (Arabic)  Certificate
Injil (Swahili)  Gospel, from the Greek εὐαγγέλιον (euangelion) good news (Arabic Injīl)
Isa (Swahili)  Jesus (Ἵσα - from the Arabic)
ithm ‘azīm (Arabic)  Great sin
izhār al-ḥaq (Arabic)  the demonstration of truth
Juzū (Swahili)  Portion, part, section. Used to denote the thirty parts that the Qur’ān is divided into for reading during Ramaḍān (Arabic juz‘)
kabāʾir al-ithm (Arabic)  Grave sins
Kadhi (Swahili)  Judge, able to give judgements in accordance to the sharī’a (Arabic – qāḍī)

1 Possessive Adjective requiring a prefix in agreement with class of the Noun e.g. neno lake - his word; nyumbani kwake – her home
kafirūn (Arabic) Infidels
Kalimatul'lāh (Arabic) “The Word of Allah”, meaning Jesus
Kalimu'llāh (Arabic) “The one to whom Allah spoke directly”, title used for Moses
Kirundu U'mutheru (Meru) Holy Spirit
kufūr (Arabic) Disbelief
al-Masīḥ (Arabic) The Messiah, Christ, title for Jesus (Swahili – Masiya)
Mihadhara (Swahili) Public Debate (Plural), nhadhara (singular). From the Arabic ḥādara discourse
mīzān al-ḥaq (Arabic) the balance of truth
Mjumbe (Swahili) Messenger
Mola (Swahili) Lord, but can also be used for God (Arabic – mawlā)
Mtoto (Swahili) Child (pl. Watoto), can refer to any child, generally refers to period of 5-17 years of age
Mtume (Swahili) Apostle or Messenger
Muhtasari (Swahili) Summary
munāfiqūn (Arabic) Hypocrites
Mungu (Swahili) God
Mwana (Swahili) Child (pl. Wana), usually refers to a child belonging to the person
Mwenyezi Mungu (Swahili) Almighty God
Mwoyo Mūkenbu (Meru) Holy Spirit
Nabī (Swahili) Prophet
Nafsi (Swahili) Vital Essence (when referring to God as a unity), Person (when referring to Jesus as part of the Trinity), Part, soul, self (elsewhere). From Arabic nafs
naskh (Arabic) Abrogation
naskhī (Arabic) Style of writing, used in printing Arabic script, as it resembles hand-written script
Ndugu (Swahili) Brethren – is used when referring to ndugu in preaching as a group, Brother when clearly in the single; also used for Kin
Neno (Swahili) Word
Octavo (Latin) a size of book or page produced by folding a standard-sized sheet of paper three times to give eight leaves, usually written 8vo
Pamphlet a small booklet or leaflet containing information or arguments about a single subject
paraklētos (Greek) Advocate (παρακλήτος), refers to the Holy Spirit
Pasha (Arabic/Turkish) Governor
perikleitos (Greek) Far praised one (περικλέος), understood to mean Ahmad in Arabic
qāḍī (Arabic) Judge, able to give judgements in accordance to shari'a (Swahili Kadhi)
qudra (Arabic) Power
qudus (Arabic) Holy
Quarto (Latin) a size of paper produced by folding a sheet in half twice to give four leaves or eight pages, usually written 4to
radiyallāhu ‘anhu (Arabic) May God be pleased with him, used for Companions of the Prophet (RA)
rasūl (Arabic) Messenger, a Prophet with a written message
roho (Swahili) Spirit (Arabic – rūḥ)
safari (Swahili) Journey
ṣahāba (Arabic) Companions of the Prophet, (singular ṣāhib) Swahili Sahaba/Masahaba
šallā ’llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam (Arabic) May God’s Peace be Upon Him, used for Muḥammad (SAW also PBUH in English)

ṣamad (Arabic) Refuge

shahāda (Arabic) Testimony, the first ‘Pillar of Islam’, “I testify that there is no God but God and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God” (ashhadu an lā ilāha illā ‘lāh wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūlu ‘lāh).

sharī’a (Arabic) Islamic legal system (Swahili Sheria)

Shema (Hebrew) Hear

shirk (Arabic) Associationism, stating that God has partners, or is associated with any other.

Silimu (Swahili) To convert to Islam, to submit or to yield (Arabic ‘asam)

soteriology (English) Doctrine of Salvation from the Greek σωτηρία (sōtērios bringing salvation)

tafsīr (Arabic) Commentary

taḥrīf (Arabic) Corruption

taḥrīf al-naṣṣ (Arabic) Corruption of the interpretation of a text

taḥrīf al-ma‘ānī (Arabic) Corruption of the meaning of a text

tamko (Swahili) Pronouncement, Proclamation

tawba (Arabic) Repentance (Swahili – tubu)

tawḥīd (Arabic) The doctrine of the Unity of God

tawrā (Arabic) Torah (The Books of the Law), the first five books of the Bible

thālith thalātha (Arabic) Trinity, literally third of three

Theotokos (Greek) God Bearer (Θεότοκος)

-toka (Swahili) From (Verb, needing prefix)

Tōrāh (Hebrew) Law the first five books of the Old Testament (Arabic tawrā)

Tract a short essay or pamphlet, especially one on the subject of religion, politics, etc, intended as a piece of propaganda

‘ulamā‘ (Arabic) scholars, plural of ‘alim

Upweke (Swahili) Oneness, but also has sense of Solitariness, Uniqueness

Uungu (Swahili) Divinity, Godhead

Wa (Swahili) Of

yawm ad-Dīn (Arabic) Day of Judgement

Yesu (Swahili) Jesus (from the Greek - Ἰησοῦς)

---

2 This is an example of -a of Relationship, used in participles and conjunctions, agrees with preceding Noun, e.g. mtu wa Mungu (person of God).
THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN SWAHILI TRACTS BY
MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN EAST AFRICA
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

An understanding of the inter-relationship between different faiths is becoming more important as we live in an increasingly pluralistic society. If faith groups are to live together harmoniously it is necessary for them to be able to understand each other. When two faiths, such as Islam and Christianity exist side by side, both of which are ‘missionary religions’, with scriptural imperatives to share their faith with others, it is important to understand how they conduct that outreach towards each other.

For Muslims this is دعوة (da’wa) inviting or calling others to the faith. Several verses can be cited from the Qur’an to show the purpose of da’wa, such as Al-Nahl (16):125, where Muhammad was told:

Call thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and good admonition, and dispute with them in the better way.

The need to conduct da’wa is explained in Al-Baqara (2):143:

Thus We appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses to the people, and that the Messenger might be a witness to you; and We did not appoint the direction thou wast facing, except that We might know who followed the Messenger from him who turned on his heels – though it were a grave thing save for those whom God has guided; but God would never leave your faith to waste – truly, God is All-gentle with the people, All-compassionate.

And Ál ’Imrān (3):104:

Let there be one nation of you, calling to good, and bidding to honour, and forbidding dishonour; those are the prosperers.
For Christians this is εὐαγγελίζω (euangelizo) evangelism, telling others the ‘good news’ of Christ. Several verses of the Bible are used to show the purpose of evangelism, such as Matthew 28:19-20 where Jesus addressed his disciples telling them to:

Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them all in the name of the 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.

One of the methods that both faiths have used to reach out to tell others is through literature. Such literature often uses scripture in order to present persuasive reasons as to why one faith is the correct one and why followers of the other faith are mistaken.

Hugh Goddard in *Muslim Perceptions of Christianity* (1996) reviewed literature written by Muslims in Egypt concerning Christianity and Christians. He distinguished between the different approaches, classifying them on a scale between Polemical and Eirenical.

Kate Zebiri in *Muslims and Christians Face to Face* (1997) gave an analysis of contemporary Muslim writings on Christianity and contemporary Christian writings on Islam, in order to explore the issues central to Christian-Muslim relations. One particular comment of hers, concerning populist writing, was influential in setting out on this study. It explained her exclusion of the writings of Ahmed Deedat1 (1919-2005) and the reasons why she had not incorporated Tracts in her survey:

It is a sobering thought that Deedat gains more exposure than any of the writers cited in this chapter, although strictly speaking the quality of his work, which after all hardly aspires to go beyond the level of rhetoric and apologetic, is poor even by the standards of religious polemic. It is on the basis of both quality and genre (as with Christian missionary literature, tracts were not incorporated) that his works have not been included … (Zebiri: 1997:47-48).

This highlighted a gap in the study of such literature, both Muslim and Christian. This study sets out to investigate this area of literature.

---

1 The influence of Ahmed Deedat on writers in East Africa is examined in Part Three.
In ‘Muslim Affirmation through Refutation, A Tanzanian Example’, a recent Muslim tract (1990) in Swahili was translated into English and analysed. As a part of that dissertation, a brief survey of tracts in Swahili was carried out, covering the period from the 1890s until the present. The study led to a consideration of the ways in which Christians and Muslims use such material in order to reach people of the other faith.

The situation in East Africa is special, in that a local language, Swahili, rather than Arabic has become the lingua franca of Islam. At the same time, it has become the official language of two of the countries, Kenya and Tanzania. This means that much has been written directly in Swahili, rather than simply being translated from European or Asian languages. This is especially true of tracts (short treatises and pamphlets), many of which are readily available at very low cost throughout East Africa. Some groups producing such tracts have been influenced by external forces, including the writings, visits and videotapes of Ahmed Deedat and others.

It is from a desire to understand the range of tracts used in outreach and their use of scripture that this study is being undertaken, in order to make a contribution to the field of Religious Studies.

1.1.1 Statement of the Problem

Tracts have been used by both Muslims and Christians as a method of propagating their faiths. The main focus of this study is to examine the use of scripture in contemporary Swahili tracts, written by both Muslims and Christians, in circulation in East Africa.

---

As part of this the following areas are considered:

The origin and purpose of tracts and their role in attracting members of the other faith group:
Asking to what extent are the tracts examined polemical or eirenical in approach?

In East Africa tracts have been used by Christians since the middle of the nineteenth century and by Muslims since the early twentieth century. In order to gain an overview it is necessary to investigate what tracts have been in circulation, how these were tracts produced and how long they remained available.

As the tracts being studied are in Swahili, the question also arises as to whether Swahili suited for use as a religious language.

Tracts use scripture from the Bible and the Qur’an: How is this scripture being used? Does the way scripture is interpreted differ between Christian and Muslim tracts?

1.1.2 Justification of the Study

Much has been written about Islam and Christianity and how their intellectuals relate to each other, likewise about the spread of Islam and Christianity in East Africa. However, little work has been done on the use of ‘popular literature’ in the form of tracts and their use in outreach. Swahili has been examined as a language and some work has been done on its development as a religious language. However, little has been done on the use of Swahili in tracts.
1.1.3 Research Objectives

With the above in mind the research objectives behind this research have been:

- To collect information on tracts and their historical and contemporary use by both Muslims and Christians in East Africa in order to gain an understanding of the range and variety of tracts that have been and continue to be in circulation in East Africa.
- To examine, in detail, the contents of a number of tracts published in Swahili, in order to assess the range of scripture used in the tracts.
- To examine the use of scriptures and other religious material by the writers of the selected tracts.
- To examine the ways in which selected scripture passages are interpreted by different writers.
- To evaluate the ways in which the selected passages are used and interpreted, in order to assess the ways in which the material has been used. To see if the interpretations given in the tracts may have been influenced by earlier exegetes.

1.1.4 Limitations

It was realised that there would be certain limiting factors on the research. These were taken into consideration as the research was carried out:

- The availability of tracts: whether freely available or of limited distribution.
- The possibility of the amount of material written directly in Swahili by Christians being insufficient: therefore the likelihood of needing to include material that has been translated into Swahili.
• The number of groups producing material, the necessity of specifying certain groups for inclusion, especially concerning analysis of material: Muslim tracts are from the Sunnī tradition and Christian tracts are from the Protestant tradition.

Other groups were excluded in the analysis, due to limitations of space and time. For instance tracts from Shī‘a and Ibāḍī Muslim groups and the Aḥmadiyya, as well as those from Roman Catholic, Orthodox Christian or Pentecostal groups, were not included.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the contemporary use of tracts in East Africa, it is necessary to start by understanding the history of religious tracts and the organisations publishing them.

1.2.1 Historical background to tracts

A survey was done of organisations writing and publishing religious tracts from the eighteenth century onwards. The work of two British groups, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Religious Tract Society (RTS), was studied more closely. This was carried out through use of archives and published sources. This was done in order to understand the purposes of the societies in producing and promulgating tracts and also their methods of production.

The use of tracts in East Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by two British missionary societies, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Mombasa and the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in Zanzibar, was examined through the societies’ archives at the University of Birmingham and Rhodes House, University of Oxford. This was done in order to understand the ways in which the societies worked in producing
tracts and their interaction with other agencies, in particular SPCK and RTS, who provided grants for the production of various tracts.

Tracts produced in the twentieth century by various German missionary societies, mainly Lutheran, were examined, using the annual *Kalenda* and published sources. This was done in order to gain a broader perspective of the approaches of protestant missions working in East Africa in areas with a significant Muslim presence.3

The growth in use of tracts by Muslim writers in East Africa was examined through copies of the tracts that were published, and referred to in archival sources. This was done in order to understand the development of the use of tracts by Muslims, in particular the use of Swahili as the language of communication.

The development of Swahili as a religious language was traced through archival material, copies of scripture and tracts, and through literature on the history of Swahili as a language. In particular the use of Roman script, the standardisation of Swahili and the versions of the Bible and Qurʾān in Swahili were examined.

The historical and linguistic work was a necessary preparation for the main focus of the research.

---

3 The other Protestant Missions working in East Africa, from the nineteenth century up to the 1930s, were mainly working with specific ethnic groups. For example the Church of Scotland Mission worked amongst the Kikuyu and the Methodist Mission worked with the Meru. The protestant mission societies and their spheres of influence are listed in Table 5.4.
1.2.2 Collection of tracts

Religious tracts, written in Swahili and in current circulation, regardless of the date of their first publication, were collected and studied.

This was done by carrying out a detailed survey of tracts available in Swahili today, which involved collecting material from various centres, examining both Christian and Muslim material. In particular, tracts originally written in Swahili were examined where possible, rather than those translated from other languages.

Several locations for systematic collection of material were chosen:

Major urban centres with significant numbers of both Muslims and Christians were visited and tracts collected between 2000 and 2003:

In Tanzania: Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Morogoro, subsequently Tanga and Zanzibar
In Kenya: Nairobi and Mombasa

Selected smaller rural towns4 were surveyed in December 2000 and January 2001:

In Tanzania: Musoma and Ngara
In Kenya: Kisii

It was found that little material was readily available in the smaller towns in Kenya and Tanzania.5

A survey conducted in Kampala, in July 2001, found virtually no tracts were available in Swahili, so no further collection of material was attempted in Uganda.

4 The locations of all the centres where tracts were collected are shown in Chapter Seven (Map 7.1).
5 Following the visit to Ngara in January 2001, Furaha Jackson Kamana, an Anglican priest and former student of this researcher sent tracts that had been collected in Ngara.
Most of the tracts collected were found in the larger urban centres; duplicates of material collected in Tanzania were also found in Kenya, particularly in Mombasa.

Over one hundred different tracts were collected; these were assessed in order to select sixteen tracts for examination.

1.2.3 Criteria for selection of the tracts to be examined

Three criteria were used for selecting the tracts:

- Purpose of composition
- Language of composition
- The use of Scripture

1.2.3.1 Purpose of composition

Tracts are written for different purposes; of the ones collected, their purposes can be classified as being one or more of the following:

- Tracts used for outreach, specifically written for the reader of another faith.
- Tracts used for training the faithful in methods of outreach.
- Tracts being catechetical in purpose, providing teaching material for the believer in order to inform them of the basics of their faith.

As the purpose of this study is to examine the tracts’ use and interpretation of scripture, it was decided to select tracts that can be identified as being for outreach or for training the faithful in outreach, rather than those that were only catechetical.

---

6 Some of the tracts were already in the possession of the researcher having been collected between 1990 and 2000 in Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Morogoro and Nairobi when living in Kongwa, Dodoma Region, Tanzania.
7 As this researcher was unable to visit Mombasa until June 2003, two people from Mombasa, who were students at St. Paul’s United Theological College, Limuru, were asked to visit booksellers to gather duplicate material. They are Rhoda Luvuno Dzombo, in December 2000, and Ferdinand Manjewa in June 2001.
8 All the tracts collected are listed separately in the Bibliography.
1.2.3.2 Language of composition

It was decided that the tracts selected for study should be ones published in Swahili. The reason for this was that one of the aims of the study was to explore the use of Swahili as a religious language. Tracts originally written in Swahili were looked for in preference to those translated from other languages.

An initial survey found that much of the material written by Christians was translated from other languages. This meant that it was necessary to select some translated material, as insufficient material originally written in Swahili was found.

Of the selected tracts, eight were written originally in Swahili, and eight were translated from other languages, chosen because they fitted the other criteria, in their purpose of composition and use of scripture.

It was necessary to have an awareness of the processes involved in writing the tracts and using scripture, especially the Muslim view that the versions of the Qur’ân in languages other than Arabic can only be considered to be interpretations of scripture and not the scripture itself. Christians have used the vernacular for scripture since the earliest times, although in some traditions one language became the only acceptable one for scripture.9

1.2.3.3 The use of Scripture

Scripture is used in tracts to inform and persuade. Both Muslims and Christians use their own scriptures in tracts. Many tracts used in outreach, or in training for outreach, use scriptures of the other faith.

---

9 For instance: The Ethiopian Coptic Church continued to use Geez, long after it ceased to be a language known by ordinary people (Wondmagegnehu & Motovu 1970:51-52); The use of the Latin and the Vulgate by the Roman Catholic Church until after the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s (Howell 1986:521).
In the selection process, the presence of passages of scripture was important. It was found that the tracts included passages from the Bible and the Qur’ān as well as other religious material, notably the use of hadīth and commentaries on the Qur’ān. In addition, many of the Muslim tracts included material from Western secular writers. For each of the tracts, the range and purpose of quotations from scripture were noted.

1.2.4 Analysis of selected tracts

Sixteen tracts were selected, eight by Muslims and eight by Christians.

Tracts by Muslim writers:

[4] Saidi Musa, Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)
[8] Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu, Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha

Tracts by Christian writers:

[10] Iskander Jadeed, Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa
[12] Stefano Masudi, Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli
[13] Njia ya Uzima, Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili
[16] Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry, Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani
1.2.4.1 The original language of composition

As already noted seven of the eight Muslim tracts selected were originally written in Swahili, whilst only one of the eight Christian tracts was initially written in Swahili. For the tracts that have been translated from other languages, it is not always clear what language it was originally written in; four clearly state that they were translated from English, others give no indication. Some may originally have been in English, German or Urdu.

1.2.4.2 Title and subject matter

All the Muslim tracts selected indicate a concern with Jesus, the Bible and Christianity or the Unity of God. There are indications that they were written in order to attract Christians, or to assist Muslims in talking to Christians. The Christian tracts selected have all been written with the purpose of outreach to Muslims, or to assist Christians in talking to Muslims.

1.2.4.3 Authors of tracts

The authors of Muslim tracts include some well-known Muslim writers or preachers, such as Saidi Musa, Harith Swaleh, Mussa Fundi Ngariba and Mohamed Ali Kawemba. Other tracts were selected as they were written by former Christians who have become Muslims, such as Abbas Gombo Kanoni and Josepha Ngogo.

Of the Christian material, three are testimonies written by former Muslims, two are signed tracts raising issues about the truth of Islam, two are unsigned tracts, giving an address for further information for interested readers, and one is a training worksheet.

1.2.4.4 Use of Scripture

All the selected tracts use scripture; the extent of this use ranges from Uungu na Umoja Wake by Harith Swaleh, which only refers to two Qur'anic passages, to Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo
na Nikawa Muislamu by Abbas Gombo Kanoni, which has over two hundred Biblical and
eleven Qur’anic passages.

1.2.5 Selection of Passages of Scripture

Having been selected, the contents of each of the sixteen tracts being studied was then
recorded. This involved transcribing and translating the chapter and section headings,
recording and verifying all quotations and references in the tracts, and noting any errors in
these. Having completed this exercise, it was found that, between them, the tracts used over
six hundred passages from the Bible and over three hundred passages from the Qur‘an. In
order to identify passages used in more than one tract, the information was tabulated.

The following criteria for choosing a passage of scripture for examination were then applied:

- Appearance in more than one tract (where possible)
- Appearance in tracts written by both Muslim and Christian writers (where possible)

After these criteria were applied, eight passages from the Qur‘an, and seven passages from the
Bible, together with a special section on tahrif, with three short passages from the Bible, were
chosen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qur‘anic Passages</th>
<th>Biblical Passages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āl ‘Imrân (3):45-51</td>
<td>Deuteronomy 18:16-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āl-Nisā‘(4):157-159</td>
<td>Isaiah 45:18-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mā‘ida (5):72-78</td>
<td>John 14:15-17, 25-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Shūrā (42):13</td>
<td>Philippians 2:5-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4      | ‘Special Section’ on tahrif (corruption):
                             | Matthew 10:23; John 1:18; Jude 1:14    |

10 Appendix Two has details of the contents of the tracts. Each heading is given with the page it is on. All the
passages of scripture quoted in the tracts are listed, together with all other non-scriptural quotations
identified.
The passages having been selected, they were then divided into a number of themes, in order to be able to manage the material. The themes were determined by the contents of the passages.

It was found that a number of the passages specifically mention aspects of the Unity of God, especially with regard to the idea of the Trinity. These passages were grouped together as the first theme: *tawḥīd* or Trinity? (The Unity of God) *Al-Nisāʾ* (4):171; *Al-Māʾida* (5):72-78, 116-119 and *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112):1-4 are examined in this theme. In addition two passages dealing with a related theme: One God One Religion/Uniqueness of God, were incorporated as a sub-theme, *Al-Shūrā* (42):13 and Isaiah 45:18-22. This theme is dealt with in chapter eight.

Several passages specifically referring to the life and actions of Jesus are incorporated together, in chapter nine, which is divided into three sub-themes: To whom Jesus was sent, Matthew, 15:21-28; The Miracles of Jesus, *Āl Imrān* (3):45-51 and *Al-Māʾīda* (5):111-115; The death of Jesus, *Al-Nisāʾ* (4):157-159 and Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36.

The remaining passages are dealt with in chapter ten, which has three themes. The first theme concerns passages which have been used in relation to Jesus and Muḥammad: Deuteronomy 18:16-20, Who is a Prophet like Moses, Jesus or Muḥammad? and John 14:15-17, 25-26, Who will God send after Jesus? The second theme: All have sinned, examines the use of Romans 3:19-25. The final theme is a ‘special section’ on *taḥrīf* (corruption of scripture), using material from only one of the tracts, which uses Matthew 10:23; John 1:18; Jude 1:14.

Each time one of the passages listed above appears in the selected tracts, it, together with the relevant accompanying text, is transcribed and translated into English. The edited English
texts are given in chapters eight, nine and ten, with the original Swahili texts appearing as footnotes.

The procedures followed for transcription and translation were as follows. The selected passages were transcribed; where possible, the layout of the transcription followed the original. The transcription was then checked for accuracy, confirming that any typographical errors and omissions were in fact present in the original.

An initial translation was carried out, based on the researcher’s own knowledge of Swahili, with use of dictionaries where the vocabulary was not known or was unclear. The draft translation was then checked with greater recourse to dictionaries, in order to make corrections and to confirm the accuracy of the translation. Words and phrases whose interpretation could be open to a variety of meanings were identified and their meanings were checked against a range of Swahili dictionaries. For those tracts which also had published versions in English available, these were only consulted in cases where the sense of the Swahili was unclear, in order to assist in understanding the Swahili text.

The purpose of approaching the process in this way was in order to gain a sense of how a contemporary reader might understand the passages, rather than using a purely lexical approach to the translation.

Whilst undertaking the exercise of translating the selected passages it was necessary to be aware of current theories of translatability and translation. This meant that the validity of comparing tracts written in Swahili with tracts translated into Swahili had to be questioned.
Tracts were translated into Swahili from another language because the organisation, or publisher sponsoring the tract, decided that the material was relevant for the perceived readership in East Africa. Several reasons for this decision can be deduced: it could be because they do not consider the cultural relevance of the material as important. It could also be that they consider the material to transcend culture and that it is culturally relevant despite being originally written for a different culture. It seems that some tracts were translated into Swahili because the content was seen as being particularly relevant to the situation. This can be seen in the Muslim tract by Muhammad Samiullah Imran and in the Christian tracts that are the testimonies of people who have become Christians: K.K. Alavi, Muhammad Khan and Stefano Masudi.

These tracts, although translated from another language, were found in circulation in Swahili. As the thesis seeks to examine the use of tracts that are presently available, it is valid to compare the translated tracts with tracts that had been originally written in Swahili.

In order to make a ‘good’ translation, where the meaning of a sentence in Swahili was unclear, comparison was made with the English version of the five tracts which were also available in English.11

---

It can be argued that the influence of the early missionaries on the formation and development of Swahili religious language has affected both Christian and Muslim writers and translators of the tracts.

1.2.6 Analysis of Selected Passages of Scripture

The selected passages having been translated into English, the material was then examined using the themes listed in the previous section. The contents of each of the passages were then analysed, in order to understand how the writers of the tracts had used scripture and how they had interpreted the passages of scripture. The analysis was undertaken using the following procedures:

As the passage was read, several questions were asked of its use of scripture and the accompanying interpretation, if any, given it by the writer of the tract: How much of the passage was quoted? Were parts omitted, including the use of parentheses and excisions from the text? Did the interpretation deal with the whole passage, or with just a part? Could the reason for the inclusion of a longer passage be deduced from the heading or the context? How is the passage used by the writer: is it used to affirm the understanding of the passage from the perspective of the faith group whose scripture it is? Or, is it used to give the passage a different interpretation, to support the other faith or to ‘attack’ the faith whose scripture it is?

The way in which Swahili was used by the tract writers in the passages examined is commented on, especially where the meaning of words or phrases could be understood in more than one way.
Where appropriate, the comments that the writers made on the passages were set into the context from which they were writing. In particular this was relevant for the writers who had left one religion and changed to the other as their tracts are testimonies of their journey of faith.\textsuperscript{12} The experiences they had undergone and the situations in which they found themselves are often illustrated by the use of scripture passages and how these had influenced them. In these cases the broader context of the portion of the tract is explained, as it is reflected in their use of scripture. For instance this is seen with John 14:16, 25-26 in the tract by Stephano Masudi, where he quotes an A\=hm\=adi preacher’s use of the passage and then his own response (Masudi [tract 12]:44-45).

Whilst the research is not primarily theological, some of the tools used in the research are theological. This was in order to be able to approach the scripture as an interpreted text. This was done by examining a variety of published sources giving interpretations of each of the passages of scripture, in order to compare these sources with the interpretations given by the writers of the tracts. These interpretations were taken from ‘Classical’ Biblical exegesis and Qur\textsuperscript{n}anic \textit{tafs\=ir} (commentary),\textsuperscript{13} from the ‘Modern’ period\textsuperscript{14} and from ‘Contemporary’\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} These are the tracts by Abbas Gombo Kanoni \textit{Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muslimu} and \textit{Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo}; K.K. Alavi, \textit{Kutafuta Uhakika}; Muhammad Khan, \textit{Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu}; Stefano Masudi, \textit{Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli}.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Classical: refers to the writings of the Church Fathers from Clement of Rome (c. 96) to John of Damascus (d. 750) (the Church Fathers were the earliest Christian writers outside the New Testament), and to \textit{tafs\=ir} (commentary) of the Qur\textsuperscript{n}an from Ab\=u Ja\=far al-\=Tab\=ari (839-923) to \=Umar ibn Kath\=ir (1302-1372). The classical period of \textit{tafs\=ir} is difficult to delineate precisely, as some writing predates al-\=Tab\=ari and some was produced after Ibn Kath\=ir, notably \textit{tafs\=ir al-Jal\=alayn} from the fifteenth century.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Modern: refers to Bible Commentaries from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. The eighteenth century marks the start of biblical criticism and new ways of examining scripture; and to \textit{tafs\=ir} from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. The middle of the nineteenth century marks the beginning of new ways of interpreting the Qur\textsuperscript{n}an with writers such as Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), and Muhammad \=Abd\=u (1849-1905).
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Contemporary: refers to Bible Commentaries written from the second half of the twentieth century onwards; and to \textit{tafs\=ir} written from the middle of the twentieth century to the present.
\end{itemize}
sources; these included Bible Commentaries, Qur’ānic *tafṣīr* and Apologetic and Polemical writings.

Having followed these procedures and asked the questions of the passage, the findings are reported and commented on. The ways in which each of the writers use the scriptures were compared with each other and preliminary conclusions were then made.

1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The key terms that will be in regular use in the study are:

**Apologetics:** A systematic argumentative discourse in defence of a religion or doctrine. Reasoned defence or vindication, a reasoned defence, especially of Christianity or Islam.

**Comparative Religious Study:** Term coined by Muslim Preachers, specifically to describe the method used to compare different religions in order to demonstrate the truth of Islam.

**da’wa:** Call, or invitation addressed by God and the prophets to people to believe in the true religion, Islam (Arabic)

**Dialogue:** Discussion, especially one between representatives of two religious or political groups.

**Eirenic(al):** Promoting peace (can also be spelt as Irenic). Used in Christian-Muslim relations to refer to an attitude and approach that promotes peace between different groups. Used here to refer to writing that is conciliatory and which attempts to improve relationships or to at least maintain the status quo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evangelism</td>
<td>The preaching or promulgation of the gospel. To tell others about the good news, ‘evangel’ of Jesus, in order that they may make a personal decision to follow Christ, that is to become Christians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exegesis</td>
<td>Interpretation of scriptures, can be used for both the Bible and the Qur’ān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kashfa za dinī</em></td>
<td>Religious slander, language being used in tracts by both Muslims and Christians (Swahili).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mihadhara</em></td>
<td>Public debates, used by Muslim preachers to present their message (Swahili).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outreach</td>
<td>Ways in which the religious message is propagated to those outside the faith community. Used here to refer to both Muslim <em>da’wa</em> and Christian evangelism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic(s)</td>
<td>Controversial discussion and debate, especially in theology (also polemical). In Christian-Muslim relations, it refers to an approach which is disputatious and which deliberately sets out to be provocative. Used here to refer to writing that is insulting and offensive to the ‘other faith’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>Referring to the people of the East African littoral and the language, widely used throughout East Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tafsīr</em></td>
<td>Qur’ānic exegesis or explanation. Classical <em>tafsīr</em> refers to interpretations from the time of from Abū Ja’far al-Ṭabarī (839-923) to ʿUmar ibn Kathīr (1302-1372).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract</td>
<td>A short propagandising treatise in pamphlet form, especially on a religious or political subject.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RESOURCES

The review is divided into the main areas within the research.

1.4.1 Tracts

Older literature on the use of tracts, found in the histories of the societies that propagated them, emphasised statistics and success.\textsuperscript{16} Three recent studies examine tract societies: 


The archives of the Central Literature Committee for Moslems of the Near East Christian Council (CLCM) and of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), both held at the University of Birmingham; those of the Religious Tract Society (RTS), held at School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London; and the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) held at Rhodes House, University of Oxford, all contain valuable material which helped to reconstruct the ways that tracts were used by missionaries.

1.4.2 Islam and Christianity in East Africa

The collection of papers in *Religion and Politics in East Africa*, edited by Holger B. Hansen & Michael Twaddle (1995), raised important issues concerning the inter-relationship between the two faiths and the importance of religion in politics and society in East Africa.

This concern is reflected in much of the recent research.

For Tanzania:

*Islam, Ulamaa and Community Development in Tanzania*, Abdin Chande (1998), examines the tensions in the Muslim community in Tanga during the 1980s. Of particular interest are the reports of *mihadhara* (public debates) conducted by Mussa Fundi Ngariba and Mohammed Ali Kawemba in Tanga and the role of *Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu* (Muslim Writers’ Workshop) (1998:144-161).


For Kenya:


For Islam on the coast and amongst the Swahili:


Philosophising in Mombasa: Knowledge, Islam and Intellectual Practice on the Swahili Coast, Kai Kresse (2007), is a detailed analysis of the ‘ulamā’ (scholars) of Mombasa and provides valuable information on several scholars important to this research, notably al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui, Abdallah Saleh al-Farsy and Harith Swaleh (2007: 89-115).


Raise Your Voices and Kill Your Animals: Islamic Discourses on the Id el-Hajj and Sacrifices in Tanga (Tanzania), Gerard van de Bruinhorst (2007), has a chapter on ‘Local Texts: production, dissemination and consumption’ which outlines the situation in Tanga and includes references to a number of tracts produced by Muslims (2007:105-130).

1.4.3 Swahili

1.4.3.1 Swahili as a Language

Because many of the tracts did not use standard Swahili, it was helpful to understand how Swahili developed as a language, and the differences between the various dialects. Swahili: The Rise of a National Language, Wilfred Whiteley (1969), relates the history of the language and the process of creating a standardized language (1969:57-113).
The Liberation of Swahili from European Appropriation, Abdallah Khalid (1977), is an attack on the appropriation of Swahili by the colonial powers (Britain and Germany) and Christian missionaries, as well as on the decision to adopt Zanzibar Swahili, which he classes as ‘Arab kijinga-jinga’ (1977:120), as the basis for Standard Swahili (1977:8-35; 113-162).

The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500, Derek Nurse & Thomas Spear (1985), gives a reasoned assessment of how Swahili has developed as a language within a society; the origins of Swahili as a Bantu language are examined (1985:37-51).17

Swahili State and Society, Ali A. Mazrui & Alamin M. Mazrui (1995), examines the role of Swahili and the interplay between missionaries, merchants, administrators, politicians and educators and the continuing development of it as a language.

Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo 1880-1938, Johannes Fabian (1986), examines the development of Swahili in the Congo; the influence of Zanzibar is of particular interest and the analysis of word-lists showing the way Congolese Swahili diverged from ‘standard’ Swahili (1986:13-41, 112-134).

1.4.3.2 Swahili as a Religious Language

How to use Swahili as a means of communicating Christianity was an important factor in early missionaries’ learning of Swahili and compilation of dictionaries and grammars, for instance: Ludwig Krapf (1882), Edward Steere (1870), Charles Sacleux (1891).18

---

17 Current views of Swahili as a part of the Bantu languages are discussed in The Bantu Languages edited by Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippon (2003).
18 Ludwig Krapf Swahili-English Dictionary (1882); Edward Steere A handbook of Swahili language as spoken at Zanzibar (1870); Charles Sacleux Dictionnaire francais-swahili (1891).
Christian missionaries and some of the Muslim ‘ulamā’ wished to have scriptures in Swahili for people to read and understand. Religious concepts needed to be clearly expressed in Swahili and in some cases neologisms were formed: e.g. takatifu for ‘holy’.

Walbert Bühlmann, in his 1950 study *Die christliche Terminologie als missionsmethodisches Problem: dargestellt am Swahili und andern Bantusprachen*, examines how Christian missionaries translated various key words into Swahili. Of particular interest are the sections looking at: *Der dreifaltige Gott* (168-182), especially parts five and six on *Person* and *Natur*, *Seele* (185-190) and *Jesus Christus* (219-222). These sections look at how the various versions of the Bible, Catechismal and Liturgical material, as well as other writings, translated these terms. The Appendix is also of note, as it lists Catholic Literature published in Swahili (402-410).

Various articles have been written examining the ways in which Swahili has been used as a religious language: ‘Swahili Religious Terms’, Jan Knappert (1970), and ‘Swahili as a religious language’, Farouk Topan (1992), both provide useful vocabulary and analysis; ‘An Investigation into Some Concepts and Ideas found in Swahili Islamic Writings’, Justo Lacunza Balda (1989), a doctorate from SOAS, analyses Swahili Islamic literature and the way that al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui, Abdallah Saleh al-Farsy and Musa Saidi have used Swahili (1989:275-335); ‘The Word for “God” in Swahili’, P.J.L. Frankl (1990), and ‘The idea of ‘the Holy’ in Swahili’, P.J.L. Frankl, & Yahya Omar (1999), give detailed analyses of vocabulary for ‘God’ and ‘Holy’ in Swahili.
1.4.3.3 Translatability

The role of missionary activity in the development of language and culture and the issue of translatability was addressed in Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture, Lamin Sanneh (1989). Primarily it examines the ways Christian missionaries have influenced language and culture, however the difference in approach between Christianity and Islam is also examined.

I suggest that by contrasting Christian mission with its Islamic counterpart, we gain a fuller appreciation for their distinctive attitudes to translatability. Whereas for Christians, mission has come preeminently to mean translation, for Muslims mission has stood stubbornly for the nontranslatability of its Scriptures in the ritual obligations (1989:7).

For East Africa, it is reasonable to question the premise that Islam has ‘stood stubbornly for nontranslatability’, it was the realisation by al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui, in the 1930s, that Islam had to use Swahili as the medium of communication in order to inform and educate Muslims, that led him and Saleh al-Farsy to produce a Swahili version of the Qur’an and to write tracts in Swahili.19

Sanneh concludes his study with a section ‘Translatability in Islam and Christianity, with Special Reference to Africa’ which is helpful in providing a focus on the situation in Africa (1989:211-232).

Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context, Ernst-August Gutt (1991), examines the various views of translation and the importance of relevance theory. The study is significant, as Gutt worked on Bible translation in neighbouring Ethiopia during the 1980s.

The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of the Pilgrim’s Progress, Isabel Hofmeyr (2004), shows the influence of Lamin Sanneh’s ideas and applies them to a study of Pilgrim’s

19 The role of Mazrui and Al Farsy is discussed in section 5.6 below.
Progress which has been translated into many different African languages. She explains some of the issues of mission translation:

As an exercise in evangelization, mission translation is shaped by a cluster of constraints that confer on it certain distinctive attributes. Firstly, as the purpose of translation is to recruit followers, missionaries constantly experiment with different textual configurations to see what will communicate best with the audiences they encounter. Secondly, as most missionaries are second-language speakers, they are dependent on first-language converts with whom they work closely. Thirdly, mission translation is always an avowedly transnational and transcontinental activity shaped on the one hand, “at home” by the parent body’s denominational objectives and funding capacities, and, on the other, “abroad” by the interaction of mission and convert. Each of these constraints prompts certain characteristic ways of working, patterns of funding, sets of social relationships, and material textual forms that together create both limits and possibilities for how translated texts will be interpreted (2004:20).

This is important, as many of the factors that Hofmeyr identifies are relevant to the study of the selected tracts.20

Two articles by Ralph Tanner, ‘Word and Spirit in Contemporary African Religious Practice and Thought. Some Issues Raised by Translation into Swahili’ (1978) and ‘East African ethical ideas and translation. Some possible consequences of a bilateral process’ (1993) discuss some issues encountered as a consequence of the translation of scripture into Swahili. Of note for this research are:

The fact that the translators have often been missionaries, “committed to their religions and socially isolated” (1993:30); they were usually assisted by local informants, who were almost exclusively male and within the denomination of the translator.

‘The Theology of Capital Letters’ (1993:31), which is a summary of a more detailed examination in the 1973 article (127-135) raises the question of the use of capital letters by translators, leading to greater, possibly unforeseen, emphasis on some words and phrases.

---

This is exemplified by an examination of the use of *neno* (word) and *roho* (spirit) in both the Bible and the Qurʾān and incidents where they are capitalised.

Problems finding the word or phrase that can be regarded as having equivalence are examined (1993:33-34, 36); this can be linked to the issue of ambiguities (1993:35-36), where the range of words available in Swahili has not been fully used by the translators; this is exemplified by the words for love: “*upendo, mapenzi, shauku, huba, tama, uchu, huruma, wema,* each with a distinct meaning” (1993:35). These are summarised in the conclusion:

> There are important difficulties over the equivalences of words and phrases which while they may be accurate at the simplest level of being the least unsuitable, have fans of meanings which are distinct from the theological meanings intended. This has led to the production of further ambiguities (1993:37).

‘Ethical Choices in Translation’ (1993:33-35) raises the issue of the translators being affected by their own world-view, and the dominance, in the case of Bible translations, of Europeans.

> The European translator of an African language, despite his cooperation with a small group of African collaborators, has always dominated the process and the final choices of words, and phrases to be used have almost inevitably been his, unless his assistants have been unusually emphatic that he is making a wrong choice. Even then his cultural background and sense of moral rectitude, particularly if he is an expatriate missionary, make for particular choices outside that of the African culture in which the language is operating (1993:33).

Tanner offers valuable insights into the issues that surround the translation of scripture into Swahili. By restricting his comments to only one version of the Bible (Union Version) and to one version of the Qurʾān (Aḥmadi), when others were available and in circulation at the time that the articles were written, we are deprived of his insights on versions of scripture in Swahili, which were produced by translators, who had Swahili as a first language.

‘Translating or Interpreting? A Lexical Approach to Translating the Qurʾan’, Ahmad El-Ezabi (2005) examines issues in relation to the Qurʾān, arguing for the use of lexical equivalence in translation. El-Ezabi examines the lexical and conceptual meanings of words and the
difficulties that arise (2005:3-7). He raises the issue of confusion between lexical meaning and commentary in *tafsīr* leading to imprecision.

The problem with [glossaries] is that the tendency is then to “interpret” rather than understand or translate (2005:2).

This paper is helpful in considering the scriptures being used in the tracts as well as the approach to translating the passages from Swahili into English for the purposes of this research.

### 1.4.4 Christian and Muslim Relations

Christians and Muslims have interacted since the sixth century and they have interpreted each others’ scriptures.

#### 1.4.4.1 Interpretation of Scriptures

*Encounters and Clashes Vols. I & II*, Jean-Marie Gaudeul (1989), provides documentation of the ways in which Christians and Muslims have written about each other and interpreted scripture, and as such is a useful starting point to look for examples to parallel those being used in East Africa.

Christians and Muslims have produced commentaries on their scriptures from an early time. These commentaries are divided into ‘Classical’, ‘Modern’ and ‘Contemporary’:

Classical: For Biblical exegesis the writings of the Church Fathers in translation were consulted. For Qur’ānic *tafsīr*, as well as translations of individual writers, two books were particularly helpful: *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran: Comprising Sale’s Translation and Preliminary Discourse, with Additional Notes and Emendations, Volumes I-IV*, E.M. Wherry (1896); and *The Qurān and its Exegesis*, Helmut Gätje (1996).
Modern: Bible Commentaries from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century were looked at; *tafṣīr* in the writings of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897) and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905) were also referred to.

Contemporary: A number of Commentary series were chosen to represent this period: *The Word Biblical Commentary* series (1981 onwards); *The Daily Study Bible* (for the Old Testament) (1981-1985); *New Century Bible Commentary* series (for the New Testament) (1972-1976); and *tafṣīr* written from the middle of the twentieth century to the present. Contemporary Muslim writers who have produced *tafṣīr* on the whole of the Qurʾān were consulted, including those by Abuʾl Aʿlā Maudūdī (1903-1979), *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān* (Revised English edition 1988 onwards) and Sayyid Quṭb (1908-1966), *Fi Zilāl al-Qurʾān* (English edition 1999 onwards).

Other than polemic such as Karl Pfander’s *Mīzān ul-Ḥaqq* (1986) and eirenic approaches such as Kenneth Cragg’s *The Event of the Qurʾān* (1994), relatively little has been published on the Christian interpretation of the Qurʾān.\(^{21}\) *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, Neal Robinson (1991), seeks to present both Christian and Muslim views of Christ. It is a detailed study of certain key concepts; for this study, the sections on ‘the Crucifixion: non-Muslim approaches’ (106-116) and ‘the meaning of the verb *tawaffā’* (117-126) were particularly helpful.

More has been written on Muslim views of the Bible and a number of surveys have increased understanding: *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Havah Lazarus-Yafeh (1992), and *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*,

---

21 This statement could be viewed as contentious as some Muslims would view any Western interpretation of Islam as being Christian.

*The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, Tarif Khalidi (2001), documents the sayings and stories concerning Jesus in Islamic literature; ‘The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries’, Martin Accad (2001), a doctorate from Oxford, provides an analysis of Gospel passages and their use by more than twenty Muslim writers.\(^{22}\)

1.4.4.2 Contemporary Christian and Muslim writing

*Muslims and Christians Face to Face*, Kate Zebiri (1996), is an analysis of modern Muslim writings on Christianity and Christian writings on Islam. The analysis of ‘Muslim popular literature on Christianity’ (44-93) and ‘Protestant Missionary literature on Islam’ (94-136) gives useful insights.

*Muslim Perceptions of Christianity*, Hugh Goddard (1996), examines Muslim literature on Christianity; the main focus is on contemporary Muslim literature in Egypt, which is analysed as ‘polemical’ (59-94), ‘eirenical’ (95-140) and ‘intermediate’ (141-166). This study is valuable as he identifies the main trends of argument in contemporary use. For polemical material, he writes:

> Among the more negative material about Christianity, three main lines of argument have emerged in recent years. The first is the historical corruption of Christianity; the second is the

truth of Islam being foretold by Christian sources themselves; and the third is the close link between Christianity and Western imperialism (1996:59).

On eirenical material he writes:

... more positive writings on Christianity were produced ... These works are positive both in content and in attitude, and broadly speaking they fall into two main categories: firstly biographical works about Jesus, and secondly fictional works (1996:96).

These descriptions of contemporary Egyptian writing are helpful as they provide a measure for comparison.

Scriptures in Dialogue: Christians and Muslims studying the Bible and the Qur'an together, edited by Michael Ipgrave (2004), part of the ‘building bridges’ initiative between Christians and Muslims,\(^{23}\) includes a series of studies of the Bible and the Qur'ān by Christians and Muslims together.


Religions view Religions: Explorations in pursuit of Understanding, Jerald Gort, Henry Jansen and Hendrik Vroom (Eds.) (2006), contains a series of papers which specifically examine how one religion examines another. ‘Classical Attitudes in Islam towards other Religions’, Jacques Waardenburg (2006:127-149), gives a helpful overview of how Islam viewed and related to other religions; “‘The Hen knows when it is dawn, But leaves the Crowing to the Cock”: African Religion Looks at Islam’, John Mbiti (2006:151-176), is of

\(^{23}\) This initiative was begun by George Carey as Archbishop of Canterbury and continued by Rowan Williams, his successor (Ipgrave 2004).
interest as it reflects on the experiences of the writer growing up as an Akamba in Kenya and his perceptions of the Muslims who were in the community, but not of it; ‘Muslims and Christians in between Confrontation and Dialogue’, Anton Wessels (2006:295-319), uses five ‘key points’ in history in order to examine interaction between Muslims and Christians.

Seeds of Conflict in a Haven of Peace: From Religious Studies to Interreligious Studies in Africa, Frans Wijsen (2007), examines the need to reassess the approach to tensions between Christianity and Islam in contemporary Africa. ‘Preliminary explorations’ (31-58) and ‘Transformation of religion in Africa’ (59-75) provide an overview of the condition of Christian-Muslim relations in East Africa.

1.4.4.3 Apologetics and Polemics

The ways in which Christian and Muslim writers present their own religion and that of the other varies from positive to extremely negative. Apologetic literature is a defence of one’s own religious views; this can be done in an eirenical way, seeking to promote peace between religions, or in a polemical way, which tends to be deliberately disputatious and aggressive.


‘Learning from Polemics: Parts I and II’ Jean-Marie Gaudeul (1981a:1-28; 1981b:1-26) is a detailed study of the ways that polemics are used in Muslim writing; whilst ‘The Problem of Christianity in Muslim Perspective: Implications for Christian Mission’, David Kerr (1981:152-162), examines the ways in which Muslims view Christianity in their writing;
‘Polemic and Polemical Language’, Kate Zebiri (2004:114-125), is a study of their use in the Qur’ân and in *tafûr*.

### 1.5 ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN EAST AFRICA

Much has been written about the history of Islam and Christianity in East Africa. This section records the key details and refers to the literature in order to provide background to the study.

#### 1.5.1 Islam

Islam arrived in East Africa within a short time of Muḥammad’s death, brought by traders. It became established on the coast and spread inland from the eighteenth century. During the colonial period, the coastal strip was under the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar and *sharîa* was applied (Freeman-Grenville 1962, 1988; Trimingham 1964). Muslims are to be found throughout the whole of East Africa, with concentrations in all urban areas and in Northern Kenya, Western and Southern Tanzania as well as the coastal regions (Trimingham 1964; Safari 1994; Nzibo 1995). Muslims were involved in the independence struggles and have a sense of having been disinherited at independence, which took place in Tanganyika in 1961, in Kenya in 1963, and in Zanzibar in 1963 (Kindy 1972; Said 1998).

Most African and Ḥaḍramî Arab Muslims are Sunnî, following the Shâfî Madhhab (School of Law). Many Asians are members of one of the Shi’a groups (Bakari 1995); there is an Ibâdî presence due to those with Omani origins (Hoffman 2004). The various Sufi *turâq* (orders) present have had an effect on the spread of Islam (Nimtz 1980). Wahhâbi-inspired reform movements have recently made an impact among younger Muslims (Kahumbi 1995; Chande 1998).
1.5.2 Christianity

When Vasco da Gama reached East Africa in 1498, he was accompanied by Catholic missionaries. The Christian presence established during the sixteenth century did not survive the withdrawal of the Portuguese during the seventeenth century (Sundkler & Steed 2000).

Christian missionaries returned in 1844 when Ludwig Krapf, serving with CMS, arrived in Zanzibar and then moved to Mombasa. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Protestant and Catholic missionary societies arrived from Britain (Anderson-Morshead 1955; Hewitt 1971), Germany (von Sicard 1970; Wright 1971) and France (Kollman 2005) and opened up ‘mission stations’ in different parts of East Africa, which were later to be designated as ‘spheres of interest’ (Oliver 1964; Sundkler & Steed 2000).

Amongst the Protestant denominations, the earliest to become established were the Anglicans, Lutherans and Unitas Fratrum (Moravians) in Tanzania and the Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians in Kenya. They were followed in both Kenya and Tanzania by the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Seventh Day Adventists and the Africa Inland Mission, which formed its own denomination, Africa Inland Church (Oliver 1964; Sahlberg 1986).

Various Roman Catholic orders sent missions to East Africa: the Missionaries of Africa, known as White Fathers (WF) arrived in 1878; the Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) arrived in 1885; the Benedictines arrived in 1887 (Oliver 1964; Kollman 2005).

Christianity succeeded in attracting followers through preaching and the provision of education and health services (Beidelman 1982), and spread especially in inland areas, away from the Muslim presence (Hastings 1996). After the Second World War, there was a rapid
growth of Pentecostal churches in East Africa (Hofer 2006) and African Insituted Churches (AICs), particularly in Kenya (Barrett 1968).

1.5.3 Relations between Christians and Muslims

At independence, Muslims were at an educational disadvantage, meaning that often they were unable to gain government employment; this increased a sense of being ‘second-class’ (Said 1998).

In the early years of independence, Christian-Muslim relations in general were harmonious. Tensions increased due to a variety of factors, particularly the growth of a more aggressive style of outreach: Evangelistic campaigns by Christians, often called ‘Crusades’ (Mlahagwa 1999) and the development of Comparative Religious Study by Muslim preachers, using the Bible to show the truth of Islam in mihadhara (Chesworth 2006; Mutei 2006). In Tanzania, Muslims and Christians were warned by the government not to preach against other religions. In 1998 the then President, Benjamin Mkapa, spoke about kashfā za dini (religious slander), which was seen as an attack by the government on Muslims (Njozi 2000; Mbogoni 2005).

The place of sharī‘a has become an issue in Kenya, where its place in the constitution is questioned, and on mainland Tanzania, where it was abolished after independence; this has increased tensions between Muslims and Christians (Mwakimako 2007).

Africa is a continent where 40% of the people are Muslims, 40% are Christians and 20% are adherents of Indigenous Religions; where religious extremism is growing, both in Islam and Christianity … where Christianity grows fast but Islam grows faster; where there is a real battle raging between Islam and Christianity to win the hearts of the ‘untouched’ (Wijsen 2007:31).

The way in which scripture is used in outreach, by Muslims and Christians, is a part of the struggle to win the ‘battle’. This research has set out to understand how scripture is used in contemporary tracts in Swahili available in East Africa.

1.6 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

The chapters are grouped within three parts.

*Part One* comprises three chapters, which serve to introduce the research by examining the background to the use of tracts:

*Chapter Two: Tracts* examines the origins of tracts in Britain and the development of the religious tract movement during the eighteenth century. The work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and of the Religious Tract Society (RTS) is given a particular emphasis.

*Chapter Three: Christian Tracts for Overseas Missions* examines the use of Christian tracts in overseas missions, with an emphasis on work amongst Muslims. The work of selected groups is examined, particularly that of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Central Literature Committee for Moslems (CLCM). The chapter also reviews the use of printing-presses in overseas missions.

*Chapter Four: Printing in Arabic and Propagation of Tracts by Muslims* begins by reviewing the origins of printing in Arabic script in the Middle East. It then surveys some of the tracts that were available in the Middle East during the 1920s, before concluding with a survey of the approaches being used in contemporary Muslim tracts.
Part Two comprises two chapters which introduce the situation in East Africa, by examining the history of tracts and the use of Swahili as a religious language:

Chapter Five: Tracts in East Africa examines the use of tracts in East Africa from the earliest recorded use in 1844 until after Independence. The involvement of Christian missions in producing tracts is considered, with a detailed study of one tract first printed in 1893 and still in circulation in 1960. The availability of tracts written by Christians and Muslims is examined.

Chapter Six: Swahili examines the use of Swahili as a language, its origins as several distinct dialects and its standardisation. The use of Swahili as a religious language and in religious literature is examined. The various versions of the Bible and the Qurʾān in Swahili are described as an introduction to the study of the selected tracts in part three.

Part Three comprises four chapters, examining thematically the use of scripture in the selected tracts written in Swahili:

Chapter Seven: Tracts in Current Circulation in East Africa begins by setting out the procedures followed in collecting tracts in current circulation and the criteria for choosing sixteen tracts, eight by Muslim writers and eight by Christian writers. It then examines the contents and purpose of the tracts chosen for detailed study.

Chapter Eight: The Use of Scripture in Tracts: Introduction and Theme: tawḥīd explains the methodology used for examining the passages of scripture from the selected tracts thematically. The first theme: tawḥīd or Trinity? (The Unity of God) and One God One religion/Uniqueness of God is covered in this chapter.

Chapter Nine: The Use of Scripture in Tracts: Theme: Jesus.

Chapter Ten: The Use of Scripture in Tracts: Themes: Jesus and Muḥammad; All have sinned and tahrīf (corruption of scripture),
Chapter Eleven: Concluding Remarks draws together the findings of the research concerning the ways in which scripture is used in the tracts. It concludes by making suggestions as to areas of further research in the subject.
INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

This part comprises three chapters and introduces tracts by examining their origins, their use by Christians in overseas missions and the adoption of the use of tracts by Muslims.

Chapter Two: Tracts

This chapter examines the origins of tracts in Britain and the development of the religious tract movement during the eighteenth century. The work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Religious Tract Society (RTS) is given a particular emphasis.

Chapter Three: Christian Tracts for Overseas Missions

This chapter examines the use of Christian tracts in overseas missions, with an emphasis on work amongst Muslims. The work of selected groups is examined, particularly that of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Central Literature Committee for Moslems (CLCM). The chapter also reviews the development of printing-presses for overseas missions.

Chapter Four: Printing in Arabic and Propagation of Tracts by Muslims

This chapter begins by reviewing the origins of printing in Arabic script in the Middle East. It then surveys some of the tracts that were available in the Middle East during the 1920s, before concluding with a survey of the approaches being used in contemporary Muslim tracts.
CHAPTER TWO: TRACTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Tracts, Pamphlets and Handbills have long been used to propagate ideas; they have been used for both political and religious purposes. The terms pamphlet, tract and handbill are defined in order to come to an understanding of the type of document concerned.

- Tract: a short piece of writing, especially one on a religious or political subject.
- Pamphlet: a small, thin, unbound book made up of sheets of paper stapled or stitched together and usually having a paper cover,
- Handbill: a small printed notice, advertisement, etc. to be passed out by hand (Cambridge 2007; Chamber’s 2007; Longman 2007; Oxford 2007; Webster’s 2007).

Several authors have differentiated between them according to size and purpose. George Orwell in his introductory essay to British Pamphleteers, Volume One: From the Sixteenth Century to the French Revolution, by Reginald Reynolds (1948), defines his understanding of what a pamphlet is and in so doing differentiates pamphlets from tracts. His explanation of a pamphlet assists in setting out certain parameters concerning purpose and actual size.

The pamphlet is habitually confused with other things that are quite different from it, such as leaflets, manifestoes, memorials, religious tracts, circular letters, instructional manuals and indeed almost any kind of booklet published cheaply in paper covers. … It is worth defining it carefully, even at the risk of seeming pedantic.

A pamphlet is a short piece of polemical writing, printed in the form of a booklet and aimed at a large public. … Probably a true pamphlet will always be somewhere between five hundred and ten thousand words, and it will always be unbound and obtainable for a few pence. ... Pamphlets may turn on points of ethics or theology, but they always have a clear political implication. A pamphlet may be written either ‘for’ or ‘against’ somebody or something, but in essence it is always a protest (Orwell & Reynolds 1948:7-8).

Orwell states that the length of a pamphlet is between five hundred and ten thousand words, unbound, or with ‘thin covers’, that is, not in a ‘hard-back’, but folded, stitched or stapled. Its contents will always be ‘for’ or ‘against’ something.

Joad Raymond in Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain (2003) presents four general ‘theses’ as to the purpose of pamphlets.
The first is that the pamphlet is a form that requires a complex and historically relative definition … Secondly, … pamphlets constitute a literary form. They are literary texts, often highly artful and indirect, best understood and appreciated with reference not only to immediate social and political context, but to the traditions and conventions of pamphleteering. … Thirdly, in the period 1500-1700 a transformation occurred in the role of printing and its relationship to the public … Printing became a semi-regulated trade, a part of everyday life, untrustworthy, irregular, a common and devalued currency, but ultimately a necessary and powerful communicative tool. … The pamphlet became a pre-eminent model of public speech, a way of conceiving of the power of the word. The transformation in the role of print, particularly cheap print, brought about major shifts in the conduct of literary culture. Finally [Fourthly], the historical significance of pamphlets lies in the fact that they were read and thereby exercised social influence (Raymond 2003:25-26).

Ian Sellers says that tracts “refers to a type of propagandist literature larger than a handbill but shorter than a treatise, designed to promote spiritual or moral edification” (Sellers 1978:981).

These definitions make it clear that tracts, pamphlets and handbills are understood as being prepared for the purpose of spreading ideas. They have various aims, to inform those of the same persuasion of the rights of the case, to teach in a brief concise way, or to actively reach out to those who disagree with a particular stance.

Because of their availability, they exercise an influence on society; by changing the opinions of individuals or groups, or due to the polemical nature of the contents, they could increase divisions within society.

The documents that are examined in part three of this research range in length from a single-folded sheet of paper to a stitched booklet, with thin covers of up to one hundred pages, and therefore include handbills, tracts and pamphlets. For ease of usage, ‘tracts’ will be used to refer to all the documents being examined in this research.
2.2 EARLY RELIGIOUS TRACTS (CHRISTIAN)

A brief overview of the use of tracts in Britain follows, with particular reference to religious tracts. It seems that tracts have been produced from even before the start of printing. Sellers refers to the shorter works of John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century as tracts. After the advent of printing in Europe in the fifteenth century, the mass production and propagation of tracts became possible (Sellers 1978:981).

Raymond states that “From about 1550 the beginnings of a self-consciously Protestant literary tradition are evident, with the publication of a series of tracts which hail Langland as an avant-garde Protestant and Piers Plowman as a Reformation hero” (Raymond 2003:15).\(^1\) This gives a starting point to the use of printed tracts for religious purposes.

In 1558 and 1559 a series of tracts were circulated, purportedly authored by Martin Marprelate and his sons Martin Junior and Martin Senior; these became known as the Marprelate Tracts, and were written by Puritans. Raymond deals with them in detail and calls them ‘paper-bullets’ (Raymond 2003:27-52). Then, in the seventeenth century, during the English Civil War (1642-1651), a series of tracts was produced arguing the case of the various factions. Orwell states that between 1640 and 1661, 22,000 different pamphlets and tracts circulated in London alone (Orwell & Reynolds 1948:7; Sellers 1978:981).

\(^1\) Raymond lists the following pamphlets attributed to Piers Plowman: *A Godly Dyalogue & Dysputacion Betwene Pyers Plowman and a Popyshe Preest* (c. 1550); *I Playne Piers Which can not Flatter* (1550?); *Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede* (1553); *Pyers Plowmans Exhortation* (1550); *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (1550, three editions) (Raymond 2003:15 footnote 29).
2.3 SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

It was during the eighteenth century that tracts began to take on a more recognisable form.

The SPCK was founded in 1698. In *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1698-1898*, W.O.B. Allen and Edmund McClure set out the initial purposes of the Society:

> It was at the second meeting of the Society (March 10, 1699) that it began operations as a publishing institution. ... it sets on foot an agency to carry out its design, resolving “to disperse Mr. Keith’s Narrative and Catechism up and downe the Kingdome among the Quakers for their better conviction and instruction,” and “that Dr. Bray do lay before this Society an estimate of the printing” of the same (Allen & McClure 1898:166).

They list the initial publications, and it is of note that these included some which can be identified as tracts. They say that 1,000 copies of each of *Seaman’s Monitors*, *Cautions against Swearing*, *Cautions against Drunkeness*, *Perswasiveness to the Observations of the Lord’s Day*, were ordered on 2nd June 1701, for Admiral Benbow, for distribution amongst the Squadron under his command (Allen & McClure 1898:168).

During the eighteenth century some of their tracts can be seen as being factional, that is, attacking certain groups within the church. G.F. Balleine, in *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (1908) explains that in the 1750s, absentee incumbents were advised to send SPCK tracts to their parishioners (Balleine 1908:19). In 1762, SPCK added a new line, *Tracts against Enthusiasm*, to its catalogue, which Balleine describes as tracts against Evangelicals; he cites one such tract, *A Dialogue between a Minister of the Church and his Parishioner concerning those who are called Evangelical Ministers*, which was listed between 1803 and 1829 (Balleine 1908:181).
2.4 RELIGIOUS TRACTS USED FOR EVANGELISM

In the 1790s, a number of tracts by evangelicals were published in response to the popular reading matter available to the ordinary person. What was available were the writings of the republican Tom Paine, who wrote *The Rights of Man*, and his followers, and the last dying speeches of highwaymen, which were the only literature available to the poor. W.F. Mundt in *Sinners Directed to the Saviour: The Religious Tract Society Movement in Germany (1811-1848)* (1996), refers to some of the evangelical writers who were active e.g.:

Rebecca Wilkinson of Clapham, in Surrey, abridged or republished works of Conformists and Nonconformists. She and her friends also wrote a number of smaller tracts for free distribution. In 1792 the Philanthropic Society printed 211,000 books, 229,500 tracts, and a pocket prayer book for her.\(^2\)

In 1796 [John] Campbell began systematic tract distribution in Scotland. His warehouse was the only repository for tracts in Edinburgh. This effort resulted from two events. One was an encounter with [Charles] Simeon from Cambridge who distributed the tract *Friendly Advice* (n.d.) along the roads and in the streets of Edinburgh. The second event was Campbell’s own discovery of tracts in bookstalls (Mundt 1996:35).

John Campbell (1766-1840) reprinted and distributed a number of the tracts that he discovered and also, with Charles Simeon (1759-1836), began the Edinburgh Tract Society in 1796.

Hannah More (1745-1833) is the best known of the early tract writers. In 1793 she published her first tract, *Village Politics by William Chip*. With her sisters Mary and Sarah she began to publish her *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795-1798), at a price to undersell other publications. They produced three tracts a month (Mundt 1996:34). The subjects included ballads, allegories and stories with a strong moral.\(^3\) Initially they were very successful, selling over two million copies within the first year (Balleine 1908:156), but she gave the project up after three years, due to under-funding (Fyfe 2004:27).

---

\(^2\) Rebecca Wilkinson: Mundt says that he was unable to find any further biographical information about her (Mundt 1996:35 fn.7).

\(^3\) The tracts had titles like *Black Giles the Poacher* and *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*.
2.5 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

The initiatives of individuals in producing tracts had alerted others to the need and possibilities of tracts in distributing a message to people. Aileen Fyfe, writing for the bicentenary of the RTS, explained that the earlier initiatives:

“Had demonstrated that tracts could reach the newly literate poor. They were to be ‘silent messengers’ carrying the message of salvation to the ‘heathen’ working classes. To reach the urban masses would require a large-scale operation, and the failure of enterprises like More’s suggested that private enthusiasm alone would not suffice. This was why [George] Burder decided that a large interdenominational society was needed (Fyfe 1999:13).”

The proposal to form a society to print and distribute religious tracts was made by George Burder⁴ (1752-1832) on 8th May 1799, at the Annual Meeting of the London Missionary Society. On 9th May, at a breakfast meeting attended by forty people, at St. Paul’s Coffee House, the Religious Tract Society was established. On Friday 10th May 1799, at a meeting presided over by Rowland Hill⁵ (1744-1833), a formal plan for the society was adopted:

1. That the society now forming be called the Religious Tract Society;
2. That it consists of persons subscribing half-a-guinea or upwards annually;
3. That annual meetings be held on the Thursday morning of Missionary Week, at St. Paul’s Coffee-house, when a treasurer, secretary, and committee shall be chosen; and
4. That the tracts be paid for on delivery (Mundt 1996:36).

The RTS attracted many supporters and it became the model for other similar societies throughout the world.

Over the next fifty years, this fledgling society acquired a network of auxiliary societies all over Britain, and sister societies all over the world; a large purpose-built headquarters in the centre of London; a staff of sixty people; and a catalogue which included books, periodicals and posters as well as tracts. This eventually led to the establishment of one of the largest publishers of religious tracts, books and magazines of the nineteenth century (Fyfe 1999:13).

Regarding the character of RTS, initially the Anglicans were less willing to be involved and it was not until the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was established in 1804 and

---

⁴ George Burder: an Independent Minister, with a chapel in Coventry (1783-1803). He was involved in the foundation of London Missionary Society (1795), where he was Secretary from 1803-1827; he was also a supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) (Munden 2004a).
⁵ Rowland Hill: An Anglican minister at Surrey Chapel, which sat 3000 people, with an itinerant ministry. He was involved in the foundation of London Missionary Society (1795); he was also a supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) (Munden 2004b).
“demonstrated the success of such co-operation that the RTS gained more widespread Anglican support. A group composed of Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and the English and Scottish established churches provided numerous possibilities for disputes over organisation, doctrine and politics” (Fyfe 1999:13).

Balleine says that the RTS’ aims were to produce plenty of clean and wholesome literature, and thus to drive out of the market the vicious ballads and stories which hundreds of hawkers were selling from door to door, and also to print short pithy statements of religious truth (Balleine 1908:166). RTS Tract 1 – On Distributing Religious Tracts, sets out reasons for doing so:

Everyone has not the talent of talking to others on subjects of religion. Some have a diffidence which they cannot overcome. But it is not so hard to take a tract, and say ‘My friend, read that, and tell me what you think of it’. It is a cheap way of diffusing the knowledge of religion; it is not so likely to give offence as some other methods of doing good; and it forms an excellent accompaniment to other methods (Quoted in Balleine 1908:166).

Dozens of tracts were quickly produced at a farthing, a halfpenny and a penny (Balleine 1908:167). Tracts were distributed in large numbers by ordinary people as they travelled, and in the course of their daily lives. Owen Chadwick records various examples from the middle of the nineteenth century (1987:443f.). The various societies also employed Colporteurs to distribute tracts in the rural areas (Sellers 1978:981). J.R.H. Moorman notes that the tract The Dairyman’s Daughter, by Legh Richards, sold four million copies and was translated into 19 languages (1973:322). Balleine reports that the tracts became the staple light reading of rural people and that they reached people who were un-reached by the clergy (1908:156f.).
2.6 TRACTS PUBLISHED BY SPCK

The SPCK took account of the growth in the production of tracts and the emergence of new societies and in 1819 they formed the first Anti-Infidel Committee which was:

[A]ppointed with instructions not only to publish in a more popular form, and at a diminished charge, suitable Tracts then on the SOCIETY’S Catalogue, but to provide such other works as might be deemed necessary. Very large impressions of several of the SOCIETY’S publications were accordingly printed, and above thirty new Tracts added. Active measures were adopted for circulating these; and in less than a twelvemonth, nearly a million copies of Books and Tracts against Infidelity were printed and distributed. To meet the heavy expenses thus incurred, the SOCIETY made an appeal to the public for this special purpose, which was promptly answered. The sum of 7000l. [£] was obtained (Allen & McClure 1898:189-190).

Two further Anti-Infidel Committees were formed over the ensuing twenty years and in 1834 a Tract Committee was formed. The figures for tracts published annually by SPCK during the nineteenth century show a rise from 118,044 in 1807 to 1,707,551 in 1837 then 3,962,145 in 1867 reaching a peak of 6,074,515 in 1887 (Allen & McClure 1898:198). 6 W.K.L. Clarke’s A History of the S.P.C.K. (1959) says this concerning tracts:

The output of tracts was very large. In the 1859 Report 112 new ones were listed. The classification of the public for whom popular religious works were intended was minute. The 1874 Report contains the following: for self-educated persons of average ability, for semi-educated persons, for imperfectly educated persons, for infidels, for deists, for general distribution (the most common), for very plain people, for untidy wives; even, for those who have itching ears, wandering from church to chapel (Clarke 1959:173).

Clarke goes on to explain that a tract “once sanctioned was reprinted automatically unless the Referees gave permission for its discontinuance; and leave was not asked unless the annual sale fell below 500” (Clarke 1959:173). From this it appears that unless sales dropped or members of the Society specifically objected to a tract, it would be reprinted, with no apparent attempt to assess the usefulness of that tract. This seems to have been the case with the main tract publishers during the nineteenth century.

---

6 These figures are taken from a table that “will show, at intervals of ten years, the circulation of the Society’s publications from 1807, when a record began to be kept” (Allen & McClure 1898:198). Figures are also given under the headings of Bibles, New Testaments, Common Prayers, etc. and Other books, etc.
2.7 EXPANSION OF WORK AND NEW SOCIETIES

RTS’s approach and ethos were seen as successful and branches were established, to raise funds and to distribute literature. The American Tract Society (ATS) report of 1824 states that there were over 200 auxiliaries of RTS in Britain as well as several denominational Tract Societies with their own branches (ATS 1824:184-190). The model was seen as effective in continental Europe and in North America and soon societies were also begun there as well as in parts of Asia and Africa.

These societies were initially dependent on material produced by RTS. The titles from the 1849 list of the American Tract Society show that of the 611 tracts listed, 119 had originated with RTS (ATS 1859:1-29). However, as they became established and aware of the need for culturally appropriate material, the individual societies began to produce their own (Mundt 1996:58, 63).

**Table 2.1** Showing when the first Religious Tract Society was begun in selected countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year Established</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotland (Edinburgh)</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England (London)</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Finland (Abo)</td>
<td>1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark (Fuenhen)</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Australia (Sydney)</td>
<td>Before 1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland (Basle)</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>France (Paris)</td>
<td>Before 1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA (Massachusetts)</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>India (Madras)</td>
<td>Before 1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (Heidelberg)</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>South Africa (Cape Town)</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden (Stockholm)</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>India, Nagercoil (Native)</td>
<td>1822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands (Zeist)</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Ceylon (Sri Lanka) Jaffra</td>
<td>1823</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table adapted from lists in the American Tract Society report of 1824:207-208)

---

2.8 PREPARATION, PRODUCTION AND PROMULGATION OF TRACTS

2.8.1 Preparation of Tracts

Both RTS and SPCK reported large numbers of tracts being printed and distributed. What procedures were followed to produce and distribute tracts? For the RTS, Gordon Hewitt in *Let the People Read* (1949) describes the weekly committee meetings held in London and the processes that they undertook:

[I]ts primary task was the editing of tracts and other publications. Each tract was read in proof by members of the committee, and each member made his comments in turn. Extensive revision was sometimes called for and the revised proofs were submitted to the committee. The Committee’s function was thus not merely that of an advisory body on publications. It exercised a good deal of mental alertness and restraint in criticism, and, quite early on, the burden became almost intolerable (Hewitt 1949:27).

It is easy to imagine how time consuming such a process would be, but the committee system meant that it was inevitable, as each tract would need to be scrutinised in order to ascertain that the message contained was acceptable to all denominations represented within the society, and to ensure that, “each tract, whatever its subject, should include ‘some account of the way of salvation’” (Hewitt 1949:19).

The first series of tracts produced by RTS were found not to be effective amongst their intended readership. By 1805, the Committee was aware that this failure was due to many of the tracts being “plain didactic essays which might be read by the Christian with much pleasure, but the persons for whom they were designed would fall asleep over them” (Hewitt 1949:28). Having realised that they were not succeeding, the Committee launched the second series designed for the hawkers’ market, that is, for sale on the street and door to door. The second series were designed to counteract the “profane and vicious tracts circulated by the hawkers”; each one had an illustrated cover. The second series of tracts, known as the ‘Hawkers’ Tracts’, were sold at a large discount, which initially led to financial problems for
the society, but sold well. These tracts were effective in reaching the people for whom they were intended (Hewitt 1949:29). Supporters of RTS supplied hawkers in order to supplant “unsavoury publications with religious tracts” (Fyfe 2004:172).

For SPCK, Allen and McClure report that, “With regard to the admission of Books and Tracts … until the year 1838, this had been determined by the ballot of Members attending each monthly board” (Allen & McClure 1898:191). Then with the formation of a Tract Committee a new arrangement came about. Their brief explains the procedures that were followed to agree to a tract being issued.

A Tract Committee, consisting of seven members of the SOCIETY, appointed annually, were empowered to place upon the Catalogue any Books or Tracts which should have been approved by them and should afterwards have received the sanction of the Episcopal Referees (Allen & McClure 1898:191).

The Tract Committee then approved smaller tracts and also directed that reprints should be made of standard religious publications. The procedure for approval was still complicated:

In the case of an original work, four members recommended a manuscript, which was referred to the Committee by the Standing Committee. After being read by members it was set up in type and proofs were sent to the referees. When their approval had been gained and the author had agreed to any proposed alterations, the amended document went to the Standing Committee, which authorized its going to the Board. Its fate was then settled by ballot (Clarke 1959:173).

Despite all the complexities and the need to consult the Referees, usually by post, SPCK managed to gain approval of new tracts, so that, in 1859 for instance, 112 new tracts were listed (Clarke 1959:173).

**2.8.2 Printing of Tracts**

Having agreed to the contents of a tract, it would then be printed. RTS did not have its own printing house, though it had a bindery and used commercial presses (Fyfe 2004:160). As cost needed to be kept to a minimum, tracts were usually printed in the smallest formats, giving more pages per sheet of printing paper.
The pages were carefully oriented so that when the sheet was folded in half, and in half again (and again ...), the result was a pamphlet with all the pages the right way up, in the right order. A tract might just be one folded sheet, but books would contain many sheets, stitched and bound together (Fyfe 2004:159-160).

The table below sets out the number of the different sizes of books and tracts and the terminology used by printers in Britain at the time.

Table 2.2  Showing the different sizes of paper used in printing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Paper</th>
<th>Number of folds Required</th>
<th>Number of Pages</th>
<th>Resultant Number of printed sides</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarto (4to)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octavo (8to)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duodecimo (12mo)</td>
<td>4¹</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hexadecimo (16mo)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The information in the table is based on Fyfe 2004:159.)

¹ For Duodecimo the sheet is folded in thirds and then folded in half and half again.

Shorter tracts could often be produced using only one sheet of printing paper, if it had 24-32 pages of text, and so could be produced quickly and cheaply. This is why tracts were priced per hundred: 2 shillings for a hundred 8-page tracts, or 5 shillings for a hundred 20-page tracts, at mid-century (Fyfe 1999:16). The cheap cost of tracts meant that they could be given away freely by distributors, and many individuals did this, however the societies also organised distribution through colporteurs.

2.8.3 Distribution of Tracts (Colporteurs)

Without an effective way of distribution, tracts could have no widespread influence. The different societies and groups employed travellers who would go door-to-door to sell the tracts. These travellers were known as colporteurs. In 1836 the American Tract Society gave a
report on *The American Colporteur System* which explains the origins and the work being done by these travellers.

The present form and name (French *col* – neck, and *porteur* – to carry) were received at the reformation of the 16th century. In the very dawn of the glorious era we find Zwingle [*sic*] employing a man of the name of Lucian as a colporte, to go from city to city, from town to town, from village to village, from house to house, all over Switzerland, carrying with him the writings of Luther. … Tracts and books, which three presses were constantly employed in printing; … others disseminated far and wide, visiting the hamlets and cottages, and selling them to the people (ATS 1836:1).

The report goes on to explain the character and qualifications of colporteurs and the results of the past year’s labours:

Twenty-seven colporteurs were engaged for a part or the whole of the year, who visited portions of fifteen States; and, exclusive of the amount circulated by sale, supplied not far from *twenty thousand families* each with a book gratuitously, all of whom were previously destitute of religious books. Of these, 12,000 families were in the Western States. The total value of publications diffused at the West during the year being more than $10,000, including 30,000 volumes that were sold; besides, about 750,000 pages of Tracts circulated by the colporteurs gratuitously (ATS 1836:21-22).

The report states that “Individuals or churches can raise and remit the amount ($150) necessary to support a colporte. In due time the individual to whom the amount is applied will be designated, and his reports forwarded to his patrons for their encouragement” (ATS 1836:27).

The system of itinerant travellers was used by many Societies. George Borrow’s *The Bible in Spain* (1842), which tells of his experiences as a colporte, and the Catechist Henderson of the Edinburgh Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge who is found in Robert Louis Stevenson’s novel *Kidnapped* (Stevenson1886:ch16), set in 1751, both serve to illustrate the presence of people employed as travellers to distribute material to the wider community.
2.9 FINANCING TRACTS

When RTS was established, the funding for tracts came from the half-guinea members’ annual subscription, the Benevolent Income. With the growth of the work, this was no longer viable. Fyfe explains that the tracts continued to be sold at cost price through a system of cross-subsidy.

In 1824, the Society had formally separated the two aspects of its operations, charity and trade. The ideal was that all the subscriptions, donations, benefactions, and legacies received by the Society went into the Charitable Fund and were spent on grants. None of these funds were to support the activities of the Trade Fund, which was to be a completely self-sufficient publishing house. By the late 1830s, the publishing house was sufficiently successful that it would actually add to the Charitable Fund each year, thus allowing the Society to increase its benevolent activities. … The grants scheme accounted for every penny of the Benevolent Income, and was supplemented by a half share (£2,500) in the surplus from the Trade Fund. The finances continued to work in this manner until the 1890s (Fyfe 2004:37).

This meant that charitable funds could be set aside for supporting mission work. RTS had, as its prime purpose, work within Britain, though from its beginning it had provided material for overseas work. Increasingly the Charitable Fund was used to support the literary work of missions working overseas. In 1849-1850 RTS made money grants to foreign societies of £958, grants of printing paper to foreign societies of £1,371 and grants of tracts, handbills etc. at home and overseas of £4,608, this being only a small part of the society’s expenditure, and funded by money transferred from the Benevolent Income8 (Fyfe 2004:38). Likewise, the SPCK had supported overseas projects from its earliest times, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it was regularly making charitable grants to a variety of missions.

Having seen how Tracts can be defined and how they grew to become an important means of outreach in Britain, the next chapter examines how tracts were used by Christian missions and churches overseas.

---

8 In the financial year 1849-50, the RTS received £6,000 in Benevolent Income and almost £53,000 from sales of publications (Fyfe 2003:38).
CHAPTER THREE: CHRISTIAN TRACTS FOR OVERSEAS MISSIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the use of selected Christian tracts for work amongst Muslims, choosing examples from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.

Both SPCK and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) had been working overseas since the eighteenth century. In 1709, following a request from Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719), a German missionary, SPCK sent out a printing press to the Danish Halle Lutheran Mission in Tranquebar to assist in the production of Tamil literature; various books were produced in Tamil, including the New Testament and *Rudiments of Christian Doctrine* by August Francke (1663-1727) (Allen & McClure 1898:205; Mutiah 2006:1241). This is an early example of awareness of the need to provide printed material in the vernacular for overseas work.

3.2 HALLE INSTITUTE

One group on the continent that was active in the production of material specifically for work amongst Muslims and Jews was the *Institutum Judaicum et Orientale in Halle*. The Institute existed from 1728-1791 and was one of the earliest centres to print such material, including a number of tracts in Arabic script.

It was begun by Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694-1760), who studied Philology and Theology at the University of Halle, from 1715. Whilst he was a student he studied Arabic

---

1 The *Institutum Judaicum et Orientale in Halle* was started as a result of the Pietist movement, which developed in Germany amongst Lutherans influenced by of Philipp Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke, at the end of the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth century.
under Salomon Negri (ca. 1660-1729), a Melkite priest. He also studied with Carl Rali Dadichis (ca. 1693-1734), an Arabicist at the University of Halle (Bochinger 2007).²

Callenberg held appointments as both Professor of Eastern Languages, from 1735, and Extraordinary Professor of Theology, from 1739, at the University of Halle. In 1728 he established the *Institutum Judaicum et Orientale in Halle*, with its own printing office, to aid missionary work and promote the conversion of Jews and Muslims in the Middle East (Bautz 2003).

Its publications in Arabic include Luther’s *Shorter Catechism*, which had been translated by Salomon Negri and was published in 1729, by Callenberg, with a Latin parallel text. Among other publications in Arabic from the Institute in Halle are: an Arabic Grammar (1729), selections from the Qur’ān (1734), selections from the Hadith (1736), and *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas á Kempis (1739) (Bochinger 1996:306-332).

With the decline of pietism and, from 1740, the rise of rationalism at the Protestant theological faculties in Prussia, the Institute also declined and funding fell steadily. The Institute was finally closed by royal decree in 1792 (Clark 1995:78-81).

3.3 THREE TRACTS BY HENRY MARTYN

By the early nineteenth century, Christian missionaries were meeting Muslims in many different mission fields. This led to a new urgency to produce relevant material for evangelism and to respond to the challenges.

The need of suitable content for different situations became apparent and individuals in various locations began to prepare material for publication as tracts. Henry Martyn (1781-1812), a young Anglican clergyman, went to India in 1806 as a chaplain with the East India Company. Whilst there he worked on translating the New Testament of the Bible into Hindustani, Arabic and Persian, with assistance from local people who knew the languages. He also gained an understanding of Islam in the Indian context (Padwick 1953:viii). Martyn travelled to Persia, and stayed for a while in Shiraz. After some time there, and talking to the Sufi mystics, notably Mīrzā ‘Alī Qāsim, the orthodox ‘ulamā’ (teachers) and authorities felt that they “needed to assert and defend the true and only faith”. As a result, “A defence of Islam … which … in the eyes of the learned of Shiraz outweighed all former apologies”, which Martyn said was “a book which was to silence me forever”, was prepared by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm (Padwick 1953:147-148). Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was described as being:

… an author with a keen mind and the ability to keep his work free of violent remarks. He declares that Islam’s superiority is proven by the miracle of the Quran. The one great and lasting miracle of the Quran supports the divine mission of Muhammad and outclasses the imperfect miracles of Moses and Jesus (Vander Werff 1977:269).

In addition a second, weaker, tract was prepared by Aga Akbar. In response to these tracts Martyn prepared three tracts which Vander Werff summarises:

In the first tract, Martyn noted that he did not desire controversy. He begins as follows: The Christian minister thanks the celebrated Professor of Islamism for the favour he has done him in writing an answer to his inquiries, but confesses that, after reading it, a few doubts occurred to him, on account of which, and not for the mere purpose of dispute, he has taken upon himself to write the following pages. …The second tract focuses on why faith should be placed not in Islam but in Christianity. … Martyn’s third tract deals with the doctrines of Persian Sufism. …
Except for the charges laid against Muhammad, these three tracts are very considerate of the Muslim reader. There is, however, a heavy strand of rationalism intertwined with Martyn’s evangelicalism. He follows the eighteenth century pattern of evidence. In application this turns miracles into rational proofs. Martyn is at his best when positively presenting Christ and the new life (Vander Werff 1977:269-270).

The example of Henry Martyn shows the concern that Christian missionaries had to relate to Muslim challenges to Christianity. It also indicates that Muslim scholars were knowledgeable about Christianity and were equipped to write detailed attacks and refutations. Lee Samuel (1783-1852), who worked with CMS, translated Martyn’s tracts from Persian, in Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism Translated and Explained (1824) and added his own apology (Vander Werff 1997:306).

3.4 PRINTING AND PUBLISHING OVERSEAS

Kenneth Cragg refers to a joint publishing project in 1815 by the Mediterranean Mission, based in Malta, of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) with RTS and BFBS, to produce Christian Scriptures in Arabic to be distributed in the Ottoman territories (Cragg 2000:122,123). The significance of this is that at this relatively early stage, RTS, CMS and BFBS, all less than 20 years old as societies, were already working in Arabic and in unison so that they were able to produce suitable material for the wider ‘Muslim’ world. The press was still active in Malta in 1841 and the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, the Annual Report of CMS, states under the heading of the Press at Malta:

The advantages arising from the Printing Establishment in this island are extensively felt. In the course of the year, the Arabic Version of the Book of Common Prayer has been issued from it. … In Greece, during the past year, the Missionaries have distributed or sold nearly 8000 copies of Books and Tracts. In Egypt, the Missionaries have during the past year disposed of 865 copies of the Scriptures, and nearly 4000 other Books and Tracts (Proceedings 1841:49-50).

3 See Geoffrey Roper for a detailed account of printing in Malta by CMS from 1826-1840 (Roper 2005).
The American Mission Press was also set up in Malta in 1822, before moving to Beirut in 1834 (DA7/1/15/4). The Roman Catholic Church set up the *Imprimerie Catholique* in 1848 in Beirut, partly to counter the influence of Protestant missionaries (Oman 1999:794). This illustrates both the importance of a printing press and the amount of work that had been undertaken in distributing tracts and other printed material.

In 1839, SPCK set up a Foreign Committee to facilitate the production of material in various vernaculars. Also, RTS was able to extend its charitable work to supporting and subsidising the production of tracts for overseas mission work. Both societies published tracts in a variety of languages, also providing grants of paper and funding the provision of printing presses and fonts for use on the mission field.

### 3.5 KARL PFANDER

Karl Pfander (1803-1865), a German who worked with CMS, went to Persia at the age of 22, and worked there for 12 years. At the age of 26 he wrote *Mīzān al-ḥaqq* (The Balance of Truth) which was initially published in German and Armenian in 1829; it was later translated into many other languages. He then worked in India, where he spoke at a number of public debates and wrote apologetic literature (Chapman 1995:211). In 1854 Pfander engaged in a series of public debates with Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairānāwī (1834-1891) in Agra, who “by most accounts bested Pfander” (Goddard 2000:131). Pfander then went to work in Constantinople, where he worked for a few years until the Ottoman Government policy changed and missionaries were forced to withdraw (Chapman 1995:211). Some years later, in 1867, Raḥmat Allāh wrote *Izhār al-ḥaqq* (The Demonstration of Truth).
Mīzān al-ḥaqq was revised by W. St. Clair Tisdall and re-issued by RTS in 1910; this version is still available, presently published by Light of Life of Villach, Austria in 1986. Colin Chapman summarises the content of *Mīzān al-ḥaqq* in this way:

In the introduction, Pfander begins with the question: how can we know whether Christianity or Islam is true, whether the Bible or the Qur’an is the Word of God? He goes on to suggest that any true revelation from God must meet six criteria:

1. It must satisfy the human yearning for eternal happiness.
2. It must accord with the moral law.
3. It must reveal God as just.
4. It must confirm the unity of God.
5. It must make clear the way of salvation.
6. It must reveal God so that people may know him.

Part I is a defence of the text of the Bible, answering the Muslim charge of corruption. Part II outlines the basic teaching of the Bible, showing how biblical doctrine and morals meet the six criteria. Part III, ‘A Candid Enquiry into Islam’s Claim to be the Final Revelation’, answers Muslim arguments about predictions of the coming of Muhammad in the Bible, the miraculous nature of the Qur’an, Muhammad’s miracles, and his behaviour. He concludes that Islamic doctrine and beliefs do not meet the criteria for establishing genuine divine revelation. The book ends with a strong appeal to Muslims to recognize the claims of Christ and put their trust in him (Chapman 1995:211-212).

Pfander’s approach in his writing can be seen as having both strengths and weaknesses.

Chapman summarises them, stating that Pfander’s strengths were that:

- He knew a great deal about Islam and could quote from the Qur’an, the *hadīth* (tradition) and from many other Muslim sources in different languages.
- His style was courteous and polite.
- He could recognize common ground between Christian and Muslim beliefs.

Chapman summarises Pfander’s weaknesses as:

- His attacks on Muslim beliefs sometimes degenerated into polemics.
- He appealed too much to the reason and the intellect, and not enough to the heart.
- The debate could hardly be an open-ended discussion, because he himself had decided from the beginning the criteria by which genuine revelation is to be determined (Chapman 1995:212-213)

*Izhār al-ḥaqq* by Raḥmāt Allāh has also been revised and republished many times. A new translation of all three parts was published, in 2003, by Ta-Ha Publishers in London.

Chapman summarises the contents of *Izhār al-ḥaqq* as:

The book lists what it sees as contradictions and errors in the Old and New Testaments, arguing that they cannot be inspired. It goes on to give evidence not only for false interpretation of the text by Jews and Christians (*tahrīf ma’nā*), but also for falsification or corruption of the text itself (*tahrīf latē*). The next stage is to argue that many biblical texts are ‘immoral’ and that
certain commands in the Bible have been abrogated or superseded by the Qur’an. There then follows a refutation of the Trinity, and proofs that the Qur’an is the Word of God and that Muhammad is the Prophet of God (Chapman 1995:213).

These two books are still in print and the arguments used by both protagonists are ‘recycled’ by contemporary writers, as will be seen in the tracts examined in Part Three.

### 3.6 A WEST AFRICAN TRACT

Samuel Crowther⁴ (1806-1891), working with CMS in Ake-Abeokuta, Nigeria, in correspondence with Major Hector Straith, the Lay [Financial] Secretary of CMS, gives an insight into the processes of preparing a tract. In his letter of 1858, Crowther discusses two tracts that he has written, the first, *Search the Scriptures*, had already been printed; he then outlines the proposed contents of the second.

I send you sketches for drawings for another tract [See Figure 3.1] I should like to publish after this [*Search the Scriptures*] is sold – the next will be “The Three Religions: Heathenism, Mahommedanism and Christianity”. You will see by the enclosed paper that I have endeavoured to represent though roughly, the heathen bowing down to his god of thunder and lightning called *shango*, with his *Ijọ* bowl of palm nuts beside him, and the goat’s head for sacrifice being against the wall, and his calabashes of medicine to preserve him from his enemies being also adjacent to the wall. The next is the Mahommedan sitting on the street praying and counting his beads in the midst of numerous spectators.

The third is the Christian in the church praying to God in penitence and humility. I want the first diagram i.e. of the heathen to represent in its whole aspect *Ignorance*, the next, the Mahommedan, to represent *Pride & Hypocrisy*, the third, Christian to represent *Humility & Submission*. I shall be happy to receive blocks for each of these representations and a good quantity of paper for printing the tracts.

(CMS CA2/032/29).

---

⁴ Samuel Crowther was a freed slave who received his education at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone. He worked with CMS in Nigeria and went on three expeditions up the River Niger to assess the possibilities of expansion of the mission. In 1864 he became the first African Bishop of the Anglican Church (Walls 1992:15-21).
This extract gives an insight into the thought processes involved in the creation of the tract, using the illustrations. Also, that once the sketch has been made into blocks the text would be printed at the CMS Press in Abeokuta, rather than in London.5

**Figure 3.1:** Samuel Crowther’s Sketches for proposed tract on ‘The Three Religions’

3.7 PUBLISHING IN THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY

By the mid-nineteenth century, various societies were publishing tracts in vernaculars and supporting the missionary societies by contributing towards the cost of publishing tracts, as well as providing grants of paper and printing presses to be used in the mission field.

SPCK published the following books and tracts in Arabic between 1848 and 1866:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Arabic Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Book of Common Prayer in Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>New Testament in Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>New Testament in Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Testament in Coptic and Arabic (Egypt, North Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Homilies in Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>The Bible in Arabic. Mr. Faris, Dr. Lee, and Professor Jarrett.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Ostervaldt’s “Abridgement of the Bible” in Arabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Packet of Arabic Texts, “The Parables.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 A search through the Letter Books, Minute Books and the Annual Reports in the CMS Archives revealed no further correspondence or reference to either of the tracts. The Printing press in Abeokuta is mentioned in the *Annual Report of 1860* where Mr. Townsend reports on work carried out (1860:45-46). It is possible that *Search the Scriptures*, the first tract mentioned in the letter was a translation by Crowther, as the American Tract Society list of 1849 gives a tract of the same title, in Volume V, number 156, written by Rev. William Marsh of Birmingham, England (ATS 1859:8-9).
These are some examples of the work being produced, remembering that other societies were also publishing and distributing material.

During the remainder of the nineteenth century and up to the First World War (1914-1918) the societies continued producing material, sometimes in unison, at other times with no reference to each others’ work. In the aftermath of the War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, many of the lands where Muslims were present came under Western nations and the mission agencies began to co-operate in producing material that was suitable for work amongst Muslims. An example of this is the work of the Central Literature Committee for Moslems.

3.8 THE CENTRAL LITERATURE COMMITTEE FOR MOSLEMS

The Central Literature Committee for Moslems (CLCM) conferred regularly, largely by correspondence, from 1932 to 1942. A fairly complete set of correspondence and minutes of meetings is held at the Orchard Learning Resources Centre, Selly Oak, University of Birmingham. These explain the purpose and workings of the Committee. The Committee was established in 1927 by Protestant missionary societies and the Near East Christian Council (NECC). Its purpose was as follows:

Through correspondents in all Muslim lands this committee promotes co-operation in making and distributing Christian literature. In the Near East it acts as the Literature Committee of the Near East Christian Council (CLCM/DA7/1/1/3 Letter from Constance Padwick dated 30th May 1934).

As a committee it appears to have met once every two years; most of its work was carried out by correspondence from Constance Padwick (1886-1968), Secretary to the Committee, who was a CMS missionary based in Cairo (1923-1939), then in Palestine (1939-1948) and finally

---

6 Muslim was commonly spelt as Moslem, in English, until the middle of the twentieth century, due the lack of an agreed transliteration of Arabic.
North Sudan (1948-1957). The secretary sent out a monthly mailing to members of the committee. These mailings provide an insight into the level of activity of publishing houses as well as missionary societies in producing material for work amongst Muslims. They included copies of tracts and material for proposed tracts.

Our sendings this month are things new and old. The “new” is a paper by the Rev. J. Elder of Kermanshah, Persia. [CLCM/DA7/1/1/4 What Power can Save the World?] He gave it as an address to a gathering of Persian Christians in Teheran, who begged that it might be printed for wide circulation in their country. This was done, and Mr. Elder was good enough to let us have an English translation so that you may see whether his words would be useful in other countries.

The “old” that we send is a tract written, we believe, by Mr. Logan of the Egypt General Mission, that has long done service in Arabic in the country evangelistic work of that society. [This tract CLCM/DA7/1/1/5 The Dream of Ali Hasan] (CLCM/DA7/1/1/3 30th May 1934 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC).

This gives an idea of the approach that the committee used and that the circulation of the monthly mailing was widespread. In a letter to Eric Bishop of Jerusalem in October 1935, Padwick states, “As you know, we have only about eighty members of the whole Committee throughout the Moslem world” (CLMC/DA7/1/16/3). It seems that Padwick acted as a hub for correspondence, receiving requests, information and suggestions and sending these out to the members who duly responded with comments and further suggestions, as is shown in this letter sent out in December 1934:

Some time ago we sent round a translation of a French tract entitled “One Ought Not to Change One’s Religion”. Although the subject is an important one, the tract came in for a considerable amount of criticism as not being considered likely to appeal to our Muslim friends, and also as being of dubious soundness and fairness in argument. Mr. Jens Christensen of the North-west Frontier, India, cheered us up by describing it as a ‘fiasco’. It is very refreshing when the Committee can be as frank as this. He has now further cheered us up by sending an English copy of a tract on an identical subject, printed by himself in Pushtu for use in their bazaar work. This is undoubtedly better than the tract sent before, as I think you will all agree: it is also less foreign. I found myself wondering, however, whether it did not fall into the usual danger of dialogue tracts, which is that the Muslim in this dialogue does not feel himself fairly represented. I shivered a little when in the first few sentences the Christian convert was described as living better than the Moslems. Perhaps you will be able to make suggestions for the perfecting of this very good manuscript, so that in its next edition it may be the very best tract ever issued on this subject (CLCM/DA7/1/8/1 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of Central Literature Committee 31st December 1934).
This shows something of the process that was undertaken in order to “think and plan other ways of getting the Message across to Moslems by the printed page” (CLCM/DA7/1/16 3 Letter from Miss Padwick to Rev Eric F.F. Bishop of Jerusalem October 1935).

The lists of corresponding members make it clear that the regions covered were large and diverse. The Minutes of the Biennial Meetings held in 1937 and 1939 list corresponding members from the following countries: Aden, Algeria, Balkans, Borneo, China, Congo, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, Nubia [Sudan], Palestine, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia (CLCM/DA7/1/30/2 and DA7/1/45/5). Most of those named seem to be European missionaries, though in some cases ‘nationals’ are also nominated as members.

The monthly mailing in March 1935 included a report on the centenary of the American Mission Press, in Beirut in 1934, where it was involved in Arabic publication:

In the past ten years more than 856,000 religious, educational and miscellaneous books and tracts were distributed, and over 2,050,000 Scriptures in Arabic – Bible, Testaments, Gospels and Portions – were printed and bound and shipped out for the American Bible Society (CLCM/DA7/1/15/4 Report on Syria by Paul Erdman, March 1935).

This gives an indication of the volume of material being printed by one printing press at the time. The number of organisations working in publishing at that period is indicated in a mailing to the committee in March 1937, entitled a “Rough List of Societies publishing Christian Literature in Arabic”

1 Literature Societies
   American Press, Beyrout [sic]
   Nile Mission Press, Cairo and Jerusalem
   SPCK, Cairo and Jerusalem
   British and Foreign Bible Society
   Coptic Society of Love
2 Societies having an Arabic Literature Department
   Algiers Mission Band
M.E.G. Algeria
North Africa Mission (Book deports)
Evangelical Church of Egypt with American Mission (joint publishing committee)
Friends of the Bible (Coptic)
Egypt General Mission
Church Missionary Society, Egypt
Editor of Al-Yaqtha (Coptic)
Anglican Church Council, Palestine
Schneller’s Orphanage Press, Jerusalem
Holiness Movement, Egypt
Christian Endeavour Movement, Egypt
YWCA, Egypt [Young Women’s Christian Association]
(CLCM/DA7/1/31/5d)

Again, this indicates the range of societies involved, including some orthodox groups, but not including any Roman Catholic groups, even though they were also active.

The minutes of the biennial meeting give an indication of the discussions and of issues that concerned the members. Of note is the concern raised in 1937 for Muslim criticism of the material that they were producing. “The Committee desired to affirm the great desirability of obtaining criticism of our manuscripts by Moslems themselves, or by those who had been Moslems” (Minute 32. CLCM/DA7/1/30/2).

One of the documents circulated to the members of the committee is a report of a colporteur working in the Sudan. This is of interest as it shows how this method continued to be used and how it was ‘translated’ to a different mission-field.

For two years the Khartoum North Evangelical Church paid the salary of a colporteur of religious books — a Sudanese convert whose dark face and leather bookbag became well known in Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman. … The interest in pastors and church members was an encouraging feature of the work. Sales of books, almost all of them to Moslems, while not of great quantity, were constant. An evangelistic missionary, who went often with the colporteur, found that the sale of books had created interest in Christ and Christian doctrine, where no other agency had ever succeeded, and found that the process of selling books opened ways to hearts and homes that the ordinary missionary activities never touched (CLCM/DA7/1/14/2 August 1935 Literature Report from the Sudan).

7 The identity of MEG based in Algiers has not been established.
In 1938 several members\(^8\) of the CLCM attended Christian Literature, Section XI, of the International Missionary Council (IMC) meeting, held at Tambaram, Madras, to “represent the whole literature of the Church of Christ to Moslems” (CLCM/DA7/1/38). In April 1939 the members of CLCM wrote a policy statement for the Section XI Tambaram Report, “made in the light of the findings of the Tambaram meeting” (IMC 1939:353). The policy statement sets out what CLCM endeavours to be:

1. An Information Centre
2. A Sharing Centre for Manuscripts and Ideas
3. A Planning Centre for Literature and for Co-operation

[It sets out the part] CLCM should play in the present situation

1. Energising Centres [by encouraging inter-missionary councils]
2. Training of Writers
3. Fellowship of Christian Writers

(IMC 1939:353-359)

The difficulty of finding local writers to train was an issue that they raised in the report:

Recent converts … may have a testimony to give through literature that none but they can give. But they are too new to Christian thought and spirit to be the ideal writers of the whole of such literature. Yet the Christians of the Near East are hardly more qualified, except linguistically, than church members in the West to write for Muslims; they lack sympathetic understanding of Muslim thought and ways of expression and of the relationship to those of Christian teaching (IMC 1939:357).

They concluded that special training would have to be given to potential authors in order that they could be effective in communicating Christianity to Muslims.

---

\(^8\) Constance Padwick reported that the following members were planning to attend: “Pastor Nielsen, late of Syria, now of Jerusalem; Professor Levonian, late of Turkey, now of Beyrout; Mr. Kingsley Birge of Stamboul; Constance Padwick, Cairo; Mr. Subhan late of Lahore, now of Landour” (DA7/1/38)
In 1940, a short paper written by Daif Gayid, one of the colporteurs, was circulated; this sets out, in rather ‘spiritual’ terms, the rules to be observed before setting out on a trip (DA7/1/50/4 May 27th 1940 Constance Padwick to Committee).\(^9\)

This chapter has shown some of the material being produced by Christians, through a series of examples, and has also described the development of tract distribution work amongst Muslims.

The next chapter examines the development of printing in Arabic and reviews Muslim tracts and the approaches being used.

\(^9\) Daif’s Advice to his Fellow Colporteurs

“And He spake a parable to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint” (Luke 18.1). How is that? True prayer is a formidable force and a key to all doors; it opens the heavens for rain and makes its way through stony rocks. Therefore my brother and colleague, if you want to succeed in your service, you should observe the following rules:-

1. Before you put your hands on your stock of books to take what you want, kneel before the Throne of Grace and ask God’s guidance, as the servant of Abraham knelt by the well of water asking His guidance in choosing the damsels whom he had appointed for Isaac (Gen. 24.14).
2. After you have filled up your bag, and as you go out, bend your head before Him, commending your family to His care and asking Him to guide your path, saying with Moses, “If Thy presence go not with me, carry me not up hence” (Ex. 33.15).
3. When you arrive at the station, pray that God may lead you to the place He wants, saying, with Isaiah, “Here I am, send me” (Isa. 6.8).
4. When you come down the town bend your head before God, that He may drive the devil, your enemy, as the men of Ai were chased before Israel (Joshua 8.22).
5. When you arrive at the street, call to God for blessing upon your service. “Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it” (Ps. 127.1).
6. Before you enter a shop or an office or a coffee-house, pray that the thirsty souls of salvation may draw near you. “As the hart panteth after the waterbrooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God” (Psa. 42.1).
7. After greeting those who are present, show them your books, and lift up your heart to God that they meet with their favour and find approval into their sight as Nehemiah prayed when requesting a heathen king to send him away to build the city of his father’s sepulchres (Neh. 2); and when you go out from the place, thank God and ask for His blessing upon what you have already distributed and the words you have said. So let it be in every place you visit.
8. At the end of the day go out into the country and re-create your soul and body and have a private audience with God, thanking Him for all that He has done to you during the day. At the end of the week offer Him a thanksgiving for accompanying you during the week; and so at the end of every month.

Lastly remember that service is seed and prayer is the water, and no farmer is foolish enough to sow his seeds without watering them. Think it over; May God bless your labours to be the means of glorifying His Name and saving perishing souls. Your brother and colleague in the Master’s service, Daif Gayid.

[circulated with monthly letter May 1940] (CLCM/DA7/1/50/4 May 27th 1940 Constance Padwick to Committee)
4.1 INTRODUCTION

Printing in Arabic has a long history in Europe. The first complete book entirely in Arabic script, using movable type, was printed in 1514. This was Kitāb Salāt al-Sawa‘ī, a Book of Hours, published by Gregorio de Gregorii, a Venetian, probably for the Christian communities in Syria; it was not a success, as the type-face was virtually unreadable (Lunde 1981:2). Printing continued in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly at the instigation of the Roman Catholic Church. After the founding of the Maronite College in Rome in 1584, by Pope Gregory XIII, Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici was appointed by the Pope to establish a press. De Medici then gave Giovan Battista Raimondi the role of setting up an Arabic press and establishing the Medici Press. Raimondi used punches of Arabic characters that had been designed by Robert Granjon, a French type designer. Several books were printed by the press until 1610 (Lunde 1981:2). In the end the Medici Press failed because Raimondi lacked an established distribution system for the books that were published (Oman 1999:795).

In Halle during the eighteenth century, German Pietists established an Arabic printing-press, as discussed in Chapter three.

The first book in Arabic script to be printed in the Middle East was in 1610 when the Quzhayya Psalter was printed in the Lebanon. This was a book of Psalms, 260 pages long, with the text in Arabic and Syriac; it was printed at the Monastery of Wadi Quzhayya and is the only known book to be printed by that press (Lunde 1981:3; Ahmad, M. 1997:137).
The next publication was in Aleppo in the early eighteenth century, when the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Syria, Athanarius Dabbas, established a press to print liturgical books. He employed Abd al-Allāh Zakhir to operate it; he is said to have cut his own type face. The press operated between 1706 and 1711. Zakhir later set up another printing-press at Choueir in Lebanon, at the Monastery of St. John; this press operated from 1734 until 1899 (Lunde 1981:3; Ahmad, M. 1997:137).

4.2 MUSLIM ARABIC PRESSES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Christians in Europe and then in the Middle East had been interested in printing in Arabic script. Why were Muslims not active in printing, even when they were aware of the processes?

Religious and economic factors both played a part in the reluctance of rulers to allow printing. Maqsoud Ahmad reports that printing from movable type was first introduced in Turkey in the middle of the sixteenth century, but that orthodox Muslims were hesitant to adopt it because of a prohibition on the reproduction of the Holy Qurʾān by any means other than writing by hand (Ahmad, M. 1997:133). The Ottoman rulers twice issued edicts forbidding Muslims to print texts in Arabic characters: edicts of Bāyezīd II in 1485 and of Selīm I in 1515 (Oman 1999:795). The economic factors included the employment of large numbers of copyists, who were commissioned to write out texts. It is estimated that in seventeenth century Constantinople, 80,000 copyists were employed. The costs of establishing a press were also very high and required a large outlay of money (Oman 1999:795).

---

1 A copy of the Psalter (Book of Psalms) printed by Zakhir was sent to SPCK, who used it as the basis of the Psalter they printed, which was prepared for them by Salomon Negri and Carl Dadichis (Allen & McClure 1898:201).
In 1726, a request came from İbrāhîm Müteferrika to Sultan ʿAlâdâd III to establish a printing-press using Arabic script; the Sultan sent the request to the Shaykh al-Islam ʿAbd Allâh who issued a ʿfatwâ permitting it to produce secular works. The printing-press then produced a number of works, beginning with a dictionary in 1729 (Kut 1999:800).

Printing in Arabic script in Egypt began at the end of the eighteenth century, when Napoleon Bonaparte took there a printing-press with Arabic fonts, for use by the French occupying forces for the promulgation of commands. This operated until 1801, when the French were expelled (Oman 1999:797).

In 1805, Muḥammad ʿAli was appointed Pasha (Governor) of Egypt (Lapidus 2002:512). In 1822 the Būlāq press was established following his orders (Lunde 1981:8-9; Kut 1999:801-802). The first portions of the Qurʾān were printed by the Būlāq press in 1833, having been checked for accuracy by the ʿulamāʾ. From 1857, complete editions of the Qurʾān were printed by the Būlāq press (Albin 2004:270-271).

In addition to religious issues concerning the accuracy of printed versions of the Qurʾān and ḥadîth collections, some of the reluctance to use movable type came from the difficulties of producing a clear type face that would be close to the naskhî style of Arabic handwriting.2

The invention of the lithographic method of printing, in 1798, by Alois Senefelder (1771-1834) of Munich, led to the possibility of producing Arabic texts that were based on handwritten originals. In the process, the text is written on to a prepared stone or metal plate, so

---

2 For further information concerning Arabic printing: see Cheng-Hsiang Hsu (2005) for a survey of Arabic printing in Egypt from 1822-1851, and Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu (2005) for a study of Osman Zeki Bey, the first Ottoman printer given official permission to print the Qurʾān.
that the ink only adheres to the written text. This method was introduced into the Middle East in the 1820s and became very popular as it allowed the text to appear as if it were hand-written (Lunde 1981:17; Kut 1999:802).

To conclude this introduction to printing in Arabic script, in ‘The Press: Engine of a Mini-renaissance in Zanzibar (1860-1920)’, Philip Sadgrove describes the setting up of al-‘Mathba‘a al-Sultāniyya (Sultanate Press) which began operating on Zanzibar in 1879-1880, printing in Arabic script. This was the first Arabic press in East Africa (Sadgrove 2005:151-178).

4.3 MUSLIM TRACTS

With the development of printing in Arabic, books, newspapers and tracts became readily available. Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairānāwī’s Izhār al-ḥaqq (The Demonstration of Truth), published in 1867, was discussed in chapter three in relation to Karl Pfander. The writing of others, including Jamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897) and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905), became widely known because of the access to cheap printing. The use of their writings is examined in the selected tracts in part three.

Qeyamuddin Ahmad examines the tracts written by ‘Wahhābis’ in nineteenth century India. Ahmad says that the tracts reinforced and complemented the momentary impact of the roadside preachers. The tracts had originally been produced in Arabic or Persian and were later translated into Urdu and Hindi. The tracts were not specifically anti-Christian, the main purpose was to direct the reader to reject bid‘a (innovation) and return to correct ways of following Islam (Ahmad, Q. 1982:52-63).
In 1925, Arthur Jeffery, a lecturer at the American University in Cairo, prepared an exhibit of anti-Christian literature in Arabic that was in use by Muslims in Cairo. He writes that:

[T]he aim was to procure the books and pamphlets actually being used … By dint of diligent visiting, however, and utilizing the services of a recent convert, who as such had particularly easy access to such literature we managed to gather an interesting exhibit of forty-five specimens (Jeffery 1925:26).

Of the forty-five specimens listed, several can be described as being tracts. They include several that have been written in response to tracts distributed by Christians. Jeffery gives the titles and a brief outline of the contents, together with his own opinion of the material he collected. Two of the entries will serve to show both the kind of material available and Jeffery’s assessment of them:


A Cairo edition of a Syrian tract. It is a small tract of thirty-two pages, widely circulated as a clear statement of the superiority of Islam over Christianity, to establish the faith in the minds of those who have been disturbed by Christian preaching (Jeffery 1925:27).


A little pamphlet of 32 pages, probably by Muhammad ‘Ali Malījī one of the most unscrupulous opponents of Christianity in Egypt. This pamphlet is an attack on the Christian view of Christ, endeavouring to prove that He was not perfect in love, and that His sacrifice was not one of free-will but was forced on Him.

This tract was answered by a Nile Mission Press tract entitled “The Death of Christ voluntary” (Jeffery 1925:29).

It is of note that the list also includes *Izhār al-haqq* by Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī. Jeffery concludes by commenting that two approaches seemed apparent. “[F]irstly that of the old orthodox school represented by Al-Azhar, and whose methods have changed little from those of the Middle Ages; secondly, that of the modern school, … rationalistic in tendency” (Jeffery 1925:26-27).
In a further article, published in 1927, Jeffery presents a brief analysis of tracts written by Aḥmad Fawzī al-Saʿati and by Muḥammad Sālim al-Kailani in response to the work of Alfred Nielsen of the Danish Mission in Damascus (Jeffery 1927:216-218).

These reports show that in the 1920s, tracts responding to Christian mission work, using classic arguments or European rationalism, were being distributed in the Middle East.

4.4 CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM LITERATURE

The findings of two academic writers on contemporary Muslim literature concerning Christianity are examined, in order to demonstrate the range of approaches of present day Muslim authors.


Goddard concludes that three different approaches are used in Polemical literature:

1. Christianity has been corrupted during the course of its history.
2. The truth of Islam is attested by Christian sources.
3. Christianity has been allied with Western imperialism to subdue the Islamic world and subvert the Muslim faith (Goddard 1996:93).

For Eirenical literature, Goddard concludes that two main approaches are apparent, biographies of Jesus and works of fiction. The biographies concentrate on Jesus as teacher, whereas the works of fiction see Jesus as the rejected sufferer, seeing the Cross as a symbol of significance, but still within an Islamic framework (Goddard 1996:139-140). Concerning the ‘Intermediate literature’, Goddard concludes that it is “relatively eirenical in tone. Although
none of the material could be described as polemical, it cannot be said either that the authors of the works understand Christianity fully” (Goddard 1996:166).

In *Muslims and Christians Face to Face* (1997), Kate Zebiri examines both Muslim and Christian writings. Chapter Two examines ‘Muslim Popular literature on Christianity’ (Zebiri 1997:44-93). It begins with a brief look at Ahmed Deedat (Zebiri 1997:46-48) mainly to explain why he is not included with the other writers in the chapter, as his work is popular and influential, but “his work hardly aspires to go beyond the level of rhetoric and apologetic, is poor even by the standards of religious polemic” (Zebiri 1997:48). His influence on some of the writers who will be examined in part three is great and it will be dealt with more fully then.

Zebiri then examines eighteen works which were available in Muslim bookshops in the West (Zebiri 1997:48). Zebiri examines how the literature deals with a range of topics: The Bible: Text and Interpretation (Zebiri 1997:50-59), The Jesus of the Gospels and the Jesus of the Qur’ân (Zebiri 1997:59-67), How and Why Christian Doctrine became Corrupted (Zebiri 1997:67-71), Christianity and Western Civilization (Zebiri 1997:71-78), and Contemporary Christianity (Zebiri 1997:78-84). Examples from the different writers are given under each section. Zebiri concludes that they are polemical in nature, whilst by citing sources presenting themselves as being academic, the use of Western scholarship tends to be selective and from the “liberal end of the spectrum” (Zebiri 1997:88). The writers did not seem to have outreach as a primary aim, rather a defence of Islam, usually through attack, this often being informed by inaccurate sources of information about Christianity (Zebiri 1997:89).
In ‘Muslim Perceptions of Christianity and the West’ (2001), Zebiri concludes that:

Christianity is seen in almost purely political terms, and the fact that it is often difficult to disentangle anti-Christian polemic from anti-Western polemic. Where a distinction is drawn between Christianity and the West, the latter may even be considered the lesser of the two evils (Zebiri 2001:200).

The material examined by Goddard and Zebiri, and their conclusions, demonstrate that the approaches that Muslim writers have used in both Arabic and Western based literature have been broadly similar.

This chapter has been an overview of the beginnings of Arabic printing and a brief review of some of the material available in tracts and other literature that has been produced by Muslims. To a limited extent this chapter complements Chapter Three where an overview of Christian tracts was undertaken.

This concludes Part One of the study; Part Two examines the use of tracts by Christians and Muslims in East Africa and the use of Swahili as a religious language and the language of outreach literature.
Figure 5.1: Frontispiece and Title Page of the RTS/UMCA edition of Msafiri

(Madan 1888: frontispiece and title page)
Figure 5.2 Cover of 1902 printing of the tract Raha isiyo Karaha
Figure 5.3 Final Pages of 1934 printing of tract, showing publishing details
Figure 5.4 The tract in Roman script

Raha Isiyo Karaha.


"Shoda ja rihani lanisikitisha: Hatunga Nyumbani Fikisho hupusha Chema duniani hakina maisha."
Mambu huyo mtu hufanya biashara siku nyingi au hutenda kazi nakuja nini ili ayapata, na mwisho wake ni mtuanie yapata hata mojawapo, au ayapa-tapo ponge zitope kwa sikulisha mali yake yote aliyopata kwa kasi ya siku nyingi: au alikuwa nayo, apatikana na ugondwe, au mibawa, au amani kufanya majoni ya milezo, asivunza vya Tema vile vitu vyake.

Je, nivyali ratuki zangu nanyi hamjamwona mtu aliyepawa vyakula vya kutonsha na Mwanya Mungu, saweje we akawa havili; au aliyekuwa na mali, shinovu mivonza uwe kuti?
Mambu huyo ya dunia basi, ni mifano wa dunia yenye, huyarua imara. Basa mwisho wakati ni buni; " Mtu ajapeishi sikul, nyingi na kuona wema mwingi aki-apihio wema huu miaka yake yote; pasmoja ni hayo, yote tuja sikun ya kizzi, (Taylor 1940?)"
INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

This part comprises two chapters which introduce the situation in East Africa by examining the history of tracts there and the use of Swahili as a religious language.

Chapter Five: Tracts in East Africa

This chapter examines the use of tracts in East Africa from the earliest recorded use in 1844 until after Independence. The involvement of Christian missions in producing tracts is seen, with a detailed study of one tract first printed in 1893 and still in circulation in 1960. The availability of tracts written by Christians and Muslims is examined.

Chapter Six: Swahili

This chapter examines the use of Swahili as a language, its origins as several distinct dialects and its standardisation. The use of Swahili as a religious language and in religious literature is examined. The various versions of the Bible and the Qur’ān in Swahili are described as an introduction to the study of the selected tracts in Part Three.
CHAPTER FIVE: TRACTS IN EAST AFRICA

This chapter surveys the use of Tracts in East Africa since the earliest recorded examples in the 1840s. It looks first at Christian tracts in the nineteenth century, with special attention being paid to the support given by SPCK and RTS to CMS and the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA). It examines the procedures followed in order to produce tracts, and the first tracts to be published and printed in East Africa. Tracts in the twentieth century are surveyed, including those of German Missionary Societies, some of which were Lutheran, in German East Africa (GEA). With the expansion of literacy after the First World War, tracts gained a wider audience as reading matter became increasingly important. Likewise Tracts are surveyed that were written by those Muslim leaders who saw the importance of writing in Swahili. Muslim and Christian tracts produced at the end of the colonial period and during the first years of independence are surveyed. The approach used in some of the tracts has also influenced contemporary tract writers, whilst some of those mentioned are still in circulation.

5.1 EARLY CHRISTIAN TRACTS IN EAST AFRICA

In January 1844, Ludwig Krapf arrived in Zanzibar, the first CMS missionary to arrive in East Africa. He records that the American Consul, Mr. R.P. Waters, was a “zealous friend of the mission” (Krapf 1968:122) and that he was already distributing tracts (Krapf 1968:127). In his journals, Krapf records a discussion with Waters, who gives reasons why Krapf should remain in Zanzibar, including that “A Missionary would besides distribute a vast number of tracts to the Natives and Europeans, who continually visit this place” (CMS/CA5/O16/164 8th January 1844:22).¹ This demonstrates that tracts were viewed as a method of outreach for

¹ This sentence only appears in the original manuscript, ‘Log of journey from Aden to Mombasa’ and does not appear in the printed edition.
‘Evangelical’ Christians in the mid-nineteenth century. Later in the journals, Krapf records a meeting with the governor of the island of Pemba.

We touched at the island of Pemba … where the governor received me kindly … He asked me many questions concerning the politics and religion of Europe, and expressed a wish for an Arabic Bible. This I sent him afterwards through Mr. Waters (Krapf 1968:127).

When he reached Lamu he records that:

An Arab chief from Lamu who saw me reading the Psalms asked me for the book, and being much pleased with it begged for a complete Bible. Arabic tracts would have been eagerly welcomed by the people (Krapf 1968:130).

The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East for 1844 records that:

During this journey Dr. Krapf distributed a large number of portions of the Scriptures. He remarks – It is really pleasing to see the desire which the people have for obtaining books (CMS Proceedings 1844:50).

From these reports we can see that both Krapf and Waters saw the distribution of tracts as being an important method of outreach.

The coastal peoples of East Africa used Swahili, which had been written using Arabic script from at least the sixteenth century. Swahili as a language is dealt with in the next chapter.

UMCA had been started following the call by David Livingstone “to overthrow the African slave trade with Christianity” (Anderson 1977:13). In 1861 UMCA sent missionaries to Shire, in present-day Malawi, but, following the death of their leader, Bishop Charles Mackenzie, they withdrew in 1862. In 1864 UMCA sent missionaries to Zanzibar, with Bishop William Tozer as their leader; they established themselves there and worked to halt the slave trade and to establish a Christian presence (Sahlberg 1986:34).
Missionaries were keen to promote literacy, by teaching people to read and write, in order to learn about the Christian faith, through reading Bibles and other catechetical material. This led to an interest in printing in order to provide reading matter.

In 1875 Henry M. Stanley, whilst at the court of Kabaka Mutesa, in Buganda, was asked to explain the Bible to the Kabaka. This was an enquiry resulting from the Kabaka having already been influenced by the Qur’an given to him by Arab traders, which had also stimulated an interest in the written word (Sundkler & Steed 2000:572). Stanley had with him as an interpreter Dallington Maftaa, who was a pupil of the UMCA School on Zanzibar. Together they prepared ‘a little Swahili book of Bible selections, embracing all the principal events from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ’ (Sundkler & Steed 2000:568). This ‘little book’ can be regarded as being a tract, although it seems unlikely that it was actually printed.

Also in Buganda, Alexander Mackay, one of the earliest CMS missionaries, who was posted there in 1877, set up a printing-press so that tracts and Bibles could be printed (Sundkler & Steed 2000:570). In 1890 Bishop Tucker took supplies of tracts from the UMCA book-store in Zanzibar (UMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book 1890-1899:20) and in 1896 he reports on finding tracts abandoned at Eldama Ravine after a caravan en-route to Uganda was attacked by the local Nandi people.

On arriving on the river bank (the Guaso Masa) I found books, letters, fragments of boxes, and (strangest of all) fragments of plaster images scattered about in all directions. ... Here and there were tracts of various kinds (Protestant) and broken crucifixes. It was strange to see a tract on “Christ our Righteousness” lying on the ground side by side with a broken plaster image (CMS Proceedings 1896:94).²

² The plaster images (statues) in the wreckage came from loads left behind by the Roman Catholic Bishop Hanlon, that were then sent on with the CMS advance party.
In 1907 in Busoga, Uganda, the President of the Chief’s Council, Twasenga, used to distribute copies of *Mateka*, the CMS ‘beginners’ booklet’ (Sundkler & Steed 2000:592). The distribution of material by Twasenga, together with the example of Waters, mentioned above, illustrates the trend seen earlier in Britain where tracts were readily distributed by lay Christians who wished to help to propagate the Gospel.

### 5.2 SUPPORT FROM SPCK AND RTS FOR WORK IN EAST AFRICA

Both SPCK and RTS were providing support for the various missions working in East Africa. The records of meetings and letter books from archives of the various societies serve to illustrate how this support was achieved.

#### 5.2.1 SPCK

Allen and McClure record that CMS “chiefly asked for books, reading-sheets, and tracts, etc., and type for their mission printing-press” (Allen & McClure 1898:359).

In 1887, SPCK provided a grant of £79 for a printing-press and type for CMS (Allen & McClure 1898:517). This printing-press was based in Frere Town, the community for freed slaves, established by CMS on the mainland, across the creek from Mombasa Island. The CMS *Proceedings* for 1887 report that:

> Mr. Dodd, lately working with the Universities’ Mission, preferring the views and methods of the C.M.S., has, with Bishop Smythies’ approval, been engaged temporarily to manage the new printing-press (CMS *Proceedings* 1887:36).

Mr. Dodd was replaced the following year by Mr. Pratley, a printer by trade, who had been in training at the CMS training institution in Islington (CMS *Proceedings* 1888:48).
Apparently SPCK’s terms for giving equipment were unclear to CMS. This is shown in a letter that F. Baylis, Africa Group Secretary, wrote to W.G. Peel, Bishop of Mombasa, in 1904 when a request for additional assistance for type from CMS to SPCK had elicited a lengthy explanation from Allen, secretary to SPCK. The letter from Baylis to Peel says:

2. Printing-Press at Frere Town. – In addition to matters on the enclosed documents, I have only to add a few words about Frere Town Press. On submitting the application for more Type to the S.P.C.K. we were told the S.P.C.K. never made grants of Presses or Type except to become Diocesan property, and then only to the Bishop on his own request. Reference was made to an earlier grant from the S.P.C.K. for what we were calling our Press. Evidently the S.P.C.K. considered their grant made in 1887 for the purpose of the Press and Type as making the Press Diocesan property, so that they are not prepared for us to look upon it as C.M.S. property. I am corresponding with Mr. Allen on the subject. I think it is new to us to learn that this was their view in making the grant, and we shall do our best to put the matter on a right footing with them. I should think it likely that we shall feel the right thing is to say the Press is to be looked upon as Diocesan property, and, if so, it will lie with you to judge whether you care to ask for any Type with a view to making it more effective, knowing that it must in that case be, in the last resort, your own responsibility to control and work the Press.

It seems that the S.P.C.K. now make it a condition that Press or Type be not used for printing any version or portion of the Bible or Prayer-Book without previous sanction of the S.P.C.K. Foreign Translation Committee.

Perhaps if you do feel led to ask for more Type you will let any application pass through our hands, or at least let us know that you make it (CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 10 January 1901 - 26 October 1906 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L9:337).

The importance of separation between mission and diocese for SPCK is clear. A factor that may have been forgotten by SPCK was that when the original grant had been made in 1887, Frere Town had been a part of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa. The Diocese of Mombasa was inaugurated in 1898 and was then separated from the Diocese of Uganda.³

It becomes clear from correspondence and minutes that CMS asked for support in the publishing of material. SPCK is mentioned twice in a letter of January 1903 from Gladstone in the CMS offices in London, to Burt, in Mombasa.

³ The Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa began in 1884 with its headquarters in Mombasa. James Hannington (1847-1885), the first bishop, was killed in October 1885 en route to Uganda. Henry Parker (d. 1888) was the second bishop; in 1890 Alfred Tucker (1849-1914) became bishop and remained as Bishop of the Diocese of Uganda with William Peel (d.1916) becoming the first Bishop of the Diocese of Mombasa in 1899 (Hamilton & Twaddle 2004; Pirouet 2004).
6. Swahili “Notes on the Catechism” and Kikuyu Vocabulary. We shall be prepared to ask the S.P.C.K. to print these books when we receive the MS.

9. Swahili books granted by the S.P.C.K. On an application made by your Executive Committee some time ago the S.P.C.K. have kindly granted a number of Swahili books. We enclose a copy of the invoice sent to us. You probably know that it is a condition of all the S.P.C.K. grants that the proceeds of sales, if any, should be remitted to them as a donation. Any such remittance should be made through C.M.S. We shall be shipping the books at an early opportunity (CMS Letter book (outgoing) 10 January 1901 – 26 October 1906 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 9:167).

Section 6 of the letter makes it clear that CMS would approach SPCK for support in the printing of material for the work in East Africa. Section 9 of the letter refers to an invoice from SPCK for the purchase of books in Swahili which is attached to the letter:

Copy of Invoice from S.P.C.K. of Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, W.C. dated December 11th, 1902. To Secretary C.M.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Historical Readers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£1-17-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Scrip. Reading Lessons, Pts 1 &amp; 2, at 1/6 each</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£5-12-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Miscell. Stories &amp; Translations at 1/-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>£18-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Childs Acts at 1/6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>£2-1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Church History Part I at 3/-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>£4 - 1-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Church History Part II at 3/-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>£2-16-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Peep of Day at 2/6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>£9 - 7-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili Prayer Books at 2/8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£6-13-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£33 - 7-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This shows that CMS was in effect given the material granted them by SPCK at Net value\(^4\) and would be expected to sell it at the prices listed, remitting the Net value of the material to SPCK as a donation. For instance, the item listed as ‘24 Miscellaneous Stories & Translations’ had a selling price of 1/-, a total value of 24/- and was provided at a cost of 18/-, that is, a 25% discount. When these had been sold, CMS were expected to send a donation to SPCK of 18/-.

\(^4\) Net – said of profit: remaining after all expenses, etc. have being paid. Opposite of gross (Chambers 2007).
SPCK apparently was more generous to UMCA and it gave grants to help establish the Diocese of Zanzibar and to establish schools and colleges. Between 1868 and 1898 SPCK awarded a total of £1936 to UMCA (Allen & McClure 1898:517).

A letter written on 22nd June 1896 from C.J. Viner, the Lay [Financial] Secretary for UMCA, to SPCK, accompanying a cheque for £22/12/2 from the sale of SPCK books and tracts in their bookshop in Zanzibar, shows that UMCA had a similar agreement with SPCK to that with CMS, concerning remitting donations from the sales of books granted to them (UMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book 1890-1899:496).

5.2.2 RTS and MSAFIRI

Isabel Hofmeyr in The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim’s Progress (2004) explores the ways in which the book was used as a mission tool and was translated into at least eighty African languages; at least 22 were published by RTS and 4 by SPCK (Hofmeyr 2004:240-242). In 1888, RTS supported the production of a Swahili version of John Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, Msafiri in Swahili (Hofmeyr 2004:242).

The translator’s preface is of interest as it shows remarkable co-operation between UMCA and CMS missionaries.

The first five sections of this book contain a nearly verbatim translation of the first part of the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress,’ and were written almost wholly by the late Bishop Steere. … The language used is Swahili, as commonly understood in Zanzibar. The metrical rendering of the original Preface is due to the kindness and scholarship of the Rev. W.E. Taylor, B.A., of the Church Missionary Society’s staff at Mombasa. It is written in the dialect of Swahili current in that town and neighbourhood (Madan 1888:5).

5 There is similar correspondence between Baylis and Taylor at CMS, explaining the processes and then reporting money being remitted ‘home’ for payment to RTS and SPCK (CMS Letter-book (outgoing) August 1890-August 1893 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 6 letter Baylis to Taylor, 24.06.1893, 450; CMS Precis book (incoming) 1892-1895 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 4, Meeting of Group 3 Committee 24th September 1894, Item 170).
In spite of the support of W.E. Taylor for the UMCA edition, in 1897 the CMS annual report mentions that E.C. Gordon has translated *Pilgrim’s Progress* into Swahili and that it has been published by RTS (CMS Proceedings 1897:96).

C.J. Viner (UMCA), in a letter of 1st August 1890 to the Editorial Secretary CMS, informed him that Bishop Tucker had collected a number of different titles from the UMCA bookshop in Zanzibar prior to his journey to Uganda. Amongst these were “200 copies of Swahili Pilgrim’s Progress printed for us by RTS towards which we paid £9” (UMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book 1890-1899:20). This indicates that UMCA contributed a part of
the cost of publication for the first edition. Then, after five years, the first edition had sold out and UMCA approached RTS concerning a re-print.6

A Swahili edition of Pilgrim’s Progress under the title Safari ya Msafiri is still available, translated by Maurice Soseleje and first published in 1946, with a second edition with corrections in 1980 (Tuppa: July 2007); it is still, in 2007, available through Central Tanganyika Press (CTP).

5.3 UMCA

UMCA soon began a printing-press and was actively producing material locally from as early as the 1870s. C.J. Viner, writing to CMS in 1890, concerning books taken by Bishop Tucker, includes “1280 copies of Holy Scripture printed at our Mission Press in Zanzibar” (UMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book 1890-1899:20).

---

6 C.J. Viner wrote to L.B. White of RTS concerning the printing of a new edition of John Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress:

26th April 1893, The Revd Dr. L.B. White, Religious Tract Society

My Dear Sir,

In 1888 your Committee very kindly issued for this Mission a Swahili version of ‘Pilgrims’ Progress’. I understand that all the copies printed were sent out to our headquarters in Zanzibar. The book has been found very useful and we have constant requests for more copies which we are unable to supply. We shall be very grateful to your Society if you could repeat your kind grant and furnish us with another 1000 copies.

Mr A.C. Madan, our [illegible] Swahili scholar is now in England & would gladly revise the proofs.

I am dear sir. Yours very truly C.J. Viner Lay Sec

The Swahili title of this work is “Msafiri” (UMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book 1890-1899:168)

The correspondence continued:

14th June 1893

The Revd Dr. L.B. White

The Swahili Pilgrim’s Progress

I write to thank you for your letter of May 10th informing us of the kind grant of your Society. I beg to send a corrected copy of the 1st Edition and am grateful for your promise to put the matter in hand at once.

I am my dear sir Yours very truly C.J. Viner Lay Sec

(UUMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book 1890-1899:180)

The RTS Archives, held at SOAS, did not yield any record of correspondence or discussions at the weekly committee meeting concerning the provision of grants.
A list of Swahili Books published by the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, printed in 1905, includes “Swahili Tracts in Arabic characters, written by Bishop Steere [d.1882]”. It also lists books in Swahili, some of which concern Islam: *Muhammad* (*Life of Mohammad*) 1889 and *Koran na Biblia* (The Qur’an and the Bible) 1900 both by A.C. Madan (Zanzibar 1905:6-7, 11). Other books include the Bible and Prayer Book and those used for teaching both Christianity and general Education; however it must be assumed that this other material used Swahili in Roman script (Zanzibar 1905:6).

Edward Steere (1829-1882) was a UMCA missionary in Zanzibar from 1864-1882, and the third Bishop of Zanzibar. Cedric Frank writing about Steere says:

> Every day he spent at Zanzibar, he was wont, soon after breakfast, to go to the printing office, where he remained until nearly noon, revising and correcting proof-sheets of his various Swahili translations. Often he set up the type himself and sewed together the pages of the little pamphlets and tracts which came to him wet from the press (Frank 1952:40-41).

The UMCA printing-press was busy and Steere ensured that the standard of work was creditable. A small meeting-room was built on the site of the former slave market, where the Cathedral would be built. Steere wrote to a friend “The room was filled to overflowing with listeners and the tracts and papers we were able to print were eagerly snatched from my hands” (Frank 1952:40).7

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, various tracts concerning Islam were published and distributed by UMCA including: *Muhammad maisha yake pamoja na habari za Waislamu na Maturuki* (The life of Muhammad together with information on Muslims and Turks) published in 1898; *Shuhuda za dini ya Kimasihia pamoja na kupeleleza*.

---

7 Printing presses continued to be important. CMS operated them in Taita-Taveta and Mpwapwa. O. Cordell, a CMS missionary, operated one himself, when he produced his *Gogo Grammar* on the CMS printing-press at Mpwapwa in 1941. He faced great problems when he ran out of various letters from the font and made notes in the book to explain that he had run out of a letter, such as ‘ŋ’ and that ‘ng’ would now substitute for it (Cordell 1941:97).
kidogo dini ya Isilamu (Witnesses to the religion of the Messiah together with a small investigation of the religion of Islam) by J. Murray 1905; and writing in 1936, Al-Amin b. Aly also refers to two books by Dale: Tarjuma ya Kur’an⁸ (Translation of the Qur’ân) and Maisha ya Muhammad (The Life of Muhammad) (Lacunza Balda 1997:99 fn.15).

The wide range of tracts that were available at that time with the purpose of attracting Muslims to Christianity indicates that some of the Christian Missions, the UMCA in particular, saw this as a key aim.

5.4 W.E. TAYLOR AND RAHA ISIYO KARAHÁ

Tracing the history of this tract serves to illustrate the way in which a tract came into being, and also the longevity of many tracts. William Ernest Taylor (1856-1927), a CMS missionary who worked in Mombasa from 1880-1897, is described by P.J.L. Frankl as Swahili Scholar extraordinary (Frankl 1993:37). Taylor chose not to live in Frere Town with the other CMS missionaries, but rather to be on the island, living in Mombasa. There he worked hard at studying Swahili with many of the learned scholars. Before his ordination as a priest by Bishop Hannington in 1885, he spent some of his time doing medical work, the result of one year’s medical study in Edinburgh (Frankl 1999:160). In the 1883 Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East it is reported that:

Mr. Taylor, though not a fully qualified medical man, has a considerable surgical practice, not only among the people attached to the Mission, but also among the Suahili, Arabs and Hindus of Mombasa and its neighbourhood.

He writes, “I have had many opportunities of preaching Christ in my medical practice, and have been able to lend Arabic works, as Al Kindy and Pfander’s Mizan, in quarters where they

---

⁸ By Tarjuma ya Kur’ân, Al-Amin b. Aly is probably referring to the Swahili Qur’an Taširi ya Kurani ya Kiarabu kwa lugha ya Kiswahili pamoja na Dibaji na maelezo Machache (Translation of the Arabic Qur‘ân into the Swahili language together with a Preface and a few brief explanations) by Godfrey Dale, published in 1923.
may do good. Of the Arabs resident in Mombasa, there are several said to be well disposed towards Christianity, but afraid to declare their belief” (CMS Proceedings 1883:44).

His developing ability in Swahili enabled him to evangelise as he practised. In addition he was a regular speaker in the market place (Chesworth 2006:161-162). There he sang evangelical hymns, which he had composed using the local musical measures (Frankl 1993:38).

Whilst he was on leave in 1891, he married, and on his return to Mombasa in 1892 he began working on producing a tract *Raha isiyo Karaha*, which he translates as “Unhampered Happiness!” and “Joy without Alloy” (CMS/G/C11 Foreign Literature Committee: Taylor in letter 12.08.1901); Farouk Topan translates it as “Comfort without Discomfort” (Topan 1992:345 fn.15). The tract was first produced in 1893 and a copy was sent to CMS and presented at a committee meeting held on 25th July 1893; this copy can no longer be traced in the CMS archives. The entry for Taylor in the *Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy 1804-1904* states: “Tract, printed by himself at Mombasa, presented Oct., 1893, which he claims to be the first book in Native characters printed and published in E. Eq. Africa” (CMS Register 1904:190). As the *al-Maṭba‘a al-Suṭāniyya* (Sultanate Press) had begun operating in 1879-1880, printing in Arabic script (Sadgrove 2005:153), Taylor’s claim to be the first has to be doubted.
By reading the Letters and the Minutes from Frederick Baylis and the Group 3 Committee of the CMS Parent Committee\(^9\) (PC), it is possible to re-construct the history of the various editions of the tract.

At the meeting of Group 3 Committee which was held on 25\(^{th}\) July 1893, the tract *Raha isiyo Karaha* appears under items 183 and 184. Item 184 records “Copy of “Unhampered Happiness” in Swahili (Arabic characters), reproduced by the mimeograph”, whilst Item 183 appears as:

- Item 183 W.E. Taylor (Mombasa) dated June 17\(^{th}\) 1893, received July 10\(^{th}\) 1893
- Printing in Native Character, P.C. [Parent Committee] allowed a grant to purchase a typewriter and mimeograph, but he cannot use these to the full without paid Native assistance. A man at $8 a month would do.
- Forwards a tract in Swahili already reproduced by hand, which has proved very useful.
- (i) Request for grant towards producing Swahili tracts; &c. No. 183
- (ii) That the Cttee sanction the grant of $8 a month for one year to enable the Rev WE Taylor to secure necessary help in producing and circulating copies of Swahili tracts.
- Adopted August 1, 1893
- Secs to Rev. A.G. Smith Aug 4/93

Interpreting this information, it can be seen that Taylor had produced the tract in ‘Native Character’, meaning Swahili in Arabic script, by using a mimeograph. The purchase of the mimeograph\(^{10}\) machine and a typewriter had previously been approved by the Parent Committee. Having succeeded in this, Taylor now wants to employ an assistant to help him in the reproduction of more tracts. The Group 3 Committee recommends it and this was adopted

---

\(^9\) CMS records from 1880 were kept in a highly sophisticated manner. Group 3 referred to the Group Committee which met to attend to Africa, Palestine, Egypt and New Zealand. The committee met on a monthly basis to discuss reports from each field and to make recommendations to the Parent Committee (Williams 1990:268 fn.12). They usually met on or around 24\(^{th}\) of each month to discuss the East Africa Mission. The incoming papers were numbered chronologically for each year. “A printed précis was prepared for each meeting of the Group Committee. This included a summary of the contents and the proposals for committee action. These précis became the agenda papers for the committee and were pasted into the précis book on the left-hand side. On the right-hand side the action of the relevant committees and secretaries was noted” (Williams 1990:265:fn5).

\(^{10}\) A mimeograph was a machine, patented by Thomas Edison in 1876, but not given that name until 1887. The Arabic script was written on a stencil, which was then placed on a slate block, then inked, using a roller; a sheet of paper was then placed above it and the case closed; when opened, the image on the stencil had been copied onto the paper (Rutgers: 28.07.07). A mimeograph of this design was still in occasional use by CMS missionaries in Dodoma, Diocese of Central Tanganyika in 1979 (Personal observation in Dodoma 1979).
by the Parent Committee on 1st August and a letter was written to Rev. A.G. Smith on 4th August 1893.\textsuperscript{11}

The Frere Town Finance Committee (FTFC) discussed the proposal: the Precis book, for the Group 3 Committee of 24th October 1893, records “Item 248, Minutes of Frere Town Finance Committee. 2. Mr Taylor is glad of the grant for producing Swahili Tracts” (CMS Precis book (incoming) 1892-1895 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 4 24.10.1893).


The records of decision-making by the various committees of CMS reveal that Taylor had produced a tract and that he needed assistance to produce more copies. The grant for 1894 was awarded, yet no clear reference was subsequently made to the production of tracts by this method nor was mention made of who was employed to assist Taylor.

The next reference to the tract appears in \textit{Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1894-95} where Taylor reports:

\begin{quote}
Mr. Bailey, the accountant, with wonderful skill, reproduced some Arabic-Swahili (character) tracts on the typograph or cyclostyle, and we were hoping to make use of them with great effect, but the printing off is not so satisfactory in producing a legible copy as at home; and I fear that his trouble was thrown away (CMS Extracts 1895:9).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11} The CMS secretaries wrote their response to the Rev. A.G. Smith, rather than to Taylor. This is because the decision would then have to be discussed by the Frere Town Finance Committee (FTFC) and Smith was the corresponding secretary for CMS in Frere Town.
From this it seems that the work of the mimeograph was not successful and that during 1894 Taylor had worked with J.A. Bailey, the CMS accountant, who had been in Frere Town since 1889, using a cyclostyle, an implement for cutting stencils, with a small toothed wheel, but that the results were unsatisfactory.

It is known that in 1897 the RTS published the tract with “blue covers with a black imprint in the middle of (to us) the back cover and Roman print opposite the Arabic text” (letter from Taylor to Staples 12.08.1901). It appears that the Arabic script was set and then cast in zinc moulds. “The book was photo’d on Zinc Plates, & Moulds taken after printing” (Taylor to Baylis 07.08.1901), whilst it seems that the moulds for Roman script were broken up, or lost, after the print run (Taylor to Staples 20.08.01). Fifty copies were sent to Mombasa and it is reported that another mission received 250 copies (CMS Precis book (incoming) January 1900-February 1907 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 6:25.11.1902).  

As no record of applications for grants for the 1897 edition of the tract appears in CMS correspondence, it seems that Taylor had negotiated its publication directly with RTS. In a letter (dated 19th August 1901, G/C 11 Foreign Literature Committee) from Henry Clark at RTS to Staples at CMS he sends their ‘file-copy’ of the 1897 tract.

In August 1901, Taylor, now in Britain, having heard from F. Burt in Mombasa that the supplies of the tract were exhausted, began the process of negotiating for its re-printing. Correspondence to Baylis and H.E. Staples at CMS and Henry Clark at RTS eventually led to the matter being discussed at the September Group 3 Committee meeting:

---

12 Lacunza Balda lists the same pamphlet as being published in 1897, but published by SPCK (Lacunza Balda 1997:126).
13 The RTS Archives revealed no mention of the request for funds for printing the tract, in the minutes of the weekly committee meetings for this period. Records for correspondence for this period are incomplete.
August Letter from W.E. Taylor, Understands that there is need in Mombasa of copies of a Swahili tract on Mohammedanism (*Raha isiyo Karaha*). The R.T.S. state that they have no copies left. They have plates of the Arabic character portion, but the Roman character portion would have to be re-set. Referred to Literature Committee in October (CMS *Precis book* (incoming) January 1900-February 1907 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 6 24.09.1902)

It was then discussed at the Foreign Literature Committee Meeting on 8th October 1901:

No. 8 Taylor, W.E. (Blandford) August - Understands that there is need in Mombasa of copies of a Swahili tract on Mohammedanism (*Raha isiyo Karaha*). The R.T.S. state that they have no copies left. They have plates of the Arabic character portion, but the Roman character portion would have to be re-set.

(viii) Swahili Tract on Mohammedanism No. 8

(viii) That the R.T.S. be asked to reprint on the most generous terms they can afford a tract for Mohammedans, written in Swahili by the Rev. W.E. Taylor.

Adopted November 5, 1901 (G/C 11 Foreign Literature Committee 1901-1904:08.10.1901:149)

Then on 16th September 1902 the ‘Resolutions of Committee of Correspondence’ record:

Reprinting Tract on Mohammedanism— “That the R.T.S. be requested to print a new edition of a Swahili Tract on Mohammedanism, a grant of £11 being provided for the purpose, and that the R.T.S. be thanked for their grant-in-aid of a further £5” (On letter from the Rev. W.E. Taylor, August 4, 1902 and letter from Rev. R. Lovett (R.T.S.), August 12.)


RTS gave £11 for the costs of printing the new edition; grant-in-aid of £5, that is, the cost of some of the material, rather than actual money, was also given (CMS *Precis book* (incoming) January 1900-February 1907 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 6 08.09.1902 item 103).

RTS reprinted five hundred copies of the tract in Arabic script only. The cover, dated 1902, states that it is published by the Religious Tract Society (RTS) for the “CMS Mission in Swahililand” (RTS 1902:cover) see Figure 5.2. Of these, 250 copies were sent to Mombasa (CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 10 January 1901-26 October 1906 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 9:165 Letter Gladstone to Burt December 1902).
The tract continued to be seen as having a purpose, as in 1935, in A.R. Pittway’s Annual Letter to CMS, he relates that the tract had been re-printed in Nairobi in Arabic script, and is ‘causing a stir’.

We then got an old tract reprinted. This tract was written by a missionary named Taylor who worked at Mombasa years ago, and was written in dialogue form representing a conversation between a missionary doctor and a Moslem priest. It very clearly shews the failure of the Moslem religion to meet man’s deepest needs and the adequacy of the Gospel. This tract created quite a stir and I was told in the street by a leading Moslem that if it were not for the British being in authority I should have by this time been killed (CMS Annual Letter, Pittway 1935:3).

The tract was reproduced in what appears to be a photographic copy of the 1902 RTS re-printing. At the end of the tract is written, “Published by C.M.S. Bookshop, Nairobi and printed in East Africa by W. Boyd & Co. (Printers) Ltd. Nairobi” (Taylor 1934:13). See Figure 5.3
Another re-printing was undertaken later: P.J.L. Frankl refers to “a printing in Nairobi, possibly 1940, in Roman script only, and without any diacriticals to indicate aspiration or dental stops” (Frankl 1993:41 fn.9). A copy of a tract, with this title, in Roman script and bound in red covers, shows that it was printed by W. Boyd & Co. (Printers) Ltd., Nairobi, the same printers who re-printed the tract in Arabic script in 1934 (see Figure 5.4). However no details are given about the date or that it was published for CMS bookshop. It has not been possible to confirm that the text is identical to W.E. Taylor’s original *Raha isiyo Karaha*.\(^{14}\)

---

\(^{14}\) Farouk Topan refers to the tract and reports that “readers are urged at the end ... to avail themselves of other works in the Swahili-Arabic script; the titles include the Gospels of John and Luke, stories from the Bible, and songs (hymns). The passage ends with the Qur’anic invocation: *Wa’l hamdu lillahi* (And praise is due to Allah)” (1992:345). This passage does not appear in the Roman script edition published in 1940.
In 1960, Bethwell Kiplagat and Sigvard von Sicard report finding a copy, together with some books by Godfrey Dale of UMCA, and they comment “… unfortunate comparisons and arguments have caused these books to become obnoxious in the eyes of E.A. Muslims. They should, therefore, be read with this in mind and not be made the sole source of information in regard to Islam” (Kiplagat & von Sicard 1960:32).

Frankl reports that Shaykh al-Amin bin Aly Mazrui wrote against this tract and others as he “resented the printed attacks made by Christian missionaries upon Islam” (Frankl 1993:38). and Lacunza Balda quotes Mazrui writing in 1936 “Christians have composed many books to
show to the peoples of East Africa the wickedness of the Islamic religion and its teachings, and have insulted the apostle Muhammad” (Lacunza Balda 1997:99).

This exploration into the history of one tract serves as an example to show the lengths to which writers went in order to ensure that material was produced and made available. It also demonstrates the period of time over which such material had an influence, in that, over forty years after it was first produced, it was denounced by Mazrui. Then, in 1960, Kiplagat and von Sicard found that it was still available.

5.5 TRACTS FROM LUTHERAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA

As a part of the ‘scramble for Africa’, Germany chose to colonise East Africa and formed Die Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation (The Society for German Colonisation) on the initiative of Dr. Carl Peters. Peters and his party arrived in Tanganyika in 1884, forming the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (The German East African Company) in 1885. The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) which ‘carved-up’ Africa amongst the European powers led to the formation of Deutsch Ostafrika (German East Africa (GEA)) in 1886 (von Sicard 1970:28-29). The first Lutheran mission arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1887, Evangelische Missiongesellschaft für Deutsche Ostafrika (EMS) (The Protestant Missionary Society for German East Africa), commonly referred to as Berlin III15 (von Sicard 1970:53-54). When the German Protestant missions arrived, they found Anglican missions, UMCA and CMS, and Roman Catholic missions, Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) and the Missionaries of Africa, more often known as White Fathers (WF), with established mission stations in many areas of GEA.

15 Different Missionary Societies were founded in Berlin and they were differentiated by the use of a Roman numeral. Berlin I: Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden founded in 1824; Berlin II: Gossnersche Missionsverein founded in 1836 (von Sicard 1970:53).
After the arrival of Berlin III,\(^{16}\) other German missions followed; the *Führer* (Guide) for 1914 lists details of the missions and when they arrived in German East Africa.\(^{17}\)

The Lutheran and Moravian missionaries were aware of the need to produce literature, including tracts. Printing presses were established in Dar es Salaam and Vuga, in the Usambara mountains.

**Table 5.1**  German Missions present in German East Africa in 1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Year of arrival in GEA</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 EMS[^1] [Berlin III]</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Tanga, Wilhelmstal, Bukoba, Ruanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Leipziger Mission</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Moschi, Aruscha, Wilhelmstal, Mkalama.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The table in *Führer* lists Bielefelder Mission, in 1914 it was still *Evangelische Missiongesellschaft für Deutsche Ostafrika* (see footnote 16).


The 1914 *Führer* lists the tracts and books published by the various missions; those which concern Islam are shown in Table 5.2. The table shows that the different German Missions

---

[^1]: EMS: *Evangelische Missiongesellschaft für Deutsche Ostafrika*. The table in *Führer* 1914:6 lists Bielefelder Mission, a reference to Bethel Mission, which was based in Bielefelder and founded in 1890 by Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1831-1905). In 1890 EMS was reorganised and became more distanced from the German government (Sahlberg 1986:61). Marcia Wright says that EMS “ultimately achieved respectability as the Bethel Mission under Friedrich von Bodelschwingh” (Wright 1971:7).

[^2]: Carl Hellberg (1965), Sigvard von Sicard (1970) and Marcia Wright (1971) have written in detail about the German Lutheran missions in GEA.
were producing a range of material for educating Christians and for reaching out to Muslims.\textsuperscript{18}

Table 5.2 Details of Tracts listed in \textit{Führer} 1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Where published</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Other details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>6000 copies Miss. Wohlbrab:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrnhuter Mission (Brüdergemeinde) [\textit{Unitas Fratrum}]</td>
<td>\textit{Sababu gani minni ni Mkristo?} (Why am I a Christian?) \textit{Christus oder Mohammed?} (Christ or Muhammad?)</td>
<td>Missionsdruckerei Daresalam,</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Miss. Lübner:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Englische Kirchenmissionen-gesellschaft (English Church Missionary Societies)</td>
<td>\textit{Habari za Waarabu na Islam.} (Information about the Arabs and Islam) \textit{Über Araber und Mohammedaner} (About Arabs and Muslims)</td>
<td>Frere Town B.E.A.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{Taarekhe ya Bara ya Hindi Kurze Geschichte} (Tariqa of India a Short history)</td>
<td>Indiens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{Raha isiyo karaha.} (Unhampered Happiness)</td>
<td>Religious Trakt. Society</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} The year of publication for \textit{Raha isiyo Karaha} is incorrect, as only the 1897 edition used both scripts.

\textsuperscript{18} Rigorous academic study of Islam in German East Africa was undertaken by Martin Klamroth and Carl Heinrich Becker. Klamroth was Mission-superintendent in Dar es Salaam; in 1911 he wrote \textit{Der literarische Charakter des ostafrikanischen Islam} (The Literary Character of East African Islam), published in \textit{Die Welt des Islams}. Becker, working at the Hamburg Kolonialinstitut, wrote \textit{Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika} (Materials for understanding Islam in German East Africa) published in \textit{Der Islam} in 1913. Carl Heinrich Becker’s work was published in English in 1968 as ‘Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa’ (Edited and translated by B.G. Martin), \textit{Tanzania Notes and Records} No. 68, 1968, 31-61.
Completing the overview of Christian tracts available in East Africa, during the early colonial period, a 1923 report, *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands: A Study of the Activities of the Moslem and Christian Press in All Mohammedan Countries*,\(^{19}\) gives a summary of the situation of “Christian Literature for Moslems in African Languages” (Patton 1923:153). Section one concerns ‘Swahili Districts’; the report defines the reach of Swahili as a language and summarises its development as a written language, quoting Alice Werner, a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). It estimates that fifty-five Christian books in Swahili are available (Patton 1923:155). The report concludes by examining material particularly to do with Islam:

> Several books have been written to inform the Christian Church in this part of Moslem Africa about the nature of Islam. They include a *Life of Mohammed* by Canon Dale, and a little book on *Information about Arabs and Mohammedanism*. To these may soon be added a Swahili version of the Koran by Canon Dale of Zanzibar. Christian hymns in Swahili have found a powerful evangelistic force, but no Christian poet has arisen to write the Gospel stories in the type of popular verse in which most of the Moslem literature is composed. It is thought that a special issue for Moslems of the book of Proverbs in Swahili might have great appeal. At a conference held at Dar-es-Salaam by missionaries in East Africa just before the war, to consider Moslem evangelisation, the creation of a strong Swahili literature was considered an imperative necessity. The Berlin Mission began the circulation of a Swahili magazine in German East Africa, where no district is untouched by Islam (Patton 1923:155-156).

Christian missions and churches were writing and using tracts in their work amongst Muslims and Muslims were responding to what was being said and written.

### 5.6 MUSLIM TRACTS

During the 1930s and 1940s, East African ‘Ulamā’ (Scholars), largely of Omani or Hadrami origin, began to write tracts to inform and educate Muslims. By this time, following the
growth of Islam during the 1920s, it was possible to differentiate between those Muslims who were from the pwani (coastal regions), who were Islamicised, and those of the bara (up-country) who had little Islamic knowledge. Many ‘Ulamā’ were deeply conservative and considered that Arabic was the only proper medium of instruction for Muslims to learn about Islam. However some, notably Sh. al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui (1890-1949) and Sh. Abdalla Saleh al-Farsy (1912-1982), were concerned about the fact that most Muslims were not conversant with Arabic. Being pragmatic, they realised that it was better to use Swahili as the medium of education, being surer of it being understood, rather than relying only on Arabic (Lacunza Balda 1993b:232; Kresse 2007:97).

Kai Kresse discusses the key role that al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui held in the Muslim community:

In 1930, he began to write, print (in ‘cyclostyle’), and distribute free pamphlets giving Islamic advice on current issues of social life. These weekly publications were initially written in Arabic script and called ‘Sahifā’ (page) because they consisted of a double-sided copy of a single page. After sixteen months, the volume grew to a bilingual publication in Arabic and Swahili in Latin script. It appeared as ‘Al-Islah’ for another twelve months before collapsing because Sheikh al-Amin had to take over the position of Qadi of Mombasa (Kresse 2003:286).

Al-Farsy regarded this approach as an encouragement for others to write:

Now many people write religious books in Kiswahili, but it was he who started this good thing—even if many people imitate him in this today. Thus, everyone who writes religious pamphlets in Kiswahili will get their reward from God (thawabu) for having performed this good deed, and Sh. al-Amin will get it (as well) since he was the one who opened this door (al-Farsy 1989:121).

An earlier period of growth of Islam ‘up-country’ had happened following the arrival of Sudanese soldiers from the Nuba Mountains of Central Sudan, who became known as ‘Nubians’. The German authorities recruited Sudanese mercenaries, to act as askaris (soldiers) in 1888 (Iliffe 1979:95; Chande 43,48). In Kenya and Uganda, ‘Nubians’ were also being recruited, by the British, from the remnant of Emin Pasha’s forces, during the late 1880s (Trimingham 1964:26; Twaddle 1995:3). The ‘Nubians’ were sent to work ‘up-country’ and introduced Islam to many communities. Reasons for the growth of Islam in the 1920s include: the change in ‘world-view’ of men (in particular) who had served as soldiers or worked in indentured labour and needed a religion that would embrace this wider experience (Buruku 1973:96-99; Haule 1973:160-162), the perceived close relationship between the colonial government and the church, leading to a rejection of Christianity.
Kresse demonstrates the importance of the written medium and it is interesting to note that al-
Amin used the same methods for printing his earliest pamphlets, by cyclostyle, using Arabic
script, as Taylor had done forty years previously.

The main purpose of these tracts was to instruct Muslims about their faith, in a language that
they could understand, and to counter both the perceived Africanising of Islam, especially
through the spread of *turuq*\(^{21}\) (Sufi Orders), and the threat of the Ahmadiyya Mission from
Pakistan.\(^{22}\) The Sufi Orders were viewed with suspicion by the coastal Arab-Muslim elite, as
there seems to have been a supremacist attitude that fluency in Arabic was essential for a
Muslim to be regarded as being able to understand Islam. The openness of the Sufi Orders to
Africanising influences and the possibility of achieving a position within the hierarchy
without Arabic or formal Muslim education was attacked by the coastal ‘ulamā’\(^{23}\).

Many tracts were published and widely distributed from the 1940s onwards, especially by
East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) from Mombasa, see Table 5.3. These were
readily available in both Kenya and Tanganyika until the 1960s, and are still found today.\(^{24}\)

\(^{21}\) The main Sufi orders present in East Africa are the Qādiriyya and the Shādhiliyya (Nimtz 1981 57-60;

\(^{22}\) The Islamic Foundation in Nairobi published Abu'l A'la Maudūdi’s *The Qadiani Problem* in 1978.

\(^{23}\) August Nimtz (1981) and Justo Lacunza Balda (1997) both examine this in detail.

written extensively on the role that al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui, Abdalla Saleh al-Farsy and others played in
helping East African Muslims to be informed of their own faith and culture.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year of Publication</th>
<th>Publishing Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aly, al-Amin b. [Mazrui]</td>
<td><em>Uongozı wa Kimașihiya na Ki-islamu</em> (Guide to Christianity and Islam)</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Mombasa: EAMWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Faida ya Zaka</em> (The benefits of zakāt)</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Mombasa: EAMWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dini ya Islamu Kimekusanya</em> (The Religion of Islam Collected)</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Mombasa: EAMWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mtume Muhammad Katika Vitabu Vitakati†u</em> (The Apostle Muhammad in the Holy Books)</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Mombasa: EAMWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Farsy, A.S.A.</td>
<td><em>Maisha ya Nabii Muhammad</em> (The Life of the Prophet Muhammad)</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Mombasa: EAMWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ada za harusi katika Unguja</em> (The fees for weddings in Zanzibar)</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam: EALB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sala na Mnaamrisho yake</em> (Prayers and their Regulations)</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Bangalore: The Islamic Literature Pub. House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Waakeze mtume wakubwa na wanawwe</em> (The main Wives of the Apostle and his sons)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Tanga: Northern Province Press Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Thamarāta-al-Jania: Taftīri ya Maulidi Barzanji n.k.</em> (thamarāt al-Jania: Translation of Barzanji’s Maulid etc.)</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam: Self Published</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is of note that most of the tracts listed in Figure 5.3 were printed in East Africa, particularly in Mombasa.
5.7 CHRISTIAN OUTREACH AT THE END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The First World War led to changes in East Africa. The former German East Africa became a British Protectorate, and was named Tanganyika Territory (Iliffe 1979:247). The inter-war years (1918-1939) led to changes within the missions. German missionaries were deported in 1917 and their stations were handed over to other missions or left to local control (Anderson 1977:75). The German missions were allowed to return from 1925 onwards. In some cases they found that the church membership had grown in their absence (Fiedler 1996:113).

Godfrey Dale, a UMCA Missionary who had been based in Zanzibar for many years, and had published the first version of the Qurʾān in Swahili in 1923,25 published a work in 1928 concerning the doctrinal differences between Islam and Christianity: *Khabari za dini za Kiislamu kwa mukhtasari pamoja na maelezo ya ikhtilafu zilizopo kati ya dini ya Kiislamu na dini ya Kikristo* (Summary remarks about the religion of Islam together with an explanation of the existing differences between the religion of Islam and the religion of Christianity). Of this work Lacunza Balda says:

This was a clear attempt to continue the approach Dale’s predecessors had followed in the past: first of all, the plan to provide Swahili translations of Christian texts and, secondly to print religious tracts, destined more specifically for Muslims with the view of attracting them to Christianity (Lacunza Balda 1997:99).

The missions were aware of the Muslim presence and relevant literature was being produced and made available. The 1929 stock list of books from the SPCK Bookshop in Dar es Salaam shows the following titles, concerning Islam, being available:

- *Contrast between Christianity and Muhammedanism*
- *Habari za dini ya Kiislamu* (Information about the religion of Islam)
- *Quoran English Edition*
- *Quoran Swahili Edition* [This refers to Dale’s *Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu*]
- *Maisha ya Muhammad* (The Life of Muhammad)

(UMCA SF 112 I & II Dar es Salaam Bookshop 1929-1933 Stocklist 1929)

---

25 See the next chapter for details of Dale’s version of the Qurʾān in Swahili.
The *Kalenda 1937* lists the following titles as being available through the Mission at Usambara:

*Muhammadi au Kristo? Maneno mafupi ya kweli ya Muhamadi*  
(Muhammad or Christ? A short account of the truth of Muhammad)

*Samweli Ali Husein, Mnubia wa Afrika. Yesu alimshinda mpaka awe mfunzi na mtangazaji wa utume mwema wa Yesu Nubia*  
(Samweli Ali Husein, A Nubian African. He was conquered by Jesus so that he became a disciple and broadcaster of the good news of Jesus in Nubia)

*Muhamadi. Bwana D.R. Reusch anayetambua msemo wa Kiarabu, anatusimulia maneno yote ya Muhamadi*  
(Muhammad. Mr. D.R. Reusch who understands the Arabic language, relates to us all the words of Muhammad)

*Jinsi dini ya Islamu Ilivyotungwa, Tunaonyeshwa vyimbuko kama chimbo mambo ya Islamu yalipochimbwa*  
(How the religion of Islam came about. We are shown the sources of Islam and where they came from)

(*Kalenda 1937: covers*)

These lists show that Christian missions were making material available as they continued to be concerned about the influence of Islam on Christians.

In the *Kalenda 1938*, published by Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai, the formation of the Tanganyika Missionary Council (TMC) in 1936 is announced and different Protestant missions working in Tanganyika are listed, together with their locations (*Kalenda 1938*:34-36). The *Kalenda 1939* reports on the missions in Zanzibar and Kenya, also the formation of the Kenya Missionary Council (KMC) (*Kalenda 1939*:32). These ecumenical groups, TMC and KMC, later became key church organisations as the countries approached independence; they became the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) and National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) respectively.

See Table 5.4 for a list of the Protestant Missions that were working in East Africa in the late 1930s.

---

26 *Kalenda* was a kind of Church Year Book including a lectionary of Bible readings and information of work in the Lutheran church. It was printed for the use of church workers and members.
### Table 5.4  Showing Protestant Missions working in East Africa in the late 1930s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Country and year Mission began</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventist Mission (Seventh Day Adventist SDA)</td>
<td>Kenya (1906), Tanganyika (1903)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa Inland Mission (AIM)</td>
<td>Kenya (1895), Tanganyika (1909)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustana Mission (Lutheran)</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1926)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin Mission (Lutheran)</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel Mission (Lutheran)</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brüdergemeine <em>Unitas Fratrum</em> (Moravian)</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Society CMS (Anglican)</td>
<td>Kenya (1844), Tanganyika (1876), Uganda (1876)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Scotland Mission CSM (Presbyterian)</td>
<td>Kenya (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glad Tidings Mission (Pentecostalists)</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1930)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Mission (Society of Friends) Quakers</td>
<td>Kenya (1902)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leipzig Mission (Lutheran)</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1893)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite Mission</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1934)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Mission</td>
<td>Kenya (1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neukirchen Mission (Free Lutheran)</td>
<td>Kenya (1887), Tanganyika (1911)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>Kenya (1921), Tanganyika (1933)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish Free Mission</td>
<td>Tanganyika (1931)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities’ Mission to Central Africa UMCA (Anglican)</td>
<td>Tanganyika, Zanzibar (1867)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kalenda 1938:35-36; 1939:32-33)

During the Second World War (1939-1945), the German missionaries were interned and missionaries from non-German missions were sent to assist the Lutheran and Moravian churches. Those sent included Gustav Bernander, transferred from Southern Rhodesia in 1941, and Bengt Sundkler, transferred from South Africa in 1942, both from Church of Sweden Mission; other missionaries came from the Norwegian Lutheran Mission and the Swedish Evangelical Missionary Society (Bernander 1968:155; Kalenda 1951:28).
5.8 PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

5.8.1 UMCA

The churches continued to grow and UMCA missionaries began to plan for the future. In 1943 they were preparing for a Diocesan conference to be held in 1944. An item in a ‘Preparatory Memorandum’ raises the question as to whether it would be possible to establish “in Zanzibar a small college or House of priest and lay experts in Islamics?” (UMCA/Box A 4 (1) Diocese of Zanzibar Official Papers, Preparatory Memoranda for Diocesan Conference Part III October 1943). This proposal was then expanded:

Their aims would be:
(a) To explore all avenues of approach to Moslems and to the Mohammaden religion, and to study their doctrines and practices with a view to finding the best means to present Christian truth as the answer to all these.
(b) To act as advisers on all problems connected with Islam to other priests in the Diocese who wanted expert advice to help in their work with Moslems.
(c) To get in touch with the younger generation of educated Moslems. In this connection, their house would be a centre where such young men would be encouraged to come for discussion, social intercourse, reading, study circles, lectures etc.
The community might include an Indian Priest who would work and visit amongst Indian Moslems in Zanzibar.
(d) But the predominating aim would be to endeavour to show the young modern educated Moslem the meaning of sacramental Christianity, not only its devotional but also its social implications.

It is just here that Moslems are in complete ignorance of what we believe and the consequences of our belief for the world as it is today. They need to be shown that we have a solution for the ills of the world founded on the Living Christ present in His body the church.
(UMCA/Box A 4 (1) Diocese of Zanzibar Official Papers, Preparatory Memoranda for Diocesan Conference Part III October 1943)

The proposal, as set out above, seems to be far-sighted and to show an awareness of the need for training and equipping Christians to enable them to live alongside and reach out to their Muslim neighbours. When the Diocesan Conference took place in 1944 these innovative ideas were not adequately addressed. The methods of evangelism were discussed and the following proposals were made:

We recommend the development of a system of Lantern Lectures; to this end we suggest that an appeal for such lanterns should be made in England, in order that every Parish may have one, with suitable supply of slides in each Archdeaconry.
Public Preaching, which consists of preaching the Gospel without attacks on other religions, if used with care, will also be of great value. … [W]e recommend that the Literature Committee produce a series of Evangelistic Tracts, some of them to be in Arabic Script, for use largely in connection with Lantern Lectures and Public Preaching but also for use by themselves. (UMCA/Box A 4 (1) Diocese of Zanzibar Official Papers, Diocesan Conference 1944, Vol I Proceedings of the Conference, 8-9)

Tracts were prepared; four of them, Swahili in Roman script, are lodged in the UMCA archives at Rhodes House, Oxford:

- **Kwa Namna Gani Yesu Kristo Bwana Wetu ni Mwana wa Mungu?**
  (In what manner is our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God?)
  8 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, npd

- **Mwokozi Hana Buddi [sic] Kuwa Hana Khatiya**
  (The Saviour must be without fault)
  8 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, npd

- **Khabari za Kufufuka Kwake Bwana Wetu Yesu Kristo.**
  (Information concerning the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ)
  4 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, npd

- **Leteni Hoja Zenu Mkiwa Mnasema Kweli**
  (Bring your questions if you want to speak the truth)
  8 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, printed at Universities’ Mission Press,
  (UMCA/Box D I (2) Arabic and Swahili Papers, 242, 247, 248, 272).

As well as UMCA planning for after the war, other missions also made preparations, and as the 1950s arrived, it became apparent that the colonial period was ending. The missions had to meet the challenge of ‘handing over’ and beginning national churches.

### 5.8.2 Islam in Africa Project (IAP)

In 1957 the International Missionary Council (IMC) met in Ghana and “a request was made to the staff of the I.M.C. and its Administrative Committee to make plans for a study of the problems raised by missionary work in areas of Moslem influence in Africa.” This led to consultations being held at Oegstgeest, Netherlands, in September 1958, and Hartford, Connecticut, in October 1958. It was proposed “to send a messenger to selected areas of Africa” (Benignus 1959:1). Pierre Benignus, of the Paris Missionary Society, was sent and travelled for four months at the beginning of 1959 to:
(a) Arouse concern, interest and support within church and mission bodies and Christian councils in the areas visited.
(b) Make contact with persons of special competence already working on the approach to Islam in Africa Project to secure their collaboration and to discuss the whole project with them.
(c) Discover what church and mission bodies should and can become participants in this advance. More specifically, he should try to find the most favourable locations in areas of the three types indicated above, and begin local consultations as to the nature of the work that might best be undertaken in each such situation. (+)
(d) To make contact with training institutions which should be related to this concern.

 (+) The three forms of Islam referred to are:
1) Entrenched Islam 2) New-Islamic Situations 3) Situations of Maximum Fluidity.
(Benignus 1959:1).

His report was a thorough review of the situation in each country and an assessment of the level of co-operation between churches and missions. It was presented to the IMC Administrative Committee in July 1959. It was suggested in the report that a more detailed survey of East Africa was needed. The main recommendation was to establish an infrastructure with suitably trained workers placed to facilitate local committees (Benignus 1959:29), and the establishment of the Islam in Africa Project (IAP). This was initially based at Ibadan in Nigeria from 1959, but moved to Nairobi in 1977. It changed its name to Project for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (Procmura) in 1987 and to Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa in 2003 (Mbillah 2007).27

5.8.3 Bookshops

Education was a major task of the missions. With increasing literacy the need for suitable reading material was realised. The missions operated bookshops and bookselling *safaris* (journeys) using mobile bookshops and sending colporteurs out on bicycles.28

---

27 See also *Understanding Islam and the Muslims in Africa* by Modupe Oduyoye, a short bibliography of published materials available to assist all those involved in the task of improving Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa, published by Procmura in 1995.
28 Colporteurs are still active. Up to the mid 1990s, students from St. Philip’s Theological College, Kongwa, in central Tanzania, were sent out with a metal suitcase of books, to accompany preaching teams on practical placements (personal experience). Seventh Day Adventists now call colporteurs Literature Evangelists; in 1999 they were active in outreach in Nairobi (*Literature Evangelist* July-September 2000 Number 658:7).
Bookshops were seen as being important in the preparation for a post-colonial future. Details of Christian bookshops were given in the Christian Literature Council report presented at the All-Africa Christian Literature Conference in Kitwe, in June 1961:

- CMS in Kenya – taken over by ESA [Educational Supply Association]
- CMS in Tanzania – Dodoma
- SPCK – Zanzibar, Lindi, Tanga and Dar es Salaam
- Moravian – Mbeya, Tukuyu and one other
- Also Bible Society Depots, USCL & CLC, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian


This list shows that there were Christian bookshops throughout East Africa, operated by different missions and denominations.

5.9 MUSLIM OUTREACH AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE

At this time, Muslims were also producing material with the aim of outreach. Jean-Marie Gaudeul, in *Encounters and Clashes* (1990:332-337), translates a tract published in Mombasa in 1962, *Kwa nisi sikuwa Mkristo* (Why I am not a Christian), purportedly responding to a letter from a Christian. The tract seeks to differentiate between Paul’s Religion and the Christianity of Jesus. It is a common approach used in Muslim polemics to attack Paul as the ‘perverter’ of the message of Jesus, arguing that if Jesus’ message had been followed, Christians would have recognised Muhammad as being sent by God and that Islam was the fulfilment of the message given by Jesus. A tract with a similar approach *Kwa nisi niliacha Uukristo* (Why I left Christianity) by Abbas Gombo Kanoni is examined in Part Three.

---

29 Gaudeul (1990 vol. I:i) explains that the reason he set about compiling *Encounters and Clashes* came from his experiences working in an African country (Tanzania) (1999:cover). He discovered that “Unexpectedly, … a Muslim would quote a modern author whom few Priests if any, in that country, had heard of.” (1990:i). He names Bucaille as an example of the author being quoted. To illustrate the truth of this, Aziz (1998) quotes Deedat, Bucaille, Mawdūdī, ‘At‘ur-Rahim, also Harnack and Schillebeeckx.

30 By Maalim Said bin Ahmad and published by the Muslim Youth Cultural Society.
Another example is *Mtume Muhammad katika Vitabu Vitakatifu* (The Apostle Muhammad in the Holy Books), written by al-Amin b. Aly, 3rd printing 1955, which begins:

The witness of the Holy Books to the Apostle Muhammad. We show here a small part of the evidence of the Holy Books that are believed by all Christians Protestant and Roman Catholic, showing that the Apostle Muhammad is truly the Apostle who was expected to come after the Lord Jesus the Messiah (Aly 1955:1).  

This example illustrates an aspect of many Muslim tracts, using the Bible to show the alleged veracity of Islam. Issues such as these are raised in several of the tracts in Part Three.

A valuable source of information concerning Muslim tracts that were available in East Africa in 1960 is *A Report on Islam in Kenya for The Department of Biblical Study and Research of Christian Council of Kenya*, written by Bethwell Kiplagat and Sigvard von Sicard, as a part of the preparations for setting up the Islam in Africa Project. In Pierre Benignus’ report on his journey, concerning East Africa he wrote:

The Christian Council of Kenya, aware of the problem, has set aside in its budget a sum for a three-months’ study in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. The presence in Tanganyika of Pastor von Sicard, an expert who at the moment has a missionary post, should permit this plan being carried out in 1960. The Lutheran World Federation, to which he belongs, has been asked to release him for this enquiry. In addition it is planned to appoint an African student from Makerere College as his fellow-worker (Benignus 1959:28).

Bethwell Kiplagat, then a student at Makerere College, and later to become a distinguished Kenyan diplomat, accompanied Sigvard von Sicard, a Swedish Lutheran missionary working in Tanganyika. They travelled around Kenya and the report gives an invaluable ‘snapshot’ of Islam in Kenya at the end of the colonial era; it details Muslim presence and activities throughout Kenya and would repay further analysis.

---


32 Bethwell Kiplagat served as Kenyan Ambassador in a number of countries and since retiring has acted as special envoy in peace talks, most recently in Somalia.
An Appendix to the report lists publications by the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS), together with a brief comment on the contents:


7. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly Faida ya Zaka. (The benefit of zakāt) Pp.16. 2nd imp. 1956


Two additional appendices list books published by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission and other books on Islam; the list includes several titles by al-Farsy:

1. Tafsiri ya Kurani. Juzuu ya awali. Albaqarah. (Translation of the Qur'ān, the early juz': Albaqarah) This is the orthodox translation published in Zanzibar, and is to be preferred to any other translation at present available. It is not yet completed, but approximately 12 sections of the 30 are completed.


3. Sala na maamrisho yake. (Prayer and its regulations) An excellent exposition of the orthodox teaching on prayer. (Sheikh Abdalla Saleh al-Farsy is one of the most outstanding Muslim preachers of E.A. and any publication is worth looking into.)

---

33 Twenty books, including Kurani Tukutu published by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, are listed in the appendix to Kiplagat and von Sicard’s report. The Ahmadiyya are not regarded as Muslims by orthodox Muslims. See the next chapter for details about the Qur'ān published by the Ahmadiyya in 1953.
4. *Tarehe ya Imam Shafi.* (*The Shafi'i Ulama of East Africa*)

Deals with the life and followers of Imam Shafi the founder of the Shafi'i School of Law, one of the four orthodox law schools, which is the school under which most African Muslims come in legal and social matters where Islamic law applies.34 (Kiplagat & von Sicard 1960:32).

The list includes the early *juzu* of al-Farsy’s *Qur’an Takatifu* as well as some of his best-known works, which are still available now, almost fifty years later.

These works by Muslims, listed by Kiplagat and von Sicard, show that Muslims were producing material and that they were as adept at using the printed medium to disseminate ideas as were Christians.

5.10 **NEW METHODS OF MUSLIM OUTREACH**

In the early 1960s, the writings of Ahmed Deedat (1918-2005), who was based in South Africa, began to appear in East Africa. One example, printed in South Africa in English and available in Mombasa is: *Muhammad (PBUH) in the Old and New Testaments.* Lacunza Balda (1997:101) refers to a Swahili translation of this text, *Mtume Muhammad katika Biblia* (The Apostle Muhammad in the Bible), dated 1965. Other Deedat tracts that have been translated into Swahili include: *Biblia Asema nini juu ya Muhammad (S.A.W.)* (What does the Bible say about Muhammad (P.B.U.H.), dated 1988 (Lacunza Balda 1997:101); Adam Traders of Mombasa lists several titles including *Uïslamu katika Biblia* (Islam in the Bible); *Je! Yesu Alisulubiwa?* (Was Jesus Crucified?). Audio-cassettes and, more recently, videos of Deedat’s debates and talks are popular and have been widely distributed in both Kenya and Tanzania.

---

34 Randall Pouwels translated, edited and annotated this work by al-Farsy, published in 1989.
Ahmad Deedat was born in India, but moved to South Africa in 1927. His supporters date his zeal from 1936 when, whilst working in a store, he was stung by the insults against Islam by trainee Christian missionaries. He obtained a copy of *Izhār al-ḥaqq* (The Demonstration of Truth) and used this to debate with the trainee missionaries. From this beginning he went on to write booklets challenging the truth of the Bible and Christianity, and to hold debates with Christian Evangelists throughout the world. His populist polemical style has been well received by many Muslims (Lockhat 1994:1-2).36

A visit to Tanzania by Deedat is described by H.M. Njozi. He reports how, in June 1981, as Secretary General of the Muslim Students Association of the University of Dar es Salaam (MSAUD), he invited Ahmed Deedat to speak at a conference in Dar es Salaam, where Deedat gave a lecture on Muḥammad in the Bible. Further, Njozi reports that after the first lecture, six Catholic seminarians embraced Islam and pressure was put on MSAUD to cancel the second lecture, following a letter to the leadership of *Baraza Kuu la Waislamu wa Tanzania* (Supreme Council of Muslims of Tanzania, (BAKWATA)), by both Tanzanian Episcopal Conference (TEC) and CCT. Njozi reports that he went to the Vice-President to ask him to allow the meeting to go ahead and that four Christians embraced Islam at that meeting (Njozi 2000:11-12). The visit meant that many Muslims were exposed to Deedat’s methods and style of polemical preaching. Tanzanian preachers have followed the approach used by Deedat, notably Mussa Fundi Ngariba and Mohammed Ali Kawemba whose *Uīslam katika Biblia* (Islam in the Bible) is one of the tracts examined in Part Three.

---

35 *Izhār al-ḥaqq* by Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī which Ahmed Deedat “discovered by pure chance” in 1936 whilst looking at how to respond to the “incessant insults of trainee missionaries” from a Christian Seminary near Natal; it became the basis of his own approach (Deedat 1995: foreword by Ebi Lockhat).

5.11 CHRISTIAN OUTREACH POST-INDEPENDENCE

The production of material by Muslims has been in response to the great variety of materials that have been produced by Christians. The following examples illustrate the breadth of this material available in East Africa:

The *Kalenda 1960* lists three titles available under *Imani nyingine* (Other faiths):

- *Muhamadi, Maisha na Mafundisho yake.* (Muhammad, his Life and Teachings) Sh. 1/90
- *Muhamadi au Kristo?* (Muhammad or Christ?) Sh. -/35
- *Hatari za Islamu katika Afrika Mashariki.* (The Danger of Islam in East Africa) Sh. -/15

(Kalenda 1960: covers)

The first two of these titles had been available for many years. For *Muhamadi au Kristo?* (Muhammad or Christ?), the copy examined is dated 1951. On the last page there is a footnote: “This book was initially prepared by Rev. P. Wohlraub, Mtae, in 1912; the second time by Rev. E. Dammann, Tanga, in 1935; it was printed again in 1948, 2000 [copies]; 1951, 5000 [copies]” (Wohlraub 1951). However, *Hatari za Islamu katika Afrika Mashariki* (The danger of Islam in East Africa) was only published in 1956. It was written by Gustav Bernander, of the Church of Sweden Mission, and originally advertised for sale in bundles of 100 copies for 9/-.

Another tract published in Swahili at this time was *Kuwaelezea Waislamu Injili* (Explaining the Gospel to Muslims), by J. Crossley, of the Islam in Africa Project, which was translated by Marjorie Stanway (USCL 1961, printed in Britain). The English original of this is listed

---

37 The Swahili reads: ‘Kitabu hiki kimekwisha kutengenezwa mara ya kwanza na mchungaji P. Wohlraub, Mtae, mwaka wa 1912; mara ya pili na mchungaji E. Dammann, Tanga, mwaka wa 1935; kimepigwa chapa tena mwaka wa 1948, 2000; 1951, 5000.’
for enquirers in the pamphlet *Questions Muslims Ask*, a carefully worded pamphlet produced by the Ghana Committee of the Islam in Africa Project.\(^{38}\)

Many of these tracts had the specific purpose of introducing Muslims to Christianity. James Holway comments on the effectiveness of tracts: that Muslims could read them unobtrusively and that “Muslims reading Bible portions and tracts are becoming Christians” (Holway 1971a:270).

Several books have been produced on Islam and Muslim-Christian relations. These include: *Wana wa Ibrahimu: Wakristu (sic) na Waislamu* (The Children of Abraham: Christians and Muslims), written by H.P. Anglars. This was published originally by the Catholic Seminary at Kipalapala, Tabora, during the 1960s and covers the life of Muhammad, the spread of Islam in Africa and the differences between Christianity and Islam. Lissi Rasmussen comments that this book has a more positive approach to Muslims (Rasmussen 1993:93). She also explains that “It tries to help Christians and Muslims to appreciate each other’s faith as two sides of divine revelation and thus come to appreciate one another as human beings …” (1993:94).

*Ushirikiano kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu* (1979), a translation of *Christian Witness among Muslims* and *Njia ya Nabii Muhammad Wakristo waufahamu Uislamu* (1989) a translation of *The Way of the Prophet: An Introduction to Islam* written by David Brown, were both

---

38 *Questions Muslims Ask* was originally written in French, by Claude Molla. It was also translated into Swahili, in the 1960s. The first part has now been re-written and is available in Swahili as *Maswali Wayaulizayo Waislamu*; it is also available in French and English.
A survey of recent publications by East African Muslim writers: Mohamed Said (1998); Hamza Njozi (2000, 2003); Hassan Mwakimako (2007) found them to be critical of how Muslims were portrayed in East African media but making no specific comments about the use of tracts or their contents.

This chapter has shown that tracts have been written and distributed by Muslims and Christians in East Africa for more than a hundred years. Before looking at the tracts that are presently in circulation and describing their content and purpose, the language in which the tracts are written, Swahili, will be examined in the next chapter.

39 ATIEA is an interdenominational organisation with members throughout East Africa. The Swahili Text Book Committee is mainly active in Tanzania; its Secretary is the Manager of Central Tanganyika Press, which publishes the work commissioned by the Committee to be written or translated. The writer is a member of this committee. See Ministering Among Muslims in Africa, An annotated list of Practical Materials (Hinton 1992:21-22) for a detailed review of books and material available in Swahili. See also Understanding Islam and the Muslims in Africa by Modupe Oduyoye, a short bibliography of published materials available to assist all those involved in the task of improving Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa, published by Procmura in 1995.
CHAPTER SIX: SWAHILI

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines Swahili as a language in order to understand its impact on outreach literature in East Africa. Swahili is a language which originally developed among the people of the East African Coast. It is also known as Kiswahili; the prefix *ki*- is used to indicate language, the prefix *u*- indicates place, and the prefix *m-/wa*- indicates person/people. Swahili is one of the Bantu family of languages, which Farouk Topan defines as:

… languages which are spoken in the southern third of Africa, from Cameroon and Kenya to South Africa. The languages share striking features of grammar – all nouns, for example, belong to one of a number of concord-classes, with characteristic prefixes and agreements and a considerable common lexicon (Topan 1999:917).

Grammatically, Swahili is Bantu in structure, but a significant proportion of the vocabulary is Arabic in origin.\(^1\) The Arabic element in Swahili is an important consideration in this study, as its presence has influenced the religious language used by Muslims and Christians.

Whilst this research is not intended to be one of linguistics, it is necessary to have some understanding of the way in which the language has developed and spread.

In an ethnographic survey of the *Swahili-Speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast* (1961), A.H.J. Prins lists the various forms of Swahili that are spoken. He lists around twenty different forms on the islands and coast, and mentions others used on the Comoros Islands and in the Congo. He gives as significant:

*Kiunguja* of Zanzibar as being the most important, as it is at the root of the ‘standard’ Swahili, [it] has become the lingua franca of East Central Africa. In a sense it is a ‘new’ language, which has developed into its present form through the 19\(^{th}\) and 20\(^{th}\) centuries and largely influenced by the influx of slaves.

---

\(^1\) Derek Nurse writes “Assessment of the Arabic component [in Swahili] … ranges from ca. 20% to 50% of the total vocabulary” (Nurse 1997:277), whilst I. Bosha claims that 44.3% of Swahili words have an Arabic origin (Bosha 1990:39).
Kimvita, the dialect of Mombasa and environs, … although it is mainly a spoken and not a written dialect. … It is mainly the speech of the Afro-Arabs of Mombasa. Kiamu is seen as the third important dialect group of Swahili, since it is used by many poets and writers. Kimrima/Kiumtang’ata is the mainland form of Southern Swahili, from Pangani River to Kilwa. (adapted from Prins 1961:26)

These different dialects, whilst having similar grammatical structures, differ in spelling and have different vocabularies. Edgar Polomé gives some examples of such differences in spellings between Kimrima and Kiunguja

1 for r: balua for barua – letter
s for sh: sauri for shauri – plan
devoicing for ‘g’: kiza for giza – darkness
palatization of ‘k’ to ‘ch’ before front vowels: kucheti for kuketi – to sit
insertion of ‘u’ after ‘m’ before consonants: mutu for mtu – person
insertion of ‘l’ or ‘r’ in sequence of two vowels: njara for njaa – hunger
use of ya instead of la concords with noun agreements in the 5th class: jiko yake for jiko lake – his kitchen (adapted from Polomé 1980:85)

The variations in grammar and spelling in the different dialects, together with the different approaches to orthography which resulted from the different backgrounds of those who were reducing Swahili to writing in Roman script, led to a great range of spellings in printed works. Examples of this are found in the passages of scripture in Appendix One.

The reports of early travellers record some identifiable Swahili words. Derek Nurse cites Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī around 915 AD as using waflimi, the standard Swahili being wafalme for chiefs or kings, and Al-Idrīsī writing around 1150 AD, as using

---

2 Abdalla Khalid (1977) divides the Swahili dialects into Extreme Northern; Northern, including Kiamu; Central, including Kimvita; Southern and Extreme Southern, with a note stating “There is no dialect by the name of Kiunguja. The speech of Zanzibar Town is Swahili which Arabs picked up from various, mostly southern sources”. He does not list Kimrima as a distinct dialect, including it with Kiumtang’ata (Khalid 1977:v, 140).

Derek Nurse and Thomas Spear distinguish between seven Northern and eleven Southern dialects of Swahili, with Kiamu and Kimvita being Northern dialects and Kiunguja and ‘Lugha ya Zamani’/Kiumtang’ata [Kimrima] Southern dialects (Nurse & Spear 1985:57-62). They explore the pre-history and development of Swahili as a language, finding its roots in a proto-Swahili in use by the ninth century (CE) (Nurse & Spear 1985:52).

3 Many of the first linguists working with Swahili were missionaries, from English (Steere, Madan, Taylor), French (Sacléux) and German (Krapf, Klamroth, Roehl) backgrounds, all of which have different traditions and practices concerning languages.

---

120
Swahili has been a written language from at least the sixteenth century: for example, *The Kilwa Chronicle*, which Sigvard von Sicard dates as around 1530 (von Sicard 1998:194), and a translation of *Hamziyah*, composed in 1652 by Idarus Othman which Topan cites (Topan 1999:917).

Ali and Alamin Mazrui describe Swahili as having developed through four distinct stages:

The *Islamic* stage, when the language culturally and idiomatically was associated closely with Islam.

The *ecumenical* stage, when the language also came to serve the purposes of Christianity.

The *secular* stage, when the main influences on the language have been non-religious and when its role has been overwhelmingly secular.

The *universalist* stage, when the language has become the most widely used African language.

(adapted from Mazrui & Mazrui 1998:126).

Changes in Swahili as a language came about as it evolved, the result of the new requirements put upon it. Mazrui and Mazrui discuss its evolution into an *ecumenical* language:

… a medium of worship and theology for Christianity and indigenous African religion, as well as Islam. Kiswahili is now the language of a Christian hymn, of an Islamic sermon, and of funeral rites in African traditional creeds. Swahili religious concepts which were originally intended only for Muslim discourse have now penetrated the vocabulary of the Bible and of African initiation rites. The ecumenicalization of Kiswahili is part and parcel of its universalization (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998:171).

---

4 Derek Nurse gives the meaning of *mganga* as wizard, which is correct from the context of al-Idrīsi’s document (see Freeman-Grenville 1962:20), but more correctly *mganga* means traditional healer (Mulokozi 2001:200).

5 Y.A. Omar and P.J.L. Frankl have written extensively about early Swahili texts, including those found in the Goa archives in Swahili using Arabic script, one being ‘A 12th/18th century Swahili letter from Kilwa Kisiwani’ (Omar & Frankl 1994a). The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London established the Swahili Manuscripts Project to comprehensively catalogue the seven collections they hold (Omar & Drury 2002:9-17). These are the Taylor Papers 1810-1890 (Rev. W.E. Taylor); Werner Collection 1906-1934 (Alice Werner); Hichens Collection 1894-1943 (William Hichens); Allen Collection 1898-1977 (J.W.T. Allen); Whiteley Collection 1950-1959 (Wilfred Whiteley); Knappert Collection 1929-1970 (Jan Knappert); and Y.A Omar Collection 1960-1973 (Yahya Ali Omar) (Omar & Drury 2002:9). They are now available as a Microfilm and on-line URL http://mercury.soas.ac.uk/perl/Project/listSwahiliCollections.pl (26.07.07).
Topan discusses the Islamic and Christian stages in terms of how they had an influence on Swahili. He identifies three different possible ways in which Islam had an influence on Islamic Swahili:

(i) The original Arabic term was Swahilised, e.g. rūḥ (Ar.) > roho (Sw.) [Spirit]
(ii) The original Arabic term was Swahilised and, additionally, given a Bantu synonym, e.g. rasūl (Ar.) > rasuli/mtume (Sw.) [Messenger/Apostle]
(iii) The original Arabic term was generally not adopted but the concept was given a Swahili term, e.g. Allāh (Ar.) > Mngu/Mungu (Sw.) [God]

(adapted from Topan 1992:335)

The influence of Christianity on the language is further discussed below, when examples of some of the problems that the early missionary translators faced are examined.

Until the coming of Christian missionaries and European colonisers in the second half of the nineteenth century, Swahili was written using Arabic script. The missionaries and colonial authorities generally chose to use Roman script. Orthography and spelling varied between dialects and mission. If Swahili was to become the lingua franca of the region there was a need to standardise Swahili.

6.2 STANDARDISING SWAHILI

The colonial powers, Britain and Germany, used Swahili as a language of administration and communication and this influenced its development as a language. The colonial authorities in the Belgian Congo also used Swahili as an official language for the South-Eastern parts of the country. The story of its introduction and development as a distinct language, together with its significance in the colonial politics of the Congo are related in Language and colonial power: the appropriation of Swahili in the Belgian Congo, 1880-1938, Johannes Fabian (1986).

Christian missionaries had mainly used Roman script for their Bible translations and educational books, however some publishing was done using Arabic script, e.g. St. John’s Gospel in Swahili (Arabic Script), BFBS by W.E. Taylor (1897).
The decision to use only Roman script for Swahili was made by the colonial authorities at the end of the 19th Century. In German East Africa this was decided in the 1890s following the visit of Inspector Winkellman in 1893, who saw the Christian missions using Roman script and recommended the change to the government which was using Arabic script for announcements in Swahili (von Sicard 1970:159). The Mazruis explain that during the 1905 Colonial Congress, Carl Meinhof “proposed that Kiswahili be dis-Islamized [sic] by replacing the Arabic script … with the Roman script and Arabic loan words with German terms” (Mazrui & Mazrui 1995:39).

After the First World War, the idea of a standard form of Swahili gained ground as the British now controlled Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika (Mazrui & Mazrui 1995:44). The formal process of standardisation of Swahili began in 1925, with an Inter-Territorial Conference of the Committee for the Standardisation of the Swahili Language, which sat at Dar es Salaam and chose the Zanzibar dialect of Swahili, Kiunguja, rather than Kimvita of Mombasa or any of the other dialects, as standard Swahili, and regularised the orthography of Swahili in Roman script (Broomfield 1930:77ff; Wright 1965:48).7

In the Notes and News section of Africa (April 1931) there is a summary of the Inter-territorial Language Committee Resolutions and it was noted that:

An Inter-Territorial Language Committee had been formed … The first meeting was held in Nairobi, Kenya Colony, April 1930 … That the standard Swahili is that which was adopted by the Committee for the standardization of the Swahili Language which sat at Dar-es-Salaam in 1925, which was subsequently confirmed by a Conference held at Mombasa in 1928, … The gist of the resolutions [are]:-

‘That the Zanzibar dialect with such modification as may be required be adopted as the standard form of Swahili.

That in deciding on the modification, Bantu words be employed wherever possible, but due regard should be paid to Arabic words and those of other foreign languages which are established and have become part and parcel of the Swahili language.

That pending their revision, Steere’s Swahili Exercises and the grammatical portions of Steere’s Handbook are recommended as being the most suitable for adoption as standard grammars, and Madan’s Dictionaries as a standard work’ (Notes and News 1931:239-240).

It seems that one aspect of the standardising of Swahili and using Roman script was to ‘de-Islamise’ the language.8

From this time, Swahili, using Roman script, became the usual medium for printed works. Following the standardisation of Swahili and the establishment of the Inter-territorial Language (Swahili) Committee (ILC), all books that were to be published and to be used in government schools were submitted to them for approval. G.W. Broomfield writing in January 1931 explains that:

The four territories now have shauri moja (one policy) with regard to Swahili. A permanent secretary has been appointed, also ‘readers’ in each territory who revise all Swahili books and manuscripts submitted to them on the lines of the principles of standardization already agreed upon. In future no books will be used in Government and assisted schools of East Africa unless they have been approved, with regard to their Swahili, by the Inter-territorial Language Committee (Broomfield 1931:84-85).

The inside title page of books published in the territory included an *imprimatur* from the ILC. An example of this is *Historia ya Kibiblia: Katika Lugha ya Kiswahili*, published by the Lutheran Church in 1956, which has this statement:

The Swahili in which this book is written has been approved by the Interterritorial [sic] Language (Swahili) Committee for the East Africa Dependencies.

B.J. Ratcliffe, Secretary, I.L.C. (1956:Title Page).

Interestingly Broomfield adds that “No pressure will be brought to bear upon the missions with regard to the Swahili of their religious books, but they will hardly seek to perpetuate types of Swahili which will rapidly become obsolete” (Broomfield 1931:85). This may well

---

8 Mission schools taught using vernaculars: many missionaries still regarded Swahili as too Islamic. The Colonial authorities had to impose the use of Swahili in education (Iliffe 1979:339; Mazrui & Mazrui 1995:47).
explain why the mission sought approval for the above example, as it would want the book to be available for use in schools.

Arabic script continued to be used, as Robin Lamburn reports that during the 1930s in Tunduru, Southern Tanganyika, many had: “no knowledge of the Roman script, but who are fluent in the reading and writing of Swahili in Arabic script” (King, Fiedler & White 1991:125). J.W.T. Allen, writing in 1945, in his Introduction to Arabic Script for Students of Swahili, commends the study of Swahili written in Arabic script for the following reasons:

A man will often tell you that he cannot read or write, because believing you to be unable to read “Kiswahili” [Swahili], he assumes that you are asking him only about “Kizungu” [any European language]. If this fact were realized the literacy figures for East Africa would be found to be very different from those that will be found in reports. As soon as it is discovered that you can manage the script a surprisingly large amount of correspondence will begin to appear, not with educated Arab or Arabized people on the Coast only, but with persons who would normally be assumed without question to be illiterate (Allen 1945:5).  

From this it can be deduced that producing tracts in Swahili in Arabic script, such as Raha isiyon Karaha, had a real purpose, in that initially they would be readily understood by more people than were able to understand Swahili in Roman script.

More recently there has been a movement to re-introduce Swahili in Arabic script. In 1997 Yahya Ali Omar (with P.J.L. Frankl) published ‘An Historical Review of the Arabic Rendering of Swahili Together with Proposals for the Development of a Swahili Writing System in Arabic Script’, which details the history of Arabic script and the opposition to it, together with a detailed argument for its re-introduction.

---

9 Allen was also concerned that Swahili speakers should be able to read Swahili in Roman script; in 1938 he published Maandiko ya Kizungu: yaani kitabu cha kusomea herufi wanazozitumia wazungu (Writing of Swahili [in Roman script]: that is a book to read the letters that are used by Europeans). Kizungu was used to refer to Standardised Swahili by those used to using Arabic script (Khalid 1977:155).
At much the same time, Ali Muhsin al-Barwani in his preface to Tarjama ya AL-MUNTAKHAB katika tafṣīrī ya Qur‘ānī tukufū (1995 and 2000) presented the case for the re-introduction of the use of Arabic script for Swahili.

The work that we have is … To teach people to use Arabic letters to write Swahili as they all did before the coming of the colonials. … As an experiment I have been able to teach various Tanzanian youth to read and write using Arabic letters in only a few days and they were able to read the Qur‘ān wherever I opened it. I have written a booklet concerning this which I have called: Jifunze Kusoma na Kuandika Kiarabu kwa Wiki Tatu [Learn to read and write Arabic in three weeks], which is already published (Al-Barwani 2000:viii).10

Since then, in 2003, Kiswahili (Swahili using Arabic characters), a small dictionary, was published in Zanzibar by A.O. Mohamed and A. Owhida. In these latter cases, the Swahili used is closer to that of Zanzibar Swahili than standard Swahili.

6.3 PROBLEMS FACING CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES WHEN TRANSLATING INTO SWAHILI

The question of the best way to translate the Bible, and questions as to how to find suitable words in Swahili for Bible translation, arose at various levels. Three examples are given to illustrate some of the issues that were faced by early translators:

6.3.1 Miss Barton’s understanding of Swahili

In her annual report to CMS in 1890, Miss Mabel Barton,11 who was a missionary, teaching children in Mombasa, complained of the paucity of Swahili language as a means of

---


11 Mabel Barton was accepted for service by CMS in February 1888, at the age of 22. She undertook preparatory training at The Willows and in July 1889 set off for the Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission, based in Frere Town. In 1890 she married Arthur Smith, an ordained CMS Missionary who had been in the mission field since 1887, they retired from the mission in 1903 (CMS Register 1904:277, 217).
communicating the message of Christianity.

A class which would simply be play if given in English, becomes a hard lesson in Swahili to the teacher out here. The language is so poor, one word having to do duty for six English ones. For instance, they use the same word for God’s throne in heaven as they use for a tiny three-legged stool \([\text{kiti}]\) – all the chair they know of. What idea of the throne can they have? Also crown \([\text{kilemba}]\) is the same word as turban. The children have never seen a crown, and must imagine that “a crown for little children” is something like the head-gear worn by the Arabs! The idea of “sacrifice” \([\text{dhabihu}]\) too – I wonder when they can take it in at all. The word used for “offerings” \([\text{sadaka}]\) means to them putting a few pice [coins of small value] in the bag on Sundays. We think they must have wonderful intellects to have grasped what they have, and of course it falls upon us to explain these words, which is not easy in a new language (CMS Proceedings 1891:48).

In writing this, Miss Barton demonstrates her own incomplete understanding of Swahili and the nuances that it is capable of. Her description of \(\text{kiti}\) as meaning both God’s throne and three legged stool is an example. \(\text{Kiti cha enzi}\) – literally chair of authority – would be used for God’s throne, whereas a \(\text{kiti chenyie miguu mitatu}\) – chair having three legs – could be used for stool, but in fact \(\text{kigoda}\) (three legged stool) and \(\text{kikalio}\) (small seat) differentiate stools from chairs.\(^{12}\) It is to be noted that neither of the dictionaries by Krapf (1882) and Madan (1903) give these latter words as alternatives. Part of her ‘ignorance’ at the time she wrote may well have been that, as she had only arrived in East Africa in mid 1889 (CMS Register 1904:277), she would have had only a limited amount of time to learn Swahili, yet CMS still published her remarks in their Proceedings.

### 6.3.2 Isa Masiya or Yesu Kristo?

A major issue for the Christian missions was to decide what words should be used for Jesus Christ in Swahili. Should it follow the Arabic form, \(\text{Īsā al-Masīḥ (Isa Masiya, in Swahili)}\) the title that Muslims in East Africa were familiar with? Or should it be based on the Greek, \(\text{Yesu Kristo}\)? The different mission agencies and publishers had different views, with UMCA favouring \(\text{Isa Masiya}\) and CMS favouring \(\text{Yesu Kristo}\). This led, in 1894, to SPCK refusing to

---

\(^{12}\) Similarly the other words she mentions would be better understood than she supposes.
publish a Swahili hymn book prepared by W.E. Taylor because he used ‘Jesu’ (CMS Precis Book G3 A5 P4:1892-1895:23.10.1894:item 196). The issue remained unresolved, partly because of the inability of missionaries from CMS and UMCA to agree to discuss revisions of Bible translations, even though the Home Committees actually encouraged them to. In April 1892, R. Lang and F.E. Wigram from CMS head office wrote to Taylor telling him to organise a conference to meet with UMCA and to discuss revisions, as had been suggested by the Committee two and a half years previously (CMS Out-going Letters Book G3 A5 L6:1890-1893:304). One reason for the disagreement having arisen was their use of different dialects of Swahili, CMS using Kimvita and UMCA using Kiunguja. The Frere Town Translational sub-committee, meeting in 1894, “saw no prospect of compromise on the part of the Universities’ Mission with regard to translation” (CMS Precis Book G3 A5 P4:1892-1895:23.10.1894:item 195).

This failure to come to an agreement on a common translation for Jesus Christ in Swahili led, in 1906, to a meeting organized at the behest of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson, between CMS and UMCA together with SPCK and BFBS, who were both publishing Bibles in Swahili. Frederick Baylis from CMS then wrote to Bishops Peel and Tucker to let them know of the discussions.

Letter from F. Baylis to Bishops Tucker and Peel, February 8th 1906.
Swahili rendering of Our Lord’s Name.- We were approached the other day with a request from the S.P.C.K. to send representatives to a small Conference the Archbishop was gathering at Lambeth Palace to consider the question of the usage in East Africa as to the Title for Our Lord in S.P.C.K. publications. The matter arose, it seems through the Universities Mission asking the S.P.C.K. to produce the prayer-book in which the title for Our Lord was to be a transliteration of “Jesus Christ,” (Yasu Kristo) instead of some form of the Arabic words for “Jesus, The Messiah.” (Isa, Masiya) The S.P.C.K. were bound to get the Archbishop’s concurrence: and when he knew how usually in other English Missions in the neighbourhood the Semitic form prevails and not the Greek, he felt it was a matter on which consultation was necessary. We have had the Conference (Mr. Binns and Mr. Blackledge representing our expert knowledge; Mr. Sharp of the B. & F.B.S. was also present), and evidently the Archbishop felt it was no easy matter for him to decide; and when someone suggested that it would be possible for three, if not all the four East African Bishops to meet at home this year, he took to the idea of inviting the
Bishop of Zanzibar specially to England that he might meet with you and Bishop Tucker/Peel, and possibly the Bishop of Likoma, who is now at home. At His Grace’s request, I am writing to tell you that he hopes you will be willing to give him the help of your advice when you are home, and suggests that you should, if you are able, prepare yourself for the consultation by getting beforehand what you are able in the shape of any united opinion from your Mission. I might say that, so far as I could gather, the drift of thought in the Conference we have had, there was a very general feeling that a different spelling than “Isa Masiya” is clearly advisable: but the larger question before the Archbishop was whether the whole set of terms – Christ, Christian, Christianity, Christmas, &c. – are to be recast in one or more of the East African languages. I suppose ruling questions will be, whether uniformity over so large an area as that including Swahili, Luganda and kindred dialects must be aimed at, and, if so, whether it is wisest to retain the Semitic or admit the Greek. The Bishop of Zanzibar seems to say that only the C.M.S. Missions, to his knowledge, retain now the Semitic; but Mr. Blackledge was able to quote the Roman Catholics in Uganda, while he had to say also that he thought some strength of opinion was growing in Uganda (against his own opinion) that the Greek form should be introduced. There seems to be much evidence that even in Bantu languages as well as in languages of other groups where Mohammedanism does not prevail, the Greek form has been customary. In that respect the position which prevails in India seems to have reproduced itself in Africa, though touch with Mohammedanism seems naturally to have led to the Semitic usage, while many Mohammedan districts have transliterated the Greek. Mr. Sharp seemed to suggest that no strong effort should be made to divert people from this historical usage, but that, in cases where the matter was in question, as in the Universities Mission in East Africa, it might be possible, while printing one form of phrase in a text, to show by marginal notes that it was the equivalent to the other, and that the other could if desired, be used instead (1901-1906 CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 10 January – 26 October 1906 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 9).

The use of the ‘Semitic’ (Arabic) titles seemed to have proponents from amongst the CMS groups, whereas UMCA appeared to prefer the Greek, an apparent shift from the discussions reported in 1894. The discussion seems to have taken into account the Muslim usage of Isa Masiya, as well as the use by other Bantu languages of Yesu Kristo. The Greek transliteration was adopted and is used by all the translations of the Bible now in circulation.13

Walbert Bühlmann in his section on Jesus Christus (1950:219-222) discusses the use of Yesu by Christian missions and states that Yesu is used in all Catholic books as well as in Protestant books. He appears to be unaware of the discussions between UMCA and CMS; he

13 The difference of opinion between CMS and UMCA could well have been the result of the mutual suspicion and antagonism between the two societies, due to their different ‘churchmanship’, as well as their preferred Swahili dialects. This is seen in the correspondence during the 1940s between the translators of the Union Version where they argued that the others did not know Swahili, fuelled by the differences between Kimvita and Kiunguja.
does however also note the use of *Isa* in *Extraits des Lettres Circulaires* by Mgr. H. Streicher published in 1909 (Bühlmann 1950:221-222).¹⁴

In the texts to be examined in Part Three the tract writers use both *Isa* and *Yesu*, in the translations into English these have been retained to show what was used in the original Swahili text. Some writers in fact switch between the two usages within a paragraph.

**6.3.3 What word can be used for ‘Holy’?**

When translating the Bible and the key concepts of faith, early translators had problems finding words which gave the right sense for a concept. This led to some words being used which perhaps do not actually give the idea that the translators were looking for. For example, the early translators of the Bible into Kikuyu, from 1904-1918, regularly met as a committee comprising CMS and Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) missionaries. They met in the mornings and then discussed problems of translation in the afternoon with Kikuyu students of the school (CSM Barlow Papers 1786/5, Minutes of the United Kikuyu Language Committee, of May 22nd 1908).

When the *Kimeru* translation of the Bible was being prepared, a decision over the word for Holy Spirit was made and *Kirundu U’mutheru* was chosen; *Kirundu* does give the meaning of spirit in *Kimeru*, however it has the sense of ‘evil-spirit’ and as such was not the best word to use; more recent translations use *Mwoyo Mũkembu* (Jamleck Gikunda: personal communication July 2007).

---

¹⁴ Bühlmann cites the Catechism by R.P. Baur, Zanzibar, 1867 as using *Jésou* and Rebmann as using *Yesus* in his Gospel of Luke, 1876; Streicher uses *Aisa* for *Isa* (Bühlmann 1950:221-222 fn.4)

It is sometimes said that the Bantu languages have a preference for concrete words and a paucity of abstract concepts, and, indeed, there is no entry for ‘holy’ … in Guthrie’s *Comparative Bantu* (1971). However it would be quite wrong to deduce … that the concept of ‘holy’ is absent in the Bantu family of languages. The Swahili language is a member of that family and … may be described as an Islamic language. So it is not in the least remarkable that Christian collocations of ‘holy’ such as Holy Ghost, Holy Orders, Holy Communion are not to be found in kiSwahili cha kiSwahili. But what of the very word ‘holy’? Is there a lexical equivalent in kiSwahili cha kiSwahili?

The available evidence suggests that in the mid-nineteenth century, at the second-coming of the European-Christians to the East African coast, there was no lexical equivalent for ‘holy’, or its near synonym ‘sacred’, in the spoken language of the Swahili people. To claim thus is not so much to comment on an apparent lacuna in the lexis of the Swahili language, but rather to remark on a conceptual difference in the Islamic and Christian use of language. This is because Swahili has other ways of expressing the idea that persons, books, places and times are ‘holy’ (109). …

In Krapf’s Swahili-English dictionary in four large manuscript volumes dated 1846-1853, there is no entry for takatifu, although -takasa, -takata, and -takatika are all included. Had the derived form takatifu been in existence in the 1840s Krapf would have included it. 15 … It is probable, therefore, that the word takatifu was invented (derived from -takata) for or by European-Christian missionaries some time between 1853 and 1870 when it appears in Steere’s *Handbook* (110-111). …

In the second half of the nineteenth century European-Christian missionaries coming to the eastern coast of Africa must have found the lexis of the Swahili language ‘wanting’ for the primary task of Bible translation and ‘wanting’ too, of course, for a good many liturgical terms. The word ‘holy’, for example had biblical and liturgical importance for European-Christian missionaries in East Africa, whatever their denomination. But how was ‘holy’ to be translated in Swahili? One obvious possibility is that a missionary took the stem of the intransitive verb – takata ‘be thoroughly clean’, and transformed it into an adjective by suffixing -fu, giving takatifu ‘holy’, and then changed it into an abstract noun by means of the prefix –u, giving utakatifu ‘holiness’, or into a concrete noun with the prefix m- ‘a holy person, a saint’. Alternatively, these linguistic gymnastics may have been performed by an obliging Swahili who had an understanding of what was required.

Edward Steere (1828-1882), … did a great deal of Bible translation … with particular reference to ‘holy’ in Swahili, it should be noted that, in Isaiah 6:3, for example, he translated the threefold repetition of the Hebrew qadash ‘holy’, as takatifu. Likewise in ‘as he spoke by the mouth of his holy Prophets’ (Luke 1:70), ‘holy’ is rendered by watakatifu, (111). (Frankl & Omar 1999:109-111)

An extended extract from Frankl and Omar has been given as it explains in detail the processes that were undertaken to ‘create’ a word to give the idea of ‘Holy’ in Swahili. It is of note that when Muslim writers have given the meaning of the Qur‘ân in Swahili they have

---

15 In Krapf’s published dictionary takatifu occurs, together with examples of use: roho takatifu Holy Ghost; utakatifu holiness (Krapf 1882:355).
also followed Christian writers and used *takatifu*, rather than forming a Swahili word based on the Arabic *qudus*.

Walbert Bühlmann, in a section headed *Heiligkeit* (1950:293-300), discusses the use of *takatifu*, recording its use by Krapf in his manuscript translation of the Epistle to the Romans, which Bühlmann dates as 1845, and in a Catholic Catechism prepared by Etienne Baur16 of the Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF), published in Zanzibar in 1867 (Bühlmann 1950:298). The use by Krapf as early as 1845, when it is not in his dictionary, is odd. Baur’s use in 1867 accords with Frankl and Omar’s supposition that it came into use before its appearance in Steere’s *Handbook* published in 1870.

### 6.4 TRANSLATING THE WORD

When Ludwig Krapf first arrived in Mombasa, in 1844, he was not aware that Swahili was in fact a written language.17

At Mombas Dr. Krapf studied the Sooahelee [Swahili] and Wonica languages. Sooahelee he considers indispensable, whether the Missionary proceed to the Galla or other Tribes along the coast. Neither of these languages has been reduced to writing (CMS *Proceedings* 1845:49).

This may well have been because it was written using Arabic script, so from a cursory inspection, the differences between Swahili and Arabic as languages may not have been apparent, particularly in *Kimviita*. Krapf was diligent in his language work and embarked on translating parts of the Bible and compiling a dictionary. The annual reports note his progress on the translation of books of the Bible and of material for a dictionary.

---


17 The understanding that Krapf was the first to render Swahili into a written form continued. Cedric Frank, writing in 1952 about Edward Steere, wrote “It must not be thought that Steere was the founder of written Swahili. Previous work on the language had already been done by Dr. Krapf, …” (Frank 1952:38).
Translational Labours. In the work of translation Dr. Krapf has especially abounded, as will be seen from the following enumeration of the manuscripts which he has sent home. The book of Genesis, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, the General Epistles of St. Peter, and the First General Epistle of St. John, in the Sooahelee language; and the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John in both the Sooahelee and Wonica languages. He has also compiled a Dictionary, containing 10,000 words of the Sooahelee, Wonica, and Wakamba languages; and has prepared a Grammar of the same languages for the use of future Missionaries (CMS Proceedings 1846:53-54).

He later reflected that his initial work needed extensive revision.

Translational Labours. In this department Dr. Krapf has been most assiduously employed, whenever his health and other engagements have permitted. In little more than two years he has translated nearly the whole of the New Testament into the Sooahelee language. He is desirous, however, that no part of it should be printed until he shall have brought his maturer acquaintance with the language to bear upon a careful revision of it. He has sent home a Vocabulary, containing about 2200 words in the Sooahelee, Wonica, Pokomo and Galla languages; and is engaged on a very extensive Sooahelee Dictionary. The letters A and B, which he has finished, contain about 4000 words (CMS Proceedings 1847:50).

His translation of Chapters 1-3 of Genesis was published in 1847. Then, in 1851, An Outline of the Elements of the Kisuahéli language, with special reference to the Kinika dialect and A Vocabulary of six East-African languages – Kisuahéli, Kikámba, Kipokómo, Kiháua, and Kígálla were published by CMS at 2/6 and 5 shillings (CMS Proceedings 1851:125).

Krapf continued developing the material that comprised his Swahili dictionary, but was unable to find a publisher for many years. A copy of the manuscript of the dictionary was offered to UMCA for £100 in 1866, who discussed its purchase (UMCA/Home Executive Committee and Sub-Committee Book No. 2 1865-1899:24). The Suahili-English Dictionary

---

18 Four manuscript volumes of Krapf’s ‘Dictionary of the Swahili Language’ (1846-1853) (USPG X 158-161) are held at Rhodes House Library. The Swahili words are given in Roman script (as well as in Arabic script, for the first few entries in Volume 1 A-J), this is followed by a definition and an example of its use. Correspondence inside the front cover of Volume 1 from R.C. Bridges, University of Aberdeen and USPG in 1969 shows that the society was unsure how the manuscript had come in to their hands, Bridges suggests that it may have been the copy that Krapf had given to Thomas Wakefield of the United Methodist Free Churches. A letter from P.J.L. Frankl to the Archivist at Rhodes House Library also indicates uncertainty as to how the manuscript arrived with UMCA. The Minutes of the UMCA Executive Committee only make one reference to it being offered to them for sale and a decision being delayed until Bishop Tozer was present, he did attend meetings later in 1866 so it is possible that UMCA did purchase it.
was eventually published posthumously in 1882, by Trübner and Co. In his Introduction
Robert Cust\textsuperscript{19} (1821-1909) writes:

While a few sheets remained in the press, the venerable compiler fell on his last sleep, leaving
the great work of his holy and useful life incompleated; on his table lay a corrected proof sheet,
as some of his latest thoughts before his sudden call had been devoted to what he deemed an
important factor in the great enterprise of converting the Pagan tribes of East Equatorial Africa,
all of whom spoke this language, or kindred dialects.

The Committee were perfectly aware of a difference of opinion existing between two schools
of scholars – that of Zanzibar, and that of Mombása. They were also perfectly aware that Dr.
Krapf was the first in this linguistic field, was a scholar of high European repute; they laid stress
upon the fact, that the Dictionary was his, and that of his lamented friend Dr. John Rebmann …

There may be a difference of opinion on the mode of rendering the language into a modified
form of the Roman Alphabet, and the mode of spelling (Cust in Krapf 1882:v-vi).

The dictionary became the basis for future dictionaries, notably that of A.C. Madan (1903)
and Frederick Johnson’s revision of Madan’s dictionary (1939).

Krapf’s fellow CMS missionary, Johann Rebmann, also worked on translating parts of the
Bible and gaining an understanding of Swahili Grammar. In 1859 he reported as follows:

I have finished the translation of the Gospel of St. Luke into Kisuáheli, and have been most
agreeably surprised to find how beautifully the word of God reads in that language also. I intend
to send it to Bombay by April next, to have it printed, especially for the Africans in that place.
For its orthography, I have adopted the standard alphabet of Dr. Lepsius, as nearly as the
Kisuáheli language admits it. As an appendix to the Gospel, I intend to print the elements of a
spelling-book, for which two leaves will be sufficient, nothing being required but the alphabet,
and a number of syllables. Every consonant (with but few exceptions) being followed by a
vowel in this language, a quick boy will learn to read within a month’s time, as I have had
several proofs among the Wanika, and also among the Suáhelas (CMS Proceedings 1859:57).

This report indicates something of Rebmann’s appreciation of writing and learning to read
Swahili using the Roman alphabet. The different ways that the word Swahili is written in
these reports to CMS give an indication as to the changes in transliteration: Sooahelee (1845),
Suahéli (1851) Suáheli (1859) and Suahili (1882).

\textsuperscript{19} Robert Cust was Honorary Secretary of Royal Asiatic Society, and Member of the Committees of Church
Missionary Society and British and Foreign Bible Societies.
It seems that the early translators made an attempt to translate as accurately as they could. In doing this, they faced several difficulties: Did they fully understand the language? Did their orthography correctly transliterate Arabic script to Roman script? How much freedom did they have in translating Holy Scripture? If ‘native’ speakers were prepared to help, did they understand what was to be expressed?

Edward Steere (1829-1882), a UMCA missionary and third Bishop of Zanzibar, whilst acknowledging the work that Krapf had done, was sceptical as to the value of that work. Cedric Frank reports him as writing in an article for the Monthly Reporter (1882) published by BFBS:

> All the Europeans told us that Krapf’s books were of no use at all, … Not because he had misconceived the language but because he had been to some extent misled by a pedantic clique of so-called learned men in Mombasa, who induced him to accept as pure Swahili an over-refined kind of dialect, scarcely or not at all intelligible to the mass of the nation, and, further, because of a singularly confused style of writing and spelling, so that the works were of scarcely any use to a mere beginner! (Frank 1952:38-39)

Steere published *A handbook of Swahili language as spoken at Zanzibar* (1870) and began translating the Bible and many other works with the help of Zanzibaris (Topan 1992:337). He also published *Swahili Exercises* (1878) which was then revised by A.B. Hellier and given ILC approval in 1933 as “the standard grammar of the Swahili language, and as embodying the conclusions of the Committee itself” and then republished many times (Steere & Hellier 1952:i).

W.E. Taylor, writing in his Annual Letter in 1895, relates the difficulties of some of the people in Mombasa who helped him with translation:

> Some able Mohammedan “lay” men, whose orthodoxy is looked upon here as beyond suspicion, leaders in the scrupulous observance of their religious rites and ceremonies, have not only discussed with us the claims we press upon them with patience, but have even lent their abilities to us in the service of our translational work, and one, as a teacher of the language to some of our younger members …an old blind man and very needy, but an accomplished scholar of
Swahili and Arabic, always formerly refused to give an opinion on linguistic questions where religion was involved – often just where we needed criticism and guidance … – because he feared he might be “selling his soul.”

Another, before giving me his free advice and help, asked me to satisfy him on the question, In what sense is Christ the Son of God? It being a Mohammedan misunderstanding of our doctrine to think that we teach God to stand in relations to Him Who is the Only-begotten Son, identical to those of earthly generation. Satisfying him that we held no such blasphemy, and endeavouring to state clearly the Mystery of the Eternal Generation, I was allowed to make critical use of my friend in the final touches to the Gospel of St. John, to which he has listened not only without overt objection, but with great apparent interest, and has lent his considerable talents and linguistic acquirements to the better rendering of some of the more difficult passages (CMS Taylor AL 1895:584).

CMS and UMCA had worked on Bible translations in the Swahili of the sphere they were working in, but, as Mission work spread inland, doubts arose as to its suitability. These Bible translations were in the ‘pure’ Swahili of the coast, which some missionaries considered to be too difficult for people of the bara (interior) to understand. Farouk Topan discusses the approaches which Krapf and Rebmann in Mombasa, using Kimvita, and Steere in Zanzibar, using Kiunguja used in Bible translation (Topan 1992:336-338).

For Steere, “Ki-Mvita (as written by Krapf) rendered the (linguistic) works of Krapf and Rebmann ‘scarcely any use to a mere beginner’, while to Rebmann the Ki-Unguja was ‘low and vulgar’” (Topan 1992:338). Krapf’s attitude to Kiunguja appears to change later, as, in the Preface of his dictionary published posthumously in 1882 he writes:

[L]atterly it occurred to me that the Zanzibar dialect was not without usefulness, as it is spoken by a very large number of people along the coast, and also affords for the translator the resource of being able to adopt at will an Arabic word when in difficulty for a proper expression in Kisuahili (Krapf 1882:xii).

Arthur Madan (1846-1917), also a UMCA missionary, published a Swahili-English dictionary in 1903, which he described as “an annotated vocabulary of the dialect of Swahili commonly spoken in Zanzibar city. … It is based on the lists of words … furnished by Bishop Steere’s Handbook of Swahili … and on Krapf’s Dictionary of Swahili…” Later sources have been

---

20 This view was also expressed by R.S. O’Fahey, who grew up in Mombasa, in discussion in May 2003. Abdallah Khalid refers to Zanzibar Swahili as Arab Kijinga-jinga (Khalid 1977:120).
drawn upon, especially Père Sacleux’s” (Madan 1903:iж). Charles Sacleux (1856-1943) was a French missionary of the Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF), who worked in Zanzibar and Bagamoyo (1879-1898). He devoted much of his time to Swahili language study and became renowned as a lexicographer. Frankl notes that “Sacleux was fortunate to have studied Swahili before it was influenced by standardization and, later by English language patterns” (Frankl 2004). Sacleux first produced his Dictionnaire francais-swahili in 1891 (Madan 1903:iж); the final edition was published in 1939 and can be considered as the “definitive Swahili lexicon” (Frankl 2004).

6.5 THE BIBLE IN SWAHILI

The Bible has been translated into Swahili several times. The first translation of any part of the Bible into Swahili, and published, was of Genesis Chapters 1-3 in 1847, translated by J.L. Krapf and assisted by Ali bin Mohedin, who was the qāḍī (Judge, Swahili Kadhi) in Mombasa (Kalugila 1997:11). The complete New Testament was first published in 1883, with revisions in 1892, by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), in Kiswahili cha Kiunguia (Zanzibar Swahili); this was mainly the work of Bishop Edward Steere. The Swahili translations of the Gospels of John and Matthew were transliterated into Arabic script and published in 1888 and 1891 (Mojola 1999:67). Arthur Madan (1846-1917), together with Percy Bateman and assisted by Petro Limo and Cecil Majaliwa, further revised it in the light of the new English Revised Version (RV)21 and a new edition was published in 1893, printed at the Zanzibar Mission Press (Mojola 1999:67; Kalugila 1997:18). The Old Testament in Zanzibar Swahili was published in 1895, leading to the first complete Bible in Swahili

---

21 The Revised Version was published in 1885.
The New Testament in *Kiswahili cha Kimvita* (Mombasa Swahili) was published in 1909 and the Old Testament in 1914, the main translation task having been done by H.K. Binns and W.E. Taylor, who were both CMS Missionaries (Mojola 1999:5).

It was also considered that the Swahili used in these versions was too heavily dependent on Arabic and seen as too Islamic (Roehl 1930:197). Karl Roehl (1870-1951) of the Bethel Mission, a German Lutheran, argued that “the publication of a Swahili Bible with fewer Arabic loan-words than the present one seems a necessity for the people of the hinterland” (Roehl 1930:200). Roehl’s New Testament was a revision of a translation by Martin Klamroth (Berlin Mission), which, because of the outbreak of the First World War had never been published. Roehl was assisted in his translation by Martin Nganisya and Andrea Ndekeja (Mojola 1999:69). Osotsi Mojola writes that Roehl aimed at fully utilising *Kiunguja*, whilst “capturing its expanded use and function in the interior” (Mojola 1999:68). Broomfield was critical of Roehl’s approach, and queried whether Swahili really was a Bantu language that needed to be ‘purified’ of Arabic loan-words, which he understood to be Roehl’s position (Broomfield 1931:78-79). He commented that when there was a need to create new words when translating, it was easier to ‘Bantuize’ Arabic words than English words (Broomfield 1930:521). In 1937 the Württemburg Bible Society published Roehl’s Bible Translation *Biblia ndio Maandiko Matakatifu yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika Msemo ya Kiswahili* (The Bible, that is all the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament and the New Testament in the Swahili speech). Bedford describes it as ‘Bantuized’ Swahili and notes that it contained prints of Bible scenes and as such was the first illustrated Bible in East Africa...
It was published again in 1961, in 1995 and again in 2004, when 2,000 additional copies were printed (Mojola 1999:72; Mtingele 2007 personal communication).22


This meant that, in addition to the Catholic New Testaments, three different translations of the whole Bible were available in Swahili, which led to confusion and disagreement over the understanding and interpretation of the Bible. Examples of this confusion will be seen in the tracts examined in Part Three (see 10.3.2).

In 1942, a decision was made by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), to produce a unified translation rather than rely on either *Kimvita* or *Kiunguja* Swahili (Bedford 1954:22). The committee of translators was led by Canon H.J. Butcher of the CMS and Canon A.B. Hellier of the UMCA. These two represented not only two different traditions of churchmanship within Anglicanism, but also the use of the Swahili of Mombasa and Zanzibar. Mojola recounts some of the disagreements between the two groups, ostensibly on linguistic ability (1999:71), but in effect they were a reflection of the two extremes of

---

22 Topan has written informatively about these earlier translations and the disagreements between Roehl and Broomfield (1992:338-342).
Anglican churchmanship that they represented. The complete *Maandiko Matakatifu ya Mungu Yaitwayo Biblia yaani Agano la Kale Na Agano Jipya Katika Lugha ya Kiswahili* (The Holy Scriptures of God called the Bible, that is the Old Testament and the New Testament in the Language of Swahili) translation was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1952. The approach to translation is very similar to that of the English Revised Standard Version also published in 1952, the method of translation being *neno kwa neno* (word for word) (BHN 1977: Preface), that is, a literal translation. This version is commonly called the *Union Version*. It is the most widely used Swahili Bible and has been made available at greatly discounted prices.

In 1950, in an article on the early history of the RTS, Gordon Hewitt wrote of the need to critically re-assess the earlier translations of the Bible:

> To-day, when the planning of literature has taken on a new importance in missionary strategy, it is proper that the convictions which governed the work of an earlier generation should be critically examined. Translation is now seen to be a much more difficult and complicated matter than it appeared to be a hundred and fifty years ago. Much of the work of the earlier translators of the Bible requires to be done again, and the earlier accumulations of popular Christian literature are properly regarded unsuitable for reprinting. Further, the rapid growth of adult literacy has created a demand for a new type of literature which as yet hardly exists. Those wrestling with the problems of retranslating the Bible, or coping with the aftermath of a literacy campaign, may be excused for some impatience, and indeed exasperation, at the curiously amateur way in which the older literature was apparently produced (Hewitt 1950:92).

The fact that this was realised at this point is good, but the challenge went largely unheeded for a time.

---


24 In 1989 it sold for Tanzanian Shillings 200/=, in 1997 it sold for Tanzania Shillings 500/=, in 2007 it sold for 5,500/=. The value of the Tanzanian Shilling fell in this period: in 1989 200/= was equivalent to One pound Sterling, in 1998 500/= was equivalent to 50 pence Sterling, in 2007 5,500/= was equivalent to Two pounds Sterling. The 1997 edition *Biblia yenye Itifaki* included a concordance. In 1998 the then General Secretary of the Tanzanian Bible Society, Rev. Albert Mongi, based in Dodoma, reported that it costs around Five Pounds Sterling to print and import a Bible, the selling price only covering costs within Tanzania. The ‘real’ cost of the Bibles is covered by donations from supporters of the various national Bible Societies around the world, working together under the United Bible Societies (UBS).
In 1963, J.W.T. Allen criticised the existing translations as being by those who had European languages as a first language, who can never know Swahili well enough to give a translation that “deceives the reader that it is his native language”. He also criticised the use of limited vocabulary in translations of the Bible. He argued for the need for a Bible translated by Swahili speaking Christians who can learn Greek and Hebrew and who are not afraid of using difficult words and technical terms (Allen 1963:126). The reason for this can be seen in the history of Bible Translation in East Africa. It was usually carried out by expatriate missionaries, with, up to that time, very little input from people with Swahili as their first language. Finally, Allen states what he sees as the value of having “a single authoritative version … usable throughout the Swahili world … it would have a unifying effect … at the same time doing something to undermine the feeling that Christianity is foreign” (1963:127).

Allen’s plea was partially addressed in 1972, when the Bible Societies decided that a modern language Swahili Bible was needed and began work on *Biblia Habari Njema* (The Good News Bible). The New Testament and Psalms were published in 1977, however the complete Bible, including Apocrypha, was not published until 1995 (BHN 1995: Preface). The team of translators were all East Africans, and inter-confessional, they included Peter Renju, Cosmas Haule, Jared Mwanjalla, David Mhina, Amon Mahava, Ammon Oendo, Douglas Waruta, and Leonidas Kalugila (Mojola 1999:9). This translation uses the *maana kwa maana* (meaning for meaning) approach and is similar in style to the English Good News Bible. It can be regarded as a translation using functional equivalence,25 which is more readily accessible to the ordinary reader. However, it has taken time to gain a wide acceptance, due in part to the differences in language, and readers’ reluctance to change from the *Union Version*.

---

25 Ernst-August Gutt explains that Equivalence is “the dominant evaluative concept in translation … ‘equivalence’: the quality of translated text is assessed in terms of its equivalence to the original text” (1991:10).
Two further Catholic translations of the New Testament appeared, using standard Swahili, by Alfons Loogman (WF), published in Morogoro in 195826 and by Alkuin Bundschur, published in Ndanda in 1985; neither achieved a wide circulation and so have had a limited impact (Kalugila 1997:32; Mojola 1999:73). In 1967 a Catholic edition of the Union Version was produced, in two volumes, this incorporated a Swahili translation of the Introduction to each book together with footnotes from the Jerusalem Bible, as well the Deuterocanonical Books,27 this was published by Tabora Mission Press, Kipalapala, Tabora (Tanner 1978:123).

Living Bibles International published Biblia ya Uzima (Living Bible) (1984). A fully revised edition renamed Neno: Agano Jipya (The Word: New Testament) was published in 1989, because the first edition was found to have many serious errors and shortcomings (Mojola 1999:9). However, so far, only the New Testament has been published. One edition, published in 1996, has parallel Swahili and Arabic texts. This translation follows the ethos of the English Living Bible and could be regarded as being a paraphrase using functional equivalence.

In 1996, Julius Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania, published poetic versions of the Four Gospels and the Book of Acts in Swahili. They appeared as separate volumes with a preface by the Archbishop of Dar es Salaam and published by Benedictine Publications,

26 Loogman had previously published the Gospel of Matthew (Mombasa 1936) and the Gospel of John (Bagamoyo 1938) (Bühlmann 1950:xii).

27 The Deuterocanonical Books are also known as the Apocrypha, these are books which are not included in the Hebrew Bible, but which are included in the Septuagint (LXX), the Greek translation of the Old Testament which dates from the second century BC. These books are also in the Latin Vulgate Bible and the Roman Catholic Church regards these books as canonical. Protestant churches regard them as extra canonical, but being worthy of study.
The question of a New Edition of the SUV [Swahili Union Version] comes about because of the truth that this Bible has a number of words that are not now used. In addition to this the use of grammar is not always correct (RUV 2006:vii).

The intention was to publish the whole of the New Testament in this form, but Nyerere’s death in 1999 meant that this has not happened.

The UBS undertook an extensive consultation concerning the Union Version. This included corrections and changing some words that are considered archaic, or have changed their meaning. It was published as the Revised Union Version (RUV) in 2006 and sells for Tanzanian Shillings 7,000/= (Mtingele 2007). The preface of the new edition states:

The text is presented in two columns, with an Introduction to each book and footnotes giving cross references to other biblical passages and some alternative readings. A comparison of the text of the passages of scripture examined in Part Three, between the RUV and the Union Version, found only fifteen differences in the ten passages, a total of forty one verses. They consist of changes of spelling, e.g. *wanaume* for *waume* (humanity) (Acts 2:22); use of a different word, giving the same meaning, e.g. *atamtuma* (he will send him) instead of *atampeleka* (he will send/take him) (John 14:26); some additional words to clarify a phrase, e.g. *kizazi cha* (generation of) is added in Jude 1:14, inserted between *mtu wa* and *saba baada ya Adamu* (the seventh person after Adam); changes in capitalisation, e.g. Romans 3:21 *torati na manabii* begin with capitals in RUV Torati na Manabii. In the passages examined, in only one case is a phrase re-ordered: Matthew 15:23. The RUV reads: *Kwa kuwa anaendelea*
kutupigia makelele (Because she continues to shout loudly at us), whilst the UV reads: *kwa maana anapiga kelele* (as she is making a noise).\(^{30}\)

### 6.6 THE QUR’ĀN IN SWAHILI

The use of a translation of the Qur’ān in any language has been viewed with suspicion by the ‘ulamā’. This was the case in East Africa with the religious teachers of Lamu, Mombasa and Zanzibar being deeply mistrustful of any attempts to produce a Swahili translation. Because of this, when the Qur’ān appears in Swahili, or any language other than Arabic, it is referred to as presenting the ‘meaning’ of the Qur’ān, and not as a translation. Five complete versions of the Qur’ān are available in Swahili.

The first version, by a missionary of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), Godfrey Dale (1861-1941), was published in 1923. Dale served with UMCA from 1889-1897 when he retired. He then rejoined from 1902-1922. In addition to his translation of the Qur’ān, he was also the author of several books on Islam (Blood 1957:87, 167; 1962:87, 203, 403). He titled the version of the Qur’ān: *Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu kwa lugha ya Kiswahili pamoja na Dibaji na maelezo Machache* (Translation of the Arabic Qur’ān into the Swahili language together with a Preface and a few brief explanations). It was not versified, nor did it have an Arabic parallel text. Dale explained, in an article in the *Moslem World*, written at the time of publication that:

> In East Africa there is a stereotyped edition of the Arabic Koran, very cheap; and it is this edition which has the largest circulation. This has been taken as a standard text, and the Swahili translation corresponds with it, page with page. The number of each page in the translation corresponds with the original (Dale 1924:9).

\(^{30}\) The differences in the text between RUV and UV are indicated in the text of the passages in Appendix One.
In the same article, Dale also went on to explain his hoped for outcomes of producing the Qur’ân:

1. Everything that is made manifest is light. If it is good, it is seen to be good; if evil it is seen to be evil, by the general moral sense of mankind, especially when that moral sense is under the guidance and control of the Spirit of God. There can be no satisfactory conclusion reached when much of the evidence required is hidden from view.
2. Ignorance will be proved to be ignorance, and inaccuracy will be proved to be inaccuracy.
3. The general African public will no longer be able to say, “If these Christians could read the Koran they might not remain Christian.”
4. The general African public will know what the Koran actually does teach on such subjects as slavery, polygamy, divorce; and will compare it with Christian teachings. And as Christian teaching has largely prevailed on these subjects in the past, why should we doubt whether it will prevail in the future?
5. Modern Islam in Africa is very largely unhistorical, especially on the subject of Mohammed’s infancy, later conversion, miraculous power and sinlessness. We shall be very much surprised if our teachers do not make full use of all the passages in the Koran which run counter to the extravagant belief of a later idealism with regard to Mohammed.

(Dale 1924:8)

Because Dale was not a Muslim, these reasons for producing a version of the Qur’ân in Swahili were viewed with suspicion. His ability to understand Arabic and his style of writing in Swahili were questioned.31 The Swahili of the text does not follow the spelling of standard Swahili, as it was published before the setting up of the Inter-territorial Language (Swahili) Committee for the East Africa Dependencies (ILC). The meaning of the text is clear and understandable, however the 140 pages of maelezo (comments), which appear as endnotes “reveal a biased turn of mind” (Frankl 1998:192) and tend to be polemical.

The second version, Kurani Tukufu (The Glorious Qur’ân), by Mubarak Aḥmad Aḥmadi, an Indian, using Standard Swahili, was published by the Aḥmadiyya in 1953. This is versified counting the Basmala as the first verse, with a parallel Arabic text. 30,000 copies have been published.

---

31 R.S. O’Fahey states that ‘Three years after Dale’s translation there was published in Zanzibar an “authorized” colonial translation of selected chapters of the Qur’an’ (2000:17). He explains that this was part of an initiative to upgrade education on Zanzibar, a committee, including two Muslims produced Aya zilizochaguliwa katika [sic] Kuraani takatifu kwa sababu ya Kutumiwa katika vyuo vya Unguja [Verses from the Holy Qur’ân translated for use in the schools of Zanzibar] (2000:18), this was published in 1926 by the Government Printer, Zanzibar. O’Fahey also writes about the development of Swahili literature in this paper, see also his articles on ‘Arabic Literature in the Eastern Half of Africa’ (2005a) and ‘The Study of Swahili’ (2005b).
printed in four editions. The most recent was printed in 1991 in Dar es Salaam. It was received with great suspicion and was regarded as propagating the ideas of the Ahmadiyya. In 1954, al-Farsy published a pamphlet attacking the translation, *Marejezo ya Upotofu wa Tafṣiri ya Makadiani ya Khataman Nabiyyin* (Corrections of the Perverse Qadianiyya Translation of the Seal of the Prophets) (Lacunza Balda 1997:110,124).

When the Ahmadiyya announced the project, both al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui (1890-1949) and Abdalla Saleh al-Farsy (1912-1982) began to produce their own versions, publishing them as individual *juzu* (Swahili, Section of the Qurʾān, one-thirtieth, Arabic *juz*). Mazrui only completed a few *juzu* before he died,32 but al-Farsy completed the *Qurani Takatifu* (The Holy Qurʾān) which was published in 1969 by the Islamic Foundation in Nairobi. It appeared as a single volume, versified with Arabic parallel text and extensive footnotes. The footnotes consist largely of responses to the *Makadiyani* (Qadiani) that is Ahmadi’s version of the Qurʾān, rather than any response to the Dale version. Subsequent editions have included *Msingi wa Kufahamu Qurani* (Foundation of Understanding the Qurʾān) by Abu’l A‘la Maudūdī, and his Introduction to each *sūra* was included in the 1997 edition. It has been published in eight editions with a total of 123,000 copies being printed.33

Abdalla al-Farsy, a Zanzibari, who had worked as a teacher and government official before Independence, continued to work for the new government in Zanzibar after the revolution in 1964, but eventually left in 1967, when the general political situation became desperate.

---

32 Al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui produced a version of *Juzuu Amma* (*juz‘ ʾāmma*) for the young pupils of al-Ghazali Muslim School, Mombasa in the early 1930s; this is still published by Adam Traders. In 1936 he began work on *Al-Fātiha* and *Al-Baqara* which were published in Lahore in 1940 and subsequently in Nairobi in 1980. Kasim Mazrui took over the project and *Al-∗Imrān* and *Al-Nisā‘* were published in 1981 (Frankl 1998:192).

33 Another version is available, which includes a third parallel column with transliterated Arabic. It does not include the introductory material found in other editions. This edition does not appear to have been published by the Islamic Foundation and no publishing details are given.
When he moved to Kenya, he was nominated as Chief Kadhi\textsuperscript{34} of Kenya, a post he held for 14 years. His being chosen as Chief Kadhi led to the Kenyan scholars feeling that they had been overlooked and an ‘outsider’ had been imposed on them. This may have been one of the factors for their attacks on his version of the Qur’ân (Loimeier 2003:251). In 1970 Ahmed Ahmed Badawiy, one of the scholars from Lamu, collected the views of a number of Kenyan scholars from the coast in \textit{Fimbo ya Musa: Maonyesho ya Tafsiri Mpya ya Sheikh A.S. Al-Farsy} (The Rod of Moses: The Exhibition of the new interpretation by Sheikh A.S. Al-Farsy) which was a detailed critique and attack on al-Farsy for his Swahili version of the Qur’ân. Lacunza Balda describes the reasons for these attacks as being a result of al-Farsy having refused to meet with the scholars to discuss his translation, also that they were concerned at the loss of ‘authority’ once the Qur’ân became accessible to all (Lacunza Balda 1997:113-114). The ‘ulamâ’ of Riyadh Mosque, Lamu, had long considered themselves as having greater authority than the ‘ulamâ’ of Zanzibar and Mombasa.\textsuperscript{35} With regard to the text, Farouk Topan said concerning the exegetical comments inserted within brackets in the text of \textit{Qurani Takatifu}, that the translation was based on al-Farsy’s broadcast Friday sermons and as such should be considered as a ‘free version’ of the original (Topan 2007:discussion).\textsuperscript{36}

James Holway,\textsuperscript{37} writing in 1971, comments on the reception of al-Farsy’s translation:

\begin{quote}
Appearing as it does after 16 years of controversy between Ahmadiya missionaries and Sunni teachers, it is not surprising that there are a number of references in the commentary to the
\end{quote}

---

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Kadhi} is the Swahili for \textit{qâdî}. \textit{Kadhi} is the official form used in the Kenyan legal system and constitution.

\textsuperscript{35} Riyadh Mosque was founded, in 1889, by Salih b. Alawi Jamalil-Lail (1844-1935), originally from a \textit{sharîf} family in Comoros (Kresse 2007:87).

\textsuperscript{36} This view is supported by his student Said Musa in his brief biography of al Farsy. Musa reports that from 1939 al Farsy had a radio programme \textit{Mawaidha} (Counsel) which was broadcast each Monday, Thursday and Saturday evening at 6.15. The broadcasts would have included readings from his rendition of the Qur’ân (Musa 1986:59).

\textsuperscript{37} In addition to James Holway (1971b), Justo Lacunza Balda (1993 & 1997) has also written about the first three versions of the Qur’ân in Swahili.
Waahmadiyya or Makadiani. On the other hand, references to Dale, and indeed to Christianity, are scanty. Insofar as the commentary is polemical, it would appear to defend the orthodox position against heretics rather than defend the superiority of Islam over Christianity (Holway 1971b:104).

In 1995, Sheikh Ali Muhsin al-Barwani published Tarjama ya AL-MUNTAKHAB\(^{38}\) katika tafsiri ya Qur’ani tukufu (An interpretation of selected passages being an exegesis of the Holy Qur‘ān) in two volumes, versified with Arabic parallel text. Al-Barwani is a Zanzibari, born in 1919. He edited a newspaper on Zanzibar, Mwongozi (Guide). He was a leader of the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) at the time of Independence, imprisoned after the Revolution in 1964 and is now living in Dubai.\(^{39}\) A second edition was published as a single volume in 2000. In the Preface, al-Barwani explains why he has produced his translation:

This translation of the Al-Muntakhab tries to avoid the sectarian discord in matters of Fiqh\(^{40}\) and IÝtiqÁd.\(^{41}\) Because of this and because it attempts to explain matters which have already been scientifically confirmed, indeed I was drawn to write in Swahili, so that my fellow Swahili people who do not know Arabic are able to understand and receive guidance, just as I have been guided. … well I can see a great inheritance for those readers of Swahili who have already tasted the sweetness of the Qur‘ān in the translations of Sheikh Al-amin bin Aly Mazrui and Sheikh Abdulla Saleh Al-Farsy or for those who have heard the translation of Jalalayn\(^{42}\) read in the Mosque (al-Barwani 2000:vii).\(^{43}\)

In a review, Frankl comments that al-Barwani “has deliberately eschewed the standardized language for his translation … and turned rather to the language of his parents [Zanzibar

\(^{38}\) P.J.L. Frankl in a review of al-Barwani’s Qur‘ān explains the meaning of al-Muntakhab as “a selection from various Qur’ānic commentaries, compiled by a team of scholars of the Holy Qur‘ān of al-Azhar in Cairo”; it is this that al-Barwani has translated into Swahili (Frankl 1998:192)

\(^{39}\) The revolution ousted the ZNP which was seen as being closely identified with the Sultan, thus seen as ‘pro-Arab’ and ‘anti-African’ and brought the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) into power. It was in these circumstances that al-Barwani was imprisoned and then went into exile. (Information drawn from the internet on-line edition of al-Barwani’s translation of the Qur‘ān, the 1995 edition introductory article: Sheikh Ali Muhsin Al-Barwani, Nani Yeye? URL http://www.qurani-tukufu@geocities.com) (1.10.03).

\(^{40}\) Fiqh: the science of the application of sharÝa (Bewley 1998:7). Sectarian discord refers to the existence of various Schools of Law (maddhab), four within Sunni Islam, of which ShÁfiÝÐ is the traditional School in East Africa.

\(^{41}\) IÝtiqÁd: belief, being convinced about the truth of something (Bewley 1998:186). Al-Muntakhab is a collection of selected Qur‘ānic commentaries, compiled by a team of scholars of the Holy Qur‘ān of al-Azhar in Cairo.

\(^{42}\) Jalalayn refers to: Tafsir al-JalÁlayn: “Commentary of the two JalÁls,” JalÁl ad-Din as-SuyÁti’s (d.1505) completion of the tafsír of his teacher, JalÁl ad-dÁn al-Mahalí (d.1459). (Bewley 1998:93)

Swahili. As a consequence he has given to the Swahili-speaking world both a translation and a work of art” (Frankl 1998:192-193).

The complete text of al-Barwani’s version is readily available through the internet, with links to it from many sites.44

Another Swahili version of the Qur‘ān is *Quran Tukufu*45 (The Glorious Qur‘ān) by Sheikh Ali bin Juma bin Mayunga of Dar-es-Salaam. This version is of interest in that it is prepared from a Shi‘a perspective; the Introduction was written by Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi,46 the Chairman of Ahlu’l-Bayt (a.s.) Assembly of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam, dated June 2002.

Other people have produced Swahili versions of some of the juzuus. These include Said Musa (b.1944) who, according to Justo Lacunza Balda (1997), has been working on a new version and commentary of the Qur‘ān (1997:116).

More recently, *Al-Kashif* (an uncovering), an exegetical commentary, by Sheikh Muhammad Jawad Mughniyya, and translated by Sheikh Hasan Mwalupa, has become available through the al-Itrah Foundation. It can be found on the Internet;47 so far only the first seven juzuus and the thirtieth juzuu are available.

45 The *Quran Tukufu* can also be accessed through the internet at http://quran.al-shia.com/sw/quran/ tarjomee/ moq.htm.
46 Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi died in 2002; in 1968 he helped found the Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania, based in Dar es Salaam, which he directed for many years.
47 It can be found at URL http://www.alitrah.org/web/Quran/index2.asp.
Several of the versions discussed, as well as Al Farsy,\textsuperscript{48} insert explanatory exegetical comments. Ahmad El-Ezabi writes of the difficulties that result from such parenthetical commentary:

In their translation of 1:7, Khan and Al-Hilali [\textit{The Noble Qur\'\textasciitilde an}] (1997:10) commented within the main text in parentheses in a way which suggests this is implicitly understood from the text at a time when it is only a commentary based on their interpretation (or misinterpretation) of the text in question (El-Ezabi 2005:6).\textsuperscript{49}

The use of parentheses, and in some cases their omission, is found in a similar manner in several of the passages of scripture examined in Part Three.

The five complete versions of the Qur\’\textasciitilde an in Swahili are not all readily accessible. The version most used is the one by al-Farsy. Dale’s has been rejected as it is by a Christian; Ah\textm{\textm{m}}adi’s has also been rejected as it is by an Ah\textm{\textm{m}}adi and so viewed with suspicion as being heretical. In addition to its perceived orthodoxy, al-Farsy’s has had the most copies published, at a subsidised price, by the Islamic Foundation.\textsuperscript{50} Al-Barwani’s version has yet to achieve wide circulation and is sold at around twice the price of the al-Farsy version. However, its availability through the internet is making it better known and more readily accessible than the other versions. Because it appeared after most of the tracts under discussion in this research were published, any differences in the interpretation in this version have had no effect on the texts under discussion.

\textsuperscript{48} See Appendix One for examples of this.

\textsuperscript{49} The verse from \textit{Al-Fatiha} reads: The Way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace, not (the way) of those who earned Your Anger (\textit{such as the Jews}), nor of those who went astray (\textit{such as the Christian}). The emphasis is by El-Ezabi, who further comments that as the edition is “the official one approved, distributed and propagated all over the world by the Saudi authorities … the deviation is significant and must seriously be considered for change (El-Ezabi 2005:7).

\textsuperscript{50} The second edition in 1974 included this statement ‘\textit{25/- Kote Katika Afrika ya Mashariki. Hii ndiyo bei iliyopunguzwa kwa msaada wa The Islamic Foundation’} (Twenty Five Shillings everywhere in East Africa. This is the price subsidized by The Islamic Foundation).
Appendix One gives examples from the different versions of the Bible and Qur’ān discussed in this chapter. The examples chosen give the texts of the passages of Scripture that form the basis of the study of the tracts under discussion.

In this chapter, Swahili as a language and its literature have been described and set in context. The variety of Swahili dialects is significant as selected tracts are examined in the next part. This is because many of the selected texts use non-standard Swahili, and reflect dialectical forms of Swahili, particularly in regard to spelling and occasionally sentence structure and grammar.
Map 7.1  Showing the location of the places where tracts were collected
Figure 7.1: Cover and a page from *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani*
Figure 7.2: Cover and a page from *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*
Figure 7.3: Cover and a page from *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*
Figure 7.4: Cover and a page from *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*
**Figure 7.5:** Cover and a page from *Uislamu Katika Biblia*
Figure 7.6: Showing cover and a page from *Injili ya Barnaba*
Figure 7.7: Cover and a page from *Uungu na Umoja Wake*
Figure 7.8: Cover and a page from Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha
Figure 7.9: Cover and a page from *Kutafuta Uhakika*
Figure 7.10: Cover and a page from *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa*

NUIA YA UZIMA
P.O. BOX 21012 - NAIROBI/KENYA

Je, Uislamu Unabatilisha Dini Zingine Zoete Zilliotangulia?

Kuna fikira iliyoenea sana kati ya Waislamu kwamba Kurani imebatilisha dini ya Mungu tunayopata katika Torati na Injili. Wengi wao wameshikilia sana maoni hayo. Wanakabiliana nasi wakiwa na maamuizi fulani ya ajabu.
Figure 7.11:  Cover and a page from *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu*
Figure 7.12: Cover and a page from *Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu liyeyatafuta njia ya Kweli*
Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili

Torati na Injili ni kibinao la kale na kale jipya habika Biblia, hufanya maendiko ya Neno la Mungu Hakuna cho chote kifokacho kwa Mungu, alie Mtakatifu ambacho si chwa kweli. Jole dini ya Kiislamu inafanya nini kuhusu maendiko haya matakali?

Qurani inashuhudia kuhusu ulkomiliwaji wa Maendiko haya ya Kristo. Ye yote yake asomaye Qurani atawaza kuwasaidia kina ineyosuhudia wazi kuhusu uthabiti wa mambo yake yomomo katika Biblia. Sure zifuatayo ni mifano ya uhumwe lili.

Tuliteremsha lauratia yenye uongeza na riro; ambayo kwa uyotumia waliwasilishi wa watawa na maulamia pia kwa cababu waitakwa kukufaidia Kitabu
Figure 7.14: First page of Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini
Figure 7.15: First page of Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia

ISA (YESU KRISTO) 
Ndani ya 
KURANI na BIBLIA

Mungo I 
Kurani Hasema: 
YESU KRISTO YUAJA TENA

Kwanza: Kuja kwa Yesu mara ya pili 
Dr. M. T. Al-Hilali, Ph.D. ambaye ni professor wa Islamic University kule Medina, ansea: “Nataka kumkumbusha msonaji 
hapa kuwa Yesu, mwanwa wa Mariamu, utamadhi kwa ulimwengu 
huni kabla ya siku ya kiyama.” Dr. Hilali anataja mazali pawili 
jen ya jambu hili:

A. KURANI
* “Na kwa kweli (Yeye Nabii Isa) ni alama ya Kiama (Kuwa 
kinaanza kutukibehi); mshikaniye shaka na nafisheni. Hi 
ndiyo njia iliyoonyoka” (Sura No. 43 AZ-Zukhruf, 61).
* “Wala askruxeni Shetani: bila shaka kwenu yehe ni adh 
aileyi dhahiri” (Sura No. 43 AZ-Zukhruf, 62).
* Na alipofika Isa kwa daili zilizo wazi, alisema;
  “Nimekujeni na ilimu (yenye na ufu na nywe), na ili 
  nikuuelezani baadhali ya yale miliohihiliana, basi, Mheni 
  Mwenyezi Mungu nitumi” (Sura No. 43 AZ-Zukhruf, 63).
  Kurani Basi husima mtii Yesu Kristo.

B. Hadith No. 425 na Hadith No. 657
Muhammad alisema (kama iliyoosimuliza na Abu Huraira);
Mtume wa Mungu alisema: “Kwa Yeye ambaye Nkononi 
mwaka moyo wangu upo, (Yesu) mwanwa wa Mariamu 
aliathaka miungoni mwenu (Waislamu) kama miwala wa 
haki (si kama Mtume)!”

Shahih al Bukhari, Vol. III 
Hadith No. 425 na Vol. IV na Hadith No. 657

Dr. Hilali pia aliwahi kutaja sababu ya kurudi kwa Yesu Kristo ni 
ili kwambia awe KIONGOZI na MTAWALA wa mataifa ya 
Kisalamu kama iliyoanuliza ndani ya Kurani. Swali ni hii:

Kwa sababu gani MUNGU (ALLAH) atumtuma Yesu tena 
kama Mtawala na Kiongozi wa mataifa ya Kisalamu?

Kwa nini asimutume nabii mwingine ambaye alikupa kabla 
yake ama yule aliyegamba kuwa ni nabii ambaye alitoko 
baada ya Kristo?

Kurani Hasema:
Yesu Kristo atanudi ili atawale na kuhukumu.

Hakuna nabii yeyete aliyetahidi kabla au baada ya Yesu Kristo 
ametajwa ndani ya Kurani kutumia kazi hizo mibili zilizotajwa 
ahopoju.

PILI: Kurani Hasema: Yesu Kristo ndiye NENO LA MWENYEZI 
MUNGU (ALLAH) (Sura No. 3 Aali Imran: 45) (Kumbukeni) 
waliposema Malaiika: “Ewe Mariamu! Mwenyezi Mungu ana-
kapata habari ajemwa litokoi kwake: Jiru lake Masih, isa... 
Swali: Je, nabii mwingine awaye vote aweza kusema ezi yeye ni 
Neno la Mwenyezi Mungu (ALLAH)?

1
**Figure 7.16:** Cover and a page from 
*Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*
INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

This part comprises four chapters examining thematically the use of scripture in tracts written in Swahili.

Chapter Seven: Tracts in Current Circulation in East Africa

This chapter begins by setting out the procedures followed in collecting tracts in current circulation and the criteria for choosing sixteen tracts, eight by Muslim writers and eight by Christian writers. It then examines the contents and purpose of the tracts chosen for detailed study.

Chapter Eight: The use of Scripture in Tracts: Introduction and first Theme tawhid or Trinity?

This chapter explains the methodology followed for examining the passages of scripture from the selected tracts by using different themes. The first theme: tawhid or Trinity? (The Unity of God) and One God One religion/Uniqueness of God is covered in this chapter. The passages of scripture examined are:

\[ \text{Al-Nisā‘ (4):171; Al-Mā‘īda (5):72-78;} \]
\[ \text{Al-Mā‘īda (5):116-119; Al-Ikhlās (112):1-4} \]
\[ \text{Al-Shūrā (42):13; Isaiah 45:18-22} \]

Chapter Nine: The use of Scripture in Tracts: Theme - Jesus

This chapter deals with the second theme: Jesus

It examines the following passages of scripture:

To whom Jesus was sent: Matthew 15:21-28
Miracles of Jesus: \( \text{Āl ‘Imrān (3):45-51; Al-Mā‘īda (5):111-115} \)
Death of Jesus: \( \text{Al-Nisā‘ (4):157-159;} \)
Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36; Philippians 2:5-8

Chapter Ten: The Use of Scripture in Tracts:

Themes - Jesus and Muhammad, All have sinned, taḥrīf

This chapter deals with the three remaining themes:

Jesus and Muhammad:
Who is a Prophet like Moses? Deuteronomy 18:16-20
Who will God send after Jesus? John 14:15-17, 25-26
All have sinned: Romans 3:19-25
\( \text{taḥrīf (Corruption of scripture): Matthew 10:23; John 1:18; Jude 1:14} \)
CHAPTER SEVEN: TRACTS IN CURRENT CIRCULATION IN EAST AFRICA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Having examined, in Parts One and Two, the history of tracts and their emergence and use in East Africa, in this chapter the tracts selected for study are introduced.

In order to ascertain what tracts are in current circulation in East Africa, a survey was conducted during 2000 and 2001. The survey took the form of visiting bookshops and street vendors who were selling either Muslim or Christian tracts, written in Swahili. The tracts that were on sale were inspected and those whose titles and contents appeared to be relevant were purchased.

The survey was conducted in a number of towns and cities in Tanzania and Kenya. The following towns and cities were visited:

- Tanzania: Dodoma, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam, subsequently Tanga, Musoma, Ngara, and Zanzibar Town
- Kenya: Nairobi, Mombasa, and subsequently Kisii

See Map 7.1 which shows the location of the places listed.

It had been hoped to include Uganda in the survey, but following an initial survey in Kampala in August 2001, when bookshops and street vendors were visited, material in Swahili was not found. Therefore it was decided not to extend the survey to other parts of Uganda.

In each of the towns visited, religious bookshops were identified and visited, to ascertain whether they were selling any tracts, either Muslim or Christian. In addition, other bookshops, which were apparently commercial, were also visited. It was not always easy to identify
bookshops that were selling either Muslim or Christian material. Many of the places selling tracts were mainly involved in selling other items: either stationers or general wholesalers, who stocked some religious material, usually reflecting the faith of the owner.¹

For Muslim tracts, a survey of the tracts being sold by street vendors located near to Mosques was also carried out. If visited on a Friday, this was found to be a particularly fruitful source of material.

For Christian tracts, a limited survey of the tracts being sold on Church bookstalls, especially on Sundays, was also carried out.

Most of the tracts were obtained during 2000, however some had been collected previously and some were collected after the initial survey. Around one hundred tracts were collected.²

Over the same period, Gerard van de Bruinhorst was also collecting Muslim literature in Kenya and Tanzania for the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) (van de Bruinhorst 2001:6).³

¹ Raise your voices and kill your animals by Gerard van de Bruinhorst gives details of the Muslim literature being produced and sold in Tanga (2007:105-130).
² Details of all the tracts collected are given in the first section of the bibliography.
³ This material was collected in thirty bookshops from ten different urban locations. He reports that twelve hundred different titles were collected, the majority of them in Swahili. These have been catalogued and are lodged in the ISIM library at the University of Leiden. Of the material collected by van de Bruinhorst, the catalogue lists 1003 different titles in Swahili (van de Bruinhorst 2001:6).
7.2 CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF TRACTS TO BE EXAMINED

The reason why a tract has been published and its prime purpose can often be deduced from its title. Inspection of the contents clarifies this and helps to determine what the main intent of the tract is.

Three criteria were used for selecting the tracts to be examined, from those that had been collected:

- Purpose of composition
- Language of composition
- The use of Scripture

7.2.1 Purpose of composition

Tracts are written for different purposes; of the ones collected, they can be classified as having one or more of the following purposes:

- Tracts used for outreach, specifically written for the reader of another faith.
- Tracts used for training the faithful in methods of outreach.
- Tracts being catechetical in purpose, providing teaching material for the believer in order to inform them of the basics of their faith.

As the purpose of this study is to examine the tracts’ use and interpretation of scripture, it was decided to select tracts that can be identified as being for outreach or for training the faithful in outreach, rather than those that were only catechetical.

7.2.2 Language of composition

It was decided that the tracts selected for study should be ones published in Swahili. The reason for this was that one of the aims of the study was to explore the use of Swahili as a
religious language. Tracts originally written in Swahili were looked for in preference to those translated from other languages.

An initial survey found that much of the material written by Christians was translated from other languages. This meant that it was necessary to select some translated material, as insufficient material written in Swahili was found.

Of the selected tracts, eight were written originally in Swahili, and eight were translated from other languages, chosen because they fitted the other criteria, in their purpose of composition and use of scripture.

7.2.3 The use of Scripture

Scripture is used in tracts to inform and persuade. Both Muslims and Christians use their own scriptures in tracts. Many tracts used in outreach, or in training for outreach, use scriptures of the other faith.

In the selection process the presence of passages of scripture was important. It was found that the tracts included passages from the Bible and the Qur’ān as well as other religious material, notably the use of ḥadīth and commentaries on the Qur’ān. In addition, many of the Muslim tracts included material from Western secular writers. For each of the tracts, the range and purpose of quotations from scripture were noted.

7.3 THE SELECTED TRACTS

Sixteen tracts were selected, eight by Muslims and eight by Christians. They range in length from *Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili*, a single sheet of A5 paper,
folded in half, creating four pages of text, to *Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli*, which is one hundred and two pages, stapled and with a card cover. The average length of tract is shown in Table 7.1.

**Table 7.1**  Showing the average number of pages in each of the selected tracts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Eight Muslim tracts</th>
<th>Eight Christian tracts</th>
<th>Combined average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Number of pages</td>
<td>45 pages</td>
<td>30 pages</td>
<td>37 pages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**7.3.1 The original language of composition**

Seven of the eight Muslim tracts selected were originally written in Swahili, whilst only one of the eight Christian tracts was initially written in Swahili. For the tracts that have been translated from other languages, it is not always clear what language it was originally written in; four clearly state that they were translated from English, others give no indication. Some may have been originally been in English, German or Urdu.

**7.3.2 Title and subject matter**

All the Muslim tracts selected indicate a concern with Jesus, the Bible and Christianity or the Unity of God. There are indications that they were written in order to attract Christians, or to assist Muslims in talking to Christians. The Christian tracts selected have all been written with the purpose of outreach to Muslims, or to assist Christians in talking to Muslims.

**7.3.3 Author**

The authors of Muslim tracts include some well-known Muslim writers or preachers, such as Saidi Musa, Swaleh Harith, Mussa Fundi Ngariba and Mohamed Ali Kawemba. Other tracts were selected as they were written by former Christians who have become Muslims, such as Abbas Gombo Kanoni and Josephat Ngogo.
Of the Christian material, three are testimonies written by former Muslims, two are signed tracts raising issues about the truth of Christianity, two are unsigned tracts, giving an address for further information for interested readers, and one is a training worksheet.

7.3.4 Use of Scripture

All the selected tracts use scripture; the extent of this use ranges from *Uungu na Umoja Wake* by Harith Swaleh, which only refers to two Qurānic passages, to *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu* by Abbas Gombo Kanoni, which has over two hundred Biblical and eleven Qurānic passages. The average number of scripture passages used in each tract is shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2  Showing the average number of scripture passages in each tract

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average number of passages of scripture in Muslim tracts</th>
<th>Average number of passages of scripture in Christian tracts</th>
<th>Combined average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qurān</td>
<td>22 passages (26)</td>
<td>17 passages (17)</td>
<td>20 passages (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>56 passages (89)</td>
<td>21 passages (24)</td>
<td>39 passages (51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures in brackets show the averages adjusted to account for the tracts that do not use scripture, see below for explanation.

These results show that on average the Muslim tracts used more passages from the Bible than from the Qurān, whereas Christian tracts used a similar number of passages from both sources.

As the figures given are averages, they do not give the whole picture, in particular for the Muslim tracts. Three of the Muslim tracts do not quote the Bible at all, whilst only one does not quote the Qurān. The average number of Bible passages used by the five tracts that do
quote the Bible is actually 89, and the average number of Qur’ānic passages used by the seven tracts that do quote the Qur’ān is 26, whereas only one of the Christian tracts does not quote the Bible and all of them quote the Qur’ān. The average number of passages for those that do quote the Bible is 24.

7.4 SELECTION OF PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE

Having been selected, the contents of each of the sixteen tracts being studied was then recorded. This involved transcribing and translating the chapter and section headings, recording and verifying all quotations and references in the tracts, noting any mistakes in the text of the tracts, whether typographical, omissions or inaccurate references. See Appendix Two for details of the contents of the tracts.

Having completed this exercise, it was found that, between them, the tracts used over six hundred passages from the Bible and over three hundred passages from the Qur’ān. In order to identify passages used in more than one tract, all references to all the scripture passages were then tabulated using Excel Spreadsheets. One spreadsheet was used for the references from the Qur’ān, assigning a column for each tract, and individual rows for the references, in Sūra order. Another spreadsheet was used for the references from the Bible, assigning a column for each tract, and individual rows for the references, in order of books from Genesis to Revelation. This allowed a search to compare references in all the tracts to be carried out.

4 Examples of the typographical errors, omissions and inaccurate references that were identified and noted are: Kikristo for Kikusto (Imran [Tract 1]:10); Al-Mā‘ṣida (5):46 [not 146 as given] (Imran [Tract 1]:10); Al-Baqara (2):21 [listed as Sūra al-Ahzāb (33)] (Kanoni [Tract 2]:70); [2 omitted] Chronicles 15:1 (Kanoni [Tract 2]:85); Exodus 33:18-23 [not 33 as given] (TELM Neno [Tract 16]:6).

5 Appendix Two gives details of the contents of the tracts. Each heading is given with the page it is on. All the passages of scripture quoted in the tracts are listed (showing corrections made to references where there were inaccuracies) together with all other non-scriptural quotations identified.
This identified all occasions where a specific reference appeared in more than one of the tracts.\textsuperscript{6}

The following criteria for choosing a passage of scripture for examination were then applied:

- Appearance in more than one tract (where possible)
- Appearance in tracts written by both Muslim and Christian writers (where possible)

After all these criteria were applied, eight passages from the Qur\textsuperscript{ā}n, and seven passages from the Bible, together with a special section on \textit{tah\textsuperscript{r}īf}, with three short passages from the Bible, were chosen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qur\textsuperscript{ā}nic Passages</th>
<th>Biblical Passages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Āl ʿImrān} (3):45-51</td>
<td>Deuteronomy 18:16-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Al-Nisāʾ} (4):157-159</td>
<td>Isaiah 45:18-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Al-Nisāʾ} (4):171</td>
<td>Matthew 15:21-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Al-Māʾida} (5):72-78</td>
<td>John 14:15-17, 25-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Al-Māʾida} (5):116-119</td>
<td>Romans 3:19-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Al-Shūrā} (42):13</td>
<td>Philippians 2:5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Al-Ikhlāṣ} (112):1-4</td>
<td>‘Special Section’ on \textit{tah\textsuperscript{r}īf} (Corruption):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew 10:23; John 1:18; Jude 1:14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The passages having been selected, they were then divided into a number of themes, in order to be able to manage the material. The themes were determined by the contents of the passages.

\textsuperscript{6} As the size of the spreadsheets are a grid of 20 columns by 278 rows for the references from the Qur\textsuperscript{ā}n and a grid of 20 columns by 382 rows for the references from the Bible, it has not been possible to include them as an Appendix.
It was found that a number of the passages specifically mention aspects of the Unity of God, especially with regard to the idea of the Trinity. These passages were grouped together as the first theme: *tawḥīd* or Trinity? (The Unity of God): *Al-Nisāʾ (4):171; Al-Māʾida (5):72-78, 116-119* and *Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4* are examined in this theme. In addition, two passages dealing with a related theme: One God One Religion/Uniqueness of God, were incorporated as a sub-theme. These are *Al-Shūrā (42):13* and Isaiah 45:18-22. This theme is dealt with in chapter eight.

Several passages specifically referring to the life and actions of Jesus are incorporated together, in chapter nine, which is divided into three sub-themes: To whom Jesus was sent, Matthew, 15:21-28; The Miracles of Jesus, Āl Īmārân (3):45-51 and Al-Māʾida (5):111-115; The death of Jesus, *Al-Nisāʾ (4):157-159* and Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36.

The remaining passages are dealt with in chapter ten, which has three themes. The first theme concerns passages which have been used in relation to Jesus and Muḥammad: Deuteronomy 18:16-20, Who is a Prophet like Moses, Jesus or Muḥammad? and John 14:15-17, 25-26, Who will God send after Jesus? The second theme: All have sinned, examines the use of Romans 3:19-25. The final theme is a ‘special section’ on *tahrīf* (corruption of scripture), using material from only one of the tracts, which uses Matthew 10:23; John 1:18; Jude 1:14.

Each time one of the passages listed above appears in the selected tracts, it, together with the relevant accompanying text, was transcribed and translated into English. The edited English texts are given in chapters eight, nine and ten, with the original Swahili texts appearing as footnotes.
The procedures followed for transcription and translation were as follows: the selected passages were transcribed; where possible, the layout of the transcription followed the original. The transcription was then checked for accuracy, confirming that any typographical errors and omissions were in fact present in the original.

An initial translation was carried out, based on the researcher’s own knowledge of Swahili, with use of dictionaries where the vocabulary was not known or was unclear. The draft translation was then checked with greater recourse to dictionaries, in order to make corrections and to confirm the accuracy of the translation. Words and phrases whose interpretation could be open to a variety of meanings were identified and their meanings were checked against a range of Swahili dictionaries. For those tracts which also had published versions in English available, these were only consulted in cases where the sense of the Swahili was unclear, in order to assist in understanding the Swahili text.

The purpose of approaching the process in this way was in order to gain a sense of how a contemporary reader might understand the passages, rather than using a purely lexical approach to the translation.

Whilst undertaking the exercise of translating the selected passages it was necessary to be aware of current theories of translatability and translation. Considering the validity of comparing tracts written in Swahili with tracts translated into Swahili.

---

7 The researcher lived and worked in Tanzania from 1978-1980 and 1988-2000, using Swahili in his work; subsequently he lived and worked in Kenya from 2000-2006. He undertook Swahili language studies at the Maryknoll Language School, Makoko, Musoma and at the Language Institute, University of Zanzibar.
Tracts were translated into Swahili from another language because the organisation, or publisher sponsoring the tract, decided that the material was relevant for the perceived readership in East Africa. Several reasons for this decision can be deduced: it could be because they do not consider the cultural relevance of the material as important; It could also be that they consider the material to transcend culture and that it is culturally relevant despite being originally written for a different culture. It seems that some tracts were translated into Swahili because the content was seen as being particularly relevant to the situation.

These tracts, although translated from another language, were found in circulation in Swahili. As the thesis seeks to examine the use of tracts that are presently available, it was considered valid to examine both translated tracts and tracts that had been originally written in Swahili.

Table 7.3 (a) Biblical Passages and (b) Qur’anic Passages show the tracts that these passages were chosen from.
Table 7.3  Showing the tracts that these passages were chosen from

(a) Biblical Passages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muslamu</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Uislamu Katika Biblia</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Injili ya Barnaba</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Uungu na Umoja Wake</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kutafuta Uhakika</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Hajabatalishwa</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kurani na Biblia:</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani:</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ushahidi wa Kiislamu</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tuzungumze</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qur'anic Passages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mafuldisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kwa Nini Nitiliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maisha ya Nabi Isa (Alahais Salam)</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Uislamu Katika Biblia</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Injili ya Barnaba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Uungu na Umoja Wake</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kutafuta Uhakika</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kurani na Biblia:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani:</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ushahidi wa Kiislamu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tuzungumze</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Isa (Yese Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.5 DETAILS OF THE SELECTED TRACTS

The tracts are listed in two groups, Muslim and Christian, set out in alphabetical order of the author’s surname. For each of the selected tracts, the following details are given:

1. Title of tract in Swahili
2. Author’s name, and year of birth, where known, or the organisation, when the tract is anonymous
3. Title, in Swahili with an English translation
4. Place of publication and publisher
5. Date of publication, if known
6. Length of tract, and details of binding
7. Language of tract and details of translator, where known
8. Where the tract was printed, where indicated
9. Details about a Signed Preface or Introduction
10. Total number of passages of scripture cited in the tract
11. Details of where and when the copy was obtained
12. Details of additional copies obtained and any additional information

For Muslim tracts only, appearance on ISIM catalogue

Any other information concerning the publisher, author or group and the origins of the tract is then given. This is followed by an analysis of each, of the contents and approach used in the tract, including identifying the Swahili version of scripture used in the tract for passages from the Qur’ān and the Bible.

An assessment of the approach that is used in the tract is given, using the terms ‘Polemical’ and ‘Eirenical’. In this study these terms are understood as having the following meanings:
Polemical: Controversial discussion and debate. In Christian-Muslim relations, it refers to an approach which is disputatious and which deliberately sets out to be provocative. Used here to refer to writing that is insulting and offensive to the ‘other faith’.

Eirenical: Promoting peace. Used in Christian-Muslim relations to refer to an attitude and approach that promotes peace between different groups. Used here to refer to writing that is conciliatory and which attempts to improve relationships or to at least maintain the status quo.

This assessment is made based on a review of the contents of the tract, examining the way that scriptures are used in the tract, whether the use is insulting and offensive, or whether the use is conciliatory and attempting to improve relationships. Likewise the ‘tone’ used by the writer when referring to the other faith and to adherents of the other faith is examined.

The approach used in the tracts is exemplified in the selected passages and will be commented on in chapters eight to ten as well as in the concluding remarks.

The passages of scripture in the tract which will be analysed in chapters eight to ten are listed. A Figure showing the cover of the tract and an example of the text faces the summary of each tract.
7.5.1 Muslim Tracts

[1] *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani*

1 Muhammad Samiullah Imran
2 *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani*  
   (The teachings of Jesus in light of the Qur’ân)
3 Mombasa: Adam Traders
4 no date.
5 42 pages (stapled, with card covers)
6 Swahili, translated from English or Urdu
7 Printed in India (no more details given)
8 No Preface
9 Qur’ân: 69 Texts  
   Bible: 5 Texts
10 Purchased at Victory Bookshop, Dodoma, January 2000
11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa, at Abdallah Said Ltd. December 2000
12 Not listed in ISIM catalogue

Translated from Urdu or English, the translator is not named, but is mentioned in a footnote on page 15. In this footnote, the translator refers to some passages from the Bible, advising Christians to read them. These passages are the only references to Bible passages in the tract. The quotations from the Qur’ân do not follow any of the published Swahili versions, meaning that the translator has either followed Imran’s original text or used the Arabic Qur’ân. Several authors are quoted, including George Bernard Shaw and Havelock Ellis.

All that has been discovered about the author is found on the cover of the pamphlet, which says: “Muhammad Samiullah Imran is a well-known author in English who has written about fifty books. He serves various ministries of the government of Pakistan.”

---

8 In Swahili it says “Muhammad Samiullah Imran ni mwandishi maarufu kwa lugha ya kizungu ambae ametunga vitabu karibu hansini. Anatumika wizara mbali mbali katika serikali ya Pakistan.”
deduced is that the author is probably a Pakistani, and that he has written in English, meaning that the translation is likely to be from English, rather than Urdu.

Readers are encouraged, in a footnote on page 42, to obtain Maurice Bucaille’s The Bible, the Qur’an and Science from Adam Traders, the publishers, meaning that the translation is dated after 1978, when Bucaille’s work was first published in English.

This tract sets out to present the teachings of Jesus through the Qur’an. By the use of various themes, the author seeks to demonstrate that Jesus points towards Islam. A major theme (pages 5-9) is tawḥīd (Unity [of God]) as opposed to thālith thalātha (Trinity, literally third of three); this becomes the basis of all the arguments set out in the tract. The next sections Je! Si Upumbavu Kumpa Sifa ya Uungu Yesu Kristo? (Is it not folly to give the character of Godhood to Jesus Christ?) (pages 10-12) and Je! Yesu ni Mwana wa Mungu? (Is Jesus the Son of God?) (pages 13-16) set out to question the Christian belief that Jesus is the Son of God. Then the next sections Fumbo la Dhambi ya Asili (The mystery of Original Sin) (pages 16-18) and Je! Kafara ni Hoja ya Hakika? (Is the need for Sacrifice a certainty?) (pages 19-22) question the need of sacrifice for forgiveness of sins, leading to Je! Yesu Alifia Msalabani? (Did Jesus die on the Cross?) (pages 23-26), which presents the Qur’anic view of this, that Jesus, as a Prophet and Messenger was too good to die and it only ‘seemed so to them’, the Jews, that Jesus was crucified (Al-Nisā’(4):157).

Having examined Jesus’ earthly ministry, the author then discusses his second coming (pages 26-28), before questioning whether Prophets can only come from Israel (pages 28-30) and Jesus’ foretelling of the coming of Muhammad (pages 30-32). In this section, two books are recommended to the reader, Muhammad in the Bible and the Gospel of Barnabas.
The tract then questions whether the Bible of today is the Word of God (pages 32-35). The closing section is an invitation to Islam (pages 35-42). This includes an explanation of how to recite the Shahāda and its significance, then encourages readers to obtain a copy of the Qurʾān in a language they can read.

The overall approach of the tract is polemical.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

- Āl ʿImrān (3):45-51
- Al-Nisāʾ(4):157-159
- Al-Nisāʾ(4):171
- Al-Māʾīda (5):72-78
- Al-Māʾīda (5):111-115
- Al-Māʾīda (5):116-119
- Al-Shūrā (42):13
- Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4
In the foreword, Abbas Gombo Kanoni gives some information about his background. He states that he was born in 1933 and grew up in Ndonno, Tabora Region, that his parents were Roman Catholic Christians, and that he was baptised Paul, and attended Shule ya Seminari (Junior Seminary) at Itaga, Tabora. He explains that the school was one “that prepared its students in order that they should become Priests” (Kanoni [Tract 2]:i). He states that he was a Christian from childhood until Ramadhan in 1968 when he changed his religion. In his second tract Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo he refers to his father-in-law being an Anglican priest, serving at Muheza, Tanga Region. In both tracts, he gives his address as PO Box 801, Arusha, Tanzania.

9 ‘... shule ambayo huwateyarisha [sic] wanafunzi wake wapate kuwa Mapadri’.

Junior Seminaries are Secondary Schools, which are used by the Catholic Church as a part of the process of preparing candidates for the priesthood. However not all students who attend a Junior Seminary would go forward to a Senior Seminary for further training.
This tract, at one hundred pages long, is the second longest of those selected. Using over two hundred passages from the Bible, it has the greatest number of references.

The tract sets out to demonstrate, using the Bible, why the writer ceased to be a Christian and became a Muslim. The first section, *Mungu Mmoja Katika Nafsi Tatu* (One God with three persons) (pages 2-30), examines the paradox of the Christian Trinity.

In an ‘excursus’ (pages 22 and 59-60), the differences found between two versions of the Swahili New Testament are used to show that Christians caused the deliberate ‘corruption’ (*tahrīf*) of the Bible; this will be examined in 10.3.2.

The next section, *Je, Yesu Alitumwa Kuwaongoza Watu Gani?* (Which people was Jesus sent to lead?) (pages 30-45) sets out to demonstrate that Jesus was sent to the Jews and not to others.

The next section, (pages 46-69) examines the ways in which Christian beliefs and actions are wrong, including sub-sections on drunkenness (pages 50-52) and statues in churches (pages 54-56).

The quotes from the Qur‘an are from Kurani Tukufu (AÎmadi).\textsuperscript{10} The quotes from the Bible are from Biblia Union Version.

On several occasions a comparison of translations dated 1945 and 1950 is made, using the Gospels of John and Matthew and the Epistle of Jude. The 1945 version texts cited accord with earlier versions of the Zanzibar Swahili translation, and the 1950 version is the same as the Swahili Union Version.\textsuperscript{11}

The approach is generally polemical, with a self-defensive attitude as to why he chose to become a Muslim.

Each person who reads this book will see that my decision to leave the religion of Christianity was not done because of some ambition, rather it was done because of the truth that we have already seen (page 99).\textsuperscript{12}

He shows a high regard for the scriptures and for Jesus in particular.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

- Deuteronomy 18:16-20
- Isaiah 45:18-22
- Matthew 15:21-28
- John 14:15-17, 25-26
- Special section on ‘Corruption’
  - Matthew 10:23
  - John 1:18
  - Jude 1:14

\textsuperscript{10} Qurani Takatifu was first published in 1969. Kanoni refers to becoming a Muslim in 1968 in Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo. It is possible that Kwa nini niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu was written before the publication of Qurani Takatifu and that the AÎmadi translation was the only one available to him.

\textsuperscript{11} It seems unlikely that Kanoni would have been familiar with any of the Swahili Bibles produced by Roman Catholics. One reason for this is that Kanoni attended school during the 1950s, before the Second Vatican Council (1963-1965), which encouraged the reading of the Bible by laity and promulgated the use of vernacular languages in worship. Another factor is that even though Kanoni attended a Roman Catholic Junior Seminary (Secondary School) in Tabora Region, none of the Swahili versions of the Bible were published at Kipalapala, the nearby Benedictine Priory in Tabora, where Tanganyika Mission Press is based, until 1967, well after Kanoni left school. See 6.5 for details of the Roman Catholic versions of the Bible published in Swahili.

\textsuperscript{12} Kila mtu atakaye kisoma kitabu hiki ataona kuamua kwangu kwache dini ya Kikristo hakukufanywa kwa sababu ya tamada fulani, bali kulifanywa kwa sababu ya ukweli ambao tumekwisha kuuona (page 99).
On page 37, Kanoni states that he became a Muslim in 1968 and quotes a letter from his father-in-law, an Anglican Priest, Samwel Mganga, based at UMCA Kiwanda, Muheza, Tanga, Tanzania, written in 1969. He is also author of *Kwa nini niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muiislamu?*

This tract is a companion to the previous tract, although it has a different publisher. It is written to demonstrate the author’s wish to differentiate between the message of Jesus for the Jews (pages 4-7) and Paul’s message to the ‘nations’, that is, people other than the Jews (pages 8-10), which the author rejects.

It continues with *Injili ni Ukumbusho wa Taurati* (The Gospel is a reminder of the Torah) (pages 11-20) demonstrating that Jesus came for the Jews. Then the author returns to his
attack on Paul (pages 20-36) showing how Paul attacks the teaching of the Torah, the first five books of the Old Testament, and goes against what Jesus said.

In the closing section *Kulaumiwa Kwangu* (My reproach) (pages 37-40) the author responds to his father-in-law, Samwel Mganga’s, response to his announcement of becoming a Muslim. He refers to the previous tract, giving it a slightly different title, *Kwa nini Niliacha Ukristo na Kusilimu* (Why I left Christianity and Converted to Islam). He concludes using a number of passages from the Qur’ân to warn ‘followers of the New Testament’. He claims that “Paul’s intention with his message (the New Testament) was to extinguish the Light of Almighty God, and instead to plant Darkness” (page 39).

The quotes from the Qur’ân are from *Qurani Takatifu* (al-Farsy), rather than *Kurani Tukufu* (Ahmadi), which he used in his first tract; the quotes from the Bible are from *Biblia Union Version*.

It is unclear what influenced Kanoni’s approach; the style reflects that of Ahmed Deedat, but Kanoni was writing long before Deedat’s visit in 1981. A few of Deedat’s tracts had been translated into Swahili and were available during the 1960s. It cannot be stated with any certainty that Kanoni had based his writing on Deedat’s, however it is possible that he was...

---

13 The Torah, also known as the Pentateuch, and the Books of Moses, consists of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. Because Moses and the Torah are mentioned in the Qur’an (e.g. Al-Baqara (2):53, 63) they are considered as revealed books in Islam.

14 When translated literally kusilimu means to submit, or to yield. It is understood to mean ‘to convert to Islam’, to become a Muslim (Madan 1903:347; Bosha 1993:194). Reformist Muslims in East Africa increasingly prefer to use ‘revert to Islam’, rather than ‘convert’, from the premise that all people were originally Muslims but through ignorance they were unaware (Ibrahim 2006; Mombo 2007). Kate Zebiri discusses the use of ‘revert’ and ‘convert’ in *British Muslim Converts: Choosing Alternative Lives* (2008:14-15).

15 Nia na shabaha ya Paulo, kwa ujumbe wake huo (Agano Jipya) ili kuwa ni kutaka kuizima Nuru ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na badala yake kupanda Giza.
influenced by the same material as Deedat, especially *Izhār al-haqq* by Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī.\(^{16}\)

As with his previous tract, the approach is polemical, with a concerted attack on Paul as the perverter of Christ’s message.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

\[ Al-Mā‘īda (5):72-78 \]
\[ Matthew 15:21-28 \]
\[ Romans 3:19-25 \]

---

\(^{16}\) Deedat acknowledged that *Izhār al-haqq* was a great influence on him, when he sought an effective response to Bible students who were aggressively challenging him about Islam as he worked in a store in a small South African town (Lockhat 1999).
Saidi Musa is a prolific writer who has published several tracts and has been preparing a version of the Qur'ān in Swahili. He was born in Simbom, Kilimanjaro Region, Tanzania, growing up as a Muslim; after completing Primary School, he moved to the coast in 1962 and began to study under Abdalla al-Farsy, who considered him as his ‘heir’. In the *ijāza* (certificate) given to Saidi Musa by al-Farsy in 1980, it states that “the line of transmission and knowledge went back to Sheikh al-Amin b. Aly” (Lacunza Balda 1989:250). Saidi Musa has established an Islamic training centre in his home village, Simbom Centre, Ugweno, Moshi. Lacunza Balda says that Saidi Musa has influenced other Muslims in East Africa, whilst managing not to identify himself with any specific Muslim group (Lacunza Balda 1997:115).

17 The information on Saidi Musa is based on a section in chapter four of Justo Lacunza Balda’s doctoral thesis (1989: 247-259).
This tract relates the story of Ïsâ (Jesus), using the Qur’ân as its source. It begins with his grandparents (pages 5-7), the birth and up-bringing of Mary, his mother (pages 8-10) and his own birth (pages 11-16). It is made clear that Ïsâ is not the Son of God (pages 16-18). Ïsâ’s life, upbringing and call are presented (pages 18-21). Ïsâ preaches to the people and they demand a miracle (pages 21-22). Various miracles are presented by Ïsâ, by permission of Almighty God (pages 22-33). There is then an ‘Admonition’: “Almighty God did not give birth nor was he born; nor did he give birth to himself because there is no time when he was not present” (page 34).\(^{19}\) This is explained in the remainder of the tract (pages 34-40).

The quotes from the Qur’ân are similar to Qurâni Takatifu (al-Farsy), with some minor alterations. The passages quoted are given in Arabic and Swahili, verse by verse. Saidi Musa may have produced his own Swahili version of the passages.

The Bible is not directly quoted, but several Biblical passages are retold in Musa’s own words.

The approach of the tract is polemical, whilst retaining a high respect for Jesus.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Al Ímrán} (3):45-51
  \item \textit{Al-Nisä’} (4):157-159
  \item \textit{Al-Mã’ida} (5):72-78
  \item \textit{Al-Mã’ida} (5):111-115
  \item \textit{Al-Mã’ida} (5):116-119
  \item \textit{Al-Ikhläš} (112):1-4
\end{itemize}

\(^{18}\) Saidi Musa uses \textit{Jsa} for Jesus, rather than \textit{Yeezus}; where this appears Ïsâ is given rather than Jesus in the English translation. Several of the other tract writers use \textit{Isa} interchanging it with \textit{Yeezus}.

\(^{19}\) \textit{Mweneyezi Mungu hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa; wala hakujizaa kwani wakati aliokuwa hayuko}. The opening phrase is \textit{Al-Ikhläš} (112):3 with an additional comment.
Mussa Fundi Ngariba (died 1993) and Mohammed Ali Kawemba, from Ujiji, Western Tanzania, are Manyema in origin, in that their grandfathers were brought to Ujiji from the Manyema district of the Congo. Ngariba studied under Shaykh Mussa Hussein in Ujiji (Chande 1998:153). They became well-known during the 1980s when they travelled extensively through Tanzania and Kenya with Jumuiya ya Wahubiri wa Kiislamu Tanzania (Society of Muslim Preachers of Tanzania) (JUWAKITA) speaking about ‘comparative
religious study’ (Chesworth 2006:170). This was conducted in the form of mihadhara (public debates), where the two speakers would use the Bible to present reasons why Christians had been misled. The tract is based on their mihadhara presentations.20

The approach used by Ngariba and Kawemba is strongly influenced by Ahmed Deedat who visited Dar es Salaam in 1981 and gave two talks organised by the Muslim Students’ Association of the University of Dar es Salaam (MSAUD) (Njozi 2000:11-12). It seems likely that Ngariba and Kawemba and the other members of JUWAKITA based their style and approach on Deedat. Certainly the Comparative Religious Study approach only began to be used in East Africa in 1984, following Deedat’s visit (Aziz 1998:2). The tract uses some of the same material that Deedat used and it can be supposed that the writers had access to a selection of Deedat’s tracts and cassette recordings (Smith 1988:107-108; Lacunza Balda 1993a:28; Chande 1998:153 footnote 36).

The tract is introduced by A.S. Suleiman who explains that Ngariba and Kawemba “Travel throughout Tanzania to explain why there is only One God but more than one religion, if it so that God is one, so it is essential that religion should be one” (page iv), he then concludes by saying: “Their lectures have been compressed into this small booklet for the benefit of those who do not have the opportunity to listen to them” (page iv).21 As Suleiman states, the tract was produced for the benefit of those who were unable to attend the mihadhara of Ngariba and Kawemba. The way that scripture is used in the tract, shows its origins as material for use in mihadhara. This will be reflected on, in the passages from the tract examined below.

---

20 For a detailed exploration of the methods used by Ngariba and Kawemba see Chesworth 2006:168-172. Joseph Mutei analysed video recordings of a mihadhara conducted by Ngariba and Kawemba as a part of his MA research The Effectiveness of Mihadhara as a Method of Islamic Da’wah in Kenya (2006).

21 Wanasafiri sehemu zote za Tanzania kueleza kwa nini Mungu ni mmoja lakini dini ni zaidi ya moja, ikiwa Mungu ni mmoja basi lazima dini iwe moja. Khutuba zao zimefupishwa katika kijitabu luki kwa faida ya wale wasiopata fursa ya kuwasikia.
The tract begins with a section on One God and the Religion of Islam (pages 1-6). Then a question is asked “Nani ameleta dini mpya” (Who has brought a new religion) (page 7); it is explained that it was Paul (pages 8-12):

Without the religion of Paul, the Islam of Moses would have continued without hindrance in the Islam of Jesus and arrive at the Islam as taught by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.). (page 11)\(^{22}\)

In the next section, the claim of Muhammad to be the successor to Moses is tested against the claims of Jesus (pages 12-17). The first part concludes with a warning of the dangers of false belief (pages 17-19); this section includes an example of material that is also used by Ahmed Deedat, indicating a possible source for some of the material that is used in the tract:

He [Muhammad] was chosen by an American Computer expert as the first among 100 most important people in the world in history (page 18).\(^{23}\)

This information comes from *Muhummed (pbuh) the Greatest* by Ahmed Deedat, where he cites a book *The 100* by Michael H. Hart, whom he describes as an historian, mathematician and astronomer. Deedat explains that Hart ranked the top one hundred from the point of view of their influence on people, and that Muḥammad is ranked as number one (Deedat 1995:105).\(^{24}\)

The material up to this point reflects the material used by Mussa Fundi Ngariba during *mihadhara*.

The second part of the tract uses the *Nguzo za Uislamu* (Pillars of Islam) (page 20) and reflects the material used by Mohamed Ali Kawemba in talks. Each of the Pillars are

---

22 Bila ya dini ya Paulo, dini ya Uislamu wa Musa ingiendelea bila ya kikwazo katika Uislamu wa Yesu na kufikia Uislamu kama ulivyofundishwa na Nabii Muhammad (S.A.W.)

23 Yeye amechaguliwa na mtaalamu wa komputa wa Kimarekani kuwa ni wa mwanzo katika watu 100 wakuu katika dunia katika historia.

24 The text of Muhummed (pbuh) the Greatest is found in *The Choice: Islam and Christianity Volume One*; it is also listed as Booklet number 20, with an off-print of the chapter about Muhammad from *The 100* by Michael Hart as Booklet number 21.

For each Pillar, passages from the Bible are used to show that these practices are found in the Bible, so demonstrating that Muslims, in following these practices, were being faithful to God, whereas Christians did not even follow what was in the Bible.

The quotes from the Qurʾān are from Qurani Takatifu (al-Farsy) and the quotes from the Bible are from *Biblia Union Version*.

The approach of the tract is polemical, very much reflecting the *mihadhara* it is based on.25

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koranic Reference</th>
<th>Biblical Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Māʾida (5):72-78</td>
<td>Deuteronomy 18:16-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Shūrā (42):13</td>
<td>Isaiah 45:18-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew 15:21-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippians 2:5-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

25 In 1998 the then President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, warned preachers of *kashfʿa za dini* (religious slander). *Mihadhara* were then severely restricted (Njozi 2000:150). A group of Christians formed *Biblia ni Jibu* (The Bible is the Answer), as a response to the Mihadhara of Ngariba and Kawemba, see tract number fourteen.
The author states that he has translated his selection of passages from the Gospel of Barnabas from an Arabic and English edition. His details are given on the cover and on page three of the tract as Rev. Josephat Ngogo (B.D. University of Freelandia USA), PO Box 884, Mbeya. On page three, this is followed by *amesilimu* (he has converted to Islam).²⁶ He is called Rev[erend], which indicates that he had been ordained as a Christian priest. His address is given as Mbeya in Southern Tanzania, and his surname also indicates his origins from that region; it is probable that he was either a Moravian or Lutheran. It appears that he went to study at Freelandia Bible College, Broadway, Virginia, earning a Bachelors Degree there. From the fact that it states that he has converted to Islam, it can be assumed that he read the Gospel of Barnabas and was influenced by it to become a Muslim. He then translated selected

---

²⁶ On the cover of the second copy, the author is named as Mussa Ngogo, indicating that he had chosen to change his name from Josephat.
passages from it into Swahili, and his translation was then published by the Gospel of Barnabas Foundation, PO Box 30, Mlalo, Lushoto, Tanga. Contact for the organisation is also given through Kipata Mosque, Dar es Salaam (page 3).

The tract is a translation of a few selected passages from the Gospel of Barnabas, from the English translation by Lonsdale & Laura Ragg of 1906. The author, Josephat Ngogo, has selected a few verses to quote with which to build up his case, that Muḥammad’s coming was foretold by Jesus and others in the Bible.

The Gospel of Barnabas has caused controversy since it was published in English in 1906, as some Muslims claimed that it was the true Injil and as such it had been deliberately hidden by Christians. It has been used by several polemicists to support their arguments against Christians, especially in attacks against Paul, as an Apostle, and perverter of the ‘true message’ of Jesus.

It is considered by most scholars to be a sixteenth century forgery, by a former Christian. There is a large amount of literature that explores its origins and use.

---

27 The text has been checked against the English edition of The Gospel of Barnabas, Notes and Commentary, by M.A. Yusseff. This uses the English translation by L. & L. Ragg.

28 Modern writers have utilised the Gospel of Barnabas as evidence to show the falseness of Paul’s religion. They cite the disagreement between Paul and Barnabas (Acts 15:36-40) as a cause of the split between the true religion and Pauline Christianity. Some Muslim writers explain the disappearance of the Gospel of Barnabas as part of a plot to remove Barnabas and his influence, some go as far as stating that Paul disposed of Barnabas. İsfendiyar Eralp writes “The only person to understand Paul’s game was Barnabas, hence Barnabas was eliminated” (1996:391).

The tract begins with a brief introduction to the *Gospel of Barnabas* and its origins (page 1-3). Within this section, the Bible is used to show who Barnabas is, and the section states that Jesus is only a prophet and not God and that Jesus himself declares that in Barnabas Chapter 96:9. The reasons for someone to read the tract are stated as:

The Gospel of Barnabas in Swahili will be read by many. Christians will see that Muhammad is named in this Gospel that was written five centuries before the apostle was born. It was prohibited in 492 AD when the apostle came to be born in 570 AD. Even so it is present today. Here it is (page 3).  

Page four has a reproduction\(^{31}\) of page 132 of the *Gospel of Barnabas* that was found in the Royal Palace Library, Vienna;\(^{32}\) this was the copy that the Raggs translated.

The passages selected by Ngogo are then presented. They begin with the Foreword (page 5), where Barnabas introduces himself and his purposes, a direct translation of the English edition (Yusseff nd:1).

Then a few selected passages are presented in order to demonstrate the point that Ngogo is making, that Jesus is not the Son of God and that all should follow Muhammad:

- **Barnabas 39:14-28:** The Prophet Adam saw the name of Muhammad in Paradise (page 6)
- **Barnabas 41:25-30:** The name of Muhammad on the gates of Paradise (page 7)
- **Barnabas 96:1-14:** Messenger to the whole world is not Jesus. He will come after Jesus departs the earth (page 8) [only verses 1-8 are given]
- **Barnabas 97:9-18:** The Lord Jesus has foretold the name of the Apostle Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) together with his religion (page 9)

---


Also Ngogo states that it was used by the Church until 492 AD when Pope Glacious [sic] (Gelasius I 492-496) proscribed it (page 3).

31. This tract is the only one of those selected to include illustrations, the other on page 13 is of Jesus prostrating himself at Gethsemane.

32. “Codex 2662, an Italian manuscript presented in 1713 by J.F. Cramer to Prince Eugene of Savoy, … now included in the collection of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna” (Pulcini 2001:191).
Barnabas 43:9-31; 44:1-11 [extracts only]: The Apostle of all nations will come from the offspring of Ishmael (page 10)
Barnabas 54:1-11: The resurrection of Apostle Muhammad (page 11)
Barnabas 136:7-21: Unless a follower of Muhammad repents of his sins he will go to Hell, but he will not stay there for eternity (page 12)
Barnabas 214: Jesus prayed by prostrating himself, indeed it was his practice (page 13)
Barnabas 215 [only the final verses of 215 are given with the start of 216]: The Lord Jesus was not crucified nor was he killed. How Judas Iscariot was arrested and crucified instead of the Lord Jesus (page 14)
Barnabas 221 [part]: Jesus appears to his disciples and establishes that it was not he who was crucified nor killed, but the betrayer Judas (page 15)
Barnabas 220:17-21: Muhammad will be given a revelation (verse) that “Jesus was neither killed nor crucified” (page 15)
Barnabas 221: The true Gospel of Jesus Christ (page 16)
Barnabas 96:9: Jesus testifies himself that he is not God (inside back cover)

In selecting just a few passages from the *Gospel of Barnabas*, Ngogo seeks to present the key issues that he considers will effectively demonstrate his argument.33

Due to the use of the Gospel of Barnabas, the approach is polemical.

Because the Biblical passages in the tract consist only of references to Barnabas in the New Testament, and the Gospel of Barnabas itself is not being studied, no passages of scripture have been selected from this tract.

---

33 The English version of the *Gospel of Barnabas* has 222 chapters and is 229 pages long, in the Yusseff edition.
Harith Swaleh (born 1937) came originally from Lamu, where he studied at Rodha Mosque, taught by scholars from Riyadha Mosque and College, then in Mombasa, where he studied with Sheikh Muhammad Kasim Mazrui.\footnote{It is unusual for anyone from Lamu, such as Swaleh, to have studied with Sheikh Muhammad Kasim Mazrui of Mombasa, who studied under Sheikh al-Amin b. Aly.} Kai Kresse reports that:

He went on to study sociology, psychology and English at Al-Azar University in Egypt. After returning to Kenya in 1964, he initiated educational programmes in Lamu, before undertaking further studies in philosophy in Sudan, at Omdurman University (Kresse 2007:263 fn.9).

In 1994, Harith Swaleh also published Mwanamke na cheo chake (Woman and her status). He is presently based in Mombasa and is regarded as being an eminent scholar and healer, who has given Ramadhan lectures in Mombasa (Kresse 2007:182; 257 fn.29).

The tract reveals the training that the author had in Western Philosophy and his wide reading.

It is eclectic in its use of other sources; details of 35 books used by the author are given in a
bibliography (pages 23-24). These include works by Levy Bruhl, E. Evans Pritchard, Stephen Hawking, John Mbiti and Ninian Smart, as well as populist Western writers, including Shirley MacLaine and James Michener. Muslim scholars are well represented, including Ibn Rushd, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Taymiyya and more modern ones such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Sayyid Quṭb and Ḥasan al-Turābī.

The tract explores the different ideas about Divinity. In the first part it looks at traditional religions (pages 4-8). Then, under the heading Uungu na Uola\textsuperscript{35} (Divinity and Lordship), the tract examines the false use of the mind, freedom and desire (pages 8-10). The section on M’ngu (God) uses many Muslim sources to examine the idea of God and al-qudsī (the Holy) (pages 10-16). Space and galaxies are explained, with information from Stephen Hawking and James Michener (pages 16-17). The views of Western experts on Divinity are then summarised (pages 17-19). The tract concludes with the exegesis of two Qur’ānic passages Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4 (pages 19-21) and Āl ʿImrān (3):18 (pages 21-22); in both cases the text is not given, only opinions of Muslim scholars on the meaning of the passages.

The tract uses a varied approach with both Western rationalism and Muslim scholarship, both orthodox and reformist. Overall it is more polemical than eirenec.

The following passage of scripture has been selected from this tract:

\textit{Al-Ikhlāṣ} (112):1-4

\footnote{Uola (Lordship) does not appear in Swahili dictionaries, it is formed from Mola (Lord or God). U- is a prefix indicating ‘state of being’.}
The origins of Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (Muslim Writers’ Workshop) (Warsha), can be traced to Muhammad Hussein Malik, a Pakistani, who went to Tanzania in 1964, to teach mathematics in Secondary Schools and also taught the dini (religion) periods to Muslim students. When some of his former students went to the University of Dar es Salaam, he encouraged them to write, and they met each week at his home. They also became involved in Muslim Students’ Association of the University of Dar es Salaam (MSAUDP) and later, together with Malik, they worked for Baraza Kuu la Waislamu wa Tanzania (Supreme Council of Muslims of Tanzania) (BAKWATA). Their activist involvement in BAKWATA led to the government deporting Malik in 1982. He moved to Kenya where he worked with the Islamic Foundation, helping Warsha to publish several books. The main writer for Warsha is Mohamed Said (born 1952) who helped to maintain the impetus of Warsha after Malik’s
departure. Said has also published several ‘research articles’ and was critical of the government’s educational policies (Chesworth 2006:175ff).36

This tract was probably written whilst members of Warsha were working for BAKWATA and originally published through the Islamic Foundation, after Malik began working with them in Nairobi. In seven chapters it presents different aspects of life and shows how in all things Islam can be the only satisfactory way of life. It begins with Mwanadamu hawezi kuishi bila Dini Njia ya Maisha (Man is unable to live without Religion, the Way of Life) (pages 1-22) which contrasts different approaches to religion, before concluding that Islam is the correct one. This is then demonstrated in Uislam Ndio Njia Pekee ya Maisha Iliyo Sahihi (Islam is indeed the only correct way of life) (pages 23-29) and Namna ya Kuufuata Uislam (The Pattern of following Islam) (pages 30-36). The uniformity of all God’s apostles is then emphasised (pages 37-38). Chapter five (pages 39-43) and chapter six (pages 45-61) are an extended examination of Human Rights and Islam’s right to supervise them. The final chapter asks Ni Yupi Mwenye Utu Kamili (Who has perfect humanity) (pages 62-65).

The tract uses the Qur’an to support all the points that are made. The translation used largely follows the Qurani Takatifu (al-Farsy), but with slight changes, which seem to be for emphasis. Using Sura Āl ‘Imrān (3):19 as an example of this:

Warsha: 
Bila shaka dini (Njia ya Maisha) ya haki mbele ya Mwenyezi Mangu ni Uislamu.
(Without doubt the right religion (Way of Life) before Almighty God is Islam.)

Qurani Takatifu: 
Bila shaka dini (ya haki) mbele ya Mwenyezi Mangu ni Uislamu.
(Without doubt (the right) religion before Almighty God is Islam.)

Arberry: The true religion with God is Islam.

36 For more details about Warsha and Mohamed Said see Chesworth 2006:175-185.
Lacunza Balda comments “The difference lies in the fact that, according to the Warsha translation, religion (dīn),\textsuperscript{37} is understood as Njia ya Maisha (The Way of Life). In al-Farsy’s view there is certainly no indication to suggest that the term ‘religion’ might mean ‘way of life’” (Lacunza Balda 1997:122).

The approach is apologetic in that it only uses the Qur’ān, but it is also polemical in tone, as it attacks the actions of other societies in order to show that Islam is the correct way.

The following passage of scripture has been selected from this tract:

\textit{Al-Shūrā (42):13}
7.5.2 Christian Tracts

[9] Kutafuta Uhakika

1. K.K. Alavi (born 1951)
2. Kutafuta Uhakika
   (In Search of Assurance)
3. Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
4. no date.
5. 35 pages (stapled, with card covers)
6. Swahili (translated from English), with Qur'anic verses in Arabic
7. No details of printing
8. No Preface
9. Qur'ân: 20 Texts
   Bible: 18 Texts
11. Njia ya Uzima also lists an English version, In Search of Assurance, 32 pages

The tract is published by Njia ya Uzima (Way of Life), which also publishes two of the other tracts being examined, Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatilishwa and Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili. Njia ya Uzima is an organisation which began in 1987, linked to Call of Hope; it was started by Rudi Hofmeister, a German based in Nairobi, working with several Kenyans. Since 1992, it also has a branch in Arusha, run by Fred Mleli, a Tanzanian. It operates a correspondence course, where correspondents answer a set of questions using their tracts, sending them off in order to receive another tract. It also runs seminars to train church workers (Eric 1998:27-28). The material used is translated from German and English and comes from Call of Hope, based in Stuttgart, Germany, the Good Way, based in Rikon, Switzerland, or from Light of Life, based in Villach, Austria. These

38 Fred Mleli, originally from a Muslim family, worked as an Evangelist in Dar es Salaam with the Lutheran Church during the 1960s. He is now retired from his work with Njia ya Uzima (Kopwe personal communication 2007).
European groups produce a lot of material, including reprints of Karl Pfander’s *Mīzān ul-Ḥaqq: The Balance of Truth* (Light of Life 1986), as well as the many tracts used for the correspondence courses. Some of the material can be considered as polemical and even offensive.

K.K. Alavi was born in 1951 in Cherukunnu, in Kerala State, India. He describes his father as being a *mulla* (religious teacher). From the age of five he had attended the *madrasa* and learnt Arabic. The tract is his testimony; in it he relates his spiritual journey from the time when, as a child, he bought a Christian tract *The Heart of Pak*,39 to becoming a Christian in 1970, whilst attending a Bible course at Concordia Seminary, Nagercoil, then working for Operation Mobilisation and studying Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, where he finished in 1975. The tract ends with twenty questions for the reader to complete and send to Njia ya Uzima, to receive a further tract.

The quotations from the Qurʾān are also given in Arabic; the Swahili generally follows *Qurani Takatifu* by al-Farsy. The quotations from the Bible follow *Biblia Union Version*.

The tract is generally eiren ic in tone whilst demonstrating why the author left Islam.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Chapter and Verse</th>
<th>English Verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Imrān (3):45-51</td>
<td>John 14:15-17, 25-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nisā’(4):157-159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nisā’(4):171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mā’ida (5):72-78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mā’ida (5):116-119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 Alavi relates that he was forced by his father to burn *The Heart of Pak* as a child after his father discovered that he had been attending a Christian Sunday School (Alavi 11). It has not been possible to examine a copy of the tract *Heart of Pak*.  

193
Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa

1 Iskander Jadeed

2 Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa
   (No! The Religion of Christ has not been Abrogated)

3 Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
4 no date.
5 24 pages (stapled, with card covers)
6 Swahili (translated from English)
7 No details of printing
8 No Preface
9 Qur’an: 20 Texts
   Bible: 6 Texts
10 Purchased Nairobi, May 1990
11 Njia ya Uzima also lists an English version No! The Religion of Christ – Not Abrogated 48 pages

Little has been discovered about the author Jadeed Iskander, a former Muslim from the Lebanon,40 apart from the list of his other publications available through Njia ya Uzima, including: Yanipasa nifanye nini nipate Kuokoka? (What must I do to be saved?); Msalaba katika Injili na Qurani (The Cross in the Gospel and the Qur’an); Tunasali Vipi? (How should we pray?); Kutokosea kwa Torati na Injili (The Infallibility of the Torah and the Gospel).

This tract is part of the Njia ya Uzima correspondence course. It examines the idea of abrogation, arguing that the religion of Christ has not been superseded by Islam. Jadeed uses the Qur’an and the Bible, together with al-Ṭabarī and al-Jalālayn to demonstrate that Christianity has not been abrogated.

The passages quoted from the Qur’an use the Qurani Takatifu (al-Farsy) and the passages quoted from the Bible use Biblia Union Version.

40 I am grateful to Professor Frans Wijsen for this information.
The tract is polemical in approach and tone.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

- *Al-Shūrā* (42):13
Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu

Muhammad Khan (born 1881)

(Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu)

Muhammad Khan, the author, was an Afghanistani Muslim, from a privileged background, who became a Christian. He was born in Kabul in 1881 to the wife of Payanda Khan, a

196
colonel in the Afghan Army. His father was killed and the family went into exile in India. He was educated in Delhi where he studied at Madrasa-i-Fatehpuri. Whilst in Delhi he had his first encounter with Christians, with whom he argued about the Trinity. He then studied in Bombay and met more Christians and had further arguments. The tract relates his testimony and his eventual conversion to Christianity. It was first published in 1927, in Urdu and was also published in Tamil, Malayalam and English. It is generally eirenic in approach.

The tract uses passages from the Qurʾān, using Qurānī Takatīfū (al-Farsy) and the Bible, using Biblia Union Version, as well as Mishkat and hadīth of Muslim and Bukhārī.42

The following passage of scripture has been selected from this tract:

Romans 3:19-25

---

42 The Mishkat refers to the work by Waliʾd-din al-Khatīb al-Tabrizi, Mishkāt al-Masābīḥ. It is a collection of hadīth arranged by topics, expanded from the Masābīḥ as-Sunna of al-Bhaqawī (d. 1117), designed to give people guidance in their daily lives. The Mishkāt al-Masābīḥ mentions the source and weight of the hadīth cited and includes additional traditions on the topics (Bewley 1998:112).

Muslim refers to the Sahīh Muslim, one of the two most reliable collections of hadīth. It includes 12,000 hadīth (with 4,000 repetitions). The collection was made by Abū l-Husayn Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qushayrī (820-875) from Nishapur (Bewley 1998:109, 114).

Bukhārī refers to the Sahīh al-Bukhārī which is generally accepted as the most reliable collection of hadīth. It only contains traditions which have uninterrupted chains of credible authorities. It has over one hundred chapters with 3,450 sub-divisions. The collection was made by Abū ʿAbdullāh Muhammad ibn Ismāʿīl (810-870) from Bukhara (Bewley 1998:106, 113).
1. Stefano **Masudi** (born 1951)

2. **Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli**
   (Light which lightens the darkness: The witness of a Muslim youth who searched for the way of Truth)

3. Morogoro: Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry (TELM)

4. 1991

5. 102 pages (stapled, with card covers)

6. Swahili (Translated from English by Timothy Simalenga)

7. Printed in Nairobi, Kenya by Beeline Printing Ltd.

8. Preface by Translator

9. Qurʾān: 23 Texts
   Bible: 50 Texts


11. The English version was first published as *Into the Light: A Young Muslim’s Search for Truth* published by OM Publishing, Carlisle in 1986, 157 pages; it has a page of acknowledgements by the author, whose name is spelt as Masood.

The tract is published by Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry (TELM). This group was linked to the Literature Department of the Christian Council of Tanzania, which operated from Morogoro. TELM is still in existence, in that it is listed as a member of The Forum of Bible Agencies (FOBA), which is a network of Organizations involved in Bible Translation, Bible production and distribution, and those that publish and print Christian literature (www.thetask.net/who/partnerships.html 10.08.07). Two other tracts published by TELM, *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia* (Īsā (Jesus Christ) In the Qurʾān and the Bible), and *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani* (The Word of God in the Torah, Gospel and the Qurʾān), are also examined in this research.
The tract is the longest one examined. It is the testimony of Masudi Ahmed Khan, born in 1951, near Peshawar in Pakistan, his mother from a land-owning Ahmadi family and his father an Afghan, who had become an Ahmadi when he became a refugee in India. It relates how he grew up in Rabwah, at the time an exclusively Ahmadi town and describes the challenges he faced as he studied his faith and met Christians. The active presence of Ahmadi missionaries in East Africa is a probable reason for the tract being translated into Swahili. It is also notable that when the Swahili version was published in 1991, it was only five years after its publication in English in 1986. The translator, Timothy Simalenga, is a lecturer at the Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro; Simalenga is also an itinerant preacher at conventions.

The tract uses both the Qur'an and the Bible. It is not clear which version of the Qur'an was used, as the text does not match any of the Swahili versions; it is possible that the translator made his own rendition, rather than using a Swahili Qur'an. The passages from the Bible use Biblia Union Version.

It is generally eirenic in approach. One book is referred to, Nuru ya Kuran (Light of the Qur'an); it is unclear as to whether the translator has simply translated the title from English, or whether this is a book available in Swahili.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

\textit{Al-Nisā' (4):157-159}  
\textit{Deuteronomy 18:16-20}  
\textit{John 14:15-17, 25-26}  
\textit{Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36}

\footnote{His brother John is a Theological lecturer at St. Mark's College, Dar es Salaam, an Anglican Church of Tanzania seminary.}
Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili

1. NJIA YA UZIMA (Iskander Jadeed)
2. Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili
   (The witness of Islam concerning the veracity of the Torah and the Gospel)
3. Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
4. no date
5. 4 pages (A5 sheet folded in half)
6. Swahili
7. No printing details
8. No Preface
9. Qurʾān: 8 Texts
   Bible: not quoted
10. Obtained from Ngara, April 2001

Almost certainly translated from English or German. The tract is available in English as: The Witness of Islam to the Validity of the Torah and the Gospels through the Good Way (URL: www.the-good-way.com/eng/theme/i_source.htm).

This is another tract distributed by Njia ya Uzima. It is the shortest tract examined: it consists of a sheet of A5 paper, printed on both sides and folded; as such it could be properly described as a handbill. It uses eight passages from the Qurʾān to demonstrate the truth of the Torah and the Gospels.

The Qurʾānic passages are given in full, in Swahili, but not identified, whereas the English version gives the references after each passage. In the Swahili version of the tract, the closing paragraph reveals that the author is Iskander Jadeed and that the tract is the muhtasari (summary) of a book Kutokosea kwa Torati na Injili (The Infallibility of the Torah and the Gospel) by Iskander Jadeed, who is also the author of Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa.
which is examined above. The readers of the tract are encouraged to write to Njia ya Uzima to obtain a copy.\textsuperscript{44}

Its approach is to inform and to encourage the reader to think about the claims of Christianity as set out in the Qur’ān as opposed to what they may have been told by other Muslims. It can be considered as being generally polemical in its approach.

No passages of scripture have been selected from this tract.

\textsuperscript{44} The English version encourages people to read a tract by John Gilehrist \textit{The Textual History of the Qur’an and the Bible.}
[14] *Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini*

   (The Bible is the Answer “99:)
2. *Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini*
   (Let’s talk No.1 The Lesson of Religion).
3. Dar es Salaam: *Biblia ni Jibu*
4. 1999
5. 6 pages (three sheets of A4 stapled in one corner)
6. Swahili
7. Preface by Author
8. Photocopied A4 sheets
9. Qur’ân: 7 Texts
   Bible: 10 Texts
10. Obtained from author in Tanga, February 2001
11. Worksheet written by Cecil Simbaulanga for his organization *Biblia ni Jibu* to train Christians who are talking to Muslims.

This is the only Christian tract that has been written directly in Swahili. It is produced by a group called *Biblia ni Jibu* (The Bible is the Answer). *Biblia ni Jibu* describes itself as “a national non-profit making organisation founded as a fellowship of churches, church related organisations and individuals working for Evangelization of Muslims in Tanzania” (*Biblia ni Jibu* nd:1).

This group was founded by Cecil Simbaulanga⁴⁵ in 1993, as a response to Muslim preachers in Dar es Salaam. In *Biblia ni Jibu: Brief History* the organisation explains that its origins arose following:

[In] October 1992 at Mnazi Mmoja Grounds in Dar-es-Salaam where Muslim preachers had been conducting open-air debate with Christians aimed at ridiculing the Bible and Christianity. The preaching was aimed at distorting Christian Doctrines, Biblical Messages and Christian History. It is said that its impact was grave as many Christians were converted to Islam.

---

⁴⁵ Cecil Simbaulanga, born in 1954, is from Songea in Southern Tanzania, but based in Dar es Salaam.
Realizing that Christianity was under attack by Muslim zealots, a few young Christians led by Cecil Simbaulanga felt a strong need to work closely together regardless of their denominations, to respond to challenges posed by the Muslim preachers (*Biblia ni Jibu nd:1*).

Once *Biblia ni Jibu* was formed, they collected the questions used by Muslim preachers to ridicule the Bible and Christianity, in order to be able to respond to them. They gathered 150 questions, then used the Bible to answer them. The name of the group came from this: *Biblia ni Jibu*, meaning The Bible is the Answer (*Biblia ni Jibu nd:1*). Because of religious tensions in 1993 following attacks on Pork Butchers’ Shops, *mihadhara* were banned and *Biblia ni Jibu* did not begin preaching until 1996, then:

After the 1998 Mwembechai Killings in Dar-es-Salaam, “Biblia ni Jibu” stopped its activities and went into hiding for fear of being tortured by state machinery as police rounded up many militant preachers. Cecil Simbaulanga and Moses Ndimbo were also remanded. They stayed under police custody for 17 days. In May 1999, Cecil was remanded [again] for 11 days (*Biblia ni Jibu nd:1*).

From 1999, Simbaulanga prepared a series of Worksheets, to be used to train members of *Biblia ni Jibu*. *Tuzumgumze No. 1 Somo la Dini* is the first of the worksheets, four others were collected in February 2001. They are all written in a simplistic manner and are naïve in content and approach. This tract poses a series of questions:

- *Nini Maana ya Dini* (What is the meaning of Religion)
- *Je Biblia Takatifu Inasema Nini Juu ya Miungu ya Uongo.* (What does the Holy Bible say about False Gods)
- *Je Bwana Yesu Alisema Nini Juu ya (Dini) Njia* (What did Jesus say about (Religion) the Way)
- *Akhera ni Wapi* (Where is the Hereafter)

These questions are supported by quotations from the Qur’an, using *Qurani Takatifu* (al-Farsi) and quotations from the Bible, using *Biblia Union Version*. The tone is aggressive and the approach is polemical.

When this material was written, Cecil Simbaulanga had no Theological training; since then he has studied at St. Mark’s College, Dar es Salaam (2002-2005) for a Certificate in Theology (Mtweve e-mail: 14.08.07).
*Biblia ni Jibu* now operates a web-site *Biblia ni Jubu* [sic] http://biblianijibu.netfirms.com/ which contains material aimed at challenging Muslims and answering their questions. The group has also continued to hold public debates and caused tensions. *Tanzania Daima*, a web-based newspaper, reports on 22nd August 2006 that police stopped a meeting in a Moravian Church in Kigoma where Cecil Simbaulanga was to speak on *Ujue uislamu asili yake* (You should know the origins of Islam). It was reported that the speech would be an attack on the influence of the Organisation of Islamic Conferences (OIC) in Tanzania, which is given as the reason for police intervening (*Tanzania Daima* 22.08.2006).

No passages of scripture have been selected from this tract.

---

46 Meetings can be conducted in Mosques and Churches without Police permission, whereas meetings held in public areas require a Police Permit. In the case of the meeting in Kigoma, the Police took out an injunction to stop the meeting, even though it was being held in a church.
1 Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia
   (TANZANIA EVANGELICAL LITERATURE MINISTRY) (TELM)
2 Isā (Jesus Christ) in the Qur'ān and the Bible
   (‘Īsā (Jesus Christ) in the Qur'ān and the Bible)
3 Morogoro: TELM
4 no date.
5 8 pages (sheet of A4 folded in four)
6 Swahili
7 No Preface
8 No details of printer given
9 Qur'ān: 25 Texts
   Bible: 45 Texts
10 Obtained Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) Literature Unit, Morogoro, March 1993
11 It appears to have been translated from English as it contains a statement in English
   and Swahili: ‘All publication rights are reserved by Comparative Studies, worldwide.’

The tract is produced by TELM. The contents of this tract seem to have been drawn up by a
   group calling themselves ‘Comparative Studies Worldwide’, but no information has been
discovered about them.

The first part of the tract uses a quotation from Dr. M.T. al-Hilali, Ph.D. (Professor of the
   Islamic University, Medina) “I want to remind the reader here that Jesus, son of Mary, will
return to the earth before the day of judgement” (page 1). It then uses the Qur'ān and Ḥadith

47 TELM translated the testimony by Stefano Masudi (tract number 12), which see for more information about
   the group, and also tract number sixteen.
48 Nataka kunkumbusha msomaji hapa kuwa Yesu, mwana wa Mariamu, atarudi kwa ulimwengu huu kabla ya
   siku ya kiyama.
to show that Jesus will return again. A series of questions are asked and answered with references from the Qur‘án. These will be analysed in chapters eight and nine.

The second section begins by asking *Je, Waweza Kusema Kwamba Yesu Kristo Alikuwa Nabii Tu?* (Can we say that Jesus Christ was only a Prophet?) and *Yesu Kristo ni Nani?* (Who is Jesus Christ?) (page 2). This section presents passages from the Qur‘án and the Bible, set out side by side to answer the question. It seeks to demonstrate that Jesus was more than a Prophet.

The third section asks *Kwa Nini Akaja Yesu, Basi?* (Well, why did Jesus come?) and explains *Sababu ya Kuja Kwa Yesu (Upendo wa Mungu wa kukomboa)* (The Reason for the Coming of Jesus (The love of God to save)) (page 6). This section uses the Bible to demonstrate that *Adhabu ya Dhambi ni Mauti* (The punishment for sin is death) (page 7) and concludes by setting out the four things needed for a person to be saved.

Quotes from the Qur‘án are from *Qurani Takatifu* (al-Farsy), those from the Bible are from *Biblia Union Version*, ḥadīth are quoted from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.49

It is more polemical than eirenic in its approach.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Al 'Imrān</em></td>
<td>(3):45-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-Nisā‘</em></td>
<td>(4):171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-Mā‘ida</em></td>
<td>(5):111-115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans</td>
<td>3:19-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippians</td>
<td>2:5-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 For further details about Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī see footnote 42 page 197.
This tract is distributed by TELM. In addition to giving an address for correspondence in Swahili as TELM, PO Box 1009, Morogoro, it also gives an address for correspondence in English, NLM PO Box 24681, Minneapolis, Mn. 55424. It seems likely that NLM stands for New Life Ministries, based in Minneapolis: a search of current web-sites gives no information about this tract ministry.

The tract examines the ‘Word of God’ in the Torah, the Gospel and the Qur‘ān. Its particular focus is to demonstrate the uniqueness of Ḥūsān, using passages from the Qur‘ān and the Bible. The first section (pages 2-7), looks at Mūsā and his relationship with God; then section two (pages 7-12), turns to Jesus being a prophet like Moses. The final section (pages 13-19), sets out, in four columns, passages of prophecies concerning Jesus.

TELM is the same group that is responsible for tracts number twelve and fifteen.
Table 7.4  Showing column divisions in tract *Neno la Mungu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column One</th>
<th>Column Two</th>
<th>Column Three</th>
<th>Column Four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Unabii uliofichika Torati</em></td>
<td><em>Kitabu cha Mafunuo Injili</em></td>
<td><em>Kurani (Kiswahili)</em></td>
<td><em>Kiarabu cha Asili Kurani</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Prophecies that are</td>
<td>(Book of the Revelations of the</td>
<td>(Qur‘ān (Swahili))</td>
<td>(Arabic the original language of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hidden in the Torah)</td>
<td>Gospel)</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Qur‘ān)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The passages quoted in column one are from Numbers and Leviticus as well as Isaiah, which is not considered as part of the Torah, by Jews. However Muslim usage identifies the whole of the Hebrew Bible as the Torah. Column Two, in addition to passages from the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, has quotations from Philippians and First Corinthians, which are not Gospels. This is misleading and could easily lead to confusion for a reader. The passages from the Qur‘ān are correctly quoted.

The tract then concludes by explaining the importance of the Word of God and inviting readers to write in, if they have any questions or opinions.

The passages from the Qur‘ān are taken from *Qurani Takatifu* (al-Farsi) and those from the Bible come from *Biblia Union Version*. A book *Maana ya Kurani Tukufu* (The Meaning of the Glorious Qur‘ān) is quoted twice (pages 2 and 20). It is not made clear whether this book is available in Swahili, or whether it is the version of the Qur‘ān by Marmaduke Pickthall, which has that title in English.

The overall approach is polemical and could be considered as offensive.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

Matthew 15:21-28
Philippians 2:5-8
CHAPTER EIGHT: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN TRACTS

INTRODUCTION AND FIRST THEME: TAWHID

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The sixteen tracts studied were introduced in the previous chapter. The passages of scripture, together with the themes to be examined, were also listed. In the next three chapters, the selected passages, together with the relevant accompanying text, have been transcribed and translated into English.

The difficulties arising from translating any text from one language to another are acute. This becomes more significant when it is scripture that is translated. For both the Bible and the Qur’an the versions available in Swahili have potential difficulties.\(^1\)

The edited English texts are given, with the original Swahili texts appearing as footnotes. The ways in which the passages of scripture are used in the tracts are examined thematically, in order to exemplify how scripture is used by the Muslim and Christian writers.

Each theme is introduced and explained, by examining the ways that Muslims and Christians have traditionally understood the theme. Whilst it is true that a range of interpretations may be given to these themes, it is also the case that within Protestant Christianity there is a general accord as to the understanding of the different themes from the Bible, likewise for themes from the Qur’an for Sunni Islam. The way the passages of scripture have been used will be

---

\(^1\) For the Bible, most versions were translated by teams led by European missionaries who sometimes had difficulties in equivalences and used words, which might have been accurate at a basic level, but had a nuanced meaning different than the translator intended. For the Qur’an, even translating it into Swahili leads to its veracity as the Qur’an being questioned. Its very untranslatability is considered essential, as Arabic has the status of a revealed language (Sanneh 1989:212).
illustrated by using different passages from the tracts. In each chapter the passages of scripture are presented in the order that they appear in the Qur’ān and Bible.

An analysis of each of the chosen passages is then made. In addition, where appropriate, other considerations concerning a passage are commented on. The Swahili in the chosen texts is explained and commented on, in particular where the interpretation and understanding of the passages being examined is ambiguous and also in cases where the religious use of Swahili is problematic. For each passage of scripture a comparison is made of the way the passage of scripture is interpreted and used in the different tracts, followed by a preliminary conclusion for each of the passages.

For each of the themes, the selected passages from the tracts are examined in the numerical order that they were introduced in chapter seven: that is, Muslim then Christian tracts, ordered alphabetically by the surname of the author or the name of the organisation or group. The number precedes the author’s name and the title of the tract.

8.2 THEME: TAWHĪD OR TRINITY? (THE UNITY OF GOD)

For Muslims, tawḥīd is the defining doctrine of faith. “It declares absolute monotheism, the uniqueness of God as creator and sustainer of the universe” (Esposito 2003:317). The concept appears in the Shahāda (the first Pillar of Islam).2 The word tawḥīd is not found in the Qur’ān, but the “principle that God is single is definitely proclaimed there” (Gimaret 1999:389a). The

---

2 Shahāda (Arabic) Testimony, the first ‘Pillar of Islam’, “‘ashhādū an lā īlāha illā ‘llāh wa-ashhādū anna Muḥammadan rasūlu ‘llāh” (I testify that there is no God but God and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God).
Unity or Oneness of God has been discussed by Muslim theologians, from the Mu‘tazilīs to Muhammad ‘Abduh. In recent times, Muslim reformers have used the concept of *tawḥīd* as:

... an organising principle for human society and the basis of religious knowledge, history, metaphysics, aesthetics, and ethics, as well as social, economic, and world order. …

[It] is at the forefront of Islamic thought today due to a concern with the practical manifestations of Islamic unity in a world fragmented by colonialism and nationalism. Tawḥīd has emerged as a powerful symbol of divine, spiritual, and sociopolitical unity (Esposito 2003:317-318).

The centrality of *tawḥīd* in Islam, and its use by reformers, means that the way in which it is presented and interpreted in the selected passages can be seen as having great significance.

Christianity, together with Judaism and Islam, is a monotheistic religion, and the idea that ‘God is One’ is affirmed by it. For Christians, the doctrine of the Trinity is the doctrine of God, “according to which he is three persons in one substance or essence” (Bray 1988:691), which explains the presence of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, together with God the Father. For Christians, the Trinity has a central role in creedal confessions, where the three persons of the Trinity are each named. Christianity has held to this whilst maintaining monotheism.

The doctrine of the Trinity is not found directly in the Bible, but many passages of scripture are used to support it. As a doctrine, it was developed by the Early Church, primarily as a Christological doctrine, and was formulated by the fourth century, undergoing little change since then.

Muslims view the doctrine of the Trinity as an anathema, and it is strongly rejected in the Qur‘ān. David Thomas states “The text [of the Qur‘ān] abounds with denials that there could be two gods and that [God] could have partners or relations and explicitly repudiates the idea

---

3 See Gimaret (1999) and Esposito (2003) for more information on this.
4 The ecumenical creeds are: Apostles’ Creed (third century), Nicene Creed (fourth century), Athanasian Creed (fifth century). These were accepted by the church before the major schisms into churches of the East and West and are used in liturgical worship.
5 See Mackey (1983) and Bray (1988) for more information on the Trinity as a doctrine.
that he took Jesus as his son” (Thomas 2006:368-369). Some Muslim interpreters argue that the understanding of the Trinity which is rejected in the Qur’ān comprised of God, Mary and Jesus. This is a view far from orthodox Christianity and it is thought that it refers to an attack directed at a deviant form of Christian belief (Thomas 2006:370).

Proponents of the idea that God could have any ‘partners’ or ‘associates’ are accused of shirk (associationism) which is considered to be one of the worst sins, ʿithm ʿazīm (great sin) that God will not forgive.6

There are only three specific mentions of the Trinity (Three) in the Qur’ān: Al-Nisā’ (4):171, Al-Mā’ida (5):73 and 116, all of which are examined.

For both Muslims and Christians the Uniqueness of God and the primacy of their own faith is important and this is examined together with tawḥīd and Trinity.

Five of the selected scripture passages from the Qur’ān and one from the Bible will be examined in this theme:

- **tawḥīd or Trinity? (The Unity of God)**

  *Al-Nisā’ (4):171; Al-Mā’ida (5):72-78, 116-119; Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4*

  - One God, One religion/Uniqueness of God

  *Al-Shūrā (42):13; Isaiah 45:18-22*

---

6 For Muslim views of Trinity see David Thomas (2001a, 2006).
8.3 **TAWHĪD OR TRINITY?**

8.3.1 *Al-Nisāʾ*(4):171

People of the Book, go not beyond the bounds of your religion, and say not as to God but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only the Messenger of God, and His Word that He committed to Mary, and a Spirit from Him. So believe in God and His Messengers, and say not, ‘Three.’ Refrain; better is it for you. God is only One God. Glory be to Him – that He should have a son! To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and in the earth; God suffices for a guardian. (Arberry)

This passage is used by four of the tracts, one Muslim and three Christian.


Imran uses this passage to introduces a lengthy section in his tract. He uses it to specifically present and defend the idea of *tawḥīd* against that of the Trinity, which he sees as being a contradiction.8

**2. TAWHĪD (UNITY OF GOD) VERSUS THE TRINITY**9

Islam teaches the pure faith of One God contrary to the Trinity in Christianity. The Unity of the Vital Essence of God is indeed the matter that is given great emphasis in the Glorious Qurʾān. The Qurʾān confirms that each prophet taught the Unity of God and that this teaching is the foundation of Islam at all times. Therefore the teaching of the *Tawḥīd*, explains these teachings were indeed the foundation of Islam in all times. Therefore, the teaching of the *Tawḥīd* was explained as the teaching of the prophets of the whole world. It is evident that the belief in One God is completely contrary to the Trinity or the Many. It is not possible that when two faiths contradict each other that both can be true at the same time; but still Christians are satisfied that this is so. The Glorious Qurʾān warns them:10

(Continued on the next page)

---

7 An English version for each passage is given. For the Qurʾān, *The Koran*, the version by Arthur Arberry (1955), for the Bible the New Revised Standard Version (1995) are given. See Appendix One for the Swahili versions of the passages.

8 Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.1.

9 Where the English translation of the text from the tracts is given, it is set out in the same way as the original Swahili text. The Swahili text is then given as a footnote. All translations are the author’s own.

10 **Uislamu unafundisha imani sahi ya Mungu Mmoja kinyume na Utatu katika Ukristo. Umoja wa Naṣī ya Mungu ndiyo hoja hasa iliyowekewa mkazo mkubwa katika Kurʾani Tukufu. Kurʾani inathibitisha kwamba kila nabii alifundisha Umoja wa Mungu na kwamba mafundisho hayo yaliikuwa ndogo msingi hasa wa Uislamu katika zama zote. Kwa hiyo, fundisho la Tawḥīd, lafaqū- [assumed to be a typographical error for lafaqauniwa or other ending - as lafaqauniwa appears later in text] mafundisho hayo yaliikuwa ndogo msingi hasa wa Uislamu katika zama zote. Kwa hiyo, fundisho la Tawḥīd lafaqūuniwa kama fundisho la manambi [sic] wa ulimwengu mzima. Ni dhaliri kwamba imani ya Mungu Mmoja ni kinyume kabisa na Utatu au Uwingi. Imani nibili zinaotinga haziwezi kuwa zote ni za kweli kwa wakati mmoja; lakini bado Wakristo wanaridhiha nayo. Kurʾani Tukufu inawaonya:**

(Continued on the next page)
Oh people (you were given) the Book! Do not add to your religion or say any word concerning Almighty God apart from that which is right. The Messiah, Jesus, Son of Mary, was only a Messenger of Almighty God and His word that was delivered to Mary, and the spirit that came from Him. So believe in Almighty God and His Messengers, and do not say “Three” – cease (from saying this)! It is better for you! Almighty God is only One God. He is completely separated (from this idea) in His excellence and glory that He should have a child. All things that are in heaven and earth are His. And Almighty God is a sufficient guardian (Qur'an [Al-Nisā'] 4:171).

Jesus was called by a word that Almighty God delivered to Mary to confirm that He was brought to earth by the command of Almighty God and not by the usual method by using a father. If the whole universe came about by only one word of Almighty God and Adam was created without either a father or a mother so it is our responsibility to agree completely that the command of Almighty God”[indicating a footnote] is also able to bring a person into the world without using a father.

The word spirit that is used for Jesus does not take him beyond the bounds of his humanity because even for Adam it is said: “I breathed my spirit into him. Certainly in relation to the Glorious Qur'an the spirit of God was breathed into each person”.

“Then he completed him and breathed His spirit into him, and He gave them ears and eyes and hearts” (Qur'an, [Al-Sajda] 32:9).

The word ruh-um-minhu (that is, spirit from Him) does not have the meaning that the spirit of Almighty God has made him to be a god-man; Jesus; rather this only shows the goodness of the Messiah.

[Footnote] In this verse there is a caution concerning the Christian teaching of Sacrifice and judgement. It is Almighty God alone who will be the Judge and Mediator nor is there any other, not even His Prophets together with Jesus (Imran [tract 1]:5-7). 

Imran quotes the verse in full, and in introducing it, he emphasises the difference between tawḥīd and Trinity. Christian belief in the Trinity is challenged as being contrary to the Unity

---

11 Square brackets are used to indicate insertions by the translator. They are used to give correct references, or to clarify something in the text.


“Kisha akamkamilisha na akampulizia roho Yake, na Akawapeni masikio na macho na nyoyo.” (Kur'ani 32:9)

Neno ruh-um-minhu (yaani, roho kutoka Kwake) halina maana ya kwamba roho ya Mwenyezi Mungu imefanywa kuwa mungu-mtu; Yesu; bali linaonyesha tu ubora wa Masihu.

of God, but no attempt is made to define what Christians mean by Trinity. The possibility that
the two religions are both true is what is rejected. The footnote cautions against the Christian
understanding of Jesus’ role as a sacrifice and in judgement; from the use of footnotes
elsewhere in the tract, it is unclear whether this footnote appears in Imran’s original text, or
whether it is an addition made by the translator into Swahili.

A word in Swahili that is particularly problematic to translate in this passage is *nafsi*, from the
Arabic *nafs* (self/essence), as it has a range of meanings. As this tract was not originally
written in Swahili, but translated from English or Urdu, it is possible that the actual sense that
Imran wished to convey has been further distorted by its double translation. The range of
lexical meanings given in the dictionaries include: Mulokozi: soul, spirit, self and essence
(Mulokozi 2001:241); Bosha also includes: mind, person and breath (Bosha 1993:166). In
this instance, the Arabic meaning of ‘essence’ has been chosen, as it seems to convey the
sense in the context.

Imran’s translator uses *na neno Lake* (and His word), whilst al-Farsy uses *tamko*
(proclamation) as do the other tracts citing this verse. The other Swahili versions of the
*Qur’an* all use *neno*. This raises the possibility that the translator used the Ahmadiyya Swahili

---

version as the basis of his version. As no publication date is given for the tract, it may well pre-date publication of the al-Farsy Qurani Takatifū (1969).

The meaning of roho iliyotoka Kwake (a spirit from Him) is explained as referring to the ‘life-giving’ spirit that is in everyone and as having nothing to do with Jesus as ‘god-man’. Interestingly, Imran does not use the difference between -toka (from) and wa (of) concerning the spirit and Jesus’ relationship with God as Abu’l A ‘lā Maudūdī does (Maudūdi 2006:205-206).

Imran’s argument concerning ‘a spirit from Him’ is not dissimilar to that given by Abūl-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar az-Zamakhshārī (1075-1144) in his Qur’ānic commentary.\textsuperscript{14}

For this reason he is (also) designated as ‘the spirit of God’ (see Sūra [Al-Ta‘ārūf] 66:12, etc.) and as a ‘spirit from Him’ since Jesus was a spirit-endowed man (dhū rūḥ) who originated without any element from a spirit-endowed man, such as the sperm that is discharged from an earthly father. He was created through a new act of creation by God whose power (qudra) is unlimited (in Gätje 1996:126).

This indicates that in this instance Imran’s interpretation is following one of the ‘classical’ tafsīr.

\textbf{[9] K.K. Alavi \textit{Kutafuta Uhakika}}

Alavi quotes most of the verse using it to emphasise the attributes of Jesus.

Also the Qur’ān gives Jesus certain praise that is different from that given to other prophets or apostles. Jesus is explained as being the Word of God and the spirit that comes from God.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} The commentary by az-Zamakhshārī is Al-kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq ghawāmiḍ at-tanzīl (The Unveiler of the Realities of the Secrets of Revelation (1134)); he was a Persian born Arabic scholar, a Mu’tazilite.

\textsuperscript{15} Pia Kurani inampa Yesu siṭa fulani ambazo ni tɔfauti na zile ambazo wamepewa manabii wengine au mitume. Yesu ameeleza kuwa ni Neno la Mungu na roho iliyotoka kwa Mungu:

(Continued on the next page)
“Oh people of the Book! Do not overturn the limits of your religion, nor should you say of Almighty God other than that which is true. The Messiah Jesus son of Mary is a Messenger of Almighty God and his proclamation [word] that he brought Mary. And he is a spirit that came from Him, So believe in Almighty God and his Apostles; nor should you say “three …” Restrain yourself; it will be better for you. No doubt Almighty God is only one God …” ([Al-Nisâ] 4:171)

Similarly, the Angel Jibrîl (or Gabriel) told Mary that:

“… he said: It is like this your Lord said: That is easy for Me, and to make him a Miracle for humans and a mercy from us; and this is a thing that has already been determined” ([Maryam]19:21 cf. [Al-Anbiyâ] 21:91).

Each thing that the Qur’ân states about Jesus shows that Jesus is a different person: his relationship with God as the Word of God and spirit that came from God; his amazing work; how he healed people; how he raised them from the dead ([Àl ‘ImrÁn] 3:49); he ascended to heaven until today.

(Alavi [tract 9]:24-25)

Alavi makes no attempt to use this passage to explain or to defend the Trinity, even though he includes the Qur’ân’s rejection of it. Rather, the passage is used to show that the Qur’ân sees Jesus as a different person, because of his relationship with God.

Alavi uses the titles, Word of God and spirit that comes from God, twice. In the reference to ‘word’ the Swahili uses ‘tamko’ which is translated as ‘proclamation’; this follows al-Farsy, where it gives the sense of ‘a word’ of God, a ‘command’ that was given by God, when Mary conceived Jesus at the command of God.

Alavi does not use the verse in isolation, but quotes from Sûra Maryam (19) and makes references to other passages, in order to make his point, that the Qur’ân shows that Jesus is ‘different’ from other people.

---


Kadhalika, malaika Jibr’ail (au Gabrieli) alimwambia Mariamu kwamba:


Kila jambo ambalo Kurani mwimwiria juu ya Yesu huonyesha kwamba Yesu ni mtu tofauti: Uhusiano wake na Mungu kama Neno la Mungu na roho iliyotoka kwa Mungu; kazi zake za ajabu; jinsi alivyokuwa akiponya watu; jinsi alivyowatufua waifu (3:49); alivyopaa kwenda mbinguni hadi leo.

217
Two of the tracts distributed by TELM use the verse.

[15] TELM *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

It is used as one of a series of six statements in this tract, the other statements are examined in section 9.3.1.

THIRDLY: The Qur’ān says: Jesus Christ is a Spirit that came from Almighty God himself.

“The Messiah Jesus son of Mary is an Apostle of Almighty God and his proclamation [word] that he brought to Mary. And he is a spirit which came from him” (Sura No. 4 Al-Nisā:171).

Question: Again, is there any other prophet who is able to assert that he is the Word of Almighty God (ALLĀH) and the Spirit from him? (TEL M *Isa* [tract 15]:2)

Only a part of the verse is quoted, not including the reference to the Trinity. The role of Jesus as the Word of Almighty God and the Spirit from God and the uniqueness of Jesus’ relationship with God is emphasised, without any explanation.

[16] TELM *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*

The Qur’ān also agrees with this truth that before Jesus Christ came here to earth and took on the form of a slave (a human body) he was in the state (the form) of God – that is his word.

Sūra [Al-Nisā] 4:171 (The Women) says that

“The Messiah Jesus son of Mary is a Messenger of Almighty God and (is a creature that was created by) the proclamation [word] (of Almighty God) that he brought to Mary. And he is a spirit that came from him.”

It was not arrogance for Lord Jesus when he told the Jews that Moses had written concerning him, because he knew that from the beginning who He was and where he came from. To those that claimed that they knew God he said “If God were your father you would love me; for I came from God, and I have come; nor did I come for my own sake, rather because he himself sent me” (John 8:42)

(TEL M *Neno* [tract 16]:8-9).  

17 TATU: Kurani husema: Yesu Kristo ni Roho iliyotoka kwake Mwenyezi Mungu. 

“Masihi Isa bin Mariamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na tamko lake alilompeleke Mariamu. Na ni roho iiyotoka kwake.” (Sura No. 4 An Nisaa:171)

Swali: Tena, kunaye nabii yeyote mwingine awezaye kudai kwamba yeye ni Neno la Mwenyezi Mungu (ALLAH) na Roho kutoka kwake?

Kurani pia inakubaliana na ukweli huu kuwa kabil Yesu Kristo hajafika hapa duniani na kutwaa namna ya mtumwa (mwili wa kibinadamu) aliwakaliwa katika hali ya (umo la) Mungu – yaani neno lake.

Sura 4:171 (Wanawake) inasema kuwa

“Masihi Isa bin Marianu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na (ni kiumbe aliyeumbwa kwa) tamko lake (tu Mwenyezi Mungu) alilompeleke Marianu. Na ni roho aliyyotoka kwake.”

Hayakuwa majivunu Bwana Yesu aliwawambia Wayahudi kuwa Musa aliwakaliwa ameandika khusu habari zake, kwa sababu aliyua kuwa mwanzo Yeeye aliwakaliwa nani ya altoka wapi. Kwao wale waliwai kuwa wamemfahamu Mungu alisema “Kama Mungu angekuwa baba yenu mgenipenda mimi; kwa maana naliwakaliwa kwa Mungu, nami nimekuja; wala sikuwa kwa nasifi yangu, bali yeeye ndywe aliyenituma.”

(Yohana 8:42)
Only a part of the verse is quoted. It is introduced with a statement that before Jesus came to earth, taking on a ‘human body’ he had the ‘form’ of God, as his ‘word’ (neno).19 The verse is used to justify these claims, with no explanation as to how the verse shows this. A verse from the Bible, John 8:42 is then quoted, using the Swahili Union Version, to support the argument being propounded, that Jesus was sent by his father, God.

The tracts have made limited use of the passage, making only some of the points that could be potentially made. Imran makes clear his understanding of the difference between tawhīd and Trinity, but does not use the verse to directly ‘attack’ the Trinity, rather he examines Jesus’ relationship with God, as a “Spirit from Him”. Alavi does not ‘defend’ the Trinity, rather he uses the verse to show that Jesus is “different”. The two TELM tracts emphasise the uniqueness of Jesus’ relationship with God.

8.3.2 Al-Mā’īda (5):72-78

They are unbelievers who say, ‘God is the Messiah, Mary’s son.’
For the Messiah said, ‘Children of Israel, serve God, my Lord and your Lord.
Verily whoso associates with God anything,
God shall prohibit him entrance to Paradise, and his refuge shall be the Fire;
and wrongdoers shall have no helpers.’

They are unbelievers who say, ‘God is the Third of Three.’
No God is there but One God. If they refrain not from what they say,
there shall afflict those of them that disbelieve a painful chastisement.
Will they not turn to God and pray His forgiveness?
God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate.

The Messiah, son of Mary, was only a Messenger;
Messengers before him passed away; his mother was a just woman;
they both ate food. Behold, how We make clear signs to them;
then behold, how they perverted are!

---

19 Philippians 2:6-8 which is quoted immediately prior to this passage, is discussed in section 9.4.3.
Say: ‘Do you serve, apart from God, that which cannot hurt or profit you? God is the All-hearing, the All-knowing.’

Say: ‘People of the Book, go not beyond the bounds in your religion, other than the truth, and follow not the caprices of a people who went astray before, and led astray many, and now again have gone astray from the right way. Cursed were the unbelievers of the Children of Israel by the tongue of David, and Jesus, Mary’s son; that, for their rebelling and their transgression. (Arberry)\textsuperscript{20}

Five tracts quote this passage, some more than once, four of the tracts are Muslim and one is Christian.

\textbf{[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran, \textit{Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani}}

Imran quotes this passage twice, using verses 72-74 in the first instance and verse 75 in the second. In his introduction to this passage Imran refers to \textit{Sūra Al-Mā‘īda} (5) verse 113, attacking the idea of 	extit{shirk}.

He introduces this passage by stating that the Qur’ān denies the teaching of the Trinity, viewing it as absolute blasphemy.

Therefore, the Qur’ān strongly denies the teaching of the Trinity and to say truly, this is blasphemy of the highest order concerning the Glory of Almighty God.

\textit{It goes on to explain:}

“Without doubt they blasphemed who said, Almighty God is the Messiah, Son of Mary. The Messiah (himself) said: ‘Oh you Children of Israel, Worship Almighty God, my Lord and your Lord. Because he that associates with Almighty God, For certain Almighty God has prohibited that (person) from \textit{Janna} (Paradise) and his dwelling (will be) in the Fire. And the unjust will have no helpers. Certainly they have blasphemed who say: Certainly Almighty God is one of three: there is no (other) god except (only) One God. If they will not cease saying this there will descend a punishment on those that blaspheme. But do they not return to Almighty God to beg His forgiveness? Certainly Almighty God is Forgiving, and Merciful.” [\textit{Al-Mā‘īda} (5):72-74] \textsuperscript{22} (Continued on the next page)

\textsuperscript{20} The Arberry version of the Qur’ān does not mark the verses, giving line numbers instead. Where a line number appears in the passage being quoted it is given, as here.

\textsuperscript{21} His comments will be dealt with in detail when that verse is examined in section 9.3.2.

\textsuperscript{22} Kwa hiyo, Kur’āni inakanusha kwa nguvu sana mafundisho ya Utatu na kusema kweli hayo ni kufuru ya hali ya juu kabisa dhidi ya Utukufu Wake Mwenyezi Mungu.

\textit{Inaendelea kueleza:}


(Continued on the next page)
There is no sin that angers more and is completely unforgivable before Almighty God than *Shirk* [Association] (Superstition) or to associate him with any other in worship. We read in the Glorious Qur'ān:

“This certainly Almighty God does not forgive (sins of) association but he forgives (everything else) contrary to that as he wishes. And he that associates anything with him, Almighty God, no doubt has devised a great sin” (Qur'ān, [Al-Nisā'] 4:48)

(Imran [tract 1]:7-8).\(^{23}\)

In the first example Imran quotes three verses, 72-74, together with a verse from *Al-Nisā’* (4):48. The verses are used to show that the idea of the Trinity is blasphemous and *shirk* and to list the punishments to be meted out on those who insist on the Trinity.

The Trinity is mentioned in verse 73 ‘*Mungu ni mmoja katika utatu*’ (God is one in three), which is close to al-Farsy ‘*Mungu mmoja katika (wale waungu) watatu*’ (One God in (of those gods) three). None of the other Swahili versions of the Qur'ān use this phrase.\(^{24}\)

Imran does not here explain what Muslims understand by the Trinity, rather he declares that it is a blasphemy and *shirk*. In defining *shirk* the translator adds *ushirikina* in brackets, to clarify the meaning of *shirk*. In modern usage *ushirikina* means ‘superstition’ (Mulokozi 2001:349), rather than ‘association’. Both Krapf (1882:332) and Madan note that *shiriki Muungu* can mean either: lead a religious life, or, share the divine nature, which it notes is blasphemous for Muslims (Madan 1903:338). Boshá (1993:238) defines it as ‘polytheism’ or ‘idolatry’. Adding *ushirikina* as a clarification actually leads to confusion for the reader.

\(^{23}\) *Hapana dhambi inayochukiza zaidi na isiyosameheka kabisa mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu kuliko Shirki (Ushirikina) au kumshirikisha katika ibada. Tunasoma katika Kur’ani Tukufu:*

*Kwa hakika Mwenyezi Mungu hasamehi (dhambi za) kumshirikisha na husamehe (yote) kinyume cha hayo kwa amtakaye. Na anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, bila shaka amebuni dhami [sic] kubwa sana*. (Kur’ani, 4:48)

\(^{24}\) All the other published versions say: *Mungu ni tatu wa watatu/watatu* (God is three of three), which closely follows the Arabic *thalith thalitha* (third of three). Saidi Musa’s version is slightly different, see below.
Imran correctly, from an Islamic understanding, states that those who are guilty of *shirk* have committed an unforgivable offence against God. This is stated immediately after quoting verse 74, which clearly shows that those who return to God, seeking forgiveness, will be forgiven. This is not explained nor is the possibility of repentance and forgiveness commented upon.

Imran also quotes verse 75:

> IS IT NOT STUPIDITY TO GIVE JESUS CHRIST THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DIVINITY?

Islam believes that to worship Jesus as Christ (being God) is to return again to paganism. According to the Glorious Qur’an, Jesus was not God in human form rather he was a prophet and Messenger of Almighty God as all other prophets; he was human in every way. We read that:

> “The Messiah, son of Mary, was no more than a Messenger, messengers (an example for him) had already passed before him. And his mother was a good woman. And both of the two of them ate food (from the earth). See how we pointed out the revelation concerning them, and then see how they were transformed” (Qur’an, [Al-Mā‘īda] 5:75).

The verse is used as an attack on Christians, who are accused of *upumbavu* (stupidity) to give Jesus divine status, that to do so is a return to ‘paganism’. The human nature of Jesus and his being a *nabii* (prophet) and *Mjumbe* (Messenger) and his similarity to other prophets is emphasised. The translator uses *mjumbe* for messenger, rather than *mtume* (apostle, one who is sent), which all the Swahili versions of the Qur’an use.
Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*

Kanoni quotes a part of verse 75, together with the following to warn the followers of the New Testament. It is written:

**AL-TAWBA 9:31**

“They have made their learned ones and their monks to be gods instead of Almighty God, they have made (the Messiah) son of Mary also (God), but they were commanded that they should not worship other than one God, there is no one worthy to be worshipped apart from Him. He has been sanctified by those [matters] that they associate with him.”

**AL-MĀ’IDA 5:17**

“For certain they have already blasphemed those who said: “Almighty God is the Messiah son of Mary …”

**AL-MĀ’IDA 5:75**

“The Messiah son of Mary is nothing other than an Apostle (only). (And) without a doubt many Apostles have gone before him. (Have they not seen)? …”

**AL-TAWBA 9:30**

“And the Jews say: “Uzayr is a son of God”; and Christians say “The Messiah is a son of Almighty God”: this indeed is what they are saying from their mouths (without measure). They copy the words of those who blasphemed before them. Almighty God should destroy them. How are they so deluded?”

The purpose and ambition of Paul, for his message (the New Testament) was to seek to douse the Light of Almighty God, and instead of him to plant Darkness; but, Almighty God refused. And because of this he brought the Apostle Muhammad S.A.W. so that he could come and drive out this Darkness and return the Light (Kanoni [tract 3]:39).

The way that Kanoni presents the passages is interesting, in that they are not ‘in order’, especially the two verses from *al-Tawba* where verse 31 is given before verse 30. The verses

---

27 S.A.W.  šallallahu ‘alayhi wa sallam (Arabic) May God’s Peace be Upon Him, used for Muhammad; in English, Peace Be Upon Him (PBUH) is often used.

28 Kwa ajili hii, ndipo Kurani tukufu ikawa na haya yafuatayo ya kuwaonya wafuasi wa Agano Jipya. Imeandikwa:

**ATTAWBA 9:31**

“Wamewafanya wanavyuoni na watawa wao kuwa ni miungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu, wamefanya (Masih) mwana wa Maryamu pia (Mungu), halì hawakuamrishwa isipokuwa kumwabudu Mungu mmoja, hakuna anayestahiki kuabudiwa ila Yeye. Ametakasika na yale wanayomshirikisha nayo.”

**AL MAIDAH 5:17**

“Kwa yakini wamekwisha kukufuru wale waliosema: “Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masih bin Maryamu …”

**AL MAIDAH 5:75**

“Masih bin Maryam si cho chote ila ni Mtume (tu). (Na) bila shaka Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. (Hawajiona)? ….”

**ATTAWBA 9:30**


are selected to show that the Qur'ān clearly rejects the idea that Jesus is any more than a messenger and that it rejects that he is the son of God.

Kanoni uses these verses to accuse Paul *kwa ujumbe wake huo* (Agano Jipya) (by his message (The New Testament)) of deliberately “dousing the Light of Almighty God” and wanting to “plant Darkness”. The accusation against Paul by Muslims is not unusual, but using these verses to make it, and the use of the imagery of Light and Dark, make it noteworthy.

**[4] Saidi Musa *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)***

Musa uses verses 72-75 to explain what Jesus’ role was and the consequences for those who fail to understand it correctly. The passage introduces a lengthy ‘Admonition’ that defines who Jesus is in Islam.

THE PROPHET ḤĀṢĀ WAS PREACHING TO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL THAT HE IS THE MESSENGER OF GOD

The Glorious Almighty God said in the Qur'ān, 6th *Juz*’ in *Sūra Al-Mā'idah* [5] verses 72-75:—

Certainly they have blasphemed who say that Almighty God is the Messiah (*Ḥāṣā*) Child of Mary. And (the state) of the Messiah (himself) said: “Oh you of Israel! Worship Almighty God your Lord and my Lord. Because he who associates anything with Almighty God certainly Almighty God will bar him from Paradise, and his dwelling will be the fire. And the unjust will have no helpers (on the day of judgement).”

Certainly they have blasphemed those who say: “Almighty God is one amongst those three gods.” That there is no God but one Almighty God (only by himself). And if they will not stop what they are saying, be sure there shall afflict those who continue with this blasphemy amongst them a bitter punishment.

Will they not confess to Almighty God and ask for forgiveness? And Almighty God is indeed Forgiving and Merciful. ²⁹(Continued on the next page)

---

²⁹ *NABĪ IRA ALIKUWA AKIWAHHUTUBIA WANA WA ISRAIL KUWA YEYE NI MTUME WA MUNGU*

 Amesema Mweneze Mungu Mtukufu katika Qurani, Juzuu ya 6 katika Suratul Maidah kwene ya Aya ya 72-75 hivi:-


(Continued on the next page)
The Messiah the Son of Mary is nothing but a Messenger. Certainly many other Messengers have gone before him. And his Mother is a true woman. Both of them ate food (if they had been gods, would they have eaten?) Behold how we make clear Signs for them. Again see how we have been transformed (to leave justice).

ADMONITION:

Almighty God did not give birth nor was he born; nor did he give birth to himself because there was no time when he was not there. The Jews and Christians claim that God made a child in the likeness of his nature. And these claims are untrue, they perfectly exhibit their ignorance by slandering Almighty God a matter that should not even enter the mind. The intellect completely disagrees that God became a man. God alive eating and going to the toilet! These are things that only confuse the intellect worthless because even if you were to explain to someone that God became a man you only disturb his mind; nor will he understand. God has the ability, why should he get difficulty of this sort, when if he desires something he only says “BE” immediately “IT IS!” This matter truly angers Almighty God.

It absolutely does not do for Almighty God to have a child because all things in heaven and on the earth are under his authority. They respect his laws, and He the glorious God did create all and knows all. He has absolutely no reason to make himself as one amongst these. On the Day of Judgement all creatures will stand before him so that he may judge them.

Muslims who believe in Almighty God who do not associate him with anything nor to resemble any creature, they will be entertained by Almighty God; contrary to the infidels.

So this Prophet Jesus is only an Apostle like those apostles who came before him rather than God. He came with the Religion of Almighty God the Religion of Islam; but he was only given a small amount of authority to judge dependent on the state of his people and the state of that time. And to be told that there is another Apostle who will come later who is called Ahmad (Muhammad).

(Continued on the next page)
The Religion of Islam teaches us that Īsā son of Mary is not the child of God nor is he God nor any part of the nature of God. He was born of Lady Mary only without having a father as Almighty God created Adam without having either a father or a mother. This is only within the ability of Almighty God, to show that there is nothing that can defeat him. He created a human being without Father or Mother (Adam) and without a Father but a Mother (Īsā).
(Musa [tract 4]:32-35).

Musa follows al-Farsy in his rendition of the verses, with a few variations. Al-Farsy often inserts an exegetical commentary in parentheses, as does Musa, on occasion. For the passage concerning the Trinity, Musa omits any brackets:

Musa:  *Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja katika wale waungu watatu.*

(Almighty God is one amongst those three gods.)

Al-Farsy: *Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mmoja katika (wale waungu) watatu; (Yeye ndiye wa tatu wao).*

(Almighty God is One amongst (those gods) the three; (He is indeed of those three)).

This omission is potentially misleading for the reader, as they will assume that the Qur’ān is represented accurately. Musa makes reference to the Trinity in the explanation that comes after the verses.

Musa uses *Iṣa* rather than *Yesu* for Jesus, choosing to use the Arabic *Īsā* rather than the Greek Ἰησοῦς (*Iēsous*).

In the ‘Admonition’, Musa relates who Jesus was and why he could be only human and not divine. To emphasise his point, Musa ironically remarks:

---

31  *Dini ya Kiislamu inatufunidisha kuwa Isa bin Maryam si mwana wa Mungu wala si Mungu wala si sehemu yoyote katika dhati ya Mungu. Amezaliwa tu na Bibi Maryam bila kuwa tu na baba kama Mwenyezi Mungu alivyomuumba Adam bila kuwa baba wala mama. Huu ni katika uwezo wa Mwenyezi Mungu tu, kuonyesha kuwa hakuna linalomshinda. Amemua binaadamu bila Baba wala Mama (Adam) na bila Baba ila Mama (Iṣa).*

32  One example is found in verse 75 and Musa’s use of *Msamehevu* and *Mrehemevu*, following the Ahmadi version, where al-Farsy uses *kusamehe* and *kureheme*. It is an unusual form, the -vu suffix occurs, according to Ashton when: a noun is formed from a verb of Arabic origin, as a phonetic change to aid pronunciation; when used with an M- prefix it expresses the possessor of a state (Ashton 1984:286). So *Msamehevu* – the forgiving one; *Mrehemevu* – the merciful one.

33  When any tract uses *Iṣa* rather than *Yesu* it is shown in the English translation by the use of *Īsā*. 

---
“…Mungu amejifanya\textsuperscript{34} mwanaadamu. Mungu mzima ale na kwenda choo!”

(… God became a man. God alive eating and going to the toilet!)

This is based on a statement in verse 75 “[Jesus and Mary] they both ate food”. Often \textit{tafshir} will comment that the act of eating shows that they were human, and raising the question, when did gods need to eat? The reference to bodily functions, whilst being an inevitable outcome of eating, is not used by other writers. Classical \textit{tafshir} and contemporary writers such as Maudûdi (2006:220) and Sayyid Quţb (2001:202) do not make any allusion to it, as it would be considered as an insult to both Jesus and Mary.

As other commentators appear to eschew this interpretation, the question arises as to where Musa may have got it from. Al-Farsy’s incorporation of an exegetical comment within brackets may have been an influence on Musa, as al-Farsy had been his teacher.

In al-Farsy’s \textit{Qurani Takatifu} it says:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Al-Farsy:}  (Na) wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (na wakenda choo. Basi waungu gani wanaokula na kwenda choo)?
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(And) both of them ate food (and went to the toilet. So what gods eat and go to the toilet)?}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Musa:}  Wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (basi wangukula waungu wangukula?)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(Both of them ate food (if they had been gods would they have eaten?))}
\end{quote}

However, eventhough Musa makes the point, it appears that he was not prepared to include it in the actual quotation from the Qur‘\=än.

The other comments that Musa make follow ‘classical’ \textit{tafshir} of the passage, emphasising the reasons why Christians are mistaken in their understanding of Jesus.

\textsuperscript{34} Literally amejifanya means “he made himself”, \textipa{a}- he, third person singular prefix; \textipa{me}- tense infix, of completed action; \textipa{j}i- reflexive Object Prefix; \textipa{fanya} Verb to make, to do.
The verses are used twice in the tract, once in the preface, which is by A.S. Suleiman, who only uses verse 75, then Ngariba and Kawemba quote verses 75-78.

**PREFACE**

The Messiah son of Mary was nothing more other than an Apostle (only). (And) without a doubt many Apostles came before him. (Have they not seen)? And his Mother is a True Woman. (And) both of them ate food (and went to the toilet. Well, which Gods eat and go to the toilet)? See how we explain the Verses for you. Then see how they are changed (departing from justice). (Qur’ān [Al-Mā’ida] 5:75).

In the early days of Islam there was co-operation between Muslims and Christians. When Muslims were persecuted in Mecca at the start of his mission, the Messenger Muhammad (s.a.w.) wanted a number of his companions to go to Ethiopia where people worshipped one God. Certainly “People of the BYZANTINE religion, saw the religion of Islam as a sprout of ARIANISM and they understood Islam as one of the Sects of Christianity (A. Vasiliev in Byzantinism by Baynes and Moss – Pg. 309).

The Preface to the tract begins with Suleiman quoting verse 75, using the al-Farsy version, whilst the English version uses The Meaning of the Glorious Qur’ān by Marmaduke Pickthall. Suleiman does not then use the verse directly, rather he uses a quotation by A. Vasiliev, about the Byzantine understanding of Islam being a ‘Sect’ of Christianity. The Swahili word used, Madhehebu can also be translated as ‘denomination’, whilst kikundi is also used for ‘sect’. The understanding that Islam was initially viewed as a Christian heresy is correct, in

---

**DIBAJI**


Katika siku za mwanzo za Uislamu kulikuwa na mashirikiano baina ya Waislamu na Wakristo. Waislamu walipokuwa wakiadhiviwa Makka mwanzoni mwa risala yake, Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) aliwataka baadhdi ya masahaba wake waandele Uhabeshi ambako watu wakabudika Mungu mmoja. Kwa hakika “Watu wa dini wa BIZANTINE, waliiona dini ya Kiislamu kama ni chipukizi ya UARIANI na walitambua Uislamu kama ni moja katika Madhehebu ya Kikristo (A vasilier [sic] in Byzantinism by Baynes and Moss – Uk. 390).

The correct details for this reference are: Byzantium: an introduction to east Roman civilization edited by Norman H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948 xxxi, 436p, 48 plates. The actual quote is from A.A. Vasiliev Chapter XI ‘Byzantium and Islam’ pp. 308-325. The quotation is found on page 309, not 390; it reads: ‘At first Byzantine theologians viewed Islam as a ramification of Arianism and placed it on a level with other Christian sects.’ This is the same wording as in the English version of the tract.
that John of Damascus (675-753) included a chapter on Islam in part two of *The Fount of Knowledge: De Haeresibus* (On Heresies) as one Christian Heresy, out of over one hundred.37

Ngariba and Kawemba include verses 75-78 in a section which sets out to demonstrate that the *Shahāda* is no different from Jesus’ message.

The first pillar of Islam is the *Shahāda* that is to confess that THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLĀH and MUḤAMMAD IS HIS APOSTLE. This is no different from that which the Prophet Īsā (Jesus) brought.

Almighty God says in Qur’ān [Al-Mā’īda] 5:75-78

“Certainly they have blasphemed who say that, Almighty God is the Messiah (Jesus) son of Mary.” (And when) the Messiah said: “You people of Israel! Worship Almighty God your God and my God. Because he that associates anything with Almighty God, certainly Almighty God will forbid him Paradise, and his dwelling (will be) in the Fire. And the unjust will not have any helpers (to help them on the day of judgement).”

“The Messiah son of Mary was nothing other than (only) an Apostle. (And) certainly many Apostles have gone before him. (Have they not seen)? And his Mother is a true woman. (And) both of them ate food (and went to the toilet. So what gods are there that eat and go to the toilet?) See how we explain the Verses for you. Then see how they are changed (departing from justice). (Qur’ān [Al-Mā’īda](5):75).

There is no God except the One Almighty God (only by himself). And if they do not cease what they are saying, certainly it will seize them - those that continue with their blaspheming amongst them - a punishment will fall down upon them.” “Do they not Repent to Almighty God and ask for His forgiveness? Certainly Almighty God is great in Mercy and Forgiveness.”

“The Messiah son of Mary was nothing other than (only) an Apostle. (And) certainly many Apostles have gone before him. (Have they not seen)? And His Mother is a true woman. (And) both of them ate food (and went to the toilet). So what gods are there that eat and go to the toilet?) See how we explain the Verses for you. Then see how they are changed (departing from justice). (Qur’ān [Al-Mā’īda](5):75).38

(Continued on next page)

---

37 See Daniel Sahas (1972) for the text and commentary on the chapter on Islam.

38 Nguzo ya kwanza ya Uislamu ni Shahāda yaani kukiri kuwa HAPANA MOLA ISIPOKUWA ALLAH na MUḤAMMAD NI MTUME WAKE. Haya hayana tofauti na aliyo yaleta Nabii Issa (Jesus).

Mwenyezi Mungu anasema katika Quran 5:75-78


“Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waiyosema: Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja katika (wale waungu) watatu; (yezie diye wa tatu wao).”


“Misih bin Maryamu hakuwa zaidi isipokuwa ni Mume (tu). (Na) bila shaka Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. (Hawajaona)? Na Manake ni mwanamwe mkweli. (Na) wote wawili wakulu wakila chakula (na kwenda choo. Basi waungu gani wanaokula na kwenda choo?) Tazama jinsi tunavyowabaimishia Aya, kisha tazama jinsi wanavyogeuzwa (kuacha haki). (Quran 5:75)

(Continued on next page)
John 20:17
Jesus told him. Do not hold me, because I have not ascended to the Father. But go to my friends and tell them, I am ascending to go to my father who is your father, for my God who is your God.

Almighty God says in Isaiah 46:5
“Who will you liken me to, and to make me equal to, and to compare me with, so that we are alike?”

Isaiah 43:10-11
“You are my witnesses, says the LORD, and my servant whom I have chosen; so that you may know, and to believe in me, and to understand that I am indeed he, before me no God was formed, nor after me shall there be any other. I, yes, I am the LORD, besides me there is no saviour.”

Isaiah 42:8
“I am the Lord, that is my name; and I will not give any other my glory, nor will I give my praise to idols.”

Psalm 115:4-8
“Their idols are silver and gold, work of human hands. They have mouths but they do not speak; They have eyes but they do not see; They have ears but they do not hear; They have noses but do not smell; Hands but they do not grasp, legs but they do not move; Nor do they make any sound with their throats. Those who make them will be like them; Each one who trusts in them.

The Apostle MuÎammad (s.a.w.) was given twelve commandments, two more than those given to the Prophet Moses. The first is LA ILAHA ILLA ALLAH. It is amazing that there is more than one religion today (Ngariba & Kawemba [Tract 5]:5).

The verses are presented together with passages from the Bible, taken from the Psalms, Isaiah and John’s Gospel. The verses from the Qur’ân follow al-Farsy, including his interpolations in verse 75. The verses from the Bible follow the Union Version.
The argument being presented concerns the first line of the *shahāda*, that there is no God but God. No explanation is given for each of the passages quoted. But from the context it is clear that they have been chosen to show that Jesus is also human. John 20:17 concerns his ascension, that he was “going to my father and your father”. The passages from Isaiah show that there is no one like God (Isaiah 46:5; 43:10-11), that God chooses his servant (Isaiah 43:10-11), that idols are just empty vessels (Isaiah 42:8); this final point is reinforced by Psalm 115. After these references, all given in full, there is a statement that Muḥammad was given twelve laws, two more than those given to Moses, with no explanation as to what is meant by it. The paragraph concludes by giving the first line of the *shahāda* and stating that it is amazing that there is still more than one religion. Whilst it is possible to understand from where these conclusions are drawn, the authors do not make clear the relevance of their choice of passages.

[9] K.K. Alavi *Kutafuta Uhakika*

Alavi quotes verses 72 and 73, whilst relating his testimony, explaining his journey from Islam to Christianity.

Before I had met with my new Christian friends, I had greatly detested Christians because I was told bad things concerning them. But when I studied the character of that missionary, his life, and how he thought of Muslims, I knew that those bad things that I had heard about Christians did not concern him. This made me think very hard. Was his love so much greater than that of the Muslims? Was Jesus, the Messiah of God, able to do so much more for him than that which my prophet was able to do for me? I was very confused because I accepted that if a person was not a Muslim, he is an infidel even if he is a Christian who believes that God is the Messiah. A person of this sort is rejected by God. Because the Qur’ān says:40

(Continued on next page)

Certainly they have blasphemed who say that Almighty God is the Messiah (Jesus) child of Mary. And (when) the Messiah said: “You people of Israel! Worship Almighty God your Lord and my Lord. Because he that associates anything with Almighty God, certainly Almighty God will forbid him Paradise, and his dwelling (will be) in the Fire. And the unjust they will not have any helpers.”

Certainly they have blasphemed those who say: “Almighty God is One of (those) three (gods). There is no God except the One Almighty God. And if they do not cease what they are saying, certainly it will seize them - those that continue with their blaspheming amongst them - a punishment will fall down upon them ([Al-Māˈṣīda] 5:72, 73).

I also pondered as to how I thought that because I was a Muslim I was respectful to God, so I was more holy than Christians. But, the time that I continued to consider my evil state, I discovered that that missionary had indeed given his life for God. His character showed this. I saw that his love came from Jesus Christ, as the book “The Heart of Pak” explained.

(Alavi [tract 9]:12-14)  

Alavi relates how his previous opinion of Christians has been challenged through the witness of an un-named Christian missionary. He makes clear his former understanding, calling Christians kafir (infidel). He uses the verses to show the Qur’ānic teaching condemning shirk and what will happen to Christians as a result of being guilty of it.

Alavi is clearly impressed at the witness and life of the Christian missionary, likening it to the teaching in a tract he bought as a young child, The Heart of Pak.

There is no uniformity in how the different tracts use the passage. Only Imran and Musa make any attempt to give any commentary on the passage. Imran uses it to explain shirk and the reasons that is wrong. Musa uses it to demonstrate Jesus’ humanity and that therefore he could not have been God. Kanoni uses it as part of his attack on Paul. Ngariba and Kawemba

---

41 Moyo wa Paku the English version of the tract gives the title as The Heart of Pak (see explanation in 7.5.2).
include it as part of a plethora of passages with no explanation. Alavi uses it to illustrate the reasons for his doubts concerning Islam.

8.3.3 *Al-Mā‘īda* (5):116-119

And when God said, ‘O Jesus son of Mary, didst thou say unto men, “Take me and my mother as gods, apart from God”?’

He said, “To Thee be glory! It is not mine to say what I have no right to.

If I indeed said it, Thou knowest it, knowing what is within my soul, and I know not what is within Thy soul; Thou knowest the things unseen

I only said to them what Thou didst command me: “Serve God, my Lord and your Lord.”

And I was a witness over them, while I remained among them;

but when Thou didst take me to Thyself, Thou wast Thyself the watcher over them;

Thou Thyself art witness of everything. If Thou chastisest them, they are Thy servants;

if Thou forgivest them, Thou art the All-mighty, the All-wise.’

God said, ‘This is the day the truthful shall be profited by their truthfulness.

For them await gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein dwelling forever and ever,

God being well-pleased with them and they well-pleased with Him; that is the mighty triumph.’

(Arberry)

The passage is quoted four times in four tracts, two Muslim and two Christian.


Imran introduces the passage, setting it into its context of a discussion between God and Jesus, on the *yawm ad-Dīn* (Day of Judgement), where Jesus is asked whether he had claimed divinity for himself and his mother.

The Qur‘ān likewise relates a conversation between Jesus and his Lord concerning what will happen on the Day of Judgement which serves to open – the eyes of Christians:

And at the time that Almighty God will tell him: Oh Jesus Son of Mary! Did you tell people;

Make me and my mother to be two gods instead of Almighty God? He will answer: You are sanctified of this! It is not possible for me to say this which I have no right (to say). If I said it, certainly you would know. You know what is within my soul, whereas I do not know what is in Your soul. Certainly! You alone know all that is hidden. I did not tell them anything other than that you ordered me (that I should say) to Worship Almighty God, my Lord and your Lord. 43

(Continued on next page)
I was a witness concerning them when I was among them, and when you completed my
time, You were indeed their pastor. And You are a witness to everything. If you will punish
them, certainly they are your slaves, and if You will forgive them (for indeed they are Your
slaves).

Certainly You alone are Almighty, Wise.\footnote{Indicating Footnote} Almighty God will say: This indeed is the day that the truthful will benefit from their
truthfulness, within they will dwell peacefully for eternity, Almighty God will give them
pardon; and they will be pardoned by him. There indeed is great success (Qur\textsuperscript{ā}n, \textit{Al-
Mā\’īda} 5:116-119).

Islam gives us the true hypothesis concerning Almighty God when it proclaimed the Oneness of
Almighty God and it says that He has no associate in His Divinity. He is a Vital Essence self
sufficient that is depended on by all, Creator and Guardian of all, Almighty, All-Knowing,
Merciful. There is nothing that can come from him and he be equal with Him and his rival in
divinity. He is one in essence, foundation and enabler with power:

\footnote{Footnote} In this verse there is a correction to the teaching of Christianity on Sacrifice and
judgement. It is Almighty God alone that will be the Judge and the Arbitrator nor is there any
other, not even His Prophets together with Jesus. (Imran \textit{tract 1}:8-9)\footnote{Footnote}

The passage of scripture is allowed to speak for itself, and is only commented upon in a
footnote. Rather, Imran uses the passage to further build his argument for \textit{tawhīd}, with an
emphasis on the ‘Oneness’ of God and his uniqueness.

In some instances the translator uses \textit{Mwenye Ezi} rather than \textit{Mwenyezi} (Almighty), which is
a compound word, formed from \textit{mweny} (possessor), of Bantu origin Swahili, compounded
with \textit{ezi} or \textit{enzi} (power, might) from the Arabic (‘\textit{ī}za) (Mojola 2004:95).

The footnote, which may well have been added by the translator, makes a specific ‘attack’ on
Christianity, concerning the purpose of verse 118. The reference to ‘sacrifice’, in the footnote,
is not made clear, but it can be understood to be the Christian belief that Jesus’ death on the
cross was a sacrificial one, on behalf of all people. The footnote makes clear the Islamic
understanding of the*yawm ad-Dīn*, that it is God alone who will judge.

**[4] Saidi Musa Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)**

Musa sets the passage in its context of* qiyāma* (Resurrection) on the*yawm ad-Dīn*. He then
gives a lengthy explanation of the passage.

**ON THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT THE PROPHET ʾĪsā (AS) WILL DENY THAT HE TOLD HIS PEOPLE THAT THEY SHOULD MAKE HE AND HIS MOTHER AS GODS:**

Almighty God said in the Qur’ān 7th Juz’ of*Sūra Al-Mā’idah* [5] in verses 116-120 that:

And (remember) when Almighty God will say: Oh ʾĪsā son of Mary! Did you tell people;
Make me and my Mother gods instead of Almighty God? (Prophet ʾĪsā) says: Holiness is
yours (you have no associate). It is not proper for me to say that which is not my right (to
say) if I said it no doubt you would know, you know what is in my soul, but I do not know
what is inside your soul. Certainly you are the discerner of that which is hidden.”

I did not tell them anything other than that which which you commanded me that: You
should worship Almighty God, my Lord and your Lord. And I was a witness concerning
them when I was with them, and when you removed me you became pastor to them and you
are a witness.

If you will admonish them, then no doubt they are your slaves and if you leave them, then
certainly you indeed are powerful and wise.

Almighty God will say: This indeed is the day that the truthful will benefit from their
truthfulness. They will receive gardens with rivers passing through them. There they will live
eternally. Almighty God has given them contentment and they are contented with him there
indeed is great success.

Almighty God with dominion of heaven and earth and all that is within it. He is the enabler
of everything. 45(Continued on next page)

---

45 SIKU YA KIYAMA NABII ISA A.S. ATAKANUBHA KUWA HAKUWAAMBIA WATU WAKE WAMFANYE YEYE NA MAMA YAKE KUWA NI WAUNGU:

Mwenyezi Mungu amesema katika Qurani Juzau ya 7 ya Suratil Maidah katika Aya ya 116-120 kuwa:

Na (kymbukeni) atakaposera Mwenyezi Mungu: ʾEwe Isa bin Maryam! Je, wewe uliwaamba watu;
Nilifanye mimi na Mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu? (Nabii Isa) asema:
Utakatifu ni wako (huna mshirika). Hainifali mimi kusema ambayo si haki yangu (kuyasema) kama
ningalisema bila shaka ungaljua, unayajua yaliyomo naafsini mwango, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyomo
naafsini mwako. Kwa hakika wewe wewe njuzi wa yaliyofichikana.”

Sikuwaambia lobote ila yale uliyoniumrisha ya kwamba: Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na
Mola wenu. Na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa nao, na uliponiodosha wewe ukawa mchungaji juu
yao na wewe shahidi.

Ikwa utawaadhibu, basi bila shaka hao ni watumwa wako na kama utawaacha, basi hakika wewe ndiye
mwenye nguva na mwenye hekima.

Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Hit ndiyo siku ambayo wasemao kweli, utawafia ukweli wao. Watapata
bustani zipitazo mbele yake mito. Humo watakaa milele. Mwenyezi Mungu amewawia radhi nao wewe
radhi naye huko ndiko kufuzu kulkilo kukuwba.

Mwenyezi Mungu mwenye ufanme wa mbungu na ardhi na vilivyokuwemo. Naye ni muweza juu ya kila
kitu. (Continued on next page)
EXPLANATION:
It is customary that people are born from a Father and Mother. But Prophet Ḥūṣain was born without a Father, as Prophet Adam was created without Father or Mother, and Eve was created from a Father without a Mother. This is through the ability of Almighty God only. He did all (1) Adam without a Father or Mother (2) Eve without a Mother but a Father (3) Ḥūṣain without a Father but a Mother.

To demonstrate that there is nothing that defeats Almighty God because he has authority over everything and he is not defeated by anything. He did this so as to show us that he is able to create people in the way that he wishes. For God there is no wonder that defeats him as it is for humanity.

When people claim that Ḥūṣain and his Mother are gods they are eternally lost and there are no signs even one that prove these claims.

So on that day of Judgement when Almighty God will gather creatures in a meeting, in order to count them; Almighty God will ask the Apostle Ḥūṣain to deride those infidels who said: “Say did you tell people that: Make me and my mother as two gods in order that he should not be Almighty God?” So Prophet Ḥūṣain will say: “I sanctify you oh Lord sanctification that is appropriate to you. It is not for me to say that which is not your right. No doubt if I had said this discernment is yours; certainly you know what is hidden in my breast. It is true that I did not say other than what you commanded me. I have completed the errand that you sent me on. I told my people to worship you alone and that they should not make you to have an associate. I have emphasised to them that they should truly truly silently submit to you. When you removed me you indeed were their pastor knowing what they did and said and they are your slaves. If you want you will punish them so that this punishment is their payment for worshipping that which was not you, and if you wish you will forgive them.”

So Prophet Ḥūṣain did not command his people to make him Son of God rather people indeed falsely accused him. (Musa [tract 4]:35-37)
Musa uses the passage to introduce a wider argument concerning Jesus’ origins. He compares Jesus not having a Father with Adam and Eve, not to show that Jesus is less than them, but to show that nothing is impossible for God and that he can do anything that he wishes.

In verse 116, Musa uses *hainiftii* (it is not proper for me)\(^47\) whilst Al-Farsy uses *hainijuzii* (it is not suitable for me). In standard Swahili a negative ending to a verb, in the present tense, changes the concluding vowel to *-i*. The double *-ii* ending is not Standard Swahili. As a Verb *-fali* comes from *-faa* (be proper), forming *-falia* in the prepositional form, the final *-a* changing to *-i* in the negative.

Musa then comments on the passage, clearly stating that those who believe that Jesus and Mary are gods are eternally lost.\(^48\) In this he is following classical *tafsir* and the Muslim refutation of Christian understanding of Mary (Stowasser 2003:295).

Musa explains the meaning of the passage by re-telling it in an expanded form. He emphasises that Jesus had done as God had asked him to, stating that those who had not followed the teaching that Jesus had given them, from God, should be punished.

---

\(^{47}\) Al-Barwani and Mughaniyya also use *hainiftii*, Dale uses *hainijuzu*, the Ahmadi and Mayunga versions use *hainipasi* (it is not appropriate for me).

\(^{48}\) The idea that Christians believed that Mary was also a god arose because the Church had called Mary Θεοτόκος (*Theotokos*, God Bearer) from the time of Origen in the third century, and approved the title at the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451); the Latin title *Dei Genetrix* (Mother of God) makes it even more explicit.
Alavi quotes verse 117 together with Āl Īmran (3:55) in order to differentiate between the meaning of two phrases.

“(Remember) When Almighty God said: Oh ‘Īsā! I will complete your time for living. And I will bring you to me, and I will sanctify you from those who blaspheme, until the day of Judgement. Then your return will be to me, I will judge between you in the matters in which you dispute.” ([Āl Īmran] 3:55).

I did not tell them anything other than what you commanded me: that “Worship Almighty God, my Lord and your Lord.” And I was a witness concerning them when I was with them; and when you completed my time, You became their pastor, and You are a witness concerning every thing. ([Al-Mā‘īda] 5:117)

Are Pickthall’s translation of Mutawaffika (“I will complete for you” [Āl Īmran] 3:55) and tawaffaytan (“and when you completed my time” [Al-Mā‘īda] 5:117) the same? Some of the respected books of Islamic exegesis, explain these words like this: “I will cause you to die” so as to show us that the death of Jesus was followed by his ascension to heaven.

In each case, the explanations of the Bible do not give people the opportunity to interpret in different ways, concerning the time, place, and matters that caused the death of Jesus. Jesus was crucified, he died, and was buried. His crucifixion was done outside the walls of Jerusalem. It was done at the time that Pilate was the administrator of Judea. These things are the truth of history. The Bible relates the death of Jesus in clear language, without hidden meanings. The Bible shows openly how Jesus died, rose from the death and ascended to heaven. This shows the purpose of the important events in his life. (Alavi [tract 9]:27-28)\(^49\)

Alavi questions whether Pickthall’s interpretation of a phrase in the two verses gives the same meaning. It is possible that the translator of the tract has not fully understood that the root word in Arabic is the same in both instances. The Swahili version used follows al-Farsy who uses nitakutimizia (I will complete for you) in Āl Īmran (3:55) and uliponikamilisha (when

---

\(^49\) The transliteration of *mutawaffika* and *tawaffaytan* follows Neal Robinson in his chapter ‘The Meaning of the Verb tawaffā’ (1991:117-126).


Sikuwaambia lote ila vale uliyoamrisha: ya kwamba “Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu.” Na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokwawa nadi; na uliponikamilisha muda wangu, Wewe ukawa mchungaji juu yao, na Wewe shahidi juu yao kila kufa. (5:117)


---
you completed me);\(^{51}\) in English these can both give the sense of completion, but are quite different words in Swahili.

Alavi explains that some Islamic *taťšir* of these passages give an interpretation meaning that God will ‘cause Jesus’ death’, once he had ascended to heaven. He uses this to contrast with the Bible, stating that it is not possible to give different interpretations of explanations given in the Bible. Specifically he relates this to the accounts of Jesus’ crucifixion, death and burial. In this, Alavi appears not to acknowledge the wide range of exegetical comments concerning these events. He is wishing to defend the truths of the Bible, as he understands them, against the refutations found in the Qur'ān.

**[10] Iskander Jadeed Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Hajabatalishwa**

Jadeed uses a brief quotation from verses 116 and 117 as part of a discussion as to whether or not Jesus died.\(^{52}\)

Certainly, there are some verses in the Qur'ān that reconcile the question of whether Christ died, although other interpreters have completely grasped that interpretation of these words in detail, “They did not kill nor crucify him” (Sūra Al-Nisā:157). First of all in these verses are the words of the Qur'ān where Almighty God says that:

“Oh Ḣāsā son of Mary! Did you tell people ‘Make me and my mother gods instead of Almighty God?’ He said (Prophet Ḣāsā) ‘You are sanctified … I did not tell them anything other than that which you commanded … and when you completed my time, You became their pastor (Sura Al-Mā’idah116-117). (Jadeed [tract 10]:5-6)\(^{53}\)

---

51 Ni- I, -ta- indicates Future tense, -ku- object prefix: you, -timiza – to complete, the ending -zia indicates that the Verb is in the Prepositional (Applied) form. U- you, -li- indicates Past tense, -po- Relative infix, for time or place, -ni- object prefix: me, -kamili – to complete, the ending –sha indicates that the Verb is in the Causative form.

52 Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.10.

53 Kwa hakika, kuna vifungu katika Kurani ambavyo vinasuluhisha swala la kama Kristo alikutu, iipokuwa wafanuzi wengine wameshikilia kabisa ile taťšir ya moja kwa moja ya maneno haya, “Hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubu” (Surat An Nisāa:157). Kwanza kabisa katii ya vifungu hivyo ni maneno ya Kurani ambako Mwenyezi Mungu anasema kwamba:

“Ewe Isu bin Maryamu! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu ‘Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu?’ Asene (Nabi Isu) ‘Wewe unetkasika … Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale ulyoniamrisha … na uliponikamilisha muda wangu, Wewe ukawa mchungaji juu yao (Surat Al Maidah 116-117).
Jadeed uses the passage to argue that Jesus did indeed die. The English version of the tract has “and when you let me fall asleep (die)”, whilst the Swahili reads “uliponikamilisha muda wangu” (and when you completed my time), which is far less specific, as the verb kamilisha is not automatically associated with death. The Arabic root word for -kamili is kamāla which has a range of meanings – complete, finish, bring to perfection (Bosha 1993:123).

The authors each use the verses from this passage for their own different purposes. The Muslim tracts broadly follow classical tafsīr. Imran uses it to build his case for tawḥīd. Musa uses it in order to further discuss Jesus’ origins. The Christian tracts make use of tafsīr, in order to further their own arguments in defence of Christianity. Alavi questions the meaning of key words and their interpretation. Jadeed uses the passage to examine whether Jesus actually died.
8.3.4 *Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4*

Say: ‘He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one.’
(Arberry)

This sūra is quoted in three tracts, all by Muslims.


Imran introduces *Al-Ikhlāṣ* by naming some of the attributes of God. The Sūra is quoted in full in order to illustrate the truth that in Islam, God is truly One with no associate.

Islam gives us a true hypothesis concerning Almighty God when it proclaims the Oneness of Almighty God and says that He has no associate in His Divinity. He has a sufficient Vital Essence that is depended on by all, Creator and Guardian of all, Almighty, All-Knowing, Merciful. There is nothing that can come from him that is equal to Him and a competitor in Divinity. He is one in spirit, origin and ability with power:

“Say: He is Almighty God, One! Almighty God (alone) is indeed worthy to be depended upon. He has not given birth nor been born. Nor is there any who is like Him (even one).”

*[Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4]* (Imran [tract 1]:9)

Imran uses the Sūra to conclude his discourse on *tawḥīd*, he refers to the passage as “nadharia ya ukweli” (a true hypothesis). In saying this he is presenting the sūra as an all-sufficient truth concerning Islam.

[4] Saidi Musa *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*

In this passage Musa quotes the whole of *Al-Ikhlāṣ* as a part of his case to demonstrate that Jesus is not the Son of God.

---

55 For the Attributes of God, see Gerhard Böwering (2002); they are encapsulated in the *al-asnāʾ al-ḥusnāʾ* (Most Beautiful Names).
56 Uislamu unatupa nadharia ya kweli kuhusu Mwenyezi Mungu unapotangaza Upweke wa Mwenyezi Mungu na unasema kwamba Yeye hana mshirika katika Uungu Wake. Yeye ni Naši yenyen chishimba chido na unabayo mawakheza ambayo inategemewa na wote, Mwamba na Mlezi wa wote, Mwenye Ezi, Mwenye Kujua yote, Mwenye Kurehemu, Hakuna kitakachoweza kutoka kwake na kikwa sawa Naye na mshindani katika Uungu. Yeye ni mmoja kwa naši, sifu na uweza wenye nguvu:


57 Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.4.
THE PROPHET ÝÌsÁ IS NOT THE SON OF GOD

In those verses which we read of, Sûra Maryam verse 35 it is confirmed to us clearly that the Prophet ÝÌsÁ is not the child of God, because God does not give birth for he is not a creature. He is sanctified by those. The Prophet ÝÌsÁ was born by a Mother without a Father through the ability of Almighty God, as he created Adam without Father and Mother. So as Almighty God was able to create Adam without Father or Mother so he was able to create ÝÌsÁ without a Father but a Mother; to demonstrate that nothing is too great for Almighty God.

And all that Almighty God said is true nor is their any doubt within him. Either to claim as some people do that ÝÌsÁ is the Son of God, they are on an invalid way that is not right because God was not born nor has he given birth. He has no wife. He has no child. He does not resemble any creature at all. For the Prophet ÝÌsÁ A.S.\textsuperscript{58} to be the son of God is impossible. Almighty God told his Apostle S.A.W. in Sura Al-Ikhlás that:

Say (you should tell people that): Almighty God He is one.
Almighty God is indeed to be depended on by all creatures.
He has not given birth nor was he born.
Nor is there any like him (because he does not resemble any creature at all.)
(Musa [tract 4]:16)\textsuperscript{59}

Musa uses the passage to emphasise that God is one and that he has neither given birth, nor was he born. This is said especially in relation to Jesus, in order to make clear that even though Jesus was special in his birth, he is not the Son of God.

Musa’s use of two words for child, mtoto and mwana is of note. He uses mtoto in the first paragraph when he states that “Isa sio mtoto wa Mungu” (ÝÌsÁ is not the child of God), then mwana in the second paragraph, when he states “Hana mwana” (He has no child). Arthur Madan (1903) defines mtoto as: a child in an early stage of development, 5-17 years of age; and mwana as: child, as offspring and dependent. Musa when referring to Jesus calls him “Isa mwana wa Maryam” (ÝÌsÁ son of Mary), showing the parent-child relationship between the

\textsuperscript{58} A.S. Ýalayhi sallam (Arabic) Peace be Upon Him, used for Messengers and Prophets other than MuÎammad.
\textsuperscript{59} NABII ISA SI MWANA WA MUNGU
Sema (waawambie watu kwamba): Ye ye Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja.
Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye mwenye kukusudiwa na viumba vyote.
Hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa.
Wala hakuna aliye kama ye ye (kwani hakufanana na kiumbe chochote.)
two of them. It is possible that Musa may have used *mtoto* in the first instance to further distance Jesus’ relationship to God.\textsuperscript{60}

Musa uses the *sūra* to further his argument concerning Jesus being a Prophet and not the Son of God.

[7] Harith Swaleh *Uungu na Umoja Wake*

Swaleh\textsuperscript{61} gives an extended *tafśir* on the first two verses of *Al-Ikhlāṣ*, without actually quoting them.\textsuperscript{62}

\texttt{[Sūra Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-2 reference but not quoted]}

\textbf{DIVINITY IN THE GLORIOUS QUR’ĀN}

Now we want to begin to utilise various books of exegesis and language to explain the first and second verse of *Sūra [Al-Ikhlāṣ]112* and we begin to say this: [‘Īmād Al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar] Ibn Kathīr\textsuperscript{63} said in his interpretation of the fourth Part and the second part on pages 570 and 571 of “Pronunciation of “Ahad”, is he who has no companion, he does not expect any assistant nor any alternate.”

“This pronouncement will not be used as a means of proof except only for God because he indeed is completed in his praises and his actions.”

“İkramah said the meaning of “As-wamad” [*samad*] that he received from Ibn ‘Abbās is that “As-wamad” is he who all creatures have need of regarding their affairs. And ‘Āli bin Aby-Talhah says that he received from Ibn ‘Abbās that the meaning of “As-wamad”…”\textsuperscript{64}

(Continued on next page)

---

\textsuperscript{60} It is not possible to further argue that only *mwana* gives the correct sense of child-parent relationship. Having presented that argument in a paper, the author was corrected by Farouk Topan, who pointed out that the distinction does not occur in every dialect of Swahili (Discussion with Farouk Topan October 2003).

\textsuperscript{61} Swaleh only quotes two passages from the Qur’ān, *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112):1-2 and *Āl ‘Imrān* (3):18, in neither case does he give the text. It may be that he was unable to insert the Arabic text and was unwilling to use Swahili.

\textsuperscript{62} Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.7.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibn Kathīr: ‘Īmād Al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar b. Kathīr, born in Bosrā circa 1300 and died in Damascus in February 1373, was one of the best-known historians and traditionists of Syria under the Bahri Mamlūk dynasty (Laoust 1999, 817b).

\textsuperscript{64} UUNGU KATIKA QUR-ANI TUKUFU

Sasa twapenda tuanze kuazima vyuo mba li mbali vya tafsiri na vya lugha vinayo eleza ayah ya kwanza na ya pili sura ya 112 na twaanza kwa kusema hivi: Amesema Ibnu Kathir katika tafsiri yake Juzu ya nne na ya pili utokuru wa 570 na 571 “Tamshi la ‘Ahad’; ni yule ambae hana mwenzu, hatarajii msaidizi wala badala.”

“Tamshi hili halitatumiki katika njia ya thibitisho isipokwawa tu kwa Mngu kwani yeye ndie alokamilika [sic] katika sifta zake na vitendo vyake.”

“Maana ya “As-wamad”amesema Ikramah akipokea kwa Ibnu Abbas kwamba “As-wamad” ni yule ambae viumbe vyote wanamuhitajia katika mambo yao. Na amesema Ali bin Aby-twalha akipokea kwa Ibnu Abbas kwamba maana ya As-wamad”…

(Continued on next page)
... is the lord who is perfected in his lordship, the glorious one who is perfected in his gloriousness and the excellent who is matured in his excellence. And Sufi-an bin Mansur says the meaning of “As-wamad” is that he who has no innermost feelings.” (Emptiness).

Sheikh Muhammad Abdoh said in his interpretation “Futhul-qadir” part five page 517 and 518 as follows: “Thaalab said that there is a difference between “Wahid” and “Ahad” that is, the pronunciation of “Ahad” cannot be used in counting.”

“But Abu-Habban rejected these words by saying that the use of “Ahad wa-Ishruna” enters into counting.”

“Azzujaaj said that the meaning of “Aswamad” is the lord reached the summit of his lordship, so there is no lord above him.”

And said Sheikh Abu’l-Qasim Al-Hasayn bin Muhammad bin Al-Mufaddal Al-Raghib Al-Ishahani in his book “Al-Mufradat fi-gharib Al-Qur’an in letter alif” page 10 that “The pronunciation of “Ahad” has two parts: To deny and to confirm. If we come to the part of to deny it can be used in many ways: The first way is to add together in mathematics. The second way is depended on in another pronunciation. And the third meaning is used as a kind of praise and this cannot be used except for God only.”

Let us welcome Sheikh Muhammad Hasayn Makhluf in his book “Swafwa Al-Bayan li-Maani-Al-qur-ani page 831 and 832 he said “The meaning of “Ahad” is that God is one, in his Divinity, and his Lordship. Unity which is completed.”

“The Meaning of “As-wamad” is lord that has no lord above him, and is lord that creatures are restless before him and desire that he would fulfill their needs.”

Amesema Shaukani katika tafsiri yake “Futhul-qadir” juzuu ya tano ukurasa 517 na 518 hivi ifuatavyo: “Thaalab amesema kwamba panatofauti baina ya “Wahid” na “Ahad” nayo ni kwamba, tamko la “Ahad” halwiwezi kutumika katika hesabu.”


“Maana ya “As-wamad” ni hvuyo asokwo na hvuyo juu yake, na ni hvuyo ambae viumbe vya gaa gaa mbele yake na kutaka awatimizie mahitaji yao.”

Amesema Sheikh Muhammad Abdoh katika tafsiri yake ya juzu ya “Amaana”, ukurasa [sic]wa 134 na 135 kama ifuatavyo: “Maana ya “Ahad” ni Mmoja wa ama ya pekee, hakuna namna yoyote Umoja huu kutangamana na kitu chochote, katika hali yoyote, na wakati wowote.”

(Continued on next page)
“The meaning of “As-wamad”, this is in that pronunciation which fulfills the unity of God, in the heart of his slave. Because when a person knows that God is “As-wamad” it is necessary that he understands that he is the lord of lords and he is needed by all. And indeed he is able to place for people big plans, of their actions and certain foundation of their conduct.” (Swaleh [tract 7]:19-21)67

The transliteration of Arabic appears to have been a problem; the tract has no diacriticals which may well have been due to the limitations of the publisher and printer; at times it has made it difficult to clearly identify the names of writers and the books cited. An attempt has been made to identify these sources and the correct titles.

The tract by Swaleh is the only one that makes such a rigorous use of tafsīr in order to present a case. Swaleh relates the way that various well-known commentators of the passage have interpreted two words aḥad (one) and ṣamad (refuge). The author has drawn from tafsīr that date from as early as the ‘Abbāsid period up to the twentieth century.

The main sources are by: Abu’l-Qāsim Al-Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad bin Al-Mufaḍḍal Al-Rāghib Al-Īṣfahānī, who probably died in the early eleventh century, and is thought to have been based solely in Īṣfahān (Rowson 1999:889). The Mufradat alfāz al-Qurān (Alphabetical Lexicon of the Qurān) is quoted;68 ʿĪmād Al-Dīn ʿĪsāʾ īl b. ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr lived in Damascus during the fourteenth century (Laoust 1999:817); his tafsīr of Al-Īkhlāṣ is quoted;69 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Al-Shawkānī (c. 1760-1839) lived in Sanaʾā’, who can be seen as a precursor to Islamic modernism (Jansen 1999:378); Swaleh gives the title Tafsīr

67 “Maana ya “As-wamad”, hii ni katika matamshi yale ambayo yanayo jaza umoja wa Mngu., katika moyo wa mja wake. Kwani mtu anapoja kwamba Mngu ni “As-wamad” lazima alfahanu kwamba yeye ni bwana wa mabwana na anae hitajiwa na wote. Na ndie anaaweza kuwaaweke wa witu mipango mikubwa, ya matendo yao na misingi imara ya mienendo yao.”

68 Mufradat alfāz al-Qurān is available in various editions, including one edited by Naḍīm Marʾašlī, in Beirut, 1972.

69 The tafsīr of Ibn Kathīr are available on http://www.tafsir.com
Fatḥ al-Qadîr (The Interpretation of the Sublime Opening) for the work quoted; Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905) was a Muslim Theologian and founder of the Egyptian modernist school; Swaleh quotes from his Risālat al-Tawḥīd published in 1897, which was based on his lectures in Beirut (Schact 1999:418-419); Muḥammad Hasanayn Makhluf (1890-1990), was an Egyptian jurist and former Mufti (Sheishaa 2003). The precise title that Swaleh refers to has not been identified, but Sheishaa (2003) refers to Tafsîr wa Bayan, which may be the book that is quoted.

The various interpretations of aḥad and ʂamad are presented. In many cases the author quoted cites other writers as a part of his argument. The sources are presented with the earliest authorities first, finishing with ʿAbduh, rather than Makhluf who is the most recent. The Islamic understanding of the ‘Oneness’ of God and the dependence of all creatures on him is demonstrated through the use of the various writers quoted. The whole case is presented very much as an exercise in logic and from a philosophical standpoint. In this, Swaleh shows his own educational training in philosophy.

This passage is not used by any of the Christian tracts surveyed. Two of the three tracts, by Imran and Musa, use it to further their arguments that God is One and has no associates and that all creation is dependent on God. Musa in particular uses it to show that Jesus cannot be the Son of God. Neither make as much use of the traditions concerning Al-Ikhlâṣ, which Sayyid Qūṭb says “is equivalent to one-third of the Qur’ān” (Qūṭb 2004:388), as they potentially could have dome. Only Swaleh uses a range of sources presenting a form of ‘classical’ tafsîr with a full range of interpretations of the key-words in order to demonstrate the ‘Oneness of God.’

70 An edition was published in 1993 as Fath al-Qadîr: Al-jami‘ bayna fannay al-riwayah wa-al-dirayah min ‘ilm al-tafsîr.
8.3.5 One God One religion/Uniqueness of God

8.3.5.1 Al-Shūrā (42):13

He has laid down for you as religion that He charged Noah with, and that We have revealed to thee, and that We charged Abraham with, Moses and Jesus: ‘Perform the religion, and scatter not regarding it.’

Very hateful is that for the idolaters, that thou callest them to. God chooses unto Himself whomsoever He will, and He guides to Himself whosoever turns, penitent.

(Arberry)

This verse is quoted in four tracts, three Muslim and one Christian.


The passage is introduced by a lengthy comment that seeks to demonstrate that Muḥammad is the final prophet and that he had helped to revive the teaching of Jesus and the other prophets.

Muḥammad (The Peace of Almighty God be Upon Him) was the last amongst these prophets and there is no Prophet that will be sent after him because the religion that was revealed to him was complete. And in obeying Almighty God, Muḥammad (The Peace of Almighty God be Upon Him) was helped to revive clear and astute teaching of Jesus and the Prophets of old. Therefore the Glorious Prophet (The Peace of Almighty God be Upon Him) brought the religion of Islam into a perfected state. This shows that he did not know to preach a new religion rather he came to make the religion of Almighty God that was present to be completely correct and for that of the present to match with the needs of the times and the increase of the people, and to pull up the roots of that destruction that has penetrated within it without being seen. This destruction which spread greatly under the Jews (Judaism) and Christ was an important and clear sign for the Great Leader who was expected to coincide with the coming of the final Prophet Muḥammad (The Peace of Almighty God be upon him) The Qur’an explains:

“He commanded for you that religion which was ordered for Noah, and that which we revealed to you (Muhammad) and that which we ordered for Abraham … and Jesus, we told you “Strengthen religion. And you should not be divided within it.


---

Muḥammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) alikuwa wa mwisho miongoni mwa manabii hao na hapana Nabii mwingine atakayetumwa baada yake kwa sababu dini iliyofunuliwa kwake ilikuwa inekamilika. Na katika kunitii Mwenyezi Mungu, Muḥammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) aliyansuruna kuyahuisha mafundisho safi na mepesi ya Yesu na Manabii wa zamani. Kwa hiyo Nabii Mtukufu Muḥammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) aliifikisha dini ya Uislamu katika hali ya ukamilifu. Hili linaonyesha kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu iliyopo iwe sahihi kabisa na ya kisasa kulingana na mahlaji ya zama na ummati unaongezeka, na kung’o amizizi ya uharibifu ule uliopenya ndani yake bila kuonekana. Uharibifu ulioenea sana wa Ki-Yudia (Judaism) na Kristo ilikuwa ni ishara wa wazi na muhimu kwa Mwongozi Mkubwa uliotarajiwa kupambana na kujua kwa Nabii ya mwisho Muḥammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) Kurani inaeleza:-

“Aliamrisha juu venu dini iye iliyovamishwa kwa Nuhu, na ile ambayo tulikufunulika wewe (Muḥammad) na ile ambayo tulivamishwa kwa Ibrahimu … na Yesu, tulikwaambia “Simamisheni dini, na wala misitengane ndani yake”, Kur’ani, 42:13.”
Only a part of *Al-Shūrā* (42):13 is quoted and used to illustrate the argument from Imran that Muḥammad had not brought a new religion, rather that he was reviving a religion that had already been brought by Jesus and the prophets. Jesus’ teaching is called “clear and astute”, however Imran makes it clear that the “roots of destruction” were already present from the time of the Jews and that they needed to be pulled up. He describes the need for Muḥammad to come to present the “complete and correct” religion. Christ was seen as having been an “important clear sign for the Great Leader who was expected”, which Imran states coincided with the coming of Muḥammad. In the tract the section concludes with a passage from *Al-Bayyīna* (98):1-8 with no further comment.

Imran follows classical *tafṣīr* of the verse, that Muḥammad was not bringing a new religion, rather that he was completing the religion that had been brought by Noah, Abraham and Jesus. It is unclear why Moses was not included by Imran, as his name is in the verse as one of the four “prophets with whom God had established a strong covenant” (Robinson 2003:17). The verse presents the case that “the religion revealed to all of them is one and the same” (Rubin 2003:445).

Imran is careful not to attack Jesus, but he is not specific in who should be blamed for the destruction. He states that the destruction “spread greatly under the Jews” without explaining whether it is Judaism or whether he means Paul.
This verse appears at the beginning of the tract to demonstrate that there is only ‘One God One Religion’. The verse is used together with a passage from the Bible in order to demonstrate that there is only one religion.\textsuperscript{72}

One God One Religion:

\ldots

Likewise Almighty God tells the Apostle Muḥammad in the Qur’ān sūra [Al-Shūrā] 42:13

“He has given you the law of that same religion that he gave to Noah and that which we revealed to you and that which we gave to Abraham and Moses and ʿĪsā, that you should strengthen the religion, and not be divided, (for the sake of religion); it is hard for those who share in (this religion) to which you call them; Almighty God chooses who he wishes and leads him so that he should come to (him).”

Well let us look at what the Bible says, because indeed it is the book that came before and with news of the Apostles which came before the Apostle Muḥammad (s.a.w.). The bible says in Ephesians 4:4-6

“One body, and one Spirit, as you were called in the one hope of your call. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God, and he is Father of all, who is above all and in all and within all.”

These words can be explained in this way:-

One Body: We all have one origin through the Prophet Adam (a.s.)

One Spirit: Message, Revelation, inspiration that the Apostles received is of one kind.\textsuperscript{73}

One Hope: As we were called in one hope of [our] calling and as such we are expected to be of one hope in being called before our God.

One Lord: Almighty God each time sends a Prophet for his people. And that Prophet is Lord for those people. (Continued on next page)

---

\textsuperscript{72} Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.5.

\textsuperscript{73} Mungu Mmoja Dini Moja:

Vile vile Mwenyezi Mungu anamwambia Mtume Muḥammad katika Quran sura 42:13

“Amekupeni sharia ya dini ile ile aliyyoumushia Nuhu na tuliyyoumushia Ibrahirnu na Massa na Issa, kwamba simamisheni dini wala msifarijane kwayo, (kwa ajili ya dini); ni ngumu kwa wenye kushirikishua (dini hi) unayowaitia; Mwenyezi Mungu humchagua kwake kwake aelkeaye na humuongozwa kwake amakaye (kwake).”

Hebu tutazame Biblia inasema nini, kwani ndicho kitabu kilichotangulia na chenye habari ya Mitume iliyokuja kablo ya Mtume Muḥammad (s.a.w.). Biblia inasema katika Waefeso 4:4-6

“Mwili mmoja, na Roho moja, kama mlimvoituza katika tumaini moja la wito wenu. Bwana mmoja, imani moja, ubatizo mmoja. Mungu mmoja, naye ni Baba wa wote, aliyu juu ya yote na katika yote na ndani ya yote.”

Maneno haya yanaweza kueleza kama hivi:-

Mwili mmoja: Sisi sote ni asili moja kutoka kwa Nabii Adam (a.s.w.)

Roho moja: Ujambe, Ulumu, wahiy walipokea Mitume ni aina moja.

Tumaini moja: Kama tuliyoituza katika tumaini moja la wito na ndivyo tunavyotakwa tuwe katika tumaini moja katika kutikia mbele ya Mola wetu.

Bwana mmoja: Mwenyezi Mungu kila muda anamutumwa Nabii kwa watu wake. Na yule nabii huwa ni Bwana kwa hao watu. (Continued on next page)
One Faith: We are commanded to believe that Almighty God is one, father of all He who is above all, with all and in everything. 
Briefly, just as Almighty God is one then it is necessary that religion should be one only.

(Ngariba & Kawemba [tract 5]:1-2)74

Ngariba and Kawemba quote the whole of verse 13 from *Al-Shūrā* to introduce a passage from the New Testament of the Bible, Ephesians 4:4-6, which they use to demonstrate the truth of the verse from the Qurʾān. Oneness is seen as important; it was used in their *mihadhara*, as Peter Smith reports concerning a Public Debate in Tabora in 1986, “The theme of the lectures ‘The Word of God’ was introduced with the words: *there is one God, one people and one religion. It is unacceptable then that the people in the audience should be of different religions*” (Smith 1988:107 his emphasis). Their purpose, as stated by Smith, explains the approach used by them in this passage.

The various elements of the verses from Ephesians are used to emphasise the idea of ‘one’. Most of the appearances of ‘one’ found in the Ephesians verse are used, but “One Baptism” is ignored. They are used to demonstrate that “Just as Almighty God is one then it is necessary that religion should be one only”.

*Mwili mmoja* (One Body): states that all of humanity is descended from Adam, therefore we are all of one body.

*Roho moja* (One Spirit): the idea that all the prophets received one message is stated; Ngariba and Kawemba use *Mtume* (Apostle/Messenger) rather than *Nabī* (Prophet) in this section. This may reflect that they were specifically referring to the *rasūl* (messenger) rather than to the prophets. Here ‘One’ is given in a neutral form *moja*, in the Bible it has an additional *m-*,

74 *Imani moja:* Tumeamrishwa kuamini kuwa Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja, baba wa wote Aliye juu ya yote, katika yote na adani ya yote.
*Kwa ufupi,* ilivyokuwa Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja na dini lazima iwe moja tu.
which would indicate life, leaving the question as to whether it is deliberate or a typographical error.

_Tumaini moja_ (One Hope): the use of _Mola_ rather than _Mungu_ for God in this context is of note. _Mola_ from the Arabic _mawlā_ (lord), is used for God, but can also be used for Lord, in a religious sense, whereas the Arabic _mawlā_ has the sense of temporal lordship, rather than spiritual.

_Bwana mmoja_ (One Lord): The idea that God sends a prophet to a particular people, at a specific time, is used by Ngariba and Kawemba. They use _Bwana_ in relation to prophet, stating that a prophet is Lord of the people he is sent to. In the colonial period, _bwana_ was used as an honorific accorded to the colonialists. More recently it has been mainly used in its religious sense, _Bwana_ being used by Christians to refer to Jesus.75

_Imani moja_ (One Faith): in this section the supremacy of God is emphasised; this consciously reflects the sentiments of both _Al-Shūrā_ 13 and the Ephesians 4:4-6 passages, leading to the concluding statement that: “If God is one, it is necessary that there should only be one religion”.

75 It is now also used when addressing a group with respect “_Mabibi na mabwana_” (Ladies and Gentlemen).
Warsha use this verse to demonstrate that Muhammad followed the teaching of the earlier Prophets, beginning with Adam, that there is only one religion.76

Likewise we see following the difficulty that was there at the time of Prophet Abraham (a.s.), Prophet Lot, Ishmael and Isaac were chosen to be the helpers of the Prophet Abraham in various places at one time. Therefore the matter to consider is that all the Apostles beginning with the Prophet Adam (a.s.) until the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) taught One way and ONE ONLY, and that Life is ISLAM (Obedience and humility for Almighty God) which belief we have seen in detail previously. So the claims that there is another Religion which is Correct (true before Almighty God) more than this one, as claim Christians and Jews (Judaists) and people of other religions is completely untrue and nor do they have any proof at all for their claims. Indeed the Apostle Muhammad (s.a.w.) before being given his Apostleship, together with the fact that he met with Jews and Christians, was not drawn to their religions at all because he could not see any difference within them between those who said they were believers and those relatives of his the Quraysh who were unbelievers. All evil that was done by the Quraysh that annoyed him greatly when he met it was likewise done by Jews and Christians. For example his family were drunkards, adulterers, gamblers, tyrants, robbers, liars, tricksters, etc. Jews and Christians themselves also performed these evil acts. After being given Apostleship, the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) was instructed by his Lord that religion is only one and indeed that is the religion of all the Apostles who were brought here to earth. The Glorious Qur`án explains this in Sura 42 (Al-ShùrÁ) Verse 13:

"He has given you the Law of the same religion that he gave Noah and which we revealed to you and that we gave to Abraham and Moses and ÝÏsÁ, that strengthen the religion and do not differ with them, (for the sake of the religion); it is hard for those who associate with (this religion) to which you call them; ([Al-ShùrÁ] 42:13).

(Continued on next page)
Also in Sura 3 (Al ‘Imrān) Verse 84 Almighty God (s.w.) tells us:  
“Say: ‘We believe in Almighty God, and that which was sent down to us and that which was sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and his descendants [literally: grand-children] and that which was given to Moses and Ísā and other Prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between one and another, and to Him we bow our will.’” ([Al ‘Imrān ] 3:84) 

Also the Apostle (s.a.w.) was informed by His Lord that the Jews and Christians together with claiming that they believe in Almighty God and their Messengers, were not Muslims because they only believed with their mouths but in their hearts and in their actions they were Infidels in the same way as the Quraysh. This is also confirmed in the Glorious Qur’ān Sura 98 (Al-Bayyina) Verses 1 and 6 (98:1 and 6).  
“Those who were disbelievers amongst the people of the Book (Jews and Christians) and the Superstitious they did not believe in you until there came a clear witness (of the truth).” ([Al-Bayyina 98]:1).  
“Certainly those who disbelieved amongst the People who were given the Book and the Superstitious will enter in fires of hell, they will stay there for ever, they are the worst of creatures.” ([Al-Bayyina 98]:6)  

Therefore the Apostle (s.a.w.) indeed informed us of this truth that the WAY OF TRUE AND CORRECT LIFE is ONLY ONE and he who will follow another way than this will have nothing tomorrow at the Day of Judgement as the Glorious Qur’ān explains to us in Sura 3 (Al ‘Imrān) Verse 85:  
“And he who wants a religion other than Islam it will not be accepted of him. For him the Hereafter will be a (very great) loss.” ([Al ‘Imrān ] 3:85).  
(Warsha [tract 8]: p.24-26)78

In its introduction to the verse, the tract makes clear that all the prophets from Adam, whom Muslims consider to be a prophet, have faithfully taught “One way and ONE ONLY ... ISLAM”, and that the Christians and Jews falsely claim that there is more than one correct religion.

78 Pia katika Sura 3 (Al-Imran) Aya ya 84 Mwenyezi Mungu (s.w.) Anatuaambia:  
“Sema: ‘Tumemwamini Mwenyezi Mungu, na yale tuliyoteremshiwa na yale yaliyoteremshiwa Ibrahim na Ismail na Ishak na Yaakov na wajukuu na yale aliyopewa Musa na Isra na Manabi wengine kutoka kwa Mola wao. Hatubagui baina yao hata mnmoja, na sisi tunanyenyekeu Kwahe: ’” (3:84)  
Pia Mtume (s.a.w.) alifahamishwa na Mola Wake kwamba Mayahudi na Wakristo pamoja na kudai kwao kuwa wanamwamini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mtume wao, hawakuwa Waslani kwa sababu waliwakawa wakiamini kwa kutamakwa tu katika vinywa vyao lakini katika nyoyo zao na vitendo vyao waliwakawa Makafiri kama waliyokuwa Makurayshi. Haya pia yanemwamini katika Qur’an Tukufu Sura 98 (Al-Bayyina) Aya ya 1 na 6 (98:1 na 6).  
“Wale waliuto kutulihu miungoni mwa watu wa Kitabu (Mayahudi na Wakristo) na Washirikina hawakukutulihu mpaka lipowaji hoja iliyo dhahiri (juu ya ukweli).” ([98]:1).  
“Bila shaka wale waliuto kutulihu miungoni mwa watu waliopewa Kitabu na Washirikina wataingia katika moto wa jahamani, wakae humo mitele, hao ni waovu wa viumbu.” ([98]:6)  
Kwa hiyo Mtume (s.a.w.) ndiye alitufahamishwa ukweli huu ya kwamba NIA YA MAISHA YA KWELI NA SAHIHI ni MOJA TU na atakayefutu niia yningine isiyokuwa hii atakuwa hana chake hapo kesho Kiyamani kama Qur’an Tukufu inavyotueleza katika Sura ya 3 (Al-Imran) Aya ya 85.  
The tract comments that Muḥammad was not attracted to Judaism and Christianity as religions, as he saw no difference in the behaviour of the adherents and that of the Quraysh, his own people, who had turned from monotheism. Examples of unacceptable behaviour are listed, and then verses from Āl ʻImrān and Al-Bayyina are quoted, on a similar theme. The tract implies that the Jews and Christians of Muḥammad’s time were munāfiqūn (hypocrites) as they “only believed with their mouths [and not] in their hearts”; they were called kafirūn (infidels) as were the Quraysh. By calling Jews and Christians kafirūn the tract goes beyond the teaching of orthodox Islam.

This is the only selection taken from the tract by Warsha, giving an indication of the style and approach used. It has been influenced by Hussain Malik who was the initiator and mentor of the group. Malik used a similar approach when he taught them. In his The Mission of Jesus: Divine Principles of World Order he quotes Al-Shūrā (42):13 as part of his Introduction to the book to show that Jesus was the follower of the same religion as earlier prophets, with the same message and preparing the way for Muḥammad (Malik 1993:xiii-xv).

79 See Chesworth (2006:176-179) for an analysis of the influence that Hussain Malik had on Warsha.
Jadeed quotes Raîmat Allâh al-Kairanâwi’s *Izhâr al-ḥaqq* to introduce the verse and the idea that the scriptures that preceded the Qur’ân are not superseded by the Qur’ân.

In his book which is called, *Izhâr al-ḥaqq*, Hajj Rahmat Allâh Al-Hindi said that,

“The claim that the Torah has been abrogated by the Psalms and that the Psalms have been abrogated by the Gospel and the Gospel has been abrogated by the Qur’ân has absolutely no foundation in the Qur’ân nor in the Hadith.”

This learned person stated the truth in what he said. The Qur’ân, opposite to what those believers in abrogation say, denies these views completely, as it says that:

“He has given you this Law of religion the same as he gave Noah and which we revealed to you and we gave to Abraham and Moses and Ḥāṣā, that you strengthen the religion and do not differ from them.” (*Sūra Al-Shûrâ*: 13).

Therefore, this is indeed the view of the Qur’ân concerning religions that preceded it, it is a matter of folly to say that the Qur’ân has abrogated the Bible or that Islam has abrogated that which came before concerning the religion of God in the Torah and Gospel. I can’t understand how any Muslim agrees to hold these views and here the main intention of the Qur’ân is to guide by the injunctions and laws of the people of the Book, because it says that:

“Allmighty God wishes to make clear to you and to lead you in the ordinances of those who came before you; and to turn to you [in Mercy]. And Almighty God is All-Knowing All-Wise!” (*Sūra Al-Nisâ*[4]: 26).

The quotation from *Izhâr al-ḥaqq* together with the verse from *Al-Shûrâ* is used to deny the charge made by Muslims that the Qur’ân has abrogated (*naskh*) the earlier books from God, particularly the *Tawrat* (Torah) and *Injîl* (Gospel). The way that the quotation is used appears to give it a different meaning to that which Raîmat Allâh intended, in that he denies a sequential abrogation, with the Psalms superseding the Torah, then the Psalms being superseded by the Gospel, rather than abrogation of the Bible by the Qur’ân.

---


Huyo msoni amesema ukweli katika hayo aliyoasema. Kurani, kinyume na hoja za wale wanaomini katika kubatilishwa, hukana kabisa hoja hizo, kwa kuwa inasema kwamba:

“Amekepuni Sharia ya dini ile ile aliyoamua Nuhu na tuliyoufunulia wele na tuliyouwaasia Ibrahimu na Musa na Ḥāṣā, kwamba simanshini dini wala msiťarikiane kwayo” (*Suratush Shuura*: 13).

Kwa vile hoja ndiyo msoni ya Kurani kuhuso dini iliwoitangila, ni jambo la upuzi kusema kwamba Kurani imebatilisha Biblia au kwamba Usilamu imebatilisha yale yaliyoitangila kuhuso dini ya Mungu katika Torati na Injili. Siwezi kufańamuanji mwa Usilamu yeyote anavyokubali kushikilia msoni hayo na huko shabaha kubwa ya Kurani yake ni kumwongoza kwa maagizo na sheria za watu wa Kitabu, kwa maana inasema kwamba:

The verse from *Al-Shūrā* is used to support the contention that the earlier books have not been superseded. This is supported by the use of *Al-Nīsāʾ* (4):26 which indicates that the earlier books have a continuing purpose.

It appears that Jadeed had read *Izhār al-haqq*, in fact the quotation he gives comes from St. Clair Tisdall’s 1910 English edition of Pfander’s *Mizān al-haqq*:

Shaikh Ḥājī Raḥmatu’llāh of Dehli, in his *Izhāruʾl Haqq* (قُلْ رَبِّ ارَّضِيَ, published in A.H. 1284, Vol. i, pp. 11 and 12, says that the statement that the Taurāt was abrogated by the Zabūr and the Zabūr by the appearance of the Injīl “is a falsehood of which there is no trace in the Qurān or in the Commentaries …” (Pfander 1986:58).

Jadeed presents the quotation as if it was directly from a Muslim source, whereas, in fact he quotes a Christian source, who is quoting from a Muslim source.\(^{81}\)

The verse has been used in different ways; by Muslims to support different contentions: that Muḥammad was completing what had been begun by the prophets who had come previously (Imran); as God is One, so Religion must be one (Ngariba & Kawemba); that there can only be one true way and that Muḥammad saw nothing attractive in Christianity or Judaism and rejected them (Warsha); Jadeed uses the passage to reject the abrogation of the Bible by the Qurān.

---

\(^{81}\) The quotation that is given from *Izhār al-haqq* is not found in the current English edition (2003). It seems that Tisdall quoted from an Arabic edition, as the quotation is given in Arabic as a footnote.
8.3.5.2 Isaiah 45:18-22

18 For thus says the LORD, who created the heavens (he is God!), who formed the earth and made it (he established it; he did not create it a chaos, he formed it to be inhabited!): I am the LORD, and there is no other.  
19 I did not speak in secret, in a land of darkness; I did not say to the offspring of Jacob, “Seek me in chaos.” I the LORD speak the truth, I declare what is right.  
20 Assemble yourselves and come together, draw near, you survivors of the nations! They have no knowledge – those who carry about their wooden idols, and keep on praying to a god that cannot save.  
21 Declare and present your case; let them take counsel together! Who told this long ago? Who declared it of old? Was it not I, the LORD? There is no other god besides me, a righteous God and a Saviour; there is no one besides me.  
22 Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth! For I am God, and there is no other.

(New Revised Standard Version)

This passage is used in two tracts, both by Muslims.


This passage, from Isaiah in the Old Testament, illustrates one of the ways in which the Bible is used by Muslim writers. Kanoni introduces the theme of the Oneness of Almighty God, contrasting the Islamic view with the Christian one. He uses six separate verses from Isaiah and a passage from the Gospel of Mark to illustrate his point, before concluding the section with further commentary.82

THE ONENESS OF ALMIGHTY GOD

The religion of Islam believes that Almighty God is Perfect. He did not give birth nor was he born, and nor is there any who resemble Him not even one. The religion of Christianity on the other hand believes that Almighty God is not perfect because of the necessity of three persons: The Father who gave birth to the Son, the Son who was born of the Father together with the Holy Spirit. But, when we read the Bible we are told that Almighty God is alone and that he did not have a helper or an associate in his Dominion. Christians contradict the Bible because they have made Jesus to be not only an associate, in the kingdom of God, rather they have given him even the authority of being a person within this Divinity, that is even Almighty God cannot be perfected without the person of Jesus being there within this Divinity.83 (Continued on the next page)
I myself do not understand where Christians got this teaching. It is teaching that is filled with capricious emptiness. Well then let’s read the Bible and we shall see what it says about Almighty God:

ISAIAH 41:4 It is written:-
“Who is it that has made and done this thing, calling the generations from the beginning? It is Me, the Lord of the beginning and the end, it is indeed me.”

ISAIAH 44:6 It is written:-
“Lord, King of Israel, your Redeemer, lord of hosts, says this, I am the first, and I am the last; more than me there is no God.”

ISAIAH 44:24 It is written:-
“The Lord your redeemer he that created you in the womb, says this: I am the Lord, who made all things; who by myself spread out the heavens; I who stretched out the earth; and who is it that is with me?”

ISAIAH 45:18 It is written:-
“For the Lord, who created the heavens, says this; He is God; he it is who formed and made the earth; he indeed who established it; he did not create things a desolation, he created things to be inhabited by people; I am the Lord, nor is there any other.”

ISAIAH 45:22 It is written:-
“Look to me, to be saved, all countries of the earth; for I am God, there is no other.”

ISAIAH 45:21 It is written:-
“Preach; proclaim the news, yes, and let them take counsel together; and who is it that demonstrated these things since the old times? Who is it that preached these long ago? Is it not me; the Lord? Nor is there any other God than me; a God of justice, saviour; (there is no other God other than me; God of justice, saviour,) there is no other apart from me.”

Likewise Jesus himself was prompt to confirm time after time the uniqueness of Almighty God as follows:-

(Continued on the next page)
MARK 12:28-30 It is written:-

“And one of the scribes came, he listened to them when they discussed with him, he realised that he answered them well, he asked him, in all the laws which is that is the first? Jesus answered him, The first is this, hear Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and you should love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your spirit, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.”

In these words Jesus uses the word “The Lord our God is One Lord.” That is to say, this One God is our God together with Jesus’ himself.

The religion of Islam, as the Bible teaches, recognises and worships One God alone. The religion of Islam does not incorporate any person or anything in worship of him. But, on the part of the Christian religion the name of Jesus takes three quarters of their worship. The Angels also have a part in Christian worship, likewise the followers of Jesus also have their part in Christian worship. Mary the mother of Jesus has also been raised up by some denominations and given the rank of “QUEEN OF HEAVEN.” That is, in the Kingdom of God we have a Queen who rules together with God and that is indeed Mary the mother of Ísā (a.s.). Therefore, because the mother of Jesus is the Queen of heaven, it is clear that her son must be king or indeed God himself.

So, which religion is it between these religions that teaches the true belief? Is it that which says that Almighty God has three persons, or is it that which says that Almighty God is only One and nor is there any that resembled him not even one?

After discovering all this confusion in the teaching of the religion of Christianity, I began to be seized by many doubts concerning the truth of this religion.

(Kanoni [tract 2]:26-28)\(^5\)

This long extract is typical of the way that Kanoni uses verses from the Bible. He appears to select individual verses in order to make his point, without setting them within the context of the passage. Three verses from Isaiah chapters 41 and 44 are quoted; all emphasise that God is in control (41:4), that he is the only God (44:6) and that he is the Creator (44:24). Three verses from Isaiah 45 are then quoted, which mention God as Creator and the only One

\(^5\) MARKO 12:28-30 Imeandikwa:-

“Na mmoja wapo wa waandishi akafika, akawasikia wakisemezana naye, akatambua ya kuwa amewajibu vema, akamwuliza, katika amri zote ni ipi iliyo ya kwanza? Yesu akamjibu, Ya kwanza ndiyo hii, Sikia Israeli, Bwana Mungu wetu ni Bwana mmoja; nawe mpande Bwana Mungu wako kwa moyo wako wote, na kwa roho yako yote, na kwa akili zako zote, na kwa nguvu zako zote.”


Je, ni ipi dini katiri ya di[sic] hizi inayofundisha [sic] imani ya kweli? Ni ile isemayo kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu anazo nafsi tatu, au ni ile isemayo kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mmoja tu na wala hapana yeyote anayefanana naye hata mmoja?

Baada ya kugunduva nivurugiko wote huu katika mafundisho ya dini ya Kikristo, nilianza kupatwa na mashaka mengi sana juu ya ukweli wa dini hii.
(45:18); advise turning to God for salvation for there is no other (45:22), then going back to verse 21, a call to preach the Oneness of God, with, in brackets, a repetition of a phrase, apparently for emphasis.

These verses are then supported by a passage from Mark’s Gospel, where Jesus quotes the opening phrase of the Shema (שמע נינת, šēma, hear),\(^86\) from Deuteronomy 6:4-5. This is the declaration that Jews recite each morning and evening (Solomon 1986:290). It is worth noting that Kanoni does not include verse 31 where Jesus gives the instruction to “Love your neighbour as yourself”.

Kanoni’s purpose is to show that Jesus himself states that God is only One, which is interpreted as meaning that God is our God as well as Jesus’ God. He then emphasises that Islam and the Bible teach that there is only One God to be worshipped. This is then contrasted with worship in the Christian religion. Kanoni asserts that three quarters of Christian worship is of Jesus, but that Angels and Mary are also worshipped.

Kanoni does not explain how Angels are involved in worship; it could be a reference to passages in the book of the prophet Isaiah and the Revelation of John where Angels are shown to be worshipping God.\(^87\)

Mary, the mother of Jesus, is referred to as Queen of Heaven; this is a title that has been used by the church since the fifth century, becoming a part of the ‘cult of Mary’ in the Western

---

\(^86\) Shema – “Hear, Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord” is the opening phrase of the declaration, it is a recitation of Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21; and Numbers 15:37–41. The name is taken from the first word, ‘Hear’.

\(^87\) For example: Isaiah 6, where the Seraphs are in the Temple; and Revelation 8, where angels participate in worship in heaven.
church in mediaeval times. Rosemary Ruether explains that, following the development of views that Mary had been ‘Assumed’ to heaven and became a ‘Mediatrix’:

As Christ came to be seen as distant and judgemental, Mary became the representative of mercy and forgiveness to whom the miserable sinner could appeal. … She is the hieratic Queen of Heaven, enthroned with the child Jesus upon her lap” (Ruether 1983:345).

The Roman Catholic Church has continued to have a high view of Mary, with 1953/1954 being declared a Marian Year, the then Pope, Pius XII issuing an encyclical *Ad Caeli Reginam* ‘Proclaiming the Queenship of Mary’. Kanoni had grown up as a Roman Catholic and was attending a Roman Catholic Secondary School in 1954, so would have had a close experience of the Marian Year. He uses this experience to make an attack on Christianity and Mary’s place in the hierarchy, implying that she is regarded as a part of a heavenly trinity.

The passage concludes by Kanoni asking which religion is true? The one that says God has three *nafši* (persons), or the one which says that “God is only One and that none resemble him”? The confusion that had given rise to such questions is given as the writer’s reasons for doubts about the truth of Christianity.

---

88 Marian Year: Pope Pius IX declared the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary 1854 with the encyclical *Fulgens Corona*. To celebrate the centenary of the encyclical, Pope Pius XII declared a Marian Year in 1953/1954, as an opportunity to pay special devotion to Mary. Pope John Paul II declared another Marian Year in 1987/1988.
The tract quotes two selections from Isaiah 45 to support a passage from the Gospel of Luke and to demonstrate that Muḥammad is a prophet who is sent to all people.

DANGER OF UNTRUE FAITH
“‘At the time when the householder will stand and lock the door, and you begin to stand outside and knock at the door, if you say Oh Lord, open up for us; he will answer and tell you, I do not know where you come from; indeed when you will begin to say, We ate and drank before you, and you taught in our ways. And he will say, I tell you I do not know where you come from; go away from me all you doers of iniquity. Then there will be crying and gnashing of teeth, when you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves have been thrown outside. And there will come people from the east and the west, and from the north and the south, and they will sit down to food in the kingdom of God. And see, those who are the last will be the first, and the first will be the last.’”

People from the east and the west and from the north and the south are the people of the Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) that the Qur’an tells us “he is sent to be a mercy for the whole world” [Al-Anbiyā’(21):107]. The Prophet Muḥammad is the final Apostle and he will be the first on that day of judgement. He was chosen by an American Computer expert as the first among 100 most important people in the world in history. Also he is described by the Encyclopaedia Britannica as “the person who succeeded above all others amongst the people who have started a religion”. [Emphasis in original]

Almighty God says in Isaiah 45:5-7
“I am the LORD, nor is there any other, beside me there is no God; I will bind you with a girdle even though you did not know me; so that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is no other besides me; I am the LORD, nor is there any other. I form the light, and create darkness, I make reconciliation, and I create evil; I am the LORD. I do all these things.”

89 HATARI YA IMANI YA UONGO
Yesu anasema katika Luka 13:25-30
“Wakati mwénye nyumba atakaposimama na kuufunga mlango, naniyaka kusimama nje na kubisha mlango, nisimama Ee Bwana, tutungulie; yeye atajibu na kuwaamba, Siwajui mtokako; ndipo mtakapoanza kusema, Tulikula na kunywa mbele yako, nawe ufundishia katika njia zetu. Naye atasema, Nawaamba siwajui mtokako; oodokeni kwangu ninyi nyote milo wafanyajiwa na udhalimu. Ndipo kutakapokuwa na kilo na kusaga meno, mtakapomwona Ibrahimu na Isaka na Yakobo na manabii wote katika ufulme na Mungu, naniyaka wenye mmeutupwa njie. Nao watakuwa watu toka mashariki na magharibi, na toka kaskazini na kusini, nao wataketi chakulani katika ufulme wa Mungu. Na tazama, wako wa msio wa msio watakatokouwa wa kwanza, wa kwanza watakatokouwa wa mwisho.”

Watu kutoka mashariki na magharibi na kutoka kaskazini na kusini ni watu wa Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w.) ambaye Qur’an inatwambia “amepelekwa kuwa ni rehema kwa dunia nzima” Nabi Muhammad ni Mtume wa mwisho na atakuwa wa mwanzo katika siku hiyo ya kiyama. Yeye amechaguliwa na ntaalamu wa Komputa wa Kimarekani kuwa ni wa mwanzo katika watu 100 wakuu katika dunia dunia katika historia. Vile vile ameeleza na Encyclopaedia Britannica kuwa “mtu aliyezuzu kuliko wote katika watu waloanzisha dinii”. [Emphasis in original]

Mwenyezi Mungu anasema katika Isaya 45:5-7
“Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine, zaidi yangu mimi hapana Mungu; niitakufunga mshipi jipokouwa hukunjia; ili wapate kujua toka maawio ya jua, na toka magharibi, ya kuwa hapana mwingine zaidi ya mimi; Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine. Mimi naiuumba nuru, na kuhuluku giza, mimi naftanya suluhu, na kuhuluku ubaya; Mimi ni BWANA, niyatendayo hayo yote.”

(Continued on the next page)
Isaiah 45:18-22

“For the Lord, who created the heavens, says this; He is God; it is he who formed and made the earth; indeed he established it; he did not create it a desolation, he created it to be inhabited by people; I am the LORD, nor is there any other. I did not speak in secret, in places of the country of darkness; I did not tell the offspring of Jacob; Look for me in vain; I, the LORD, I say justly; I declare the things that are right; Gather yourselves humans; and come together, you of the nations that were saved; they have no knowledge those who take their carved wooden idols; they who pray to a god who cannot save. Preach; proclaim news, yes, and let them take counsel together; who is it who showed this since the old times? Who is it that preached this long ago? Is it not me the LORD? Nor is there any other God than me; God of justice, saviour; there is no other than me; Look to me, be saved, all countries of the earth; for I am God, there is no other.”

Almighty God says in Qur’an sura [Al ‘Imran] 3:19

“No doubt the (right) religion before Almighty God is Islam.”

Qur’an sura [Al ‘Imran] 3:85

“And he who wants a religion that is not Islam well it will never be accepted by him. And in the Hereafter he will be one of the (very great) losers.”

All Apostles since Adam until Jesus and Muhammad preached the religion of Islam. Those people that believed and followed their teaching are acknowledged as Muslims.

(NGARIBA & KAWEMBA [TRACT 5]:17-19)

The verses from Luke are not explained and only one phrase “And there will come people from the east and the west, and from the north and the south” is used to show that it is Muhammad whom people will come to see, as they are his people. This is supported by a verse from the Qur’an “he is sent to be a mercy for the whole world” (Al-Anbiyā’ (21):107), which is quoted without a reference.

---

90 Isaiah 45:18-22

Maana BWANA, aliyeziumba mbingu, asema hivi, Yeye ni Mungu; ndiye aliyeziumba dunia na kuifanya; ndiye aliyeishi nyana imara; hakuiumba ukiwa, aliumba ili ikatiwe na watu; Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine. Sikuusema kwa siri, katika mahali pa nchi ya giza; sikuwaambia wazao wa Yakobo; Nitafuuti bure; Mimi, BWANA, nasema haki; nanena mambo ya adili. Jikusanyeni nje; na kukaribia pamoja, ninyi wa matafiti mloookoka; hawana maarifa wale wachukuao mti wa santu yao ya kuchonga; wamwombao mungu asiyeweza kuoko. Hubirini, toeni habari; naa, na wafanye mashauri pamoja; ni nani aliyeonyesha haya tangu zamani za kale? Ni nani aliveyahubiri hapo zamani? Si mimi, BWANA? Wala hapana Mungu zaida ya mimi. Mungu mwenye haki, mwokozi; hapana mwingine zaidi ya mimi. Niangalieni mimi, mkao kalewe, enyi ncha zole za dunia; maana mimi ni Mungu; hapana mwingine. Mwenyezi Mungu anasema katika Quran sura 3:19

“Bila shaka dini (ya haki) mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu ni Usalamu.”

Quran sura 3:85

“Na anayetaka dini isiyokuwa ya Kiislamu basi haitakubaliwa kwake. Naye Akhera atakuwa katika wenye hasara (kubwa kabiisa).”

Mitume yote kutoka Adamu mpaka Yesu na Muhammad walihubiri dini ya Kiislamu. Wale watu waliowaamini na wakafuata maafunzo yao wanakubaliwa kuwa ni waislamu.
Ngariba and Kawemba then use material, which also appears in *Muhummed the Greatest* by Ahmed Deedat, as discussed in chapter seven; the paragraph ends with another statement which also appears in the same tract by Deedat:

“Mohammed was the most successful of all religious personalities” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th edition (Deedat 1995:117)

“They also he is described by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as ‘the person who succeeded above all others amongst the people who have started a religion’” (Ngariba & Kawemba 1987:18).

In both cases Ngariba and Kawemba make no reference to Deedat as the origin of the information. It is possible that they found this information independently of Deedat and use it in the same way. However, the influence of Deedat on Ngariba and Kawemba is acknowledged (Lacunza Balda 1993b:230; Chande 1998:153 footnote 36). Interestingly the tract does not use any of the Bible or Qur’anic references that Deedat used, in this section.

The passages from Isaiah are then given followed by two verses from the Qur’an, *Āl ‘Imrān* (3):19 and 85. No commentary is given on any of the passages, the reader is left to deduce their relevance from the context. The section concludes by saying that the religion of Islam has been preached since the time of Adam and that all who have believed and followed the teaching are counted as Muslims.

This passage gives an idea of the way in which Ngariba and Kawemba use the Bible. They tend to quote verses and make tenuous connections from them in order to further their argument. It is possible to reflect that in the context of *mihadhara*, the quotation of many Biblical passages, which on hearing appear to be connected to the point being made, is not surprising, given the atmosphere of such gatherings. When the same material is printed, the relevance of the passages seems less, and to be less convincing, when removed from the atmosphere of a live presentation.
Both tracts using this passage only loosely interpret it to support their case, without a full examination. It is not a passage that appears to have been used in ‘classical’ tafsīr.
CHAPTER NINE: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN TRACTS

THEME: JESUS

9.1 JESUS

The way Jesus is viewed by Christians and Muslims is different, yet he has an important place in both religions. To Christians, Jesus is the only Son of God. Christians believe that he became human, and that he was sent to all peoples. They also believe that he gathered followers, calling them disciples, and during a three year ministry he performed miracles, including healing the sick and feeding many people. They believe that he was then put to death on a cross, in atonement for the sins of all humanity, for all time. The words of the Apostles’ Creed define Christians’ belief that Jesus Christ is:

[God’s] only Son, our Lord.
He was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit,
and born of the Virgin Mary.
He suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified, died, and was buried.
He descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again.
He ascended into heaven,
and is seated at the right hand of the Father.
He will come again to judge the living and the dead.

Extract from: The Apostles’ Creed (ASB 1980:57-58)¹

The life and actions of Jesus are recorded in the four Gospels in the New Testament. The doctrine of Christ, Christology, examines Jesus’ person and natures; in a broader sense it also includes soteriology (the doctrine of salvation). The role of the historical Jesus is also studied by Christian theologians.²

For Muslims, Jesus is important as a Messenger or Apostle (rasūl). Jesus is mentioned twentyfive times in the Qurʾān where he is called: Messiah, Servant, Prophet, Messenger to Israel,

¹ The text for the Apostles’ Creed is taken from the Anglican *Alternative Service Book* and is approved by the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) (Bradshaw 2001:82).
² For theology of Jesus, see John Bowden (1983), for the doctrine of Christology see Newlands (1983).
Word, Spirit from God, Sign (Parrinder 1996:30-53). The passages in the Qurʾān concerning Jesus can be divided into:

1. birth and infancy stories
2. miracles
3. conversations between Jesus and God or between Jesus and the Israelites
4. divine pronouncements (Khalidi 2001:14).

The Qurʾān declares that Jesus is human, not God or the son of God, although acknowledging that Jesus was conceived miraculously, so has no earthly father. The Qurʾān denies the crucifixion and resurrection, stating rather that he appeared to have been crucified and that God actually took Jesus up (Esposito 2003:159).3

The different ways in which Jesus is regarded by Christians and Muslims are reflected in the ways in which the passages of scripture are interpreted in the different tracts. The scripture passages referring to Jesus, from both the Qurʾān and the Bible, are examined under three sub-themes:

- To whom Jesus was sent: Christians believe that he was sent to all peoples, whereas Muslims believe that he was sent only to the people of Israel.
- Miracles of Jesus: Not all the miracles that are recorded in the Qurʾān are found in the Christian Gospels, or understood in the same way.
- Death of Jesus: Christians believe that Jesus was crucified and raised from the dead. Muslims believe that Jesus appeared to die, but that God took him up to Himself.

The scripture passages referring to Jesus that will be examined are:

- To whom Jesus was sent: Matthew 15:21-28
- Miracles of Jesus: Āl ʾImrān (3):45-51; Al-Māʾida (5):111-115

9.2 TO WHOM JESUS WAS SENT: MATTHEW 15:21-28

21 Jesus left that place and went away to the district of Tyre and Sidon.
22 Just then a Canaanite woman from that region came out and started shouting, “Have mercy on me, Lord, Son of David; my daughter is tormented by a demon.”
23 But he did not answer her at all. And his disciples came and urged him, saying, “Send her away, for she keeps shouting after us.”
24 He answered, “I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.”
25 But she came and knelt before him, saying, “Lord, help me.”
26 He answered, “It is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs.”
27 She said, “Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters’ table.”
28 Then Jesus answered her, “Woman, great is your faith! Let it be done for you as you wish.” And her daughter was healed instantly.

(New Revised Standard Version)

Christians believe that this passage shows that, whilst Jesus’ ministry was for the people of Israel, his message will also be for all people. This understanding is encapsulated by D.A. Hagner in his commentary on Matthew:

The eventual answering of the request of the Canaanite woman, as with the healing of the centurion’s son (8:5-13), are exceptions in the ministry of Jesus that are at the same time anticipations of the ultimate goal of the mission of the Christ, which is to bring blessing to humankind universally (Hagner 2002b:443).4

The Islamic understanding that Jesus was sent only to the house of Israel is based on verses in the Qur’ān, such as: Ṣūra Āl ʿImrān (3):49 “to be a Messenger to the children of Israel …”.

Martin Accad in ‘The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries’ (2003) records only one use of Matthew 15:24 by the twenty Muslim writers he studied. This was in Al-ajwiba al-fākhira ‘an al-as’īla al-fājira by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī5 (1228-1285), where it is used to demonstrate that “Christians are unfaithful receivers of Jesus’ message”

---

4 Hagner goes on to explain further:

The gentile mission will become increasingly clear later in Matthew, but it is especially important for the evangelist to stress the faithfulness of God initially to Israel, which is her salvation-historical right. Jesus strictly limited his own mission, as he did that of his disciples, to Israel; but the time of the blessing of the Gentiles was indicated by Jesus explicitly and is foreshadowed here and there in the narratives (Hagner 2002b:443).

5 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī was a Mālikī jurist and legal theoretician, a Ṣanḥāja from North Africa, who grew up in al Qarāfā in Old Cairo; his Al-ajwiba al-fākhira ‘an al-as’īla al-fājira is contentiously described as ‘the greatest apologetical achievement in Islam’ (Jackson 1999:435).
This passage appears in four tracts, three by Muslims and one by a Christian.

[2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

Kanoni quotes from this passage five times in the tract. Only verses 21-26 are used. The first time they are quoted in full, linked with Matthew 2:6, to show that Jesus was sent only to the people of Israel.

Again even before Jesus’ birth, it was foretold that:-

**MATTHEW 2:6** It is written:-

“And you Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, Are by no means the least among Judah; because from you will come a ruler that will Shepherd my people Israel.”

These words are the words of Almighty God himself telling us that a child will be born in Bethlehem who will shepherd of his people Israel. If Jesus had been brought to shepherd all the people of the world, why is that Almighty God names only one nation the children of Israel? All these words add to the weight of the testimony that we have already read that Jesus, as also Moses, came to lead his brethren the children of Israel. Likewise, the words and actions of Lord Jesus himself confirmed that he was brought only for his brethren the Jews. We read in:-

**MATTHEW 15:21-26** that:-

“Jesus left there, went to the area of Tyre and Sidon. And see, a Canaanite woman from those borders came making a noise and saying, Have Mercy on me, Lord, Son of David, my daughter is badly possessed by a spirit. Nor did he answer her a word. Then his followers went to him, they begged him and they said Leave her to return to her home; for she is shouting after us. He answered, and said; I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And she came and prostrated herself, and she said, Lord Help me. He answered, he said, It is not good to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs.”

(See the next page)
In these words we hear the lord Jesus answer his followers who went to ask him to help that Canaanite woman. Even though later on Jesus helped her, but, he came to inform us that we should understand concerning the obligations of his message, Jesus said, “I WAS NOT SENT EXCEPT FOR THE LOST SHEEP OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL.”

These words show us that Jesus did not bring himself here to earth rather he was sent by God, and the obligation of his being sent is that of coming to redeem his brethren the children of Israel who were already lost.

If you read the news that we read of the Magi that we read in Matthew 2:6 and these words in Matthew 15:21-26 you will see that all of them explain concerning that word of Jesus that he is the King of the Jews who was sent to save his brethren the children of Israel. As a reminder it was written as follows:-

MATTHEW 2:6 It is written:-
“… For from you shall come a Ruler who will Shepherd my people Israel.”

MATTHEW 15:21-26 It is written:-
“… I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel …”

We have already read in the beginning that Almighty God chose the nation of the the Jews to be his holy nation. And many times this nation was called by the name of “sons or children of God”. This Canaanite woman when she continued to cry to lord Jesus, he saw that it was better to explain clearly that this religion and the miracles that he performed were for the children. That is the Jews; and it would not have been good for him to have passed over the law of Almighty God to take that which was for the children and give it to a dog, that is one who is not of the holy nation of God, for it is written:-

“He answered, and said, It is not good to take the children’s food and to throw it to the dogs.”

In order to confirm that Jesus was sent for the children of Israel only, it was necessary for him to choose only twelve followers to equal the number of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. …

(Kanoni [tract 2]:33-34)
The tract uses the passage, together with Matthew 2:6, to emphasise that Jesus was sent only to the people of Israel, who are described as ‘lost sheep’, showing that Jesus’ work as a messenger was to rescue only those people.

Kanoni questions why Christians claim that Jesus was sent to all peoples when Matthew 2:6 specifically says that Jesus will be “a shepherd of his people Israel”. Kanoni appears to expect his readers to understand the imagery of Jesus as a shepherd, showing his Christian upbringing and perhaps his expected readership.

The passage Matthew 15:21-26 is used for two purposes: firstly to support Matthew 2:6 by quoting verse 24 “I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel …”, a phrase he repeats twice; secondly to show Jesus’ apparent disdain for those who are not Jewish, that is, for the Gentiles: verse 26 “He answered, and said, It is not good to take the children’s food and to throw it to the dogs.” is used to emphasise this.

Verse 26, where Jesus refers to non-Jews as dogs is used to show that they do not belong to “the holy nation of Israel”, so do not deserve to receive anything from Jesus. The choice of twelve disciples for Jesus is then used to show that this reflected the twelve tribes of Israel.

Even though Kanoni does not quote verses 27 and 28, he refers to the outcome of the passage, that the woman’s daughter is healed by Jesus. In Matthew the passage continues with a quick and witty response from the woman “Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters’ table” (verse 27).
In the following pages of the tract, Kanoni returns to the theme, quoting verse 24 on page 35 in relation to Matthew 7:6, where the derogatory use of ‘dogs’ for non-Jews is emphasised:

MATTHEW 7:6 It is written:-
Do not give dogs that which is holy, neither throw your pearls before pigs, so they do not come and trample them underfoot, jumping and tearing.

This warning is like that Jesus gave in MATTHEW [15]:21-26 where he called those who were not Jews by the name of “dogs”; because he said “It is not good to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs.” Now, in order to give greater emphasis concerning the law refusing people of the nations permission to join the religion of the Jews, Jesus continued to say that “Do not give the dogs that which is holy”. (Kanoni [tract 2]:35)

The two verses are taken together because of the derogatory reference to dogs. The reference to pigs is not mentioned. Kanoni is using the passages to further his case that Jesus was sent only to the Jews. Finally Kanoni quotes verses 24 and 26 on pages 37 and 97, using them in the same way as previously.

9 MATHAYO 7:6 Imeandikwa:-
Msiwape mbwa kilicho kitakatifu, wala msitupe lulu zenu mbele ya nguruwe, wasije wakazikanyaga chini ya miguu yao, wakuruka na kuwararua.
Onyo hili ni kama lile onyo aliloita Ya katika MATHAYO 25[15]:21-26 ambapo aliwaita wale wasiokuwa Wayahudi kwa jina la “mbwa”; kwani alisema “Si vema kuitwaa chakula cha wato na kuwatupia mbwa.” Sasa, ili apate kusositiza zaidi juu ya amri ya kuwakataza watu wa mataifa wasiingie katika dini ya Wayahudi, Yesu anazidi kusema kwamba “Msiwape mbwa kilicho kitakatifu”;
10 Three Muslim writers Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī, Ibn Qutayba and Aḥmad al Ya‘qūbi are cited by Accad as using Matthew 7:6 to show that “The Injīl is an authoritative document, part of the revealed books” (Accad 2003a:71, 90).
11 Maneno yote hizi unatuonyesha jinsi Yesu alivyokuwa ametumwa kwa ajili ya kuwaongoza nduguze wana wa Israeli.

All these words are definitely testimony enough that the religion of Christianity is the religion of a Jew alone. To briefly remind ourselves of what we have already read, these words were written as follows:-

Matthew 15:21-26 … I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. … It is not good to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs.”…

All this testimony together shows us how Jesus was sent in order to come to lead his brethren the children of Israel. (Kanoni [tract 2]:36-37)

Kwa kuva Yesu Masih nae alikuwa kuitimiza ile sheria iliyokuwemo katika maagizo aliyopewa Musa na Mwenyezi Mungu, ilimbidi naye pia awaendee tu wana wa Israeli. Mambo ambapo tumekwisha kuyasoma ni kama yanatayo:-
“… Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo walipotea wa nyumba ya Israeli … Si vema kuitwaa chakula cha wana na kuwatupia mbwa.”

Because Jesus the Messiah came to fulfil that law that was in the instructions that Moses was given by Almighty God, it was necessary for him also that he should only go to the children of Israel. Matters that we have already read are as follows:-
“… I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. … It is not good to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs.” (Kanoni [tract 2]:97-98)
Kanoni uses the passage twice in this tract. In the first case it is used to argue that Jesus was only sent to the Jews and it is presented together with Mark 7:26-27, which is a parallel passage.12

(a) A Jew for his Nation:
The Prophet Ḣaṣā son of Mary A.S. (Jesus), he was not sent except for his brethren the Jews alone. Therefore, for someone to be a follower of Jesus Christ first they need to be a Jew. A person of any other nation was not permitted to be a follower of the Gospel. This was explained clearly in the following writings from the Gospel itself. It is written:-

MARK 7:26-27
“And that woman is Greek, her tribe is Syro-Phoenician. She asked him to take the spirit from her daughter. He told her, Let the children eat their fill first, for the children’s food should not be taken, and thrown to the dogs.”

MATTHEW 2:6
“And you Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, Are by no means the least among the rulers of Judah; because from you will come a ruler who will shepherd my people Israel.”

MATTHEW 15:21-24
“Jesus left there, he went to the area of Tyre and Sidon. And see, a Canaanite woman from those borders came making a noise and saying, Have Mercy on me, Lord, Son of David, my daughter is badly possessed by a spirit. Nor did he answer her a word. Then his followers went to him, they asked him, saying, Leave her to return home; for she is shouting after us. He answered, saying; I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel.”

MATTHEW 19:28
“Jesus told them, Amen, I tell you that you who followed me, in the new world, when the Son of Adam will sit in his seat of glory, you will be seated in twelve chairs, judging the twelve tribes of ISRAEL.” (Kanoni [tract 3]:14)13
Kanoni uses similar arguments as in his previous tract, again linking it with Matthew 2:6. The Mark passage that he uses includes the reference to non-Jews as dogs, whilst the parallel phrase from Matthew 15:26 is not used. The passage from Mark makes no specific mention that Jesus was sent only to the Jews.

Matthew 19:28 concerns what Jesus told the twelve disciples about their role in heaven; it echoes Kanoni’s writing in the previous tract.14

Deedat quotes both these passages together in Muhummed the Natural Successor to Christ under the heading “Only for the Israelites”, where he explains that dogs means non-Jews (Deedat 1993:45-46). Some of Deedat’s earlier pamphlets were circulating in East Africa during the 1960s, so it is possible that Kanoni was influenced by them.

Calling Jesus “Nabii Isa bin Maryamu A.S.” (The Prophet Ísã son of Mary A.S.), perhaps indicates Kanoni’s increased familiarity with Islam compared with his earlier tract and possibly a change in the intended readership.

In the second reference to the passage, Kanoni only quotes verse 24 together with Luke 11:23 and Mark 7:27 to show that non-Jews cannot be followers of Jesus, as they are not eligible.

Now, you and me, can we claim that we are followers of Jesus Christ when we do not have a single qualification, among these qualifications? When we are not Jewish. When we associate God together with Jesus, and nor do we obey and follow all the laws of the Torah? If we say that we follow Jesus Christ, we truly deceive ourselves. Because Jesus himself warned, when he said:15

(Continued on next page)

---

14 In order to confirm that Jesus was sent for the children of Israel only, it was necessary for him to choose only twelve followers to equal the number of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel (Kanoni [tract 2]:34).
15 Sasa, je! wewe na mimi, twaweza kudai kuwa sisi tu-wafuasi wa Yesu Kristo iwapo hatuna na sifa hata moja, kati ya sifa hizi? Iwapo sisi si Mayahudi. Tunamshirikisha Mungu pamoja na Yesu, na wala hatuzitii na kuzifuata sheria zote za Taurati? Tukisema kuwa tunamfuuata Yesu Kristo, tunajidanganya kweli kweli. Kwani Yesu mwenyewe alonya, akasema: (Continued on next page)
LUKE 11:23
“A person who is not with me is against me; and a person who does not gather together with me scatters.”

MATTHEW 15:24
“He answered, he said; I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel.”

MARK 7:27
“...for it is not good to take the children’s food, and throw it to the dogs.”
This indeed is the true religion that descended from Almighty God to the earth for Jews by the message of Jesus Christ. But, now I will ask: “If this religion is indeed the true religion, is it suitable then, for the Jews to continue to follow this religion until the present?” No, it is not proper for them to do so. And neither did Jesus direct this. What he directed is that when he had already departed the earth there would be another Prophet after him, and he wanted the Jews together with all the people of the earth to follow that Prophet, who he named as the Spirit of truth, ...
(Kanoni [tract 3]:19-20)

The tract then raises other charges against Christians, that they “associate God together with Jesus” and he states that they do not “obey and follow all the laws of the Torah”, challenging Christians by saying “If we say that we follow Jesus Christ, we truly deceive ourselves.” The verses are then quoted, but without any clear indication as to how they support the point being made.

Following the verses, Kanoni makes the point that Jesus had directed people to follow the Prophet who would come after him, who would lead them into the ‘true religion’.

When compared with his earlier tract, Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu, in this tract Kanoni appears to use a wider range of arguments in his use of the Bible and his presentation.

---

16 LUKA 11:23
“Mtu ambaye si pamoja nami yu kinyume changu; na mtu asiyekusanya pamoja nami hutawanya.”

MATHAYO 15:24
“Akajibu, akasema; Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotea wa nyumba ya Israeli.”

MARKO 7:27
“...maana si vizuri kukiitwa chakula cha watoto, na kuwatupia mbwa.”

Hii ndiyo dini ya kweli aliyoiteremsha Mwenyezi Mungu duniani kwa Mayahudi kwa ujumbe wa Yesu Kristo. Lakini, sasa nitaauliza: “Je! iwapo dini hi ndiyo dini ya kweli, ni halisi basi, kwa Mayahudi kuendelea kuifuata dini hi hadi hivi sasa?” La, si halali kwao kufanya hivyio. Na wala Yesu hakugiza hivyio. Alichoogiza ni kwamba atakapokuwa amekwisha kuondoka ye ye duniani angalikua nyuma yake ye ye Nabii mwingine, na akawataka Mayahudi pamoja na watu wote duniani kumfuata Nabii huyo, ambaye alimtaza kuwa ni Roho wa kweli, ...
This tract quotes verses 21-28 in full, at the end of a series of passages from the Letters of Paul. The whole sequence is an attack on Paul’s deviation from the message that was brought by Moses and Jesus:

PAUL…Now let us see what Jesus says and compare it with the teaching of Paul.

Matthew 15:21-28

“Jesus left there, he went to the area of Tyre and Sidon, and see, a Canaanite woman from those borders came making a noise and saying, Have Mercy on me, Lord, Son of David, my daughter is badly possessed by a spirit. But he did not answer her a word. Then his followers went to him, they asked him, and said Leave her to return home; for she is shouting after us. He answered, and said; I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And she came and prostrated herself, and she said, Lord Help me. He answered, he said, It is not good to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs. She said, Yes, Lord, but even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their lords’ table. Then Jesus answered, and told her, Woman, your faith is great; let it be done as you ask. Her daughter was healed from that hour.”

Jesus, preached the faith of One God as did the Prophet Moses and other Apostles. In preserving the right religion and belief of one Almighty God, he forbore to preach to other people other than the tribe of the Jews. It would be like throwing pearls before pigs. He followed the commands and laws of Almighty God. Paul broke all of them. By taking the religion of faith in one Almighty God and bringing it to those who had no religion, those that believed in various gods and who knew nothing about the laws of Almighty God. Paul opened the door of faith for those without religion to enter into the true religion and therefore another new religion was constructed that was far from that of Prophet Moses and even of Jesus. Without the religion of Paul, the Islam of Moses would have continued without any obstacle in the Islam of Jesus to reach the Islam as was taught by Prophet Muhammed (s.a.w.). (Continued on the next page)

---

17 Ngariba and Kawemba quote the following passages from Paul, prior to the Matthew passage:
Romans 11:13; 1 Corinthians 2:1-2; Philippians 2:5-7; 1 Timothy 3:14-16; Titus 2:13-14; 2 Corinthians 11:16-17; 1 Corinthians 9:15; and Galatians 3:15. These are discussed below in section 9.4.3.

18 PAULO… Sasa tuangalie Yesu anasemaje na tulinganishe na mafunzo ya Paulo.
Mathayo 15:21-28


It is clear that it was Paul who brought more than one religion, as it is today. There is nowhere in the Bible where Jesus told anyone that he is God and should be worshipped. Rather contrary to this he said many times that he is an Apostle sent by Almighty God who indeed is Supreme. Likewise, when he was here on earth he preached to the Jews not to any other people because he was brought for “the lost sheep of Israel.” 19

(Ngariba & Kawemba [tract 5]:11-12)

Ngariba and Kawemba do not set the passage in its context of Jesus’ initial refusal to help the Canaanite woman. Rather they use the passage in order to demonstrate that Jesus had continued in the tradition of Moses, in teaching “the faith of One God”, in refusing to preach to any other people than Jews. In doing this, Jesus had “followed the commands and laws of Almighty God”. The tract says that to take the message “beyond the tribe of Israel. It would be as to throw pearls before pigs”, which is a reference to Matthew 7:6.

Paul, by taking the religion to those who were not Jews, is portrayed as having gone against all the teachings of Moses and Jesus. By introducing non-Jews to the religion, it was exposed to alien ideas and so a separate religion was created. In this instance it is informative to compare the published English version with the Swahili original, set out here together:

By taking the religion of the One God to the pagans who believed in many gods, and who knew nothing about the law of God, Paul exposed the true religion to the infiltration of Pagan beliefs, and so created a completely separate religion from that of Moses and even of Jesus. (Ngariba and Kawemba [English version] 1993:11)

By taking the religion of faith in one Almighty God and bringing it to those who had no religion, those that believed in various gods and who knew nothing about the laws of Almighty God. Paul opened the door of faith for those without religion to enter into the true religion and therefore another new religion was constructed that was far from that of Prophet Moses and even of Jesus. (Ngariba & Kawemba [tract 5]:11)

The idea is present in the Swahili, but it is put more succinctly in the English translation. The implication is that the original source of a section like this may have been in English, which was then translated into Swahili, whilst the English version used the original source. This

selection comes at the end of an attack on Paul as the one who perverted the ‘true religion’ that Jesus had brought.

[16] TELM Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani

The only Christian tract that uses the passage quotes only verse 24.

**HIS FIRST COMING WAS FOR THE ISRAELITES**

Moses said, “The Lord, your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your brethren, like me, listen to him”.  
(Deuteronomy 18:15)  
Jesus answered and said, “I was not sent except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel.”  
(Matthew 15:24)  
“And (he will make him) an Apostle for the children of Israel …”

*Sūra [Āl ʿĪmrān] 3:49*  
(TELM Neno [tract 16]:14)²⁰

The three passages are set out in parallel, together with the Arabic text of Āl ʿĪmrān 3:49. The intent of the writer is to show that Jesus was sent first to the house of Israel (the Jews). However the ‘unspoken’ implication is that Jesus’ second coming is for more than the Jews.

The different tracts use the passage to show that Jesus came to the Jews. It appears that none of the tracts draw out the full potential from the passage. Kanoni in both tracts emphasises that Jesus came to the Jews, in order to demonstrate that Jesus was therefore not sent to any other people. Ngariba and Kawemba use it as part of an extended condemnation of Paul. TELM Neno only makes its point by implication.

---

²⁰ KUJA KWAKE MARA YA KWANZA KULIKUWA KWA WAISRAELI  
*Musa alisema, “Bwana, Mungu wako atakuondokeshea nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zako, kama nilivyo mimi; msikilizeni yeaye.” (Kumbukumbu 18:15)*  
Yesu akajibu akasema, “Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotea wa nyumba ya Israeli.” (Mathayo 15:24)  
“Na (atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israeli …”  
*Sura 3:49*
9.3 MIRACLES OF JESUS

9.3.1 Āl Īmān (3): 45-51

(40) When the angels said, ‘Mary, God gives thee good tidings of a Word from Him whose name is Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary; high honoured shall he be in this world and the next, near stationed to God. He shall speak to men in the cradle, and of age, and righteousness he shall be.’

‘Lord,’ said Mary, ‘how shall I have a son seeing no mortal has touched me?’ ‘Even so,’ God said, ‘God creates what He will. When He decrees a thing He does but say to it “Be,” and it is. And He will teach him the Book, the Wisdom, the Torah, the Gospel, to be a Messenger to the Children of Israel saying, “I have come to you with a sign from your Lord. I will create for you out of clay as the likeness of a bird; then I will breathe into it, and it will be a bird, by the leave of God.

I will also heal the blind and the leper, and bring to life the dead, by the leave of God.

I will inform you too of what things you eat, and what you treasure up in your houses. Surely in that is a sign for you, if you are believers. Likewise confirming the truth of the Torah that is before me, and to make lawful to you certain things that before were forbidden unto you.

I have come to you with a sign from your Lord; so fear you God, and obey you me. Surely God is my Lord and your Lord; so serve Him. This is a straight path’.

(Arberry)

This passage is used in five tracts, two by Muslims and three by Christians.


Imran quotes verses 49-51, then verse 47 from this passage. In the first passage Jesus’ humanity is emphasised.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that all the miracles that Jesus performed were by the Mercy of Almighty God; and these (miracles) were not performed by Jesus dependent on himself, the Glorious Qur‘ān makes this challenge plain by telling them:

And we will make him a messenger for the children of Israel,oo [indicating Footnote] (he will tell them); Certainly! I have come to you with signs from your Lord. Certainly! I will make model birds for you from clay, and then I will breathe into them, and they will become birds by the consent of Almighty God. I heal him who was born blind and him with leprosy, 21 and I will raise the dead to life by the consent of Almighty God. And I tell you what you should eat and what you should save for your own sakes, if you are those are believers. 22

(Continued on the next page)

21 In verse 49 the tract uses ukoma (leprosy) rather than mahalanga (skin disease) used by Musa and Alavi.

Inapasa pia izingatiwe kwamba miujiza yote aliyoitenda Yesu likuwa ni kwa Rehema za Mwenyezi Mungu; na hiyo (miujiza) hakutendwa na Yesu kwa kujitegemea mwenyewe, Kur‘ani Tukufu inatoa hoja hiyo wazi wazi kwa kiwango kikubwa:

And (I have come) to confirm that which came before me in the Torah, and to declare to be lawful some things that were not previously allowed for you. I have come with a sign from your Lord, therefore fulfill your duties for Almighty God and you should obey me (me). Certainly! Almighty God is indeed my Lord and your Lord, so worship Him. This indeed is the straight path (Qur’ân, [Àl ÝÏmrÁn] 3:49-51).

Only, if he (Jesus) was not human, then he would not have had the needs of humanity such as eating food, because without these no person is able to live, God has no need of food. But Jesus Christ continued with the need to eat and drink for his life just the same as we do. Divinity and need are not able to be mixed together. Almighty God is an Essence which does not live for need of anything when all creatures live by need for Him.

[Footnote] All these kindnesses that were mentioned by Almighty God were for the purpose of comforting Mary and to remove her doubts that had crept into her mind that she should have had mud slung at her for giving birth to a child while she was still a Virgin. The Qur’ân also denies completely the slanders of the Jews by explaining that Jesus Christ was a praiseworthy child of a praiseworthy mother, of great glory and an example for all prophets who have had a position of dignity before Almighty God.

(Imran [tract 1]:11-12)

In the tract’s comments on verses 49-51 no specific reference is made to the miracles of Jesus which are mentioned in the passage. Imran does not use the reference in verse 49 that Jesus was only sent to the Jews. Rather he uses the passage in order to emphasise that Jesus was only human and not divine. The footnote, which may have been added by the translator, adds an explanatory note, concerning the character of Mary and her being consoled by the knowledge that God had sent her son to the Jews.

The second passage quotes verse 47, concerning the creative force of God’s command, arising from Mary’s concern during the visit by the Angel announcing that she would have a child to be named Jesus.
If Christians truly believe in Christ, then they are duty-bound to receive the truth that the Qur'ān made clear. No doubt, if Almighty God was able to create Adam from clay that had no life and Eve from Adam, likewise he was even more easily able to create Jesus from the pregnancy of a virgin woman. We continue to read in the Qur'ān:

“Almighty God creates that which he will. When He decrees something, he only says: Be! and it is” (Qur'ān, [Āl 'Īmārān] 3:47).

This indeed is the belief of Islam concerning the ability of creating and the holiness of Almighty God. It is not necessary in His Ability that he has to take a seed and to sow it. He just decrees: “Be!” and it is”.

(Imran [tract 1]:14-15)24

The writer of the tract appears to assume that his readers are familiar with the context of the verse he quotes. Imran is using the verse to show that as God was able to create Adam from clay and Eve from Adam, so for God to create Jesus from the pregnancy of a virgin is an easy task. Imran uses God’s ability to just decree something, to say kun fa-yakūn (be and it is), the creative command, in order to further demonstrate that Jesus was a created being, and that it is not appropriate to associate Jesus with God as a partner.

In this case the footnote makes it clear that the translator wished to add a comment. It advises that Christians should look at verses from the first chapter of Genesis to be reminded of the way that God uses the creative word. These are the only verses from the Bible referred to directly in the tract and this is the only clear addition by the translator.

---

24 Ikiwa Wakristo kweli wanawamwamini Kristo, basi wanawajibika kupokea ukweli uliobainishwa na Kur'ani. Hapana shaka, ikiwa Mwenyezi Mungu alimeweza kumuumba Adam kutokana na ugongo [sic] usio na uhai na Hawa kutokana na Adam, vile vile alimeweza kwa urahisi zaidi kumuumba Yesu kutokana na mimba ya mwanamke bikra.[sic] Tunendelea kusoma katika Kur’ani:


Hii ndio ya imani ya Kiislamu juu ya uwezo wa kuuumba na utakatifu wa Mwenyezi Mungu. Haipasi katika Uwezo Wake iwe lazima achukwwe mbegu na kusia. Kwake ye yeu huu amtu tu: “Kuwa!” nalo linakuwa”.

[Indicating Footnote]

[4] Saidi Musa *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*

Musa quotes from these verses three times in the tract. In the first instance, verses 45-48 are quoted in relation to Mary receiving the news that she is to give birth to Jesus; they are introduced with no subsequent commentary.25

The tract also uses the verses to specifically discuss Jesus’ miracles. In the first instance only verse 49 is quoted:

THE PROPHET ÝÏSÁ PERFORMS THE MIRACLE OF CREATING BIRDS
The people of Prophet ÝÏsÁ again told ÝÏsÁ that the miracles that he performed did not compare to those of Prophet Moses so he should perform others in order to excite them more.
Prophet ÝÏsÁ the Messiah said: Now I see that you Jews deride me. You bring me provocation and arrogance, such that even if I perform miracles or a miracle of any sort you will not believe in me. It is every day you ask me to perform a miracle. And as soon as I perform for you a miracle, you oppose and do not believe! So even if I bring anything more unusual than Prophet Moses did you will not believe in me.”
The Jews said: “Truly we will believe your Apostleship if you will perform an unusual miracle like Prophet Moses.
Prophet ÝÏsÁ told them that he will show them something bigger and more wonderful than his fellow Apostle Moses A.S. But on condition that they they promise to confirm to him that they will not refuse the Apostleship of Almighty God he had come to them with.
The Jews told him: “Yes we promise absolutely that we will believe in you and that all that you have come with from Almighty God is true”.26

(Continued on next page)
Prophet Ýṣā said: Qur´ān Sūra Āl ʿİmran Verse 49:
I create in clay the form of a bird for you, then I breathe into him and straight away it was a bird, by the permission of Almighty God.
The Jews said: “Even we do not believe that you are able! How is it that the bird that you moulded yourself is alive and able to fly? Do you not tire with your idle chatter Ýṣā?
(Musa [tract 4]:24-25)\textsuperscript{27}

Musa uses the miracle of Jesus making clay birds to fly in order to relate the tension that arose from the Jews’ reluctance to believe that Jesus was a messenger sent from God.

This miracle is not found in the New Testament, however it is found in the \textit{Infancy Gospel of Thomas}, which is considered by Christians to be apocryphal.\textsuperscript{28} Thomas 3:1-2, (Greek Text B)\textsuperscript{29} relates the miracles in this way:

1. Now Jesus made of that clay twelve sparrows: and it was the Sabbath day. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying: Behold, thy child playeth about the brook, and hath made sparrows of clay, which is not lawful.
2. And he when he heard it went and said to the child: Wherefore doest thou so and profane the sabbath? But Jesus answered him not, but looked upon the sparrows and said: Go ye, take your flight, and remember me in your life. And at the word they took flight and went up into the air. And when Joseph saw it he was astonished (James 1955:55).

Montgomery Watt explains that “In the Qur´ān the giving of life to the clay birds becomes a ‘sign’ of [Jesus’] prophethood” (Watt 1994:50).\textsuperscript{30}

In his commentary on the passage, Musa re-tells in his own way a disagreement between Jesus and the Jews. He relates how Jesus was told that the miracles he performed were not as impressive as those that Moses had performed. Jesus is portrayed as being aware of what the

\textsuperscript{27} Nabii Ïsā akasema: Qurani Sura ya Ali Imran Aya ya 49:
Nakuumbieni katika udongo sura kama ya ndege, kisha nampuliza mara anakuwa ndege, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu.
Mayahudi wakasema: “Ama haya hatudasiki kuwa unaweza! Itakuwaje awe hai ndege unayemfinyangana mwenyewe na kuweza kwenda? Huchoki na porojo zako wewe Ïsà?

\textsuperscript{28} The Apocryphal New Testament refers to writings that purport to have been written by Jesus’ followers, but which were not accepted into the New Testament canon, when that was agreed at the Synod of Carthage in 397.

\textsuperscript{29} Thomas 2:1-5 (Greek Text A) tells a slightly longer version. Thomas 4:2 (Latin Text) also tells a version of the miracle. The text comes from the \textit{Infancy Gospel of Thomas} rather than the \textit{Gnostic Gospel of Thomas} which was discovered at Nag Hammadi in 1946.

\textsuperscript{30} A similar passage concerning this miracle is found in \textit{Al-Māʾīda} (5):110.
Jews are doing, that they seek the excitement of miracles, and in order for them to accept him as “an Apostle of Almighty God”, he is pressured into performing something more spectacular than Moses. Jesus is portrayed as doubting that even that will make them accept him, yet he then makes clay birds, breathes into them and they fly. The Jews still scoff and reject his message as “idle chatter”.

This re-telling presents Jesus as a messenger and does not deal with whether or not he is the son of God. It makes no use of the way the miracle is performed by Jesus’ breath, nor does it draw attention to it being “by permission of Almighty God”.

It is of note that the explanation sets the events of the miracle during Jesus’ adult ministry, rather than as an infant, as in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*.

The final use of the passage is when verses 46–49 are quoted with a heading. This seems to be in order to list the Miracles of Jesus; no commentary or explanation is given.

---

31 **MIUJiza Ya NABii ISA Katika Qurâni**

*Mwenyezi Mungu katika Qurâni katika Juzu a ya Tilkar Rasulu Aya ya 46-49 anasema:*

**MIRACLES OF PROPHET ÝİSA IN THE QUR'ĀN**

Almighty God in the Qur˒ân in *Juzʾ 3 Tilkar Rasulu* Verses 46-49 says: (Musa [tract 4]:31-32)

*Juzʾ* – part or portion, referring to the thirty parts that the Qur˒ân is divided into for reciting during Ramaḍān. *Tilkar Rasulu* – title of the third part of the Qur˒ân, beginning at Al-Baqara (2):253 and continuing to Āl ˒İn्रān (3):92.
This tract quotes the passage twice. In the first case, after an introductory paragraph, verses 45-50 are given in full; they are then followed by a brief comment showing the writer’s realisation of the importance of the Torah and Injil.

I discovered that ḤĪṣā has a very important part in the Qurān and also in the Ḥadīth, or the traditions of Islam. I saw in the Qurān that ḤĪṣā is of the utmost importance above my apostle Muhammad. Not very long had passed, suddenly that teacher together with my parents had worries about the way I desired to learn more about Jesus. They advised me that I should concentrate on learning about Muhammad. I continued to be astonished at the verses of the Qurān that talked of Jesus, concerning his amazing birth and his amazing work.

“(Remember) when the Angels said: “Oh Mary! Almighty God gives you good news of a word only that comes from him. His name is the Messiah, ḤĪṣā, Son of Mary, one who is respected on earth and the hereafter and among those who were brought before Almighty God (Allāh).

And he will talk to the people during his childhood and when he becomes an adult, and (he will be) among the good people.

Mary said: “My Lord! How will I get a child when no-one has ever touched me?” He said: Indeed it will be like this; Almighty God creates as he desires; when he decrees something, he says ‘Be’, it is.

And (Almighty God) will teach to write and to know the knowledge and of the Torah and Gospel.

And (he will make him) an Apostle to the children of Israel (to tell them): “I have come to you with a concern from your God, that I create for you the form of a bird from clay, afterwards I breathed on it and straight away it becomes a bird, by the consent of Almighty God. And I heal the blind and those with skin disease, and I raise (some of) those who have died, by the consent of Almighty God, and I will tell you what you will eat and what you will store in your houses. Without doubt there is a sign for you if you are believing people!32

(Continued on next page)


Naye atazungumiza na watu katika utoto wake na katika utu uzima wake, na (atakuwa) katika watu wema kabisa.


Na (atamfanyi) Mtume kwa wana wa Israel, (kuwaambia): ‘Nimekuwepa na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wenu, ya kwamba nakumbi, katika udongo, kama sura ya ndege, kisha nampuliza, mara anakuwa ndege, kwa ndihi ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na ninawaponesha vipofo na wenye nabalanga, na ninawafufu (baadhi ya) waliokufa, kwa ndihi ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na nita kwambiri mtakavyovila na mtakavyovika akiba katika nyumba zenu. Bila shaka katika haya ino hoja kwenu ikiwa nyinyi ni watu wa kuamini!’

(Continued on next page)
And (I will be) a trustworthy witness for those matters which were before me in the Torah; and (I have come) so that I might legitimize some of that which was forbidden you, and I have come to you with signs from your God. Therefore fear Almighty God and obey me.”

(Àl ÍmúrÁn 3:45-50)

Also I discovered that the Qur’Án especially mentions things from the Old Testament, that is the Torah and also things from the New Testament, that is the InjÁl. This circumstance made me accept these testaments because they are a guide and light (Àl-MÁÞida 5:46).

(Alavi [tract 9]:6-9)³³

Alavi uses this verse to illustrate his growing realisation of how often Jesus is found in the Qur’Án and ÁdÁth. He makes a comparison between Jesus and his apostle MuÁhammad, revealing his doubts to his parents and to his teacher, who told him to concentrate on learning about MuÁhammad. He quotes the verses to show Jesus’ “amazing birth and his amazing work”. He concludes by commenting that he had discovered that the Qur’Án referred to things also found in the Old Testament and the New Testament, which led him to accept the testaments as a “guide and light”.

The approach by Alavi is to use verses from the Qur’Án to speak for him, to show that Jesus is different and that his readers should look at the Qur’Án and make a similar discovery.

For the second mention, the tract refers to verse 49 without quoting it.³⁴ In this instance, Alavi is referring to it in order to demonstrate that the Qur’Án shows that Jesus is different.

³³ Na (nitakuwa) msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati; na (nimekuja) ili nikuhalalisheni baadhi ya yale mliyoharimishiwa, na nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wenu. Kwa hivyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nitiini” (3:45-50).


³⁴ Kila jambo ambalo Kurani inanena juu ya Yesu huonyesha kwamba Yesu ni mtu tofauti: Uhusiano wake na Mungu kama Neno la Mungu na roho iliyotoka kwa Mungu; kazi zake za ajabu; jinsi alivyokuwa akiponya watu; jinsi alivyowafufua wafu (3:49); alivyopaa kwenda mbinguni na kuwepo kwake mbinguni hadi leo. Each thing that the Qur’Án mentions concerning Jesus shows that Jesus is a different person: His relationship with God as the Word of God and a spirit which came from God, his wonderful works; how he healed people; how he raised the dead (Àl ÍmúrÁn 3:49); how he ascended to go to heaven and his being there in heaven until today. (Alavi [tract 9]:25)
The tract quotes four of the verses from the passage, verses 45, 47, 46 then 49, out of sequence, as part of a series of statements followed by questions to be thought about by the reader.

SECONDLY: The Qur'an says: Jesus Christ is indeed the WORD OF ALMIGHTY GOD (ALLAH) (Sura No. 3 Al İmran:45) (Remember) when the Angels said: “Oh Mary! Almighty God gives you good news that comes from him: His name is Messiah, Ḥisā ….

Question: Is there any other prophet who is able to say that he is the Word of Almighty God (Allāh)?

The tract calls Jesus the Word of Almighty God, however, through what may well be a failure in proof-reading the tract omits neno (word) from the verse quoted, thus the meaning of the statement and subsequent question is lost. Al-Farsy reads:

It is possible that when the writers copied the verse from al-Farsy, they became confused by the bracketed insertions and so omitted Neno.

‘Word’ is understood in different ways by Muslims and Christians. The Christian doctrine of the ‘Word’ is that the Bible is the written Word of God and that Jesus is the Word of God.

---

35 Statements 2, 4, 5 and 6 appear here. Number 3 was examined in section 8.3.1 concerning Al-Nisas’(4):171.
36 Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.15.
38 All the Swahili versions include Neno in the verse, Arberry, Pickthall and Yusuf Ali all include Word.
39 Oh Mary! Almighty God brings you good news of (giving birth to a child without a man, rather by pronunciation) a Word that only comes from Him (of telling you to ‘Bear’ without intercourse). His name is Messiah, … Ḥisā (Al İmran (3):45).
made flesh (Kateregga & Shenk 1985:109). The Muslim understanding of ‘Word’ is that Jesus is “a Word from God”.40

The Christian understanding of ‘Word’ is presented in the tract, claiming that Jesus alone is the Word of Almighty God.

The statements continue by quoting verses 47, 46 and then 49:

FOURTHLY: The Qur’ân preaches about the birth of Jesus Christ by a Maiden (Virgin)
She said (the maiden Mary) “Oh my Lord! How will I get a child, when no man has touched me? (Sûra No. 3 Aîl Ïmârân:47)

Question: Why was Christ chosen to have this birth of a kind that was unique and not usual? There is no other person before him or after him who was born in this amazing way which is difficult to believe in and is a major sign. Why did he become Christ? Why did Almighty God (Allâh) choose to enter in and to change the way of creation from the usual for birth in this way?

FIFTHLY: The Qur’ân says: Jesus Christ preached from childhood.
“And he will talk with people in his childhood and in his adulthood and he will be among good people (absolutely).” (Sûra No. 3 Aîl Ïmârân:46)

Question: Is any among the prophets able to claim that he is holy?

SIXTHLY: The Qur’ân says that Christ lived on the earth so that he should lead the people in Justice and to perform great signs as well as raising people from the dead!
(Sûra No. 3 Aîl Ïmârân:49).

Only the first part of verse 47 is quoted. It is prefaced by a statement that Jesus’ birth by a mwanamwali (maiden),42 then adding bikira (virgin), is related in the Qur’ân. The question

NNE: Kurâni hughubi kuzaliwa kwa Yesu Kristo na Mwanamwali (Bikira)
Alisema (mwanamwali Mariamu) “Mola wangu! Nitapataje mtoto, na hali mtu ye yote hakunigusa? (Sura No. 3 Aal Imran:47)
Swali: Kwa nini Kristo ndiye alichaguliwa awo na uazii huu wa aina ya pekee usio wa kawaida? Hakuna mtu mwingine yeyote kabla yeye au baada yake aliyezaliwa kwa njia hii ya ajabu ambayo ni vigumu kuaminika na yenye ishara kuu. Kwa nini akawa n Kristo? Kwa nini Mwenyezi Mungu (Allah) alichagua kungilia na kugeuza njia ya maumbile iliyo ya kawaida ya uzazi kwa nanna hii?
TANO: Kurani husema: Yesu Kristo alihubiri tangu utoto. “Naye atazungumza na watu katika utoto wake na katika utu uzima wake na atakwa katika watu wema (kabisa).” (Sura No. 3 Aal Imran:46)
Swali: Je, nabib awaye yote aweza kutaka kuwa mtakatifu?
SITA: Kurani husema kuwa Kristo aliibi tangu wa watu wa kawaida. Haki na kuufua ishara iliyo kuwa pamoja na kuufuwa wa watu wa kawaida.
41 Mwanamwali (mwali) – has a range of nuanced meanings – here it seems to suggest a girl who has reached puberty and started menstruating. The word is formed by joining mwana – child, offspring, with mwali - girl of marriageable age (Mulokozi 2001:233, 234, 235).
that is asked appears to be an attempt to lead the reader to consider why God chose to make Jesus so different in terms of his ‘unique’ birth.

The fifth statement states that the Qur’ān says that Jesus preached from his childhood. Verse 46 is then quoted in full. The question that is asked, concerning whether a prophet can claim to be holy, does not directly relate either to the verse or the statement. The tract seems to want the reader to question whether any prophet, other than Jesus, can be called holy.

The sixth statement in the sequence is the final one and has no question. It quotes a part of verse 49, stating that Jesus lived on earth in order to lead all people in justice, performing signs and raising people from the dead.

The tract uses verses from Āl ʿImrān in the sequence 47, 46 then 49, later using 45; it is not clear as to why they are used in this sequence, rather than in numerical order.

The tract later quotes verse 45 in full, set in parallel with verses from John’s Gospel, which use Word as a title for Jesus.

THE WORD OF GOD

Sūra No. 3 Āl ʿImrān:45

“(Remember) when the Angels said: “Oh Mary! Almighty God brings you good news (to give birth to a child without a husband, rather by a pronouncement) a word only coming from him. His name is Messiah, Ḥusayn (Jesus Christ).”

John 1:1, 14

“In the beginning was the Word … and the Word was God.” “And the Word was made flesh, he lived amongst us; and we saw his glory, glory like that of the only Son who comes from the Father; he was filled with true grace.”

(TELM Isa [tract 15]:43)

43 NENO LA MUNGU
Sūra No. 3 Aali-Imran:45

“(Kumbukeni) waliposema Malaika: “Ewe Mariamu! Mwenyezi Mungu anakupa habari njema (kumzaa mtoto bila ya mume, bali kwa kutamkwa) neno tu litokalo kwake. Jina lake ni Masih, Ḥusayn (Kristo Yesu).”

Yohana 1:1, 14

“Hapo mwanzo kulikuwako Neno … naye Neno alikuwa Mungu.” “Naye Neno alifanyika mwili, akakaa kwetu; nasi tukauona utukufu wake, utukufu kama wa Mwana pekee atokaye kwa Baba; amejaa neema ya kweli.”
Verse 45 is quoted correctly, including *neno*, and also including one of al-Farsy’s inserted comments. The two passages have no explanatory comment, apart from the heading “The Word of God”. It must be assumed that the reader will understand that the Bible refers to Jesus as the ‘Word made flesh’.

[16] TELM *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*

This tract uses the passage twice. In the first place, verse 49 is quoted, together with passages from Deuteronomy 18:15 and Matthew 15:24. This was commented on in the previous section.

In second place, verse 45 is cited in conjunction with John 1:1, concerning Jesus as the Word.

TO KNOW THE WORD OF GOD

The Qur’an does not only explain that Jesus is ‘His Word’ (*Kalimatu’llâh*), rather also that he is called the Word that was pronounced ([*Ál Ímrân*] 3:45). But the Gospel says “In the beginning was the Word …” (John 1:1). How can these statements be reconciled?

The Qur’an calls Jesus the Word that was pronounced by God because there were three revelations of the Word of God for humanity: The Word that was pronounced, the Word that was spread out, and the Word who was known on earth since the time of the Virgin Mary, who is indeed Jesus Christ (*Ísâ Masîh*). God pronounced the Word, by which all things were created; he obtained for us the Word that was written to be his guidance for us; and finally, his Word which came from heaven to reach here on earth; he revealed to us God as he is.

(TELM *Neno* [tract 16]:19-20)

The tract contrasts verse 45, stating that Jesus is called *Kalimatu’llâh* (God’s Word) and that he is *Neno lililotamkwa* (the Word that was pronounced) with John 1:1, which says *Hapo mwanzo kulikuwako Neno* (In the beginning was the Word), asking how the two can be reconciled.

---

KULIFAHAMU *NENO LA MUNGU*

This is done by stating that the Word of God has been revealed three times. The written Word, that is the Bible; the Word that was spread out (*tandikwa*), which presumably refers to the work of the prophets, spreading the word; then Jesus as the Word made flesh, stated as being “since the time of the Virgin Mary”.

Most of the tracts do not use Miracles, the central theme of the passage, as might be expected. Only Musa gives a detailed comment on the miracles, particularly the clay birds, using them to show the tensions between Jesus and the Jews. Alavi uses it to show that Jesus is different from other people, whilst TELM *Isa* uses the verses individually in order to show that Jesus was the ‘Word’.
9.3.2 Al-Mā‘īda (5):111-115

And when I inspired the Apostles: “Believe in Me and My Messenger”; they said “We believe; witness Thou our submission.”
And when the Apostles said, ‘O Jesus son of Mary, is thy Lord able to send down on us a Table out of heaven?’
He said, ‘Fear you God, if you are believers.’
They said, ‘We desire that we should eat of it and our hearts be at rest; and that we may know that thou hast spoken true to us, and that we may be among its witnesses.’
Said Jesus son of Mary, ‘O God, our Lord, send down upon us a Table out of heaven, that shall be for a festival, the first and last of us, and a sign from Thee. And provide for us; Thou art the best of providers.’

(115) God said, ‘Verily I do not send it down on you; whoso of you hereafter disbelieves, verily I shall chastise him with a chastisement wherewith I chastise no other being.’

(Arberry)

The passage is quoted four times, in three tracts, in two Muslim and one Christian tract.


Imran quotes two verses from the passage in two separate sections. In the first he quotes verse 111, using it in order to attack Paul.45

In Sūra ya Al-Mā‘īda also we read:
And when I revealed to these disciples, (I told them): Believe in me and my Messenger, they said: We have believed, and you should bear witness that we are Muslims’¹[Indicating Footnote]

Jesus taught the worship of only One God who is called Allāh. The teaching of the Trinity about which he is slandered by some of his prodigal followers is only a heresy whose foundation is based on the religions of Greece and Egypt. Later, Paul introduced this idea into the correct Teachings of Jesus of Nazareth in order to exclude Almighty God; and from then on Christians have been completely unable to understand this problem of worshipping gods that they fabricated themselves!
Similarly Paul, a Roman who was taught by Jewish scholars twisted the pure teaching of Jesus.
He constructed the pillars of a new religion.46

(Continued on the next page)

45 This tract is the only one to use this verse.
46 Katika Surah ya Al-Maidah pia tunasoma:
Na wakati nilipowafunulia wanafunzi hao, (nikwaambia): Mniamini mimi na Mjumbe wangu, walisema: Tumeamini, na ushuhudie ya kuwa sisi ni Waislamu.”¹[Indicating Footnote](Qur’aani 5:11.)

Yesu alifundishwa ibada ya Mungu Mmoja tu aliyeitwa Allah. Fundisho la Utatu analosingiziwa na baadhi ya wafulusi wake wapotevu ni uzushi tu ambao nsingi wake unesimama juu ya imani za dini za Kigiriki na za Kimisri. Baadaye, Paulo alingiza ikra hili katika Mafundisho sahihi ya Yesu Mnazareti ya kumpwekesha Mweneyezi Mungu; na tokea hapo Wakraito hawajaweza kamwe kulikuumbua tatizo hili la kuwaabudu mungu waloibumi wao wenyewe!
Hivyo ndiyo Paulo, Mrumi aliyeufundishwa na wanachuoni wa Kiyahudi aliyyopotosha mafundisho safi ya Yesu. Ahjenga nguzo za dini mpiya.
(Continued on the next page)
Verse 111 refers to the Disciples as Muslims because they had already ‘submitted’ to God. This is expounded in the footnote, showing that as the first followers are called Muslims, it proves that they believed the same “as a good Muslim believes [today]”. Abu’l Ala Maududi comments that: “the use of the word Muslims for the Disciples is meant to show that their religion was Islam and not Christianity” (1989:204).

Imran uses the verse in order to show that the Trinity was a heresy based on the religions of Greece and Egypt; this was then introduced by Paul in order to exclude God. Imran explains that this is why Christians are unable to understand the problem of the Trinity. The tract claims that Paul was a Roman, but taught by Jewish scholars, and that he twisted the pure teaching of Jesus and constructed a new religion. Calling Paul a Roman is an example of potential ambiguity in Swahili. The word used, Mrumi (Roman) is used to imply nationality, whereas it actually indicates citizenship.

Imran makes reference to verse 113, where he uses Jesus’ miracles in order to condemn teaching on the Trinity. This section follows on from Al-Nisâ’ (4):171 and the defence of tawhid.

[Footnote] 1 This shows that the first followers of Jesus Christ did not believe that he was the Son of God, rather a Messenger of the Lord, and they were good believers in the Faith of the Unity of God, and in the prophethood of his prophets just as a good Muslim believes. (Imran [tract 1]:1).

47 [Footnote] 1 Hii inaonyesha kwamba wafuasi wa kwanza wa Yesu Kristo hawakumwamini kama Mwana wa Mungu, bali kama Mjumbe wa Bwana, na walikuwa waumini wazuri katika Imani ya Umoja wa Mola, na katika unabii wa manabii wake kama vile ambavyo Mwislamu nzuri anavyoamini.

48 Abu’l Ala Maududi uses Muslim in the Lahore edition of Tafhim al-Qur’an, but the Islamic Foundation editions say “Submitted to Allah” with a footnote. Both Pickthall and Yusuf Ali use “Muslim”. Most Swahili versions use nyenyekevu (humble); Dale uses silimu (submit); only al-Barwani uses Waislamu (Muslims).

49 See ‘The use of Scripture in Tracts in Swahili’ (Chesworth 2007b:1), which gives an example where a Swahili tract deliberately uses this confusion stating Kabila la Paulo ni Mrumi (The Tribe of Paul is Roman).
Almighty God in verse 113 of Sūra Al-Māʾīda of the Qurʾān brings before the reasoning of humanity the benefactions he granted Jesus Christ which all were kinds of miracles. It was for the sake of these miracles that a number of people believed that Jesus was a remarkable person and later that he was God, and an associate in the Divinity. Is it not amazing that the people lost their reason! When they see any praise and glory within an upright person they credit Divinity to him or humiliate him to the extent that he is counted amongst the witches. In many places the Qurʾān seeks to make clear the hypotheses of those whose reason has been lost such that they understood Mary and Jesus as gods contrary to Almighty God notwithstanding that certainly it is neither Jesus nor Mary who make these claims; more than this they taught them to worship One Almighty God. The truth is that all miracles that were performed at the hands of Jesus, were not as resulted from the ability of Almighty God who is Glorious above Jesus, as He is above all creation.

Therefore, the Qurʾān strongly denies the teaching of the Trinity and says truly this is blasphemy of the highest order concerning the Glory of Almighty God (Imran [tract 1]:7).\(^\text{50}\)

It appears that Imran uses verse 113 as a basis for his statements, because of the desire of the people to see Jesus’ miracles, in order that they might believe. “… that we may know that thou hast spoken true to us, and that we may be among its witnesses” (Arberry). The tract then sets out to demonstrate that the people had misunderstood the miracles and had raised Jesus up to be “God, and an associate in the Divinity”. Imran uses this to defend the Islamic understanding of Jesus and to attack those who consider Jesus and Mary to be gods.

Jesus’ ability to perform miracles is explained from the Qurʾānic view, that they were performed by God’s command and through God’s ability, not through Jesus’ own ability and desire. Imran uses the verse in order to continue his condemnation of the teaching about the Trinity.


Kwa hiyo, Kur’ani inakanusha kwa nguvo sana mafundisho ya Utatu na kusema kweli hayo ni kufuru ya hali ya juu kabisa dhidi ya Utukufu Wake Mwenyezi Mungu.
This tract quotes verses 112-115 and then gives an extended commentary on the miracle and its purpose.

**THE PROPHET ḢISĀ PERFORMS THE MIRACLE OF FOOD FROM HEAVEN**

The Qurʾān says in Sūra [Al-]Māʾida, from verses 112-115:

(Read) (your) disciples when they said: Oh Ḣisā son of Mary! Can your Lord bring down to us food from heaven? He said: “Fear Almighty God if you are ones who are truly believers (do not expect to see miracles all the time).
Thay said: We wish to eat from this so that it will calm our hearts that we may know that you have told us the truth and that we will be among those who have witnessed (the miracles of God by his Messengers).

Ḥisā son of Mary said: Oh God our Lord! Send down to us food from heaven so that this may be a feast-day for our beginning (that is us) and for our end (that is for the followers who will come after us and hear this), and let it be a sign from you, and provide for us because you are without doubt the best provider.

Almighty God said I will lower it to you. But amongst you is one who will refuse after this, but I will punish him with a punishment that I have not punished anyone else on earth.

**EXPLANATION:**

Those who wanted food from heaven are those followers of the Prophet Ḣisā who believed and followed him. So these followers asked the Prophet Ḣisā to ask his Lord to lower food from heaven to them so that they could eat as they were very hungry.

So when they asked the Prophet Ḣisā that he should save them from this problem he replied that the hunger and problems they had are like him, he knows hunger and thirst as they did because he is a human like them. He wanted them to wait because he goes to Almighty God who would speedily grant them relief from their situation and also rain would fall bringing a blessing of water and plants. The disciples only emphasised to him that he should preserve them quickly as they had such severe hunger they would not be able to wait until rain fell.¹¹

(Continued on next page)

¹¹ NABI ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA CHAKULA KUTOKA MBINGUNI
Qurani inasema katika Suratul Maaida, tangu Aya ya 112-115:

(Kumbuka) wanafunzi (wako) wa liposema: Ewe Isa bin Maryam! Je, Mola wako anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni? Akasema: “Mcheni Mweneyezi Mungu kama nyinyi ni wenye kuamini kweli (msitake kila mara kuona miujiza).

Wakasema: Tunataka kula katika hicho ili zitue nyoyo zetu na tujue kwamba umetumia kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoshuhudia (miujiza ya Mungu kwa Mitume yake).

Akasema Isa bin Maryam: Ee Mungu Mola wetu! Tuteremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe sikuku kwa ajili ya wa mwanzo wetu (yaani sisi) na wa mwisho wetu (yaani wafuasi watakoaja baada yetu na kusikia haya), na kiwe ishara itokayo kwako, na turuzuku sisi kwa kuwa wewe bila shaka ndiye mbora wa wanaoruzuku.

Akasema Mweneyezi Mungu mimi nitakiteremsha kwenu. Lakini miongoni mwana atakayekataa baada ya haya, basi mimi nitanazawadhibu adhabu ambayo siwanazawadhibu yoyote katika ulimwengu.

MAEFEO:

Waliotaka chakula toka mbinguni ni wale wafuasi wake Nabii Isa waliomwamini na kumfuata. Basi wafuasi hao walimwamba Nabii Isa anwombe Mola wake awateremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni wa kile kwa kuwa walikuwa na njaa kali sana.

Basi walipomwomba Nabii Isa kuwa awaokoe na shida hiyo aliwajibu kuwa njaa na taabu waliyo nayo ni kama ye, anaona njaa na kiu kama wao kwa kuwa na ye ni mwanadamu sawa na wao. Aliwataka wasubiri kwa kuwa huenda Mweneyezi Mungu atawajaalia wapesi katika hali yao na pengine mvua ilianyesha ilete kheri katika maji na mima. Wanafunzi walimkazania tu kuwa awahifadhili upesi kwani wana njaa kali ambayo hawataweza kustahamili kwayo mpaka inyeshe mvua.(Continued on next page)
This problem occurred when they were in the desert where they went to observe the wonders of Almighty God and the effects of how Almighty God was able to revive the land after its death by bringing rain. There in the desert they wandered around every part even climbing and descending the hills, so they should walk in his valleys for the same purpose of knowing more of the wonders of Almighty God. So they were overcome with severe hunger when they were with the Prophet Īsā A.S. himself. This is when they blamed the Prophet Īsā with their condition.

THEN FOOD DESCENDS:
So after this give and take the Prophet Īsā told them that he would ask Almighty God to lower this food from heaven to them but they should know clearly that the value of this food is very great and it requires of those who believe in Almighty God with a full-faith, without any doubts whatsoever. And that those who blaspheme after that Almighty God will punish them greatly as they have already seen sufficient miracles to believe in their Lord.

So when they agreed this the Prophet Īsā told them that they should look to heaven so that they themselves should see the way the table filled with food descended from heaven. They saw this table filled with food from heaven as it descended little by little until it was on the earth.

So when the table of food was brought down they rushed to stretch their hands over it. Prophet Īsā said: “Where are the thanks to Almighty God because it is he who has blessed us and fed us?” The disciples said: “Now what should we say oh Īsā?” Īsā answered: “We shall say: BISMILLĀH AR-RAHMĀN AR-RAḤĪM.” [In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate]

So when they said Bismillāh ar-Rahmān ar-Raḥīm they sat at the table. Behold on it was food that eyes had not seen the like for its goodness.

(Musa [tract 4]:29-31)\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{52} Taabu hii iliwapata walipokwuka katika jangwa waliokwenda kutazama maajabu ya Mwenyezi Mungu na athari zake na nanna Mwenyezi Mungu anavyoweza kukuisha ardhia baada ya kutu kwake kwa kuileta mvua. Huko katika jangwa wakawa wanaanzunguka kila upande na hata kupanda juu ya vitima na kushuka, watembe katika mabonde yake kwa madhumuni yayo hayo ya kujua zaidi maajabu ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Basi wakazidiwa na njaa kali wakiwa na mwenyewe Nabiī Isā A.S. Hapo ndipo walipopastika Nabiī Isā hali yao. CHAKULA SASA CHASHUKA:
Basi baada ya majibizano Nabiī Isā aliwasabiwa kuwa atamwomba Mwenyezi Mungu awateremshie chakula hicho kutoka mbunguni lakini wajue wazi kuwa chakula hicho thamani yake ni ghalini sana inayotaka wamwamini Mwenyezi Mungu imani kamili isiyo kuwa na shaka yoyote. Na kwamba mwenye kufuru baada ya hapa Mwenyezi Mungu atamwadhibu sana kuwa wameshaona miujiza ya kutosha kuamini Mola wao.
Basi walikuhalia hayo Nabiī Isā akawamba watazame mbunguni wajione wenyewe meza iliyojaa vyakula inavyoshuka kutoka mbunguni. Wakawa wanaizama meza hiyo iliyojaa vyakula vya mbunguni kiteremka kidogo kidogo, kidogo kidogo mpaka juu ya ardi.
Basi waliposema Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahīym walifungua kifuniko cha ile meza. Tahamaki juu yake mna vyakula ambavyo macho hayajaviona kwa uziro wake. WAONA LADHA YA CHAKULA NA KUMUSHUKUURU MUNGU
Baada ya kuonja waliwataka kuna ladha tamu ajabu kuliko vyakula vya kidunia. Basi walimhimiidi Mwenyezi Mungu aliwealisha wakiwa na njaa. Baada ya kula mara wakwana ile meza inanyanya na kuelekea mbunguni kidogo kidogo, kidogo kidogo mpaka ikapotea katika macho yao. 296
In order to explain the meaning of the passage, Musa gives a lengthy re-telling of the incident in a manner reminiscent of classical *tafsīr*.

It is thought that this passage reflects events found in the New Testament Gospels, either the Last Supper, when Jesus ate a meal with his disciples, before his arrest (Matthew 26:20-29; Mark 14:17-25; Luke 22:14-20), or possibly the miraculous feeding by Jesus of a large crowd (Matthew 14:15-21; Mark 8:1-9; Luke 9:12-17; John 6:2-14).

Many *tafsīr* have commented on this passage in order to explain it, with no consensus as to its meaning and as to whether Jesus acceded to the request. These include:

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (839-923) who gives various interpretations before concluding that the table did descend and that it had food on it (Gätje 1997:123-129).

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286) gives various possible interpretations, saying that the Sufi interpretation was that it was a spiritual sign; he also discusses what food the table held and states that it descended for forty consecutive days (Wherry 1896b:155-157; Radscheit 2006a:189).

Abū l-Kalām Āzād (d. 1958) refers to a tray and not a table, explaining that the disciples wanted the convenience of eating the food they had from a tray (Baljon 1968:24-25).

Sayyid Quṭb (1903-1966) summarises some of the early views collected by Ibn Kathīr, where some thought that the table did not descend, whilst others thought that it did; his own view is that the table did descend, with food. The purpose was to show the seriousness in asking for
miracles and that “those who ask for proof and continue to disbelieve after they have been given what they have asked for must not go unpunished” (Quṭb 2001:294).

Abu’l A’lā Maudūdī (d. 1979) regards the passage as “a discussion in this world regarding a conversation that will take place on the Day of Judgement” (Maudūdī 1989:204). He is undecided as to whether the table descended: “It is possible that the repast was sent down. It is also possible that the disciples withdrew their prayer after hearing the stern warning in response to it” (Maudūdī 1989:205).

Musa gives a different interpretation of the passage. Jesus and his followers are in a desert in order to “observe the wonders of Almighty God”. As they wander around they become hungry and thirsty and ask for sustenance, blaming Jesus for their circumstances. Jesus’ humanity, in also experiencing hunger, is emphasised in the explanation. Food descends to them from heaven, on a table; as the disciples rush to take it and to eat, Jesus tells them that they must thank God for his providence. When they ask what they should say, they are told to say *Bismi’l-lāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm* (In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate), that is the *Basmala*.53 The food is wonderful and they praise God for feeding them. The passage concludes by relating that after they had eaten, the table slowly rose up towards heaven.

Some aspects of the explanation resemble the *tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī (d.923) and al-Bayḍāwī, but do not reflect the views of Quṭb and Maudūdī. From the *tafsīr* reviewed it was not possible to find an interpretation that could have been a source for Musa’s interpretation of the passage.

---

53 *Basmala* the statement that opens every sūra of the Qur’ān apart from Al-Tawba.
Two verses, given as 113 and 114, are quoted and set parallel to two Biblical passages.

**JESUS IS THE CREATOR**

*Sûra No. 5 Al-Ma'á'idr. 113, 114 [110]*

"And Almighty God will say: Oh Jesus (Ísã) son of Mary! Remember my permission to you and to your mother. See, I poured out on you power and the Holy Spirit, with this you spoke to people in childhood and adulthood, See, I teach you the Book and Wisdom, Law and Injîl, And look! From clay you make a model like a bird, by my permission, and you breathe into it and it is a bird, by my permission. And you heal those born blind, and those with leprosy, by my permission. And look! You raise the dead, by my permission."

Colossians 1:16, 17

"For in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, things that are seen and things that are unseen; whether thrones, and sultanships, or dominions, or authority, all things were created by him. And he was before all things, and all things hold together in him."

John 1:3, 4

"All things came into being through him; nor is there anything that came into being without him. In him indeed was life, and this life was a light for the people."

The Qur'ânic verses are incorrectly identified, as part of verse 110 is quoted and not verses 113 and 114. This is another instance of poor proof-reading in this tract. The verse quoted contains material found in Ál 'Imrân (3):49, which is discussed in section 9.3.1. The intention of presenting these verses is to show that Jesus is the creator, in that Jesus and God are one and the same.

Imran uses the verses to defend the Islamic understanding of Jesus and to attack those who consider Jesus and Mary to be gods. Musa interprets the verses giving an example of thorough *tafsîr.*

---

54 YESU NI MUUMBA

*Sûra No. 5 Al-Ma'á'idr. 113, 114*

"Na Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Ewe Yesu (Isa) mwana wa Mariamu! Kumbuka kibali changu kwako wewe na kwa mama yako. Tazama, Nilikutia aguva na Roho Mtakatifu, kwa hivyo ukazungumza na watu katika utoto na katika uzima, Tazama, Naliikutia huku na Hekima, Sheria na Injîl. Na tazama! Kutokana na udongo waafanya mfano kama wa ndege, kwa ruhusa yangu, nawe wamupalizia na akawa ndege, kwa ruhusa yangu. Nawe wawaponya wafunzi wa wafu, na wenye ukoma, kwa ruhusa yangu. Na tazama! Nawe waafuia waafu, kwa ruhusa yangu.""
9.4 DEATH OF JESUS

9.4.1 Al-Nisā’(4):157-159

And for their saying, ‘We slew the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the Messenger of God’ – yet they did not slay him, neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them. Those who are at variance concerning him surely are in doubt regarding him; they have no knowledge of him, except the following of surmise; and they slew him not of a certainty – no indeed; God raised him up to Him; God is All-mighty, All-wise. There is not one of the People of the Book but will assuredly believe in him before his death, and on the Resurrection Day he will be a witness against them. (Arberry)

This passage is used in five tracts, two by Muslims and three by Christians.


Imran quotes parts of the passage three times. In the first instance, he quotes verses 157-158 and Jesus’ death is questioned.

7. DID JESUS DIE ON THE CROSS?

At the beginning of his ministry, Jesus began to condemn the Jewish religion (Judaism) as it was followed at that time. He preached many times against hypocrisy of the ruination of customs and laws of Judaism. This is why the Jews turned to be the enemies of Jesus and they proclaimed that he was a criminal and following Christian belief, he was judged and crucified by the Romans.

The Qurʾān, even so, explains clearly that Jesus himself was not crucified. It is certain that at the time when the soldiers entered to seize Jesus Christ in his home, he was inside, someone entered that house before all the others. It happened that the soldiers seized the one who entered first, as he was made to resemble Jesus Christ. The soldiers hit him and tormented him then they killed him as being Jesus Christ. But a little later they realised their mistake, and some of them suddenly said: “Ah! The victim was not Jesus Christ: “Again where did Jesus Christ go?” He was inside that house. If we suspect that the victim was indeed Jesus Christ where is our companion, who was the first to enter the house, and if you believe that: [that] he was that person, so where is Jesus Christ? So now read what the Qurʾān has to say about this affair.55 (Continued on the next page)

55  7. JE! YESU ALIFIA MSALABANI?

“And certainly they say: We killed the Messiah, Ýsá, (Jesus), Son of Mary messenger of Almighty God – they did not kill him nor did they crucify him, rather it seemed so to them; and for certain! Those who differ on this matter, they have doubts, therefore, they had no experience in this matter, except that they were only persuaded by (their) beliefs; for certain they did not kill him, rather Almighty God raised him to himself. Always Almighty God is Strong, Wise”. (Qur’ân: [Al-Nisā] 4:157-158.)

Concerning the verse of the Qur’ân above which it makes clear and easy (to understand), that Jesus was raised to heaven whilst he was alive, without being harmed by the Jews by being stretched with nails on the cross or by any other means whatsoever. (Imran [tract 1]:23-24)²⁶

Imran begins by summarising the actions of Jesus that led to his crucifixion. It concentrates on his preaching and condemnation of Jewish hypocrisy, explaining that this made the Jews his enemies who proclaimed him as a criminal, that Christian belief is that “he was judged and crucified by the Romans”.

Imran then relates that the Qur’ân clearly explains that Jesus was not crucified, rather that someone entering the house, to arrest him, is made to resemble him and subsequently killed.

Imran may have been influenced by the explanation found in al-Kashshâf ‘an Ḥaqā’iq al-Tanzîl by Abû’l-Qâsim Maḥmûd b. ʿUmar az-Zamakhshârî (1075-1144), which has several similar elements in the sequence of events, notably the realisation that either Jesus or the companion who had entered the house were missing (Robinson 1991:133-135).²⁷

Verses 157-158 are quoted in full, followed by a brief explanation given to show that Jesus was raised to heaven whilst still alive, and that the Jews had not harmed him in any way whatsoever. Imran seems to have followed classical tafsîr in his interpretation of the passage.

²⁶ “Na kwa hakika ya kusema kwao: Sisi tumemuda Mwana wa Mariamu mjumbe wa Mwenyezi Mungu – hawakumuua wala hawakumulubisha, bali ilonekana hiyoyo na wao; na kwa yakini! Wale walohitilafiana kuhusiana na jambo hilo wano, mashakani, kwa hiyo, hawakuwa na ujuzi wa jambo hilo, isipokuwa walishawishika na dhana (ya) tu; kwa yakini hawakumuua, bali Mwenezezi Mungu alimwinua kwake. Daina Mwenezezi Mungu ni Mwene nguva, Mjuzi’(Kur’ani: 4,:157-158.)

Kuhusiana na aya ya Kur’ani ya hapo juu inayobainisha na nyepesi (kueleweka), Yesu alinuliwa hadi mbunguni akiwa hai na bila ya kudhuriwa na Wayahudi kwa kunwamba kwa misumari juu ya msalaba au kwa namna yo yote niyeingineyo.

²⁷ The first part also resembles chapters 216 and 217 of The Gospel of Barnabas, but Judas is named in Barnabas, whereas neither Imran nor Zamakhshârî do, also it omits the idea that the others wonder where their companion has gone.
In the second instance, a *hadith* transmitted by Abū Hurayra is quoted relating to verse 159.

**THE SECOND COMING OF JESUS CHRIST**

Concerning the second coming of Jesus, the belief of Islam especially is that without doubt he will descend to earth from heaven in the same way that he ascended in a bodily form. There are *Hadith* (traditions) of the Glorious Apostle Muhammad (the peace of Almighty God be upon him) not less than seventy that explain the manner of his descent, and the obligation that he will have on his second coming are explained thoroughly, by the Glorious Apostle (S.A.W.) without using riddles. Here is just one Hadith found in Bukhārī and Muslim which was related by Abū Hurayra (R.A.) it is recorded in this way:

The Messenger of Almighty God said: ‘By the right of him in whose hand my soul is, the Son of Mary will soon descend amongst you as a leader of right and an impartial judge. He will break the crosses, he will kill the pigs and he will abrogate it is recorded in this way:

*Jizya* o[Indicating Footnote] and wealth will be in abundance so that no-one will accept it, until one *Sajada* (mark on the forehead) will be better than the whole earth and whatever is within it”. Then Abū Hurayra (RA) said: read this if you wish: “Not even one amongst the People of the Book but must believe in him. Before his death, and on the Day of Resurrection he will be a witness against them” (Qur’an, [Al-Nisā] 4:159).

Since the Law (the Book of Law) of all the Prophets who came before the Apostle Muhammad (S.A.W.) were changed, so Jesus, will judge according to the Laws of Islam.

[Footnote]"Name of the tax that is collected from those who are not Muslim citizens by the Islamic Authorities instead of performing military service. (Imran [tract 1]:26)"

---

58 R.A. radiyallahu `anhu (May God be pleased with him) used for Companions of the Prophet, indicating that Abū Hurayra was one of the Companions.

59 This hadith is found in the Collection of al-Bukhārī Book 4.657.

‘Allah’s Apostle said, “By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, surely (Jesus,) the son of Mary will soon descend amongst you and will judge mankind justly (as a Just Ruler); he will break the Cross and the pigs and there will be no Jizya (i.e. taxation taken from non-Muslims). Money will be in abundance so that nobody will accept it, and a single prostration to Allah (in prayer) will be better than the whole world and whatever is in it.” Abū Hurayra added “If you wish, you can recite (this verse of the Holy Book): ‘And there is none Of the people of the Scriptures (Jews and Christians) But must believe in him (i.e Jesus as an Apostle of Allah and a human being) Before his death. And on the Day of Judgment He will be a witness Against them.’” Sura 4.159 (ÝAlim 1996:al-Bukhārī 4:657).

60 8. KUJA MARA YA PILI KWA YESU KRISTO


"Hakuna hata mmoja miongoni mwa Watu wa Kitabu ila watamwamini. Kabela ya kifo chake, na kwenye Siku ya Ufuluko atakuka shahidi dhidi yao’.” (Kur’ani, 4:159).

Madam Sheria (Kitabu cha Sheria) ya Manabî wote waliotangulia kabla ya Mtume Muhammad (S.A.W.) zilibadilika, basi Yesu, atahukumu kulingana na Sheria za Uislamu.

[Footnote]" Jina la kodî inayotozwa kwa raia wasikuwe Waislamu kwa Serikali ya Kiislamu badala ya kuachiliwa kwao kutokana na utumishi wa kwenda vitani."
Imran, having said that there are more than seventy traditions concerning Jesus’ second coming, quotes one ḥadīth in full. It was possible to identify this as being found in al-Bukhārī (Book 4:657). Having explained that the tradition from Abū Hurayra discusses Jesus’ return, Imran leaves the text to be read and understood. The only interpretation given concerns which Book of Law Jesus will judge by and, in a footnote, an accurate definition of Jizya.

The use of ḥadīth to present the argument is to be noted, as non-Muslim readers would be unlikely to be aware of the authority that is given to them in Islam. Because they are the transmitted sayings of Muḥammad and as such, a strong tradition, one such as this is important in forming Islamic doctrine. This may indicate that the expected purpose of the tract is to inform Muslims, rather than for outreach.

The purpose of this section appears to be to show that Jesus has not died, that he is in Heaven with God, and will return to earth. Once here he will undertake various actions, judging those who have not realised the truth and submitted and become Muslims and breaking the crosses and killing pigs. Having done all these things, Jesus will then die.

The final reference is also to verse 159.

Therefore, that verse of the Qurʾān ([Al-Nisā'] 4:159) reminds us that, especially before the death of Jesus, all the Jews and the Christians would recognise that he is a true Prophet of Almighty God and His Slave. All mistaken conjectures concerning him would be lost afar before his death especially in this world of righteous conduct. (Imran [tract 1]:28)\(^61\)

This again emphasises that Jesus will die, and that all Jews and Christians will believe in Jesus, acknowledging him as a Prophet. This in turn means that if he is acknowledged as a Prophet he is not the Son of God.

---

\(^61\) Kwa hiyo, ile aya ya Kur'ani (4:159) inakumbusha kwamba, kabla ya kifo hasa cha Yesu, Wayahudi na Wakristo wote wangeitambua kuwa ni Nabii wa kwehi wa Mwenyezi Mungu na Mtumwa Wake. Dhana zote zilizokosewa kuhusu yeye zingelipotelea mbali kabla ya kifo chake hasa katika ulimwengu huu wa maadili.
Musa quotes verses 157-158 in full following an account of the attempts to arrest Jesus.

**THE PROPHET ÍSÁ WAS SAVED FROM THE INTRIGUES OF THOSE WHO WANTED TO KILL HIM**

The Prophet Ísá received news that the Jews had resolved to kill him and had quickly begun a plan to kill him. This was because they resented the spread of his good teaching and following. They saw that if this person lived longer their status would decrease and he would rule them. In order to ingratiate themselves to the Roman rulers they told them that indeed Jesus was very insolent in failing to respect the laws of the rulers and to pretend that he is he, and that there is nothing else making him be like this except that indeed he wants to be king.

The ruler believed these words of discord from those that hated Ísá. Therefore he feared for Palestine that it should not go from his hand. Now it is his work as a ruler to look for Ísá and Ísá was not visible because he hid himself when he heard this news that he is sought that he might be killed. He hid himself within the house of his disciples. One of his disciples was beguiled by receiving wealth, therefore he showed those people who were searching for him the place where he had hidden himself. Therefore the ruler was delighted and sent his soldiers to the place that the follower of Ísá had shown him, so that they might kill him there. So they went there where Ísá had hidden himself and one of them who was one of his followers was the leader. Suddenly they had reached the place.

Well then Almighty God wanted to save his Slave from the plots of his Betrayers. Therefore he changed the face of that leader of those rebels so that it was that of Ísá. Therefore those soldiers seized him and in a great uproar rushed him to the place of punishment. And there they nailed him to a tree they placed him on the cross that traitor was indeed given his reward and Ísá was saved. The Prophet Jesus hid himself and separated himself from this mix up, and even if those great betrayers said that: “We have killed the Messiah Ísá Son of Mary Apostle of God.”

(Continued on the next page)
In Juz’ 6 Sûra Al-Nisâ’ verses 157-158 Almighty God said:

We have killed the Messiah Ísâ Son of Mary, Apostle of God. Well they neither killed him nor crucified him rather they confused him with another person. And certainly those who differ from each other about the certainty (of killing him) the Prophet Ísâ, are in doubt. They have no certainty concerning this (that they truly killed the Prophet Ísâ as they claim) except that they follow only a surmise. And certainly they did not kill him. Rather Almighty God raised him up to himself, and Almighty God is victorious and wise.

(Musa [tract 4]:38-40)\(^{63}\)

Musa introduces the verses with an explanation of the events that led to the arrest and death on the cross of “the traitor” instead of Jesus. In his interpretation Musa uses an explanation that is found in classical tafsîr: It could well follow al-Ṭabarî who reports several different explanations of these verses.

Two words in the Swahili text need mentioning. Falastin does not appear in any dictionary; from the context it can be deduced that it means Palestine, and is a transliteration of the Arabic name, giving the use of F as there is no P in Arabic.\(^{64}\)

Jesus is referred to as God’s Mtumwa, which normally means slave, rather than Mtumishi (Servant) or Mtume (Apostle/Messenger). All these Nouns are derived from the Verb tuma, to send. It is possible that Mtumwa is being used in a sense of a Messenger who is ‘forcibly’ sent.

\(^{63}\) Katika Juzuu ya 6 ya Suratun-Nisa Aya ya 157-158 Mwenyezi Mungu amesema:


\(^{64}\) This can only be a tentative suggestion as B more often substitutes for P in Arabic.

Alavi quotes a part of the passage.

Possibly, following *Sūra Al-Nisā*, Muslims deny the truth of the Bible concerning the death of Jesus, his resurrection and his ascension:

“And they say: ‘We killed the Messiah ÝÏsā, son of Mary, Apostle of God,’ when they neither killed him nor crucified him, rather they were confused. And certainly those who are confused in this are together with doubts. They have no certainty about this, except they follow only a surmise. And for certain they did not kill him …’ ([*Al-Nisā*] 4:157-159).

(Alavi [tract 9]:26)

The verses are used to explain why Muslims deny the crucifixion, whilst stating that the Bible gives the true account of what happened.

[10] Iskander Jadeed Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa

Jadeed quotes verse 157 in relation to *Al-Mā‘ida* (5):116-117, and it was commented on together with other uses of that passage in section 8.3.3.
Verse 157 is quoted and verse 155 referred to in Masudi’s explanation of the Muslim view of the death of Christ.

Masudi attempts to deal with the Muslim teaching concerning the crucifixion, whilst acknowledging that the Aḥmadiyya have different and at times contradictory teachings.

Masudi’s testimony here is revealing of himself, but also of a key difference between Islam and Christianity, concerning prophets sent by God. For Masudi it is a realisation that to be prepared to die for faith is a thing to be respected. His understanding of the Islamic teaching on prophets is that God only chooses righteous people to be prophets, who are too good to die. Therefore, if someone is killed, they cannot have been sufficiently righteous, so they cannot have been chosen by God to be a prophet.
The passage is used as a part of Masudi’s on-going journey of discovery and the move from the Aḥmadiyya to Christianity; it continues with a quotation from Acts 2:22, 36, which is discussed in section 9.4.2.

The different tracts examine various aspects of the verses concerning Jesus’ death. Imran and Musa use classical *tafsîr*, whilst Imran also uses a *hadîth*. Imran’s emphasis is that Jesus did not die, rather that he ascended to heaven, whilst still alive, and that he will be recognised by Christians as a Prophet, rather than the Son of God. Musa relates the story of Jesus’ evasion of arrest, so allowing him not to be crucified. The Christian tracts make less use of the verses, mainly wanting to refute Muslim interpretation and teachings that deny the crucifixion.
9.4.2 Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36

22 “You that are Israelites, listen to what I have to say: Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with deeds of power, wonders, and signs that God did through him among you, as you yourselves know –

23 this man, handed over to you according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God, you crucified and killed by the hands of those outside the law.

36 Therefore let the entire house of Israel know with certainty that God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified.”

(New Revised Standard Version)

This passage is used in two tracts, one Muslim and one Christian.

[2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni  Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nika wa Muislamu

The tract quotes verse 36, Jesus’ first followers only knew him as “Good Teacher”.

The people who knew the lord Jesus more are those twelve followers of his who inherited his teaching from him. Christianity began with Jesus and later it came to his followers. Therefore, those who are more able to explain to us the words of truth are those followers of his to whom he entrusted the work of continuing the religion instead of him. When you read the Acts of the Apostles you will see that these followers of Jesus did not know anything about the Divinity or Personhood of Jesus in God. They recognised Jesus only as a Prophet of Almighty God, and it is because of this that they were accustomed to call him by the name of “Good Teacher”. After Jesus’ departure, we see that his followers preached to the children of Israel as follows:

ACTS 2:36 It is written:

“Then all the house of Israel should know that God made Jesus who you crucified to be Lord and Christ.”

The Disciples of Jesus teach us that God indeed made Jesus to be Lord and Christ. This teaching completely contradicts the faith of the religion of Christianity. The teaching of the disciples of Jesus show us that there is a God who is indeed Great and with ability in all things, and there is Jesus who it was necessary be made to be lord and Christ by that God. The teaching of the religion of Christianity of today teaches us that Jesus cannot be made by any essence to be lord and Christ because he is a person of God who has ability equal to the other persons. (Kanoni [tract 2]:6-7)

69 Watu ambao walikuwa wakimjua zaidi bwan a Yesu ni wale wafuasi wake thenashara ambao walirithi mafundisho yake kutoka kwake. Ukristo umaanza kwa Yesu na halafu ukaja kwa wafuasi wake. Hivyo, wanaweza kutueleza maneno ya ukweli zaidi ni wale wafuasi wake ambao aliwakabidhi kazi za kuendelea dini badala yake. Usomapo Matendo ya Matume utaona kwamba hawa wafuasi wa Yesu hawakuwa na habari zozote juu ya Uungu au Unafsi wa Yesu katika Mungu. Wao walikuwa wakintambua Yesu kama ni Nabii tu wa Mwenyezi Mungu, na ndio ya maana walizowea kwa kumwita kwa jina la “Mwalimu Mwema”. Baada ya Yesu kuondoka, tunawaona wafuasi wake wakiwahubiria wana wa Israeli kama ni ujumla:-

MATENDO 2:36 Imecandika:-

“Basi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue ya kwamba Mungu amemfanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulubisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.”


Mafundisho ya dini ya Kikristo ya leo yanatufundisha kwamba Yesu hawezi kuufanya kuwa bwana na Kristo kwa sababu yezi ni naasili ya Mungu aliye na uwezo saka saka na naasili nyetima.
Kanoni makes no specific reference concerning the statement in verse 36 that Jesus was crucified. However by saying “After Jesus’ departure, we see that his followers preached”, the tract follows Muslim understanding that Jesus had been taken up by God and not killed.70

The passage begins by stating that Jesus’ twelve followers were the ones who knew him best, yet they only recognised Jesus as a Prophet of God and not as Divine. This is deduced from the followers being accustomed to “call him by the name of ‘Good Teacher’”.

Verse 36 is then quoted in full, and it is said that the teaching of the early followers “that God indeed made Jesus to be Lord and Christ, completely contradicts the faith and religion of Christianity”. This seems to be an attempt to demonstrate that Jesus cannot himself be God, if God needed to make him Lord and Christ.

This is based on Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):3 and the idea that ‘that which is created cannot also be the creator’. If Jesus is a part of the Trinity, as Christians teach, he cannot be made, as he is the maker.

Kanoni leaves it to the reader to think through the implications of what he has written.

70 Raḩmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī in Izhār al-ḥaqiq refers to the whole of Acts 2, using it as an example of where the effect of miracles motivated people to follow someone, whilst in contrast the miracles in Matthew 27 following the crucifixion did not lead to any growth of numbers of followers (Raḩmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī 2003:154).
In a later section of the tract, Kanoni quotes verse 22 in order to further demonstrate that Jesus’ birth without a father is not sufficient to be taken as a sign of his divinity.

**TO BE BORN WITHOUT A FATHER IS ALSO NOT A SIGN OF DIVINITY**

One of the few signs that are brought by Christians concerning the Divinity of Jesus is that he was born without a father. I would like to remind you that Adam was born without father or mother. Adam was not suckled with milk by any person at all, nor did Adam experience childhood. So, who is it that was created in a more amazing way? Jesus or Adam? So, should we call Adam to be an essence of God because he was not born with a father and mother as we were born?

When we read the Bible, HEBREWS 7:3 we see that there was MELCHIZEDEK who had no father, no mother, no parents, no beginning of his days, nor end of his life, but he is likened to the Son of God.

If Adam was born without father or mother, likewise Melchizedek, what is so surprising about Jesus being born with only a mother?

Jesus was not God nor the second person of God because even his disciples confirm this thing by saying:

**ACTS 2:22**

“Children of Israel listen to these words: You yourselves know that Jesus of Nazareth was among you as a person that was witnessed to by God himself, by acts of great power, by miracles and by signs that God did by his hand.”

Following from this testimony that we have read here, it is difficult to agree that Jesus is not a Prophet rather that he is the second person of God.

These are the reasons that made me begin to have very many doubts concerning the truth of the teaching of the religion of Christianity.

(Kanoni [tract 2]:24)71

The opening sentence refers to Christians using Jesus’ being born without a father as a ‘sign’ of his divinity. This may refer to an incident in Muḥammad’s life, recorded by Ibn Ishāq,
when a deputation of Christians came to meet Muḥammad, and a dialogue ensued between the two faiths:

When the two divines spoke to him the apostle said to them, ‘Submit yourselves.’ They said, ‘We have submitted.’ He said: ‘You have not submitted, so submit.’ They said, ‘Nay, but we submitted before you.’ He said, ‘You lie. Your assertion that God has a son, your worship of the cross, and your eating pork hold you back from submission.’ They said, ‘But who is his father, Muḥammad?’ The apostle was silent and did not answer them. So God sent down concerning their words … (Ibn Isḥāq 1955:272).

The Christian leaders ask Muḥammad “who is Jesus’ father?”, leaving him silent. Christian theologians do not appear to have used this argument as a ‘proof’ regarding Jesus’ divinity.72

The passage begins by comparing Adam with Jesus, in order to demonstrate that Adam’s origins are even more unusual than those of Jesus.

A verse from the Bible is cited but not quoted. Concerning Melchizedek:

Without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God, he remains a priest forever (Hebrews 7:3). (New Revised Standard Version)

Apart from chapter seven of Hebrews, Melchizedek is mentioned in Genesis 14:18 and Psalm 110:4. William Lane describes Hebrews 7:1-10 as “a homiletical midrash in which the

72 Various of the Early Church Fathers wrote about the question of who Jesus’ father was. Jewish antagonists had claimed that Jesus’ father was a Roman soldier. Examples of responses are found in:
[1] Irenaeus (ca. 185) In Adversus Haereses Book IV 6,7 refers to “no one knowing the Father”, writing against Gnosticism.
He, therefore who was known, was not a different being from Him who declared, ‘No man knoweth the Father,’ but one and the same, the Father making all things subject to Him; while He received testimony from all that He was very [true] man, and that He was very [true] God, from the Father, from the Spirit, from angels, from the creation itself, from men, from apostate spirits and demons, from the enemy, and last of all, from death itself. AH IV, 6,7 (Irenaeus 1868).
[2] Origen (ca. 185-254) In Contra Celsum Book I 28, 29 defends Jesus against the ‘caluminators’ who claim that Jesus: “invented his birth from a virgin.” [and was] “born in a certain Jewish village, of a poor woman of the country, who gained her subsistence by spinning, and who was turned out of doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was convicted of adultery: that after being driven away by her husband, and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a God” (Origen Contra Celsum Book I:28).
exposition of Scripture determines the structure of the argument” (Lane 1991:158). The two Old Testament references have been taken together, as proof, to make the deductions given in the Hebrews passage. The tract gives the origins of Melchizedek, as given in Hebrews, including his being likened to the Son of God, but omitting any reference to being a priest.

The tract then asks “If Adam was born without father or mother, likewise Melchizedek, what is so surprising about Jesus being born with only a mother?” in order to make the reader consider what was so special about Jesus.

Acts 2:22 is then quoted in full in order to show that the miracles and signs that Jesus performed were because they were signs that God did “by his hand”. This is used to show that Jesus was a Prophet and not the second person of the Trinity, because any action that he did was because God permitted it.

Kanoni uses these reasons to explain why he began to have doubts about “the truth of the teaching of the religion of Christianity”.

---

Lane further explains: “The unit exhibits five characteristics of this distinctive form: (1) the point of departure for interpretation is the OT text; (2) the exposition is homiletical in character; (3) the writer is attentive to the analysis of the details of the text; (4) the text is made relevant to the current situation through interpretation; and (5) the point of interest is the narrative account, not merely the characters themselves” (Lane 1991:158).
Masudi uses the verses twice; in the first instance, he quotes verses 22, 23 and 36 as he reports using them at a meeting in the mosque.74

“If we have not yet believed, what should we say concerning the Holy Spirit who is named in the book of the Acts of the Apostles? One disciple of Jesus who was called Peter had already denied Jesus three times. But after being being descended on by the power of the Holy Spirit, he preached daringly in the midst of the crowd of people saying,

“Oh you people of Israel listen to these words. Jesus of Nazareth, a person who was attested among you by God with wonderful miracles and signs, that God performed by his hand amongst you … He … you crucified him by the hands of bad people, you killed him … Then the whole house of Israel should know surely that God has made this Jesus whom you crucified to be Lord and Christ” (Acts of the Apostles 2:22, 23, 36).

I was surprised at the audacity that I had among them to say all these words. And when I held that Bible to read it, I noticed the power of God working there in the mosque that evening. I took a breath and waited for a time. So, what words should I again say? I saw that it was necessary that I should say one final word. “After hearing all these words my brethren, why should we continue to listen to wrong teaching and discuss matters that have no truth within them?” (Masudi [tract 12]:48)75

Masudi does not use the passage to defend the crucifixion, rather as a defence as to the identity of the Holy Spirit and to attack the Aḥmadiyya for their belief in Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad.

Putting the passage into context in the tract, it comes at the end of a chapter which relates a meeting at the mosque in Masudi’s home town, Rabwah, in 1969. A speaker discussed Muhammad in the various books of the Bible.76 In the way the speaker used verses, Masudi

---

74 Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.12.
75 “Kama bado hatujaamini, je, tutasemaje juu ya Roho Mtakatifu anayetajwa katika kitabu cha Matendo ya mitume? Mwanafunzi mmoja wa Yesu aliyetwa Petro aliwahi kumkana Yesu mara tatu. Lakini baada ya kushukiwa na nguvu za Roho Mtakatifu, alihubiri kwa ujasiri katikati ya umati wa watu akipima,

“Enyi watu wa Israeli sikilizeni maneno haya. Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyeuhitishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miqiza na ajabu na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake katyenu … Yeye … Mksusulubisha kwa mikono ya watu wabaya, mkamwua … Basi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kwamba Mungu anemfanya Yesu huyo nilyemsulubisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo” (Matendo ya Mitume 2:22, 23, 36).


“Baada ya kusikia maneno haya yote ndugu zangu, kwa nini tunaelele kuyasikiliza mafundisho yaliyapotoka na kujadiliana mambo ambayo hayana ukweli ndani yake?”

76 This includes Deuteronomy 18:18, and John 14:16 which are discussed in sections 10.1.2 and 10.1.4.
felt that Muhammad was being identified as the Holy Spirit, disturbing Masudi. Masudi, though still a member of the Ahmadiyya, felt that he must respond to the speaker. Commenting on the use of the Bible passages that the speaker had used, Masudi reminds the crowd that their own books refer to their founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) as the Holy Spirit.

Masudi uses the verses from Acts as an illustration of how Peter had been empowered by the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost to speak these words. Masudi felt he was being ‘empowered’ by God as he spoke, and was prepared to challenge the “wrong teaching” that they had heard the speaker give.

The chapter concludes with an attack on Mirza Ghulam Ahmad:

What is the truth that we are to believe? I hear it said that our founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, has come in the form of Christ. If this is so, then sirs, I dare to ask what happened to those signs that are mentioned in the Bible? … Obviously there are very few people in the world that know of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. According to us Ahmadis he was supposed to bring all Christians to become Muslims before he died. But has it happened? (Masood 1986:75-76)\textsuperscript{77}

After this, he was aware of the crowds closing in on him and he collapsed. In the next chapter he flees for his life.

The second use of the verses comes at the end of the tract, when verses 22 and 36 are quoted, after a section on Al-Nisā' (4):157, which was examined previously in section 9.4.1 discussing the death of Jesus.

\textsuperscript{77} This quotation has been taken from the English version of the tract, rather than the Swahili.
And so what is the truth about the death of Jesus? I asked myself. Certainly a correct answer is there in the Bible; the Bible that many Muslims do not believe but at the same time they use to defend their arguments. The correct answer is in the book of the Acts of the Apostles 2:22, 36:

“Oh you men of Israel, listen to these words … let all the house of Israel know with certainty that God made this Jesus whom you crucified to be Lord and Christ.”

I know that many Muslims also do not agree with this passage. Others say that it was Judas Iscariot who was crucified instead of Jesus. Others say that it was Simon Cyrene. But I knew it is not possible that it was like that. If it is true that it was Judas Iscariot then it necessary that God made his face to be like that of Jesus so that people should see him and recognise him as Jesus. And this then, is it not deception of the greatest sort? Why did not Judas cry out? So, is God able to be a liar to the extent of fooling people and to commit a deception of this sort? It is not possible even slightly! I was unable to agree with such ideas. (Masudi [tract 12]:92-93)\(^{78}\)

Masudi uses the verses from Acts, specifically the reference to Jesus’ crucifixion, to respond to \textit{Al-Nisā’} (4):157. He shows that he is aware that “many Muslims do not agree with this passage”. This seems to be an acknowledgment of the difference between Ḥaḍāmiyya, who say that Jesus was put on the cross, and Sunnī Muslims who deny it.

Simon Cyrene and Judas Iscariot are named as the ones that are suggested to have been crucified, rather than Jesus. Simon Cyrene is named here, further explanation is given later in the chapter.\(^{79}\)

Judas Iscariot, as a possible substitute, is examined in more detail. Masudi shows his knowledge of the idea, that Judas’s “face was made to be like that of Jesus”, in order that he would be arrested and crucified instead.

\(^{78}\) Na je ni habari ipi ni ya kweli juu ya kifo cha Yesu? nilijuliza. Hakika jibu sahihi lipo kwenye Biblia; Biblia ambayo Waislamu wengi hawamimia lakini wakati huo huo huitumia kutetea hoja zao. Jibu sahihi lipo katika kitabu cha Matendo ya Mitendo ya Mitune 2:22, 36:

“Enyi waume wa Israeli, sikilizeni maneno haya … nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kuwa Mungu amemfanya Yesu huyo mliyensulibisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.”


\(^{79}\) Simon Cyrene is mentioned in Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21 and Luke 23:26 as being forced to carry the cross for Jesus. Masudi explains that it is suggested that Simon was crucified instead of Jesus.
Masudi questions the events, Would God do such a thing? Is God a liar? Why did Judas not cry out? Concerning the last reason, it possibly indicates that Masudi was not aware of *The Gospel of Barnabas*, as in Chapters 216 and 217 Judas does cry out.

This passage comes near the end of the tract and is an example of how Masudi is using his testimony of questions and doubts to enable his readers to question what they have also been taught as true.

Neither of the tracts using these verses makes direct use of them. Kanoni uses it to question Jesus’ origins, whilst Masudi uses it to attack Ahmadiyya teaching on the Holy Spirit, as well as their view on the crucifixion of Jesus.
**Philippians 2:5-8**

5 Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus,
6 who, though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited,
7 but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness. And being found in human form,
8 he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death – even death on a cross.

*(New Revised Standard Version)*

This passage is used three times, by one Muslim tract and two Christian tracts.

**[5] Fundi Musa Ngariba & Mohammed Ali Kawemba *UIslam Katika Biblia***

Ngariba and Kawemba quote verses 5-7 as part of a series of Bible references which attack Paul’s claim to be an apostle.

**PAUL**

Paul was not one of the Companions of Jesus. He greatly persecuted Jesus in his time. Four years after the departure of Jesus, Paul claimed to have seen Jesus in a dream and that he wanted him to go and preach to those who were not Jews. Here again Paul claimed the Apostleship of the people of the Nations.

Paul in Romans 11:13

“But I say to you, you people of the Nations. Then, inasmuch as I am an apostle for the people of the Nations, do I glorify the ministry that is mine?”

Paul in 1 Corinthians 2:1-2

“Then, my brethren, when I came to you, I did not come to preach the secrets of God by eloquence of words, nor by wisdom. For I decided to know nothing amongst you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified.”

Paul in Philippians 2:5-7

“Let this desire be within you that was also in Christ Jesus; though he was initially in the form of God, he did not regard equality with God as a thing to hold onto; rather he made himself without glory, he took the form of a slave, he had the form of a human.”

*(Continued on next page)*
Paul says in [1] Timothy 3:14-16
“I am writing these instructions to you in the hope that I shall come to you soon. But if I am delayed, you may know how one ought to behave in the household of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth. Without any doubt, the mystery of our religious devotion is great.

In Titus 2:13-14
“While we wait for the blessed hope and the manifestation of the glory of Christ Jesus, our great God and Saviour; he it is who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all disobedience, and purify for himself a people of his own, who are zealous for good deeds.”

If Paul calls Jesus ‘Great God’ what will he call his Father who is in heaven? Well let us see what Jesus says:-

John 14:28
“You heard me say to you, ‘I am going to my place, and again I am coming to you.’ If you loved me, you would rejoice that I am going to the Father, because the Father is greater than I.”

This shows that Jesus was born by the command of Almighty God like any other creature and he will die in order to return to Almighty God like other humans.

(Ngariba & Kawemba [tract 5]:8-10)

The passage begins with “Paulo hakuwa mmoja katika Masahaba wa Yesu” (Paul was not one of the Companions of Jesus). Ngariba and Kawemba’s use of Masahaba for Jesus’ disciples is to be noted; this may be a deliberate use of parallelism, as it is usually used to refer to the Companions of Muhammad, from the Arabic Ṣahāba, the plural of șāhib. The Swahilised form has taken the Arabic plural as its singular form, assigned it as a ji-/ma- class noun, as it is regarded as a title, whilst taking its agreements from the personal class m-/wa- (Ashton 1984:89).

---

“Nakuandikia hayo nikitaraji kuja kwako hivi karibu. Lakini nikikawia, upate kujua jinsi iwapasavyo watu kuenenda katika nyumba ya Mungu iliyonanza la Mungu aliyahisi hai, nguzo na msingi wa kweli. Na [bila] shaka siri ya utauwa ni kuu.”

Katika Tito 2:13-14
“Tukilitazamia tumaini lenye baraka na mafunzo ya utukufu wa Kristo Yesu, Mungu mkau na Mwokozi wetu; ambaye alijitaka naishi yake kwa ajili yetu, ili atukomboe na maasi yote, kujisafisha watu wawe miliki yake mwenyewe, wale walinga na juhudi katika mapendo mema.”

Ikiwa Paulo anamwita Yesu ‘Mungu Mkubwa’ jee [sic] hayo Baba yake aliyekoe mbunguni atamwita vipi? Hebu tuangalie Yesu anasemaje:-

Yohana 14:28
“Mlisikia ya kwamba mimi nalivaambia, Naenda zangu, tena naja kwenu. Kama mngalinipenda, mngalifuura kwa sahabu naenda kwa Baba; kwa maaana Baba ni mkuu kuliko mimi.”

Hii inaonyesha kuwa Yesu alizaliwa kwa amri ya Mwenyezi Mungu kama kimbe chochote kile kingine na atakufa ili kurejea kwa Mwenyezi Mungu kama binaadamu wengine.

82 Sahaba does not appear in Krapf (1882:320), Madan (1903:331), Johnson (1939:438) or Höftmann and Herms (2005:291), though they have the related word, sahibu (friend). Bosha (1993:179) and Mulokozi (2001) give Sahaba (singular), Masahaba (plural) defined as “close followers of Prophet Muhammad” (Mulokozi 2001:283).
The introductory paragraph rejects Paul’s claim to be an apostle. This is because Paul had “greatly persecuted Jesus in his time” and his mission to be an “Apostle to the Nations” came to him from Jesus “in a dream”. The tract writers’ use of these statements, all of which are contained in the bible passages quoted, is such that the phrases appear to be used in such a way so as to imply something that is not actually correct.\(^{83}\)

The verses from Philippians are used in the sequence of Pauline passages, which focus on Paul’s role as an ‘apostle’, a title which the authors of the tract dispute that he has the right to use. These verses from Philippians appear to be quoted because, being written by Paul, they are seen as stating how Jesus was portrayed by Paul, which, the tract writers argue, is different from what Jesus himself said. This contrast is shown by the use of John 24:28, where Jesus says “the Father is greater than I”. The tract makes clear its purpose by explaining that all the actions of Jesus’ life are at God’s command, so he himself cannot be God.

This section is followed by a passage using Matthew 15:21-28, which is discussed in section 9.2.

It is possible to reflect as to how this material would appear in a *mhadhara*, where the power of the presentation could disguise inconsistencies which are found in the printed text.

---

\(^{83}\) It is not known that Paul directly persecuted Jesus, but he did participate in the persecution of Jesus’ followers (Acts 7:58-8:3). Paul’s conversion on the road to Damascus included a vision of Jesus (Acts 9:1-6) and when Paul was on his second missionary journey, in Asia Minor (Turkey), already preaching to non-Jews, he had a dream of a ‘Man from Macedonia’ calling him to cross over to bring the message to Europe (Acts 16:9-10).
[15] TELM *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

Only verse 8 is presented, together with *Al `Imrân* (3):55, set in parallel.

**THE DEATH OF JESUS**

_Sūra No. 3 Al `Imrân:55_

(Remember) Almighty God when he said: “Oh `Īsā! I will complete your time to live (those enemies will not kill you). And I will bring you to me, and I will cleanse you from those who blasphemed, (they will not be able to hurt you) and I will raise up those who followed you, above those who blasphemed.”

Philippians 2:8

Again, being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death, even, death on a cross.

(TEL M *Isa* [tract 15]:4)\(^{84}\)

The heading “The Death of Jesus” is the only guide as to why the verses appear in the tract.

The writers seem to be using the Qur’ānic verse to indicate that God has told Jesus that he has a finite time to live, implying that he will die, then the verse from Philippians to show that Jesus died on a cross, that is, he was crucified.

[16] TELM *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*

This tract uses the verses twice; in the first instance verses 6-8 are quoted.

What occurred in particular?

The Gospel when it talks of Jesus as it was written in Philippians 2:6-8 says:

“Though he was initially in the form of God, he did not regard equality with God as a thing to hold onto; rather he made himself without glory, he took the form of a slave, he had the likeness of a human: and being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death, even, death on a cross.”\(^{85}\)

(Continued on the next page)

---

\(^{84}\) *KIFO CHA YESU*

_Sūra No. 3 Aali-Imran:55_

(Kumbukeini) Mwenyezi Mungu aliposema: “Ewe Isa! Mimi nitakutimizia muda wako wa kuishi (hawatakuua hao maadui). Na nitakuletwa kwangu, na nitakutakasa na wale waliokufuru, (hawataweza kukuudhuru) na nitawaweka wale waliokufuata, juu ya wale waliokufuru.”

_Wafilipi 2:8_

Tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyekeza akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.

\(^{85}\) *Ni Nini Hasa Lililotendeka?*

_Injili inapozungumzwa juu ya Yesu kama ilivyoandikwa katika Wafilipi 2:6-8 inasema:*

“Yeye mwanzo aliokuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, naye hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa ni kitu cha kushikamana nacho; bali alijifanya kuwa hana utukufu, akitwaa namna ya mtumwa, akawa ana mfano wa wanadamu; tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyekeza akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.”

(Continued on the next page)
The Qur’ân also agrees with this truth that before Jesus Christ had come here to earth and to take on a form of a slave (a human body) he was in the state (the form) of God – that is his word.\textsuperscript{86} (TELM Neno [tract 16]:7-8)

It begins by asking a question as to what specifically happened. The verses from Philippians are introduced as being the Gospel, here Gospel is used to refer to the entire New Testament, perhaps to avoid reference to Paul. Three verses are quoted, which make it clear that the question refers to when Jesus was on earth. That having been “in the form of God”, Jesus came to earth and took on the “likeness of a human”, he then “became obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross”.

The verses are used to show that the Qur’ân also makes similar claims about Jesus. In particular certain phrases are used: namna ya mtumwa (form of a slave) used in the verse and in the commentary, which is revealed to mean the human body; sawa na Mungu (equality with God) used in the verse is paralleled with hali ya (umbo la) Mungu (the state of (form of) God) used in the commentary and revealed to mean neno lake (his word). The passage is followed by Al-Nisâ’(4):171, which is discussed in section 9.4.1.

The tract’s use of the verses is not clear exegesis; the phrases that are emphasised give a distinct slant, giving an interpretation that follows neither the Bible nor the Qur’ân.

In the second instance, the tract quotes verse 8 in parallel with three other passages, from the Bible and the Qur’ân.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{86} Kurani pia inakubaliana na ukweli huu kuwa kabla Yesu Kristo hajafika hapa duniani na kutwaa namna ya mtumwa (mwili wa kibinadamu) alikuwa katika hali ya (umbo la) Mungu – yaani neno lake.

\textsuperscript{87} This passage is shown in Figure 7.16.
HE CAME FOR THE PURPOSE OF DYING

“By a perversion of justice he was taken away; … For he was cut off from the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people. They made his grave with the wicked and the rich in his death.”
(Isaiah 53:8-9)

“… again, being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death, even, death on a cross.”
(Philippians 2:8)

“Ìsa at the time of his childhood spoke of his death: “So Peace is on me the day I was born and the day that I shall die and the Day that I shall be raised up to life.”
Sûra 19:33 Maryam.

“(Remember) Almighty God when he said: Oh ‘Isî? I will complete your time to live … And bring you to be with me.”
Sûra 3:55 Āl ‘Imrân.

(TELM Neno [tract 16]:18)88

The title “He came for the purpose of dying” reveals why these different verses have been quoted. They all refer to death, three of the verses specifically to the death of Jesus. The Isaiah passage is part of a prophecy about the ‘suffering servant’, which is understood by Christians to refer to Jesus. The two Qur’ânic passages have been chosen because they refer to Jesus’ death, “the day that I die” (Maryam 19:33) and God said “I will complete your time to live” (Āl ‘Imrân (3):55). These are placed with verse 8 which shows Jesus’ willingness to die, even on the cross.

Ngariba and Kawemba make no direct reference to its contents, using it as part of a concerted attack on Paul. The two TELM tracts relate it to Jesus’ self-giving on the cross and TELM Neno gives a slanted interpretation of the verses’ meaning.

88 ALIKUJA KWA KUSUDI LA KUFA

“Kwa kuonewa na kuhukumiwa aliondolewa; … Maana amekatiliwa mbali na nchi ya walia hai, alipigwa kwa sababu ya makosa ya watu wangu. Wakamfanyia kaburi pamoja na wabaya na matajiri katika kuwa kwake.” (Isaya 53:8-9)

“… tena alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyekeze akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.” (Wafilipi 2:8)

“Isa kwa wakati wa utoto wake aliongea juu ya kifo chake: “Na amani iko juu yangu siku niliyozaliwa na siku nitakayokuwa na siku nitakayofululiwa kuwa hai.” Sura 19:33 Maryam.

10.1 JESUS AND MUḤAMMAD

10.1.1 Who is a Prophet like Moses, Jesus or Muḥammad?

Traditionally, Moses is seen as the author of the first five books of the Old Testament, known as the Ṭōrāh (Hebrew: law) or Pentateuch (Greek: five volumed). Both Christians and Muslims accept the Ṭōrāh (Arabic: tawrāt) as scripture.¹

Christians acknowledge Moses as the leader of the Children of Israel, who brought them out of slavery in Egypt and led them for forty years through the wilderness, following a pillar of cloud, to the Promised Land. Moses was also the law-giver, who received the Ten Commandments from God on Mount Sinai (Exodus 20). Moses can be seen as having the marks of the ideal prophet, constituting a standard of comparison for all future prophets (Deuteronomy 18:15-19).²

Muslims acknowledge Moses (Arabic Mūsā) as the most prominent pre-Islamic prophet in the Qurʾān, which mentions his name 136 times (Schöck 2003:419). Moses is seen as an important figure because of his actions as a leader of his people. Moses is called kalīmuʾllāḥ (the one to whom God spoke directly) (Bewley 1998:84). Cornelia Schöck says of Moses that: “The essential feature of the allusions to the past is a typological interpretation of the earlier narratives, by which the biography of Moses is seen in the light of the biography of Muḥammad” (Schöck 2003:419).³

¹ See Clements (1990) for the Christian view of the Pentateuch (Ṭōrāḥ) and Camilla Adang (2004) for a Muslim understanding of the tawrāt.
² See Johnstone (1990) for more information concerning Christian understanding of Moses.
³ See C. Schöck (2003) for the Qurʾānic view of Moses.
Only one passage of scripture is examined for this theme, Deuteronomy 18:16-20. Verse 18a says: “I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people”. The interpretation of this has been contentious.

It was initially understood, by Jews, to mean that God would raise up a succession of true prophets among Israel. With time, it came to be understood as referring to one specific prophet, a second Moses. In John 1:21, John the Baptist is asked “are you the expected Prophet?”, showing the expectations present amongst Jews of the time. Early Christians identified this expected Prophet with Jesus, whom they saw as the fulfilment of so many Old Testament predictions and promises. Christians see Jesus as the perfect embodiment of God’s revelation, surpassing earlier prophets and the need for any other prophet (Payne 1985:112f).

Muslims understand the verse to show that Moses was clearly announcing that Muḥammad would be the prophet like him, whom God would raise up. The theme examines how the tracts use this passage of scripture to present their point of view and to respond to the other opinion as to whether Jesus or Muḥammad is a prophet like Moses.

10.1.2 Deuteronomy 18:16-20

16 This is what you requested of the LORD your God at Horeb on the day of the assembly when you said: “If I hear the voice of the LORD my God any more, or ever again see this great fire, I will die.”
17 Then the LORD replied to me: “They are right in what they have said.
18 I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put my words in the mouth of the prophet, who shall speak to them everything that I command.
19 Anyone who does not heed the words that the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself will hold accountable.
20 But any prophet who speaks in the name of other gods, or who presumes to speak in my name a word that I have not commanded the prophet to speak – that prophet shall die.”

(New Revised Standard Version)

This passage is used in three tracts, two Muslim and one Christian.
The verses are quoted three times in the tract, fully in the first instance, as an introduction to an extended discourse, concerning who is referred to as the prophet like Moses.

By the mouth of Prophet Moses (a.s.) Almighty God promised to bring his message through another Prophet who will be the same as Moses himself. Following from this promise the children of Israel waited for another Prophet who would be the same as Moses. Because it is written:

DEUTERONOMY 18:16-20 It is written:-

“As you desired of the LORD, your God, there at Horeb, on the day of meeting, you said, I should not hear again the voice of the LORD, my God, nor should I see again this great fire, or I will die. The LORD told me, They have done well to speak as they have spoken. I will raise up for them another prophet from among their people someone like you, and I will place my words in his mouth, and he will tell them all that I will command. Even so, a person who does not listen to my words that he will say in my name, I will account for him. But the prophet that will say words to satisfy himself in my name, that I did not command him to say, or who speaks in the name of other gods, that prophet will die.”

So that we can investigate these words with close attention, well then let us try to set this out in parts and to examine each part. First, the coming of a Prophet; secondly, it is in whose womb that this Prophet will be born; thirdly, this Prophet will be the same as Prophet Moses; fourthly, this Prophet will speak by the ability of God and finally, this Prophet or any other false Prophet is unable to live rather it is necessary that he should die immediately.

Now let us begin to examine each part of the words as we have set out above:

(1) THE COMING OF A PROPHET: Almighty God promises to bring a Prophet. But, which Prophet is this Prophet? In whatever way this prophet cannot be prophet ïÏsÁ (Jesus) because the Christians themselves recognise and believe that Jesus is not a prophet rather they say that he is the son of God who is the second person of God. Now I ask you my reader consider yourself and recognise this prophet is who! I say that for the testimony that we will read, this prophet is not another rather it is the prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.)

(Continued on next page)
(2) IN WHICH WOMB WILL THIS PROPHET BE BORN? The Bible tells us that this Prophet will come from the womb of the kin of the children of Israel. As I have already said this prophet cannot be Jesus because first of all Christians say that Jesus is not a prophet. Secondly, this prophet again cannot be Jesus because Jesus came from the womb of the children of Israel themselves and not from the womb of the kin of the children of Israel.

The kin of Ishmael son of Abraham who was borne by his female slave the Egyptian is indeed the kin of Isaac who is also the son of Abraham who was borne by his wife called Sarai. The family of Isaac is indeed the family of the children of Israel. So, this prophet who was foretold is that who was born in the family of Ishmael the kin of Isaac.

The Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) is of the family of Ishmael. The descendents of Ishmael are indeed the Arabs; and the children of Jacob son of Isaac are the Israelites. And in the family of Ishmael there is no other prophet at all that was born apart from Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) HIMSELF ALONE. So this prophet is no other but is prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.).

(3) THIS PROPHET WILL BE THE SAME AS PROPHET MOSES (S.A.W.): As I have already said before, Jesus could not be referred to by these words because Jesus says that he is not a prophet. Secondly it is said that this prophet will be the same as Moses. Now come then let us try to examine some of the qualifications of those three so that we can see who it is between Muhammad and Jesus who is similar to Moses?:-

(a) Prophet Moses (a.s.) was born with a father and mother. Prophet Muhammad (a.s.) was born with a father and mother; But Prophet ÏSa (a.s.) does not resemble Moses in his birth because he was born with only a mother and without a father. Therefore, in this comparison it is only Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) that is equal with Prophet Moses (a.s.).

(b) Prophet Moses (a.s.) was married and had children. Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) was married and had children; but Prophet ÏSa (a.s.) did not marry nor did he have children. Therefore it is only prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) who compares to Prophet Moses (a.s.) in this matter.5

(Continued on next page)

5 (2) NI KATIKA MATUMBO YAPI NABII HUYU ATAZALIWA? Biblia inatuambia kwamba Nabii huyu atatokea katika matumbo ya ndugu wa wana wa Israeli. Kama nilivyokwisha kusema, nabii huyu hawezi kuwa Yesu kwa sababu ya kwanzu wakristo wanawakea kuwa Yesu siyo nabii. Pili, nabii huyu hawezi tena kuwa Yesu kwa sababu Yesu alitokea katika matumbo ya wana wa Israeli wenye na wala siyo katika matumbo ya ndugu za wana wa Israeli.

Nabii ya Ismail mwana wa Ibrahim aliyemzaa kwa mjakazi wake Mmisri ndiye ndugu wa Isaka ambaye naye pia ni mwana wa Ibrahim aliyemzaa kwa mke wake aitwae Sarai. Ukoo wa Isaka ndio ukoo wa wana wa Israeli. Hivyo, nabii huyu aliyebashiriwa ni yule aliyezaliwa katika ukoo wa Ismail ndugu wake na Isaka.

Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) ni wa wana wa Ismail. Wazao wa Ismail ndio Waaarabu; na watoto wa Yakobo mwana wa Isaka ni Waisraeli. Na katika ukoo wa Ismail hakuna nabii mwengine yoyote aliyezaliwa isipokuwa Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) PEKE YAKE. Hivyo nabii huyu siye mwingine bali ni nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.).

(3) NABII HUYU ATAKUWA SAWA NA NABII MUSA (A.S.): Kama nilivyokwisha kusema mbeleni, Yesu hawezi kuhusika na maneno haya kwa sababu Yesu anasemwa kwamba yeye siyo nabii. Pili nabii huyu inasemekana atakuwa sana na Musa. Sasa hebu tajaribu kuzichungua baadhi ya sifa za watatu hawa tapinge kusoma ni yufu kati ya Muhammad na Yesu anayefanana na Musa?:-

(a) Nabii Musa (a.s.) alizaliwa na baba na mama. Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) alizaliwa na baba na mama; Lakini Nabii Isa (a.s.) haifanani na Musa kwa kuzaliwa kwani yezi alizaliwa na mama tu bila ya baba. Hivyo, katika usawa huu ni Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) tu ndiye aliye sava na nabii Musa (a.s.)

(b) Nabii Musa (a.s.) aloia na alipata watoto. Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) aloia na alipata watoto; lakini Nabii Isa (a.s.) hakua wala hakupata watoto. Hivyo ni nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) tu ndiye anayefanana na Nabii Musa (a.s.)

(Continued on next page)
(c) Prophet Moses (a.s.) was commanded to fight with his enemies to take booty. Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) likewise was commanded to fight with his enemies and to take booty. But, Prophet 'Isa (a.s.) was not commanded to fight with his enemies and to take booty. Therefore it is only Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) that compares to Prophet Moses (a.s.) in this matter.

(d) The laws of Prophet Moses prohibit the eating of the meat of pigs and meat that has not been slaughtered by cutting the throat and also the drinking of beer. Likewise the laws of Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) prohibit the eating of the meat of pigs and meat that has not been slaughtered by cutting the throat and also the drinking of beer. But the laws of Prophet 'Isa (a.s.) do not prohibit any of these. Therefore it is only Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) who compares to Prophet Moses (a.s.) in this matter.

(e) Prophet Moses (a.s.) and Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) both died in their beds. Prophet 'Isa (a.s.) according to the teaching of the religion of Christianity, died on the cross. Therefore in these signs it is only prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) who compares with Prophet Moses (a.s.).

(4) THIS PROPHET WILL SPEAK BY THE POWER OF GOD: This Prophet cannot be Jesus because to compare the Christian faith, Jesus was like the second person of God, he had his own personal ability to do anything without the help of any other person at all. But, Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) did all his work of apostleship by the explanations that he received from Almighty God. Therefore this prophet cannot be Jesus but is Muhammad (s.a.w.)

(5) IT IS NECESSARY THAT A FALSE PROPHET WILL DIE: - If you read the life of Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.) you will see that there is no other prophet at all who had troubles, doubts and many threats like prophet Muhammad. The Quraysh his relatives wanted to kill him many times, but Almighty God saved him from all these problems. The Apostle died in his bed on 8th June 632 when he was the age of 63 years. This is sufficient evidence that he was an Apostle of justice and if only he would have been a false Apostle no doubt he would have died immediately by being killed. 6

(Continued on next page)
Because of the truth of his prophethood, Muḥammad (s.a.w.) was able to live for the period of 22 and a half years from the time when he received his commission until the date of his death. Therefore, the words of Almighty God himself concerning the false Prophets give verification of the justice of the Apostolate of Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.).

(Kanoni [tract 2]:73-76)

This extended discourse, based on the verses in Deuteronomy, reflects the style and content found in classical tafsīr. Camilla Adang cites these verses as being “invoked as testimonies to Muḥammad” (Adang 1996:264) in six of the works studied by her.⁷ Adang gives an example of the way the verses were interpreted, quoting a passage from Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (828-889), Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa (The Proofs of Prophethood):

And he [Ibn Qutayba] said: Among his signs in the Torah is that God says [...] to Moses, in the fifth book: “I will raise up for the children of Israel a prophet from among their brethren like you, and I will put My words in his mouth” (Deut. 18:18). Now, who are these “brethren” of the Israelites if not the descendents of Ishmael? In the same way, one would say: Bakr and Taghlib are both sons of Wā’il, hence Taghlib is Bakr’s brother, and the descendants of Taghlib are the descendents of Bakr. This goes back to the fact that the two fathers are brothers. And if they say that this prophet whom God promised to raise up is himself from among the Israelites, because the Israelites are the brethren of the Israelites, the Torah proves them to be liars, and sound reasoning also proves them wrong, for it is said in the Torah that “there arose not a prophet among the Israelites, like Moses” (Deut. 34:10), and as for sound reasoning: if He had meant to say “I will raise up for them a prophet from among themselves, like Moses”, He would have said “I will raise up for them a prophet from among themselves, like Moses”, and not “from among their brethren” (Adang 1996:269).

This shows that the interpretation centres on who can be understood as ‘brethren’.

Another example can be found in Kitāb Masālik an-Naʿār (Book of Routes of Reasoning) by Saʿīd ibn Hasan (fourteenth century), a convert from Judaism, who lived in Alexandria. Ibn Ḥasan uses many ‘proof’ texts in order to demonstrate the truth of Islam including Deuteronomy 18:18, about which he says:

---

⁷ Kwa sababu ya ukweli wa unabii wake, Muhammad (s.a.w.) aliweza kuishi kwa muda wa miaka 22 na nusu kuanzia tarehe ya kujepwa kwake utume mpaka tarehe ya kufa kwake. Hivyo, maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu mwenyewe jiu ya Manabii ya bandia yanatwa utuburisho wa haki jiu ya Utume wa Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.).

⁸ The works Adang lists as using Deuteronomy 18:18ff are: Ibn Layth, Risāla (Letter to Constantine VI); ‘Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarā, Din wa Dawla (The Book of Religion and Empire); Ibn Qutayba, Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa (The Proofs of Prophethood); Al-Birūnī Al-ʾāthār al-bāqiyya ʿan al-qurūn al khāliya (The Vestiges of Past Centuries); Ibn Ḥazm, Al-ʿusūl wa l-furūʿ (The Roots and Branches) and Kitāb al-ʾiṣāf fī ʾl-mīlaḥ wa ʾl-abwāʾl-miḥal (Book of Opinions on Religions, Sects and Heresies) (Adang 1996:264).
Another indication of his prophetic office is an explicit passage in the fifth book of the Torah. God spoke to Moses saying: We will send unto you a prophet from your kindred, of the children of your brother Ishmael, in whose mouth I will put my speech (Weston 1903:362-363).

In order to justify the identification of Muhammad as a ‘prophet like Moses’, Ishmael, considered to be the ancestor of all Arabs, is pointed out as being the son of Abraham.

The tract makes five points, based on the verses, in order to demonstrate that Moses was telling about the coming of Muhammad. For each point a statement is made, which is then discussed.

In point one, “The coming of a Prophet”, the identity of the Prophet is discussed, showing that it cannot be Jesus, as Christians say that Jesus came as the Son of God and not as a prophet. The conclusion that Kanoni draws from this statement is that it points to Muhammad, who is the only other who can be likened to Moses.

The second point, “In which womb will this prophet be born?”, looks at the meaning of ndugu, determining that it refers to ‘kin’ of the children of Israel, that is, related historically through Abraham and Ishmael, his son.

For an understanding of the interpretation of ndugu the meaning of Hebrew word היהו (‘hehemi) in verse 18 has to be examined. Georg Fohrer gives the meaning of the Hebrew root word חֶ֫לֶּה (‘leh) as “brother, (also in the widest sense)” (Fohrer 1973:8). The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, says “from among their own people”; this seems to be in order to avoid the possibility of misinterpretation of the sense of the passage.
The Swahili versions of the passage all use *ndugu* which has a wide range of meanings, these include: close and extended family as well as friend and work-mate.9

Kanoni gives an interpretation of *ndugu* that agrees with classical *tafsîr*, to imply the wider Semitic family, descendants of Ishmael, as opposed to Isaac. The point made in the tract is that the only prophet to be born of this family is Muḥammad, so the verses refer to him.

Point three, “This Prophet will be the same as Prophet Moses”, compares Jesus and Muḥammad with several characteristics of Moses: having both a father and mother; being married; being a war-leader; following dietary laws; manner of death. On reading, these make a point, but some are flawed, particularly the last two. On dietary laws: it is correct that Jews and Muslims reject pork, but Jews do not forbid alcohol. Concerning death: reports of Moses’ death are ambiguous (Deuteronomy 34:5-6); for Jesus, Kanoni uses what Christians believe, that is, that he was crucified, in order to support an argument contrary to what Muslims believe, that he was taken to heaven, but will die at a future date, after his return to earth.

9 A selection of definitions from dictionaries illustrate the range of meanings for *ndugu*: Krapf: brother (1882:277); Madan: brother, sister, cousin, relation, fellow-tribesman (-citizen, -countryman) (1903:277); Velten: *bruder* (brother), *schwester* (sister), *vetter* (cousin m.), *base* (cousin f.), *freund* (friend), *blutsbruder* (blood-brother), *landsmann* (fellow-countryman, compatriot), *geschwister* (brothers and sisters, siblings), *verwandte* (relative), *angehörige* (next of kin, family member) (1910:314); Johnson: as Madan, adding – All of these words are often used in a very loose way of any friend (1939:332); Sacleux: frère (brother), soeur (sister), cousin (cousin), proche (close relative/friend, associate), allié (relative, ally), *terme d’amitié* (term of friendship) (1941:672); Rechenbach: 1. relative of the same generation: brother, sister, cousin. 2. friend, fellow tribesman. 3. citizen, conational. 4. birthmark. (1967:400); Khamisi: 1. *watoto waloziwa tumbo moja*, yaani baba na mama mnoja au mama mnoja au baba mnoja (children who were born from one womb, that is one father and mother, or one mother, or one father) 2. *watoto wa jamaa au ukoo mnoja* (children of one family or clan) 3. *rafiki mkubwa* (a great friend) 4. *ntsu mwenye kushirikiana naye katika shughuli za dini au siasa* (someone who co-operates in religious work or politics) (1981:211); Lenselaer: frère (brother), soeur (sister), cousin (cousin), parent (parent), homme de la même tribu (person of the same tribe), concitoyen (fellow-citizen, countryman), compatriote (fellow-countryman, citizen) (1983:356); Bakresha: 1. *watu waloziwa panoja, kwa baba au mama* (people who were born together, by father or mother) 2. *rafiki* (friend) 3. *mwenzio* (mwananchi, kazini, michenzoni) (companion (fellow citizen, playmate)) (1992:281); Mulokozi: 1. kin, sibling. 2. relative. 3. close friend. 4. companion (2001:242); Höftmann & Herms: 1. Bruder (brother); Schwester (sister); Geschwister (brothers and sisters, or siblings); Vetter (cousin m.), Kusine (cousin f.); 2. Freund (friend), Partner (partner); Kamerad (comrade, companion), Genosse (comrade/accomplice, associate, fellow etc); Schwestern und Brüder (sisters and brothers) 3. enger Freund (close friend) 4. Muttermal (birthmark) (2005:252). Bosha (1993) does not have an entry as *ndugu* is not Arabic in origin.
Point four quotes verse 19, “This Prophet will speak by the power of God”; again, the Christian understanding of Jesus is used to support a Muslim view-point.

Point five quotes verse 20, “It is necessary that a false Prophet will die”; as Muḥammad did not die until he was elderly, 63 years of age, and had not been killed by the Quraysh at the start of his ministry, he cannot have been a false prophet, and so must have been a true prophet.

The tract uses these five statements in order to demonstrate that Jesus could not have been “the prophet like Moses” and Muḥammad must have been that prophet. Many of the arguments are similar to ‘classical’ tafsīr and may have been based on them, with some additional material, which may be of Kanoni’s own devising.

The second time that the tract uses the passage, only the references to the verses are given. 10

The tract links the passage with a verse from John’s gospel and argues that the identity of “that other prophet” in John 1:25 must be Muḥammad, rather than Jesus, which is how Christians would interpret the verse. In stating that the children of Israel (Jews) “understood that Jesus … had already come”, Kanoni appears to be unaware that the Jews do not accept

---

10 KUJA KWA NABII MWINBINE [sic]
Kama vile nilivyokwisha kuelezea juu ya maneno yaliyoandikwa katika KUMBUKUMBU 18:16-20, wana wa Israeli walikuwa wanafahamu juu ya kuja kwa Nabii mwingine. Walikuwa wanafahamu pia kwamba Yesu ambaye alikuwa katika vitabu vyao alikuwa amwekwisha kuja, lakini walikuwa bado wamongojea Nabii mwengine. Ndiyo maana, tunasoma tena hapa kamaifuatavyo:-
JOHANA 1:25
“Wakamwuliza, wakamwambia, Mbony basi wbatimisa, wewe wewe si kristo, wala Eliya, wala nabii yule?”

COMING OF ANOTHER PROPHET
As I have already explained concerning the words that are written in DEUTERONOMY 18:16-20, the children of Israel understood about the coming of another Prophet. They also understood that Jesus who was in their books had already come, but that they were still to wait for another Prophet. That is why, we read again here as follows:-
JOHN 1:25
“They asked him, they told him, Why are you baptizing, if you are not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor that other prophet?” (Kanoni [tract 2]:82-83)
that Jesus was the Messiah (Christ) and that they are still waiting for the coming of the Messiah.

In the final use of the passage in the tract, the whole passage is cited and part of verse 18 is quoted as a continuation of the section begun by the previous passage.

The signs of the Helper that Jesus explains to us here do not compare with the signs of the “Holy Spirit” of Christians:

… This Helper will not speak by his own counsel. Those words are completely the same as the words that we have already read in DEUTERONOMY 18:16-20 where it is written “and I will place my words in his mouth, and he will tell them all that I command.”

These signs are human signs. It is necessary that this Helper should be human especially as we read about him in DEUTERONOMY that prophet will be brought.

(Kanoni [tract 2]:86)

The tract quotes verse 18 to show that the Helper will also be led in a similar way by God, by having “words put in his mouth”. This is said in order to show that the Helper must be human, and is used as another ‘proof’ that the Bible foretells the coming of Muḥammad.


The tract quotes verse 18 and then sets out a series of comparisons between Moses and Muḥammad and Jesus, together with another passage from Deuteronomy, which is often quoted by Muslim writers to show that Muḥammad is foretold.

THE APOSTLE MUḤAMMAD (S.A.W.)

… Almighty God tells the Prophet Moses in Deuteronomy 18:18

“I will send them a Prophet from amongst their kin similar to you, and I will place my words in his mouth, and he will tell them all that I command.” 12 (Continued on the next page)

---

11 Dalili za Msaidizi ambaye Yesu anatueleza habari zake hapa hazifanani na dalili za “Roho Mtakatifu” wa Wakristo:

… Msaidizi huyu hatanena kwa shauri lake mwenyewe. Maneno haya ni sawa kabisa na maneno ambayo tumekwisha kuyasoma katika KUMBUKUMBU 18:16-20 ambamo nimeandikwa “nami nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayo mwamuru.”

Dalili hizi ni dalili za kibinadamu. Msaidizi huyu ni lazima awe ni mwanadamu hasa kama tulivyosoma habari zake katika KUMBUKUMBU kwamba ataletwa nabii.

12 MTUME MUḤAMMAD (S.A.W.)

Mwenyeyezi Mungu anamwambia Nabii Musa katika Kumbukumbu la Torati 18:18

“Mimi nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayo mwamuru.”

(Continued on the next page)
The Apostle named here without doubt is Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) nor is it Jesus as the Christians claim. The kin of the Jews are the Arabs.

The Arabs come from Prophet Ishmael (a.s.) who is the first Child of Prophet Abraham (a.s.) the Jews come from Prophet Isaac who is the second Child of Prophet Abraham (a.s.). The Prophet Moses was more of an example for Prophet Muḥammad than Jesus. If we look at a number of examples:
(a) Prophet Moses was born with a mother and a father as Prophet Muḥammad, but Jesus was born without a father.
(b) Both Prophet Moses and Prophet Muḥammad were married and gave birth to children, but Jesus did not marry.
(c) Both Prophet Moses and Prophet Muḥammad were accepted by their people when they were alive, Jesus was rejected and until today he is rejected by his people the Jews.
(d) Both Prophet Moses and Prophet Muḥammad were Apostles and rulers but Jesus announced that he himself was only an Apostle.
(e) Prophet Moses and Prophet Muḥammad brought new laws to lead their people but Jesus came to fulfill the laws that Prophet Moses brought.

(Ngariba & Kawemba [tract 5]:12-13)

Immediately before this section, Ngariba and Kawemba quote Deuteronomy 33:1-2, which Adang says was “adduced by Muslim authors as a testimony to Muḥammad” (Adang 1996:201). Deuteronomy 33:2 was often used by Muslim writers together with 18:18 in order to demonstrate that Muḥammad is clearly named in the Bible.

Having quoted verse 18, the tract makes clear that it is a reference to Muḥammad, not to Jesus. This is then demonstrated with a series of five statements, which compare aspects of

---

13 Mtume aliyetajiwa hapa bila shaka ni Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) wala sio Yesu kama wanvyodai Wakristo Ndhugwa ya Mayahudi un Waarabu. 
Waarabu wanatokana na Nabii Ismael (a.s.) ambaye ni Mtoto wa mwanzo wa Nabii Ibrahim (a.s.) Mayahudi wanatokana na Nabii Is-Haq ambaye ni Mtoto wa pili wa Nabii Ibrahim (a.s.).Nabii Musa alikuwa mtano zaidi kwa Nabii Muhammad kuliko Yesu. Tukiaangalia baadhi ya mtano: 
(a) Nabii Musa alizaliwa na mama na baba kama Nabii Muḥammad, lakini Yesu alizaliwa bila ya baba. 
(b) Nabii Musa na Nabii Muhammad wote walioa na kuzaa watoto, lakini Yesu hakupata kuoa. 
(c) Nabii Musa na Nabii Muhammad wote walikubaliwa na watu wao wakati wakiwa hai, Yesu alikutaliwa na bado mpaka leo anakataliwa na watu wake Mayahudi. 
(d) Nabii Musa na Nabii Muhammad wote walikuwa Mtume na watawala lakin Yesu alijitangaza kuwa yehe ni Mtume tu. 
(e) Nabii Musa na Nabii Muḥammad walileta sharia mpya kuongoza watu wao lakini Yesu alikuja kuzitekeleza zile sharia alizozileta Nabii Musa.

14 Deuteronomy 33:1 This is the blessing with which Moses, the man of God, blessed the Israelites before his death. 2 He said: The LORD came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us; he shone forth from Mount of Paran. With him were myriads of holy ones; at his right, a host of his own (NRSV).

15 Adang found that Ibn Layth, Risāla (Letter to Constantine VI); ‘Ali b. Rabban al-Ṭabarānī, Dīn wa Dawla (The Book of Religion and Empire); Ibn Qutayba, Dalā’il al-nubuwawā (The Proofs of Prophethood); Al-Birūnī Al-āthār al-bāqiya ‘an al-qurūn al-khāliya (The Vestiges of Past Centuries); Ibn Ḥazm, Al-uṣūl wa l-furū‘ (The Roots and Branches) and Kitāb al-īṣāl ʿīl al-maṣāl wa l-aḥdāl al-niṣāl (Book of Opinions on Religions, Sects and Heresies) all used Deuteronomy 33:2 in conjunction with 18:18 (Adang 1996:264).
Moses’ life with those of Muḥammad and Jesus: having both a father and mother; being married; being accepted by their people, whilst alive; being a leader; bringing new laws for their people. In each case, Muḥammad’s history is seen to be closer to Moses’ than Jesus’ is.

[12] Stefano Masudi *Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani*

Masudi refers to the passage twice, quoting verse 18 as he relates the message of an Aḥmadi preacher.

That person had a Bible in his hand, and he opened the book of Deuteronomy chapter 18, where it says:

> “God said to prophet Moses (Hazrat Musa) that he will raise up a prophet from among his kin that is like him.”

These words were written here, that person emphasized,

> “And I will raise up a prophet from among your kin that will be like you, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will say to my people all the words that I will command him (Deuteronomy, 18:18).

That Prophet is Muhammad – peace be upon him – and this prophecy was given for his sake. Muḥammad is the offspring of Ishmael and Ishmael was the older brother of Isaac.”

I listened to him but I did not believe what he said because it appeared that it was not correct. That person continued, “Moses and Muḥammad were both born in a generation that was filled with debauchery. Their parents and their brethren ridiculed them and did not believe them but in the end they came to understand that they were true Prophets. Both migrated from the land of their birth and both fought wars to remove paganism from within the community. Both came to the earth with God’s laws in their hands.” (Masudi [tract 12]:44)

This section is taken from the same chapter that was quoted previously, in section 8.4.3.2. Masudi is listening to how an Aḥmadi preacher interprets this verse. The preacher likens Moses to Muhammad, making several points of comparison: born in a generation filled with debauchery.
debauchery; initially ignored by their people; their people came to understand that they were true Prophets; they migrated from the land of their birth and both fought wars to remove paganism from within the community; they brought God’s laws. Masudi writes that he listened to the preacher and the additional points he made about Muḥammad being foretold in the Bible. Masudi then responds to these various points and makes a specific response to the interpretation of verse 18.

First of all I would like to ask this person our brother\textsuperscript{18} if it is true that the words of Deuteronomy 18:18 concern Muḥammad. Why did people who lived at the time of Christ say that it was Jesus who was named in this verse? (Masudi [tract 12]:46)\textsuperscript{19}

This is the first point that Masudi makes to respond to the preacher and it is based on his own findings: “From my own research, I had come to believe that the Injil had nothing to say about Muḥammad” (Masood 1986:68). He points out that at the time of Christ, Jesus was seen as a fulfilment of this verse and therefore openly questions how Muḥammad could be named there. Masudi deliberately presents the preacher’s interpretation of the verse at length, which he then opposes with a clear and simple challenge in response.

The three tracts all use the passage to compare Moses with Muḥammad and Jesus. Each sets out a series of points. When the points made by each of the tracts are compared, those made by Ngariba and Kawemba are similar in form to those made by Kanoni, but only the first two points are identical. The other points made by Ngariba and Kawemba are more fully developed than those made by Kanoni. Masudi’s use of the Ahmadi preacher is interesting as it shows another interpretation, as he made different points and is not recorded as including Jesus in his comparison.

\textsuperscript{18} Here ndugu is translated as ‘brother’ from the context of the sentence.

\textsuperscript{19} Kwanza ningependa kumwuliza huyu ndugu yetu kama ni kweli maneno ya Kumbukumbu la Torati 18:18 huongea juu ya Mohamedi. Mbona watu walioishi wakati wa Kristo walisema kuwa Yesu ndiye aliyekuwa akitajwa katika mstari huu?
10.1.3 Who will God send after Jesus?

The interpretation of John 14:16 “And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate, to be with you forever”, and the identity of the παρακλήτος (paraklētos - advocate) is a major point of disagreement between Muslims and Christians.

Christians believe that in John 14:16 paraklētos means ‘Advocate’, and that it refers to the Holy Spirit, who is identified as a paraklētos in John 14:26:

But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything, and remind you of all that I have said to you.

The use of ‘another’ in verse 16 has led some to identify Jesus and the Holy Spirit as having different ‘persons’; others have interpreted this as indicating that Jesus had the role of paraklētos whilst he was on earth and that the Holy Spirit then took over that role (Beasley-Murray 2003:256). The sending of the paraklētos is understood as referring to God sending the Holy Spirit to the followers of Jesus, at Pentecost (Acts 2).

Muslims believe that the verse refers to Muḥammad, and that the text has been deliberately changed in the Bible from περικλείτος (perikleitos), which means ‘far praised one’, which is said to be Aḥmad in Arabic. The basis for this interpretation is found in the Qurʾān in al-Ṣaff (61):6 where Jesus gives “good tidings of a Messenger who shall come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad”. Jean-Louis Déclais explains that:

---

20 The New Testament of the Bible was originally written in Greek. It is possible that some portions were written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek, but none are in existence. Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament date from the second century (Aland & Aland 1987:49).
The majority of commentators have regarded it as a proper name but it may be simply a superlative adjective: “whose name shall be most deserving of praise” (a reference to the meaning of Muḥammad)” (Déclais 2003:501-502).21

Muslims now understand the reference in John 14:16 to be a clear reference to Jesus telling his followers that after him will come Muḥammad.

The passage of scripture to be studied is from the Bible: John 14:15-17, 25-26. This is one of the passages most frequently used by Muslims to show that Muḥammad was foretold by Jesus. It is found both in classical *tafsīr* and contemporary polemical writing.

A reference to the passage is found in Ibn Isḥāq in his section on “Reports of Arab Soothsayers, Jewish Rabbis, and Christian Monks” (Ibn Isḥāq 1955:90-93). Camilla Adang cites five Muslim writers as interpreting “the Paraclete … is none other than Muḥammad” (Adang 1996:272).

Martin Accad lists eight different writers who use the passage (Accad 2003d:470-472): seven of the writers wrote about “Muḥammad as the promised Paraclete” (Accad 2003a:75), but two used it to show that “Jesus was not God for he related to another God” (Accad 2003a:70).

In *Muhammad in the Bible*, ʿAbdūl-Ahad Dawud (b. 1867)22 includes two chapters, “The ‘Paraclete’ is not the Holy Spirit” and “Periqlytos means ‘Ahmad’” which interpret this passage (Dawud 1990:151-168).

---

21 According to W. Montgomery Watt *ahmada* was understood to be an adjective by early Muslims (Watt 1953:110, 113).

22 ʿAbdūl-Ahad Dawud (b. 1867) a Uniate-Chaldean Christian from Persia who became a Muslim in 1904.
In *Muhummed (Peace be upon Him) the Natural Successor to Christ (Peace be upon Him)* Ahmed Deedat (1918-2005) includes a chapter “Muhummed[sic] (PBUH) is the ‘Paraclete’” (Deedat 1990:23-39), which uses these verses.

In *Mīzān ul-Ḥaqq*, Karl Pfander uses the verses frequently in order to refute the Muslim interpretation, especially in one section where he sets out to show that the references to the paraclete do not mean Muḥammad (Pfander 1986:246-249).\(^\text{23}\)

A contemporary experience of Muslim and Christian interpretation of the passage is found in ‘Reading [the] Wolof Bible with Muslims’ where George Joseph relates discussing John 14:18-31 with a group of Senegalese Muslims (Joseph 2004:93-96).\(^\text{24}\)

**10.1.4 John 14:15-17, 25-26**

15 “If you love me, you will keep my commandments.
16 And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate, to be with you forever.
17 This is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees him nor knows him. You know him, because he abides with you, and he will be in you.

25 “I have said these things to you while I am still with you.
26 But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything, and remind you of all that I have said to you. (New Revised Standard Version)

This passage is used in three tracts, one by a Muslim and two by Christians.

\(^{23}\) Pfander uses these verses on several other occasions: 88-89, 115-116, 133-137 and 214-215, an indication of his concern to vigorously defend the Christian interpretation of this passage.

\(^{24}\) Of the experience Joseph says: “There were moments when Muslims recognized that the Biblical text does not lend support to their interpretation of the Holy Spirit as Mohammed. One El Hadji said:

I am profoundly convinced that Jesus predicted the coming of Mohammed. But the text in question contains no indication establishing the identity between ‘xel mi’ [Holy Spirit] and the coming of a person. Mohammed came after Jesus accomplished his mission and died because he is mortal. The ‘dimbalikat’ [helper] in question is supposed to live eternally.

(Joseph 2004:96).
Kanoni is the only Muslim writer who uses this passage, quoting verse 16 and verses 25-26.25 The tract uses them to challenge the Christian interpretation of the ‘Helper’ and to bring “a true understanding of the nature of the ‘Holy Spirit’.

Concerning this news of another Helper that Christians say is their Holy Spirit, it is written:-

JOHN 14:16 That:-

“And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Helper, to be with you forever.”

Later it is written again:-

JOHN 14:25-26 that:-

“This indeed is what I told you while I was still living with you. But that Helper, that Holy Spirit that the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all, and he will remind you of all that I told you.”

But, is it true that there is a third person of God that is called “the Holy Spirit?” In the previous pages when we were trying to get the truth concerning “the Holy Spirit”, we discovered that this word “Spirit” has the meaning of “Power of God that he gives to the Prophets”; also it has the meaning of “Prophet” and finally it has the meaning of “God Himself.”

(Kanoni [tract 2]:84-85)26

The tract quotes the three verses in full and uses them to remind the reader that ‘Spirit’ has several meanings concerning a prophet’s relationship with God. No attempt is made to examine the meaning of “another Helper” or to identify Muḥammad as that Helper.

Kanoni uses the verses as part of his denial of the Trinity, in this case questioning whether the Holy Spirit is a part of the Trinity.

25 Kanoni also quotes verse 24 on several occasions, in order to refute the Christian teaching of the Holy Trinity: in Kwa Nini Niliacha U kristo na Nikawa Muislamu pages 8-9, and in Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo pages 4-7 in order to show that Jesus was sent only to the Jews.

26 Kuhusu habari hizi za Msaidizi mwengine ambaye Wakristo wanamsema kuwa ndiye Roho Mtakatifu wao, imeandikwa:-

YOHANA 14:16 Kwamba:-

“Nani nitawomba Baba, naye atawapa Msaidizi mwingine, ili akae nanyi hata milele.”

Halafu imeandikwa tena:-

YOHANA 14:25-26 kwamba:-

“Hayo ndiyo nilyowaambia wakati nilopokuwa nikikaa kwenu. Lakini huyo Msaidizi, huyo Roho Mtakatifu ambaye Baba atampeleka kwa jina langu, atawafundisha yote, na kuwakumbusha yote nilyowaambia.”

Je, ni kweli ipo nafki ya tatu ya Mungu iitwayo “Roho Mtakatifu?” Katika kurasa za nyuma tulipokuwa takjariibu kuupata ukweli juu ya “Roho Mtakatifu”, tunegundua kwamba neno hili “Roho” lina maana ya “Uwezo wa Mungu anaowapa Manabii”, pia lina maana ya “Nabii” na mwisho lina maana ya “Mungu Mwennyewe.”
Alavi examines the verses in conjunction with Al-Šaṭṭ (61):6, using them to show the importance of this passage in his own personal journey of faith.27

Even so, this question greatly bothered my thoughts. So! What is it concerning Muḥammad about whom the Qurʾān claims that his coming was prophesied by Jesus?

“And when Ḥaḏ son of Mary said: Oh you children of Israel! I am an Apostle of Almighty God to you, I who confirm that which was before me in the Torah, and give good news of the Apostle who will come after me whose name will be Ahmad (that is He who should be thanked). But when he came to them with clear arguments, they said: This is clearly trickery” [Al-Šaṭṭ] (61:6).

The Arabic word for “He who should be Praised” is A Ṣāmad, which has an identical meaning as Muḥammad. So! does this writing not mean that Jesus spoke about the coming of Muḥammad? That is how I was taught, and I believed this. I studied the Bible so that I could see whether it spoke of Muḥammad, but I did not see anything. I asked my teachers and they said that there was nothing concerning this matter. When I read an Islamic book concerning the explanation or exegesis of the Qurʾān, I saw that they copied certain verses from the Bible that related to this sūra [Al-Šaṭṭ] 61:6. The verse that was copied is,

“And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Helper to be with you forever” (John 14:16).

The Greek word concerning Helper is “Parakletos”. (The books of the Gospel were written in the Greek language.) The exegete said that the root word is Perikultos[sic],28 which has the meaning of “He who is Thanked”. He said that Christians changed the word Perikultos[sic] for Parakletos so that it should not give the meaning of the Apostle Muḥammad.29

(Continued on the next page)

---

27 Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.9.
28 Perikultos seems to be a typographical error for Periklutos which is how A. Guthrie and E.F.F. Bishop transliterate it in ‘The Paraclete, Almunhamanna and Ahmad’ published in 1951 (Guthrie & Bishop 1951:253). The English version of Khan’s tract, uses Periklutos.
29 Hata hivyo, swali hili lilinisumbua san a mawazo yangu. Je! vipi kuhusu Muhammad ambaye Kurani inadai kwamba kuwa kulantabiriwa na Yesu?


(Continued on the next page)
I did not understand the Greek language, and because it was hard for me to leave my belief in the Apostle Muhammad, I was distressed. Muhammad still had a great place in my heart, and I saw that it was hard to reject my belief in him as a prophet.

I asked a professor of Greek concerning these two words, and he answered like this: *Perikultos* [sic] is a word that is not in the Book of Saint John. But the word *Parakletos* is there. It shows how the promise of Jesus (John 14:16) was fulfilled when the Holy Spirit came (Acts 2:1-11), that dwells all the days with people, as a consoler and guide. So, I placed this problem in the hands of God so that he could give me understanding. One day at night, after my prayers and I was in bed, I was unable to sleep. I heard a voice that said: “Get up so that you can read!” I thought that this was only my own thoughts. But I heard this again and again. I got up, I opened my Bible. I read several times the following verses in John 14:15-17:

“If you love me you will keep my laws. And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Helper to be with you forever. That is the Spirit of truth that the world is unable to receive, because it does not see him nor recognise him but you recognise him because he lives with you and he will be within you.”

When I read these verses, many questions came into my mind. I asked myself that, so! have I previously read in the Qur’an or the Hadith that Muhammad is the spirit of truth who is with us all the time, and that he is an advisor whom the world is unable to see or know, or that he lives within me? Then I understood that these words did not concern a coming prophet and it could not concern any human. I remembered that these writings were fulfilled in Acts 2:1-11, at the time of those first Christians who believed in Jesus. Now I understood this great truth. The advisor that Jesus promised is the Holy Spirit, the everlasting Spirit of God who is alive and not the angel Jibril (or Gabriel).

(Alavi [tract 9]:29-30)

Alavi uses *Al-SA’d* (61):6, which is associated by Muslims with the verses from John as it refers to Muhammad being foretold in the Bible and gives him the name Ahmād. The Swahili word used in the tract is *shukuriwa* (be thanked), it is unclear why this word was used.

---

30 Mimi sikufahamu lugha ya Kiyunani, na kwa kuwa ilikuwa vigumu vugumu kwangu kuiacha imani yangu niliyokua nayo kwa Mtume Muhammad, nilijiona kwamba nina dhiiki. Badoodo Muhammad alikuwa na nafasi kubwa mivoni mwangu, nami niliiona vugumu kuiendoa imani yangu kwake kama nabii.


“Mkingipenda mtazishika anri zangu. Nani nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa Msaidizi mwingine ili akae nani hata milele. Ndye Roho wa kweli ambaye ulimwengu hauwezi kumpokea, kwa kuwa haumwoni wala hauntambui bali nini mnamtambua maana anakaa kwenu naye atakuwa ndani yenu.”


31 Ahmād is understood by some as a name of Muhammad (Déclais 2003:501-502). If Ahmad is taken as an ‘elative’ it is interpreted as ‘more highly praised’ (Robinson 1991:6).
by the translators of the tract rather than -siīwa (be praised), as praised is used in the English version of the tract, following a common interpretation of the meaning of Āḥmad. The tract relates the struggles that Alavi faced between his respect and belief in Muḥammad as a prophet and his reading of the Bible and the interpretation given by his Muslim teachers.

The tract then gives an explanation of the Muslim interpretation of John 14:16: “that Christians changed the word Perikultos[sic] for Parakletos so that it should not give the meaning of the Apostle Muḥammad.” Alavi then relates that he consulted “a professor of Greek” to explain the Greek words to him. Presumably this refers to one of the teachers at Concordia Seminary, Nagercoil, where he enrolled for a one year Bible course in June, 1970 (Alavi 22).

Alavi uses his own testimony to contrast the Muslim and Christian interpretations of the verses. Verses 15-17 are then repeated in order to raise questions as to which interpretation is the correct one.

In the final phrase, when Alavi acknowledges that the verses refer to the Holy Spirit, “the everlasting Spirit of God who is alive and not the angel Jibrāʾīl (or Gabriel)” he does not mention Muḥammad. Rather, he names the angel Jibrāʾīl, whom the tract has only previously mentioned once, in relation to a verse in the Qurʾān where he is giving a message to Mary (Alavi 23). This lack of an explanation is perhaps because Alavi is primarily writing for Muslims, who would understand the role that the angel Jibrāʾīl, as a messenger of God, has in the Qurʾān.
This extract from the tract quotes verse 16 and verses 25 and 26; it continues on from the section discussed in 10.1.2 and comes before the section discussed in 9.4.2. The verses are interpreted by an Ahmadi preacher.

He opened the Bible to the New Testament part and said, Hazrat ÝÏsÁ (Prophet Jesus) also prophesied about MuÎammad.”

He opened the gospel of John chapter 14 and verse 16. “And I will ask the father and he will bring to you a consoler to stay with you forever.”

I knew that in this passage, Christians teach that the consoler is the Holy Spirit. But the words that that this man said were just as many Muslims exegete. Then he continued, “Also it it written in verses 25 and 26, in this chapter that, these things I have already explained during the time that I was with you. But that consoler which is the Holy Spirit, the father will send in my name. This one will teach you all things and remind you of all things. Thus Jesus said in chapter 15 verse 26, but when this comforter will come this Spirit of truth who comes from the father, he will bear witness to me.”

I saw clearly that the speaker wanted to show that this Holy Spirit is indeed MuÎammad! He continued to name other passages in chapter 16 of the gospel of John as he tried to persuade people. And here indeed I was angered at the bad exegesis of the gospel that he was doing. I remembered how I quarrelled with my father the time I explained to him how the Ahmadiyya badly exegete the writings of the Bible so that they may satisfy their objectives. But I continued to listen to him.

“I will remind my brethren that this true news was fulfilled after the coming of the prophet MuÎammad – peace be upon him. It was Muhammad who indeed reminded us of all these things. In the QurÞÁn he reminded us of all the true things about Jesus, his life and his death, and that he was born of the Virgin Mary and that he performed many miracles. Muhammad reminded us of all the important prophets from the time of Adam until his own time. Certainly he led us in truth and he gave us good laws for our life.” (Masudi [tract 12]:44-45)
Masudi intersperses his presentation of the preacher’s remarks with a commentary of what he himself knew of the Christian understanding of the verses. This allows him to contrast one with the other and to show his objections to the interpretation given by the Ahmadiyya preacher.

The interpretation of these verses appears to have particularly inflamed Masudi, yet when he describes how he stands up to respond, on pages 45-48, he makes no reference to them.33

The writers of the three tracts that use these verses have changed from one faith to the other and have an understanding of both Christian and Muslim interpretations of the verses. Kanoni does not make full use of the Muslim interpretation, whereas both Alavi and Masudi do in order to demonstrate why they think that the Christian understanding is correct. Only Alavi attempts to argue for deliberate changing of the text and to attempt to explain it. Apart from this, none of the writers use any of the more developed arguments that are found in Pfander or the classical *tafsīr*.

What is of note is that of the Muslim tracts, only Kanoni uses these verses. It is particularly surprising that Ngariba and Kawemba do not, as they have clearly been influenced by the methods used by Ahmed Deedat.

---

33 The response by Masudi begins “*Upuuzi gani huu*” (What nonsense is this?) (Masudi 1990:45) and continues in a similar manner.
10.2 ALL HAVE Sinned

The existence of sin is acknowledged by Christians and Muslims, but their understanding of what sin is, and how to obtain forgiveness, is different.

For Christians, the nature of sin reflects a state of being that separates the person from God (Colwell 1988:641). Augustine (354-430) defined sin as “any word or deed or thought against the eternal law” (O’Neill 1983:539). The doctrine of ‘original sin’ holds that, because of the ‘fall’ of Adam and Eve, a person by being born has a sinful nature, in need of regeneration (Vawter 1983:420). The pre-Reformation church distinguished between ‘mortal’ and ‘venial’ sins: a mortal sin separated the person from God and if they died with a mortal sin unforgiven, they were condemned to the eternal damnation of hell; venial sins were sins which were either less important, or, though mortal, were committed in passion or ignorance (Hordern 1983:386). The Protestants after the Reformation understood:

Sin as basically unbelief and pride, that is the state in which a person lives separated from God. … A person lives either ‘in sin’ or ‘in Christ’ (Hordern 1983:386).

Christians believe that “since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God” (Romans 3:23), they can only receive forgiveness of their sins through God’s grace. The cost of sin has been paid through Jesus Christ’s death on the cross. In order to receive forgiveness, a Christian is expected to repent of the sins that they have committed, and to ask for and receive forgiveness from God.

Islam divides sin into three kinds:

1. minor sins, which do not affect a person’s faith, and can be submitted to divine mercy.
2. grave sins (kabâ’ir al-ithm) and ‘depraved actions’ which God may pardon immediately or may punish for a specific period, according to His mysterious will.
3. kufr (disbelief) and shirk (associationism), attacks on the Divine Oneness, which cannot be wiped out except through repentance (tawbah) and which, failing this last, remain under the threat of eternal hell-fire (Wensinck 1999:1106).
There is no doctrine of ‘original sin’ in Islam; Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit, then sought and received forgiveness. Sin may be of omission or commission; the violation of a religious law or ethical law is a sin, but only those that are intentionally committed are accountable. Sin arises from a wilful misuse of humanity’s God-given freedom (Esposito 2003:295).

10.2.1 Romans 3:19-25

19 Now we know that whatever the law says, it speaks to those who are under the law, so that every mouth may be silenced, and the whole world may be held accountable to God.
20 For “no human being will be justified in his sight” by deeds prescribed by the law, for through the law comes the knowledge of sin.
21 But now, irrespective of law, the righteousness of God has been disclosed, and is attested by the law and the prophets,
22 the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. For there is no distinction,
23 since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God;
24 they are now justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus,
25 whom God put forward as a sacrifice of atonement by his blood, effective through faith. He did this to show his righteousness, because in his divine forbearance he had passed over the sins previously committed;
   (New Revised Standard Version)

This passage is used in three tracts, one by a Muslim and two by Christians.


The tract quotes from the Romans passage twice. In the first instance it is part of a section entitled Kupiga Vita Taurati (To Wage War on the Torah) where Kanoni presents reasons why Paul is not presenting the “Njia ya kweli” (The true Way) (Kanoni 21).

Again, Saint Paul continues to explain to us, that:
(b) Therefore then, it is sin for a person to submit to the Laws of the Torah; because those who submitted to these laws from the first, all of them are lost. It is written:
   “Romans 3:20; Because there is no human being that will be counted as righteous before him by actions prescribed by the law; because to understand sin comes by the way of the law.”
   (Kanoni [tract 3]:22)"35

---

34 For further details about Islamic understanding of Sin see Muhammad Qasim Zaman (2006).
35 Tena, anaendelea Mt. Paulo kutueleza, kwamba:
(b) Kwa hiyo basi, ni dhambi kwa mtu kutii Sheria za Taurati; kwani wale waliozitii sheria hizo hapa kwanza, wote waliopotea. Imeandikwa:
   “Warumi 3:20; Kwa sababu hakuna mwenye mwili atakayehesabiwa haki mbele zake kwa matendo ya sheria; kwa sababu kutambahu dhambi hujia kwa njia ya sheria.”
This is the first of a series of references, mainly from Paul’s letters and all mentioning dhambi (sin) or sheria (law).36 Verse 20 is quoted in full and Kanoni seems to have a literal reading of it in order to make his point. His interpretation of the verse is that Paul tells his readers that they will not be counted as righteous before God by following the Torah, which is understood to mean that Paul is telling Christians that they should not submit to those laws as to do so means that they are lost.

Christian commentators interpret this verse as meaning that Paul is condemning those who seek righteousness by doing the ‘works of law’. On this, James Dunn writes:

That is to say, the first Roman listeners would most probably and rightly understand “works of the law” as referring to those actions which were performed at the behest of the law, in service of the Torah; that is, those actions which marked out those involved as the people of the law, those acts prescribed by the law by which a member of the covenant people identified himself as a Jew and maintained his status within the covenant (Dunn 2004:158).

Paul is concerned that new Christians, who are not from a Jewish background, should not be forced to embrace Jewish religious practice as a part of their faith.

Kanoni is seeking to show that Paul is wrong in all respects, that he has perverted the truth and taken people away from the ‘Way of Truth’.

The second use of the verses in the tract is in the next section, Kupotosha Hukumu (To Pervert Judgement) where verses 23-25 are quoted, together with other passages from Paul’s letters.37

36 The other passages given in this section are: Romans 7:9-11, Galatians 3:10, Galatians 5:4, Hebrews 10:4 and Romans 9.32. Hebrews is not considered to be by Paul, but older editions of Swahili Bibles, state that Paul is the author. For example the heading in Mombasa Swahili New Testament Chuo cha Maagano Mapya ya Bwana Wetu Jesu Masihi Mwokozi Wetu (Mombasa Dialect) for Hebrews is: Waraka wa Mtume Paulo aliowapelekea Wahibirania (The Letter of Saint Apostle Paul that he sent to the Hebrews) (1917:492).

TO PERVERT JUDGEMENT

Following on from the testimony that I have already shown here, it was clear to me that for me
to agree to follow the New Testament it was for me returning to the same evil that was done by
the Jews and for which, eventually they were cursed. I asked myself, so, what is it that will
enable me to avoid this very curse. Even so, I discovered that Paul has an answer for this
question. Paul says that the weapon to protect oneself as a person from this curse is Belief in the
Redemption of the blood of Jesus on the cross. That, only belief that Jesus Christ came to the
earth to spill his blood on the cross is the compensation for the sins of all people. This means,
that by this action, Jesus fulfilled all the laws of the Torah on our behalf, then he removed them
so that they would not be there again, so that each one who believes in him is able to be
reckoned as good instead of evil because of his refusal to submit to these laws. This has been
explained by Paul in his Book (the New Testament) as follows. It is written:-

… ROMANS 3:23-25
“Because all have committed sins, and have fallen short of the glory of God; they are
accounted just without charge by his grace and by way of faith in the redemption in Christ
Jesus; which God has already put in place that he should be a reconciler through belief in his
blood, because in God’s forbearance he has passed over all sins that had been previously
committed.” [emphasis in original]

… These words of Paul above are indeed the foundational words of the faith in the redemption
by the blood of Jesus on the cross. In these words, Paul says, and this is what all Christians
believe, that:
(a) The laws of the Torah are bad laws, that Almighty God gave humanity to hold and follow in
their life on earth.
(b) People who refused to hold and follow these laws were cursed, and nor did they have any
other way to redeem themselves following from this curse. 38

(Continued on next page)
(c) So, following from the goodness of Almighty God to those people (they who did not want to submit to him), when he sent his own Son to the earth it was so that he should be the Reconciler between them and God, so that he should spill his blood in order to compensate for their rebellion; for the purpose that, each that believes in him should be reckoned as righteous instead of cursed because of his rebellion against Almighty God. (Kanoni [tract 3]:27-29)\textsuperscript{39}

In the first paragraph Kanoni sets out his understanding of redemption, through the blood of Jesus on the cross. The elements are largely described correctly, which is not surprising considering that the writer had attended a Roman Catholic Junior Seminary (Secondary School) at Itaga, Tabora, where he would have been schooled in Christian faith.

Kanoni concludes the paragraph: As Jesus has “fulfilled all the laws of the Torah on our behalf”, they have been removed and his followers are counted as good rather than evil. This gives the sense that Christians no longer need to worry about following the law or committing sin. This, reflecting a Roman Catholic interpretation, perhaps shows something of the influence that Catholic doctrine had on Kanoni during his upbringing and education.

The paragraph concludes that all this is revealed “\textit{na Paulo katika Kitabu chake (Agano Jipya)}” (by Paul in his Book (the New Testament)). By describing the New Testament as ‘Paul’s Book’, Kanoni is stating clearly his rejection of the whole of the New Testament, as being untrustworthy, as it was under Paul’s influence.

Various verses are then quoted, with some sections emphasised in bold print; this is only done for Romans 3:23-25. It is quoted in full following the text of Swahili \textit{Union Version}, with one change: the tract uses \textit{mpatanishi} (reconciler) instead of \textit{upatanisho} (reconciliation), with the

\textsuperscript{39} (c) Eti, kwa kutokana na wena wa Mwenyezi Mungu kwao wanadamu (wale wasiotaka kumtii), ndipo alipomtuma Mwanawe humu duniani ili awe Mpatanishi baina yao na Mungu, ili amwage damu yake iwe na fidia kwa ajili ya uasi wao, kusudi, kila atakayemwamini yeye apate kuhesabiwa haki badala ya laana kwa sababu ya uasi wake kwa Mwenyezi Mungu.
sense of Mercy Seat\textsuperscript{40} in the \textit{Union Version}.\textsuperscript{41} It is possible that the word was used deliberately as it is used by Kanoni in his explanation.

After the series of quotations, the tract then interprets their meaning in relation to the Christian belief in redemption through the blood of Jesus on the cross. The writings of Paul are “the foundational words of the faith in redemption by the blood of Jesus …”. By stating this, the tract seeks to show that it is Paul who has made Christians to believe that the Laws of the Bible are bad, and that those who follow them are cursed. Being cursed, they could only achieve redemption through Jesus being sent to earth as \textit{Mpatanishi} (Reconciler).

The verses are used as a part of the case being made by the writer to show that he rejects Paul and his teachings, as he had perverted the beliefs of Christians. Kanoni, in stating that Christians follow Paul rather than Jesus, is part of a long tradition of Muslim attacks on Paul. Examples of such are, ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d.1025), who David Thomas says “argued at length that Paul corrupted the original purity of Jesus’ message (\textit{Tathbīṭ dalā’īl al-nubuwwa}) [Proofs of Prophethood]” (Thomas 2001b:118), and ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad az-Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (994-1064) who, Camillia Adang states, wrote that Jewish rabbis:

\begin{quote}
[C]orruped Christianity from within. They had allegedly persuaded Paul to pretend to profess the religion of Jesus, in order to misguide its followers. It was Paul, who at the instigation of the rabbis, insinuated objectionable doctrines into Christianity (Adang 1996:105).
\end{quote}

These early examples of polemical attacks on Paul illustrate that Kanoni, in his writing, is successor to an established approach.

\textsuperscript{40} The Greek word used is \textit{i`lasth,rion} (hilastērion) the means of expiation or propitiation (e.g. Mercy Seat) (Rienecker & Rogers 1980:356). In a footnote the UV explains \textit{Upatanisho} hapa maana yake ni, \textit{Kiti cha rehema} (Upatanisho here its meaning is, Mercy Seat) (UV 1997:158 (New Testament section)).

\textsuperscript{41} Other Swahili bibles using \textit{upatanisho} are Zanzibar NT and Neno, Mombasa NT adds (\textit{makazi-ya-rehema}) (dwelling/abode of mercy) after \textit{upatanisho} in the text. Roehl uses \textit{Kiti cha Upozi} (Seat of Healing). Habari Njema uses \textit{awe njia ya kuwaondo lea watu dhambi} (being a way of removing sin from people).
Khan quotes verses 19-25 in full as a part of his testimony to show how he had become a Christian.\(^42\)

Briefly, I continued with my research into the New Testament, I read it a few times from the beginning to the end. When I was reading I saw thousands of verses and many examples which confirmed to me with no doubts whatsoever that salvation (the thing that is the purpose of religion) could only be achieved by way of belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. Here I show one part only:

“So we know that all things that the law states it states for those who are under the law, so that each mouth may be closed, and the whole earth may be under the judgement of God; for there is no body that will be reckoned as right before him by the actions of law; because recognition of sin comes by the way of the law.

But now, the justice of God is evident without the law; it is testified to by the law and the Prophets; it is the justice of God that is by way of faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. For there is no difference; because all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God; they are reckoned righteous freely by his grace, by way of redemption that is in Christ Jesus; who God has already put forward to be a reconciliation by faith in his blood, so as to show his righteousness, because in God’s forbearance he has passed over all the sins that had been previously committed” (Romans 3:19-25).

\(^43\)

The verses are quoted in the tract in order to show what the writer considers to be sufficient proof as to why he decided to believe in Jesus Christ. He states that he had read through the New Testament on several occasions before coming to a decision. The passage is quoted without any further explanation. It is possible that Khan felt that it was sufficient testimony in itself. The subsequent section is headed “Uamuzi wangu na kuungama” (My decision and...
confession), which is the conclusion of the tract and explains how Khan became a Christian in 1903. This date perhaps explains why he is not defensive of Paul in his use of the verses.

Khan’s conversion occurred before Lonsdale and Laura Ragg published the English translation of the *Gospel of Barnabas* (1906), which perhaps can be said to have marked a renewal of the use of attacks on Paul in Muslim polemical populist literature.

[15] TELM *Isa (Yusu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

This tract quotes a part of verse 23, together with a verse from Isaiah, in order to examine the ‘fallen state’ of humanity.

Mankind is in a fallen state and has been thrown outside the agreement of God and fellowship with God. “But your wickedness has separated you from your God, and your sins have hidden his face so you shouldn’t see it, he even does not want to hear” (Isaiah 59:2).

Romans 3:23 is a clear summary of what God says about the lost state of a human – he has died *spiritually*: [emphasis in original]

> “Because all have sinned, and fallen short of the glory of God.”

This denotes all people. And because mankind is sinful, he needs a saviour, one that will do something for him that God alone is able to do.

(TELM *Isa* [tract 15]:7)

The verse is used to support the Isaiah passage in order to show that humanity is in a fallen state. The reason for the ‘lost state’ is that they “have died spiritually”, emphasised in the tract by use of bold print. What ‘to die spiritually’ means is supported by the quotation from verse 23: they “have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God.” The tract then makes clear that this refers to “all people”, so all need a saviour, who it implies can reconcile them to God.

---

44 *Mwanadamu yuko katika hali ya kuanguka ametupwa nje ya kibali cha Mungu na ushirika wa Mungu.
“Lakini maov u yenu yamewafarikisha ninyi na Mungu wenu, na dhambi zenu zimeuficha uso wake msiwone, hata hataki kusikia”* (Isaya 59:2).

*Warumi 3:23 ni jumisho wazi la Mungu la kusema juu ya hali ya kupotea kwa binadamu – amekufa kiroho:*

> “Kwa sababu wote wamefanya dhambi, na kupungukiwa na utukufu wa Mungu.”

*Hii inamaanisha kuwa watu wote. Na kwa sababu mwanadamu ni mwenye dhambi, anahitaji mwokozi, mmoja wa kunifanya kitu anibacho ni Mungu tu awezaye kufanya.*
The tract uses verse 23 as a ‘proof text’ to demonstrate the consequences of being separated from God. This is part of a series of statements to show that Jesus is the way for people to receive forgiveness.

The three tracts make use of the verses in different ways: Kanoni as a part of his concerted attack on Paul, as the perverter of Christianity, through ‘His Book’, the New Testament; Khan gives the entire passage without explanation, leaving it to speak for itself; whilst TELM Isa selects a part verse, in order to show that humanity is in a fallen state, unable to be saved without the intervention of God.
10.3 *TAHRĪF* (Corruption of Scripture)

This is an accusation that is brought by Muslims against Christians and Jews, that they have changed their scriptures in order to conceal the truth that Islam and Muḥammad are mentioned and foretold in the earlier scriptures. As the accusation concerns earlier scriptures, Christians have defended themselves against it, but there is no tradition of Christians using a similar accusation against Muslims.⁴⁵

*Taḥrīf* (corruption) is the distortion or modification of the original text (Bewley 1998:23). The most common accusation by Muslims is that Christians and Jews deliberately changed the text of the Bible. The Qurʾān has various verses which mention the different forms of *taḥrīf*.⁴⁶

It was from the foundation of these and similar verses that Muslim Scholars examined the Bible and found examples of corruption which they then used for polemical purposes. From an early point, *taḥrīf* was seen as being of two different kinds, either the corruption of the meaning/sense (*taḥrīf al-maʿānī*) or a literal distortion of the text (*taḥrīf al-nāṣṣ*) (Adang 1996:223). The corruption of meaning claimed that Christians and Jews had deliberately interpreted passages of the Bible in their own way to their own advantage. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (c. 810-865), known as Ibn Rabban, mentioned differences in the Bible, but does not use them for polemical purposes, rather he charges Christians with “distortion of the interpretation of the scriptures, and not of the text itself” (Adang 1996:225).

At a later date, other scholars began to accuse both Christians and Jews of literal corruption, actually corrupting the text itself, that is, deliberately changing the text for their own purposes.

---

⁴⁵ Christians did however make charges of corruption against Jews (Lazarus-Hafeh 1992:19-20).
⁴⁶ The different forms of *taḥrīf* referred to in the Qurʾān are: *taktumuna* concealing the truth, e.g. *Al-Baqara* (2):146b; *tukhfuna* hiding what is in Scripture, e.g. *Al-Māʾīda* (5):15b; *yuḥarrifūna* willfully changing the Word of God, e.g. *Al-Māʾīda* (5):41b; *badala* changing one word for another, e.g. *Al-Arḍ* (7):162a.
A prime exponent of this accusation is Ibn al-Hāzm (d. 1064) of Cordoba. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh says that Ibn al-Hāzm was:

… the first Muslim author to use a systematic scholarly approach to the Bible to prove in detail this Qur’ānic charge [corruption], perhaps because he was one of the first Muslim authors to have a real knowledge of the Biblical text” (Lazarus-Yafeh 1992:26).

Since that time, Muslim writers have continued to charge Christians with *taḥrīf*, mainly using the ‘classical’ arguments set out by the early writers. Some recent writers, particularly in polemical writings, have used the charge of *taḥrīf* against the editors of new versions of the Bible in various languages.47

The passages of scripture to be examined are: Matthew 10:23, John 1:18; Jude 1:14.48 These are all found in one Muslim tract, by Abbas Gombo Kanoni, *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu* (Why I left Christianity and became a Muslim).

10.3.1 Example of *taḥrīf* in *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

**Matthew 10:23**

23 When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next; for truly I tell you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes.

(New Revised Standard Version)

**John 1:18**

18 No one has ever seen God. It is God the only Son, who is close to the Father's heart, who has made him known.

(New Revised Standard Version)

**Jude 1:14**

14 It was also about these that Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied, saying, “See, the Lord is coming with ten thousands of his holy ones,

(New Revised Standard Version)

These three verses are used in one tract.

---

47 See Hava Lazarus-Haveh (1992, 1999) and Camilla Adang (1996) for further information on *taḥrīf*.

48 The letter of Jude has one chapter with 25 verses. Kanoni refers to the passage as 1:14, for clarity this form is followed.
The writer of the tract accuses Christians of *tahrīf* (corruption) of scripture. Three different verses are used in this accusation. John 1:18 appears twice.

“WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO CALL JESUS “SON”?”

When I was discussing with a certain leader of the Christian religion concerning the second person of the Godhead, that is Jesus, that leader showed me a certain part in the Bible where it was written “God-Son”. And resulting from this testimony all Christians believe that Jesus is God’s Son and that he is the second person of the Godhead.

To tell the truth this word “God-Son” as it is shown in the Bible is a counterfeit word that is inserted only in the Bible. This word is inserted on purpose in order that that desire of theirs to raise up Jesus should succeed. This word “God-Son” was not in the old Bible, this word was only added in the Bible of these days.

In the Bible that was printed in 1945

John 1:18 is written:-

“The only son that is in the Father’s breast.”

But in the Bible that was printed in 1950

John 1:18 is written:-

“God the only Son that is in the Father’s breast.”

I think that you will see that the old Bible does not know this word “God-Son” rather it only knows the word “Son”. When in this time of light when many of the people are aware, these writers are able to dare to change the Bible and to write words that are able to mislead their followers, so, how many changes that are greater than this were able to be changed by these writers in the time of darkness? No doubt today’s Bible is filled with many things that are not the truth which were able to be added according to the inclination of those writers.

That way, this word “God-Son” is not the word of truth, rather it is a “counterfeit” word. It was only added so that they could dare to make the lie of their faith that has no foundation that of the Holy Trinity. (Kanoni [tract 2]:22-23)
The passage begins by asking what it means to call Jesus ‘Son’. The tract uses the different words found in two versions of the Swahili Bible. The first version that Kanoni calls the Bible of 1945, uses ‘Son’, this is Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo Kimefasirika katika Maneno ya Kiyunani (New Testament in Swahili (Zanzibar)) which had been reprinted from an edition which had last been corrected in 1923 (Peltola 1957:24). The second version, which he calls the Bible of 1950, includes ‘God’, this is Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo (The New Testament in Swahili Union Version) which was the first edition of the new Union Version. Kanoni would have been at school in 1950 and it is possible that he was presented with the new version while he was there.

It is perhaps unsurprising that Kanoni was surprised at the differences between the two versions of the passage, as the reason for the difference between the two versions originates in variant readings in the text of the Greek New Testament, something that it is unlikely that a layperson would be aware of.

50 Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo Kimefasirika katika Maneno ya Kiyunani (New Testament in Swahili (Zanzibar)) (Book of the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ which is translated from the Greek Text in Zanzibar Swahili). Edward Steere’s version was first published in 1879, with revisions in 1883; this was further revised by Arthur Madan and Percy Jones-Bateman, and printed in 1892 by BFBS. With further revisions by Jones-Bateman, Herbert Woodward, assisted by Petro Limo and Cecil Majiliwa it was printed in Zanzibar in 1893. A final revision was undertaken by Frank Weston and Godfrey Dale and published in 1921, according to Kalugila and Mojola, whilst Peltola says 1923 (Kalugila 1997:15-24; Mojola 1999:66-67; Peltola 1957:23-24).

51 Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo (The New Testament in Swahili Union Version) (Book of the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Swahili Union Version). This had been a co-operative effort encouraged by the BFBS. The work was carried out by missionaries from UMCA, who used Zanzibar Swahili, and CMS, who used Mombasa Swahili, to produce a version of the Bible in Standard Swahili, with support from Richard Reusch (Lutheran) (Mojola 1999:70). Work had begun in the early 1930s with the Gospel of Luke, work done by Godfrey Dale (UMCA) corrected by George Pittway and H.J. Butcher (CMS) being assessed by G.W. Broomfield (UMCA) and printed in 1934 (Kalugila 1997:29). Tentative versions of the other Gospels were published by CMS in 1945 and the whole New Testament in 1950 (Mojola 1999:70).

\[ \text{μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ὁ ὕν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς} \]

\( (\text{monogenēs theos ho òn eis ton kolpon tou patros}) \)

\( (\text{the only one of God that is in the breast of the father}) \)

The first two words, \( \text{μονογενὴς} \) (unique: adjective, nominative masculine singular) and \( \text{θεὸς} \) (God: noun nominative masculine singular) being the ones in contention. The apparatus\(^{52}\) shows a variant reading, \( δ\text{ μονογενὴς υἱός} \) (\( ho\text{ monogenēs huios} \)), \( υἱός \) (son, heir, offspring: noun nominative masculine singular); it also lists which manuscripts give each of the readings.

From 1898, the various editions of the Greek New Testament compiled by Eberhard Nestle were based on a comparison of the available manuscripts and other printed editions. The decision to change from \( υἱός \) to \( \text{θεὸς} \) in the text only came after the editorial committee of the United Bible Societies included additional early papyri versions of the gospels when they were making decisions for the new edition.\(^{53}\) The earlier readings were considered as stronger by a majority of the committee, who regarded the change from \( \text{θεὸς} \) to \( υἱός \) to be the result of scribal assimilation (Metzger 1970:198). In his commentary on John, G. Beasley-Murray argues that either reading fits with Johannine theology and could be possible (Beasley-Murray 2002:2).

This explanation has been given to demonstrate that there are different readings of the verse, which centre on the presence or absence of ‘Son’. The Zanzibar Swahili version says \textit{Mwana}

---

\(^{52}\) The GNT has an extensive apparatus, in the form of footnotes which show variant readings found in different manuscripts. Bruce Metzger describes the procedures of the committee, which weighed the evidence of the manuscripts and a majority chose one version, and the minority view is also given (Metzger 1975:198).

\(^{53}\) The papyri are: \( P^{66} \) which is dated around 200, a fragment which includes John 1:1-6:11, and \( P^{75} \) which is dated early third century, a fragment which includes John 1:1-11:45. Both of which have \( \text{θεὸς} \) rather than \( υἱός \) (Metzger 1975:198). These papyri were not published in critical editions until 1956 (\( P^{66} \)) 1976 (\( P^{75} \)) so they will not have affected decisions on the Swahili versions (Aland & Aland 1987:100-101).
wa pekee (the only son) whilst the Union Version says Mungu Mwana pekee (God the only son). When these versions were being prepared, those who were translating more often relied on English versions of the New Testament,\textsuperscript{54} rather than using the Greek version as a basis.\textsuperscript{55}

Because the variant reading was known, those working on John’s Gospel would have discussed the possibility of using Mungu Mwana pekee rather than Mwana wa pekee. It is not surprising that Kanoni, finding these two different versions, says: “This word is inserted on purpose”, that is tahrīf (deliberate corruption).

Kanoni gives two reasons as to why the change was made:

… in order that that desire of theirs to raise up Jesus should succeed.

It was only added so that they could dare to make the lie of their faith that has no foundation that of the Holy Trinity.

The passage asks the meaning of Mungu Mwana: it can be translated as ‘God the Son’ as there is no possessive wa (of) to make it God’s Son.

Kanoni uses this variation to raise the possibility that many other changes could have been deliberately and perniciously made in the past during the “wakati wa giza” (time of darkness).

This could possibly reflect the ideas of a period of jahiliyya (ignorance) that Sayyid Quṭb wrote about in Ma‘ālim fi ‘I-tariq (Milestones) (Quṭb 1990), as Quṭb’s ideas were being made known in Tanzania during the 1960s (Chande 1998:144).

---

\textsuperscript{54} The King James Version (1611) of the Bible was the only one available in English when Edward Steere was working; the key phrase says “Only begotten Son”, whilst in the 1940s those working on the Union Version would have had access to the Revised Version (1885) and early drafts of the Revised Standard Version (published 1946), which says “the only Son”, with a footnote saying “Other ancient authorities read God”; whilst the later New Revised Standard Version (1989) has “God the only Son”, with a footnote saying “Other ancient authorities read It is an only Son, God, or It is the only Son”.

\textsuperscript{55} Those who worked on the Zanzibar Swahili version could possibly have used Constantin von Tischendorf’s Editio octava critica maior (1869-1872), but they had published the first Swahili edition before New Testament in Original Greek by Brooke Westcott and Fenton Hort was published in 1881. The 13\textsuperscript{th} Edition of Novum Testamentum Graece by Erwin Nestle was published in 1927 and would have been available to those working on the Union Version. This edition would have shown ζοις as an alternative reading supported by a number of early manuscripts (See Aland & Aland 1987:18-20).
In a later section, the tract specifically places a charge of *tahriif*, that the Bible is continuously being changed. Three New Testament verses are used: Jude 1:14, Matthew 10:23 and John 1:18 is again examined.

**THE BIBLE HAS ITS WORDS CHANGED EVERY YEAR**

There is also testimony that the Bible is a book that is changed continuously each year. Its writing is writing that undergoes changes “*amendments*”. The following testimony will demonstrate this matter:-

The Gospel of 1945 in Jude 1:14 it is written:-

“And Enoch, the seventh generation after Adam, prophesied concerning this, saying, See, the Lord came with ten thousand of his holy ones.”

These words mention “ten thousand of his holy ones.”

The Gospel of 1950 in Jude 1:14 it is written:-

“And Enoch, the seventh generation after Adam, prophesied concerning this, saying, ‘See, the Lord came with thousand thousands of his holy ones.’”

In these words it says “thousand thousands”, that is without number. But the Gospel in English says, “*ten thousand of Saints*.” In the Bible of 1945 the words “ten thousand” are there; but in the Bible of 1950 these words have been removed, and instead of these another has been inserted, that is “thousand thousands”. So, who is it that has told these writers that “ten thousand” is not suitable and that “thousand thousands” is indeed the correct word?

Likewise, the Gospel of 1945: Matthew 10:23:-

“You will not finish all the towns of Israel before the coming of the Son of Adam.”

But in the Gospel of 1950 this word “All” is removed, because it is written:-

**MATTHEW 10:23** It is written:-

“You will not finish the towns of Israel before the coming of the Son of Adam.”

So that they get a testimony that will gradually raise up Jesus and succeed in giving him the rank of Godhood, they were able to make the following changes in the Bible.

(Continued on the next page)
The Gospel of 1945: JOHN 1:18 It is written:-
“The only son that is in the Father’s breast.”
But in the Gospel of 1950 a new word is added that is “God”. This word is added in order to get
testimony to raise Jesus to the rank of Godhood, that is why it is written:-
JOHN 1:18 That:-
“God the only Son that is in the Father’s breast.”
Now if at this time of light, these writers are daring to have the audacity to insert and change
freely the words that they believe are the words of Almighty God, so, how was it in the
dominion of darkness of the time when people knew nothing? No doubt in those times much
was changed that today people are told to accept are the words of Almighty God.
(Kanoni [tract 2]:59-60)

Kanoni quotes the same two versions of the Bible that he used in the earlier section. Now he
is specifically charging the translators with continuously making “amendments”, which word
appears in English in the tract. In each verse the two versions quoted show a difference in the
Swahili.

The first example given is Jude 1:14; the whole verse is quoted. The final phrase is the one
with different text in Swahili.

\[
\text{αγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ} \\
(hagiais muriasin autou) \\
(they of his holy ones)
\]

The difference being questioned concerns the meaning of one Greek word μυριάσιν
\( (muriasin, \text{ dative feminine plural noun}) \), which has a range of meanings: group of ten
thousand, myriad; countless thousands (Newman 1971:119). The 1945 Zanzibar Swahili says
eľľu kumi (ten thousand), whilst the 1950 UV Swahili says maelfu maeľfu (thousand
thousands).

57 Injili ya mwaka 1945: YOHANA 1:18 Imeandikwa:-
“Mwana wa pekee aliye katika kifua cha Baba.”
Lakini katika Injili ya mwaka 1950 neno jipya lumeongezwa nalo ni “Mungu”. Neno hili lumeongezwa ili
uweze kupatikana ushabidi wa kumpandisha Yesu na kumpatia daraja la Kimungu, kwani imeandikwa:-
YOHANA 1:18 Kwamba:-
“Mungu Mwana pekee aliye katika kifua cha Baba.”
Sasa iwapo katika wakati huu wa nusu, waandishi hawa wanathubutu kufanya ujasiri wa kuyingilia na
cuyabadalisha kwa hiai zao maneno wanyosadiki kuwa ni maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu, je, ilikuwaje
katika enzi za giza wakati watu walikuwa hawajui chochote? Bila shaka katika nyakati hizo ni mengi
yalyoabadishwa ambayo leo watu wanaambiwa kuyakubali kuwa ni maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu.
Having noted the difference, Kanoni then looked at the passage in English, which he quotes in English: “ten thousand of Saints”; he has used the King James Version (KJV) of the Bible, which seems to support his argument. However it is misquoted in the tract as an ‘s’ is omitted: the KJV actually reads: “ten thousands of saints”, which is closer to the UV Swahili version, which he attacks, than the Zanzibar Swahili version, which he appears to take as the normative version.

The tract then questions as to who has the authority to tell the translators of the new version of the Swahili Bible to make such changes? This is then supported by additional examples, beginning with Matthew 10:23.

> Hamtaimaliza miji yote ya Israeli [NTZS] 1945
> Hamtaimaliza miji yote ya Israeli [NTUV] 1950
> you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel [NRSV]
> οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πολείς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ
> (ou mè telesète tas poleis tou Israèl)
> (you shall certainly not come to an end of the towns of Israel)

The change that is questioned is the absence of *yote* (all) in the UV. The Greek word τελέσητε (telesète aorist subjunctive 2nd person plural: to complete, to come to the end) allows for the inclusion of *yote* in that it has the sense of completion. Likewise the omission of *yote* does not change the sense of the phrase in Swahili.

It appears that Kanoni has chosen the example because he found a difference, without considering whether it makes any difference to the meaning of the text. 60

Introducing the final example, Kanoni then gives the reason for questioning the changes.

---

58 The other Swahili Bibles all agree with the UV with variations on *maelfū* or *maelfū wa maelfū*.
59 Kanoni was at school in the 1940s and early 1950s and could have used the KJV in English. The RSV was published during this period, but was not readily available.
60 Both *Habari Njema* and *Neno* include *yote*, whereas Roehl omits it.
So that they get a testimony that will gradually raise up Jesus and succeed in giving him the rank of Godhood, they were able to make the following changes in the Bible.

Then John 1:18 is presented and the insertion of *Mungu* (God) is again questioned. Kanoni explains what he believes is the reason why the translators have done it:

This word is added in order that there is testimony to raise Jesus to the rank of Godhood. Kanoni uses the verse to add to the ‘evidence’, without the detailed argument that he set out in the earlier section.

He completes this section by contrasting the present, *wakati huu wa nuru* (this time of light), with the past, *enzi za giza* (dominion of darkness). He wonders at the audacity and daring of the translators to make such changes and asks, if they can do this when we live in the light, how many more corruptions were made in the past?

In his arguments, Kanoni does not appear to be referring to the classical attacks on Christians for *tahrîf*; his argument seems to be based on the differences between two versions of the Swahili Bible. The resulting attack is not dissimilar and appears to be rooted in the different understanding of the text of the Qur’ān and the Bible by Muslims and Christians. For Muslims, the Qur’ān is the true text only in the original Arabic and anything in a different language can only be an interpretation of the text and not the text itself. Whereas, for Christians, the Bible is the Word of God, in whatever language it is read in. The New Testament was written originally in Greek, but has been translated into the languages (vernaculars) of the people using it from the time of the early church, in order that the believers could understand it clearly.61

---

61 A Syriac document, the *Diatessaron*, which is a harmony of the gospels, came into use by the end of the second century, and various Latin versions during the third century (Aland & Aland 1987:182-189).
CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main purpose of this research has been to assess the use of scripture in tracts published in Swahili, in East Africa, in order to make a contribution to the field of Religious Studies. Such a study could not be carried out in isolation, so the use of tracts in outreach was examined and a study made of the religious use of the language in the tracts.

The research is presented in three parts. In order to be able to assess what conclusions can be drawn from the research, part one is summarised; then the issues raised in chapter one, concerning part two, are addressed:

- In East Africa, tracts have been used by Christians since the middle of the nineteenth century and by Muslims since the early twentieth century. In order to gain an overview it was necessary to investigate what tracts have been in circulation, how these tracts were produced and how long they remained available.

- As the tracts being studied were in Swahili, the question also arose as to whether Swahili was suited for use as a religious language.

The major portion of the research was presented in part three and the preliminary conclusions which were made there are drawn on to address the questions raised in chapter one:

- The origin and purpose of tracts and their role in attracting members of the other faith group: to what extent were the tracts examined polemical or eirenical in approach?

- Tracts use scripture from the Bible and the Qur'ân: How was this scripture being used? Does the way scripture is interpreted differ between Christian and Muslim tracts?
11.1 PART ONE

Part One (chapters 2-4) set the overall context of the research, with background information on tracts and printing.

Chapter Two entailed a study of the origins of religious tracts in Britain. The work of RTS and SPCK was presented to illustrate the procedures that Christian tracts societies followed in the production of tracts. This proved important for an understanding of developments in other places, particularly East Africa.

Chapter Three examined the use of Christian tracts in overseas mission work, particularly for use with Muslims. The work of the Halle Institute and the support of SPCK for work in Tranquebar in the eighteenth century can be seen as the earliest planned production of tracts specifically for use with Muslims. The approaches in material written by Henry Martyn and Karl Pfander were noted. A proposal for an apparently unknown tract by Samuel Crowther was shown. The collaborative work and approach of CLCM was evaluated. Through Constance Padwick’s monthly mailings it sought to produce appropriate material particularly for use in tracts for the ‘Near East’, but also for any area of the world with a Muslim presence. This was important to show that Christians working amongst Muslims have used tracts in their work since the eighteenth century.

Chapter Four gave an overview of the development of printing in Arabic and the propagation of tracts by Muslims. The approaches in Muslim tracts circulating in Egypt in the 1920s and in the 1990s were evaluated. These showed that the material in use in East Africa has an antecedent.
11.2 **PART TWO**

Part Two (chapters 5-6) focussed on East Africa, examining the use of tracts and the religious use of Swahili.

Chapter Five responded to the issued raised in Chapter One: In East Africa tracts have been used by Christians since the middle of the nineteenth century and by Muslims since the early twentieth century. In order to gain an overview it was necessary to investigate what tracts have been in circulation, how these tracts were produced and how long they remained available.

The chapter examined the availability of tracts in East Africa since the middle of the nineteenth century. The work of British and German Protestant missionary societies in producing tracts was examined, with listings of tracts available at various times in the twentieth century. Co-operation between missionary societies publishing tracts, particularly SPCK and RTS, was noted. The history of one tract *Raha Isiyo Karaha* was traced. This was printed five times from 1893 to 1940, and was still on sale until at least 1960. Thus despite its polemical approach being condemned by Muslim leaders, this tract, written at the end of the nineteenth century, for use amongst Muslims on the coast, was reprinted, without editing or revision, for use in Nairobi, forty years later. This indicates that at that time Christians had not considered the impact of an out-dated polemical tract and removed it from sale.

Muslim tracts in Swahili began to be published in East Africa in the 1920s. The importance of al-Amin b. Aly Mazrui and Abdallah Saleh al-Farsy’s use of Swahili was noted. Tracts written by them and published in the 1940s and 1950s were found to be still available.
Muslim tracts, once published, continued to be available. In several instances the first edition was being sold more than twenty years after it first appeared, or was reprinted with no revision. In the case of first editions, it shows the possibility that booksellers had ordered more stock than they could expect to sell and that they held on to stock, regardless of turnover. In the case of subsequent editions, it indicates that where a tract had sold out, it was reprinted without any revision. The production and marketing of tracts was outside this research; in order to confirm these conclusions, further research would need to be carried out.

New approaches and the influence of Ahmed Deedat were mentioned, showing external influences on contemporary Muslim writers, particularly Ngariba and Kawemba.

Chapter Six examined the use of Swahili as a religious language. The question addressed was: Is Swahili suited for use as a religious language?

The existence of many dialectical variants of Swahili, the introduction of Roman script and the creation of a Standard Swahili, by the British authorities in the 1920s, were outlined. This demonstrated the search for a uniformity of language by the colonial powers. The use of non-Standard Swahili in many of the tracts shows that the dialectical variants are still in use.

The use of Swahili for religious terminology was examined. From Miss Barton’s failure to appreciate the breadth of meanings possible in Swahili, the correspondence concerning the agreement reached on what name to use for Jesus in Swahili: *Isa* or *Yesu*, and the neologism *takatifu* for ‘holy’ being ‘made up’, probably by Ludwig Krapf or Edward Steere, it is clear that the early Christian missionaries in East Africa had difficulties in ‘translating the word’ to the context of the people they wished to reach.
The various versions of the Bible in Swahili, from the first complete New Testament, in Zanzibar Swahili, published in 1883, to the *Revised Union Version*, published in 2006, are introduced and assessed. This shows the development of Swahili from the earliest versions, which used the Swahili of Zanzibar (*Kiunguja*) and the Swahili of Mombasa (*Kimvita*), to current editions which use Standard Swahili.

The various versions of the Qurʾān available in Swahili, from Dale’s, published in 1923, to *Al-Kashti*, which is being published in separate *juzʾ*, starting in 2002, were introduced and assessed, showing that there appears to be an on-going need for versions of the Qurʾān in Swahili, in spite of the understanding that Arabic is the language of the Qurʾān.

That Swahili can be used as a religious language in order to communicate the messages of Christianity and Islam was substantiated. However, it became clear that the use of ‘loan words’ from Greek and Hebrew, often via English, for Christians, or from Arabic for Muslims, indicated the difficulty of communicating adequately in Swahili about ‘alien’ religious concepts.

11.3 **PART THREE**

The questions which are addressed in part three were:

- The origin and purpose of tracts and their role in attracting members of the other faith group: to what extent were the tracts examined polemical or eirenical in approach?

- Tracts use scripture from the Bible and the Qurʾān: How was this scripture being used? Does the way scripture was interpreted differ between Christian and Muslim tracts?
11.3.1 Analysis of tracts

Chapter Seven concerned the collection of tracts and an analysis of the sixteen tracts chosen for detailed study. Analysis of the tracts revealed information about the authors or groups that produced them and their purpose in propagating them; those written by converts tended to be vehement in condemning their former faith.

As part of the analysis, each of the tracts studied was categorised as being polemical or eirenical in approach. This was stated at the end of the description of each tract. They were found to be mainly polemical in content and approach, with very little use of eirenic or apologetic language. The writers of most of the tracts were careful not to be offensive about either Jesus or Muâammad, but the language used about Christians or Muslims was often more robust. Eleven of the tracts were generally polemical, six by Muslim writers and five by Christian writers; five of the tracts were more eirenical in approach, two by Muslim writers and three by Christian writers. An examination of the different tracts and their authors affords some conclusions:

Examining the authors of the tracts reveals that there is a difference in approach by converts to the two faiths. The tracts written by Muslims, who had formerly been Christians, those by Kanoni and Ngogo (tract numbers 2, 3 and 6) were found to be generally polemical; of the tracts written by Christians who had formerly been Muslims, which are testimonies, those by Alavi, Khan and Masudi (tract numbers 9, 11 and 12) were found to be more eirenical; however the tracts written by Jadeed (tract numbers 10 and 13) were found to be polemical in their contents and approach.
The other polemical tracts written by Muslims, those by Imran, Ngariba and Kawemba and Musa (tract numbers 1, 4 and 5) and those written by Christians, those by Simbaulanga and the Tanzanian Evangelical Literature Ministry (tract numbers 14, 15 and 16) appear to have a range of purposes. Some of them are outreach material, such as tract number 5 by Ngariba and Kawemba and those by TELM (tract numbers 15 and 16); others are instructional for those of the same faith, such as Simbaulanga (tract number 14). The two Muslim tracts that were more eirenical, those by Swaleh and Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (tract numbers 7 and 8), seem to have been written for the education of other Muslims.

This research has found that the majority of the tracts studied are polemical in approach and content. It is possible the reason for this is that polemical tracts are perceived to be more effective by the writers and publishers of the tracts. However, this issue lies outside the purpose of the research, but may warrant further study.

The scriptures used in the selected tracts were recorded and verses from the Bible and the Qur‘ān which appeared in several tracts, and in most cases by both Christians and Muslims, were chosen for study. The average number of passages used from the Bible was 51 and the average number of passages used from the Qur‘ān was 21.

It was concluded that the reason that more passages were used from the Bible than the Qur‘ān, by both Muslim and Christian writers, is that the purpose and content of the tracts selected meant that Muslim writers were using the Bible to show how it points towards Islam or is refuted by the Qur‘ān, whereas Christian writers used the Bible to show the truths that they held to.
The passages from the Qurʾān were used by Muslim writers not only to refute the Bible, but also to show that the Qurʾān is faithful to the message of Jesus rather than that of Paul, whereas Christian writers wanted to show that Jesus is portrayed in the Qurʾān.

It was found that most tracts quoted passages of scripture using the most readily available version of scripture: the Union Version for the Bible, and al-Farsy for the Qurʾān.

All of the tracts that quote the Bible follow the Union Version, whilst some of the tracts that quote the Qurʾān do not follow al-Farsy. For instance the translators of the tracts by Imran (tract number 1) and Masudi (tract number 12) both appear to give their own version of the Qurʾān, possibly translating the passages from the foreign language versions of the tracts, rather than using a Swahili version of the Qurʾān for the translation. The first tract by Kanoni (number 2) used the Aḥmadi version, whereas Kanoni’s second tract (number 3) uses al-Farsy; this suggests that the earlier tract was written before 1969 and the publication of the first edition of *Qurani Takatifu*, and the later tract was written after its publication. Musa (tract number 4) a pupil of al-Farsy, whilst acknowledging his debt to al-Farsy produced his own version of the passages.

11.3.2 The use of scripture in the tracts

The passages were presented thematically. Chapters Eight to Ten presented the different themes and examined how scripture was used in the different selected tracts. A preliminary conclusion was given for each of the passages in those chapters.
Having examined sixteen different passages of scripture, as used in the selected tracts, in order to draw conclusions concerning the research, it is possible to answer the questions asked in chapter one: How is this scripture being used? Does the way scripture is interpreted differ between Christian and Muslim tracts?

Passages of scripture were used in different ways in the tracts:

Firstly, scripture was used by the tracts in order to make a point:

This is illustrated in the way that *Al-Mā’ida* (5):72-78 (section 8.3.2) is used by four tracts. Imran (tract number 1) used it to build his case for *tawḥīd*; Musa (tract number 4) used it in order to further discuss Jesus’ origins; Alavi (tract number 9) questioned the meaning of key words and their interpretation; and Jadeed (tract number 10) used the passage to examine whether Jesus actually died. The same passage was used to make different points by the four tracts.

Secondly, the interpretation of scripture ranged from a comment on a single verse to an extensive exegetical discourse:

This is illustrated in the way that five different tract writers used *Āl ʿĪmrān* (3):45-51 (section 9.3.1), concerning the Jesus’ miracles: Imran (tract number 1) made no specific mention of the miracles, rather he used it to deny Jesus’ divinity and God’s creative word; Musa (tract number 4) gave a detailed comment on the miracles, particularly the clay birds, in order to show the tensions between Jesus and the Jews; Alavi (tract number 9) used it to show that Jesus is different from other people; TELM *ʻIsa* (tract number 15) used the verses individually in order to show that Jesus was the ‘Word’ and TELM *Neno* (tract number 16) also used verse
45 to show that Jesus was the ‘Word’; Bible passages were used contrasting where Jesus is called the ‘Word’ with *Kalimatu'llāh* (God’s Word).

Thirdly, scripture was used in tracts which were testimonies by those who had changed their faith, where an interpretation of a passage is given in order to show how it was used by one faith and then responded to by the writer of the tract. This is illustrated by Masudi (tract number 12) where this approach is used, giving both an Ahmadi interpretation followed by his own response, as seen in the use of Deuteronomy 18:18 (section 10.1.2).

Fourthly, in some cases several passages of scripture were used together in order to strengthen an argument or point:

This is illustrated by Philippians 2:5-8 (section 9.4.3) where Ngariba and Kawemba (tract number 5) quoted six passages from the Bible with a brief commentary in order to continue an attack on Paul; and TELM Neno (tract number 16) quoted two passages from the Bible and two passages from the Qur'ān giving only the heading “He came for the purpose of dying” to indicate the purpose of the passages.

It was seen that the tract writers used the passages in different ways, giving different interpretations for the same passage. These interpretations seemed to be given in order to promulgate either Islam or Christianity, whilst refuting the other religion. It also reflected some level of understanding of each other’s traditions and scripture.
Sources of influence by earlier exegetes:

Often it was not clear whether the writers had used other sources for their interpretation of the passages of scripture, as these were rarely acknowledged. In this, Swaleh (tract number 7), with his use of a range of classical and modern *tafsīr*, is a notable exception.

In a few cases it was possible to suggest sources for the interpretation: such as similarities in the interpretation of *Al-Nisāʾ* (4):157-159 (section 9.4.1) between Imran (tract number 1) and *al-Kashshāf ‘an Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl* by Abū’l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar az-Zamakhshārī, but it was not possible to determine whether Imran could have had access to this source.

It was found that Christian interpretation of Bible passages generally accorded with accepted Protestant Christian understanding of the passages, but often showed little insight into the significance of these interpretations.

Likewise, it was found that Muslim interpretation of Qurʾānic passages generally accorded with Sunnī interpretation of the material. Some of the tracts, written by Muslims, did attempt *tafsīr* of the Qurʾān, notably Saidi Musa (tract number 4), Harith Swaleh (tract number 7) and Warsha (tract number 8). This indicates that the writers had some training in *tafsīr* and knowledge of the existence of traditional sources of *tafsīr*.

When Christian tracts used the Qurʾān, and Muslim tracts used the Bible, the interpretation often differed from the interpretation given by the respective faith, as referred to above. Both Christian and Muslim tracts appeared to deduce the interpretation needed from the verses of scripture, with little attempt at understanding the context in which the scripture was revealed.
The research undertaken shows, through the examples of text translated and interpreted, that whilst the writers were used to quoting the scriptures, it often appeared that they had a limited understanding of their own and of the other faith. Verses were often taken out of context and used as ‘proof texts’ to support specific points.

11.4 AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This religious studies research was only able to cover a small number of tracts and to examine the use of a small selection of passages of scripture, as between them, these tracts used over six hundred passages from the Bible and over three hundred passages from the Qur’ân.

This research has examined the use of scripture in tracts; it became apparent whilst it was being undertaken that further topics of study could be usefully explored. This opens up the possibility for further study on the use of scripture in these tracts, such as the hermeneutical methods used in the tracts or the portrayal of Paul and use of Pauline texts.

It was not possible to carry out research into the writing and production of the tracts, nor their distribution. Aspects of this warrant further study.

The assessment of the effectiveness of the tracts, especially those which can be considered as outreach material was outside the aim of this research. Study of the impact of these and similar tracts and an assessment of whether they have led to conversion could be usefully undertaken.

Tracts, such as those appearing in this research, are now reducing in importance as communication through print is superseded by electronic forms of communication. Printed
tracts may soon cease to circulate as the faith communities increasingly turn to electronic media to propagate their message, through the internet and text messaging. However the texts of the tracts themselves may well continue to be used through web-sites.

11.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research examined the use of scripture in tracts, in Swahili. The way that scripture is used in these tracts, usually in a polemical manner, leads to concerns that they and other similar material continue to misrepresent Christianity and Islam to the other faith.

Greater attempts at developing mutual understanding between Muslims and Christians need to be made. This can be accomplished through religious leaders encouraging joint projects and initiating educational programmes. These would be to inform adherents of each faith, of the humanity of the ‘other’, rather than continuing to demonise them.

Unless this happens, the result could be an increase in misunderstandings and tensions between Christians and Muslims in East Africa. However, deeper mutual understanding and appreciation would enable Christians and Muslims in East Africa to face common challenges together.
APPENDIX ONE
EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE IN SWAHILI

The Swahili used in these examples include Standard Swahili, Kiunguja (Zanzibar Swahili), Kimvita (Mombasa Swahili) as well as other dialectical variants. Variations in orthography are most noticeable.

1.1 BIBLE PASSAGES

For each of the passages which are discussed in the study, in chapters eight, nine and ten, various Swahili versions of the Bible are given as well as in English in the New Revised Standard Version [NRSV] (1995), which is followed by: Biblia Union Version [UV] (1952), as the most readily available Swahili version of the Bible; Msahafu Mtakatifu [OT Zanzibar] (1895); Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo Kimefasirika katika Maneno ya Kiyunani [NT Zanzibar] (1923); Maagano ya Kale [OT Mombasa] (1914); Chuo cha Maagano Mapya [NT Mombasa] (1917); Biblia ndio Maandiko Matakatifu yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika Msemo wa Kiswahili [Roehl] (1937); Biblia Habari Njema Tafsiri ya Ushirikiano wa Makanisa [Habari Njema] (1995); Neno: Agano Jipya (Tafsiri Rahisi Kueleweka) [NENO] (1989) New Testament only. The changes to the text of the UV found in the Biblia Revised Union Version [RUV] (2006) are noted in the UV portions, in square brackets, appearing after the word that has been changed.

The passages appear in the order that they appear in the Bible.

Deuteronomy 18:16-20

NRSV

16 This is what you requested of the LORD your God at Horeb on the day of the assembly when you said: “If I hear the voice of the LORD my God any more, or ever again see this great fire, I will die.”
17 Then the LORD replied to me: “They are right in what they have said.
18 I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put my words in the mouth of the prophet, who shall speak to them everything that I command.
19 Anyone who does not heed the words that the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself will hold accountable.
20 But any prophet who speaks in the name of other gods, or who presumes to speak in my name a word that I have not commanded the prophet to speak – that prophet shall die.”

UV

16 Kama vile ulivyotaka kwa BWANA, Mungu wako, huko Horebu, siku ya kusanyiko, ukisema, Nisisikie tena sauti ya BWANA, Mungu wangu, wala nisiuone tena moto huu mkubwa, nisije nikafa.
17 BWANA akaniambia, Wametenda vema kusema walivyosema.
18 Mimi nitawaondokesha [nitawainulia] nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zao mfano wako wewe, nami nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.
19 Hata itakuwa, mtu asiëysikiliza maneno yangu atakayosema yule kwa jina langu, nitalitaka kwake,
20 Lakini nabii atakayenena neno kwa kujikinai kwa jina langu, ambalo sikumwagiza kulinena, au atakayenena katika jina la miungu mingine, nabii yule atakufa.
OT Zanzibar
16 kwa yote mliyomtaka BWANA Muungu wako kwa Horeb, siku ya kusanyiko, mkisema, Nisisikie tena sauti ya BWANA Muungu wangu, wala nisiono tena moto huu mkubwa, nisife.
17 BWANA akaniambia, Wamesema vema waliyoyanena.
18 Nitawainulia nabii miongoni mwa ndugi zao, kama wewe; nami nitatia maneno yangu kanwani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.
19 Hatta itakuwa, mtu asiesikiliza maneno yangu atakayosema kwa jina langu, nitalitaka kwake.
20 Illakini nabii atakayejitapa kunena neno kwa jina langu, nisilomwamuru alinene, ao atakayenena kwa jina la miungu mingine, nabii yule atakufa.

OT Mombasa
16 kadiri ya yote uliyotaka kwa Jehovah Mwenyezi Mngu wako siku ya mkutano katika Horebu, uliposema, Nisiisikie tena sauti ya Jehovah Mwenyezi Mngu wangu, wala nisiuone moto huu mkubwa tena, nisije nika.
17 Jehovah akanambia, Hayo waliyonyenena wameyasema vyema
18 Nitawasimamishia nabii katikati ya ndugi zao mfano wako wewe: nami tatia maneno yangu kanwani mwakwe, naye atawambia ntakayomuamuru yote.
19 Tena itakuwa killa asiyetaka kusikiza maneno yangu atakayonena yule kwa jina langu ntkuja litaka kwakwe.
20 Lakini nabii huyo atakaenena neno kwa kujikinai kwa jina langu ambalo sikumwagiza kulinena, au atakaenena kwa jina la waungu wengine, nafie nabii huyo.

Roehl
16 Ni kwa ajili yao yote, uliyomwomba Bwana Mungu wako kule Horebu siku hiyo ya mkutano kwamba: Nisiendelee kuisikia sauti ya Bwana Mungu wangu na kuona moto huu mkubwa, nisife.
17 Ndipo, Bwana aliponiambia: Wamefanya vema waliposema hiyvo.
18 Nitawainulia mfumbuaji miongoni mwa ndugi zao atakayelingana na wewe; nisipatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, awaambie yote, nitakayomwagiza.
19 Itakuwa, mtu akikataa kuyasikia maneno yangu, atakayoyasema katika Jina langu, mimi nitamlipisha.
20 Lakini mfumbuaji atakayejikuza mwenyewe na kusema neno katika Jina langu, nisilomwagiza kulisema, analolisema katika jina la mungu mwingine, huyo mfumbuaji hana budi kufa.

Habari Njema
16 Hicho ndicho mlchomwomba Mwenyezi-Mungu, Mungu wenu, kule Horebu, siku ile mlipokusanyika na kusema, ‘Tusisikie tena sauti ya Mwenyezi-Mungu, Mungu wetu, wala tusione tena moto huu mkubwa, tusije tukafa!’
18 Nitawateulieni miongoni mwa ndugi zao wenyeke nabii kama wewe; nitiatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.
19 Yeyote ambaye hatalikia maneno atakayosema nabii huyo kwa jina langu, mimi mwenyeke niteamwadhihi.
20 Lakini nabii yeyote atakayesema kwa jina la miungu mingine, atakayearibu kusema neno kwa jina langu hali mimi sikumwambia aseme, huyo nabii atakufa.’
Isaiah 45:18-22

NRSV

18 For thus says the LORD, who created the heavens (he is God!), who formed the earth and made it (he established it; he did not create it a chaos, he formed it to be inhabited!): I am the LORD, and there is no other.

19 I did not speak in secret, in a land of darkness; I did not say to the offspring of Jacob, “Seek me in chaos.” I the LORD speak the truth, I declare what is right.

20 Assemble yourselves and come together, draw near, you survivors of the nations! They have no knowledge – those who carry about their wooden idols, and keep on praying to a god that cannot save.

21 Declare and present your case; let them take counsel together! Who told this long ago? Who declared it of old? Was it not I, the LORD? There is no other god besides me, a righteous God and a Saviour; there is no one besides me.

22 Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth! For I am God, and there is no other.

UV

18 Maana BWANA, aliyeziumba mbingu, asema hivi; Yeye ni Mungu; ndiye aliyeiumba dunia na kuifanya; ndiye aliyeifanya imara; hakuiumba [+ iwe] ukiwa, aliiumba ili ikaliwe na watu; Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine.

19 Sikusema kwa siri, katika mahali pa nchi ya giza; sikuwaambia wazao wa Yakobo; Nitatufeni bure; Mimi, BWANA, nasema haki [ukweli]; nanena mambo ya adili [haki].

20 Jikusanyeni mje; na kukaribia pamoja, ninyi wa mataifa mliookoka; hawana maarifa wale wachukuao mti wa sanamu yao ya kuchonga; wamwombao mungu asiyeweza kuokoa.

21 Hubirini, toeni habari; naam, na wa wafanye mashauri pamoja; ni nani aliyeonyesha haya tangu zamani za kale? Ni nani aliyeyahubiri hapo zamani? Si mimi, BWANA? Wala hapana Mungu zaidi ya mimi; Mungu mwenye haki, mwokozi; hapana mwingine zaidi ya mimi.

22 Niangelieni mimi, mkaokolewe, enyi ncha zote za dunia; maana mimi ni Mungu; hapana mwingine.

OT Zanzibar

18 Kwani ndivyo asemavyo BWANA muumba mbingu; ndiye Muungu; aliyeifanya dunia na kuifanyiza; ndiye aliyeitimana, hakuiumba ukiwa, ipate kukaliwa aliifanya: Mimi BWANA; wala hapana mgine.

19 Sikunena kwa siri, mahali pa inchi ya giza; sikuwaambia uzao wa Yakob, Nitatufeni bure: Mimi BWANA ninenaye haki, nitangazaye ya adili.

20 Kusanyikeni njooni; karibu pamoja, mliookoka wa mataifa; hawana maarifa watwikao mti wa sanamu yao, waombao muungu asiyeoko.

21 Tangazeni, toeni; kweli, wafanye shauri pamoja: nani aliyeonyesha haya tangu zamani? aliyeyatanga tanga wakati wa kale? Siye mimi BWANA illa mimi; Muungu wa haki aokoaye; wala hapana illa mimi.

22 Angalieni mimi, mkaokoke, 'ncha zote za dunia: kwani ndimi Muungu, hapana mgine.
OT Mombasa

18 Kwani yeye Jehova aliyeziumba hizo mbingu; yeye ni Mwenyezi Mngu; yeye aliyeifinanga hii dunia na kufanya; yeye aliyeithubutisha, yeye aliumba isiwe ukiwa, yeye aliifnanga illi iketiwe ni watu: yeye asema, Mimi ni Jehova; wala hapana mwengine.

19 Mimi sikunena siri-siri, katika pahali pa nti hiyo ya kiza; mimi sikukiambia hicho kizazi cha Jakubu, Nitafulani mimi bure: mimi Jehova nanena kwa haki, mimi nahuhiri mambo yaliyo ya ulekevu.

20 Haya, kutanani pamoja muje; jongeani karibu pamoja, nyinywi mlioopona wa hizo taifa: wao wautukuao huo mti wa sanamu wao wa kutongwa hawana maarifa, hao wamuombao mngu asiyeweza kuokoa.

Habari Njema

18 Mwenyezi-Mungu, Mungu pekeke, ndiye aliyeziumba dunia, ndiye aliyeziumba na kuitengeneza vema, yeye aliyeishikiza, kwa kuwa hakuizumba, iwe tupa, yeye aliyeitengeneza, watu waikae, yeye anasema: Mimi ndimi Mungu, hakuna mwingine tena.

19 Sikusema fichoni mahali penye giza ya nchi, wala sikuwaambia walio uzao wa Yakobo: Nitafuleni hure! Mimi Bwana husema yenye wongofu, hutangaza yanyokayo!

20 Njoni, kusanyikeni, mfike karibu, ninyi masao ya wamizimu mlioopona! Hawajui kitu wajitwikai vinyago vya miti kulalamika mungu usioweza kuokoa.


22 Nigeukieni, mwokoke, ninyi mapeo yote ya nchi! Kwani mimi ndimi Mungu, hakuna mwingine tena.
Matthew 10:23
NRSV
23 When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next; for truly I tell you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes.

UV
23 Lakini watakapowafukuza katika mji huu, kimibili ni mwingine; kwa maana ni kweli nawaambia, Hamtaimaliza miji ya Israeli, hata ajapo Mwana wa Adamu.

NT Zanzibar
23 Watakapowaudhi katika mji huu, kimibili ni mwingine: kwa maana ni kweli nawaambieni, Hamtaimaliza miji yote ya Israeli, hatta ajapo Mwana wa Adamu.

NT Mombasa
23 Nao watakapowaudhi katika mji huu, ukimibili ni mwengine; kwani ni kweli nawaambia, hamtaitimiza miji ya Israeli, illa atakuja yule Mwana wa bin-Adamu.

Roehl
23 Lakini watakapowafukuza mjini humu, kimibili ni mwingine! Kwani nawaambiani iliyo kweli: Hamtaimaliza miji ya Israeli, mpaka Mwana wa mtu atakapokuja.

Habari Njema
23 “Watu wakiwadhulumu katika mji mmoja, kimibili ni mji mwingine. Kweli nawaambieni, hamtamaliza ziara yenu katika miji yote ya Israeli kabla Mwana wa Mtu hajafika.

Neno
23 Wakiwatesa katika mji mmoja, kimibili ni mji mwingine. Kwa maana nawaambieni hakika, hamtamaliza kuipitia miji yote ya Israeli kabla Mwana wa Adamu hajafika.
Matthew 15:21-28

NRSV

21 Jesus left that place and went away to the district of Tyre and Sidon.
22 Just then a Canaanite woman from that region came out and started shouting, “Have mercy on me, Lord, Son of David; my daughter is tormented by a demon.”
23 But he did not answer her at all. And his disciples came and urged him, saying, “Send her away, for she keeps shouting after us.”
24 He answered, “I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.”
25 But she came and knelt before him, saying, “Lord, help me.”
26 He answered, “It is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs.”
27 She said, “Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters’ table.”
28 Then Jesus answered her, “Woman, great is your faith! Let it be done for you as you wish.” And her daughter was healed instantly.

UV

21 Yesu akaondoka huko, akaenda kando pande za Tiro na Sidoni.
22 Na tazama, mwanamke Mkananayo [Mkanaani] wa mipaka ile akatokea, akampazia sauti akisema, Unirehemu, Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi; binti yangu amepagawa sana na pepo.
24 Akajibu, akasema, Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopoea wa nyumba ya Israeli.
25 Naye akaja akamsujudia, akisema Bwana, unisaidie.
26 Akajibu, akasema, Si vema kukitwaa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.
27 Akasema, Ndiyo, Bwana, lakini hata mbwa hula makombo yaangukayo mezani pa bwana zao.
28 Ndipo Yesu akajibu, akamwambia, Mama, imani yako ni kubwa; na iwe kwako kama utakavyo. Akapona binti yake tangu saa ile.

NT Zanzibar

21 Yesu akatoka huko, akaenda pande za Turo na Sidon.
22 Na mwanamke Mkananaya wa mipaka ile akatokea, akampazia sauti, akinena, yangu Unirehemu, Bwana, Mwana wa Daud; binti yangu amepagawa sana na pepo.
23 Nae hakumjibu neno. Wanafunzi wake wakamwenda, wakamwomba, wakinena, Mwache aende zake; kwa maana anapiga nyuma yetu.
24 Nae akajibu, akasema, Sikupelekwa illa kwa kondoo zilizopotea za nyumba ya Israeli.
25 Nae akaja akamsujudia, akinena, Bwana, nisaidie.
26 Akajibu akasema, Si vema kukitwaa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.
27 Akasema, Ndio, Bwana, illakini hatta mbwa hula makombo yaangukayo mezani pa bwana zao.
28 Ndipo Yesu akajibu, akamwambia, Ee mwanamke, imani yako cubwa; pata utakavyo. Akapona binti yake tangu saa ile.
NT Mombasa
22 Nae, huyo ndiye, mwanamke wa Kikanani, nac ni mtu wa katika mipaka ile, akatokaa akapiga kelele, yuanena, Nirehemu Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi; binti wangu yuateswa sana ni pepo.
23 Asimjibu neno. Wakawemwenda wanafunzi wakwe wakamsihi, wanena, Mpe rukhusa mwanamke, kwa kuwa atufuata huku akitupigia kelele.
24 Akajibu akanena, Sikutumwa illa kwa kondoo wapotevu wa nyumba ya Isiraeli.
25 Nae mwanamwe akawemwenda, ikawa kumsujudia, yuanena, bwana, bwaana, nisaidia.
26 Akajibu akawemwambia, Si vyema kuutwaa mkate wao wana kuwatupia mbwa.
27 Akanena, Ndiyo Bwana, kwani hata mbwa hula katika makombo yaungukayo mezani pa bwana zao.

Roehl
21 Yesu alipotoka huko akajiepusha kwenda pare za Tiro na Sidoni.
22 Mara mwanamke wa Kikanani aliye kaa mipakani huko akatokaa, akapaza sauti akisema: Nihurumie, Bwana, mwana wa Dawidi! Binti yangu anapagawa vibaya na pepo.
23 Lakini hakumjibu neno. Wanafunzi wake wakamjia, wakawemwambia wakasema: Mwache, aende zake! Kwani anatupigia kelele nyuma yetu.
24 Naye akajibu: Sikutumwa pengine, ni kwao tu walio kondoo walipothea wa mlango wa Isiraeli.
25 Naye mwanamwe akaja, akawemwambia, akasema: Bwana, nisaidie!
26 Naye akajibu akisema: Haifai kuchukua chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia vijibwa.

Habari Njema
21 Yesu aliondoka mahali hapo akajideka kuchaa katika sehemu za Tiro na Sidoni.
22 Basi, mama mmoja Mkanaani wa nchi hicho ali mlango, akapaza sauti: “Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi, nionee huruma! Binti yangu anasumbuliwa na pepo.”
24 Yesu akajibu, “Sikutumwa ila kwa watoto waliopotea kama kondoo.”
25 Hapo huyo mama akaja, akawemwambia, akasema, “Bwana, nisaidie.”
26 Yesu akajibu, “Si vifuzi kuchukua chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.”
27 Huyo mama akajibu, “Ni kweli, Bwana; lakini hata mbwa hula makombo yanayoanguka kutoka mesa ya bwana wazo.”
28 Hapo Yesu akajibwa, “Mama, imani yako ni kubwa; basi, ufanyiwe kama unavyotaka.” Yule binti yake akapona wakati huohuo.
Na Yesu akaondoka mahali hapo sehemu za Tiro na Sidoni.
Mwanamke mmoja Mkanaani aliyeishi sehemu hizo akaja kwake, akamlilia, akasema, “Nihurimie, Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi; binti yangu amepagawa na pepo na anasumbua sana.”
Lakini Yesu halumjibu neno. Basi wanafunzi wake wakamwendea wakamwomba, “Mwambie aende zake, kwa maana anaendelea kutupigia kelele.”
Akajibu, “Nimetumwa tu kwa ajili ya kondoo wa Israeli waliopotea.”
Lakini yule mwanamke akaja, akapiga magoti mbele ya Yesu akasema, “Bwana, nisaidie!”
Yesu akajibu, “Si haki kuchukua chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.”
Yule mwanamke akajibu, “Ndio, Bwana, lakini hata mbwa hula makombo yanayoanguka kutoka kwenye mesa za mabwana wao.”
Ndipo Yesu akamwambia, “Mama, imani yako ni kubwa! Na ufanyiwe kama unavyotaka.” Tangu wakati huo mtoto wake akapona.

John 1:18
NRSV
18 No one has ever seen God. It is God the only Son, who is close to the Father's heart, who has made him known.

UV
18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu wakati wo wote; Mungu Mwana pekee aliye katika kifua cha Baba, huyu ndiye aliyemfunua.

NT Zanzibar
18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu wakati wo wote; Mwana wa pekee aliye katika kifua cha Baba, huyu ndiye aliyezaliwa wa Mungu.

NT Mombasa
18 Hakuna aliyemuona Mungu, popote; Mwana mzaliwa pekee, mwenyi kuwa katika kifua cha Baba, ndiye huyo aliyezaliwa wa Mungu.

Roehl
18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu hapo kale po pote, Mwana wa Mungu aliyezaliwa wa pekee, aliyeambatana na Baba, ndiye aliyezaliwa wa Mungu.

Habari Njema
18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu wakati wowote ule. Mwana wa pekee aliye Mungu ambaye ameungana na Baba, ndiye aliyezaliwa na Mungu.

Neno
18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu wakati wo wote. Lakini Mwanae pekee, ambaye ana uhusiano wa karibu sana na Baba yake, amemdhihirisha Mungu kwetu.
John 14:15-17, 25-26

NRSV
15 “If you love me, you will keep my commandments.
16 And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate, to be with you forever.
17 This is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees him nor knows him. You know him, because he abides with you, and he will be in you.

25 “I have said these things to you while I am still with you.
26 But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything, and remind you of all that I have said to you.

UV
15 Mkinipenda, mtazishika amri zangu.
16 Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa Msaidizi mwingine, ili akei nanyi hata milele;
17 ndiye Roho wa kweli; ambaye uliwengu hauwezi kumpokea, kwa kuwa haumwoni wala haumtambui; bali ninyi mnamambua, maana anakaa kwenu, naye atakuwa ndani yenu.

25 Hayo ndiyo niliyowaambia wakati nilipokuwa nikikaa kwenu.
26 Lakini huyo Msaidizi, huyo Roho Mtakatifu, ambaye Baba atampeleka [atamtuma] kwa jina langu, atawafundisha yote, na kuwakumbusha yote niliyowaambia.

NT Zanzibar
15 Mkinipenda, mtazishika amri zangu.
16 Na mimi nitamwomba Baba, nae atawapa Mfariji mwingine, ahae nanyi hatta milele;
17 Roho wa kweli; ambaye uliwengu hauwezi kumkubali, kwa kuwa haumwoni wala haumjui; bali ninyi mnamjua, maana anakaa kwenu, nae atakuwa ndani yenu.

25 Haya nimewambia, nikikaa kwenu.
26 Lakini Mfariji, Roho Mtakatifu, ambae Baba atampeleka kwa jina langu, yeye atawafundisha yote, na kuwakumbusha yote niliyowaambia.

NT Mombasa
15 Mkinipenda mtayashika maagizo yangu.
16 Na tamtaka Baba, nae atawapa Msaada mwengine, apate kuwa pamoja nanywi milele,
17 nae ni Roho wa kweli, ulimwengu usioweza kumtwaa, kwa kuwa haumuoni wala haumjui. Nyinyi mwamjua, kwa kuwa aketin kwenu, nae atakuwa ndani yenu.

25 Maneno haya nimewambia nili kwenu.
26 Lakini yule Msaada, yule Roho Mtakatifu atakaeletwa ni Baba kwa jina langu, yeye atawafunza mambo yote, nae atawakumbusha niliyowaambia yote.
Roehl
15 Mkinipenda yashikeni maagizo yangu!
16 Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa mtuliza mioyo mwingine, ake pamoja nanyi kale na kale.
17 Ndiye Roho wa kweli, ambaye ulimwengu hauwezi kumpokea, kwa sabbau haumwoni, wala haumtambui. Ninyi nnamambua, kwani anakaa kwenu, naye atakuwamo mwenu.
25 Haya nimewaambia nikingali kwenu.
26 Lakini yule mtuliza mioyo, yule Roho Mtakatifu, Baba atakayemtuma katika Jina langu, ndiye atakayewafundisha yote na kuwakumbusha yote, mimi niliyowaambia ninyi.

Habari Njema
15 "Mkinipenda mtazishika amri zangu.
16 Nami nitamwomba Baba naye atawapeni Msaidizi mwingine, atakayekaa nanyi milele.
17 Yeye ni Roho wa ukweli. Uliwmengu hauwezi kumpokea kwa sababu hauwezi kumwona wala kumjua. Lakini nyinyi nnamjua kwa sababu anabaki nanyi nay u ndani yenu.
25 "Nimewaambieni mambo haya nikiwa bado pamoja nanyi,
26 lakini Msaidizi, Roho Matakatifu, ambaye Baba atamtuma kwa jina langu, atawafundishieni kila kitu na kuwakumbusheni yote niliyowaambieni.

Neno
15 "Kama mnanipenda mtatimiza amri zangu.
16 Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapeni Msaidizi mwingine ake pamoja siku zote.
17 Huyo ndiye Roho wa Kweli ambaye watu warioaminisho hauwezi kumpokea. Watu kama hao hawamwoni wala hawamfahamu. Ninyi nnamfahamu kwa kuwa anakaa ndani yenu na ataendelea kuwa nanyi.
25 "Nimewaambia mambo haya wakati nikiwa badi nipo nanyi.
26 Lakini yule Msaidizi, yaani Roho Mtakatifu, ambaye Baba yawango atamtuma kwenu kwa jina langu, atawafundisha mambo yote, na kuwakumbusha yote niliyowaambia.

NRSV

22 “You that are Israelites, listen to what I have to say: Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with deeds of power, wonders, and signs that God did through him among you, as you yourselves know—

23 this man, handed over to you according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God, you crucified and killed by the hands of those outside the law.

36 Therefore let the entire house of Israel know with certainty that God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified.”

UV

22 Enyi waume [wanaume] wa Israeli, sikilizieni maneno haya: Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyeedhhihirishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miujiza na ajabu na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake kati yenu, kama ninyi weneyewe mnavyojua;

23 mtu huyu aliwotelewa kwa shauri la Mungu lililokusudiwa, na kwa kujua kwake tangu zamani, ninyi mkamsulubisha kwa mikono ya watu wabaya, mkamwua.

36 Basi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kwamba Mungu amemfanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulibisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.

NT Zanzibar

22 Enyi waume wa Israeli, sikieni maneno haya: Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyeedhhihirishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miujiza na ajabu na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake kati yenu, kama ninyi weneyewe mnavyojua;

23 mtu huyu aliwotelewa nanyi kwa shauri la Mungu lililokusudiwa, na kwa kujua kwake tangu zamani, nanyi mkamsulubisha kwa mikono mibaya, mkamwua:

36 Bassi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kwamba Mungu amemfanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulibisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.

NT Mombasa

22 Enyi waume wa Isiraeli, sikizani maneno haya: Jesu Mnazari, mtu aliyeedhhihirishwa kwenu ni Mngu kwa vitendo vya nguvu, na vioja, na ishara, ambazo Mweniezi Mngu alizifanya katikati yenu kwa yeve, kama nyinyi weneyewe mjuavyo;

23 Yeye kwa shauri la Mngu lililoazimiwa na kwa kutangulia kujua kwakwe, nyinyi mmemsalibi na kumuwa kwa mikono ya madhalimu:

36 Basi nyumba yote ya Isiraeli na ijue pasipokuwa na shaka, ya kwamba yeye Jesu mliyemsalibu myinyi Mweniezi Mngu amemfanya awe Bwana tena awe Masihi.
Roehl
22 Enyi waume wa Kiisiraeli, yasikilizeni maneno haya! Yesu wa Nasareti alikuwa amejulikana, kwamba ametoka kwa Mungu hapo, alipokuja kwenu na kufanya vya nguvu na vioja na vilekezo, tena ni Mungu aliyempa kuwifanya machoni penu, kama mnavyojua wenyewe.

23 Kwa kuwa Mungu alikuwa amempatia kazi na kumkatia mpaka kwa vile, anavyovijua vyote, vikiwa hajijatimia bado, kwa hiyo ametolewa, mkampata mikononi mwa wapotovu, mkawuwa na kumwamba msalabani.

36 Kwa hiyo wote walio wa mlango wa Isiraeli watambue kweli: Huyo Yesu, mliyemwamba msalabani ninyi, Mungu amemfanya, awe Bwana na Kristo!

Habari Njema
22 “Wananchi wa Israeli, sikilizeni maneno haya! Yesu wa Nazareti alikuwa mtu ambaye mamlaka yake ya kimungu yalithibitishwa kwenu kwa miujiza, maajabu na ishara Mungu alizofanya kati yenu kwa njia yake, kama mnavyojua.

23 Kufuatana na mpango wake mwenyewe Mungu alikwisha amua kwamba Yesu angetiwa mikononi mwenu; nanyi mkamwua kwa kuwaachia watu wabaya kumsulubishe.

36 “Watuito wote wa Israeli wanapaswa kufahamu kwa hakika kwamba huyo Yesu mliyemsulubisha, ndiye huyo ambaye Mungu amemfanya kwa Kwana na Kristo.”

Neno
22 “Nawashi ninyi Waisraeli mnisikilize. Yesu wa Nazareti alikuwa mtu aliyethibitishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa njia ya miujiza, maajabu na ishara, kama ninyi wneyewe mjuavayo.

23 Huyu Yesu alitiwa mikononi mwenu kwa mpango na makusudi ya Mungu aliyoafahamu tangu awali. Nanyi mlimuwa kwa kumtundika na kumpigilia misumari msalabani, mkisaidiwa na watu waovu.

36 “Basi nataka niwahakikishie Waisraeli wote ya kuwa, Mungu amemfanya huyo Yesu ambaye ninyi mlimsulubisha, kuwa ndiye Bwana na Kristo.
Romans 3:19-25
NRSV
19 Now we know that whatever the law says, it speaks to those who are under the law, so that every mouth may be silenced, and the whole world may be held accountable to God.

20 For “no human being will be justified in his sight” by deeds prescribed by the law, for through the law comes the knowledge of sin.

21 But now, irrespective of law, the righteousness of God has been disclosed, and is attested by the law and the prophets,

22 the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. For there is no distinction,

23 since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God;

24 they are now justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus,

25 whom God put forward as a sacrifice of atonement by his blood, effective through faith.

UV
19 Basi twajua ya kuwa mambo yote yasemwayo na torati huyanena kwa hao hali wao chini ya torati, ili kilwa kinywa kifumbwe, na ulimwengu wote uwe chini ya hukumu ya Mungu;

20 kwa sababu hakuna mwenye mwili atakayeseabiwa haki mbele zake kwa matendo ya sheria; kwa maana kutambua dhambi huja kwa njia ya sheria.

21 Lakini sasi, haki ya Mungu imedhihirika pasipo sheria; inashuhudiwa na torati na manabii;

22 ni haki ya Mungu iliyo kwa njia ya imani katika Yesu Kristo kwa wote waaminio. Maana hakuna tofauti;

23 kwa sababu wote wamefanya dhambi, na kupungukiwa na utukufu wa Mungu;

24 wanahesabiwa haki bure kwa neema yake, kwa njia ya ukombozi ulio katika Kristo Yesu;

25 ambaye Mungu amekwisha kumweka awe upatanisho kwa njia ya imani katika damu yake, ili aonyeshe [aoneshe] haki yake, kwa sababu ya kuziaulia katika utahimili wa Mungu dhambi zote zilizotangulia kufanywa;

NT Zanzibar
19 Twajua ya kuwa mambo yote yasemwayo na torati huyanena kwa hao wao chini ya torati, ili killa kinywa kifumbwe, ulimwengu wote ukupasiwe na hukumu ya Mungu:

20 kwa maana hapana mwenye mwili atakahebiwa kuwa na haki mbele za Mungu, kwa matendo ya sheria: kwa maana kujua dhambi kabisa huja kwa njia ya sheria.

21 Sasa, lakini, haki ya Mungu imedhihirika pasipo sharia, inashuhudiwa na torati na manabii,

22 ni haki ya Mungu, ipatwayo kwa kuwa na imani kwa Yesu Kristo, huja kwa wote wote, huwakalika wato wote waaminio.

23 Maana hapana tofauti; kwa sababu wote wamefanya dhambi, wanaona kwamba wamepungukiwa utukufu wa Mungu;

24 wanapewa haki bure kwa neema yake, kwa njia ya ukombozi ulio katika Yesu Kristo;

25 ambae Mungu amekwisha kumweka awe upatanisho kwa damu yake, ili aonyeshe haki yake, kwa njia ya imani, ili aonyeshe haki yake, kwa sababu ya kuziaulia dhambi zilizotangulia, katika uvumulivu wa Mungu:
NT Mombasa

19 Twajua ya kwamba yale yote yasemwayo ni sharia, sharia huwambia wale tini ya sharia: illi kwamba killa kanwa lifumbwe na dunia nzima kuletwa katika hukumu ya Mwenyiezi Mngu:

20 kwa maana, mbele yakwe hapana mwenyi muwili atakaehasibiwa kuwa mwenyi haki kwa ndia ya vitendo vya sharia: kwani ujuzi wa dhambi huja kwa ndia ya sharia.

21 Illa sasa haki ya Mwenyiezi Mngu imekwisha fanywa wazi pasipokuwa na sharia, nayo imeshuhudiwa ni ile sharia na wale manabibi:

22 ni ile haki ya Mwenyiezi Mngu iliyo kwa ndia ya imani katika Jesu Masihi kwa wote waamninio, kwa hapa hapa haki tofauti:

23 kwanjani yote dhambi wote, na utukufu wa Mwenyiezi Mngu hawezi kuwa na hukumu ya Mungu.

24 kwa hiyo hapo, alipo, hapa mwenye mwili wa kimputu atakayepata wongofu kwa kwamba: Ameyafanya Mungu, kwa sababu Mungu huleta utambuzi tu wa makosa.

25 Lakini sasa wongofu wa Kimungu umefunuliwa pasipo Maonyo; nao unashuhudiwa na Maonyo pamoja na Wafumbaji kwamba:

26 Wongofu wa Kimungu ndio huu: mwanzo ni kumtegemea Yesu Kristo, nao mwisho: kwa ndia ya imani ya Yesu Kristo aliwachemsha kwamba: kwani hawapitani,

27 kwa sababu wote wamekosa, waklipoteza fungu lao la utukufu wa Mungu.

28 Kwa hiyo wanapata wongofu bure tu, kwani ni gawio, Yesu Kristo aliwawapatia hapo, alipoyaliwa makombozo yao.

29 Ndiye, Mungu aliyeingia, kusudi wenye kumtegemea wajipatie Kiti cha Upozi katika damu yake; hapo ndipo, alipoonyesha, wongofu wake ulivyo, akioandaolea makosa ya kale.

Roehl

19 Lakini sisi twajua Yote, Maonyo yanayoyasema, huwa na Maonyo, kila kinywa kifumbwe, na ulimwengu wote uwe umepaswa na hukumu ya Mungu.

20 Kwa hiyo hapa, alipo, hapa mwenye mwili wa kimutu atakayepata wongofu kwa kwamba: Ameyafanya Mungu, kwa sababu Mungu huleta utambuzi tu wa makosa.

21 Lakini sasa wongofu wa Kimungu umefunuliwa pasipo Maonyo; nao unashuhudiwa na Maonyo pamoja na Wafumbaji kwamba:

22 Wongofu wa Kimungu ndio huu: mwanzo ni kumtegemea Yesu Kristo, nao mwisho: kwa ndia ya imani ya Yesu Kristo aliwachemsha kwamba: kwani hawapitani,

23 kwa sababu wote wamekosa, waklipoteza fungu lao la utukufu wa Mungu.

24 Kwa hiyo wanapata wongofu bure tu, kwani ni gawio, Yesu Kristo aliwawapatia hapo, alipoyaliwa makombozo yao.

25 Ndiye, Mungu aliyeingia, kusudi wenye kumtegemea wajipatie Kiti cha Upozi katika damu yake; hapo ndipo, alipoonyesha, wongofu wake ulivyo, akioandaolea makosa ya kale.

Habari Njema

19 Tunajua kwamba sheria huwahusu walo chini ya sheria hiyo, hata hawawezu kuwa na kisegiso chochote, na ulimwengu wote uko chini ya hukumu ya Mungu.

20 Maana hakuna binadamu yeyote anyekubaliwa kuwa mwadilifu mbele yake Mungu kwa kushika sheria; kazi ya sheria ni kumwonyesha tu mtu kwamba ametenda dhambi.

21 Lakini sasa, njia ya Mungu ya kuwakubali watu kwenda waadilifu imekwisha dhihirishwa, tena bila kutegemea sheria. Sheria na manabibi hushuhudia jambo hilo.

22 Mungu huwakubali watu waadilifu kwa njia ya imani yao kwa Yesu Kristo; Mungu hufanya hivyo kwa wote wanaomisii; hakuna ubaguzi wowote.

23 Watu wote wametenda dhambi na wametindiikiwa utukufu wa Mungu.

24 Lakini kwa zawadi ya neema ya Mungu, watu wote hukubaliwa kuwa waadilifu kwa njia ya Yesu kristo anayewakomboa.


Hapo zamani Mungu alikuwa mvumilivu bila kuzijali dhambi za wato;
Basi tunafahamu ya kwamba maagizo yote ya sheria ya Musa yanawahusu wale walio chini ya sheria hiyo. Kusudi la sheria ni kuwafanya watu wote wasiwe na kisingizio na kuuweka ulimwengu wote chini ya hukumu ya Mungu.

Kwa hiyo hakuna binadamu hata mmoja atakayehesabiwa kuwa na haki mbele za Mungu kwa kufuata sheria; bali sheria hatufanya tutambue dhambi.

Lakini sasa, njia ya Mungu ya kuwahesabia watu watu waki pasipo sheria, njia ambayo sheria na manabii huishuhudia, imekisha dihihirishwa.

Haki hiitokayo kwa Mungu hupatikana kwa kumwamini Yesu Kristo. Mungu huwatendea hivi watu wote wamwaminio Kristo pasipo kubagua,

kwa maana wote wametenda dhambi na kupungukiwa na utukufu wa Mungu;

wote wanahesabiwa haki bure kwa neema yake kwa ukombozi ulioletwa na Yesu Kristo.

Mungu alimtoa awe dhahihu ya upatanisho kwa njia ya imani katika damu yake. Alifanya hivi ulu kuonyesha haki yake, kwani kwa uvumilivu wake hakuziadhibu dhambi za zamani.

Philippians 2:5-8

NRSV

5  Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus,
6  who, though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited,
7  but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness. And being found in human form,
8  he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death – even death on a cross.

UV

5  Iweni na nia iyo hiyo ndani yenu ambayo ilikuwamo pia ndani ya Kristo Yesu;
6  ambaye yeeye mwanzo alikuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, naye hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa ni kitu cha kushikamana nacho;
7  bali aliifanya kuwa hana utukufu, akatwaa namna ya mtumwa, akawa ana mfano wa wanadamu;
8  tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyekeza akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.

NT Zanzibar

5  Maana mwe na nia hii ndani yenu iliyoukuwamo na ndani ya Yesu Kristo;
6  yeeye mwanzo alikuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, nae hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa kitu cha kushikamana nacho,
7  bali aliifanya kuwa hana utukufu, akitwaa namna ya mtumwa, akawa ana mfano wa wana Adamu;
8  tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwana Adamu, alijidhili akawa mtii hatta mauti, nayo mauti ya msalaba.
NT Mombasa
5 Iwani na nia ii hii ndani yenu iliyokuwa ndani ya Masihi Jesu nayo:
6 ambae yeye alipokuwa katika sura za mfano wa Mngu, hakukuhasibu kufanywa sawa na Mngu kuwa ni jambo lenyi kutamaniwa,
7 lakini akaifanya nefusi yakwe utupu, huku akiutwaa mfano wa mtumwa, akawa sawasawa na bib-Adamu:
8 kisha akionekana kuwa na umbo kama wa bin-Adamu akainyenyekeza nefusi yakwe, akawa mwenyi kutii hata maati, naam, hata maati ya msalaba.

Roehl
5 Mioyoni mwenu myawaze yaleyale, Kristo Yesu aliyowaza!
6 Yeye alikuwa mwenye sura yake Mungu, tena kule kufanana naye Mungu hakushikamana nako kama ni kitu, alichokipokonya.
7 Ila alijivua mwenyewe sura ya Kimungu, akajivika sura ya kitumwa, akawa amefanana na watu; walipomtazama, akaonekana, kuwa kama mtu mwenyewe.
8 Akajinyenyekeza mwenyewe, akawa mwenye kutii mpaka kufa, kweli mpaka kufa msalabani.

Habari Njema
5 Mwe na msimamo uleule aliokuwa nao Kristo Yesu:
6 Yeye, kwa asili alikuwa daima Mungu; lakini hakufikiri kwamba kule kuwa sawa na Mungu ni kitu cha kung’ang’ania kwa nguvu.
7 Bali, kwa hiari yake mwenyewe, aliachilia hayo yote, akajitwalia hali ya mtumishi, akawa sawa na wanaadamu, akaonekana kama wanaadamu.
8 Alijinyenyekeza na kutii mpaka kufa, hata kifo cha msalabani.

Neno
5 Muwe na nia kama ile aliyokuwa nayo Kristo Yesu; 6 yeye kwa asili alikuwa sawa na Mungu, lakini hakuona kwamba kuwa sawa na Mungu ni kitu cha kushikilia sana.
7 Bali alikubali kuacha vyote, akachukua hali ya mtumishi, akazaliwa na umbo la wanadamu.
8 Alipochukua umbo la mwanadamu, alijinyenyekeza akawa mtii mpaka kufa, tena kifo cha msalaba.
Jude 1:14
NRSV
14 It was also about these that Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied, saying, "See, the Lord is coming with ten thousands of his holy ones,

UV
14 Na Henoko, mtu wa [+ kizazi cha] saba baada ya Adamu, alitoa maneno ya unabii juu ya hao, akisema, Angalia, Bwana alikuja [yuaja] na watakatifu wake, maelfu maelfu,

NT Zanzibar
14 Na Enok, wa saba baada ya Adamu, alitoa maneno ya unabii juu ya hawo, akisema, Angalia, Bwana alikuja na elfu kumi za watakatifu wake,

NT Mombasa
14 Nae huyo Enokhu, mtu wa sabaa baada ya Adamu, aliwatolea maneno ya unabii, akisema, Huyo ndiye, Bwana alikuja pamoja na jeshi kuu mno ya watakatifu wake,

Roehl
14 Mambo yao aliyafumbua Henoki aliyekuwa mtu wa saba tangu Adamu, aliposema: Tazameni, Bwana anakuja pamoja na malaika zake watakatifu maelfu na maelfu,

Habari Njema
14 Naye Henoki, ambaye ni babu wa saba tangu Adamu, alibashiri hivi juu ha watu hao: "Sikilizeni! Bwana anakuja pamoja na maelfu ya malaika wake watakatifu

Neno
14 Henoki, ambaye alikuwa wa kizazi cha saba baada ya Adamu, alitoa unabii kuhusu watu hawa akasema, "Sikilizeni! Nilimwona Bwana akija na watakatifu wake maelfu kwa maelfu
1.2 QUR’ÂNIC PASSAGES
For each of the passages which are discussed in the study, in chapters eight, nine and ten, various Swahili versions of the Qur’ân are given as well as in English in *The Koran Interpreted* (1955) [Arberry], which is followed by: *Qurani Takatifu* [al-Farsy] (1969), as the most readily available Swahili version of the Qur’ân; *Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu* [Dale] (1923); *Kurani Tukufu* [Ahmadi] (1953); *Tarjuma ya AL-MUNTAKHAB katika tafsiri ya Qur’ani tukufu* *Qur’ani Tukufu* [Al-Barwani] (1995); *Quran Tukufu* [Mayunga] (2002); *Al-Kashif* [Mughniyya] (2002); *Juzuu ya Amma* [Al’Amin b. Aly] (1947). The final two are incomplete only the *juzuu* that have been published appear.

Note: Neither Arberry or Dale are versified. Arberry marks lines of text as a guide, Dale set his passages to be the same pagination as a readily available Arabic Qur’ân (Dale 1924:9). The AÎmadi version includes versification of the *basmala*, meaning that the numbering of verses are one verse different from other versions.

The passages appear in the order that they appear in the Qur’ân.

*Ål ‘Imrân (3):45-51*

Arberry

40 When the angels said, ‘Mary, God gives thee good tidings of a Word from Him whose name is Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary; high honoured shall he be in this world and the next, near stationed to God. He shall speak to men in the cradle, and of age, and righteousness he shall be.’ ‘Lord,’ said Mary, ‘how shall I have a son seeing no mortal has touched me?’ ‘Even so,’ God said, ‘God creates what He will. When He decrees a thing He does but say to it “Be,” and it is. And He will teach him the Book, the Wisdom, the Torah, the Gospel, to be a Messenger to the Children of Israel saying, “I have come to you with a sign from your Lord. I will create for you out of clay as the likeness of a bird; then I will breathe into it, and it will be a bird, by the leave of God. I will also heal the blind and the leper, and bring to life the dead, by the leave of God. I will inform you too of what things you eat, and what you treasure up in your houses. Surely in that is a sign for you, if you are believers. Likewise confirming the truth of the Torah that is before me, and to make lawful to you certain things that before were forbidden unto you. I have come to you with a sign from your Lord; so fear you God, and obey you me. Surely God is my Lord and your Lord; so serve Him. This is a straight path’.”
Al Farsy


“Naye atazungumza na watu (maneno ya dini) katika utoto (wake) na katika utuuzima (wake), na (atakuwa) katika watu wema (kabisa).”


“Na (Mwenyezi Mungu) atamfunza kuandika na kujuua ilimu na (kujua) Taurati na Injili.

“Na (Atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israili, (kuwaambia): ‘Nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wangu, ya kwamba hako katika udongo, kama sura ya ndege, kisha nampuliza, mara anakuwa ndege, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na ninawaponyeshwa vipofo na wenyewe mabalsa, na ninawaufunya (baadhi ya) waliokufu, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na nitakwambieni mtakvyovila na mtakvyo weka akiba katika nyumba zenu. Bila shaka katika haya imo hoja kwenu ikiwa nyinyi ni watu wa kuamini!”

“Na (nitakuwa) msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu kabla yangu katika Taurati; na (nimweza) ili nikuhalalishieni baadhi ya yale mliyoharimishiwa, na nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wengu. Kwa hivyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nitiiini.


Dale

Malaika aliposema, Ee Maryamu, hakika yake Mungu anakubashiria khabari za Neno litokalo kwake, jina lake Masihi Isa bin Maryamu, mtukufu katika dunia na Akhera, na mmoko wao ambao mahali pao ni karibu na Mungu, na atasema na watu akiwa katika kitanda cha mtoto, na atakapokuwa mtu mazima, na atakuwa mmoja wao wenyewe haki. Akasema, Bwana wangu, nitawezaje kuwa na mtoto ikiwa mwen Adamu hajaniugusa? Akasema, Kadhalika, Mungu hukhuluku atakacho. Akikusudia kutenda neno husema tu, Liwe likawa; nae atamfundisha kitabu na hekima na Taurati na Injili; nae atakuwa mtume kwa mtoto wa Israeli, akisema, kwamba, Nimweza kwenu na ishara itokayo kwa Mungu, yaani nitawakhuliki kwa udongo kitu kana kwamba kina mfano wa ndege, nami nitakipulizia, nako kita kwa ndege kwa idhini ya Mungu; nami nitamponza mtu aliyezaliwa kipofu, na mwenye ukoma; nami nitawahuisha waliokufu, kwa idhini ya Mungu; nami nitawambieni mnachokula, nako mnachoweka akiba nyumbani mwenu. Hakika yake katika hayo iko ishara kwenu, ikiwa mmaamini.

Nami nitaithubutisha Torati milio nayo, na yakini nitawalalishieni baadhi ya vitu vilivyokuwa haramu kwenu. Nimweza kwenu na ishara itokayo kwa Bwana wenu; bassi mcheni Mungu mkanifuate; mwabuduni yeeye: hii ndiyo njia iliinyonyoka.
Ahmadi

46 (Kumbukeni) wa lipo sema: Ewe Mariamu, bila shaka Mwenyezi Mungu Anakupa habari njema za neno litokalo Kwake, jina lake Masih Isa mwana wa Mariamu, mwenye heshima katika dundu na Akhera, na yu miongoni mwa waliokaribishwa.

47 Naye atazungumiza na watu katika utoto na katika utu uzima, na atukuwa katika watu wema.


49 Na (Mwenyezi Mungu) Atamfunza Kitabu na hekima na Taurati na Injili.

50 Na (Atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israeli, (kuwaambia), Nimewajieni na Ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu, ya kwamba nawaumbieni katika udongo sawa na matengenezo ya ndege, kisha napulizia ndani yake, mara huwa ndege kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na ninamponya kipofu na mwenye ukoma, na kuwahuisha wafula kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na ninawaumbieni mtakavyovila na mtakavyoweka akibatia katika nyumba zenu; bila shaka katika hayo imo Ishara kwenu ikiwa ninyi ninaamani.

51 Na msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati, na ili niwahalalishieni baadhi ya yale mlio harimishiwa, na nimewajieni na Ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu, kwa hivyo Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nitini.

52 Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mola wangu na ni Mola wenu, basi Mwabuduni; hii ndiyo njia iliigonyoka.

Al-Barwani

45 Na pale Malaika walipo sema: Ewe Maryamu! Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu anakubashiria (mwana) kwa neno litokalo kwake. Jina lake ni Masihh Isa mwana wa Maryamu, mwenye heshima katika dundu na Akhera, na miongoni mwa walio karibishwa (kwa Mwenyezi Mungu).

46 Naye atazungumiza na watu katika utoto wake na katika utuuzima wake, na atukuwa katika watu wema.


48 Na atamfunza kuandika na Hikima na Taurati na Injili.


50 Na ninasadiksha yaliyo kuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati, na ili nikuhalalishieni baadhi ya yale mlwo hariarithiwa, na nimekujieni na Ishara kutokana na Mole Mlezi weni. Kwa hivyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nit’iini mimi.

Waliposema Malaika: Ewe Maryam! Hakika Mwenezezi Mungu anakupa khabari njema za neno litokalo kwake, jina lake ni Masih mwana wa Maryam, mwene heshima ulimwenguni na Akhera, na ni miongoni mwa wenye wenye kukurushisha (mbele ya Mwenezezi Mungu).

Atasema na watu katika uchanga na utu uzima, na atakuwa katika watu wema.


Na (Mwenezezi Mungu) atamfundisha kuandika na (kujua) elimu na (kujua) Taurati na Injili.


Na ninasadikisha yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati na ili niwahalalisheni baadhi ya yali mliliyoharamishiwa. Na nimewajieni na dalili kutoka kwa Mola wenu, basi Mcheni Mwenezezi Mungu na nitiini.

Hakika Mwenezezi Mungu ndiye Mola wangu na ni Mola wenu, basi muabuduni, hii ndiyo njia iliyonysoka.
And for their saying, ‘We slew the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the Messenger of God’ – yet they did not slay him, neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them. Those who are at variance concerning him surely are in doubt regarding him; they have no knowledge of him, except the following of surmise; and they slew him not of a certainty – no indeed; God raised him up to Him; God is All-mighty, All-wise. There is not one of the People of the Book but will assuredly believe in him before his death, and on the Resurrection Day he will be a witness against them.

There is not one of the People of the Book but will assuredly believe in him before his death, and on the Resurrection Day he will be a witness against them.

Al-Farsy


159 Na hakuna yoyote katika watu waliopewa Kitabu (Mayahudi an Manasara) ila humwamini (Nabii Isa kwa hakika yake) kabla ya kifɔ cha kila mmoja katika hao. (Lakini hakuna faida kumwamini huko wakati huo). Naye (Masihi) Siku ya Kiama atakuwa shahidi juu yao.

Dale

Ahmadi
158 Na kusema kwao: Hakika tumemwua Masihi Isa mwana wa Mariamu, Mtume wa Mungu; halí hawakumwua wala hawakumfisha msalabani, bali alifananishwa kwao (kama maiti). Na kwa hakika wale valiohitilafiana kwalo, yakini wana shaka nalo, wao hawalijui hakika yake isipokuwa wanafuata dhana. Na kwa yakini wao hawakumwua –
159 Bali Mwenyezi Mungu Alimnyanyua Kwake, na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye Hekima.
160 Na hakuna ye yote katika watu wa Kitabu ila ataliamini kabla ya kifo chake, naye (Masihi) siku ya Kiyama atakuwa shahidi juu yao.

Al-Barwani
158 Bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimtukuza kwake, na hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye hikima.
159 Na hawi katika Watu wa Kitabu ila hakika atamuamini yeye kabla ya kufa kwake. Naye Siku ya Kiyama atakuwa shahidi juu yao.

Mayunga
158 Bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimnyanyua kwake, na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye hekima.
159 Na hakuna ye yote katika watu wa Kitabu ila humwamini yeye (Isa) kabla ya kufa kwake, na siku ya Kiyama atakwaa (Isa) shahidi juu yao.

Mughniyya
158 Bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimwinua kwake, na Mwenyezi Mungu ni mwenye nguvu, mwenye hekima.
159 Na hakuna katika watu wa Kitabu ila humwamini yeye kabla ya kufa kwake, na Siku ya Kiyama atakuwa shahidi juu yao.
**Al-Nisā’(4):171**

**Arberry**
People of the Book, go not beyond the bounds of your religion, and say not as to God but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only the Messenger of God, and His Word that He committed to Mary, and a Spirit from Him. So believe in God and His Messengers, and say not, ‘Three.’ Refrain; better is it for you. God is only One God. Glory be to Him – that He should have a son! To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and in the earth; God suffices for a guardian.

**Al Farsy**

**Dale**
Enyi watu wa kitabu, msiruke mipaka katika dini yenu, wala msiseme khabari za Mungu illa za kweli. Hakika Isa Masihi bin Maryamu ni Mtume wa Mungu, na Neno lake alilomtia katika Maryamu; ni RoHo itokayo kwake; mwaminini Mungu bassi, na mitume wake: wala msiseme, Watatu; acheni kusema hivi; itakwa kheri zaidi kwenu. Mungu ni Mungu mmoja; haikumlaiki ake na mwana: vitu vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyoyo duniani ni mali yake; na Mungu atosheleza kuwa mtunzaji.

**Ahmadi**
Al-Barwani

171 


Mayunga

171 

Enyi Watu wa Kitabu! Msiruke mipaka ya dini yenu, wala msiseme juu ya Mwenyezei Mungu ila lililo kweli. Hakika Masihii Isa mwana wa Mariam ni Mtume wa Mwenyezei Mungu na ni neno lake tu alimpeleka Mariam, na ni roho itokayo kwake. Basi mwaminini Mwenyezei Mungu na Mitume yake, wala msiseme watatu, wacheni (itikadi hiyo) ni bora kwenu. Hakika Mwenyezei Mungu ni Mmoja tu, ameepukana na kuwa na mtoto. Ni vyake vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyomo ardhini, na Mwenyezei Mungu anatosha kuwa Mlinzi,

Mughniyya

171 

They are unbelievers who say, ‘God is the Messiah, Mary’s son.’
For the Messiah said, ‘Children of Israel, serve God, my Lord and your Lord.
Verily whoso associates with God anything,
God shall prohibit him entrance to Paradise, and his refuge shall be the Fire;
and wrongdoers shall have no helpers.’

They are unbelievers who say, ‘God is the Third of Three.’
No God is there but One God. If they refrain not from what they say,
there shall afflict those of them that disbelieve a painful chastisement.
Will they not turn to God and pray His forgiveness?
God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate.

The Messiah, son of Mary, was only a Messenger;
Messengers before him passed away; his mother was a just woman;
they both ate food. Behold, how We make clear signs to them;
then behold, how they perverted are!

Say: ‘Do you serve, apart from God, that which cannot hurt or profit you?
God is the All-hearing, the All-knowing.’
Say: ‘People of the Book, go not beyond the bounds in your religion,
other than the truth, and follow not the caprices of a people who went astray before,
and led astray many, and now again have gone astray from the right way.
Cursed were the unbelievers of the Children of Israel by the tongue of David,
and Jesus, Mary’s son; that, for their rebelling and their transgression.
Al-Farsy


73 Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: “Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mmoja katika (wale waungu) watatu; (Yeye ndiye wa tatu wao).” Hali hakuna mungu ila Mwenyezi Mungu Mmoja (tu peke yake). Na kama hawataacha hayo wayasemayo, kwa yakini itawakamata – wale wanaoendelea na ukafiri miongoni mwao – adhabu iumizayo.

74 Je! Hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kumwomba msamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwingi wa kusamehe (na) Mwingi wa kurehemu.

75 Masihi bin Maryamu si chochote ila ni Mtume (tu). (Na) bila shaka Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. (Hawajaona)? Na mamake ni mwanamke mkweli. (Na) wote wawili waliwa wakila chakula (na wakenda choo. Basi waungu gani wanahaona na kwenda choo)? Tazama jinsi Tunavyobainishia Aya, kisha tazama jinsi wanavyogezwa (kuacha haki).


77 Sema: “Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msipindukie mipaka katika dini yenu bila haki, wala msifuata matamania ya watu waliokwisha potea toka zamani; (nao ndio hao wanavyoonyi wenu) na wakawapeza wengi, na (sasa) wanapoteza njia iliyo sawa, (hawataki kumfuata Nabi Muhammad).”

78 Walilaaniwa wale waliokuwafuta miongoni mwa wana wana waliokuwa na Israeli kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa bin Maryamu. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliasia na wakipindukia mipaka (sana).

Dale


Sema, Enyi watu wana wao, mswrake mipaka ya kwiwi katika dini yenu: wala mswrite tamaa zao waliokwisha kupotea, waliwakosha watu wengi; nazo wenyewe wamepotea mabili ya njia iliyo sawa sawa.

Watu wale miongoni mwa wana wana waliokufuru: kwa Israeli waisioamini walilaaniwa kwa kinywa cha Daud, na cha Isa bin Mariamu. Hayo yaliwaka kwa sababu waliasia wakawa wakaidi.
Ahmadi


74 Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni wa tatu wa watatu, halu hakuna mungu ila Mungu Mmoja. Na kama hawatacha hayo wasemayo, kwa yakini itawagusa wale waliokufuru wale waliokufuru miongoni mwao adhabu iumizayo.

75 Je, hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kumwomba masamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwamemhevu, Mreshemevu.

76 Masih bin Mariamu siye ila ni Mtume tu; bila shaka Mitume wamekwisha fariki kabla yake; na makaake ni mwanamke mkweli; wote wawili walikuwa wa kimwili; Tazama jinsi Tunavyowabainishia Aya, kisha tazama wanageuzwa wapi.

77 Sema: Je, mnamwabudu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu ambaye hawezi kuwadhoruni wala kwafaidisheni? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye Asihi, Ajiaye.

78 Sema: Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msiruke mipaka ya dini yenu bila haki, wala msifuate matamanio ya watu waliokwisha potea toka zamanani ya wakawapoteza wengi, na wakapoteza njia iliyo sawa.

79 Wamelaaniwa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa wana wa Israeli kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa bin Mariamu. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliwasi nano walikuwa wa kikatika mkipaka.

Al-Barwani


74 Je! Hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na wakawamba masamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwera maghira na Mwenye kurehemu.


77 Sema: Enyi Watu wa Kitabu! Msipite kiasi katika dini yenu bila ya haki. Wala msifuate matamanio ya watu waliokwisha potea toka zamanani, na wakawapoteza wengi, na wanya wakapoteza njia iliyo sawa.

78 Walilaaniwa wawili kufuuru miongoni mwa Wana wa Israeli kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa mwa Maryamu. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliwasi na wakawa wanaapindukia mkipaka.
Mayunga


73 Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: Mwenyeezi Mungu ni wa tatu wa Utatu, hali hakuna mungu ila Mwenyeezi Mungu Mmoja tu. Na kama hawataacha yale wayasemayo bila shaka itawagusa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwao adhabu iumizayo. Je, hawatubu kwa Mwenyeezi Mungu na kumuomba msamahia? Na Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Mwingi wa kusamehe, Mwenye kurehemu.

74 Masih mwana wa Maryam si chochote ila ni Mtume, bila shaka Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. Na mama yake ni mkweli walikuwa (masihi na mama yake) wakila chakula. Tazama jinsi tunavyowabainishia dalili mbali mbali, kisha tazama jinsi wanavyo gezwa.

75 Sema: je, mnamwabudu badala ya Mwenyeezi Mungu ambaye havezi kuwadhimunia wala kukanufaisi? Na Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Mwenye kusikia, Mwenye kujua. Sema: Enyi watu wa Kitabu! misiruke mipaka ya dini yenu bila haki, wala misfuate matamanio ya watu waliokwisha pota toka zamani, na wakawapoteza wengi na wakapoteza njia iliyo sawa.

76 Wamelaaniwa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa wana wa Israeli kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa bin Mariam hayo ni kwa sababu waliwiri wakilwa kwa vakiwa mivumi.

Mughniyya


75 Sema: Je, mnamwabudu badala ya Mwenyeezi Mungu, ambaye havezi kuwadhimunia wala kukanufaisi? Na Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Mwenye kusikia, Mwenye kujua. Sema: “Enyi watu wa Kitab! Msipite kiasi katika dini yenu bila haki, wala misfuate matamanio ya watu waliokwisha pota toka zamani; na wakawapoteza wengi, na wenye, wakapoteza njia iliyo sawa.

76 Walilaaniwa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa wana wa Israeli kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa mwana wa Maryam. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliwiri, na wakilwa wakilwa mivumi.
And when I inspired the Apostles: “Believe in Me and My Messenger”; they said “We believe; witness Thou our submission.”

And when the Apostles said, ‘O Jesus son of Mary, is thy Lord able to send down on us a Table out of heaven?’ He said, ‘Fear you God, if you are believers.’

They said, ‘We desire that we should eat of it and our hearts be at rest; and that we may know that thou hast spoken true to us, and that we may be among its witnesses.’

And when Jesus son of Mary, ‘O God, our Lord, send down upon us a Table out of heaven, that shall be for a festival, the first and last of us, and a sign from Thee. And provide for us; Thou art the best of providers.’

God said, ‘Verily I do not send it down on you; whoso of you hereafter disbelieves, verily I shall chastise him with a chastisement wherewith I chastise no other being.’

And when I inspired the Apostles: ‘Niaminini Mimi na Mtume Wangu (huyu Isa),’ wakasema: ‘Tumeamini na Uwe Shahidi kuwa sisi ni wanyenyeku’.

(Kumbuka) Wanafunzi (wako) waliposema: “Ewe Isa mwana wa Maryamu! Je, Mola wako anaweza kututemeshia chakula kutoka mbinguni?” Akasema (Nabii Isa): “Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu kama nyinyi ni wenye kuamini kwelii. (Musitake miujiza).”

Wakasema: “Tunataka kula katika hicho na ili nyoyo zetu zitulie na tujue ya kwamba umetwambia kwelii na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoshuhudia (miujiza ya Mwenyezi Mungu anayoyawafanyia Mitume Yake).”

Akasema Isa bin Maryamu: “Ewe Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wetu! Tuteremshie chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe Sikukuu kwa ajili ya wa mwanzo wetu (nao ni sisi) na wa mwisho wetu (nao ni wafuasi wetu watakaokuja baada yetu wakasikia haya), na kiwe Ishara itokayo Kwako, basi turuzuku, kwani Wewe ndiye M-bora wa wanaoruzuku.”

Mwenyezi Mungu akasema: “Bila shaka Mimi nitakiteremsha juu yenu, lakini miongoni mwenu atakayekataa baada ya haya, basi Mimi nitamuadhibu adhabu ambayo Sijamwadhibu yoyote katika walimwengu.”

Na nilipowafunulia mitume, ya kama, Niaminini, na mtume wangu, walisema, Tunaamini; utushuhudie kwamba tumejisilimisha kwako.

Ahmadi

112 Na Nilipowafunulia wanafunzi kwamba Niaminini Mimi na Mtume Wangu, wakasema: Tumeamini na Uwe Shahidi ya kwamba sisi ni wanyenyekevu.

113 Wananfunzi waliposema: Ewe Isa mwana wa Mariamu, je, Mola wako Anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni? Akasema: Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu kama ninyi ni waaminio.

114 Wakasema: Tunataka kula katika hicho na ili mioyo yetu itulie na tujue ya kwamba umetuambia kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoyashuhudia.

115 Akasema Isa bin Mariamu: Ee Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wetu, tuteremshie chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe siku kuu kwa ajili ya mwanzo wetu na wa mwisho wetu, na kiwe Ishara itokayo Kwako, na Uturuzuku, kwani Wewe ni Mbora wa wanaoruzuku.

116 Mwenyezi Mungu Akasema: Bila shaka Mimi Nitakiteremsha juu yenu, lakini miongoni mwenu atakayekataa baada ya haya, basi Mimi Nitamwadhibu adhabu ambayo Sijamwadhibu ye yote katika walimwengu.

Al-Barwani

111 Na nilipo wafunulia Wanafunzi kwamba waniemini Mimi na Mtume wangu, wakasema: Tumeamini na shuhudia kuwa sisi ni Waislamu.


113 Wakasema: Tunataka kukila chakula hicho, na nyoyo zetu zitue, na tujue kwamba umetuambia kweli, na tuwe miongoni mwa wana shuhudia.

114 Akasema Isa bin Maryamu: Ewe Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola Mlezi wetu! Tuteremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe Sikukuu kwa ajili ya wa mwanzo wetu na wa mwisho wetu, na kiwe ni Ishara itokayo kwako. Basi turuzuku, kwani Wewe ndiye mbora wa wanao ruzuku.


Mayunga

111 Na nilipowafunulia wananfunzi (wako) kuwa: Niaminini Mimi na Mtume wangu, wakasema; Tumeamini na uwe shahidi kwamba sisi ni wanyenyekevu.

112 (Kumbuka) wananfunzi (wako) waliposema: Ewe Isa mwana wa Mariam je, Mola wako anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni? Akasema (Nabii Isa) mcheni Mwenyezezi Mungu ikiwa ni wenye kuamini.

113 Wakasema: Tunataka kukila chakula hicho na nyoyo zetu zitulie na tujue kwamba umetwambia kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoyashuhudia.

114 Akasema Isa bin Mariam: Ee Mwenyezezi Mungu, Mola wetu! tuteremshie chakula kutoka binguni ili kiwe siku kuu kwa ajili ya wa mwanzo wetu na wa mwisho wetu, na kiwe dalili itokayo kwako, na uturuzuku, na wewe ni Mbora wa wanaoruzuku.

115 Mwenyezezi Mungu akasema: Bilashaka Mimi nitakiteremsha juu yenu, lakini miongoni mwenu atakayekataa baada ya haya, basi Mimi nitamwadhibu adhabu ambayo sijamwadhibu yeyote katika walimwengu.
Mughniyya

111 Na nilipowafahamisha wanafunzi kwamba Naminini mimi na Mtume wangu, wakasema Tumeamini na ushuhudie kuwa sisi ni wanyenyekevu.

112 Waliposema Wanafunzi: “Ewe Isa bin Mariyam, Je Mola wako anaweza kuteremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni; akasema: Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu ikiwa nyinyi ni waumini.

113 Wakasema: Tunataka kula katika hicho na ili zitulie nyoyo zetu na tujue ya kuwa utumiaji kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoshuhudia.

114 Akasema Isa bin Maryam: Ewe Mwenyezi Mungu Mola wetu! Tuteremshie chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe sikuku kwa ajili ya wa mwanzo wetu na wa mwisho wetu na kiwe ishara itokayo kwako na uturuzuku kwani wewe ni mbora wa wanaoruzuku.”

115 Mwenyezi Mungu akasema: Hakika mimi nitakuteremshia lakini atakayekufuru baada ya hapa basi nitamwadhibu adhabu ambayo sijamwadhibu yeyote katika walimwengu.

\textit{Al-Mā‘īda (5):116-119}

\textit{Arberry}

And when God said, ‘O Jesus son of Mary, didst thou say unto men, “Take me and my mother as gods, apart from God”? ’

He said, “To Thee be glory! It is not mine to say what I have no right to. If I indeed said it, Thou knowest it, knowing what is within my soul, and I know not what is within Thy soul; Thou knowest the things unseen

I only said to them what Thou didst command me: “Serve God, my Lord and your Lord.”

And I was a witness over them, while I remained among them; but when Thou didst take me to Thyself, Thou wast Thyself the watcher over them; Thou Thyself art witness of everything.

If Thou chastisest them, they are Thy servants; if’Thou forgivest them, Thou art the All-mighty, the All-wise.’

God said, ‘This is the day the truthful shall be profited by their truthfulness. For them await gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein dwelling forever and ever, God being well-pleased with them and they well-pleased with Him; that is the mighty triumph.’
Al-Farsy


118 ‘Ikiwa Utawaadhibu, basi bila shaka hao ni waja Wako; na Ukiwasamehe basi kwa hakika Wewe ndiye Mwenye nguvu (na) Mwenye hikima; (Hutaambiwa kuwa wamekushinda kuwatia adabu).’


Dale

Na Mungu atakaposema, Ee Isa bin Mariamu, je! umewaambia wana Adamu, Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa Waungu zaidi ya Mungu? Atasema, Utukufu una wewe,


Ahmadi

117 Na Mwenyezi Mungu Atakaposema: Ewe Isa bin Mariamu! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu: Nishikeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu wawili badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu? Atasema: Wewe ndiwe Mtakatifu, hainipasi mimi kusema ambayo sina haki (ya kusema); kama ngingalisa bila shaka Ungaliuja; Unayajua yaliyomo nafsini mwangu, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyomo nafsini Mwako; hakika Wewe ndiwe Ujuaye sana mambo ya ghaibu.

118 Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale Uliyoniamuru: ya kwamba Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu; na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa kati yao, lakini Uliponifisha Wewe Ukawa Mchungaji juu yao, na Wewe ni Shahidi juu ya kila kitu.

119 Ikiwa Utawaadhibu, basi bila shaka hao ni watu Wako; na kama Ukiwasamehe basi kwa hakika Wewe ndiwe Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye hekima.

120 Mwenyezi Mungu Atasema: Hii ndiyo Siku wasemao kweli utawafaa ukweli wao, wao watapata Bustani zipitazo chini yao mito, humo watakaa milele. Mwenyezi Mungu Amewawia radhi, nao wamekuwa radhi naye; huu ndio ufaulu mkuu.
Al-Barwani


118 Ukiwaadhibu basi hao ni waja wako. Na ukiwasamehe basi Wewe ndiye Mwenye nguvu na Mwenye hikima.


Mayunga


117 Sikuwaambia lolote ila yale uliyoniamuru kwamba: Mwabaduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Molawenu, na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipo kuwa nao, na uliponifisha, wewe ukawa Mchungaji juu yao, na wewe ni shahidi juu ya kila kitu.

118 Ikiwa utawafadhili, basi bila shaka hao ni waja wako, na ukiwasamehe basi kwa hakika wewe ndiye Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye hekima.


Mughniyya


117 Sikuwaambia ila uliyoniamrisha, ya kwamba, Mwabaduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Na mimi nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipo kuwa nao na uliponifisha ukawa wewe ndiye Mjuzi mkubwa wa yaliyo fikihana.

118 Sikuwaambia lolote ila uliyo niamrisha, ya kwamba, Mwabaduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Na mimi nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipo kuwa nao na uliponifisha ukawa wewe ndiye Mjuzi mkubwa wa yaliyo fikihana.

Al-Shūrā (42):13
Arberry
He has laid down for you as religion that He charged Noah with, and that We have revealed to thee, and that We charged Abraham with, Moses and Jesus: ‘Perform the religion, and scatter not regarding it.’ Very hateful is that for the idolaters, that thou callest them to. God chooses unto Himself whomsoever He will, and He guides to Himself whosoever turns, penitent.

Al-Farsi
13 Amekupeni Sharia ya Dini ile ile Aliyomuusia Nuhu na Tuliyokufunulia wewe na Tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa, kwamba simamisheni Dini wala msifarikiane kwayo (kwa ajili ya Dini); ni ngumu kwa wenye kushirikisha (Dini hii) unayowaitia; Mwenyezi Mungu humchagua Kwake Amtakaye na Humuongoza Kwake aelekeaye (Kwake).

Dale
Amewapeni sharia ya dini aliyomwamuru Nuhu, na tuliyokufunulia wewe, na tuliyomwamuru Ibrahimu, na Musa na Isa, tukisema, Dumuni katika dini hii, wala msifarakane katika hiyo. Wale wanaompa Mungu washarika huiona dini ile unayowaitia kuwa neno kubwa. Mungu atamchagua amsirakane kwa dini hii, nae atamwongoza kwenye dini hii kila atubuye.

Ahmadi
14 Amewapeni sheria ya dini Aliyomusia Nuhu na Tuliyokufunulia wewe na Tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa kwamba simamisheni dini wala msifarikiane kwayo; ni ngumu kwa washirikina (dini ile) unayowaitia; Mwenyezi Mungu Humchagua Kwake Amtakaye na na Humuongoza Kwake aelekeaye.

Al-Barwani

Mayunga
13 Amekupeni Sharia (njia nyooofu) ya dini aliyomuusia Nuhu na tuliyokufunulia wewe Muhammad na tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa, kwamba: Simamisheni dini wala msifarikane kwayo, ni ngumu kwa washirikina (dini hii) unayowaitia, Mwenyezezi Mungu humchagua kwake amsirakane na humuongoza kwake aelekeaye.
Say: ‘He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one.’

Arberry

Al-Farsy

1 Sema: Yeye ni Mwenyezi Mungu Mmoja (tu).
2 Mwenyezi Mungu (tu) ndiye anayestahiki kukusudiwa (na viume Vyake vyote kwa kumuabudu na kumuomba na kumtegemea).
3 Hakuzaa wala Hakuzaliwa
4 Wala hana anayefanana Naye hata mmoja.

Dale

Sema, Yeye ni Mungu mmoja!
Mungu anaeendewa!
hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa,
wala hana afananae nae.

Al-Barmi

2 Sema: Yeye Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja
3 Mwenyezi Mungu Asiyehitaji, Ambaye wote wahanitaji Kwake.
4 Hakuzaa wala Hakuzaliwa.
5 Wala Hana anayefanana naye hata mmoja.

Mayunga

1 Sema: Yeye Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Mmoja.
2 Mwenyeezi Mungu ndiye anayekusudiwa kwa haja.
3 Hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa.
4 Wala hana anayefanana naye hata mmoja.

Mughniyya

1 Sema huyo Allah ni mmoja tu!
2 Allah ndiye Mwenye kukusudiwa kwa haja zote.
3 Hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa.
4 Wala hakuwa yeyote mfano wake.

Al-Amin b. Aly

1 Sema: Yeye ni Mwinyi-ezi-Mngu Mmoja
2 Mwinyi-ezi-Mngu Ndie Mwenye kukusudiwa kwa haja
3 Hakuzaa, wala hakuzaliwa
4 Wala hakuwa yoyote ni kifano chake.
APPENDIX TWO: OUTLINE OF TRACTS STUDIED

The outline of each tract is given, with references from the Qur’ān, the Bible, and other sources. Corrections and additional information is given in square brackets.

2.1 MUSLIM TRACTS

[1] Imran, Muhammad Samiullah Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani
(The teachings of Jesus in light of the Qur’ān)

Page OUTLINE
1] DIBAJI (Preface)
   1] Àl ‘Imrān (3):52
      Al-Mā‘īda (5):111
   2/3] George Bernard Shaw
      A collection of Writings of some of the Eminent Scholars 1935

2. TAWHID (UMOJA WA MUNGU) DHIDHI YA UTATU
(Unity (the oneness of God) contrary to the Trinity)

7] Al-Sajda (32):9
10] Al-Nisā‘(4):48
12] Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4

4. JE! YESU NI MWANA WA MUNGU? (Is Jesus the Son of God?)

14] Al-Nisā‘(4):6
15] Al-Zukhruf (43):59
16] Al-Tawba (9):30-31

6. JE! KAFARA NI HOJA YA HAKIKA? (Is the need for Sacrifice a certainty?)

17] Al-Baqara (2):112
18] Al-Najm (53):38-41
19] Al-A’rāf (7):42
20] Al-Isrā‘ (17):15
21] Al-Zumar (39):53-54

Genesis 1:3, 6-7, 14-15, 20-23, 24 [Bible References in footnote]

5. FUMBO LA DHAMBI YA ASILI (The mystery of Original Sin)

16] Yūnus (10):44
17] Al-Baqara (2):112
18] Al-Najm (53):38-41
19] Al-A’rāf (7):42
20] Al-Isrā‘ (17):15
21] Al-Zumar (39):53-54

[17] Al-Fātīr (35):18
[18] Al-Mā‘īda (5):77
[19] Al-Baqara (2):87
22] Al-Baqara (2):177
   Al-Hujurat (49):13
   Al-Tawbah (9):71
   Al-‘Ankabût (29):58-59
23] 7. JE! YESU ALIFIA MSALABANI? (Did Jesus die on the Cross?)
   Al-Nisâ’(4):157-158
   Al-Mā’idah (5):110
   Al-Zukhruf (43):61
26] 8. KUJA MARA YA PILI KWA YESU KRISTO (The Second Coming of Jesus Christ)
   Al-Nisâ’(4):159
27] Jabir – Abū Muhammad ‘Abdullāh ibn Abdu’r-Rahmān atTamimī ad-Dārimī
   (181/797- 255/869) Hadith Collection
   Àl ‘Imrân (3):19
28] 9. JE! MANABII WALIINULIWA KUTOKA KATIKA NYUMBA YA ISRAELI TU? (Were the Prophets only raised up from the House of Israel?)
   Al-Fātir (35):24
   Al-Nahl (16):36
29] Al-Shūrā (42):13
30] Al-Bayyina (98):1-9 [only 8 verses in Sūrah]
30] 10. JE! YESU NA KUJA KWA MUHAMMAD (Jesus and the coming of Muhammad)
30/31] Al-Saff (61):6-7
32] 11. BIBLIA YA SIKU HIZI NI NENO LA MUNGU? (Is today’s Bible the Word of God?)
   Al-Baqara (2):2-5 [not 2-50 as given]
   Al-Hijr (15):9
   Al-An‘ām (6):38
34] Al-Nisâ’(4):82
   Al-Baqara (2):23
   Al-Baqara (2):146
35] Al-Nisâ’(4):115
   Al-Tawbah (9):32-33
35] 12. MWISHO (Conclusion)
   Time Weekly 29th May, 1964
36] Àl ‘Imrân (3):64
   Al-Baqara (2):256
37] Àl ‘Imrân (3):67-68
   Al-Ra‘d (13):27-29
38] Al-Shu‘arā’ (26):69
38] 13. WITO WA KUINGIA KATIKA UISLAMU (The Call to enter into Islam)
   Al-Hajj (22):78
39] Al-Kahf (18):103-108
   Ahmad
40] Al-Baqara (2):186
   Qāf (50):16
41] Al-Saff (61):8-9
   Ibrāhīm (14):1
42] Àl ‘Imrân (3):83-85
Footnote referring to Maurice Bucaille The Bible, the Qur’an and Science
Kanoni, Abbas Gombo *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*
(Why I left Christianity and I became a Muslim)

**Page OUTLINE**

1] *IMANI YA DINI* (The Religious creed/faith)

2] *MUNGU MMOJA KATIKA NAFSI TATU* (One God with three persons)

2] *JE, BABA NI NAFSI YA KWANZA YA MUNGU?* (Is the Father the first person of God?)

2]  
   John 20:17
   Matthew 23:9-10

2] *JE, YESU NI NAFSI YA PILI YA MUNGU?* (Is Jesus the second person of God?)

3]  
   Mark 1:24-25
   Matthew 3:17
   Luke 2:40

5]  
   Matthew 26:39
   Matthew 9:8

6]  
   John 17:3

7]  
   Acts 2:36
   Acts 3:13

8]  
   Acts 3:20
   John 11:41-42

9]  
   John 14:28
   John 14:24
   John 7:28
   John 7:33
   John 7:18
   John 5:24

11]  
   John 5:27
   Matthew 27:46
   John 6:38

12]  
   Matthew 15:16
   John 13:16

13]  
   Mark 13:30-32

14]  
   John 13:16

15]  
   Matthew 23:9-10
   John 17:7-9
   John 4:19

16]  
   John 4:20

17]  
   John 4:21
   John 4:22
   John 4:34
   John 20:17

18]  
   Mark 6:3
   Mark 6:4
   Mark 6:5
   John 5:30

19]  
   Mark 5:36
   John 6:29
   John 6:69

20]  
   John 9:4
   John 9:17
   John 11:22
20] John 12:49
John 14:1
22] “JE, KUITWA YESU “MWANA” KUNA MAANA GANI?”
(“What does it mean to call Jesus “Son”?)
John 1:18 [1945]
John 1:18 [1950]
23] John 8:42
John 8:44
Matthew 23:33
24] KUZALIWA BILA BABA SIYO PIA DALILI YA UUNGU
(To be born without a Father is also not a sign of Godhood)
Hebrews 7:3
Acts 2:22
24] JE, ROHO MTAKATIFU NI NINI AU NI NANI? (So, What or who is the Holy Spirit?)
John 4:1
[2] Chronicles 15:1
Matthew 12:18
John 4:24
2 Corinthians 3:18
25] JE, NI KWELI MWENYEZI MUNGU ANAZO NAFSI TATU?
(Is it true that God Almighty has three persons?)
25] UPWEKE WA MWENYEZI MUNGU (The solitariness of God Almighty)
Isaiah 41:4
Isaiah 44:6
Isaiah 44:24
27] Isaiah 45:18
Isaiah 45:22
Isaiah 45:21
Mark 12:28-30
28] JE, UTATU MTAKATIFU NI FUMBO? (Is the Holy Trinity a mystery?)
John 1:2
Isaiah 44:6
John [1.1]
30] JE, YESU ALITUMWA KUWAONGOZA WATU GANI?
(Which people was Jesus sent to lead?)
31] Matthew 5:19
Exodus 20:1-17;
Deuteronomy 7:6-11;
Exodus 34:10-17 [All on this page are References]
32] Ezekiel 3:4-7
Isaiah 2:[5]-6
Jeremiah 10:1-2
33] [Matthew 2:2 Quoted without reference]
Matthew 2:6
33] Matthew 15:21-26
34] Mathew 2:6 [part only]
Matthew 15:21-26 [part only]
34] Matthew 19:27-28
35] Exodus 24:4
35] Matthew 7:6
Matthew [1]5:21-26 [Reference given as 25:15-26]
Exodus 34:10-17
Matthew 10:5-7
Matthew 10:23
Matthew 2:2
Matthew 2:6
Matthew 28:19-20
Matthew 19:27-28
Matthew 7:6 [not 7:7 as given]
Matthew 10:5-7 [part only]
Matthew 15:21-26 [part only]
Matthew 19:27-28 [part only]
Matthew 7:6 [not 7:7 as given]
Matthew 10:5-7
Matthew 28:19-20
Acts 11:19
Acts 11:23
Galatians 2:12-13
Galatians 2:14
Acts 18:5-6
Romans 11:13
2 Corinthians 5:20
Acts 11:5-17
Acts 11:11-18
Jeremiah 29:8-9
Jeremiah 23:21
Jeremiah 14:4
Mark 16:16-18
Luke 10:17-20
John 8:15
John 8:7
John 8:11
James 4:12
Romans 14:10-11
Romans 14:12-13
James 5:16
[1] Corinthians 4:5
Matthew 7:1-5
Luke 1:15-16
Isaiah 5:11-12
Isaiah 5:22
Isaiah 5:14
Genesis 3:16-19
Matthew 18:1-6
Psalm 115:4[-]8
Isaiah 2:8
Isaiah 2:20
Isaiah 44:9, 10-11
56] **USHAHIDI WA BIBLIA** (The Witness of the Bible)
56]  
John 19:14-18  
Mark 15:25  
Matthew 27:46  
Matthew 27:44  
Matthew 26:48-49  
John 18:4-6  

57]  
**Al-Baqara (2):80**  

59] **BIBLIA KUBADILISHWA MANENO YAKE KILA MWAKA**  
(The Bible has its words changed every year)

59]  
Jude 1:14 [1945]  
Jude 1:14 [1950]  
Matthew 10:23 [1945]  
Matthew 10:23 [1950]  
John 1:18 [1945]  
John 1:18 [1950]  

60] **WAKRISTO KUISUSA TORATI** (Christians despise the Torah)

60]  
Matthew 5:17-19  
John 5:45-47  
John 7:19  
Leviticus 11:1-8  
Leviticus 15:1-2  
Leviticus 15:13-15  
Leviticus 15:16-18  
Leviticus 15:19-20  
Leviticus 15:24  
Leviticus 15:25  
Leviticus 15:28-30  
Leviticus 15:31  
John 5:45-47 [Reference]  
Leviticus 26:46  
Deuteronomy 21:15-17  
John 15:17-19  
Matthew 19:3  

(Swali) [Question]
Matthew 19:4-6

66]  
(Jibu) [Answer]
Matthew 19:7

(Swali jingine) [Another Question]
Matthew 19:8-9

(Jibu jingine) [Another Answer]

67] **MAFUNDISHO YA UONGO** (The teaching of lies)

67]  
**Al-Baqara (2):80**  
2 Timothy 4:3-4  
Jeremiah 8:8-9  
Matthew 23:13

69] **IMANI YA DINI YA KIISLAMU** (The religious creed of Islam)

69]  
**AFAAE KUABUDIWA NI MUNGU MMOJA** (One God deserves to be worshipped)

70]  
**Al-Baqara (2):21** [listed as Sūra al-Ḥzāb (33)]

70]  
**Al-Ḥzāb (33):17/18**

---

1 The Ahmadi translation counts the opening formula of the Sūra as the first verse, al-Farsy does not.
Isaiah 44:6
Exodus 20:2
Exodus 20:5

_JE! NI KWELI MUHAMMAD NI MJUMBE WA MUNGU?_ (Is it true that Muhammad is the Messenger of God?)

_Al-‘Alaq_ (96):1-5 [Reference]
Deuteronomy 18:16-20

_Al-Muddaththir_ (74) [Reference]
Deuteronomy 33:2-3

_Deuteronomy 33:2-3_ [Reference]
_Song of Solomon 5:10_
Deuteronomy 33:2-[3] [Reference]
_Jude 1:4_ [Reference]

Isaiah 28:9-13
Genesis 21:14-16 [Reference]
Genesis 16:12

Isaiah 5:26-30

_Al-A‘rāf_ (7):159

_Al-‘Ādiyāt_ (100):2-6

Isaiah 21:13-17

_KUJA KWA NABII MWINGINE_ (The coming of another Prophet)

_Deuteronomy 18:16-20_ [Reference]

_John 1:25_  
_John 6:14_  
_John 7:40-42_

_John 16:12-14_  
_John 14:16_  
_John 14:25-26_

[2] Chronicles 15:1
Matthew 12:18
Matthew 3:16
_John 16:7_ [Reference]

_John 20:21_  
_John 16:17_ [Reference]
Deuteronomy 18:16-20 [Reference]

_John 7:40-41_

_MUHAMMAD NDIYE MSAIDIZI AU NABII YULE_ (Muhammad is indeed the Helper or that Prophet)

_INJILI YA MT. BARNABA YAMTAJA MTUME MUHAMMAD (S.A.W.)_ (The Gospel of the Apostle Barnabas names the Apostle Muhammad (P.B.U.H.))

_Barnabas 96:1-11_  
_Barnabas 96:13-14_  
_Barnabas 67:5-6_  
_Barnabas 67:13-17_

_Al-Hijr_ (15):9

_YOHANA PIA AMTABIRI NABII YULE_ (John also foretells that prophet)

_Revelation 19:11-16_

_Al-Mā‘ida_ (5):45

_Al-Tawba_ (9):74

_YESU HAKUPINGA KUJA KWA NABII MWINGINE_ (Jesus did not oppose the coming of another Prophet)

_Matthew 7:15-16_  
_1 John 4:1_
NABII MUHAMMAD NI NABII WA KWELI (The Prophet Muhammad is truly a prophet)
Matthew 7:15-18
Hadith [quoted but no reference]
Hadith [quoted but no reference]
Tofauti Kati ya Islamu na Ukristo
(The difference between Islam and Christianity)
Ezekiel 3:4-7
Matthew 2:2
Matthew 2:6
Matthew 15:21-26
Matthew 7:6
Exodus 34:10-17
Matthew 10:5-7
Matthew 10:23
Matthew 11:19
Matthew 11:23
Galatians 2:14
MWISHO (Conclusion)
Kanoni, Abbas Gombo Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo
(I did not deny Jesus, rather the Apostle Paul)
Page OUTLINE
1] Utangulizi (Foreword)
2] UJUMBE WA AINA MBILI (A Message of two kinds)
   Galatians 2:7-8
   Galatians 2:9
3] Galatians 5:3
   Galatians 4:6
   Galatians 5:2
4] UJUMBE WA YESU KWA MAYAHUDI (The Message of Jesus for the Jews)
   John 12:50
   John 6:29
   John 17:6
   John 17:7
   John 17:8
   John 14:24
5] John 12:49
   Matthew 10:5-7
   John 16:8
   John 16:13-14
   Matthew 23:9-10
   Luke 17:10
8] UJUMBE WA PAULO KWA MATAIFA (The Message of Paul for the Nations)
   Acts 9:1-2
   Acts 26:11
   Galatians 2:7-9 [Reference]
9] 1 Timothy 1:15-16
   Ephesians 3:1-4
   Ephesians 3:5-6
   Ephesians 3:8-10
9) Galatians 1:15-16
   Romans 15:18
10) Romans 16:25-26
11) INJILI NI UKUMBUSHO WA TAURATI (The Gospel is a reminder of the Torah)
    Jeremiah 23:5-6
11) Luke 1:32
    Luke 1:69-70
12) Matthew 21:33-38
13) Matthew 5:17-18
    Matthew 16:31
    Matthew 5:19
    Matthew 5:20
14) Matthew 23:1-4
    (a) Myahudi kwa Taifa lake (A Jew for his nation)
    Matthew 7:26-27
    Matthew 2:6
    Matthew 15:21-24
15) Matthew 19:28
    (b) Amwamini Mungu na Mtume Yesu (He believes in God and the Apostle Jesus)
    John 17:3
    Mark 12:29-30
    Matthew 7:21
    John 8:29
    Matthew 11:25
    John 10:29
    John 14:24
    John 15:1
    John 8:28
    Matthew 11:29-30
    John 17:4
17) John 17:6
    Matthew 6:9-13
17) (c) Azitii Sheria zote za Taurati (He submits to all the laws of the Torah)
18) Matthew 5:17-20
    Matthew 23:1-4
    Matthew 8:4
    Matthew 8:11-12
    Matthew 7:21
    Matthew 7:8
    Matthew 15:24
    Mark 7:27
20) Matthew 21:43-44
    John 16:8
    Matthew 24:5
    Matthew 24:23-26
21) KUPIGA VITA TAURATI (To wage war on the Torah)
21) John 16:8
    Matthew 24:5
    Matthew 23:26
    John 16:14
    John 16:8 [References]
21] Hebrews 9:8
Romans 5:14
22] Romans 7:9
Romans 4:15
Romans 7:5
1 Corinthians 15:56
Romans 3:20
Romans 7:9-11
23] Galatians 3:10
Galatians 5:4
Hebrews 10:4
Romans 9:32
Hebrews 11:13
Acts 13:36
24] 1 Corinthians 1:21
Hebrews 8:7
24] Hebrews 7:18-19
Hosea 8:12
Jeremiah 5:4
25] Isaiah 37:23
Isaiah 1:3
Al-Tawba (9):30 (part)
Jeremiah 11:10
2 Peter 2:22
26] Titus 1:10-14
1 Timothy 6:12-13
1 Timothy 1:9
2 Timothy 4:7
2 Corinthians 12:16
Romans 3:5
Romans 3:7
27] **KUPOTOSHA HUKUMU** (To pervert judgement)
Ephesians 2:15-18
Colossians 2:13-14
Romans 8:1-4
28] Romans 3:23-25
Romans 3:28
Romans 5:10
Galatians 3:13
Romans 7:6
Galatians 3:23-25
29] Matthew 7:15-20
30] Isaiah 5:20
Numbers 14:18
Jeremiah 2:35
31] **TAURATI, NA KUP[|U]RU, NA UPANGANI** (Torah, and blasphemy, and the sword)
1 Corinthians 9:20-21
1 Corinthians 9:22-23
32] Galatians 3:10
Galatians 3:13
Romans 7:6
Galatians 5:3
34] Romans 1:8
Romans 16:19
1 Thessalonians 1:8
Romans 6:14
34] Hebrews 9:16-17
35] 1 Corinthians [9]:22(:23)
Daniel 2:41-42
36] Al-Mā‘īda (5):68
Al-Nisā’(4):150-151
37] KULAUMIWA KWANGU (My reproach)
37] Letter from his Father-in-Law an Anglican Priest
38] John 1:1-2
John 1:3
John 1:4
Matthew 18:18
John 20:23
38] 1 Corinthians 3:9
1 Corinthians 4:1 [References]
Acts 16:4
Galatians 3:15
1 Corinthians 6:2
1 Corinthians 6:3
Romans 2:16
39] Al-Tawba (9):31
Al-Mā‘īda (5):17
Al-Mā‘īda (5):75
Al-Tawba (9):30
40] Al-Tawba (9):32-33
Al-Mā‘īda (5):48
Al-Mā‘īda (5):14
Al-Nisā’(4):125

(The Life of the Prophet ÝÏsÁ (May God’s Peace be upon Him)
Page CONTENTS
1] DIBAJI (Preface)
3] UTANGULIZI (Foreword)
5] KISA CHA NABII ISA. (Account of the life of the Prophet ÝÏsÁ)
5] NABII ISA KATIKA QUR-ANI (The Prophet ÝÏsÁ in the Qur’an)
5] Al-Ra’d (13):33
5] BABU NA NYANYA WA NABII ISA
(Grandfather and Grandmother of the Prophet ÝÏsÁ)
7] DALILI YA NADHIRI KATIKA QUR-ANI (Evidence of vows in the Qur’an)
7] KIZAZI CHA BIBI MARYAM: (Lady Mary’s generation)
8] KUZALIWA BIBI MARYAM KATIKA QUR-ANI (The birth of the Lady Mary in the Qur’an)
9] HABARI YAKE BIBI HUYU: (News of that Lady)
10] Āl ‘Imrān (3):44
11] NAMNA BIBI MARYAM ALIVYOMZAA NABII ISA A.S.
(How the Lady Mary gave birth to the Prophet ÝÏsÁ (A.S.))
12] BIBI MARYAM AFika NYUMBANI (Lady Mary arrives home)
HABARI ZA KUZALIWA ISA KATIKA QUR-ANI (News of the birth of Ìśā in the Qur‘ān)

Maryam (19):16-35

NABII ISA SI MWANA WA MUNGU (The Prophet Ìśā is not the Son of God)

AI-Ikhlaṣ (112):1-4

AI-Baqara (2):117

Ál ‘Imrān (3):59

Ál ‘Imrān (3):45-48

MAISHA YA NABII ISA A.S. (The life of the Prophet Ìśā A.S.)

MAMBO ALIYOKUWA AKIPENDA ISA (Things that Ìśā liked)

ISA APATA WAHYI KWA MWENYEZI MUNGU: (Ìśā receives a revelation of God Almighty)

NABII ISA AKHUTUBIA BANI ISRAIL: (The Prophet Ìśā preaches to the people of Israel)

Al-Saff (61):6

BANI ISRAIL WADAI MWUJIZA KUTOKANA NA ISA A.S. (The people of Israel demand a miracle from Ìśā A.S.)

NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUWATOLEA HABARI ZILIZOFICHKA: (The Prophet Ìśā performs a miracle to tell things that are hidden)

NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUWAPONYESHA VIPOFU NA WENYE MAGONJWA YA MBALANGA KWA IDHINI YA MWENYEZI MUNGU: (The Prophet Ìśā performs a miracle to heal the blind and those with skin disease by permission of God Almighty)

NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUUMBA NDEGE (The Prophet Jesus performs the miracle of creating birds)

Ál ‘Imrān (3):49

NABII ISA A.S. ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUFUFUA MAITI KWA IDHINI YA MWENYEZI MUNGU: (The Prophet Jesus (P.B.U.H.) performs a miracle of raising the dead by permission of God Almighty)

Ál ‘Imrān (3):52-53

NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA CHAKULA KUTOKA MBINGUNI (The Prophet Ìśā performs the miracle of food from heaven)

Ál-Mā‘ida (5):112-115

CHAKULA SASA CHASHUKA: (Food now descends)

WAONA LADHA YA CHAKULA NA KUMSHUKURU MUNGU (They taste the food and thank God)

MIUJIZA YA NABII ISA KATIKA QUR-ANI (The Miracles of the Prophet Ìśā in the Qur‘ān)

Ál ‘Imrān (3):46-49

NABII ISA ALIKUWA AKIWAKHUTUBIA WANA WA ISRAIL KUWA YEYE NI MTUME WA MUNGU (The Prophet Ìśā was preaching to the children of Israel that he is the Messenger of God)

Ál-Mā‘ida (5):72-75

UZINDUSHI: (Admonition)

SIKU YA KIYAMA NABII ISA A.S. ATAKANUSHU KUWA HAKUWAAMBIA WATU WAKE WAMFANYE YEYE YA MAMA YAKE KUWA NI WAUNGU: (On the day of Resurrection the Prophet Ìśā A.S. will deny that he told his people that they should make he and his mother as gods)

Ál-Mā‘ida (5):116-120

MAFELEZO: (Explanation)

Ál ‘Imrān (3):79

NABII ISA AOKOLEWA NA VITIMBI VYA WALIOTAKA KUMUUAA. (The Prophet Ìśā saved from the tricks of those who wanted to kill him)

Ál-Nisā‘(4):157-158

Ál ‘Imrān (3):55
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>DIBAJI (Preface)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Mā’īda (5):75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.A. Vasiliev ‘Byzantium and Islam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Āl ‘Imrān (3):64 [Not Al-Najm (53):64]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>UISLAMU KATIKA BIBLIA (Islam in the Bible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Ra’d (13):43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Shūrā (42):13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ephesians 4:4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>DINI YA KIISLAMU (The Religion of Islam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah 57:19 [actually verses 18-21]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 20:19-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MUNGU MMOJA (One God)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deuteronomy 5:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deuteronomy 6:4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms 83:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mark 12:28-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Luke 18:18-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job 25:4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 17:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>John 5:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Al-Mā’īda (5):75-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 20:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah 46:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah 43:10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah 42:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms 115:4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>NANI AMELTA DINI MPYA [?](Who has brought a new religion?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew 24:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew 13:24-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew 13:36-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PAULO (Paul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romans 11:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Corinthians 2:1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippians 2:5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[1] Timothy 3:14-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Titus 2:13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 14:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2 Corinthians 11:16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Corinthians 9:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galatians 3:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew 15:8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Matthew 15:5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Matthew 15:21-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>MTUME MUHAMMAD (SAW) (The Apostle Muhammad (SAW))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deuteronomy 33:1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deuteronomy 18:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>John 4:21-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Matthew 21:43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Habakkuk 3:3-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14] Genesis 21:14-21
15] Zechariah 11:15-16
Isaiah 29:12
John 1:19-21
John 16:7-15
Revelation 19:11-16
17] HATARI YA IMANI YA UONGO (Danger of untrue faith)
18] Al-Anbiyā’(21):107 [Quoted but reference not given]
Isaiah 45:5-7
Isaiah 45:18-22
19] Āl ‘Imrān (3):19
Āl ‘Imrān (3):85
NGUZO ZA UISLAMU (Pillars of Islam)
20] SHAHADA (Credal statement)
John 17:3
SALA (Prayer)
20] Kuvua viatu: (Removing Shoes)
21] Ţā Hā (20):11-12
Exodus 3:3-6
Joshua 5:13-15
Udhu: (Ceremonial Purity)
Al-Mā‘īda (5):7
22] Exodus 30:17-21
Matthew 5:17-20
John 13:5-11
23] Kusujudu: (Prostration)
Exodus 34:8-9
2 Chronicles 7:3
24] Al-Fath (48):29
Revelation 7:1-4
Namna ya Kusali: (How to Pray)
Matthew 6:5-13
25] Al-İsrā’(17):110
Psalms 55:17-18
26] Al-İsrā’(17):78
Psalms 119:62
Nani aliyeleta ibada ya namna nyingine: (Who is it that brought a different kind of worship)
Colossians 2:20-23
27] Neno la Mwenyezi Mungu limebadilishwa: (The word of God Almighty has been changed)
Jeremiah 8:7-8
Jeremiah 36:23-24
Luke 1:1-4
28] KUTOA ZAKA (The giving of offerings)
Deuteronomy 14:22-29
29] Deuteronomy 15:1-10
Matthew 6:1-4
Al-Baqara (2):271
Matthew 6:19-21
Al-Baqara (2):274
Matthew 19:21-26
30] **KUFUNGA MWEZI WA RAMADHANI** (To fast during Ramadhan)
   Deuteronomy 9:9
   Deuteronomy 9:18
31] Isaiah 58:3-7
   Matthew 6:16-18
   **Al-Baqara (2):183**
32] **KWENDA KUHIJI MAKKA** (To go to Mecca on pilgrimage)
   Deuteronomy 12:4-10
   Deuteronomy 12:21
   Matthew 21:42-43
   Psalms 118:22-24


**CONTENTS**

1) *INJILI YA KWELI YA YESU KRISTO* (The true Gospel of Jesus Christ)
2) *HISTORIA* (History)
3) *I. YESU SI MUNGU* (*INJILI YA BARNABA 96:9*)
   (I. Jesus is not God (Gospel of Barnabas 96:9))
4) *II. INJILI YA KWELI YA YESU* (II. The true Gospel of Jesus)
5) *III. UTANGULIZI WA INJILI YA KWELI YA YESU KRISTO (INJILI YA BARNABA)*
   *AMEANDIKA BARNABA MWENYEWE PAULO AMESUTWA PIA.*
   (III. Introduction to the true Gospel of Jesus Christ (The Gospel of Barnabas) Barnabas himself wrote it, Paul is also charged with deceit)
6) *IV. NABII ADAM ALIONA JINA LA MUHAMMAD PEponi*
   (IV. The Prophet Adam saw the name of Muhammad in Paradise)
7) *V. JINA LA MUHAMMAD KWENYE LANGO LA PEponi*
   (V. The name of Muhammad on the gate of Paradise)
8) *VI. MJUMBE WA ULIMWENGU WOTE SIO YESU. YEYE ATAKUJA BAADA YA YESU KUONDOKA DUNANI* (VI. The Messenger to the whole world is not Jesus. He will come after Jesus departs the earth)
9) *VII. BWANA YESU AMETABIRI JINA LA MTUME MUHAMMAD (S.A.W) PAMOJA NA DINI YAKE* (VII. The Lord Jesus has foretold the name of the Apostle Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) together with his religion)
10) *VIII. MTUME WA MATAIFA YOTE ATATOKEA KWA UZAO WA ISHMAELI* (VIII. The Apostle of all nations will come from the offspring of Ishmael)
11) *IX. KUFUFULIWA KWA MTUME MUHAMMAD* (IX. The resurrection for Apostle Muhammad)
X. **MFUASI WA MUHAMMAD ASIPOTUBIA DHAMBI ATAENDA JEHANNAMU LAKINI HAWEZI KUKAA HUMO MILELE**

(X. Unless a follower of Muhammad repents of his sins he will go to Hell, but he will not stay there for eternity)

Barnabas 136:7-21

XI. **YESU ALISALIA NA KUSUJUDU NDIYO ILIYOKUWA DESTURI YAKE**

(XI. Jesus prayed by prostrating himself, indeed it was his practice)

Barnabas 214

XII. **BWANA YESU HAKUSULUBIWA WALA KUUAWA. JINSI YUDA ISKARIOTE ALIVYOKAMATWA NA KUSULUBIWA BADALA YA BWANA YESU**

(XII. The Lord Jesus was not crucified nor was he killed. How Judas Iscariot was arrested and crucified instead of the Lord Jesus)

Barnabas 215 [quotation is the second part of 215 and the start of 216]

XIII. **YESU ANAWATOKEA WANAFUNZI WAKE NA KUWAIMARISHA KWAMBA YEYE HAKUSULUBIWA WALA KUUWA ILA YUDA MSALITI**

(XIII. Jesus appears to his disciples and establishes that it was not he who was crucified nor killed, but the betrayer Judas)

Barnabas 221 [quotes a part of the Chapter]

XIV. **MUHAMMAD ATAPEWA UFUNUO (AYA) KWAMBA “YESU HAKUUWA WALA KUSULUBIWA”**

(XIV. Muhammad will be given a revelation (verse) that “Jesus was neither killed nor crucified”)

Barnabas 220:17-21

XV. **INJILI YA KWELI YA YESU KRISTO**

(XV. The true Gospel of Jesus Christ)

Who was entrusted to write?

Answer: Barnabas was ordered to write the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ

Barnabas 221 [the first part of the Chapter is quoted, Inside back cover:]

**YESU ANAJISHUHUDIA KWAMBA YEYE SI MUNGU "SURA YA 96:9"**

(Jesus testifies himself that he is not God “Chapter Sura 96:9”)

---

[7] **Swaleh, Harith Uungu na Umoja Wake** (Divinity and its Unity)

**CONTENTS**

1. YALIOMO NDANI (Contents)
2. B. TUNU (Dedication)
3. C. SHUKRANI (Thanksgiving)
4. MAVUNDEVUNDE (Rank-smelling things)
5. Twaha al-Hashimy
   - Taarikul Adyani wa falsafatuha
5.1) IBADA ZA ROHO (1. Spiritual Worship)
   - C.P.I. Taylor The Primitive Culture
   - Levy-Bruhl Al-aqliyyah
   - Al-budaaiyyah (The Primitive Mind)
5.2) KUABUDU ULIMWENGU; (2. To Worship the Environment)
   - Max Muller Essais Sur la Mythologie Comparee
5.3) KITU KINACHO ABUDIWA NA UKOO (TOTEM)
   - (3. A Thing that is worshipped by the Clan (Totem))
   - E.E. Evans-Pritchard Nuer Religion
   - John S. Mbiti African Religion and Philosophy
   - Vittorio Lanternari The Religions of the Oppressed

429
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SURA YA KWANZA: Mwanadamu hawezi kuishi bila Dini Njia ya Maisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Chapter One: Man is unable to live without Religion, the Way of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(1)</td>
<td>Dini ya Ukafiri (Religion of Infidels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(2)</td>
<td>Dini ya Ushirikina (Religion of Witchcraft)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(3)</td>
<td>Dini ya Utawa (Religion of Seclusion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(4)</td>
<td>Dini ya Uislam (Religion of Islam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(1) Dini ya Uklunzi (Religion of Unbelief)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Al-Insân (76):1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Al-Mulk (67):1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>SURA YA PILI: Uislam Ndio Njia Pekee ya Maisha Iliyo Sahihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>(Chapter Two: Islam is indeed the only correct way of life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Al-Baqara (2):38-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Al-Nahl (16):36 [Not verse 26 as stated]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tâ Hâ (20):29-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Maryam (19):53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Al-Shûrâ (42):13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Al-Bayyina (98):1 [Not Al-Fajr (89) as stated]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Al-Bayyina (98):6 [Not Al-Fajr (89) as stated]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):33-66 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Al-Baqara (2):136-139 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Al-Baqara (2):135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Al-Baqara (2):143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>SURA YA TATU: Namna ya Kuufuata Uislam (Chapter Three: The Pattern of following Islam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Al-Nisâ’(4):59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Al-Nisâ’(4):144-145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Al-Mâ’ida (5):51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Al-Mâ’ida (5):57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Al-Nisâ’(4):138-139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Al-Mâ’ida (5):55-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Al-Hijr (15):9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Al-Imrân (3):31-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Al-Ahzâb (33):21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Al-Hashr (59):7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>SURA YA NNE: Ujumbe Wa Mitume Ni Mmoja Tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>(Chapter Four: The Message of the Apostles is only one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Al-Anbiyâ’(21):25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>SURA YA TANO: A.- Uislamu Ndio Pekee Unaoweza Kutoa na Kusimamania Haki za Binadamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>(Chapter Five: A.- Islam is alone in being able to give and to supervise Human Rights)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Al-Hujurat (49):13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Al-Anâ’am (6):71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>SURA YA SITA: B.- Ni Zipi Haki zaBinaadamu Zinazotolewa na Kusimamiwa na Uislamu[?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>(Chapter Six: B.- Which are the Human Rights that are given and supervised by Islam?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. HAKI ZA BINAADAMU WOTE KWA UJUMLA (Basic Human Rights)
   (1. The totality of Human Rights (Basic Human Rights))
   (1) Haki za Maisha (kuishi) (1. The rights of life (to live))
      Al-Ma'ida (5):32
      Al-An'am (6):151
      Al-Furqan (25):68-69
   (2) Haki ya Kuokoa (Kujisalimisha) Maisha (The Right to Safety (to self-preservation) of Life)
      Al-Ma'ida (5):32
      Paraphrase from Talmud (?)
   (3) Haki ya Huweshimiwa Usafi (ubikira) wa Wanawake
      (3. The Right to Respect the Purity of Women (virginity))
      Al-Isra' (17):32
   (4) Haki ya Kupata Mahitaji ya Lazima ya Maisha (4. The Right to obtain the essentials of life)
      Al-Ma'arij (70):24-25
   (5) Haki ya Uhuru (Kila mtu kuwa huru) (5. The Right of Freedom (each person to be free))
      Hadith Bukhari
      Al-Mujadala (58):3
      Al-Tawba (9):60
      Al-Balad (90):11-13
   (6) Haki ya Uadilifu Katika Hukumu (Right to Justice)
      (6. The Right to Impartiality in Judgement (Right to Justice))
      Al-Ma'ida (5):8
      Al-Nisaa' (4):135
   (7) Haki ya Usawa (na Binaadamu) (Right to Equality)
      (7. Right to Equality (of Humans) (Right to Equality))
      Al-Hujurat (49):13
      Al-Hujurat (49):13
      Hijjatul Wada'a
   (8) Haki ya Kujiunga au Kutojiunga na Chama Chochote
      (8. The Right to Join or not to Join with any Group)
      Al-Ma'ida (5):2
      Al-'Imran (3):110
      Al-Ma'ida (5):3
      Al-'Imran (3):85
      SURA YA SABA: Ni Yupi Mwenye Utu Kamili (Chapter Seven: Who has perfect humanity)
      Al-Baqara (2):257
2.2 CHRISTIAN TRACTS


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MAISHA YANGU YA UTOTONI (My childhood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SIKU MUHUMI (The important day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MAFUNDISHO ZAIDI (More teaching)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Al ’Imrān (3):45-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Al-Mā’ida (5):46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yūnus (10):94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Al-An’am (6):165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>John 14:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Al-Mā’ida (5):72-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>John 14:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 17:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 14:23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>KIFUNGO CHA UPENDO (The cornerstone of Love)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>John 14:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>John 8:32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>MUNGU ANIFUNGUA (God sets me free)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>KUPATA NURU (To receive Light)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Al-Fath (48):2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Mu’min (40):55 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad (47):19 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Fāṭir (35):18 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maryam (19):19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hadith [no reference given]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>John 8:46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 John 3:4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Al-Nisā’ (4):171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maryam (19):21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Anbiyā’ (21):91 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āl ’Imrān (3):49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Al-Nisā’ (4):157-159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Maryam (19):33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āl ’Imrān (3):55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Al-Mā’ida (5):117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āl ’Imrān (3):55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Al-Ṣafṭ (61):6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>John 14:16,15-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Acts 2:1-11 [Reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1 Corinthians 15:3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>UAMUZI MKUU (The great decision)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>KUFANYA KAZI YAKE (To do his work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>John 14:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 17:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 8:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>MWISHO (end)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Psalm 27:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>John 15:16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jadeed, Iskander *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa*
(No! The Religion of Christ has not been Abrogated)

Page CONTENTS
2] HOJA: (Purpose)
3] Ndugu Yangu Mpendwa (My dear brother)
   Àl ÝImrÁn (3):55
   al-Tabari 7133
   al-Tabari 7134
   al-Tabari 7139
   al-Tabari 7142
   Al-Má’ida (5):116-117
   Je, Uislamu Unabatilisha Dini Nyingine Zote Zilizotangulia?
   (Does Islam Abrogate All Religions that preceded it?)
5] Al-Má’ida (5):68
   Al-Má’ida (5):47
   Al-Má’ida (5):43
   Yùnus (10):94
6] Al-Nahl(16):43
   Al-ShùrÁ (26):193-196
   Al-ShùrÁ (42):13
7] Yùnus (10):3
   Al-RahmÁn (55):14-15
   Al-Baqara (2):106
8] Al-Hajj (22):52
   Al-Hajj (22):52
   Al-Baqara (2):136
   Al-Baqara (2):90 [reference]
10] Al-Jalalayn p. 447
12] al-Jalalayn p. 66
13] al-Tabari 6/160-1
14] al-Tabari 3109
16] Hebrews 11:13
17] Hebrews 9:1-10
18] Micah 6:8
19] Isaiah 11:9
20] Revelation 3:18 [reference]
Khan, M. (Translated by G.H. Mrope)

*Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafula kuupata wokovu*
(The Qur’an and the Bible: How I searched for and found salvation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MAISHA YA UTOTO NA MASOMA (Childhood and Schooling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MAPAMBANO YA KWANZA NA WAKRISTO. (First encounter with Christians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Qīf (50):16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MASOMO YA JUU ZAIDI. (Higher Education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>MABISHANO ZAIDI NA WAKRISTO. (Further Disputes with Christians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>SAFARI YA KRENDA UARABU NA KURUDI. (Journey to Arabia and the return)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>JAMBO LENYE MAANA SANA. (A thing with great meaning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>KATIKA KUTAFUTA WOKOVU (In search of Salvation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Al-Sajda (32):19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Zalzala (99):7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Al-A’rāf (7):23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibrāhīm (14):41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hadith: Bukhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Al-‘Ādiyāt (100):6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 8:46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2 Corinthians 5:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hebrews 4:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Peter 2:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 John 3:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maryam (19):71-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Hūd (11):118-119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mishkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hadith: Muslim, Bukhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mishkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hadith: Muslim, Bukhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luke 17:7-10 [reference]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Mishkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jabir [Mishkat?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Hadith: Bukhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Matthew 11:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Matthew 20:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1 John 4:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Romans 3:19-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>UAMUZI WANGU NA KUUNGAMA. (My decision and confession)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masudi, S. (Translated by Timothy Simalenga)

*Nuru Ing’ aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli*  
(Light lightens the darkness: The witness of a Muslim youth who searched for the way of Truth)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>UTANGULIZI (Foreword) [written by the translator Timothy Simalenga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sura ya Kwanza NDOTO (Chapter One Dream)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3    | Sura ya Pili UTOTO KATIKA NYUMBA YA UHAMADIYA  
(Chapter Two Childhood in an Ahmadiyan family) |
| 12   | Sura ya Tatu KUKUA (Chapter Three Growing up) |
19] **Sura ya Nne KUANDALIWA KWA AJILI YA BWANA**  
(Chapter Four To be prepared for the Lord)

22] Genesis 22 [reference]  
*Al-Šāfāt* (37) [reference]

32] **Sura ya Tano KUENDELEA KUTAFUTA UKWELI**  
(Chapter Five Continuing to search for the truth)

37] *Nuru ya Kurān* part 2 p. 12

42] **Sura ya Sita KUKATA SHAURI** (Chapter Six To make a decision)

44] Deuteronomy 18:18  
John 14:16  
John 14:25-26 [reference]  
John 15:26 [reference]  
John 16 [reference]

46] Deuteronomy 18:18  
John 1:45  
John 6:14  
John 5:46

*Maryam* (19):51 [reference]  
*Al-Nisāʾ* (4):64 [reference]  
John 14:16 [reference]  
John 16:7  
John 14:16 [reference]  
John 16:13


49] **Sura ya Saba KUKIMBIA** (Chapter Seven To run away)

60] **Sura ya Nane KWENDA KUSINI** (Chapter Eight Going South)

77]  
*Al-Nisāʾ* (4):136  
*Al-Anām* (6):92  
*Al-Muʾmin* (40):53  
*Al-Šāfāt* (37):117 [reference]  
*Al-Māʾīda* (5):46

79] **Sura ya Kumi BIBLIA NA KURĀN** (Chapter Ten The Bible and the Qurʾān)

81]  
*Al-ʿArāf* (7):23-24 [reference]  
*Huḍ* (11):47 [reference]  
*Ibrāhīm* (14):40-41 [reference]  
*Al-Qaṣṣās* (28):16 [reference]  
*Ṣād* (38):23-24 [reference]

82] John 3:16

83] Romans 1:3-4

84] John 20:30-31

85] *Al-ʿArāf* (7):13  
*Al-ʿAnkabūt* (29):50  
Matthew 7:7-8

86] 2 Kings 17:13  
2 Kings 1:9-14  
*Al-Kahf* (18):110  
Matthew 11:28  
John 10:30  
John 14:6  
*Yūnus* (10):49

86] Matthew 28:18  
John 11:25
88]  \textit{Sura ya Kumi na Moja NURU MAHALI PENYE GIZA}  
(Chapter Eleven Light in a place of Darkness)  
90]  John 8:46  
\textit{Al-Nasr} (110):3  
\textit{Al-Fath} (48):1-2  
Matthew 5:31-32 [reference]  
\textit{Al-Nisā’} (4):15  
91]  Revelation 18:4-5  
Mark 12:25  
92]  John 4:24  
\textit{Al-Nisā’} (4):157  
93]  Revelation 18:4-5  
Mark 12:25  
\textit{Al-Nisā’} (4):155 [reference]  
Acts 2:22, 36  
94]  \textit{Sura ya Kumi na Mbili KUTEMBEA NURUNI MWA YESU}  
(Chapter Twelve To Walk in the Light of Jesus)  
95]  \textit{Al-'Imrān} (3):144  
Matthew 6:31-33  
96]  John 14:9  
John 14:5-9 [reference]  
John 20 [reference]  
97]  Revelation 3:19  
Acts 8:36  
John 16:2  
Luke 23:34  
98]  Romans 6:3-4  
99]  Matthew 10:16, 23  
100]  \textit{Sura ya Kumi na Tatu KUENDELEA MBELE} (Chapter Thirteen To go forward)  
101]  1 Peter 2:13-14 [reference]  
Exodus 20:12 [reference]  
Matthew 22:37 [reference]  
John 12:24  
102]  Matthew 6:25-26  
Matthew 10:28-29, 31  
Hebrews 4:7  
Psalm 95:7-8  

[13]  \textbf{NJIA YA UZIMA} \textit{Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kubusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili},  
(The witness of Islam concerning the veracity of the Torah and the Gospel)  
1]  \textit{Al-Mā’ida} (5):44  
2]  \textit{Al-Nisā’} (4):105  
\textit{Al-Mā’ida} (5):46  
\textit{Al-Mā’ida} (5):68  
\textit{Al-Mā’ida} (5):47  
\textit{Al-Nisā’} (4):136  
3]  \textit{Al-Ahqāf} (46):10  
\textit{Al-Nahl} (16):43  
4]
Simbaulanga, C. *Biblia ni Jibu “99: Tuzungumze No. 1 Somo la Dini* (The Bible is the Answer “99: We should talk No.1 The Lesson of Religion).

**Page CONTENTS**

1. **UTANGULIZI** (Introduction)
   1.0 NINI MAANA YA DINI (1.0 What is the meaning of Religion)

2. **Hoja ya DINI** (2.0 The Necessity of Religion)
   2.0 Al-IsrÁÞ   (17):85
   2.1 Matthew 16:18
   2.2 Al-KÁfirÙn  (109):5-6
   2.3 Al-MÁÞida  (5):82

3. **JE BIBLIA TAKATIFU INASEMA NINI JUU YA MIUNGU YA UONGO.**
   (3.0 What does the Holy Bible say about False Gods)
   3.0 1 Kings 18:21-40 [actually to verse 24]
   3.1 2 Kings 10:18-27
   3.2 1 Samuel 5:1-2

4. **JE BWANA YESU ALISEMA NINI JUU YA (DINI) NJIA**
   (4.0 What does Jesus say about (Religion) the Way)
   4.0 Al-ÝImrÁn (3):85
   4.1 Matthew 16:19-26
   4.2 Revelation 20:1-3

5. **AKHERA NI WAPI** (5.0 Where is the Hereafter)
   5.0 Luke 16:19-26
   5.1 What does the Bible say concerning what happens after death (the Hereafter))

6. **MFANO WA MABASI MAWILI NA MADEREVA WA MABASI HAYO NA TIKETI ZAO**
   (6 Example of Two Buses and their drivers and their tickets)
   6.0 Matthew 28:19-20
   6.1b TIKETI YA DEREVA WA KWANZA (6.1b The Ticket of the first driver)
   6.1c TIKETI YA DEREVA WA PILI (6.1c The Ticket of the second driver)
   6.2 Al-AÎqÁf (46):9


---

**TANZANIA EVANGELICAL LITERATURE MINISTRY (TELM)**

Isa (Yeseu Kristo)Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia

(Ísā (Jesus Christ) in the Qur’ān and the Bible)

**Page CONTENTS**

1. **YESU KRISTO YUAJA TENA** (Jesus Christ will come again)
   1.0 Al-Zukhruf (43):61

---

2 In this tract and the following one the mark // is used to indicate that that passage and the subsequent one(s) are set out in parallel in columns on the page.
1] 
*Al-Zukhruf* (43):62
*Al-Zukhruf* (43):63

Hadith: Bukhari 425, 657

Ál 'Imrân (3):45

2] 
*Al-Nisâ‘* (4):171
Ál 'Imrân (3):47
Ál ‘Imrân (3):46
Ál ‘Imrân (3):49

2] **JE, WAWEZA KUSEMA KWAMBA YESU KRISTO ALIKAWA NABII TU?**
(Can we say that Jesus Christ was only a Prophet?)

*Mlango 2 YESU KRISTO NI NANI?* (Part 2 Who is Jesus Christ?)

2] Ál 'Imrân (3):45

**MIMBA YA MARIAMU YENYE MIUJIZA** (The miracle of Mary’s pregnancy)
*Al-Anbiyā‘* (21):91//Matthew 1:20

3] **UZAZI WA MWANAMWALI** (The birth of a virgin)


**KRISTO MBARIKIWA** (The blessed Christ)

**YESU AONGOZWA NA ROHO MTAKATIFU** (Jesus led by the Holy Spirit)

**HALI YA YESU PASIPO NA DHAMBI** (The sinless state of Jesus)
*Maryam* (19):17, 19//Hebrews 4:15
Hebrews 7:28

**MIUJIZA YA YESU**
(Miracles of Jesus)

4] **YESU ALIFAHAMU WAKATI UJAO** (Jesus knew the future)
*Al-Zukhruf* (43):61, 63//Matthew 24:29-31

**MPATANISHI** (The Reconciler)
*Al-Zumar* (39):44//1 Timothy 2:5

**NENO LA MUNGU**
(The Word of God)
Ál ‘Imrân (3):45//John 1:1, 14

**KIFO CHA YESU** (The death of Jesus)
Ál ‘Imrân (3):55//Philippians 2:8

**UFUFUO WA YESU**
(The resurrection of Jesus)
Ál ‘Imrân (3):55//1 Corinthians 15:3-5

5] **ALIPAA JUU BAADA YA KIFO** (He ascended after death)
Ál ‘Imrân (3):55//Ephesians 1:19-20

5] **YESU NI MUUMBA**
(Jesus is the Creator)

5] Ál-Mā‘ida (5):[Not]113-114[but 110]//Colossians 1:16-17//John 1:3-4

**YESU KRISTO YUAJA TENA** (Jesus Christ will come again)
*Al-Zukhruf* (43):61//Acts 1:10-11
Hebrews 1:4
John 8:58
Hebrews 3:3
John 17:5
John 8:23

6] **KWA NINI AKAJA YESU, BASI?** (Well, why did Jesus come?)
*Mlango 3 SABABU YA KUJA KWA YESU* (*Upendo wa Mungu wa kukombo*)
(Part 3 The Reason for the Coming of Jesus (The love of God to save))
6] Proverbs 10:27
Proverbs 3:1-2
1 Peter 3:10-12
Proverbs 5:21-23
1 John 3:4
Hebrews 12:1
James 4:17
James 1:15
Romans 14:23
1 John 1:8
1 John 5:17
Romans 3:10-12
6/7] Romans 1:28-32
7] Isaiah 59:2
Romans 3:23

ADHABU YA DHAMBI NI MAUTI (The punishment for sin is death)
Genesis 2:17
Ezekiel 18:20 [reference]
Romans 3:23
Hebrews 9:22
2 Corinthians 5:21
Hebrews 10:11-12, 14
Ephesians 2:8-9
Romans 3:10-12
8] Romans 10:9-14
Romans 10:13

[16] TANZANIA EVANGELICAL LITERATURE MINISTRY
Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani
(The Word of God in the Torah, Gospel and the Qur’an)

Page CONTENTS
2] Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani
(The Word of God in the Torah, Gospel and the Qur’an)
2] John 5:37, 38, 46, 47
Kwa Nini Maandiko ya Musa (Torati) ni Muhimu Sana?
(Why are the Writings of Moses (The Torah) very Important?)
2] Al-Mā’īda (5) 5:46
3] Je, Mungu Ana Sauti? (Does God have a Voice?)
3] Al-Qasās (28):30
Exodus 3:3-6
4] Sura (Umbo) Ni Nini? (What is Form (Shape)?)
Je, Mungu Alikuwa Na Sura (Namna)? (Does God have a form (pattern)?)
Al-A’rāf (7):143
5] Exodus 33:18
Al-A’rāf (7):143
6] Exodus 33:18-23 [not 33]
Al-Nisā’ (4):164
7] Numbers 12:6-8
7] Umbo Hili Ni Umbo Gani? (What is this Shape?)
7] John 5:46

Yesu Aliposema Hivi Alikuwa na Maana Gani?
(When Jesus said this what did he mean?)

Ni Nini Hasa Lililotendeka? (What especially is it that occurred?)

Philippians 2:6-8

8] Al-Nisā’(4):171
John 8:42
John 1:1-3

9] Al-Nisā’(4):171
John 1:14

10] Kwa Nini Jambo Hili Lilikuwa La Lazima? (Why was this thing essential?)

11] Al-Shūrā (42):51

12] Al-A‘rāf (7):117
Al-Tawba (9):17

9] Ni Nini Hasa Lililotendeka? (What especially is it that occurred?)

13] Pazia Lilikuwa Ni Nini? (What was the covering?)

Hebrews 10:20
Hebrews 10:5-7
John 5:46

14] Jinsi ya Kufahamu Unabii Uliofichika (How to understand a prophecy that is hidden)

15] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

16] Fuṣṣilat (41):43
Al-Nisā’(4):47

17] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

18] John 5:46

19] Kwa Nini Jambo Hili Lilikuwa La Lazima? (Why was this thing essential?)

20] Al-Nisā’(4):171

21] Ni Nini Hasa Lililotendeka? (What especially is it that occurred?)

22] John 8:42
John 1:1-3

23] Philippians 2:6-8

24] Al-A‘rāf (7):117
Al-Tawba (9):17

25] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

26] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

27] Al-Nisā’(4):47

28] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

29] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

30] Al-Nisā’(4):47

31] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

32] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

33] Al-Nisā’(4):47

34] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

35] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

36] Al-Nisā’(4):47

37] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

38] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184


40] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

41] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

42] Al-Nisā’(4):47

43] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

44] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

45] Al-Nisā’(4):47

46] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

47] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

48] Al-Nisā’(4):47

49] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

50] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

51] Al-Nisā’(4):47

52] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

53] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

54] Al-Nisā’(4):47

55] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

56] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

57] Al-Nisā’(4):47

58] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

59] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

60] Al-Nisā’(4):47

61] Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:
(Read and compare the following prophecies about ÝlÅsÅ (Jesus) as follows:)

YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)

62] Àl ÝImrÁn (3):184

63] Al-Nisā’(4):47
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1 TRACTS SELECTED FOR STUDY

Muslim

Imran, M.S.
 nd Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani, Mombasa: Adam Traders

Kanoni, A.G.
 nd a Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu, Mombasa: Adam Traders
 nd b Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo Nairobi: The Islamic Dawah and Irshad

Musa, S.
 1970 Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam), Mombasa: Adam Traders

Ngariba, F.M. & Kawemba, M.A.

Ngogo, J.
 nd Injili ya Barnaba, Mlalo Lushoto: Gospel of Barnabas Foundation

Swaleh, H.
 1994 Uungu na Umoja Wake, Malindi: Iqra Printers

Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu
 nd Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha, Mombasa: Ansar Muslim Youth Organisation

Christian

Alavi, K.K.
 nd Kutafuta Uhakika, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima

Jadeed, I.
 nd Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima

Khan, M.
 1983 Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu, Mtwara: Kanisa la Biblia Publishers

Masudi, S.
 1991 Nuru Ing’aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli Morogoro: Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry (TELM)

Njia ya Uzima
 nd d Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima

Simbaulanga, C.
 nd Biblia ni Jibu “99:Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini, Worksheet Dar es Salaam

Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry
 nd a Isa (Yese Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia, Morogoro: TELM
 nd b Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani Morogoro: TELM
1.2 OTHER TRACTS COLLECTED

**Muslim**

Abdulla, M.N.K.  
1996 *Kitabu cha Dufu*, Dar es Salaam: Jumuiya Zawiatul Kadiriya Tanzania  
Abubakar, A.M.  
1975 *Sala na Mafundisho yake*, Mombasa: Haji Mohamed and Sons  
Adam Traders  
nd *99 Names of Allah The Beautiful Names/Majina 99 ya Mwenyezi Mungu*, Mombasa: Adam Traders  
Alawi, A.K.  
1957 *Islam*, Mombasa: Sheikh Sadik Mubarak  
Ali, A.M.  
1993 *Usomaji Qur'an kwa Njia Nyepesi*, Mombasa: Haji Mohamed & Sons  
Ali, U.M.  
nd *Majina ya Kiislamu: Tafsiiri Yake na Waliojulikana kwa Majina Hayo*, Mombasa: Brossis  
Alidina, B.  
nd *Hadithi ya Mufazzal*, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania  
Aly, al-Amin b.  
1946 *Uwongozi wa Kimasihiywa na Ki-islamu*, 3rd Printing 1955, Mombasa: EAMWS  
1949 *Faida ya Zaka katika kuvatengeneza Islamu na kujikuza Dini*, 2nd printing, Mombasa: EAMWS  
1954 *Dini ya Islamu Kimekusanya*, 4th printing, Mombasa: EAMWS  
1955 *Mtume Muhammad Katika Vitabu Vitakatifu*, Mombasa: EAMWS  
Baagil, H.M.  
nd *Christian-Muslim Dialogue*, London: Dar al-Dawa Bookshop  
nd *Majadiliano Baina ya Muislamu na Mkristo*, Zanzibar: Al Khayria Press Ltd.  
1993 *Majadiliano Baina ya Muislamu na Mkristo*, Mombasa: Ansaar Muslim Youth  
Baalawy, A.Y.  
2000 *Swala ya Jeneza (Fardhi Kilaya) Sehemu ya Pilile*, npd  
Badawiy, A.A.  
1970 *Fimbo ya Musa (Sehemu ya Kwanza)*, Malindi: npd  
Bayile, M.I.  
2000 *Njia Sahih ya Muislam Kufuata*, Nairobi: no publisher  
Chaudi, M.S.  
Datoo, A.M.H.  
1999 *Uharamisho wa Kamari*, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania  
Deedat, A.  
1978 *Resurrection or Resuscitation?*, Durban: IPCI  
1980 *Is the Bible God’s Word*, Durban: IPCI  
1983 *Christ in Islam*, Durban IPCI  
1990 *Muhammed (Peace be upon Him) the Natural Successor to Christ (Peace be upon Him)*, Durban: IPCI  
nd a *Je Yesu Alisulubwa?*, Mombasa: Adam Traders  
nd b *Muhammad (PBUH) in the Old and the New Testaments*, Athlone: Islamic Publication Bureau  
nd c *Al-Qur'an: The Miracle of Miracles*, Birmingham: IPCI  
nd d *Muhammad the Greatest*, Durban: IPCI  
Esmael, M.  
1979 *Kusafisha Kuamini Uchafu wa Kuto Amini*, (Translated by A.M. Msallam), Riyadh: Saudi Arabian Embassy  
al-Farsy, A.S.A.  
1942 *Maisha ya Nabi Muhammad, 9th Printing*, Mombasa: EAMWS  
1957 *Sala na Maamrisho yake*, 1962 printing, Bangalore: The Islamic Literature Pub. House  
1966 *Sala na Maamrisho Yake*, Zanzibar: Mulla Karimjee Mulla Mohammed Bhai and Son, Mombasa: Sidik Mubarak & Sons  
Haji, H.G.  
Imran, M.S.
   nd Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani, Mombasa: Adam Traders
Lamu Education Society
   1965 Taftsi ya Risalatul Ja’amia, Mombasa: Alaviyyah Traders
Lwano, M.S.M.
   1967 Mtume Muhammad S.A.W. Katika Biblia, Mombasa: Adam Traders
Malik, M.H.
Maududí, A.A.
   1975 Ndia ya Amani na Uokofu, Nairobi: Islamic Foundation
   1978 The Qadiani Problem, Nairobi: Islamic Foundation
   1995 Katika Kufahamu Uislamu, (Translated by S. Chiraghdin), Nairobi: Islamic Foundation
Mazrui, M.K.
   nd Maisha ya Al Faaruq Umar: Khalifa wa Pili, Mombasa: Adam Traders
   1964 Maisha ya Dhin-Nuran Uthman: Khalifa wa Tatu, Mombasa: Adam Traders
Muhammad, A.
   1996 Wakati Katika Maisha ya Muislamu, Mombasa: Ahmad M. Ali
Muhammad, Ali.
   1956 Thamaraat-al-Jania: Tafsiri ya Maulidi Barzanji n.k., 2nd printing Dar es Salaam: Self published
   1986 Thamaraatu-al-Jania: Tafsiri ya Maulidi Barzanji kwa lugha ya Kiswahili kwa njia ya Mashairi na kwa utupi Tenzi juu ya Miraji na Mengineyo Dar es Salaam: Self Published
Muhsin, A. (al-Barwani)
   nd Let the Bible Speak, no publishing details
   nd Jifunze Kusoma Kiarabu (kwa wiki tatu), No publishing details
al-Muntasir, K.
   1991 Hukumu za Kufunga, Dar es Salaam: Jumuiya ya Daawa ya Kiislamu
Musa, S.
   1964 Kasida za Ramadhani (Schemu ya Kwanza), Mombasa: Alaviyyah Traders
   1968 Sala na Maelezo Yake, Mombasa: Adam Traders
   1985 Special Message Regarding Enemies of Islam, Moshi: Simbom Centre Ugweno
   1999 Saumu na Maelezo Yake, Mombasa: Adam Traders
al-Muusawy, S.M.M.
   1967 Kitabu cha Sala, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
Ngariba, F.M. & Kawemba, M.A.
Qutb, S.
   1986 Dini hii ya Kiislam (Hädhad-Dín), (Translated S.A.S. al-Shaqssy) Nairobi: Islamic Foundation
Riday, M.A.
   1985 Swala kwa Mujibu wa Qurani na Hadithi, Mombasa: Ansaar Muslim Youth Organisation
Rizvi, S.A.
   1989 Madheheba ya Kishia, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
   1993 Fitina za Wahmadi Zafichuliwa, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
   1989 Uimamu (Makamu wa Mtume), Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
   1998 Muhimu wa Qur’ani (na Kuhifadhiwa kwake kutokana na mabadalisho), Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
   1998 Taqiyah ni Nini?, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
Rizvi, S.M. (Ed)
   1999 Sayyid wa Vijana wa Peponi, Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania
Shushtray, S.M.R.
   1993 Semi za Imam Ali, no place given: Taasisi ya Fikra za Kiislamu
Soofi, M.I.
   1969 Mtume Muhammad S.A.W. Katika Biblia, Dar es Salaam: Jumuiya ya Waislamu Waahmadiyya
Suleiman, A.
   nd Vipi Uzike (Maiti), Zanzibar: Al-Khayria Ltd. nd
Christian
Anglars, H.P.
Biblia ni Jibu
Biblia ni Jibu: Brief History, pamphlet npd.
Brown, D.
1989 Njia ya Nabii Muhammad: Wakristo waufahamu Uislamu, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press
Crossley, J.
Islam in Africa Project
Questions Muslims Ask, Ghana Committee of Islam in Africa Project
Khan, M.
1983 Why I Became a Christian, Bombay: Gospel Literature Service
Life Challenge Africa
Islam: The Strongest Challenge?, Nairobi: Life Challenge Africa
Madan, A.C. (translator)
al-Masih, A.
1990 Uislamu na Ukristo Majibu na Mwaswali Kuhusu Uislamu na Ukristo, (Translated by S. Wanda), Nairobi: Procmura/NCCK
1996 The Main Challenges for Committed Christians in serving Muslims Villach: Light of Life
nd Unatakiwa Kujibu Kuhusu Kristo na Muhamadi?, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
nd Who is Allah in Islam?, Villach: Light of Life
nd The Occult in Islam, Villach: Light of Life
Masood, S.
1986 Into the Light: A Young Muslim’s Search for Truth, Carlisle: OM Publishing
Nehls, G.
1985 Al-Kitab “The Book”, A Bible Correspondence Course, Nairobi: Life Challenge Africa
nd Ujumbe wa Nabii Isa, Nairobi: Life Challenge Africa
Njia ya Uzima
nd a Dhambi na Upatansho katika Uislamu au Ukristo, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
nd b Msalaba katika Injili na Qurani, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
nd c Mungu aakuumba Mtu, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
nd e Wote wameflanya Dhambi, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima
People of God (POG)
1977a Mwanzo wa Watu: Masomo Kutoka katika Kitabu cha Kwanza cha Torati ya Nabi Musa, Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House
PROCMURA
1993 Christian-Muslim Marriages: A Pastoral Guideline Nairobi: Procmura
Ranzani, R. & Ajus, P. (Eds.)
2003 What Christians should know about Islam, Nairobi: Paulines Publications

Reusch, D.R.

Salandra, la T.
2003 About Islam, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa

Sambano, B. (Translator)
1979 Ushirikiano Kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press

Simbaulanga, C.
nd No. 2 Mkristo Usiyumbishwe Kuhusu Muhammad na Quran, Worksheet Dar es Salaam
nd No. 4 Mjue Bwana Yesu Aliyvo Ndani ya Quran, Worksheet Dar es Salaam
nd No. 7 Ujue Uislamu Asili Yake, Worksheet Dar es Salaam
nd Bwana Yesu siyo Mwislamu, Worksheet Dar es Salaam

Teissier, H.
2000 About Christianity Questioned by Islam Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa

Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry
nd Dhambi; Tatizo la Mwanadamu, Morogoro: TELM

Taylor, W.E.
1893 Raha isiyo Karaha, (Swahili in Arabic script), Kisauni, Mombasa: CMS
1897 Raha isiyo Karaha, (Swahili in Arabic and Roman script), London: RTS
1902 Raha isiyo Karaha, (Swahili in Arabic script), London: RTS for CMS
1934 Raha isiyo Karaha, (Swahili in Arabic script), Nairobi: CMS Bookshop
1940(?) Raha isiyo Karaha, (Swahili in Roman script), Nairobi: no publisher given

The Good Way
nd. English Text of Njia ya Uzima publications, URL http://www.the-good-way.com/index.htm (10.08.07)

Thomas, R.W.
nd Islam aspects and Prospects: A critical analysis, Villach Light of Life

Tisdall, W. St.C.
1980 Christian Reply to Muslim Objections, Villach: Light of Life

Wagura, P.M.
1996 About Catholic/Muslim Marriage: Can a Catholic Marry a Muslim? Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa

Wohlraub, P. (Dammen, E.)
2 ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

2.1 CENTRAL LITERATURE COMMITTEE FOR MOSLEMS
OF THE NEAR EAST CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
Held at Orchard Learning Resources Centre, Selly Oak Campus, University of Birmingham

Box 1 DA7/1/1-17
DA7/1/3 30th July 1934 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC
DA7/1/4 30th August 1934 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC
DA7/1/5 September 1934 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC
DA7/1/6 15th November 1934 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC
DA7/1/8 31st December 1934 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC
Ought One to Change One’s Religion? By Jens Christensen. 9 pages long
Report on Levonian’s Tracts Who is God?; Religion and Peace; Religion and Prayer
DA7/1/9 Letter No. 1 31st January 1935 Letter from Miss C.E. Padwick CMS Cairo to Members of CLC
DA7/1/14 August 1935 Literature Report from the Sudan
DA7/1/15 Report on Syria March 1935 Paul Erdman
DA7/1/16 Letter from Miss Padwick to Rev Eric F.F. Bishop of Jerusalem October 1935

Box 2 DA7/18-33
DA7/1/30 Minutes of the Sixth Biennial Meeting, Alexandria, March 12th & 15th 1937
DA7/1/31 March 1937 Rough List of Societies publishing Christian Literature in Arabic

Box 3 DA7/34-48
DA7/1/38 17th August 1938 CP to Ctte
DA7/1/43 1st February 1939 Miss K.H. Henrey to Ctte
[acting in CP’s absence at IMC Conference in Madras]
DA7/1/44 Reports on IMC Tamaram meeting
DA7/1/45 Minutes of the Seventh Biennial Meeting of the Central Literature Committee for Moslems.

Box 4 DA7/49-56
DA7/1/50 May 27th 1940 CP to Ctte

2.2 CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
Held at Special Collections Department, University of Birmingham

CMS/CA5/O16/164
1843/44 Krapf’s Log of journey from Aden to Mombasa December 1843 and January 1844

CMS/CA2/032/29
1858 Samuel Crowther to Major Straith September 3rd 1858 Letter with drawing

( Correspondence from London Office to East Africa)
1888-1890 CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 10 May 1888-5 August 1890 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 5
From R. Lang to W.E. Taylor April 18th 1889
August 15th 1889 From R. Lang to W.E. Taylor
1890-1893 CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 15 August 1890-3 August 1893 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 6
October 25th 1892 From R. Lang to W.E. Taylor
January 24th 1893 From F. Baylis to W.E. Taylor
March 14th 1893 From F. Baylis to W.E. Taylor
1896-1901 CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 19 June 1896-8 January 1901 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 8
10th March 1899 F. Baylis to W.E. Taylor (Egypt Mission)
Extract from the Minutes of the Freretown Finance Committee, December 22. 1898
Letter of the Parent Committee dated November 11th
1901-1906  CMS Letter-book (outgoing) 10 January – 26 October 1906
XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 9
Resolutions of Committee of Correspondence of Feb. 5.1901
RESOLUTIONS of Committee of Correspondence of March 5. 1901
RESOLUTIONS of COMMITTEE of CORRESPONDENCE of September 16th, 1902
Reprinting Tract on Mohammedanism.–
November 14th 1902 letter from S.H. Gladstone, Acting-Secretary to Hamshere.
Letter from Gladstone to Burt, January 1903
RESOLUTIONS of COMMITTEE of CORRESPONDENCE of Jan. 6. 1903
Letter from Baylis to Bishop Peel November 11th 1904 Printing-Press at Frere Town.
Letter from Baylis to Bishops Tucker and Peel, February 8th 1906. Swahili rendering of Our Lord’s Name.

1892-1895  CMS Precis book (incoming) 1892-1895 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 4
24.11.1893

1900-1907  CMS Precis book (incoming) 23 January 1900-26 February 1907
XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 6
Minutes of Meeting of August 17th 1900
Letters July 1901 - April 1902
8th September 1902 Tract on Mohammedanism.
25th November 1902 Tract on Mohammedanism.
17th January 1903
27th May 1903
September 27th 1904
Translation Committee.
October 25th 1904 Type for Frere Town Press.
November 22nd 1904 Printing Press
February 28th 1905
June 27th 1905 Translation work.
August 1st 1905 Book Depot in Mombasa.
September 26. 1905

1901-1904  G/C 11 Foreign Literature Committee
Discussions and correspondence from W.E. Taylor concerning Raha isiyo karaha

CMS Register
1904  Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy 1804-1904, CMS Printed for Private Circulation

PRINTED EXTRACTS FROM THE ANNUAL LETTERS OF THE MISSIONARIES
1890  Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1889-90
Mr. A.F. Pratley, Frere Town, Printing Office.
W.E. Taylor
1894  Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1893-94
W.E. Taylor
1895  Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1894-95
W.E. Taylor
1896  Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1895
W.E. Taylor

Annual Letters
Rev. A. Pittway (G3 AL 1917-1934; 1935-1950)

Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East
(Published Annual Reports)
1840-1920 Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East
2.3 CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION
Held at Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh
Barlow Papers
1786/5 Minutes of the United Kikuyu Language Committee, of May 22nd 1908.

2.4 GERMAN MISSION SOCIETIES’ ANNUAL JOURNALS FOR EAST AFRICA
(Personal collection of Dr. Sigvard von Sicard)

Führer
1914 ‘I. Die evangelischen Missionen in D.O.A.’ Führer durch die evangelischen Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika, Missionsdruckerei in Wuga, Usambara, D.O.A. 5-33
‘II. Die evangelischen Missionsgesellschaften aus der Landesaustellung in Daressalam.’ Führer durch die evangelischen Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika, Missionsdruckerei in Wuga, Usambara, D.O.A. 34-42
‘III. Statistisches. Gesamtstatistik der evangelischen Missionen in sämtlichen deutschen Kolonien für das Jahr 1913.’, Führer durch die evangelischen Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika, Missionsdruckerei in Wuga, Usambara, D.O.A. 43-47

Barazani
1913 Kalender 1914, Druck der Missionsdruckerei in Wuga
1935 Kalenda 1936, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
1937 Kalenda 1938, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
1938 Kalenda 1939, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
1939 Kalenda 1940, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
1947 Kalenda 1948, Lutheran Mission Press, Vuga
1951 Kalenda 1952, Makanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganika
1952 Kalenda 1953, Makanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganika
1956 Kalenda 1957, Makanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganika
1958 Kalenda 1959, ndp
1960 Kalenda 1961, ndp

2.5 PROGRAMME FOR CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN AFRICA
Reports held at offices in Nairobi

Benignus, P.

Kiplagat, B. & Sicard, von S.

2.6 RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY (United Society for Christian Literature Archives)
Held at School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London

RTS Minutes of Executive Committee Fiche Box Number 12 (FBN)
74 RTS Minutes of Executive Committee 22nd May 1894 - 19th March 1896
75 RTS Minutes of Executive Committee 26th March 1895 - 4th February 1896
76 RTS Minutes of Executive Committee 11th February 1896 - 8th December 1896
77 RTS Minutes of Executive Committee 15th December 1896 - 19th October 1897

RTS Minutes of Sub-Committee Fiche Box Number 2
136 RTS Minutes of Sub-Committee 18th January 1893 - 19th November 1903

RTS Ledgers Fiche Box Number 1
Ledgers 1880-1910

RTS Ledgers Fiche Box Number 2
RTS balance sheets 1902-1910
Cash book 1880-1911
2.7 UNIVERSITIES’ MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA
Held at Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford

1865-1899 UMCA/Home Executive Committee and Sub-Committee Book No. 2
Minutes Book Executive Committee Meeting April 1866, page 24

1890-1899 UMCA/Home 14 Correspondence Letter Book
1st August 1890 to the Editorial Secretary CMS, page 20
26th April 1893 C.J. Viner to L.B. White of RTS, page 168
14th June 1893 C.J. Viner to L.B. White of RTS, page 180

Box A 4 (1) Diocese of Zanzibar Official Papers
1890-1899 Preparatory Memoranda for Diocesan Conference Part III October 1943
1944 Diocese of Zanzibar Diocesan Conference 1944 Vol I Proceedings of the Conference

Box D I (2) Arabic and Swahili Papers
242 Kwa Namma Gani Yesu Kristo Bwana Wetu ni Mwana wa Mungu? 8 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, npd
247 Mwokozi Hana Buddi Kuwa Hana Khatiya, 8 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, npd
248 Khabari za Kufufuka Kwake Bwana Wetu Yesu Kristo, 4 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, npd
272 Leteni Hoja Zenu Mkiwa Mnasema Kweli, 8 page Tract, Swahili Roman Script, printed at Universities’ Mission Press, Mkunazini, Zanzibar

Box D 8 (C) also listed as (3) Printed Pamphlets, list of Books etc.
75 Books published in African Languages Thro’ UMCA 1882-1909

Tin Chest
E 36 Revised Copy of “Notes on Mohammadenism” in Swahili, printed by SPCK 1912
Khabari za dini ya Kiislamu
12/11/12 Letter from secretary of SPCK to Travers at UMCA
E 53 Report of a meeting of the Literature sub-committee 19th May, 1920 [Incorrectly dated as 19th March]

Subject Files
SF 8 III BFBS 1936-1952 Swahili
Correspondence between UMCA and BFBS between 1936 and 1952 mainly concerning preparation of the Union Version of the Swahili Bible

SF 20 VIII SPCK Overseas Committee 1955-1964
[SPCK] Financial Secretaries Tour of Africa and Asia 16th March to 6th June 1957
East Africa Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Lindi and Zanzibar
21st March 1960 Broomfield to Robin Lamburn and the Bishops
1961 Report to Christian Literature Council given at All-Africa Christian Literature Conference:
Kitwe June 1961
23rd April 1963 Sales in Overseas Bookshops
18/6/1963 Re Literature Organiser for East Africa
CPEA 1963 Christian Literature Production and Local Industry in East Africa
11-13 March 1964 Lindi Report of Visit

SF 47 Koran
Correspondence between SPCK Lowther Clarke and UMCA Travers and Dale

SF 112 I & II Dar es Salaam Bookshop 1929-1933
Correspondence mainly between SPCK and UMCA concerning the funding and running of the Bookshop and the problems of repayment of the loan.

USPG X Series
158-161 Dictionary of Swahili Language, in four volumes, 1846-1853
3 REFERENCE MATERIAL

3.1 VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE CONSULTED

In Swahili

BHN
1995 Biblia Habari Njema Taťiri ya Ushirikiano wa Makanisa, Dodoma: Bible Society of Tanzania

BIBLIA-BFBS
1952 Maandiko Matakatiũ ya Mungu yaitwayo Biblia: Katika lugha ya Kiswahili, London: British and Foreign Bible Society (Single Column with full cross-references)

BIBLIA-UNION VERSION
1997 Biblia yenyi Itifaki: The Holy Bible in Kiswahili Union Version published as Maandiko Matakatiũ, Dodoma: Bible Society of Tanzania (Two Columns with few cross-references, with Concordance)

BIBLIA-REVISED UNION VERSION
2006 Biblia: Yenyi Vitabu vya Deuterokanoni: Yaani Agano la Kale na Agano Jipyà, Nairobi: Bible Society of Kenya (Two Columns with few cross-references, with Introduction to each book)

NENO
1987 Neno: Agano Jipyà (Taťiri Rahisi Kueleweka), Nairobi: Living Bibles East Africa

NENO Arabic
1996 Neno: Agano Jipyà (Parallel Swahili Arabic text), Nairobi: International Bible Society Africa

OT Mombasa
1949 Maagano ya Kale (The Old Testament in Swahili (Mombasa)), (reprint of 1914 edition), London: British and Foreign Bible Society

OT Zanzibar
1895 Msahafu Mtakatifu Wa Muungu: Mwenyi Agano la Kale, Yametasirika Katika Lugha ya Zamani, London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NT Mombasa
1917 Chuo cha Maagano Mapya ya Bwana Jesu Masihi Mwokozi Wetu (Mombasa Dialect), London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NT UV

NT Zanzibar

Roehl, K.

Taylor, W.E.
1897 St. John’s Gospel in Swahili (Arabic Script), London: British and Foreign Bible Society

In Hebrew

BHS
1990 Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, Stuttgart: German Bible Society

In Greek

GNT

In English

KJV
1956 The Holy Bible (Authorised Version of 1611), London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NRSV

RSV
1952 The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version containing the Old and New Testaments, London: OUP

451
3.2 VERSIONS OF THE QUR’ÂN CONSULTED

In Swahili

Ahmadi, Sh. M.A.
1953 Kurani Tukufu, Nairobi: Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission (Swahili-Arabic)
Aly, al-Amin b.
1996 Juzuu ya Amma, (20th printing), Mombasa: Adam Traders
al-Barwani, A.M.
2000 Tarjama ya AL-MUNTAHKAB katika tafsiri ya Qur’ani tukufu, (Second Printing), Dubai: Mbana Abdullah Ahmad Al Ghurair (Swahili-Arabic)
Dale, G.
1923 Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu, London: SPCK (Swahili)
al-Farsy, A.S.
1969 Qurani Takattifu, 8th printing 1997 Nairobi: The Islamic Foundation (Swahili-Arabic)
Machano, M.M.
Mayunga, A.J.
2002 Quran Tukufu, Dar es Salaam: Ahlu’l-Bayt (a.s.) Assembly of Tanzania (Swahili-Arabic)
URL: http://quran.al-shia.com/sw/quran/tarjomee/moq/01.htm 29.05.07
Mughniyya, M.J.
2002 on Al-Kashif, (Translated by Hasan Mwalupa) Dar es Salaam: al-Itrah Foundation (Juzuu 1-9 and 30) (Swahili-Arabic with exegetical commentary)
URL: http://www.alitrah.org/web/Quran/index2.asp 29.05.07

In English

‘Ali, ‘Abdullah Yūsuf
Arberry, A.J.
1998 The Koran (reprint of 1955 edition), Oxford: OUP (English)
al-Hilālī, M.T.
Pickthall, M.M.
1930 The Meaning of the glorious Qur’ān, London: Al-Furqan Publications (English)

3.3 COMMENTARIES AND TAFSĪR

Bible Commentaries

Bauckham, R. J.
Beasley-Murray, G. R.
Christensen, D. L.
Dunn, J. D. G.
Hagner, D. A.
Hagner, D. A.
Hill, D.
Lane, W.E.
Lindars, B.
Marshall, I.H.
Martin, R. P.  

Payne, D.  

Sawyer, J.F.A.  

Thompson, J.A.  
1974  Deuteronomy, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press

Watts, J. D. W.  

**Qur'anic tafsír**

Al-Ghazzali, M.  

Bell, R.  
1991a  A Commentary on the Qur'an: Volume I (Edited by C.E. Bosworth & M.E.J. Richardson), Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 14

1991b  A Commentary on the Qur'an: Volume II (Edited by C.E. Bosworth & M.E.J. Richardson), Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 14

Imani, K.F. and others  


Maududi, A.A.  
1971  The Meaning of the Qur'an, Volume Two, Lahore: Islamic Publications (Pvt.) Limited

1984  The Meaning of the Qur'an, Volume Twelve, Lahore: Islamic Publications (Pvt.) Limited


1989  Towards Understanding the Qur'an Vol. II, Súrahs 4-6, Leicester: Islamic Foundation

2006  Towards Understanding the Qur'an (Abridged Version), Leicester: Islamic Foundation

Quîb, S.  
2000  In the Shade of the Qur'an: Fi Zilal al-Qur'an Volume II, Leicester: Islamic Foundation

2001a  In the Shade of the Qur'an: Fi Zilal al-Qur'an Volume III, Leicester: Islamic Foundation

2001b  In the Shade of the Qur'an: Fi Zilal al-Qur'an Volume IV, Leicester: Islamic Foundation

2004  In the Shade of the Qur'an: Fi Zilal al-Qur'an Volume XVIII, Leicester: Islamic Foundation

Wherry, E.M.  


### 3.4 CONCORDANCES

Central Tanganyika Press  
1990  Itifaki ya Biblia: Orodha ya maneno yote ya Agano la Kale na Agano Jipya na Madondoo Yake, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press. (Swahili Bible Concordance)

Kassis, H.E.  
1983  A Concordance of the Qur'an, Berkeley: University of California Press

Shakir, M.H.  
2005  Concordance of the Qur'an, New York: Tahrkire Tarsile Qur'an, Inc.
3.5 DICTIONARIES CONSULTED

**Swahili**

Awdé, N.


Bakhresha, S.K.

1992 *Kamusí ya Maana na Matumizí*, Nairobi: OUP

Benjamin, M. (Ed.)


Bosha, I.


Bowen, J.R. et al (Eds.)

1979 *Msamati wa Maneno ya Kitheologia* (Swahili Text Books Committee), Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press

Höftmann, H. & Herms, I.

2005 *Wörterbuch Swahili – Deutsch*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

Joffe, P. & D.


Johnson, F.

1939 *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, Nairobi: OUP

Khamisi, A.M. (Ed.)


Krapf, L.


Lenselaer, A.

1983 *dictionnaire swahili-francais*, Paris: Karthala

Madan, A.C.


Mohamed, A.O. & Owhida, A.

2002 *Kiswahili* (Swahili using Arabic characters), npd (Zanzibar)

Mnyampala, M.E.

1966 *Taaluma ya Kiswahili*, Dar es Salaam: Usanifu wa Kiswahili na Ushairi Tanzania (UKUTA)

Mulokozi, M.M. (Ed.)

2001 *Kamusí ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza*, Dar es Salaam: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili


Perrott, D.V.

1965 *Swahili Dictionary*, Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton

Rechenbach, C.W.


Sacleux, C.

1941 *Dictionnaire Swahili-Francaise, Tome I & II*, Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie

Safari, J. & Akida, H.


Steere, E.

1904 *Swahili Exercises*, SPCK: London

1952 *Swahili Exercises*, (Revised and partly re-written by A.B Hellier 1934), Sheldon Press: London

Stevick, E.W., Mlela, J.G. & Njenga, F.N.

1963 *Swahili Basic Course*, Foreign Service Institute: Washington

Velten, C.

1910 *Suaheli-Wörterbuch, Suaheli-Deutsch*, Berlin: Selbstverlag des Verfassers

Yale University


Zawawi, S.


454
Arabic
Cowan, J.M. (Ed.)

English
Cambridge
Chamber’s
Longman
Oxford
Webster’s

Greek
Kubo, S.
Metzger, B.M.
Newman, B.M.
Rienecker, F., & Rogers, C.
1980 Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament, Grand Rapids: Zondervan

Hebrew
Fohrer, G.
3.6 DISSERTATIONS, THESES AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

Accad, M.
2001 ‘The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries’, DPhil thesis, Oxford University, Unpublished

Bochinger, C.

Chesworth, J.A.
1999 ‘Muslim Affirmation through Refutation: A Tanzanian Example’, Birmingham University, MA dissertation, Unpublished

2003 ‘The use of the Qur’an in Swahili da’wa and evangelism literature’, paper presented at Qur’an: Text, Translation and Interpretation’ Conference, held at SOAS, 16-17 October 2003


Chande, A.N.
1991 ‘Islam, Islamic Leadership and Community Development in Tanga, Tanzania’, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, PhD thesis,
Published as: Islam, Ulamaa and Community Development in Tanzania, Bethesda: Austin & Winfield, 1998

Eric, W.
1998 ‘Equipping Christians towards an effective witness to their Muslim friends and neighbors’, Columbia International University and Externes Studienzentrum Korntal, MA dissertation, Unpublished

Fyfe, A.

Lacunza Balda, J.
1989 ‘An Investigation into Some Concepts and Ideas found in Swahili Islamic Writings’, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London PhD, unpublished

De Mey, M.F.

Mbilla, J.

Mutei, J.

O’Fahey, R.S.

Schildknecht F.
1967 Final Report, Unpublished typed document on finishing working with Tanzania Episcopal Conference

4 CORRESPONDENCE, DISCUSSIONS, ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE

Prof. Dr. Christoph Bochinger: Lehrstuhl für Religionswissenschaft II, Universität Bayreuth
2007 Correspondence September 2007

Gerard van de Bruinhorst: Researcher at the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World
2001 Discussions Nairobi and Tanga January-February 2001,
2007 Correspondence February 2007

Rachel Burton: Student, French Department, Van Mildert College, University of Durham
2007 Assistance with French translation, September 2007
Rhoda Luvuno Dzombo: HIV/AIDS Co-ordinator Anglican Church of Kenya, Nairobi
2000 Assistance in purchasing tracts in Mombasa, December 2000
Dr. Aileen Fyfe: Lecturer in the History of Science, National University of Ireland, Galway
2002 Correspondence October 2002
Prof. Joseph D. Galgalo: Head of Department of Divinity, St. Paul’s University, Limuru
2007 Correspondence September 2007
Jamleck Gikunda: Staff member, St. Paul’s University, Limuru
2007 Correspondence July 2007
Sammy Githuku: Senior Lecturer, St. Paul’s University, Limuru
2007 Correspondence July 2007
Prof. Isabel Hofmeyr: Professor of African Literature, University of Witwatersrand
2007 Correspondence July 2007
Salim Ibrahim: Staff member, Jamia Mosque, Nairobi
2006 Discussion April 2006
Furaha Jackson Kamana: Priest, Anglican Diocese of Kagera
2001 Assistance in obtaining tracts in Ngara, during 2001
Dr. Franz Kogelmann: Projektleiter, Lehrstuhl für Religionswissenschaft I, Universität Bayreuth
2007 Correspondence July-September 2007, assistance with German translation
William Kopwe: Junior Scholar, Shari’a Debates Project, based in Arusha
2007 Correspondence, concerning Fred Mleli, August 2007
Ferdinand Manjewa: Lecturer at Bishop Hannington Institute, Mombasa
2001 Assistance in purchasing tracts in Mombasa, June 2001
Dr. Johnson Mbillah: General Adviser, Programme for Christian Muslim Relations in Africa, Nairobi
2007 Correspondence July 2007
Prof. Esther M. Mombo: Academic Dean, St. Paul’s University, Limuru
2007 Correspondence August 2007
Dr. H. Mkunga Mtingele: General Secretary, Bible Society of Tanzania, Dodoma
2007 Correspondence June, September 2007
Ajabu Mtweve: Lecturer, St. Mark’s College, Dar es Salaam
2006 Correspondence, August 2007
Esha Faki Mwinyihaji: Lecturer, Department of Religious Studies, Maseno University
2007 Correspondence, May-September 2007
Dr. M. Hamza Njozi: Vice Chancellor, Muslim University of Morogoro, formerly Lecturer in Literature, University of Dar es Salaam
2006 Discussion Nairobi, August 2006
Prof. Rex O’Fahey: Professor of Non-European History, Department of History, University of Bergen
2003 Discussion Evanston, May 2003
Dr. Samadia Sadouni: Political Scientist, Université Montesquieu-Bordeaux IV, Centre d’Etude d’Afrique Noire, Bordeaux.
2004 Discussion Leiden, June 2004,
2007 Correspondence July 2007
Musa Said: Public Relations Officer, Tanzania Ports and Harbour Authority, Tanga
2006 Discussion Nairobi, August 2006
Prof. David R. Thomas: Professor of Christianity and Islam, Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham
2007 Correspondence, September 2007
Winnie Thegu: Staff member, St. Paul’s University, Limuru
2007 Correspondence July-September 2007
Dr. Farouk Topan: Member of Centre of African Studies, Retired Senior Lecturer School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London
2003 Discussion SOAS, October 2003
2007 Discussion Bayreuth, May 2007
David Tuppa: Marketing Manager, Central Tanganyika Press, Dodoma
2007 Correspondence, July 2007
Frans Wijsen: Professor of Interreligious Relations, University of Radboud, Nijmegen
2008 Correspondence and advice, January and February 2008

457
5 BOOKS, ARTICLES AND WEB-SITES

Abdalati, H.
1985 Islam in Focus, Nairobi: Islamic Foundation

Abdussalam, A.S.

Accad, M.

A Common Word

Adang, C.
1996 Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm, Leiden: Brill
2006 ‘Torah’, In The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an: Volume Five Si-Z, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 300-311

Ahmad, M.

Ahmad, Q.

Ahmed, H.

Albin, M.W.

Allen, J.W.T.
1945 Arabic Script for Students of Swahili, Supplement to Tanganyika Notes and Records Nov. 1945
1959 ‘The Collection of Swahili Literature and its Relation to Oral Tradition and History’ Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 53 October 1959, 224-227
1963 ‘The Bible in Swahili’ Swahili Vol 33, 2 (1963), 125-127

Aland, K. & Aland, B.

Alim

Alkali, N. et al

Allen, W.O.B. & McClure, E.
1898 Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1698-1898, London: SPCK

Altehenger-Smith, S.
1978 ‘Language Planning and Language Policy in Tanzania during the German Colonial period’, Kiswahili Vol. 48/2, 73-80

Alternative Service Book (ASB)
American Tract Society (ATS)

1824 *Brief View of the Principal Religious Tract Societies, Throughout the World*, New York: American Tract Society

1836 *The American Colporteur System*, New York: American Tract Society

1859 *Sketch of the Origin and Character of the Principal Series of Tracts of the American Tract Society with Alphabetical Lists of the Tracts and the Authors and an Index as to the Subjects*, New York: American Tract Society


Anderson, W.B.


Anderson-Morshead, A.E.M.


Ashton, A.E.


‘Ata’ur-Rahim M & Thomas A.


Aziz, A.


Azumah, J.A.


Bakari, M.


Baljon, J.M.S.

1968 *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)*, Leiden: Brill

Balleine, G.R.

1908 *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, London: Longmans

Barrett, D.B.

1968 *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, Nairobi: Oxford University Press

Barrett, D.B. et al. (Eds.)


Bautz, W.F.

2003 ‘Johann Heinrich Callenberg’, Bibliographisch, Kirchenlexikon, URL http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/c/callenberg_j_h.shtml (06.08.07)

Baynes, N.H. & Moss, H. St.L.B. (Eds.)


Becker, C.H.

1968 ‘Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa’ (Edited and translated by B.G. Martin), *Tanzania Notes and Records* No. 68, 1968, 31-61


Becker, F.


Bedford, F.J.

1954 *The Bible in East Africa*, London: British and Foreign Bible Society

Beidelman, T.O.

Berg, F.J.  
Bermann, S. & Wood, M. (Eds.)  
Bernard, G.  
1968 Lutheran Wartime Assistance to Tanzanian Churches 1940-1945, Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup
Bewley, A.  
Biblia ni Jibu  
nd. ‘Biblia ni Jubu [sic]’ URL http://biblianijibu.netfirms.com/ (09.08.07)
Blood, A.G.  
Bobzin, H.  
2004 ‘Pre-1800 preoccupations of Qur’ānic studies’, In The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān: Volume Four P-Sh, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 235-253
Bochinger, C. 
Borrow, G.  
1842 The Bible in Spain, URL http://www.fullbooks.com/The-Bible-in-Spain (10.07.07)
Bouvat, L.  
Bowden, J.  
Böwering, G.  
2002 ‘God and His Attributes’, In The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān: Volume Two E-I, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 316-331
Bradshaw, P. (Ed.)  
2001 Companion to Common Worship: Volume One, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
Bray, G.L.  
Brenner, L. (Ed.)  
1993 Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa, London: Hurst
Broomfield, G.W.  
1930 ‘The Development of the Swahili Language’, Africa Vol. 3 No. 4 October (1930), 516-522 
1931 ‘The re-bantuization of the Swahili language’, Africa Vol. 4 No. 1 January (1931), 77-85 
Bruinhorst, G.C. van de  
2001 ‘Islamic Literature in Tanzania & Kenya’, ISIM Newsletter No. 8, 6 
2007 Raise Your Voices and Kill Your Animals: Islamic Discourses on the Id el-Hajj and Sacrifices in Tanga (Tanzania), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press
Bucaille, M.  
1997 The Bible, The Qur’an and Science, New Delhi: Islamic Book Service 
Bühlmann, P.W.
1950 *Die christliche Terminologie als missionsmethodisches Problem: dargestellt am Swahili und andern Bantusprachen*, Schönbeck: Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft

**Bulletin**
1930 *Bulletin of Inter-Territorial Language Committee (Kenya, Tanganyika Territory, Uganda and Zanzibar)* No. 1

Buruku, D.S.

Calder, N.

Campbell, G.

Cantwell-Smith, W.

Caplan, A.P. & Topan, F. (eds.)

Carmichael, T.

Chadwick, O.
1987 *The Victorian Church: Part One 1829-1859*, London: SCM

Chande A.N.
1998 *Islam, Ulamaa and Community Development in Tanzánía*, Bethesda: Austin & Winfield

Chapman, C.
1995 *Cross and Crescent: Responding to the Challenge of Islam*, Leicester: IVP

Chesworth, J.A.
2004a ‘Dhimmî Status in Islam from an Historical Perspective with Implications for Present day Africa’ *From the Cross to the Crescent*, Procmura Occasional Paper 1.1, *In* Eds. J. Mbillah and J. Chesworth, Nairobi: Procmura, 64-85
2008 ‘The Cross and ‘Outreach’ Literature in East Africa’, *In Jesus and the Cross: Reflections of Christians from Islamic Contexts*, Ed. D. Singh, Carlisle: Regnum, 105-111

Chimera, R.

Clark, C.M.

Clarke, W.K.L.

Clements, R.E.

461
Coggins, R.J. & Houlden, J.L. (Eds.)  
Colwell, J.E.  
Constantin, F.  
Cordell, O.T.  
1941 *Gogo Grammar*, Mpwapwa: O.T. Cordell, CMS Mpwapwa  
Cragg, K.  
Cruise O’Brien, D.B. & Coulon, C.  
Dale, G.  
1909 *Maisha ya Muhammad: The life of Muhammad (In the Swahili Language)*, London: SPCK  
1924 ‘A Swahili Translation of the Koran’, *Moslem World* Vol. XIV.1, 5-9  
Daniel, N.  
Dapila, F.N.  
Davies, H.R.J.  
Davies, J.G. (Ed.)  
Dawud, A.A.  
1990 *Muhammad in the Bible*, Durban: Islamic Propagation Centre International  
Déclais, J.-L.  
2003 ‘Names of the Prophet’, In *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’an: Volume Three J-O*, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 500-505  
Deedat, A.  
Dinwiddy, H.  
Downing, F.G.  
El-Ezabi, A.A.A.  
2005 ‘Translating or Interpreting? A Lexical Approach to Translating the Qur’an’, *Bulletin of Faculty of Arts Zagazig University*, April 2005  
Elmasri, F.H.  
El-Miskin, T.  
Eralp, I.H.  
Esack, F.
1997 Qur'ân, Liberation and Pluralism: an Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity against Oppression, Oxford: Oneworld
Esposito, J.L. (Ed.)
Fabian, J.
Farsy al, A.S.
al-Faruqi, I.
Ferguson, S.B., Wright, D.F. & Packer, J.I. (Eds.)
1988 New Dictionary of Theology, Leicester: IVP
Fiedler, K.
1996 Christianity & African Culture: Conservative German Protestant Missionaries in Tanzania, 1900-1940, Leiden: Brill
Frank, C.N.F.
Frankl, P.J.L.
Frankl, P.J.L. & Omar, Y.A.
1994 ‘A 12th/18th century Swahili letter from Kilwa Kisiwani (being a study of one folio from the Goa Archives), Afrika und Übersee, Band 77, 263-272
Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P.
1962 The East African Coast: Select Documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century, Oxford: Clarendon Press
1988 The Swahili Coast, 2nd to 19th Centuries, London: Variorum Reprints
Friedmann, Y.


1981b ‘Learning from Polemics: Part II: Minor Themes’, Encounter No. 80, December 1891, 1-26
1999 Called from Islam to Christ, Crowborough: Monarch


2000 A History of Christian-Muslim Relations, Edinburgh: EUP


Gort, J.D., Jansen, H. & Vroom, H.M. (Eds.) 2002 Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation: Multifaith Ideals and Realities, Amsterdam: Rodopi
2006 Religions view Religions: Explorations in pursuit of Understanding, Amsterdam: Rodopi

1962 History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856, London: Oxford University Press
Green, S.G.
1899 The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years, London: RTS
Grieffenow-Mewis, C.
Griffiths, P.J. (Ed.)
1990 Christianity through non-Christian eyes, Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
Groves, C.P.
Guennec-Coppens, Le F. & Parkin, D. (Eds)
1991 Les Swahili entre Afrique et Arabie, Paris: Karthala
1998 Autorité et pouvoir chez les Swahili, Paris: Karthala
Guthrie, A. & Bishop E.F.F.
1951 ‘The Paraclete, Almunhamanna and Ahmad’, The Muslim World 41,4, 251-256
Guthrie, M.
1971 Comparative Bantu (4 Volumes), Farnborough: Gregg Press
Gutt, E-A.
Haddad, Y.B. & Haddad W.Z. (Eds.)
Hamdan, S. & King, N.
Hamilton, T. & Twaddle, M.
Hansen, H.B. & Twaddle, M. (Eds.)
1995 Religion and Politics in East Africa, London: James Currey
2002 Christian Missionaries & the State in the Third World, Oxford: James Currey
Harries, L.
1951 ‘Swahili Epic Literature’, Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 30 January-June, 73-77
Harris, C.A. & Porter, A.
Hastings, A.
Haule, G.S.
Hawting, G.R. & Shareef, A-K.A. (Eds.)
1993 Approaches to the Qur‘ān, London: Routledge
Hebbelthwaite, B.
Hellberg, C.J.
1965 Missions on a Colonial Frontier West of Lake Victoria, Lund: Gleerups
Hermans, T. (Ed.)
Hewitt, G.
1949 Let the People Read: A Short History of the United Society for Christian Literature, London:USCL

465
Hinton, M.J.
1992 Ministering Among Muslims in Africa: An annotated list of practical material, Nairobi: ACTEAIsnet
Hiskett, M.
Hof, K.
Hoffman, V.J.
2004 'The Articulation of Ibâdî identity in Modern Oman and Zanzibar’, The Muslim World Vol. 94:2, 201-216
Hofmeyr, I.
Holway, D.J.
Hoorweg, J., Foeken, D. & Obudho, R.A.
Hordern, W.
Howell, C.
Hsu, C.-H.
Hunwick, J.
Hunwick, J. (Ed.)
Hyson-Smith, K.
Ibn Ishâq
1955 The Life of Muhammad (A translation by A. Guillaume of Sîra Rasûl Allâh), Karachi: Oxford University Press
Iliffe, J. (Ed.)
Iliffe, J.
1979 A Modern History of Tanganyika, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
International Missionary Council
Ipgrave, M. (Ed.)

466
Ipgrave, M. (Ed.) (Continued)
2004 Scriptures in Dialogue: Christians and Muslims studying the Bible and the Qur’an together, London: Church House Publishing
Irenaeus
1868-1869 The Writings of Irenaeus (Translated A. Roberts & W.H. Rambaut), Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark,
Jackson, R.A.
2006 Fifty Key Figures in Islam, London: Routledge
Jackson, S.A.
James, M.R.
Jansen, J.J.G.
Jeffery, A.
1925 ‘A Collection of Anti-Christian Books and Pamphlets Found in Actual use Among the Mohammedans of Cairo’, Moslem World/Vol. XV.1, 26-37
Jenkins, P.
Johnstone, W.
Jobnier, J.
Jones, W.
1850 The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society: Containing a Record of its Origin, Proceedings and Results, London: RTS
Joseph, G.
Jullandri, R.A.
1968 ‘Qur’anic Exegesis and Classical Tafsîr’, Islamic Quarterly 12, 71-119
Kagabo, J.
Kahumbi (Maina), N.
Kalugila, L.
1997 Historia ya Taftsiri za Kiswahili za Biblia, Nairobi: Bible Society of Kenya
Kasozo, A.B.K.
Katerega D.K. & Shenk D.W.
Kellenberger, J. (Ed.)
Kerr, D.
Kettani, A.M.

467
Kettani, A.M. (Continued)

Khalid, A.
1977 *The Liberation of Swahili from European Appropriation*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau

Khalid, T.

Kheir, A.A.

Kihore, Y.M.
1977 ‘Kiswahili naming of the days of the week: what went wrong?’, *Afrikanaische Arbeitspapiere No. 51 Swahili Forum IV*, 151-156

Kihore, Y.M. & Chuwa A.R. (Eds.)
2003 *Kiswahili Katika Karne ya Ishirini na Moja*, Dar es Salaam: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili, University of Dar es Salaam

Kim, C.C-S.

Kindy, H.
1972 *Life and Politics in Mombasa*, Nairobi: EAPH

King, N.Q., Fiedler, K. & White, W. (Eds.)
1990 *Robin Lamburn - From a Missionary’s Notebook*, Saarbrücken: Verlag Breitenbach Publishers

Klinge, G.K.
2002 ‘The Swahilization of Kenya’s Socio-Political Culture’, *Afrikanaische Arbeitspapiere No. 72 Swahili Forum IX*, 135-142

Klamroth, von M.
1913 ‘Der Literarische Charakter des Ostafrikaniscen Islams’, *Die Welt des Islams, Band I. 1913, Heft I*, March 1913, 21-31

Knappert, J.

1961 ‘The Figure of the Prophet Muhammad according to the Popular Literature of the Islamic Peoples’, *Swahili 32* New Series Vol. 1 Part 3, 1961, 24-31


1966 ‘Miiraji: The Swahili Legend of Mohammed’s Ascension’, *Swahili Vol. 36/2*, 105-122


Kokole, O.H.

Kollman, P.V.

Krapf, J.L.

Kresse, K.


Kropáˇcek, L.
1995 ‘Some Remarks on Swahili Proverbs’, *Archiv Orientálni* 65/4, 323-330

Kubai, A.
Kuran-Burçoğlu, N.

Kut, G.A.

Lacunza Balda, J.

Lapidus, I.M.

Lazarus-Yafeh, H.

Laoust, H.

Levtzion, N. & Pouwels, R.L. (Eds.)
2000 The History of Islam in Africa, Oxford: James Currey

Lewis, P.
2001 ‘Depictions of “Christianity” within British Islamic Institutions’, In Islamic Interpretations of Christianity, Ed. L.V.J. Ridgeon, Richmond: Curzon, 204-230

Lienhardt, P.

Literature Evangelist
2000 ‘Publishing Persists’. The Literature Evangelist July-September 2000 Third Quarter Number 658, 6-8

Lockhat, E.

Lodhi, A.Y.

Lodhi A.Y. & Westerlund D.

Loimeier, R.

Ludwig F.

Lunde, P.
McAuliffe, J.D.  
McAuliffe, J.D. (Ed.)  
2001 The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume One A-D, Brill: Leiden  
2002 The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume Two E-I, Brill: Leiden  
2003 The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume Three J-O, Brill: Leiden  
2004 The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume Four P-Sh, Brill: Leiden  
2005 The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume Five Si-Z, Brill: Leiden  
2006a The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Index Volume, Brill: Leiden  
2006b The Cambridge Companion to the Qur’ân, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press  
McAuliffe, J.D., Walfish, B.D. & Goering J.W. (Eds.)  
Mackey, J.P.  
Madigan, D.A.  
2001 The Qur’ân’s Self-Image Writing and Authority in Islam’s Scripture, Princeton: Princeton University Press  
Madumulla, J.S.  
Malik, N.  
1996 ‘Extension of Kiswahili during the German Colonial Administration in Continental Tanzania (Former Tanganyika), 1885-1917’, Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere No. 46 Swahili Forum III, 155-159  
Martin, B.G.  
1971 ‘Notes on some members of the learned classes of Zanzibar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century’, African Historical Studies Vol. IV (3) 1971, 525-545  
Masood, S.  
2001 The Bible and the Qur’ân: A Question of Integrity, Carlisle: OM Publishing  
Mazrui, A.A. & Mazrui, A.M.  
1995 Swahili State and Society, London: James Currey  
1998 The Power of Babel, Oxford: James Currey  
Mazrui, A.M.  
Mbilla, J. & Chesworth, J.A. (Eds.)  
2004 From the Cross to the Crescent, Procmura Occasional Paper 1.1, Nairobi: Procmura  
Mbiri, J.  
2006 ‘“The Hen knows when it is dawn, But leaves the Crowing to the Cock”: African Religion Looks at Islam’, In Religions view Religions: Explorations in pursuit of Understanding, Eds. J.D. Gort, H. Jansen & H.M. Vroom, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 151-176  
Mbogoni, L.E.Y.  
2005 The Cross Versus the Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from the 1800s to the 1990s, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers  
Mendel, M.  
1995 ‘The Concept of “ad- Da’wa al-Islâmiya”’. Towards a Discussion of the islamic Reformist Religio-Political Terminology’, Archiv Orientální 63/3, 286-304  
Mkelle, M.B.  
Mlahagwa, J.R.

Mojola, A.O.
1999 *God Speaks in Our Own Languages*, Nairobi: Bible Society of Kenya

Moorman, J.R.H.

Moslem World

Mumisa, M.

Munden, A.F.

Mundt, W. F.
1996 *Sinners Directed to the Saviour: The Religious Tract Society Movement in Germany (1811-1848)*, Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum

Musa, S.
1986 *Maisha ya Al-Imam Sheikh Abdulla Saleh Farsy: Katika Uliwmengu wa Kiislamu*, Dar es Salaam: Lillaahi Islamic Publications Centre

Musau, P.M. & Ngugi, P.M.Y.
1997 ‘Kiswahili Research in Kenyan Universities: Where are we now?’, *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere No. 51 Swahili Forum IV*, 219-229

Muthiah, S.
2006 ‘Giving India the Printed Word’, In *Halle and the beginning of Protestant Christianity in India Volume III*, *Communication Between India and Europe*, Eds. A. Gross, Y.V. Kamardoss & H. Liebau, Halle: Franckesche Stiftungen, 1241-1248

Mvumbi, F.N.
2006 *Journey into Islam: An Attempt to Awaken Christians in Africa*, Nairobi: Catholic University of Eastern Africa

Mwakimako, H.

Netton, I.R.

Neve, A.O.

Newlands, G.

Nimtz, A.H.

Njoozi, H.M.
2000 *Mwembechai Killings and the Political Future of Tanzania*, Ottowa: Globalink Communications
2003 *Muslims and the State in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Muslims Trusteeship

Notes and News
1931 ‘Notes and News’, Africa IV, No. 2, 1931, 231-242

Nurse, D.
1987 ‘On dating Swahili’, Kiswahili Vol. 54/1 & 54/2, 167-179
1994 ‘Historical Texts from the Swahili Coast’, Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere No. 37 Swahili Forum I, 47-85


Nurse, D. & Spear, T.

Nzibo, Y.A.

Oded, A.

Oduyoye, M.
1995 Understanding Islam and the Muslims in Africa, Nairobi: Procmura

O’Fahey, R.S.

Ohly, R.
1973 ‘Dating of Swahili Language (Preliminary Notes)’, Swahili Vol. 43, 15-23
1976 ‘The Translation of the Bible into African Languages’ [Review of Die Ubersetzung der Bibel in Afrikanische Sprachen Ernst Dammann, München], Swahili Vol. 46/1, 82-84

Oladosu, A.A.

Oliver, R.
1952 The Missionary Factor in East Africa, London: Longmans


Oman, G.

Omar, Y.A. & Drury, A.
2002 ‘The Swahili Manuscripts Project at SOAS’, Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere No. 72 Swahili Forum IX, 9-17

Omar, Y.A. & Frankl, P.J.L.
1994 ‘A 12th/18th century Swahili letter from Kilwa Kisiwani (being a study of one folio from the Goa Archives’, Afrika und Übersee, Band 77, 263-272
Omari, C.K.

O’Neill, J.C.

Origen

Orwell, G. & Reynolds, R.

Padwick, C.
1963 *Henry Martyn: Confessor of the Faith*, London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship

Paret, R.

Parkin, D. & Constantin, F.
1989 ‘Preface and Some Key Dates in Swahili History’, *Africa* 59 (2) 1989, 143-144

Parkin, D. & Headley, S.C. (Eds.)
2000 *Islamic Prayer Across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque*, Richmond: Curzon

Parkin, D.
1989 ‘Swahili Mijikenda: Facing both ways’, *Africa* 59 (2) 1989, 161-175

Parrinder, G.
1996 *Jesus in the Qur’an*, Oxford: Oneworld

Patton, C.H. (Chair)

Peltola, M.

Pfänder, C.G.

Pinnock, C.H.

Prouet, M.L.

Pius XII
1954 *Ad Caeli Reginam*, URL http://www.newadvent.org/library/docs_pi12ac.htm (30.08.07)

Polomé, E.C.

Polomé, E.C. & Hill, C.P. (Eds.)

Pouwels, R.L.
Prins, A.H.J.

Pulcini, T.

Quṭb, S.
1990 \textit{Milestones}, (Revised Translation with Foreword by Ahmad Zaki Hammad), Indianapolis: American Trust Publications

Radscheit, M.
2006a ‘Table’, in \textit{The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān: Volume Five Si-Z}, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 188-191

Rahmatullah Kairanvi, M. (Rahmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī)

Rajab, M.

Rasmussen, L.

Raymond, J.

Reese, S. (Ed.)
2004 \textit{The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa}, Leiden: Brill

Reusch, R.

Richardson, A. & Bowden, J. (Eds.)

Ridgeon, L.V.J.

Ridgeon, L.V.J. (Ed.)
2001 \textit{Islamic Interpretations of Christianity}, Richmond: Curzon

Rippin A.

Ritchie, J.M.

Roberts, A.D.

Robinson, N.

Roehl, K.
1930 ‘The linguistic situation in East Africa’, \textit{Afrīca} Vol. 3 No. 2 (1930), 191-202

Roper, G.

Rosander, E.E.

474
Rowson, E.K.

Rubin, U.

Ruether, R. R.

Rutgers
2007 Details of Thomas Edison’s Mimeograph machine,

Rymatzki, C.
2004 Hallischer Pietismus und Judenmission. Johann Heinrich Callenbergs Institutum Judaicum und dessen Freundschaft, Tübingen: Verlag der Niemeyer

Saal, W.J.

Sadgrove, P. (Ed.)

Sadgrove, P.


Sadouni, S.
1997 ‘Le Minoritaire Sud-Africain Ahmed Deedat, Une Figure Originale de la Da‘wa’, Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara No. 12 1998, 149-170


Safari, J.F.

Sahas, D.J.

Sahlberg, C.-E.
1986 From Krapf to Rugambwa: A Church History of Tanzania, Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House

Said, M.


Salim, A.I.


Salter, T. & King, K. (Eds.)

Sanneh, L.

Schacht, J.
1965 ‘Notes on Islam in East Africa’, Studia Islamica XXIII (1965), 91-136

Schilddknecht F.

Schlorff, S.P.
1981 ‘The Hermeneutical Crisis in Muslim Evangelization’, Evangelical Review of Theology Vol. 5/1, 26-34

Schmitt, E.
1998 ‘Swahili and the Internet II’, Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere No. 55 Swahili Forum V, 191-195

Schöck, C.

Sellers, I.

Sells, M.
1999 Approaching the Qur’an: The Early Revelations, Ashland: White Cloud Press

Shah, M.

Sharkey, H.J.

Sheishaa, M.A.M.A.

Shepard, L.
1973 The History of Street Literature, Newton Abbott: David & Charles

Shepard, W.E.

Sherif, F.
1995 A Guide to the Contents of the Qur’an, Reading: Garnet

von Sicard, S.
1970 The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania 1887-1914, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 12. Lund: Gleerup

Siddiqui, A.

476
Simpson, E. & Kresse, K.

Simpson, E. & Kresse, K. (Eds.)

Singh, D.E. (Ed.)
2008 Jesus and the Cross: Reflections of Christians from Islamic Contexts, Carlisle: Regnum

Slomp, J.

Smith, H.M.
1926 Frank Bishop of Zanzibar 1871-1924, London: SPCK

Smith, P.
1990 ‘Christianity and Islam of Islam in East Africa’, Islamochristiana 16 (1990), 171-182

Solomon, N.

Sourdel, D. & Sourdel-Thomine, J.

Spear, T. & Kimambo, I.N. (Eds.)
1999 East African Expressions of Christianity, Oxford: James Currey

Sperber, J.

Sperling, D.

Steere, E.
1870a A handbook of Swahili language as spoken at Zanzibar, London: Bell & Daldy
1870b Swahili Tales, as told by Natives of Zanzibar, London: Bell & Daldy
1952 Swahili Exercises (Revised in 1933 by Hellier, A.B.), London: Sheldon Press

Stevenson, R.L.
1886 Kidnapped, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/421/421-h/421-h.htm#2HCH0016 (10.07.07)

Stowasser, B.F.

Strayer, R.W.

Sundkler, B. & Steed, C.

Swahili Archives
2007 URL http://mercury.soas.ac.uk/perl/Project/listSwahiliCollections.pl (26.07.07)

Sweetman, J.W.

Tafsir.com
Tamim, F.A.

Tanner, R.

Tanzania Daina

Tanzania Episcopal Conference
1965 'Provisional Religious Vocabulary: Swahili-English/English-Swahili: Based on the “Katekisimu ya Kikristu” (Ndanda)’, Swahili Vol. 35/1, 77-91

Task.Net

Thomas, D.

Tolan, J.V. (Ed.)

Topan, F.

Trimingham, J.S.

Twaddle, M.

Vander Werff, L.L.

Vasiliev, A.A.
Vawter, B.  

Waardenburg, J.D.J. (Ed.)  

Waardenburg, J.D.J.  

Walls, A. F.  

Ward, K & Stanley, B (Eds.)  
1999 The Church Mission Society and World Christianity 1799-1999, Richmond: Curzon

Watt, W.M.  
1953 ‘His name is Aḥmad’, The Muslim World Vol 43,2 110-117  
1994 Companion to the Qurʾān, Oxford: Oneworld  
1998 The Formative Period of Islamic Thought, Oxford: Oneworld

Watt, W.M. & Bell, R.  
1970 Introduction to the Qurʾān, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Welch, A.T.  

Wendland, E.R.  

Wendland, E.R. & Loba-Mkole, J-C. (Eds.)  
2004 Biblical Texts and African Audiences, Nairobi: Acton,

Wensinck, A.J.  

Wessels, A.  

Weston, S.A.  

Westerlund, D.  

Westerlund, D. & Rosander, E.E. (Eds.)  

Whiteley, W.H.  
1959 ‘Swahili and the Classical Tradition’, Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 53 1959 October, 214-223  

Wielandt, R.  
2002 ‘Exegesis of the Qurʾān: Early Modern and Contemporary’, In The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān: Volume One E-I, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 124-142

Wijesekera, F. & Mfumbusa, B.  

479
Wijsen, F.

Wijsen, F. & Tanner, R.
2002 ‘I am Just a Sukuma’: Globalization and Identity Construction in Northwest Tanzania, Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V.

Wijsen, F. & Schreiter, R. (Eds.)
2007 Global Christianity: Contested Claims, Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V.

Wilkening, F.
2000 ‘Who is J.W.T. Allen?’, Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere No. 64, Swahili Forum VII, 237-258

Williams, C.P.

Wondmagegnehu, A. & Motovu, J. (Eds.)
1970 The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Addis Ababa: The Ethiopian Orthodox Mission

Wright, M.
1965 ‘Swahili Language Policy, 1890-1940’, Swahili Vol. 35/1 March 1965, 40-48
1971 German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941: (Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands), Oxford: Clarendon Press

Yorke, G.L.O.R. & Renju, P.M. (Eds.)
2004 Bible Translation and African Languages, Nairobi: Acton

Yusseff, M.A.
n.d. The Gospel of Barnabas (Notes and Commentary) Lahore: Muslim Educational Trust

Yusuf I.

Zaman, M.Q.
2006 ‘Sin, Major and Minor’, In The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume Five Si-Z, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 19-28

Zanzibar, Bishop of (John Edward Hine)
1905 List of Swahili Books published by the Universities Mission with the names of the translators, Zanzibar: Universities’ Mission Printing Office

Zebiri, K.
1996 Muslims and Christians Face to Face, Oxford: Oneworld
2001 ‘Muslim Perceptions of Christianity and the West’, In Islamic Interpretations of Christianity, Ed. L.V.J. Ridgeon, Richmond: Curzon, 179-203
2004 ‘Polemic and Polemical Language’, In The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ân: Volume Four P-Sh, Ed. J.D. McAuliffe, Brill: Leiden, 114-125
2008 British Muslim Converts: Choosing Alternative Lives, Oxford: One world

Zwemer, S.