

**THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN SWAHILI TRACTS
BY MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN EAST AFRICA**

by

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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 Qur'ān mainly for outreach purposes. They are described and analysed and scriptures within them recorded. Eighteen Biblical and Qur'ānic 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.

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

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***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 Qurʾān* 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 Beirut Roman is used in order to facilitate the use of diacriticals.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	African Instituted Church(es)
AIM	Africa Inland Mission
AS	<i>'alayhi sallam</i> – 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	<i>Baraza Kuu la Waislamu wa Tanzania</i> (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	<i>Deutsch Ostafrika</i> (German East Africa)
EAMWS	East Africa Muslim Welfare Society
EMS	<i>Evangelische Missiongesellschaft für Deutsche Ostafrika</i> (The Protestant Missionary Society for German East Africa)
ESA	Educational Supply Association
FTFC	Frere Town Finance Committee

GEA	German East Africa
HGF	Holy Ghost Fathers
IAP	Islam in Africa Project (now PROCMURA)
ICET	International Consultation on English Texts (Liturgical)
ILC	Inter-territorial Language (Swahili) Committee for the East Africa Dependencies
IMC	International Missionary Council
ISIM	International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World
JUWAKITA	<i>Jumuiya ya Wahubiri wa Kiislamu Tanzania</i> (Society of Muslim Preachers of Tanzania)
KMC	Kenya Missionary Council
MSAUD	Muslim Students' Association of the University of Dar es Salaam
NECC	Near East Christian Council
NCKK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NLM	New Life Ministries
PROCMURA	Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa
PBUH	Peace be upon Him
RA	<i>raḍiyallāhu ‘anhu</i> – May God be pleased with him, used for Companions of the Prophet
RTS	Religious Tract Society (now a part of United Society for Christian Literature (USCL))
SAW	<i>ṣallā’llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam</i> – May God's Peace be Upon Him, used for Muḥammad
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (now a part of United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG))
STBC	Swahili Text Book Committee
SUPKEM	Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims
TEC	Tanzanian Episcopal Council
TELM	Tanzania Evangelistic Literature Ministry
TMC	Tanganyika Missionary Council
UBS	United Bible Societies
UMCA	Universities' Mission to Central Africa (now a part of United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG))
USCL	United Society for Christian Literature
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
WF	White Fathers (Missionaries of Africa)
WARSHA	<i>Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu</i> (Muslim Writers' Workshop)
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZNP	Zanzibar National Party

GLOSSARY

<i>aḥad</i> (Arabic)	One
<i>aḥādīth</i> (Arabic)	Plural form of <i>ḥādīth</i>
<i>’aḥēhem</i> (Hebrew)	Brethren (אָהֶהֶם <i>’aḥēhem</i>) from the root אָח (’āḥ) brother, (also in the widest sense)
<i>-ake</i> (Swahili)	His, hers or its (Possessive Adjective) ¹
<i>al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā</i> (Arabic)	Most Beautiful Names, of God
<i>’alayhi sallam</i> (Arabic)	Peace be Upon Him, used for other Messengers and Prophets (AS)
<i>’alīm</i> (Arabic)	a scholar, plural <i>’ulamā’</i>
<i>Askari</i> (Swahili)	Soldier or guard
<i>bid’ā</i> (Arabic)	Innovation, changing the original teaching of Muḥammad, something introduced into Islam after the formative period
<i>Bismi’llāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm</i> (Arabic)	“In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate”, the <i>basmla</i> – this phrase appears at the start of all the <i>Sūra</i> in the Qur’ān, apart from <i>Sūra Al-Tawba</i> (9)
<i>Bwana</i> (Swahili)	Lord in a religious sense, also as a title or honorific Sir, Mr.
<i>Colporteur</i> (French)	A hawker; specifically, one who travels about selling and distributing religious tracts and books. From the French <i>colporteur</i> one who carries on his neck: <i>col</i> neck, <i>porteur</i> to carry
<i>da’wa</i> (Arabic)	calling others to Islam (دعوة)
<i>dā’ī</i> (Arabic)	one who invites people to the faith of Islam
<i>Dei Genetrix</i> (Latin)	Mother of God
<i>dhū</i> (Arabic)	Possessor, owner (<i>dhū rūḥ</i> – spirit endowed)
<i>dīni</i> (Swahili)	Religion (Arabic <i>dīn</i>) also used for school lessons on religion
<i>Duodecimo</i> (Latin)	formed of sheets folded so as to make twelve leaves, usually written 12mo
<i>fatwā</i> (Arabic)	An authoritative statement on a point of law
<i>Folio</i> (Latin)	a sheet of paper folded once to make two leaves for a book
<i>Ḥadīth</i> (Arabic)	Traditions, the reported speech of Muḥammad
<i>Handbill</i>	a small printed notice or advertisement distributed by hand
<i>Hazra</i> (Urdu)	Presence, used a title of respect (Arabic <i>ḥaḍra</i>)
<i>Hexadecimo</i> (Latin)	formed of sheets folded so as to make sixteen leaves, usually written 16mo
<i>Ijāza</i> (Arabic)	Certificate
<i>Injil</i> (Swahili)	Gospel, from the Greek εὐαγγέλιον (<i>euangelion</i>) good news (Arabic <i>Injīl</i>)
<i>Isa</i> (Swahili)	Jesus (’Īsā - from the Arabic)
<i>ithm</i> ‘ <i>azīm</i> (Arabic)	Great sin
<i>izhār al-ḥaqq</i> (Arabic)	the demonstration of truth
<i>Juzuu</i> (Swahili)	Portion, part, section. Used to denote the thirty parts that the Qur’ān is divided into for reading during Ramaḍān (Arabic <i>juz</i>)
<i>kabā’ir al-ithm</i> (Arabic)	Grave sins
<i>Kadhi</i> (Swahili)	Judge, able to give judgements in accordance to the <i>sharī’a</i> (Arabic – <i>qāḍī</i>)

¹ Possessive Adjective requiring a prefix in agreement with class of the Noun e.g. *neno lake* - his word; *nyumbani kwake* – her home

<i>kafirūn</i> (Arabic)	Infidels
<i>Kalimatu'llāh</i> (Arabic)	“The Word of Allah”, meaning Jesus
<i>Kalimu'llāh</i> (Arabic)	“The one to whom Allah spoke directly”, title used for Moses
<i>Kirundu U'mutheru</i> (Meru)	Holy Spirit
<i>kufr</i> (Arabic)	Disbelief
<i>al-Masīh</i> (Arabic)	The Messiah, Christ, title for Jesus (Swahili – <i>Masiya</i>)
<i>Mihadhara</i> (Swahili)	Public Debate (Plural), <i>mhadhara</i> (singular). From the Arabic <i>ḥāḍara</i> discourse
<i>mīzān al-ḥaqq</i> (Arabic)	the balance of truth
<i>Mjumbe</i> (Swahili)	Messenger
<i>Mola</i> (Swahili)	Lord, but can also be used for God (Arabic – <i>mawlā</i>)
<i>Mtoto</i> (Swahili)	Child (pl. <i>Watoto</i>), can refer to any child, generally refers to period of 5-17 years of age
<i>Mtume</i> (Swahili)	Apostle or Messenger
<i>Muhtasari</i> (Swahili)	Summary
<i>munāfiqūn</i> (Arabic)	Hypocrites
<i>Mungu</i> (Swahili)	God
<i>Mwana</i> (Swahili)	Child (pl. <i>Wana</i>), usually refers to a child belonging to the person
<i>Mwenyezi Mungu</i> (Swahili)	Almighty God
<i>Mwoyo Mūkembu</i> (Meru)	Holy Spirit
<i>Nabii</i> (Swahili)	Prophet
<i>Nafsi</i> (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 <i>nafs</i>
<i>naskh</i> (Arabic)	Abrogation
<i>naskhī</i> (Arabic)	Style of writing, used in printing Arabic script, as it resembles hand-written script
<i>Ndugu</i> (Swahili)	Brethren – is used when referring to <i>ndugu</i> in preaching as a group, Brother when clearly in the single; also used for Kin
<i>Neno</i> (Swahili)	Word
<i>Octavo</i> (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
<i>Pamphlet</i>	a small booklet or leaflet containing information or arguments about a single subject
<i>paraklētōs</i> (Greek)	Advocate (παρακλητοσ), refers to the Holy Spirit
<i>Pasha</i> (Arabic/Turkish)	Governor
<i>perikleitos</i> (Greek)	Far praised one (περικλειτοσ), understood to mean Aḥmad in Arabic
<i>qāḍī</i> (Arabic)	Judge, able to give judgements in accordance to <i>sharī'a</i> (Swahili <i>Kadhi</i>)
<i>qudra</i> (Arabic)	Power
<i>qudus</i> (Arabic)	Holy
<i>Quarto</i> (Latin)	a size of paper produced by folding a sheet in half twice to give four leaves or eight pages, usually written 4to
<i>raḍiyallāhu 'anhu</i> (Arabic)	May God be pleased with him, used for Companions of the Prophet (RA)
<i>rasūl</i> (Arabic)	Messenger, a Prophet with a written message
<i>roho</i> (Swahili)	Spirit (Arabic – <i>rūh</i>)
<i>safari</i> (Swahili)	Journey
<i>ṣaḥāba</i> (Arabic)	Companions of the Prophet, (singular <i>ṣāḥib</i>) Swahili <i>Sahaba/Masahaba</i>

<i>ṣallāʾillāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam</i> (Arabic)	May God’s Peace be Upon Him, used for Muḥammad (SAW also PBUH in English)
<i>ṣamad</i> (Arabic)	Refuge
<i>shahāda</i> (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” (<i>ashhadu an lā ilāha illā ʾllāh wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūlu llāh</i>).
<i>sharīʿa</i> (Arabic)	Islamic legal system (Swahili <i>Sheria</i>)
<i>Shema</i> (Hebrew)	Hear
<i>shirk</i> (Arabic)	Associationism, stating that God has partners, or is associated with any other.
<i>Silimu</i> (Swahili)	To convert to Islam, to submit or to yield (Arabic <i>ʿasam</i>)
<i>soteriology</i> (English)	Doctrine of Salvation from the Greek σωτηριος (<i>sōtērios</i> bringing salvation)
<i>tafsīr</i> (Arabic)	Commentary
<i>tahrīf</i> (Arabic)	Corruption
<i>tahrīf al-naṣṣ</i> (Arabic)	Corruption of the interpretation of a text
<i>tahrīf al-maʿānī</i> (Arabic)	Corruption of the meaning of a text
<i>tamko</i> (Swahili)	Pronouncement, Proclamation
<i>tawba</i> (Arabic)	Repentance (Swahili – <i>tubu</i>)
<i>tawḥīd</i> (Arabic)	The doctrine of the Unity of God
<i>tawrā</i> (Arabic)	Torah (The Books of the Law), the first five books of the Bible
<i>thālīth thalātha</i> (Arabic)	Trinity, literally third of three
<i>Theotokos</i> (Greek)	God Bearer (θεοτοκος)
<i>-toka</i> (Swahili)	From (Verb, needing prefix)
<i>Tōrāh</i> (Hebrew)	Law the first five books of the Old Testament (Arabic <i>tawrā</i>)
<i>Tract</i>	a short essay or pamphlet, especially one on the subject of religion, politics, etc, intended as a piece of propaganda
<i>ʿulamāʾ</i> (Arabic)	scholars, plural of <i>ʿalim</i>
<i>Upweke</i> (Swahili)	Oneness, but also has sense of Solitariness, Uniqueness
<i>Uungu</i> (Swahili)	Divinity, Godhead
<i>Wa</i> (Swahili)	Of ²
<i>yawm ad-Dīn</i> (Arabic)	Day of Judgement
<i>Yesu</i> (Swahili)	Jesus (from the Greek - Ἰησοῦς <i>Iēsous</i>)

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’ān to show the purpose of *da‘wa*, such as *Al-Nahl* (16):125, where Muḥammad 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 *Āl ‘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 (*euangelizō*) 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’,² 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.

² John Chesworth, ‘Muslim Affirmation through Refutation, A Tanzanian Example’ MA Dissertation, Birmingham 1999.

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'ān: 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 Qur'ān 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;⁶ duplicates of material collected in Tanzania were also found in Kenya, particularly in Mombasa.⁷

Over one hundred different tracts were collected; these were assessed in order to select sixteen tracts for examination.⁸

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 Qurʾān 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 *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.

1.2.4 Analysis of selected tracts

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

Tracts by Muslim writers:

- [1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran, *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani*
- [2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni, *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*
- [3] Abbas Gombo Kanoni, *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*
- [4] Saidi Musa, *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*
- [5] Mussa Fundi Ngariba & Mohamed Ali Kawemba, *Uislamu Katika Biblia*
- [6] Josephat Ngogo, *Injili ya Barnaba*
- [7] Harith Swaleh, *Uungu na Umoja Wake*
- [8] Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu, *Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha*

Tracts by Christian writers:

- [9] K.K. Alavi, *Kutafuta Uhakika*
- [10] Iskander Jadeed, *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa*
- [11] Muhammad Khan, *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu*
- [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*
- [14] Cecil Simbaulanga, *Biblia ni Jibu "99:Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini*
- [15] Tanzania Evangelical Literature Ministry, *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*
- [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 Josephat 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'ānic passages, to *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo*

na Nikawa Muislamu by Abbas Gombo Kanoni, which has over two hundred Biblical and eleven Qur'ānic 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.¹⁰ 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, 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'ān, and seven passages from the Bible, together with a special section on *tahrīf*, with three short passages from the Bible, were chosen.

Qur'ānic Passages

Āl 'Imrān (3):45-51
Al-Nisā' (4):157-159
Al-Nisā' (4):171
Al-Mā'idā (5):72-78
Al-Mā'idā (5):111-115
Al-Mā'idā (5):116-119
Al-Shūrā (42):13
Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4

Biblical Passages

Deuteronomy 18:16-20
Isaiah 45:18-22
Matthew 15:21-28
John 14:15-17, 25-26
Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36
Romans 3:19-25
Philippians 2:5-8
'Special Section' on *tahrīf* (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: *tawhīd* or Trinity? (The Unity of God) *Al-Nisā'* (4):171; *Al-Mā'ida* (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-Mā'ida* (5):111-115; The death of Jesus, *Al-Nisā'* (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, 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

¹¹ Copies of the following tracts were available in English: Mussa Fundi Ngariba & Mohamed Ali Kawemba, *Uislamu Katika Biblia – Islam in the Bible*; K.K. Alavi, *Kutafuta Uhakika – In Search of Assurance*; Iskander Jadeed, *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa – No! The Religion of Christ – Not Abrogated*; Muhammad Khan, *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu – Why I Became a Christian*; Stefano Masudi, *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli – Into the Light: A Young Man's Search for Truth*; Njia ya Uzima, *Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili - The Witness of Islam to the Validity of the Torah and the Gospels*.

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.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 Aḥmadi 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'ānic *tafsīr* (commentary),¹³ from the 'Modern' period¹⁴ and from 'Contemporary'¹⁵

¹² These are the tracts by Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu* and *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*; K.K. Alavi, *Kutafuta Uhakika*; Muhammad Khan, *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu*; Stefano Masudi, *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli*

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 *tafsīr* (commentary) of the Qur'ān from Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī (839-923) to 'Umar ibn Kathīr (1302-1372). The classical period of *tafsīr* is difficult to delineate precisely, as some writing predates al-Ṭabarī and some was produced after Ibn Kathīr, notably *tafsīr al-Jalālayn* from the fifteenth century.

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 *tafsīr* 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'ān with writers such as Aḥmad Khan (1817-1898), Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), and Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905).

¹⁵ Contemporary: refers to Bible Commentaries written from the second half of the twentieth century onwards; and to *tafsīr* written from the middle of the twentieth century to the present.

sources; these included Bible Commentaries, Qur'ānic *tafsīr* 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.

- Evangelism: 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.
- Exegesis: Interpretation of scriptures, can be used for both the Bible and the Qur’ān.
- kashfā za dīnī*: Religious slander, language being used in tracts by both Muslims and Christians (Swahili).
- Mihadhara*: Public debates, used by Muslim preachers to present their message (Swahili).
- Outreach: Ways in which the religious message is propagated to those outside the faith community. Used here to refer to both Muslim *da‘wa* and Christian evangelism.
- Polemic(s): 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’.
- Swahili: Referring to the people of the East African littoral and the language, widely used throughout East Africa.
- Tafsīr*: Qur’ānic exegesis or explanation. Classical *tafsīr* refers to interpretations from the time of from Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī (839-923) to ‘Umar ibn Kathīr (1302-1372).
- Tract: A short propagandising treatise in pamphlet form, especially on a religious or political subject.

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.¹⁶ Three recent studies examine tract societies: *Sinners Directed to the Saviour: The Religious Tract Society Movement in Germany (1811-1848)*, William F. Mundt (1996), which gives a very detailed account of the British origins of the movement and its connections with missionary societies and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1996:32-40); *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain*, Aileen Fyfe (2004), which examines the work of the Religious Tract Society and the development of the Charitable Fund which gave generous grants to the missionary societies for tracts and printing (2004:16-59); *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of the Pilgrim's Progress*, Isabel Hofmeyr (2004), which is a literary history examining the way *Pilgrim's Progress* was used by Protestant missionary societies and adapted into the context of different societies (2004:56-97).

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.

¹⁶ These include: *The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years*, S.G. Green (1899); *Let the People Read: A Short History of the United Society for Christian Literature*, Gordon Hewitt (1949); *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1698-1898*, W.O.B. Allen & E. McClure (1898); *A History of the S.P.C.K.*, Lowther Clarke (1959); *The American Tract Society Documents 1824-1925* Compiled by A.S. Gaustadt (1972).

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).

Mwembechai Killings and the Political Future of Tanzania, Hamza M. Njozi (2000), documents events in Dar es Salaam in 1998, setting them into the context of the inter-religious tensions in Tanzania, and the role of *mihadhara* in exacerbating these tensions (2000:1-12); Njozi's subsequent work *Muslims and the State in Tanzania* (2003) further documents events and the perceived treatment of Muslims by the State in Tanzania.

The Cross Versus the Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from the 1800s to the 1990s, Lawrence Mbogoni (2005), attempts a response to Njozi from a Christian perspective and examines contentious issues in post-colonial Tanzania (2005:127-184).

For Kenya:

Islam in Kenya, edited by Mohamed Bakari & Saad Yahya (1995), provides an insight into the Muslim community and its relations with Christians, particularly the contribution by N. Kahumbi Maina 'Christian-Muslim relations in Kenya' (1995:323-339).

Islam and Politics in Kenya, Arye Oded (2000), gives an overview of Islam and politics in Kenya, particularly looking at the relationships following the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1992 and the attempts to register the Islamic Party of Kenya (2000:135-162).

In a paper presented in Birmingham in 2004 'Christian-Muslim Relations in Kenya: A Catalogue of Events and Meanings', Hasan Mwakimako (published 2007), examines the situation in Kenya after the terrorist attacks in Nairobi (1998) and Mombasa (2002); the analysis of the anti-Islamic polemics of a Christian radio station are of particular importance (2007:305-306).

For Islam on the coast and amongst the Swahili:

Islam among the Swahili in East Africa, Caleb Kim (2004), provides a history of 'Swahili-Islam' in Tanga Region of Tanzania (2004:12-73).

The collection of papers *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa* edited by Roman Loimeier and Rüdiger Seesemann (2006), gives a valuable insight into current research and developments; Rüdiger Seesemann's paper 'African Islam or Islam in Africa? Evidence from Kenya', is useful in its examination of the tension between Swahili and Arabic in the practice of Islam (2006:229-250).

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).

Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitan in the Western Indian Ocean, edited by Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse (2007) includes several papers that examine the place of Muslims in East Africa, particularly on the coast, including: ‘Introduction: Cosmopolitanism Contested: Anthropology and History in the Western Indian Ocean’, Simpson and Kresse (2007:1-41), ‘Islam in Indian Ocean Africa Prior to the Scramble’, Gwyn Campbell (2007:43-92), ‘Cosmopolitanism beyond the towns: Rural-Urban Relations in the History of the Southern Swahili Coast in the Twentieth Century’ by Felicitas Becker (2007:261-290).

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 Philippson (2003).

¹⁸ Ludwig Krapf *Suahili-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 Qurʾān 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.

²⁰ Another useful study published in the ‘Translation: Transnation Series’ is *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Eds.) (2005).

This is exemplified by an examination of the use of *neho* (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 a[n] 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 Qur’ān and its Exegesis*, Helmut Gätje (1996).

Modern: Bible Commentaries from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century were looked at; *tafsīr* in the writings of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897) and Muḥammad ‘Abduh (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 *tafsīr* written from the middle of the twentieth century to the present. Contemporary Muslim writers who have produced *tafsīr* on the whole of the Qur’ān were consulted, including those by Abu’l A’lā Maudūdi (1903-1979), *Tafhīm al-Qur’ān* (Revised English edition 1988 onwards) and Sayyid Quṭb (1908-1966), *Fī Zilāl al-Qur’ān* (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 Qur’ān* (1994), relatively little has been published on the Christian interpretation of the Qur’ān;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.

Camilla Adang (1996), provide valuable analyses of Muslim interpretation of the Bible; ‘The Qur’ānic Context of Muslim Biblical Scholarship’, Jane McAuliffe (1996), and ‘The Bible in early Muslim anti-Christian polemic’, David Thomas (1996), give additional insights.

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

²² Other useful literature includes: *Crescents of the Cross: Islamic Visions of Christianity*, Lloyd Ridgeon (2001); *Islamic Interpretations of Christianity*, edited by Lloyd Ridgeon (2001); *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, edited by J.D. McAuliffe, B.D. Walfish, & J.W. Goering Eds. (2003); *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, edited by J.D. McAuliffe (2001-2006); *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur’ān*, edited by J.D. McAuliffe (2006).

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'an by Christians and Muslims together.

A study of methods of Christian outreach in Kenya, 'Equipping Christians towards an effective witness to their Muslim friends and neighbors', by Walter Eric (1998), an MA dissertation for Columbia International University, provides an overview of the various Christian organisations operating in Kenya and the different approaches they use.

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 Wijzen (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.

‘Apologetics’, Brian Hebblethwaite (1983:31-32) and ‘Apologetics’, C.H. Pinnock, (1988:36-37) examine Apologetics from a Christian perspective; whilst ‘Apologetics’, David Thomas (2001b:115-119), examines it in relation to the Qur’ān.

‘Learning from Polemics: Parts I and II’ Jean-Marie Gaudoul (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’ān and in *tafsīr*.

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 *shar‘īa* 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 Ḥaḍramī Arab Muslims are Sunnī, following the Shāfi‘ī Madhhab (School of Law). Many Asians are members of one of the Shī‘a groups (Bakari 1995); there is an Ibāḍī presence due to those with Omani origins (Hoffman 2004). The various Sufi *turuq* (orders) present have had an effect on the spread of Islam (Nimtz 1980). Wahhābi-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 Instituted 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 *kashfa 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).

The impact of terrorism on the Muslim community in East Africa is discussed by Abdallah Kheir, ‘Islam and Muslims in Kenya before and after September 11’ and A.F. Tamim ‘The War on Terror, Islamic Threat, Public Policy and the Phenomenon of Exclusion by Integration: The Case of Tanzania’, both 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 Qur'ān 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 taḥrīf (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.

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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 Pycrs Plowman and a Popyshe Prcest* (c. 1550); *I Playne Piers Which can not Flatter* (1550?); *Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede* (1553); *Pycrs 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 Drunkenness*, *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:

[H]ad 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 7000*l.* [£] 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).⁷ 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

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

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

⁷ The documents quoted from the American Tract Society are collected together by E.S. Gaustadt, (Advisory Editor) 1972, in *The American Tract Society Documents 1824-1925*, New York: Arno Press.

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

Size of Paper	Number of folds Required	Number of Pages	Resultant Number of printed sides
<i>Folio</i>	1	2	4
<i>Quarto</i> (4to)	2	4	8
<i>Octavo</i> (8to)	3	8	16
<i>Duodecimo</i> (12mo)	4 ¹	12	24
<i>Hexadecimo</i> (16mo)	4	16	32

(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 colporteur, 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 colporteur. 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 colporteur, 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*.¹ 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).

² Very little has been published in English about the *Institutum Judaicum et Orientale in Halle*. Christopher Clark's *The Politics of Conversion: Missionary Protestantism and the Jews in Prussia 1728-1941* (1995) has a section on the Institute, describing its history and work, concentrating solely on the work amongst Jews (1995:47-82). Christopher Rymatzki's *Hallischer Pietismus und Judenmission. Johann Heinrich Callenbergs Institutum Judaicum und dessen Freundeskreis* (2004) also focuses on the work amongst Jews. During the 1990s, three conferences, 'Internationales Callenberg-Kolloquium in Halle', were organised by Walter Beltz, with published proceedings. Papers by Hartmut Bobzin 'Vom sinn des Arabischstudiums in sprachkanon der philologia sacra' (1997:21-32) and Christoph Bochinger 'Pietistische Identität Zwischen Persönlicher Frömmigkeit und Gruppenprozessen' (1997:33-44) give useful information on the Arabic and Muslim aspects of the Institute. Christoph Bochinger's Habilitation 'Abenteuer Islam Zur Wahrnehmung Fremder Religion Im Hallenser Pietismus Des 18. Jahrhunderts' (1996) has an extensive section on the Arabic and Muslim work in chapter three (58-116), including biographies of Salomon Negri (Sulaimān al-Aswad ibn Yacqūb as-Sālihāni) (68-72) and Carl Rali Dadichis (72-78) and an account of work with SPCK on an Arabic New Testament for Syrian Christians, published in 1728 (106-107). The Bibliography includes a list of all the tracts and books in Arabic printed by the Institute (306-354).

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).³ 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-Kairanāwī (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).

Mizān 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 *Mizān 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 *hadith* (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 Raḥmat 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 lafẓ*). 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 *Ifa* 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 Mahommeden 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’



(CMSCA2/032/29)

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:

1848	Arabic Bible
1850	Book of Common Prayer in Arabic
1851	New Testament in Arabic
1852	New Testament in Arabic
	New Testament in Coptic and Arabic (Egypt, North Africa)
1856	Homilies in Arabic
1857	The Bible in Arabic. Mr. Faris, Dr. Lee, and Professor Jarrett.
1858	Ostervaldt’s “Abridgement of the Bible” in Arabic.
1865	Packet of Arabic Texts, “The Parables.”
1866	Packet of Arabic Texts, “The Miracles.” (Allen & McClure 1898:212-213)

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 MOSLEMS⁶

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. Algeria⁷
North Africa Mission (Book depots)
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 members⁸ 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 damsel 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.

At the end of the year have a special day of rejoicing because God has used you in His service during the whole year, saying with joy, “The Lord hath done great things for us: whereof we are glad” (Psa. 126.3).

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)

CHAPTER FOUR: PRINTING IN ARABIC AND PROPAGATION OF TRACTS BY MUSLIMS

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'i*, 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, Athanius Dabbas, established a press to print liturgical books. He employed Abd' Allāh Zakhir to operate it; he is said to have cut his own type face. The press operated between 1706 and 1711.¹ 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 Qur'ān 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 Ibrāhim Müteferrika to Sultan Aḥmad III to establish a printing-press using Arabic script; the Sultan sent the request to the Shaykh al-Islam ʿAbd Allāh who issued a *fatwā* 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 *ḥadīth* 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 *naskhī* 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 handwritten (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-Maṭba‘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-Kairanāwī’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 ‘Abduh (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:

Khul-asatu'l-Kalam fi tayih dini'l-Islam, A Synopsis of the Argument as to the Superiority of Islam, by Sheikh Yūsuf an-Nahāni of Beirut Law Courts (Cairo 1904).

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).

Al-Qaulu's-Sahih lita'yid mahabbati'l-Masih, The Correct Saying to establish the Love of Christ, by M.A. Cairo n.d.

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-ḥaqq* 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-Sa'ati 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.

In *Muslim Perceptions of Christianity* (1996), Hugh Goddard examines contemporary Egyptian Muslim literature in relation to Christianity in three categories: Polemical (1996:59-94), Eirenical (1996:95-140) and Intermediate (1996:141-166).

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’ān (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:

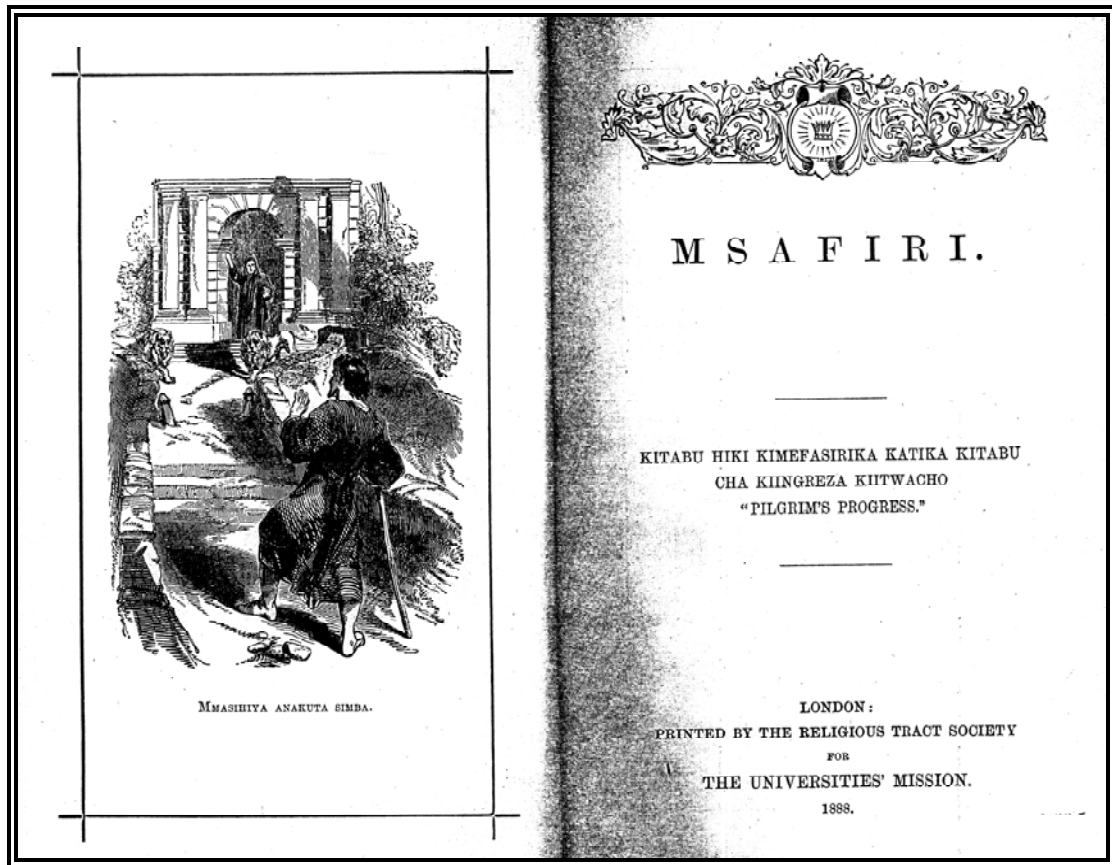
Christianity is seen in almost purely political terms, and the fact that it is often difficult to disentangle anti-Christian polemic from anti-Western polemic. Where a distinction is drawn between Christianity and the West, the latter may even be considered the lesser of the two evils (Zebiri 2001:200).

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*



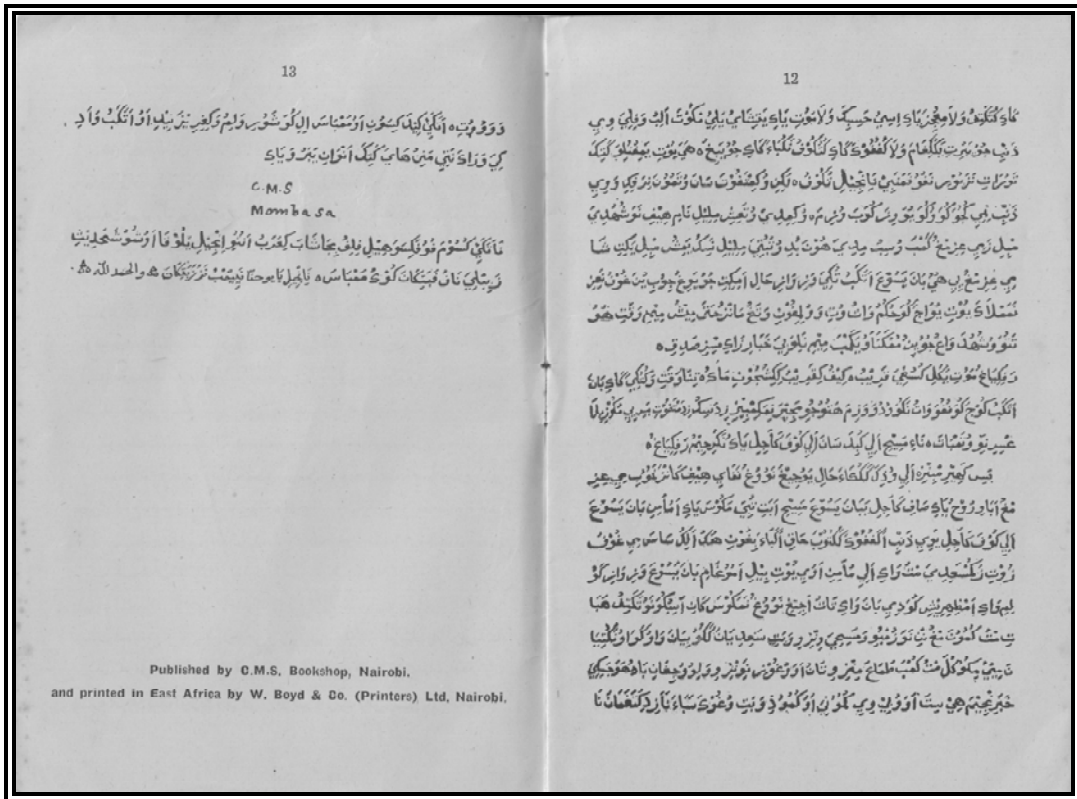
(Madan 1888: frontispiece and title page)

Figure 5.2 Cover of 1902 printing of the tract *Raha isiyo Karaha*



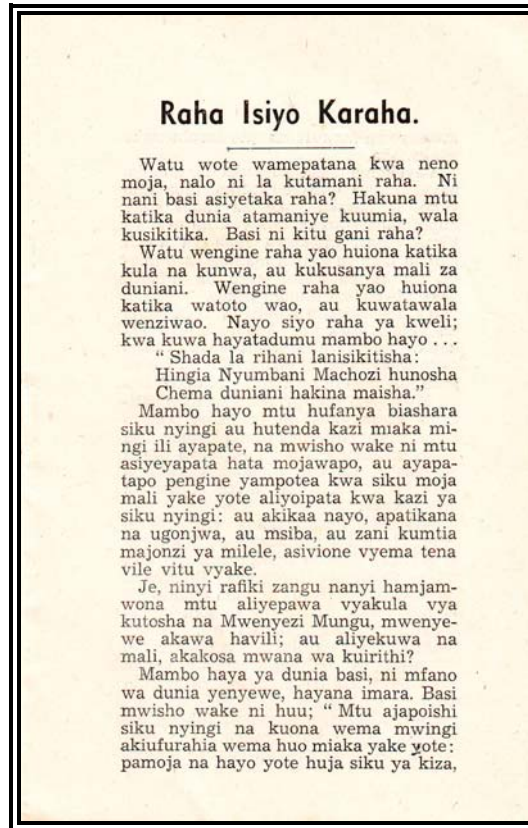
(Taylor 1902)

Figure 5.3 Final Pages of 1934 printing of tract, showing publishing details



(Taylor 1934)

Figure 5.4 The tract in Roman script



(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 Qurʾān 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.

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

(CMS Letter book (outgoing) January 1901-October 1906 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L 9:167).

This shows that CMS was in effect given the material granted them by SPCK at Net value⁴ 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

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).

Figure 5.1: Frontispiece and Title Page of the RTS/UMCA edition of *Msafiri*

Note: This Figure appears immediately before this chapter, between the end of Chapter Four and the Introduction to Part Two.

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

(UMCA/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: *Muhammadi (Life of Mohammad)* 1889 and *Koran na Biblia* (The Qur'ān 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: *Muhammadi 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'an*⁸ (Translation of the Qur'ān) 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 KARAHA*

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'an*, Al-Amin b. Aly is probably referring to the Swahili 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) 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-Matba‘a al-Sultāniyya* (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 Committee⁹ (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 25th 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 17th 1893, received July 10th 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.

(li) Request for grant towards producing Swahili tracts; &c. No. 183

(li) 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

(CMS *Precis book* (incoming) 1892-1895 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 4 25.07.1893).

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 mimeograph¹⁰ 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 24th 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 1893.¹¹

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 Meeting of Group 3 Committee 24th November 1893 records “Item 269 Minutes of Frere Town Finance Committee 14. P.C. requested to grant \$96 for 1894 for producing literature in Swahili characters. (lxxxv) request grant for 1894 Adopted Dec 5 1893” (CMS *Precis book* (incoming) 1892-1895 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 P 4 24.11.1893).

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 *Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1894-95* where Taylor reports:

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).

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).¹²

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.¹³

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.)
(CMS Letter-book (outgoing) January-October 1906 XCMS/B/OMS/A5/G3 L9:146)

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).

Figure 5.2 Cover of 1902 printing of the tract *Raha isiyo Karaha*

Note: This Figure appears immediately before this chapter, between the end of Chapter Four and the Introduction to Part Two.

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

Figure 5.3 Final Pages of 1934 printing of tract, showing publishing details

Note: This Figure appears immediately before this chapter, between the end of Chapter Four and the Introduction to Part Two.

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.

Figure 5.4 The tract in Roman script

Note: This Figure appears immediately before this chapter, between the end of Chapter Four and the Introduction to Part Two.

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

	Name	Year Founded	Year of arrival in GEA	Location
1	EMS ¹ [Berlin III]	1886	1887	Tanga, Wilhelmstal, Bukoba, Ruanda
2	Herrnhuter Mission [<i>Unitas Fratrum</i> /Moravians]	1732	1891	Langenburg, Dodoma, Tabora.
3	Berliner Mission [Berlin I]	1824	1891	Langenburg, Iringa, Songea, Morogoro and Daressalam.
4	Leipziger Mission	1836	1893	Moschi, Aruscha, Wilhelmstal, Mkalama.
5	Neukirchener Mission ²	1882	1911	Urundi, Usambara.
6	Breklumer Mission [Schleswig-Holsteinische evangelisch-lutherische Mission in Breklum]	1872	1912	Udjidji

(*Führer* 1914:6)

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

² Neukirchener Mission began working in Lamu and on the Tana River, Kenya in 1887, before arriving in GEA (von Sicard 1970:73). W.E. Taylor met the Neukirchen missionaries when he visited Lamu in 1895 and inaugurated market meetings there (*Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1894-95*:8).

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

¹⁶ EMS: *Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft 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).

¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

Table 5.2 Details of Tracts listed in *Führer* 1914

Mission	Title	Where published	Year	Other details
EMS [Berlin III]	<i>Habari za Muhammadi</i> (Information about Muḥammad)	Missionsdruckerei Daresalam [<i>sic</i>]	1912	2000 copies
	<i>Leben Mohammeds</i> (Life of Muḥammad)	Wuga [Vuga]	1913	6000 copies Miss. Wohlrab:
Herrnhuter Mission (Brüdergemeinde) [<i>Unitas Fratrum</i>]	<i>Sababu gani mimi ni Mkristo?</i> (Why am I a Christian?) <i>Christus oder Mohammed?</i> (Christ or Muḥammad?)	Missionsdruckerei Daresalam,	1913	Miss. Löbner:
Berliner Mission [Berlin I]	<i>Ostafrikanischer Islam.</i> (East African Islam)	Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift,	1910	Miss,-Sup. Klamroth:
	<i>Religionsgespräche mit einem Führer der Daresalamer Mohammedaner</i> (Religious dialogue with the leader of the Dar es Salaam Muslims)	Beiheft zur Allgemeinen Missionszeitschrift,	1913	
<i>Englische Kirchenmissions-</i> (English Church Missionary		<i>gesellschaft</i> Societies)		
	<i>Habari za Waarabu na Islam.</i> (Information about the Arabs and Islam) <i>Über Araber und Mohammedaner</i> (About Arabs and Muslims)	Frere Town B.E.A.	1912	
	<i>Taarekhe ya Bara ya Hindi</i> <i>Kurze Geschichte</i> (Tariqa of India a Short history)	Indiens		
	<i>Raha isiyo karaha.</i> (Unhampered Happiness)	Religious Trakt. Society	1902	<i>Traktat in lateinischer und arabischer Schrift.</i> (Tract in Roman and Arabic script) ¹ <i>13 Doppelseiten</i> (13 double pages)

(*Führer* 1914:48-64)

¹ The year of publication for *Raha isiyo Karaha* is incorrect, as only the 1897 edition used both scripts.

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 *Der literarische Charakter des ostafrikanischen Islams* (The Literary Character of East African Islam), published in *Die Welt des Islams*. Becker, working at the *Hamburg Kolonialinstitut*, wrote *Materialen zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Materials for understanding Islam in German East Africa) published in *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), *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

¹⁹ *Mohammedan* was a term used for Muslims until the middle of the twentieth century. It implies that a Muslim is a follower of Muḥammad and not of Islam, H.A.R. Gibb’s *Mohammedanism* was reprinted under that title as recently as 1969.

growth of Islam during the 1920s,²⁰ 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 '*Sahifa*' (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).

²⁰ 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 Aḥmadiyya 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; Trimmingham 1964:98-101).

²² The Islamic Foundation in Nairobi published Abu'l A‘la Maudūdī’s *The Qadiani Problem* in 1978.

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

²⁴ Justo Lacunza Balda (1989, 1993, 1997), Roman Loimeier (2003) and Kai Kresse (2003, 2007) have all 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 5.3 Selected Muslim tracts published in late colonial period and still in circulation

Author	Title	Year of Publication	Publishing Details
Aly, al-Amin b. [Mazrui]	<i>Uwongozi wa Kimasihya na Ki-islamu</i> (Guide to Christianity and Islam)	1946	Mombasa: EAMWS
	<i>Faida ya Zaka</i> (The benefits of <i>zakāt</i>)	1949	Mombasa: EAMWS
	<i>Dini ya Islamu Kimckusanya</i> (The Religion of Islam Collected)	1954	Mombasa: EAMWS
	<i>Mtume Muhammad Katika Vitabu Vitakatifu</i> (The Apostle Muhammad in the Holy Books)	1955	Mombasa: EAMWS
al-Farsy, A.S.A.	<i>Maisha ya Nabii Muhammad</i> (The Life of the Prophet Muhammad)	1942	Mombasa: EAMWS
	<i>Ada za harusi katika Unguja</i> (The fees for weddings in Zanzibar)	1956	Dar es Salaam: EALB
	<i>Sala na Maamrisho yake</i> (Prayers and their Regulations)	1957	Bangalore: The Islamic Literature Pub. House
	<i>Wakeze mtume wakubwa na wanawe</i> (The main Wives of the Apostle and his sons)	1959	Tanga: Northern Province Press Ltd.
Mazrui, M.K.	<i>Maisha ya Al Faaruq Umar: Khalifa wa Pili</i> (The life of al-Fārūq ‘Umar: The Second Khalif)	1962	Mombasa: Adam Traders
	<i>Maisha ya Dhin-Nuran Uthman: Khalifa wa Tatu</i> (The Life of The Light of God Uthmān: The Third Caliph)	1964	Mombasa: Adam Traders
Muhammad, Ali.	<i>Akidat-ul-Islam: Shairi za Kiswahili kwa mambo ya Kiislam</i> (<i>aqidat al-Islam</i> : Swahili poems about Islam)	1955	Dar es Salaam: Self published
	<i>Thamaraat-al-Jania: Tafsiri ya Maulidi Barzanji n.k,</i> (<i>thamarāt al-Jania</i> : Translation of Barzanji’s Maulid etc.)	1956	Dar es Salaam: Self Published

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*²⁶ 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, Mubia 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 msemu 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 Iliyotungwa, 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 (NCCCK) 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

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

(*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 Mohammedan 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
(Report to Christian Literature Council given at All-Africa Christian Literature Conference, Kitwe June 1961) (UMCA/SF 20 VIII).

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,²⁹ in *Encounters and Clashes* (1990:332-337), translates a tract published in Mombasa in 1962, *Kwa nini sikuwa Mkristo*³⁰ (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 nini niliacha Ukristo* (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).³¹

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,³² 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.

³¹ *Ushuhuda wa Vitabu Vitakatifu kwa Mtume Muhammad. Twaonesha hapa ushahidi kidogo wa vitabu vitakatifu vinavyo aminiwa ni [sic] Wakristo wote Protestant na Romani [sic] Catholic, uonesha kwamba Mtume Muhammad ndie Mtume wa haki aliyekuwa akitarajiwa kuja baada ya Bwana Isa Masihi* (Aly 1955:1).

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:

1. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Dini ya Islamu* (The Religion of Islam) 4th imp. 1954. Pp.60. A presentation of Islam in reply to the presentation of Islam by Westerners. Written in Kimvita.
2. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Uwongozi wa Kimasihiya na wa Kiislamu* (Guide to Christianity and Islam) 3rd imp. 1955. Pp.25.
3. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Mtume Muhammad katika vitabu vitakatifu* (The Apostle Muhammad in the Holy Books) 3rd Impression 1955. Pp18. A presentation of alleged biblical proof in regard to Muhammad.
4. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Masomo ya dini. Mambo ya kuamini. Schemu I.* (Lessons of Religion. Concerning Beliefs. Part I) Pp.16. 10th imp. 1954
5. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Masomo ya dini. Mambo ya Ibada. Schemu II.* (Lessons of Religion. Concerning Worship. Part II) Pp.27. 10th imp. 1955
6. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Masomo ya dini. Hadithi za Mtume na maelezo yake. Schemu III.* (Lessons of Religion. The Ḥadīth of the Apostle and their explanation. Part III) Pp.30. 5th imp. 1957
7. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Faida ya Zaka.* (The benefit of *zakāt*) Pp.16. 2nd imp. 1956
8. Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly *Ndowa na Talaka katika sharia ya kiislamu.* (Marriage and Divorce in the *sharī'a* of Islam) Pp.41. 2nd imp. 1957
9. Sheikh Najmud-Din al Ghaity *Kisa cha Miraji.* (The Story of the Mi'rāj) 5th imp. 1956. Pp.23. Deals with Muhammad's ascent into heaven.
10. Muhammad na Rashid bin Kasim al-Mazrui *Mirathi katika Sharia ya kiislamu.* (Inheritance in the *sharī'a* of Islam) 2nd imp. 1955 Pp.24. Deals with the laws of inheritance.
11. Abdallah Saleh Abdallah al-Farisy *Maisha ya nabii Muhammad.* (Life of the Prophet Muḥammad) 9th imp. 1957. Pp.80
12. Abdallah Saleh Abdallah al-Farisy *Mawaidha ya dini, Schemu I.* (The Advice of Religion, Part I) Pp.64
13. Jumaa bin Mwin-Dadi *Dini ya Islam.* (The Religion of Islam) 2nd imp. 1956
14. Feeroz ud-Deen *Five Suras of the Holy Koran in Luganda and English.* Pp.26 (Kiplagat & von Sicard 1960:30).

Two additional appendices list books published by the Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission³³ 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.
2. *Ndoa na maamrisho yake.* (Marriage and its regulations)
An excellent exposition of the orthodox view on marriage and its duties.
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 Tukufu* published by the Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission, are listed in the appendix to Kiplagat and von Sicard's report. The Aḥmadiyya are not regarded as Muslims by orthodox Muslims. See the next chapter for details about the Qur'ān published by the Aḥmadiyya in 1953.

4. *Tarehe ya Imam Shafi. (The Shafi 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 *juzuu* 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 *Uislamu 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*³⁵ (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 *Uislam 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).

³⁶ Samadia Sadouni (1998, 2007) and David Westerlund (2003) have written about Deedat in detail.

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).³⁷ 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/-. From the title it appears to have been written as a warning to Christians against Islam and thus indicates the attitude of many within the church at that time.

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 kimckwisha kutengenezwa mara ya kwanza na mchungaji P. Wohlraub, Mtae, mwaka wa 1912; mara ya pili na mchungaji E. Dammann, Tanga, mwaka wa 1935; kimcpigwa 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.

published by Central Tanganyika Press (CTP) for the Swahili Text Book Committee (STBC) of the Association of Theological Institutions of East Africa (ATIEA).³⁹

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 19th and 20th 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/Kimtang'ata is the mainland form of Southern Swahili, from Pangani River to Kilwa. (adapted from Prins 1961:26)²

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*

l 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.³ 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-Mas'ūdī around 915 AD as using *wafilimi*, 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 *Kimtang'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*'/*Kimtang'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 (Sacleux) and German (Krapf, Klamroth, Rochl) backgrounds, all of which have different traditions and practices concerning languages.

Unguja for Unguja, that is Zanzibar Island and *al-maqanga* (*mganga*) for wizard⁴ (Nurse 1987:170).

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).⁵

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-Idrīsī'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.⁶ 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).

⁶ 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).

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.

⁷ A fuller account of the process of standardising Swahili is given by Wilfred Whiteley in *Swahili: The Rise of a National Language* (1969) chapter five, pages 79-96.

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 (Ilfie 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).⁹

From this it can be deduced that producing tracts in Swahili in Arabic script, such as *Raha isiyo 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 tafsiri ya Qur’ani tukufu* (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

¹⁰ Writer’s own translation; the Swahili reads. *Kazi tuliyo nayo [ni]...Kufundisha watu kutumia harufi za Kiarabu kuandikia Kiswahili kama walivyo kuwa wakiandika wote hapo zamani kabla ya kuja wakoloni. ... Kwa majaribio yangu nimeweza kuwafundisha vijana kadhaa wa kadhaa wa Kitanzania kusoma na kuandika kwa harufi za Kiarabu kwa muda wa siku chache tu na wakaweza kuisoma Qur’ani popote nilipo wafungulia. Nimetunga kijitabu juu ya hayo nilicho kiita: “Jifunze Kusoma na Kuandika Kiarabu kwa Wiki Tatu”, ambacho kimepigwa chapa.*

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 [*kiti*] – all the chair they know of. What idea of the throne can they have? Also *crown* [*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” [*dhabihu*] too – I wonder when they can take it in at all. The word used for “offerings” [*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 *kiti* as meaning both God's throne and three legged stool is an example. *Kiti cha enzi* – literally chair of authority – would be used for God's throne, whereas a *kiti chenye miguu mitatu* – chair having three legs – could be used for stool, but in fact *kigoda* (three legged stool) and *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, *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, *Yesu Kristo*? The different mission agencies and publishers had different views, with UMCA favouring *Isa Masiya* and CMS favouring *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," (Yesu 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)

P.J.L. Frankl & Yahya Ali Omar, in a paper ‘The Idea of ‘the Holy’ in Swahili’, examine the question of what word to use for ‘Holy’ in Swahili.

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 *qadōsh* ‘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’ān 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 Sooahlee [Swahili] and Wonica languages. Sooahlee 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 *Kimvita*. 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.

¹⁶ Bühlmann gives the title of the Catechism as *Katekismou Kisouahili na Kifranza tcha Vasouahili na Vatoumoua oua Angoudia na Mrima oua Souahili. Catéchisme Souahili et Français pour les Souahili et les Noirs de la Côte Orinetale d'Afrique*. Par le R.P. Baur, Zanzibar 1867.

Paul Kollman discusses the production of the Catechism by Pere Etienne (2005:96-97).

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 Soahelee, 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 Kigállá* 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).¹⁸ The *Suahili-English Dictionary*

¹⁸ Four manuscript volumes of Krapf's 'Dictionary of the Suahili 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 Cust¹⁹ (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 incomplete; 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 Suáhelis (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).

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).²⁰ 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 Kiswahili (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:iii). 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:iii); 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 Kiunguja* (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.

(Bedford 1954:58). This was revised several times with the last set of corrections being in 1923; it was then reprinted several times until 1947 (Peltola 1957:23f.).

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 Württemberg 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

(1954:60). 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

Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church carried out some translation work. Emile Brutel, of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers - WF), had his translation of the four Gospels and Acts using *Kiswahili cha Kiunguja* published in 1923, (Bühlmann 1950:xii) in Algiers, the Mother House of the Order, but it did not achieve a wide circulation. Charles Sacleux, of the Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF), published selections of both the Old Testament and New Testament, and his complete New Testament was published in Grasse in 1937 (Mojola 1999:68).

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 Matakatiifu 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 *нено kwa нено* (word for word) (BHN 1977: Preface), that is, a literal translation. This version is commonly called the *Union Version*.²³ It is the most widely used Swahili Bible and has been made available at greatly discounted prices.²⁴

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.

²³ Inside the cover of the 1994 edition it says “The Holy Bible in Kiswahili Union Version Published as *Maandiko Matakatiifu*”. The 1952 edition says “The Holy Bible in Swahili Union Version”.

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.

Ndanda (Noss & Renju 2004:22, 33).²⁸ 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 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).²⁹

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*

²⁸ The volumes are *Utenzi wa Enjili: Kadiri ya Utongo wa Matayo*, *Utenzi wa Enjili: Kadiri ya Utongo wa Marko*, *Utenzi wa Enjili: Kadiri ya Utongo wa Luka*, *Utenzi wa Enjili: Kadiri ya Utongo wa Yohana*, *Utenzi wa Matendo ya Mitume*, all published in 1996. Philip Noss and Peter Renju have written about them and the use of the *Tenzi* (Poetic) form (Noss & Renju 2004:19-34; 2007:41-50).

²⁹ *Suala la kuwa na Tolco Jipya la Biblia ya SUV limetokana na ukweli kwamba Biblia hiyo ina maneno kadhaa ambayo hayatumiki tena. Zaidi ya hayo nayo matumizi ya kisarufi pengine si sawa.*

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 hopes for outcomes of producing the Qurʾān:

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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān), 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

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 Qurʾān’ (2000:17). He explains that this was part of an initiative to upgrade education on Zanzibar, a committee, including two Muslims produced *Aya zilizochaguliwa kaatika [sic] Kuraani takatifu kwa sababu ya Kutumiwa katika vyuo vya Unguja* [Verses from the Holy Qurʾān 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 Aḥmadiyya. In 1954, al-Farsy published a pamphlet attacking the translation, *Marejezo ya Upotofu wa Tafisiri ya Makadiani ya Khataman Nabiyyin* (Corrections of the Perverse Qadianiyya Translation of the Seal of the Prophets) (Lacunza Balda 1997:110,124).

When the Aḥmadiyya 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 *juzuu* (Swahili, Section of the Qurʾān, one-thirtieth, Arabic *juzʾ*). Mazrui only completed a few *juzuu* 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 Aḥmadi'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* (*juzʾ ʿamma*) 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-Fātiḥa* and *Al-Baqara* which were published in Lahore in 1940 and subsequently in Nairobi in 1980. Kasim Mazrui took over the project and *Āl Imrān* and *Al-Nisāʾ* 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.

(Loimeier 2003:251). When he moved to Kenya, he was nominated as Chief Kadhi³⁴ 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’ān (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 *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’ān. 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’ān became accessible to all (Lacunza Balda 1997:113-114). The ‘*ulamā*’ of Riyadha Mosque, Lamu, had long considered themselves as having greater authority than the ‘*ulamā*’ of Zanzibar and Mombasa.³⁵ With regard to the text, Farouk Topan said concerning the exegetical comments inserted within brackets in the text of *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).³⁶

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

Appearing as it does after 16 years of controversy between Aḥmadiya missionaries and Sunni teachers, it is not surprising that there are a number of references in the commentary to the

³⁴ *Kadhi* is the Swahili for *qāḍī*. *Kadhi* is the official form used in the Kenyan legal system and constitution.

³⁵ Riyadh Mosque was founded, in 1889, by Salih b. Alawi Jamalil-Lail (1844-1935), originally from a *sharīf* family in Comoros (Kresse 2007:87).

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 *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’ān (Musa 1986:59).

³⁷ In addition to James Holway (1971b), Justo Lacunza Balda (1993 & 1997) has also written about the first three versions of the Qur’ān 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-MUNTAKHAB³⁸ 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 *I’tiqād*.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 Jalalayn⁴² 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 *sharī’a* (Bewley 1998:7). Sectarian discord refers to the existence of various Schools of Law (*maddhab*), four within Sunni Islam, of which *Shāfi’ī* is the traditional School in East Africa.

⁴¹ *I’tiqād*: belief, being convinced about the truth of something (Bewley 1998:186).

⁴² Jalalayn refers to: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: “Commentary of the two Jalāls,” Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūti’s (d.1505) completion of the *tafsīr* of his teacher, Jalāl ad-dīn al-Mahallī (d.1459). (Bewley 1998:93)

⁴³ The Swahili reads: *Tafsiri hii ya Al-Muntakhab imejaribu kucpuka khitilafu za kimadhebu katika mambo ya Fiqhi na Itikadi. Kwa sababu hii na kwa kuwa imejaribu kueleza mambo ambayo yamekwisha hakikishwa na ilimu ya sayansi, ndio nikavutika nayo mimi na nikataka kuiandika kwa lugha ya Kiswahili, ili Waswahili wenzangu wasio jua Kiarabu wapate nao kuifahamu na iwaongoze kama ilivyo niongoza mimi. ... basi nimconna mnasaba sana kwa wasomaji wa Kiswahili ambao wamekwisha onjeshwa utamu wa Qur’ani kwa tafsiri za Sheikh Al-amin bin Aly Mazrui na Sheikh Abdulla Saleh Al-Farsy au walio isikia ikisomwa tafsiri ya Jalaleini misikitini.* (Writer’s translation into English).

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 *juzuu*. 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 *juzuu* and the thirtieth *juzuu* are available.

⁴⁴ P.J.L. Frankl & Yahya Ali Omar 1999:109-114, make reference to al-Barwani’s version in their discussion on the origin of the Swahili word for Holy *takatifu*.

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,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 [*The Noble Qurʾān*] (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).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 Qurʾān 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; Aḥmadi's has also been rejected as it is by an Aḥmadi 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.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.

⁴⁸ See Appendix One for examples of this.

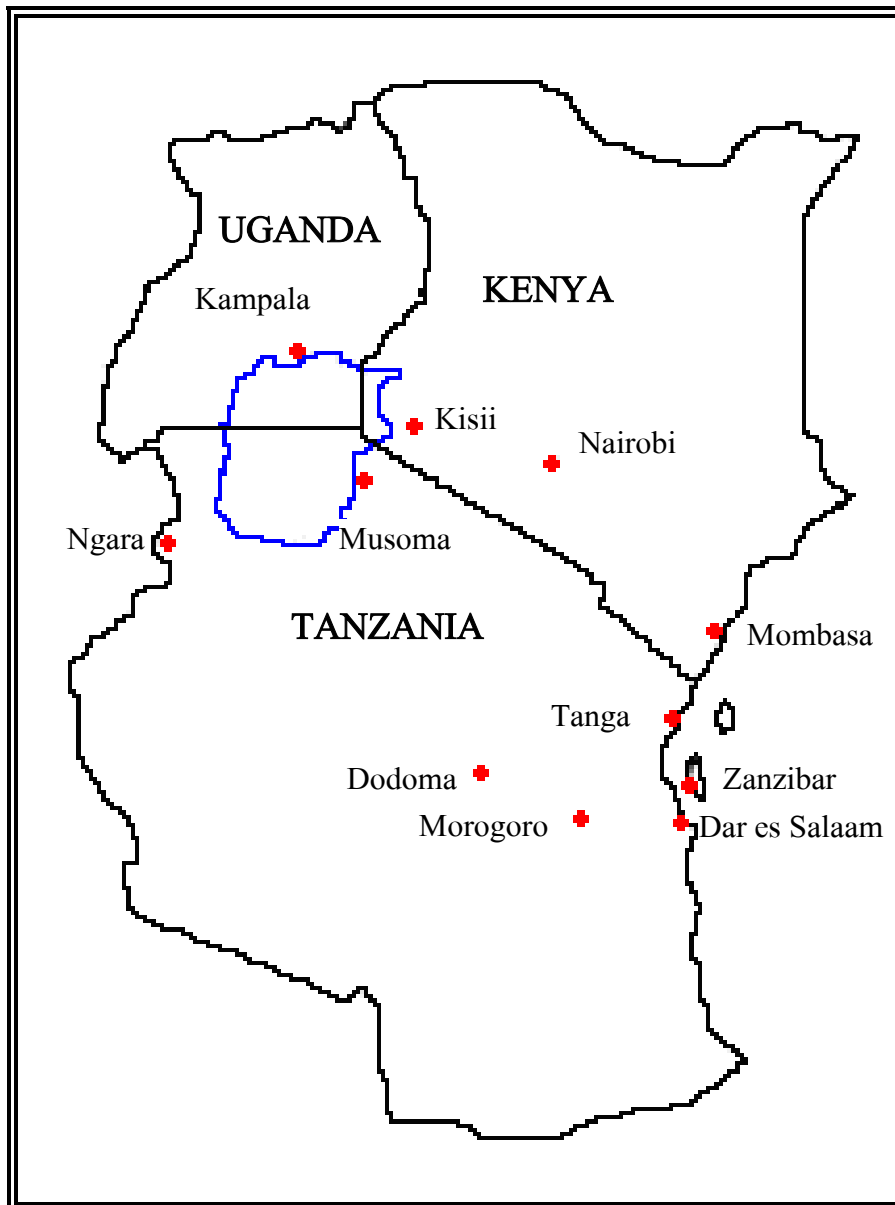
⁴⁹ The verse from *Al-Fatiha* reads: The Way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace, not (the way) of those who earned Your Anger (**such as the Jews**), nor of those who went astray (**such as the Christian**). The emphasis is by El-Ezabi, who further comments that as the edition is "the official 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).

⁵⁰ The second edition in 1974 included this statement '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



(Map based on Davies 1973:13; drawn and lettered by Synchrotron Partners: PMC & JAC)

Figure 7.1: Cover and a page from *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani*

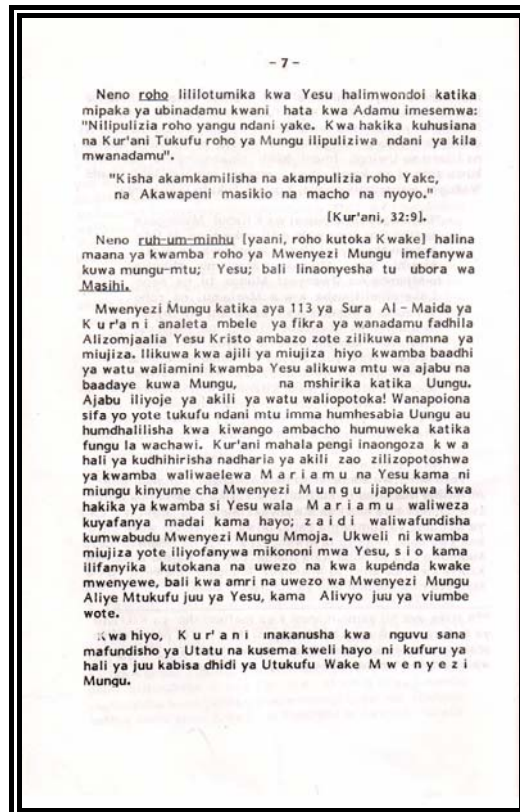
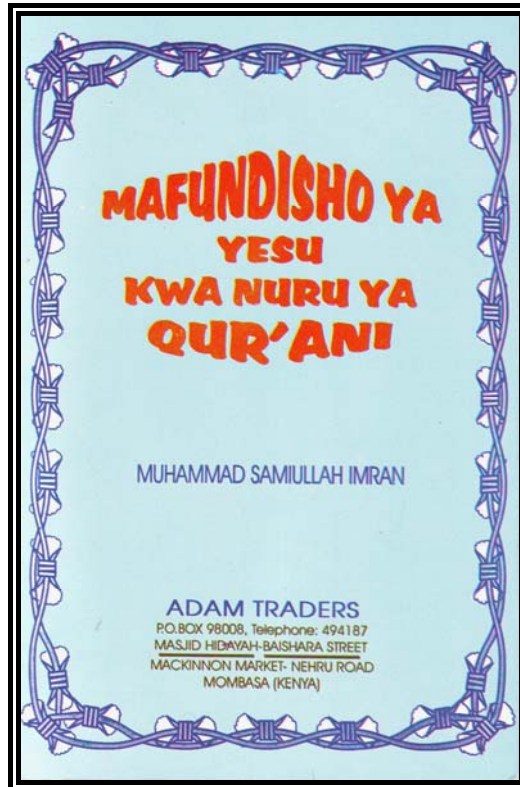


Figure 7.2: Cover and a page from
Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu

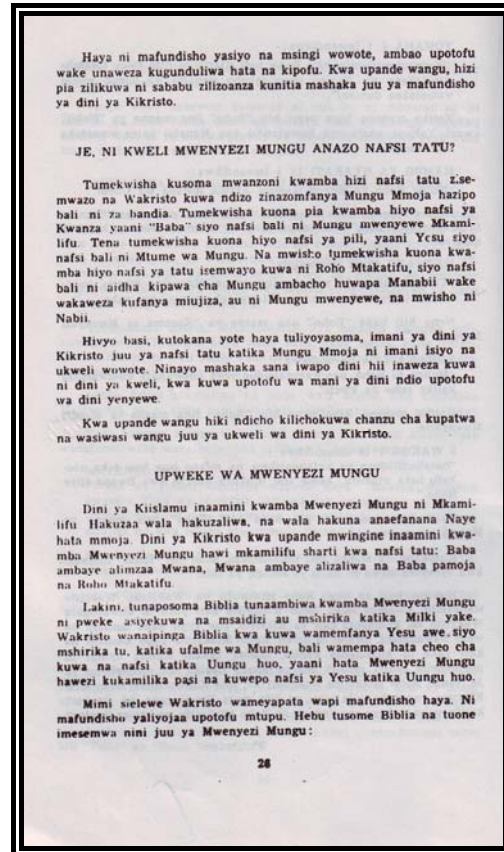
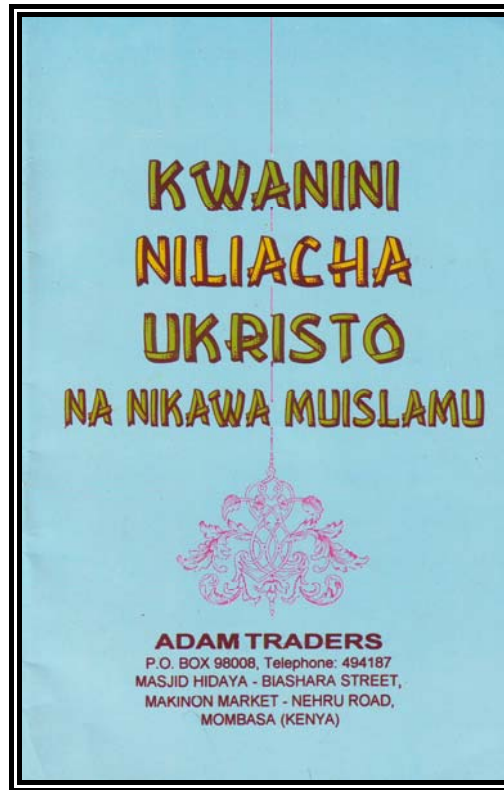


Figure 7.3: Cover and a page from *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*

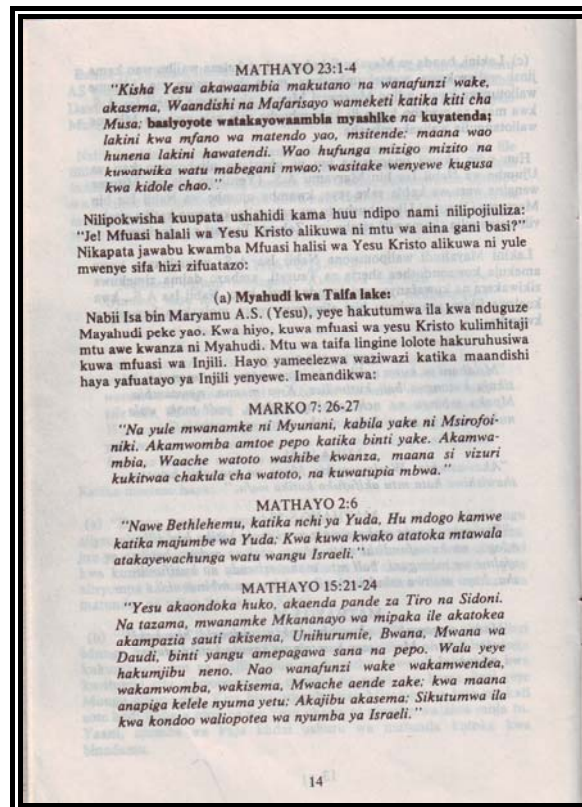
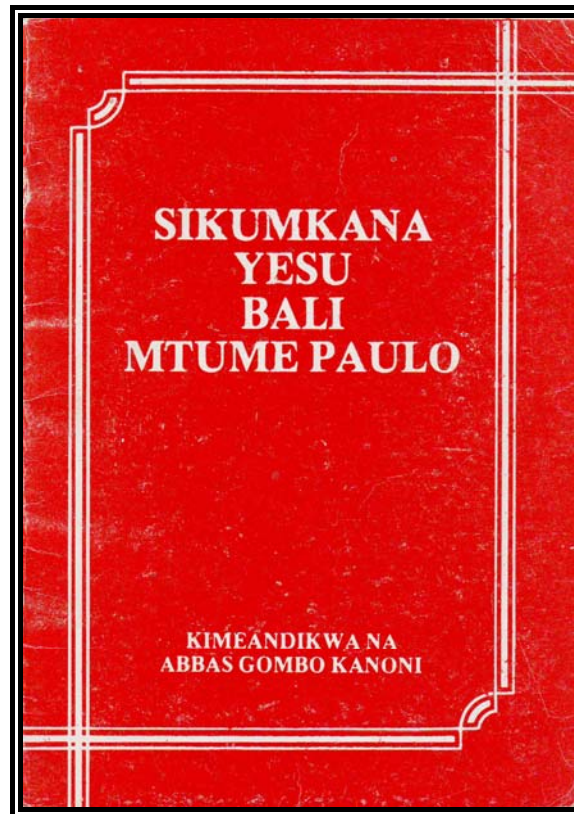


Figure 7.4: Cover and a page from *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*

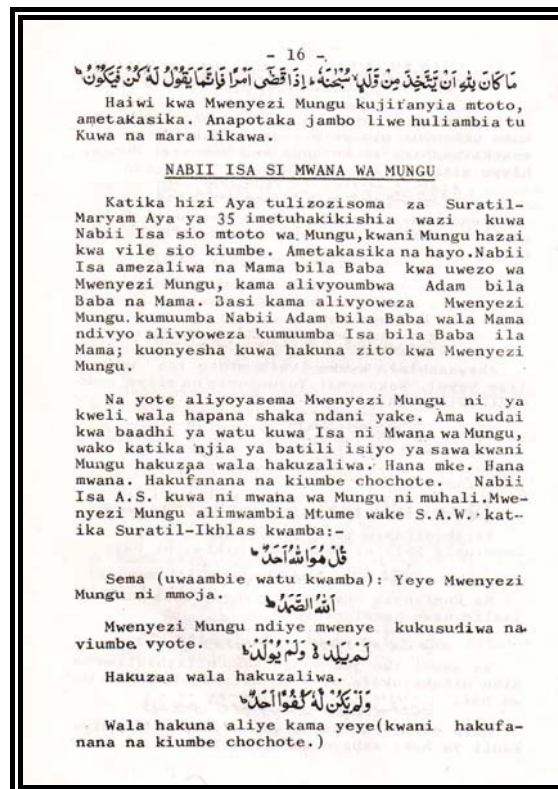
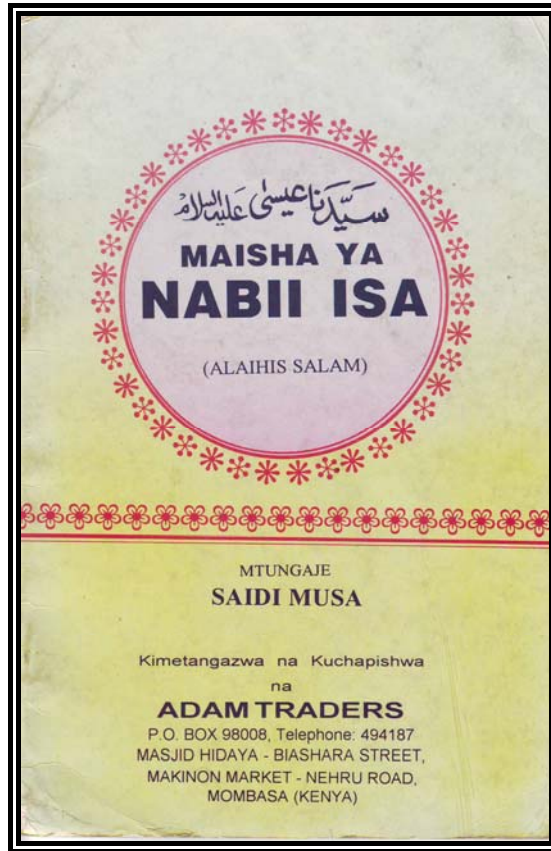


Figure 7.5: Cover and a page from *Uislamu Katika Biblia*

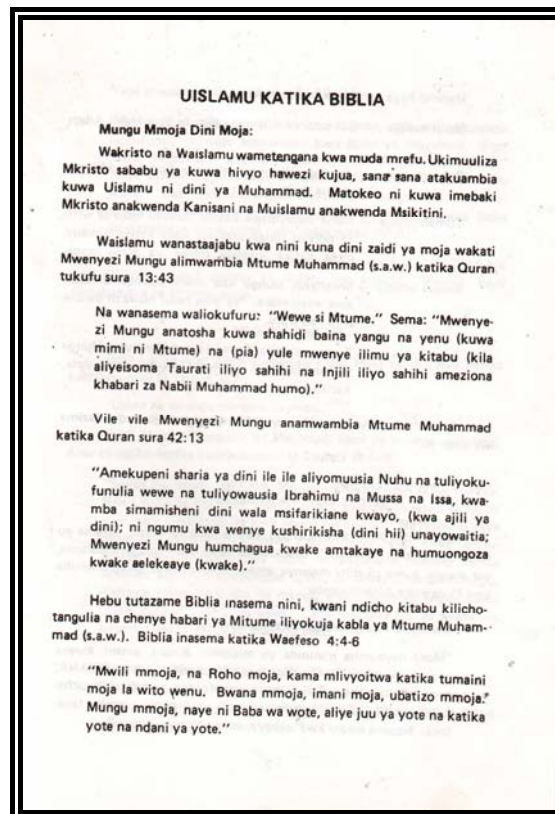
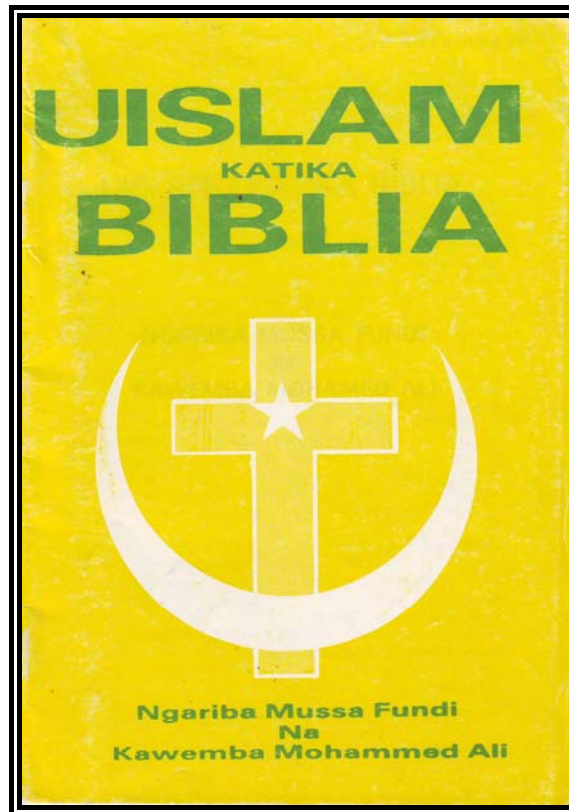


Figure 7.6: Showing cover and a page from *Injili ya Barnaba*

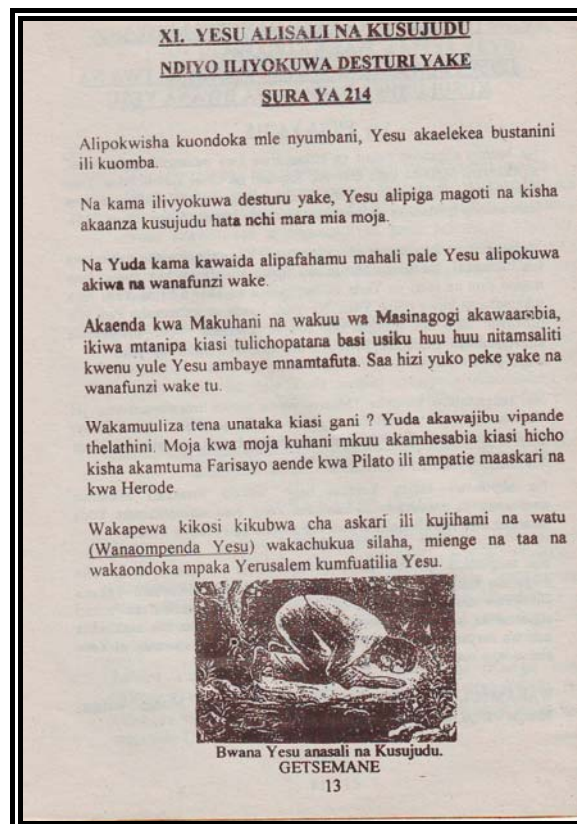
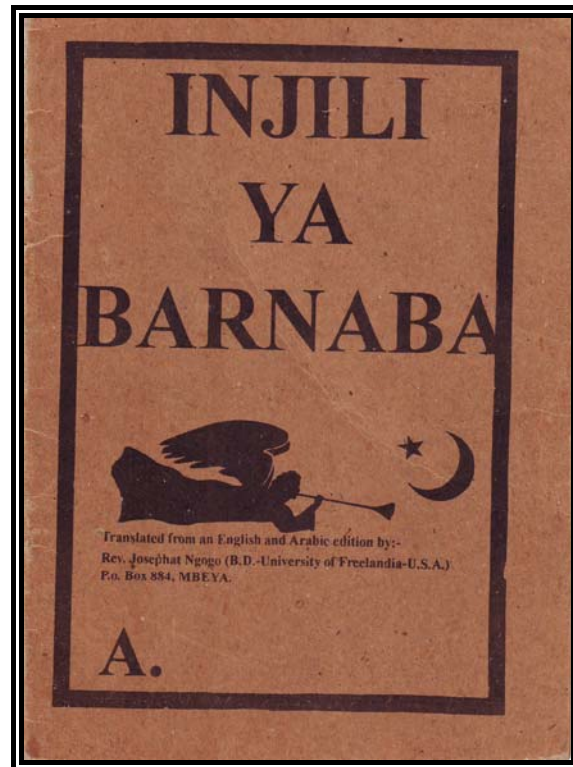
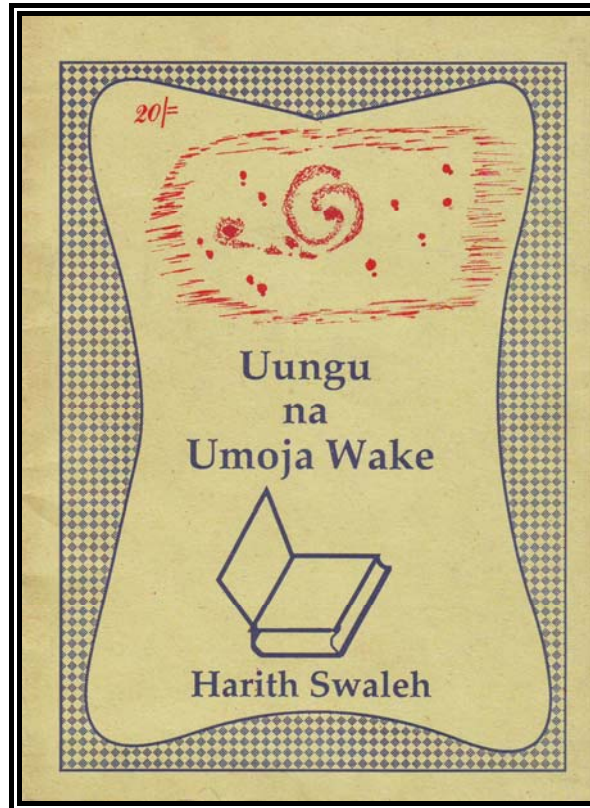


Figure 7.7: Cover and a page from *Uungu na Umoja Wake*



20

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 ukurasa wa 570 na 571 "Tamshi la 'Ahad", ni yule ambae hana mwenzi, hataraji msaidizi wala badala."

"Tamshi hili halitumiki katika njia ya thibitisho isipokuwa tu kwa Mngu kwani yeye ndie alokamilika katika sifa zake na vitendo vyake."

"Maana ya 'As-wamad" amesema Ikramah akipokea kwa Ibnu Abbas kwamba "As-wamad" ni yule ambae viumbe vyote wanamuhitaja katika mambo yao. Na amesema Ali bin Aby-twalha akipokea kwa Ibnu Abbas kwamba maana ya 'As-wamad" ni bwana aliyekamilika katika ubwana wake na mtukufu alietimia katika utukufu wake na bora aliekomaa katika ubora wake. Na amesema Sufi-an bin Mansur maana ya "As-wamad" ni yule ambae hana undani." (Emptiness).

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" haliwezi kutumika katika hesabu."

"Lakini Abu-Habban amekataa maneno haya kwa kusema kwamba kwatumika "Ahadu wa-lshruna" kwa hivyo huwa limeingia katika hesabu."

"Amesema Azzujaaj maana ya "Aswamad" ni bwana alifikia kilele katika ubwana wake, kwa hivyo hapana bwana juu yake."

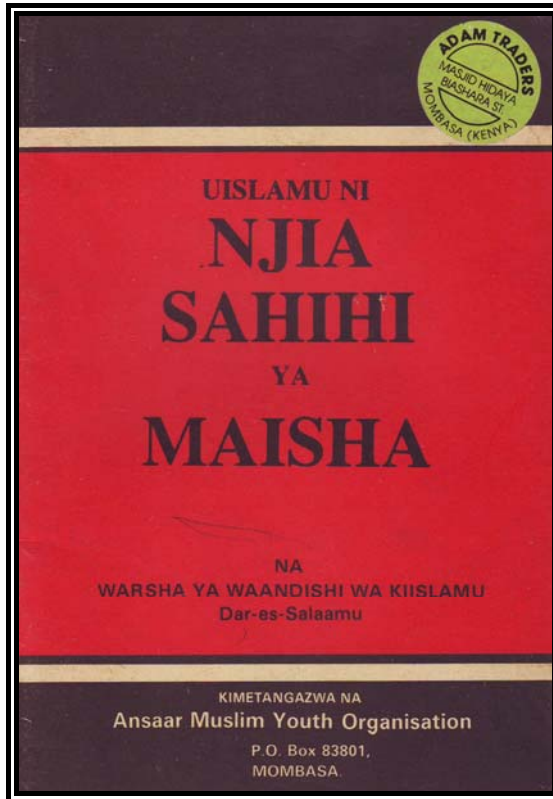
Na amesema Sheikh Abi-Al-Qassim Al-Hussein bin Muhammad bin Al-Fadhl Al-Raghib Al-As-Fihani katika chuo chake "Al-Mufradaat fi-gharib Al-Qur-an katika herufi ya elifu ukurasa wa 10 kwamba "Tamshi la "Ahad" lina vigawanyo viwili: Cha kukanusha na kuthibithisha. Tukija kati upande wa kukanusha inaweza kutumiwa kwa namna nyingi: Namna ya kwanza kuambatanishwa katika hesabu. Namna ya pili hutegemezwa katika tamshi jengine. Na namna ya tatu hutumiwa kama sifa na hapo haliwezi kutumika isipokuwa kwa Mngu tu"

Hebu tumkaribishe Sheikh Muhammad Hassanain Mukhluf katika chuo chake "Swafwa Al-Bayan li-Maani-Al-qur-ani ukurasa wa 831 na 832 amesema "Maana ya "Ahad" ni kwamba Mngu ni mmoja, katika Uungu wake, na Uola wake. Umoja uliokamilika."

"Maana ya "As-wamad" ni bwana asokuwa na bwana juu yake, na ni bwana ambae viumbe vya gaa gaa mbele yake na kutaka awatimizie mahitaji yao"

Amesema Sheikh Muhammad Abdoh katika tafsiri yake ya

Figure 7.8: Cover and a page from *Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha*



ya kuwa kuna Dini nyingine Sahihi (ya kweli mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu) kuliko hii moja kama wanavyodai Wakristo, Mayahudi (Juddaists) na watu wa dini nyinginezo si kweli kabisa na wala hawana uthibitisho wowote juu yamadai yao. Ndio maana Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) kabla ya kupewa Utume, pamoja na kwamba alikutana na Mayahudi na Wakristo, hukuvutia kabisa na dini zao kwa sababu hakuona tofauti yoyote iliyopo kati ya hao waliosema kuwa wanaamini na wale jamaa zake Makuraysh ambao hawakuamini. Maovu yote yaliyokuwa yakifanywa na Makuraysh ambayo yalikuwa yakimkera sana aliyakuta yakifanywa vile vile na Mayahud na Wakristo. Kwa mfano jamaa zake walikuwa walevi, wazinifu, wacheza kamari, waonevu, wanyanganyi, waongo, walaghai, na kadhalika, Mayahudi na Wakristo nao walikuwa wakifanya maovu hayo hayo. Baada ya kupewa Utume, Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) alifahamishwa na Mola wake kuwa dini ni moja tu na Ndio Dini ya Mitume wote waliletwa hapa ulimwenguni. Qur'an Tukufu inatueleza haya katika Sura ya 42 (Ash-Shura) Aya ya 13):

تَرَى لَكُمْ دِينَ الْبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِذْ جَاءُوا مُوسَى بِأَفْئِدَتِهِمْ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِ الْبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ لِيخْرِجَهُمْ مِنَ الْبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَبِعَثِبَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَقِيلَ لَهُمْ كَيْفَ تَصُدُّونَهُمْ عَنِ دِينِهِمْ آلِهَةٍ وَلَكُمْ دِينٌ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِمْ وَكُلٌّ كُفَّارُونَ

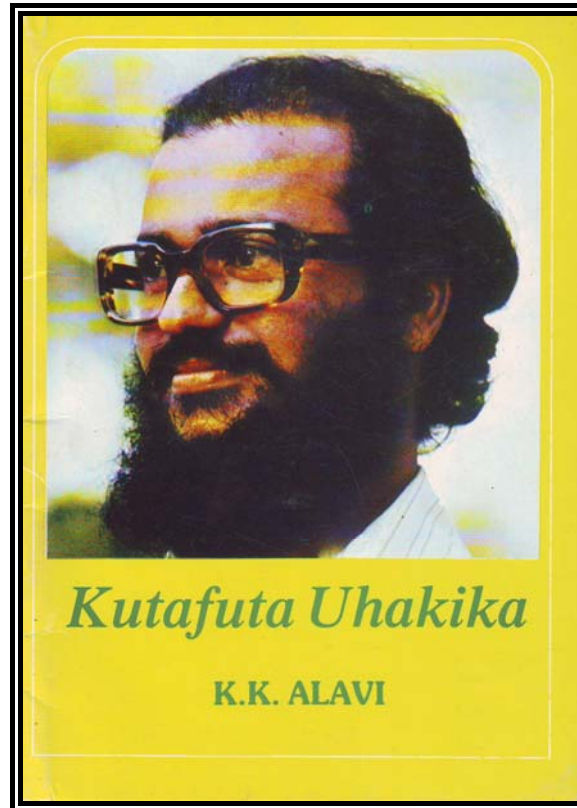
“Amekupeni Sharia ya dini ile ile aliyomwusia Nuhu na tuliyokufunulia wewe na tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa, kwamba simamisheni dini wala msifarikiane kwayo, (kwa ajili ya dini); ni ngumu kwa washirikina (dini hii) unayowatia; (42:13).

Pia katika Sura ya 3 (Al-Imran) Aya ya 84 Mwenyezi Mungu (s.w.) Anatuambia:

قُلْ آمَنَّا بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أُنزِلَ عَلَيْنَا وَمَا آتَانَا مِن رَّبِّنَا مِن شَيْءٍ نُنْفِرُ بِهِ وَإِنَّا لَمُسلِمُونَ

“Sema: ‘Tumemwamini Mwenyezi Mungu, na yale tuliyoteremshiwa na yale yaliyoteremshiwa Ibrahim na Ismail na Ishak na Yaakub na wajukuu na yale aliyopewa Musa na Isa na Manabii wengine kutoka kwa Mola wao. Hatubagui bana yao hata mmoja, na sisi tunanyenyekea Kwake.’” (3: 84)

Figure 7.9: Cover and a page from *Kutafuta Uhakika*



Nilifikia uamuzi kwamba Mungu amenena neno lake ya kuwa anawasamehe wenye dhambi wote kwa njia ya Kristo pekee, kwa njia ya mauti yake msalabani, na kufufuka kwake katika wafu. Nilipozidi kusoma Biblia, ilinena nami, ikaondoa mashaka yangu yote.

Hata hivyo, swali hili lilinisumbua sana mawazo yangu. Je! vipi kuhusu Muhammad ambaye Kurani inadaidai kwamba kuja kwake kulitabiriwa na Yesu?

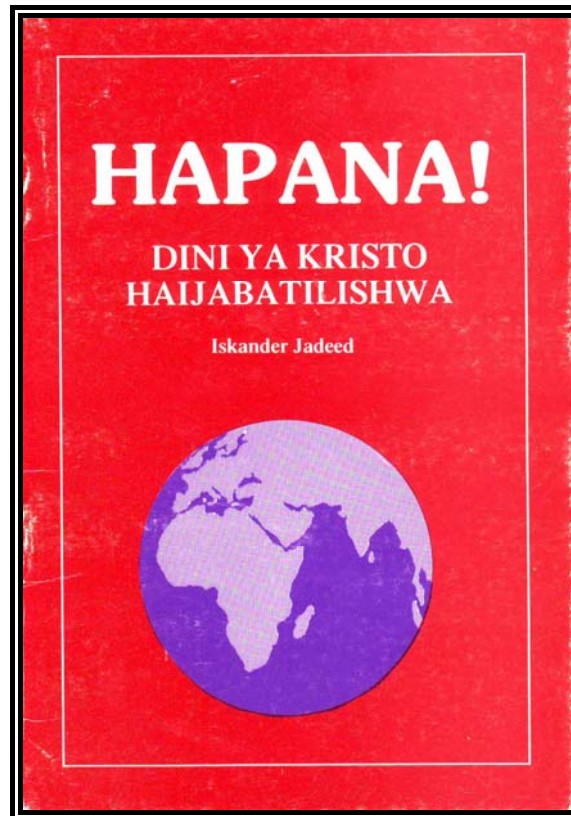
وَأَذَقْنَا لِعِيسَى ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ بِذُنُوبِهِ إِسْرَافًا لِيَقُولَ لِلَّهِ إِلَهًا مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ وَمُبَشِّرًا لِرَسُولِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّهُمْ سَخِرْنَا كِبَاةً لَهُمْ بِالْبَيْتِ قَالُوا هَذَا سِحْرٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿٦١﴾

“Na aliposema Isa bin Mariamu: Enyi wana wa Israili! Mimi ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu kwenu, nisadiki-shaye yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati, ni kutoa habari njema ya Mtume atakayejia nyuma yangu ambaye jina lake litakuwa Ahmad (yaani Mwenye kushukuriwa). Lakini alipowajia kwa hoja zilizo wazi, walisema: Huu ni udanganyifu uliyo dhahiri” (61:6).

Neno la Kiarabu la “Mwenye Kushukuriwa” ni Ahmad, ambalo lina maana sawa na Muhammad. Je! maandiko haya hayana maana kuwa Yesu alinena habari za kuja kwa Muhammad? Hivyo ndivyo nilivyokuwa nimefundishwa, tena nikaamini hivyo.

Nilichunguza Biblia ili nione jinsi ilivyokuwa ikisema juu ya Muhammad, lakini sikuona kitu. Niliwauliza waalimu wangu nao wakasema kwamba hakuna jambo hilo. Wakati niliposoma kitabu cha Kiislamu kilicho na maelezo au tafsiri ya Kurani, niliona kwamba wamenukulu aya fulani za Biblia ambazo zinahusiana na sura

Figure 7.10: Cover and a page from *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatilishwa*



alikufa, ijapokuwa wafafanuzi wengine wameshikilia kabisa ile tafsiri ya moja kwa moja ya maneno haya, "Hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubu" (Surat An Nisaa: 157). Kwanza kabisa kati ya vifungu hivyo ni maneno ya Kurani ambako Mwenyezi Mungu anasema kwamba: "Ewe Isa bin Maryamu! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu 'Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu?' Aseme (Nabii Isa) 'Wewe umetakasika ... Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale uliyoniamrisha ... na uliponikamilisha muda wangu, Wewe ukawa mchungaji juu yao'" (Surat Al Maidah: 116, 117). (Linganisha na maneno ya Muh. Ali yaliyo katika ukurasa wa 276, kuhusu vifungu hivi 116-117.)

Kuna ushahidi mwingi kuhusu kifo cha Kristo. Nimeutaja ushahidi huo katika kitabu kiitwacho, "Msalaba katika Injili na Kurani." Unaweza kupata nakala ya kitabu hiki kutoka kwa:

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

**Je, Uislamu Unabatilisha
Dini Zingine Zote Zilizotangulia?**

Kuna fikira iliyoenea sana kati ya Waislamu kwamba Kurani imebatilisha dini ya Mungu tunayoipata katika Torati na Injili. Wengi wao wameshikilia sana maoni hayo. Wanakabiliana nasi wakiwa na maamuzi fulani ya ajabu.

6

Figure 7.11: Cover and a page from
Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu

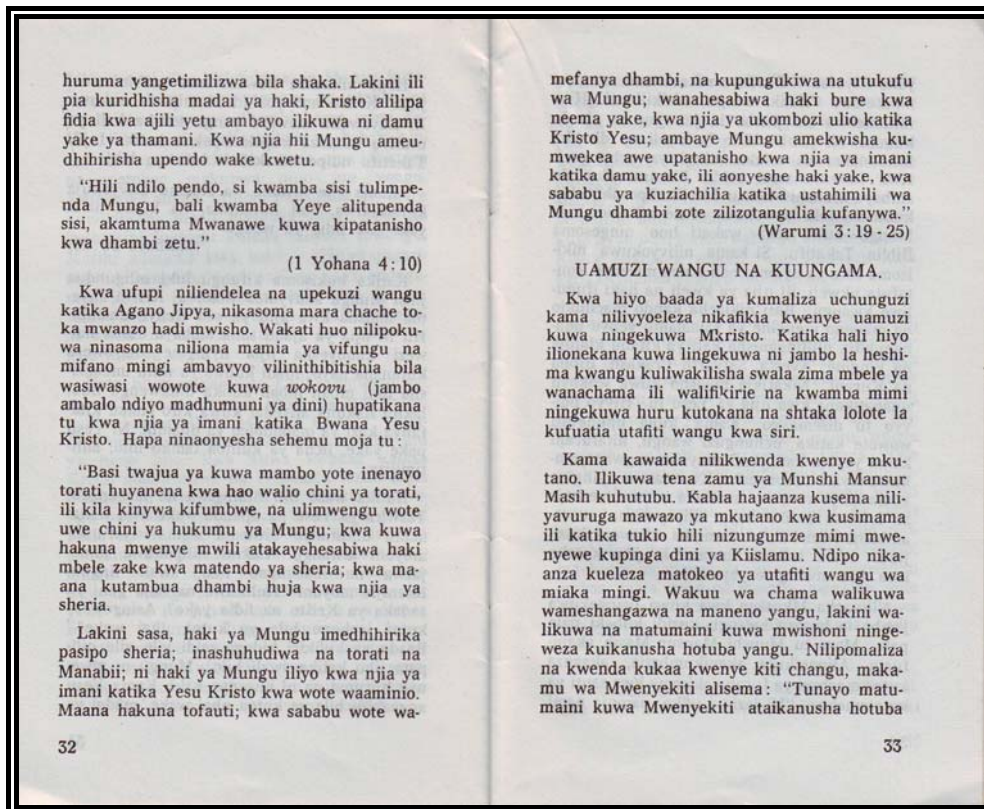
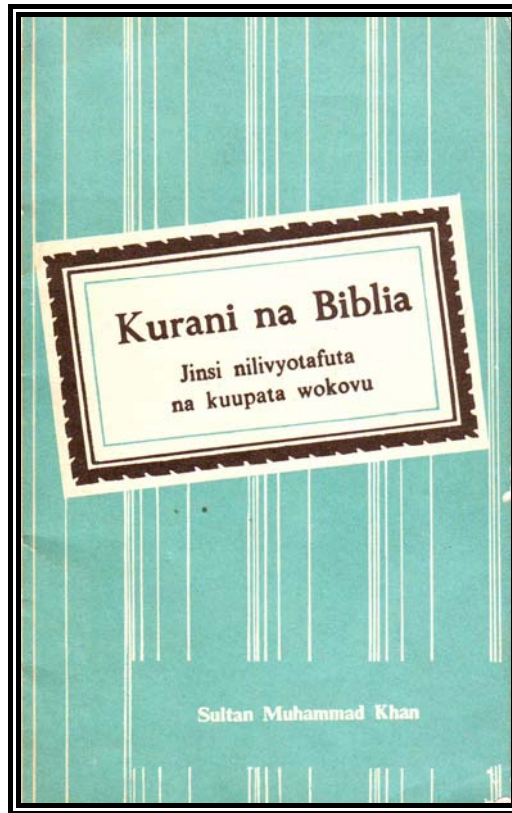
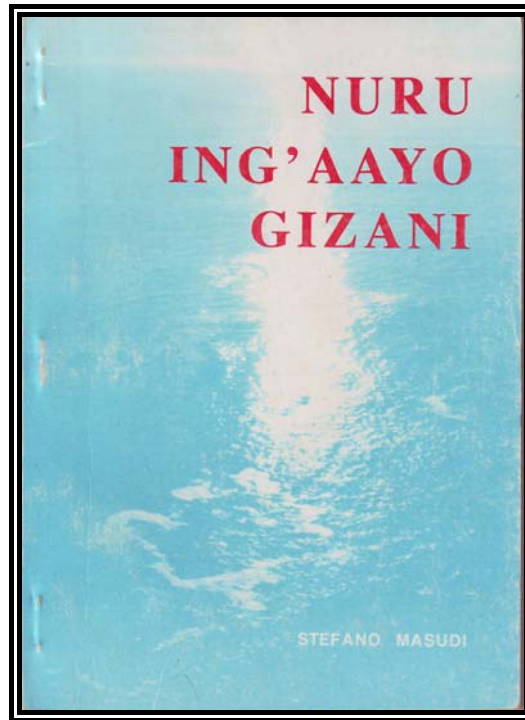


Figure 7.12: Cover and a page from *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli*



"Kama bado hatuamini, je, tutasemaje juu ya Roho Mtakatifu anayetajwa katika kitabu cha Matendo ya mitume? Mwanafunzi mmoja wa Yesu aliyetwa Petro aliwahi kumkana Kristo mara tatu. Lakini baada ya kushukiwa na nguvu za Roho Mtakatifu, alihubiri kwa ujasiri katikati ya umati wa watu akisema, "Enyi watu wa Israeli sikilizeni maneno haya. Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyedhihirishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miujiza na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake kati yenu ...?eye ... Mkamsulibisha kwa mikono ya watu wabaya, mkamwua ... Basi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kwamba Mungu amefanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulibisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo" (Matendo ya Mitume 2:22, 23, 36).

Nilikuwa nimeshangaa kwa ujasiri nilokuwa nao wa kuyasema maneno yote haya. Na wakati nimeishika ile Biblia na kuisoma, nilikuwa ninaziona nguvu za Mungu zikitenda kazi pale msikitini jioni ile. Nilivuta pumzi na kutulia kwa muda. Je, niseme maneno gani tena? Nikaona ni lazima niseme neno moja la mwisho. "Baada ya kusikia maneno haya yote ndugu zangu, kwa nini tunaendelea kuyasikiliza mafundisho yaliyopotoka na kujadiliana mambo ambayo hayana ukweli ndani yake?"

Kama ningeishia hapa, naamini mambo yangukuwa mazuri, lakini nilishindwa kunyamaza. Kimoyo moyo nilianza kujisifu na kujiona ni mtu mashuhuri kwa vile Mungu alikuwa upande wangu. Na kwa vile nilikuwa bado ni mtoto na pasipo hekima, hali hii ilinitia kiburi kiasi cha kunifanya nianze kuongea kwa ukali huku nikilipinga wazo la kusema ati Ghulam Ahmed alikuwa ni Mesiya yaani ndiye Kristo.

"Je, ni ukweli upi tunaopaswa kuamini? Nasikia watu wakisema ati mwanzilishi wetu Mirza Ghulam Ahmed amekuja kwa njia ya Kristo. Kama jambo hili ni kweli, ninataka niwaulizeni, je, kullitokea nini kutokana na ishara zilizotajwa katika Biblia? Wanafunzi wa Kristo walitabiri kuwa Yesu atakaporudi mara ya pili, mbingu zitatoweka kwa sauti kuu na vilivyomo kuyeyuka kwa joto. Sehemu nyingine imeandikwa, "Tazameni atakuja mawinguni na kila jicho litamwona."

"Ni wazi kuwa ni watu wachache sana duniani wanaomfahamu Mirza Ghulam Ahmed. Kufuatana na imani yetu, yeye ndiye aliyepaswa awaleta Wakristo wawe Waislamu kabla hajafa. Je, hii imetokea hivyo?"

"Ninawauliza tena, Je, ni ukweli upi tunaopaswa kuamini ...?" Nilikuwa nikitetemea na nikasikia sauti moyoni ikiniambia, "Masudi, acha sasa kuongea! kaa chini!"

Huku miguu yangu ikitetemea, nilijaribu kuendelea kuongea. Mara kama mtu anayeoleta ndoto, niliuona umati wote ukinisogelea na baba yangu akaja mara moja pale mbele. Akanipiga kofi la nguvu nami nikaanguka chini. Watu wengine wakaja juu yangu wakiniipiga kwa ngumi na mateke. Mara giza lilinifunika na nikapotelewa na fahamu.

Figure 7.13: First page of *Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili*

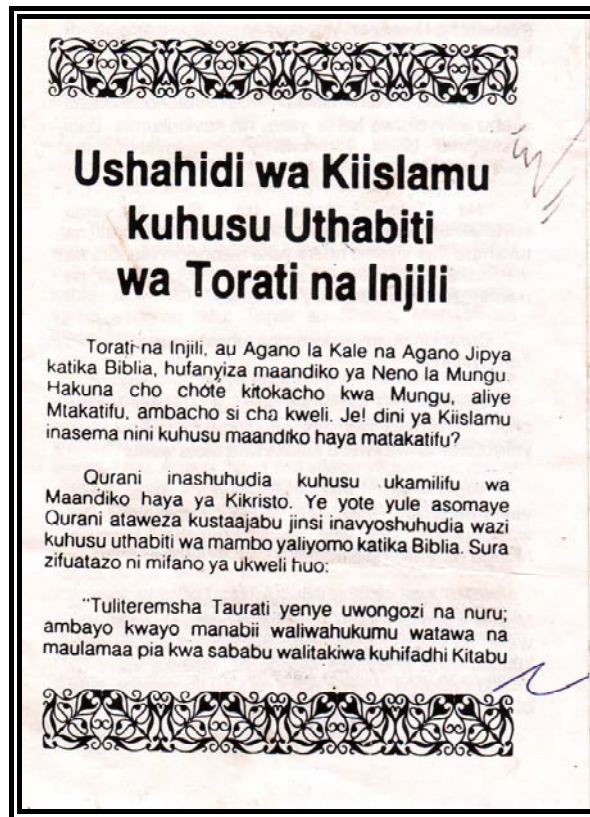


Figure 7.14: First page of *Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini*

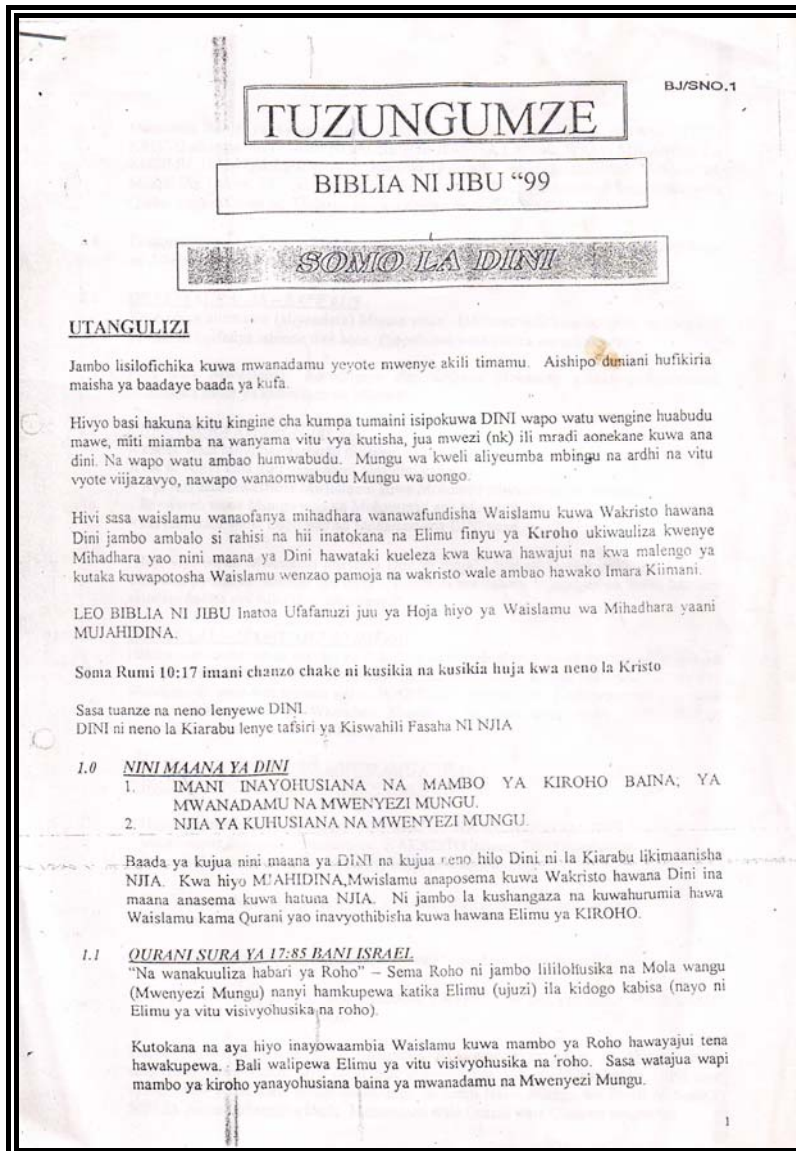


Figure 7.15: First page of *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

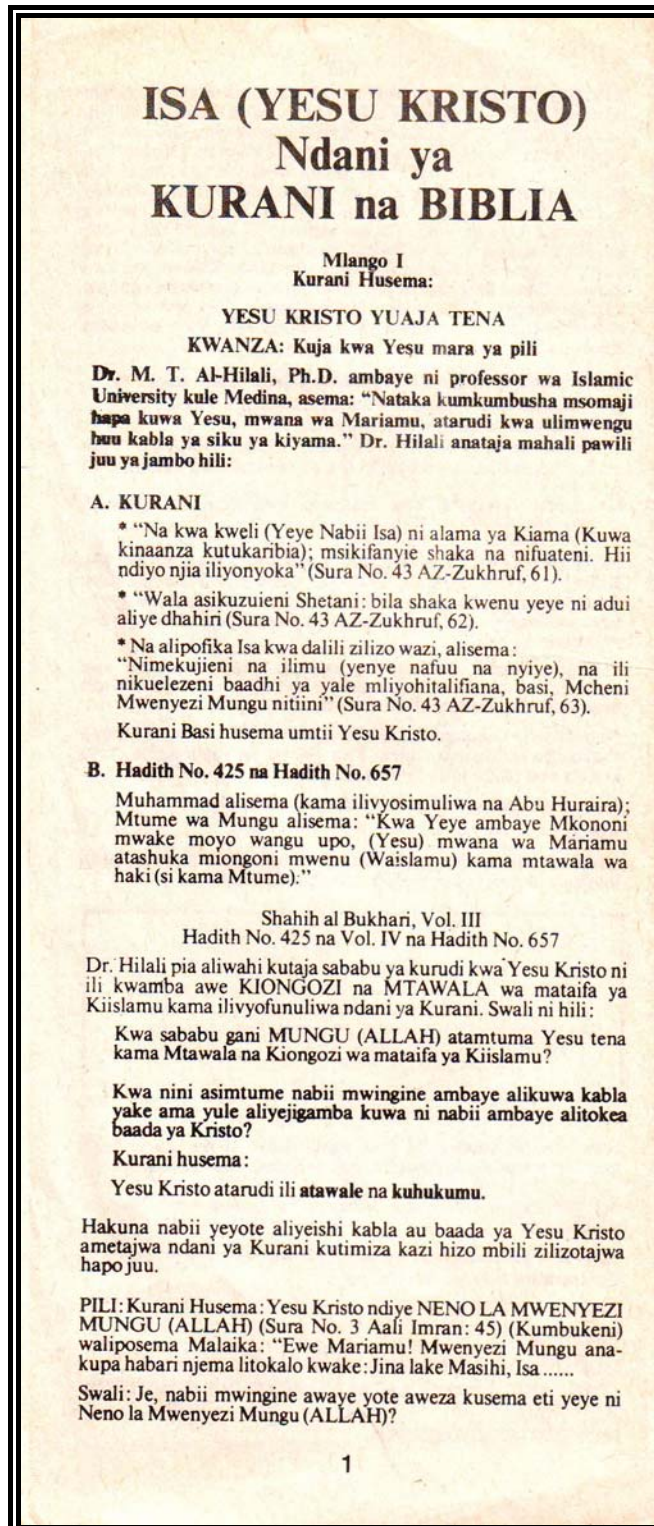
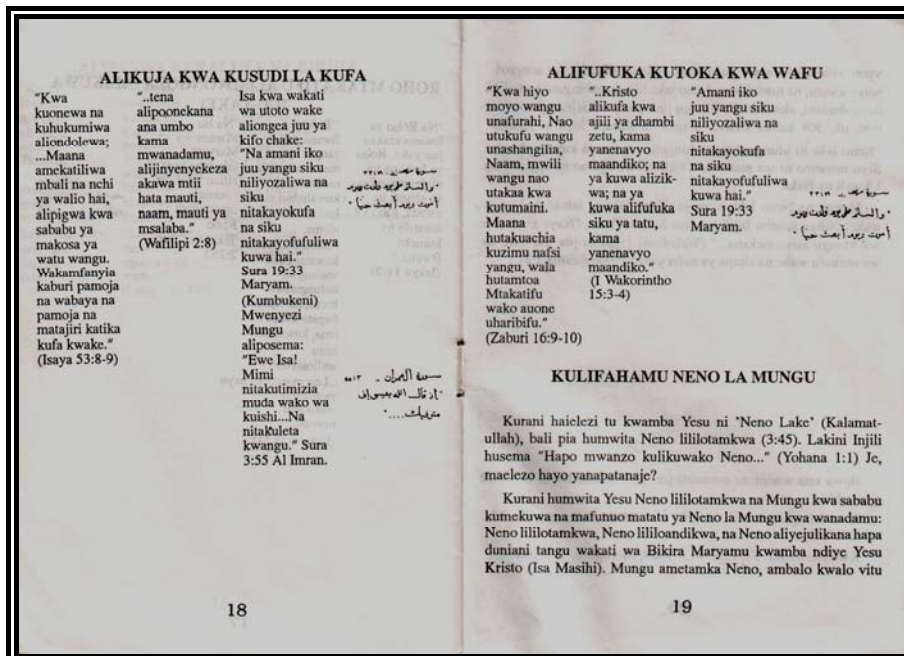
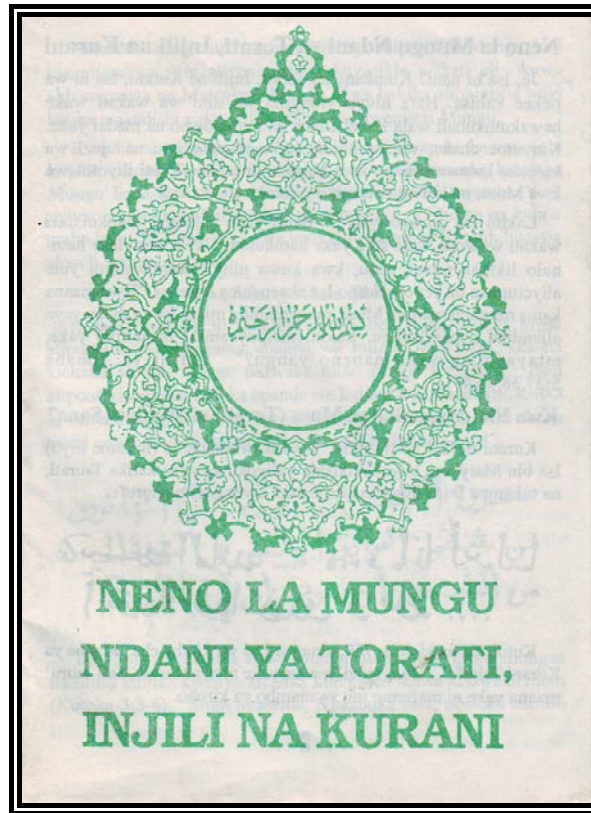


Figure 7.16: Cover and a page from *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*



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 *tawḥīd* 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: *tawḥīd* 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:

Al-Nisā'(4):171; *Al-Mā'ida* (5):72-78;
Al-Mā'ida (5):116-119; *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112):1-4
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:	<i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):45-51; <i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5):111-115
Death of Jesus:	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (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, *tahrīf*

This chapter deals with the three remaining themes:

Jesus and Muḥammad:

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

tahrīf(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

	Eight Muslim tracts	Eight Christian tracts	Combined average
Average Number of pages	45 pages	30 pages	37 pages

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 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. 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

	Average number of passages of scripture in Muslim tracts	Average number of passages of scripture in Christian tracts	Combined average
Qur'ān	22 passages (26) ¹	17 passages (17)	20 passages (21)
Bible	56 passages (89)	21 passages (24)	39 passages (51)

¹ 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 Qur'ān, 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 Qur'ān. 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.⁴ See Appendix Two for details of the contents of the tracts.⁵

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: *Kikrsito* for *Kikristo* (Imran [Tract 1]:10); *Al-Mā'ida* (5):46 [not 146 as given] (Imran [Tract 1]:10); *Al-Baqara* (2):21 [listed as *Sūra al-Aḥzāb* (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.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'ān, and seven passages from the Bible, together with a special section on *tahrīf*, with three short passages from the Bible, were chosen.

Qur'ānic Passages

Āl 'Imrān (3):45-51

Al-Nisā' (4):157-159

Al-Nisā' (4):171

Al-Mā'ida (5):72-78

Al-Mā'ida (5):111-115

Al-Mā'ida (5):116-119

Al-Shūrā (42):13

Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4

Biblical Passages

Deuteronomy 18:16-20

Isaiah 45:18-22

Matthew 15:21-28

John 14:15-17, 25-26

Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36

Romans 3:19-25

Philippians 2:5-8

'Special Section' on *tahrīf* (Corruption):

Matthew 10:23; John 1:18; Jude 1:14

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.

⁶ As the size of the spreadsheets are a grid of 20 columns by 278 rows for the references from the Qur'ān 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: *tawhīd* or Trinity? (The Unity of God): *Al-Nisā'* (4):171; *Al-Mā'ida* (5):72-78, 116-119 and *Al-Iklās* (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 'Imrān* (3):45-51 and *Al-Mā'ida* (5):111-115; The death of Jesus, *Al-Nisā'*(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.⁷ 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 Passsages and (b) Qur'ānic 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

		Deut. 18:16-20	Isaiah 45: 18-22	Matthew 15: 21-28	John 14: 15-17, 25-26	Acts 2: 22-23, 36	Romans 3:19-25	Philip. 2:5-8	Corruption Matthew 10:23 John 1:18 Jude 1:14
1	<i>Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani</i>								
2	<i>Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
3	<i>Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo</i>			✓			✓		
4	<i>Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)</i>								
5	<i>Uislamu Katika Biblia</i>	✓	✓	✓				✓	
6	<i>Injili ya Barnaba</i>								
7	<i>Uungu na Umoja Wake</i>								
8	<i>Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha</i>								
9	<i>Kutafuta Uhakika</i>				✓				
10	<i>Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa</i>								
11	<i>Kurani na Biblia:</i>						✓		
12	<i>Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani:</i>	✓			✓	✓			
13	<i>Ushahidi wa Kiislamu</i>								
14	<i>Tuzungumze</i>								
15	<i>Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia</i>						✓	✓	
16	<i>Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani</i>			✓				✓	

(b) Qur'ānic Passages

		<i>Āl Imrān</i> (3): 45-51	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 157-159	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4):171	<i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5): 72-78	<i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5): 111-115	<i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5): 116-119	<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42):13	<i>Al-Iklās</i> (112): 1-4
1	<i>Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	<i>Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu</i>								
3	<i>Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo</i>				✓				
4	<i>Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)</i>	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
5	<i>Uislamu Katika Biblia</i>				✓			✓	
6	<i>Injili ya Barnaba</i>								
7	<i>Uungu na Umoja Wake</i>								✓
8	<i>Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha</i>							✓	
9	<i>Kutafuta Uhakika</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
10	<i>Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa</i>						✓	✓	
11	<i>Kurani na Biblia:</i>								
12	<i>Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani:</i>		✓						
13	<i>Ushahidi wa Kiislamu</i>								
14	<i>Tuzungumze</i>								
15	<i>Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia</i>	✓		✓		✓			
16	<i>Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani</i>								

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:

Title of tract in Swahili

- 1 Author's name, and year of birth, where known, or the organisation, when the tract is anonymous
- 2 Title, in Swahili with an English translation
- 3 Place of publication and publisher
- 4 Date of publication, if known
- 5 Length of tract, and details of binding
- 6 Language of tract and details of translator, where known
- 7 Where the tract was printed, where indicated
- 8 Details about a Signed Preface or Introduction
- 9 Total number of passages of scripture cited in the tract
- 10 Details of where and when the copy was obtained
- 11 Details of additional copies obtained and any additional information
- 12 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'.

Eirenic: 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'ān)
- 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'ān: 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'ān 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'ān. 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 All that can be

⁸ In Swahili it says "*Muhammad Samiullah Imran ni mwandishi maarufu kwa lugha ya kizungu ambao ametunga vitabu karibu hamsini. Anatumikia 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'ān. 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'ānic 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 Qur'ān 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 'Imrān (3):45-51
Al-Nisā' (4):157-159
Al-Nisā' (4):171
Al-Mā'ida (5):72-78
Al-Mā'ida (5):111-115
Al-Mā'ida (5):116-119
Al-Shūrā (42):13
Al-Iklāf (112):1-4

[2] *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

- 1 Abbas Gombo **Kanoni** (born 1933)
- 2 *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*
(Why I left Christianity and I became a Muslim)
- 3 Mombasa: Adam Traders
- 4 no date
- 5 100 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili
- 7 Printed in India
- 8 Preface by Ali Mohamed Ali Darrany, Mombasa
Foreword by Abbas Gombo Kanoni, Arusha
- 9 Qur'ān: 11 Texts
Bible: 212 Texts
- 10 Purchased Jabal-Hira Mosque, Morogoro, Tanzania, February 2000
- 11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa, Kenya at Abdallah Said Ltd. December 2000
Also author of *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*
- 12 Not listed in ISIM Catalogue

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).⁹ 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 final section, (pages 69-100) introduces Muḥammad as a Prophet foretold in the Bible, in the Old Testament and the New Testament, by Jesus and by John, in the Book of Revelation. The author also uses the *Gospel of Barnabas* (pages 89-91). The tract concludes by comparing Christianity with Islam.

The quotes from the Qurʾān are from *Kurani Tukufu* (Aḥmadi).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*.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).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
Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36
Special section on 'Corruption'
Matthew 10:23
John 1:18
Jude 1:14

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 Aḥmadi translation was the only one available to him.

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.

¹² *Kila mtu atakaye kisoma kitabu hiki ataona kuamua kwangu kuiacha dini ya Kikristo hakukufanywa kwa sababu ya tamaa fulani, bali kulifanywa kwa sababu ya ukweli ambao tumekwisha kuuona* (page 99).

[3] *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*

- 1 Abbas Gombo **Kanoni** (born 1933)
- 2 *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*
(I did not deny Jesus, rather the Apostle Paul)
- 3 Nairobi: The Islamic Dawah and Irshad
- 4 no date
- 5 40 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili
- 7 Printed in Mombasa, Kenya
- 8 Preface by Ali Mohamed Ali Darani, Islamic Dawah & Irshad, Nairobi
- 9 Qur'ān: 11 Texts
Bible: 143 Texts
- 10 Purchased Jabal-Hira Mosque, Morogoro, Tanzania, February 2000
- 11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa, Kenya, at Abdallah Said Ltd. December 2000,
with a different cover
- 12 Gerard van de Bruinhorst collected a copy for ISIM, dating publication as 1995

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 Muislamu?*

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,¹³ 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*¹⁴ (Why I left Christianity and Converted to Islam). He concludes using a number of passages from the Qur'ān 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).¹⁵

The quotes from the Qur'ān are from *Qurani Takatifu* (al-Farsy), rather than *Kurani Tukufu* (Aḥmadi), 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'ān (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; Boshia 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) ilikuwa ni kutaka kuizima Nuru ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na badala yake kupanda Giza.*

influenced by the same material as Deedat, especially *Izhār al-ḥaqq* 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'ida (5):72-78

Matthew 15:21-28

Romans 3:19-25

¹⁶ Deedat acknowledged that *Izhār al-ḥaqq* 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).

[4] *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*

- 1 Saidi **Musa** (born 1944)
- 2 *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*
(The Life of the Prophet *ʿĪsā* (Peace be upon Him))
- 3 Mombasa: Adam Traders (Masjid Hidayah)
- 4 no date
- 5 40 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili, with Qurʾānic verses in Arabic
- 7 Printed in India
- 8 Preface by Abdulla Saleh Farsy (Chief Kadhi of Kenya), Mombasa, dated 1970
Introduction by author dated 1970
- 9 Qurʾān: 19 Texts
Bible: not quoted
- 10 Purchased on street in Dar es Salaam, February 2000
- 11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa at Abdallah Said Ltd., December 2000
- 12 Gerard van de Bruinhorst collected a copy for ISIM dating publication as ca. 1998

Saidi Musa is a prolific writer who has published several tracts and has been preparing a version of the Qurʾān 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.¹⁷ 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 *Īsā* (Jesus),¹⁸ using the Qurʾān 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 *Īsā* is not the Son of God (pages 16-18). *Īsā*'s life, upbringing and call are presented (pages 18-21). *Īsā* preaches to the people and they demand a miracle (pages 21-22). Various miracles are presented by *Īsā*, 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 Qurʾān are similar to *Qurani 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:

Āl Imrān (3):45-51
Al-Nisā' (4):157-159
Al-Mā'ida (5):72-78
Al-Mā'ida (5):111-115
Al-Mā'ida (5):116-119
Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4

¹⁸ Saidi Musa uses *Isa* for Jesus, rather than *Yesu*; where this appears *Īsā* is given rather than Jesus in the English translation. Several of the other tract writers use *Isa* interchanging it with *Yesu*.

¹⁹ *Mwenyezi Mungu hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa; wala hakujizaa kwani wakati aliokuwa hayuko*. The opening phrase is *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112):3 with an additional comment.

[5] *Uislamu Katika Biblia*

- 1 Mussa Fundi **Ngariba** (died 1993) & Mohammed Ali **Kawemba**
- 2 *Uislamu Katika Biblia*
(Islam in the Bible)
- 3 Zanzibar: Al-Khayria Press Ltd.
- 4 1987
- 5 34 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili
- 7 Printed in Zanzibar by Al-Khayria Press Ltd.
- 8 Preface by A.S. Suleiman
- 9 Qur'ān: 16 Texts
Bible: 76 Texts
- 10 Purchased Victory Bookshop, Dodoma, January 2000
- 11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa at Abdallah Said Ltd., December 2000
A further edition was published by Al-Khayria Press Ltd. in 2000, copy purchased Hurumizi Street Bookshop, Zanzibar Town, July 2003.
An English version, *Islam in the Bible*, was also published by Al-Khayria Press Ltd. in 1987 and has 33 pages.
An English version was also printed in Kenya by Nisha Printers Ltd. Mombasa in 1993.
- 12 Gerard van de Bruinhorst does not list a copy for ISIM, but he does list: *Mungu moja na dini ni moja* (One God and Religion is One) by Ngariba Mussa Fundi, Kawemba Mohamed Kawemba Tabora: Darul Arquam Islamic Library, 1990, 84 pages (Not seen by author).

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 hiki 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 Muḥammad (P.B.U.H.). (page 11)²²

In the next section, the claim of Muḥammad 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 [Muḥammad] 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 *Muhammed (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 ingaliendelea 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 *Muhammed (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.

presented, using passages from the Bible. *Shahada* (Credal statement) (page 20), *Sala* (Prayer) (pages 20-27), *Kutoa Zaka* (The giving of offerings) (pages 28-30), *Kufunga Mwezi wa Ramadhani* (To fast during Ramaḍān) (pages 30-31), *Kwenda Kuhiji Makka* (To go to Mecca on pilgrimage) (pages 32-34).

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 Qur'ān 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:

Al-Mā'ida (5):72-78

Al-Shūrā (42):13

Deuteronomy 18:16-20

Isaiah 45:18-22

Matthew 15:21-28

Philippians 2:5-8

²⁵ In 1998 the then President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, warned preachers of *kashfa 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.

[6] *Injili ya Barnaba*

- 1 Josephat Ngogo
- 2 *Injili ya Barnaba*
(The Gospel of Barnabas)
- 3 Mlalo, Lushoto: Gospel of Barnabas Foundation
- 4 no date
- 5 16 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili (translated from an Arabic and English edition)
- 7 Printed in Mlalo, Lushoto by Gospel of Barnabas Foundation
- 8 No preface
- 9 Qur'ān: not quoted
Bible: 9 Texts
- 10 Purchased Jabal-Hira Mosque, Morogoro, January 2000
- 11 Another copy with a different cover and title, *Injili kama alivyoandika Barnaba* purchased in Nairobi, May 2001
- 12 Gerard van de Bruinhorst collected a copy for ISIM, dating publication as 1985

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 1906.²⁷ 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 *Injīl* 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.²⁸

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.²⁹

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).

²⁹ For instance Jan Slomp has catalogued the debate and written extensively. 'Pseudo-Barnabas in the context of Muslim-Christian Apologetics', *Al-Mushir* Volume 16:4-6 (1974), 106-130; 'The Pseudo-Gospel of Barnabas', *Encounter* No. 18 October (1975), 1-6; 'The Gospel in Dispute', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978), 67-111; 'The "Gospel of Barnabas" in recent research', *Islamochristiana* 23 (1997), 81-109. See also Theodore Pulcini 'In the Shadow of Mount Carmel: the collapse of the 'Latin East' and the origins of the Gospel of Barnabas', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Volume 12, No. 2, April 2001, (191-209).

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 Muḥammad 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).³⁰

Page four has a reproduction³¹ 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 Muḥammad:

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)

³⁰ *Injili ya Barnaba katika lugha ya Kiswahili itasomwa na wengi. Wakristo wataona kuwa Muhammad amctajwa katika Injili hii iliyoandikwa karne tano kabla ya mtume hajazaliwa. Ilipigwa marufuku mwaka 492 AD ambapo mtume amekuja kuzaliwa 570 AD. Hata hivyo leo ipo. Hii hapa.*

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.

[7] *Uungu na Umoja Wake*

- 1 Harith **Swaleh** (born 1937)
- 2 *Uungu na Umoja Wake*
(Divinity and its Unity)
- 3 Malindi: Iqra Printers, associates of Malindi Books and Stationery Store
- 4 1994
- 5 24 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili
- 7 Printed in Malindi
- 8 Dedication, Acknowledgments and Foreword by the author
- 9 Qur'ān: 2 Texts
Bible: not quoted
- 10 Purchased Victory Bookshop, Dodoma, January 2000
- 11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa at Abdallah Said Ltd. December 2000
- 12 Gerard van de Bruinhorst collected a copy for ISIM, dating publication as 1994

Harith Swaleh (born 1937) came originally from Lamu, where he studied at Rodha Mosque, taught by scholars from Riyadhha Mosque and College, then in Mombasa, where he studied with Sheikh Muhammad Kasim Mazrui.³⁴ 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

³⁴ 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.

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 ‘Abduh, 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*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-quḍsī* (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 Imrān* (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 eirenic.

The following passage of scripture has been selected from this tract:

Al-Ikhlāṣ (112):1-4

³⁵ *Uola* (Lordship) does not appear in Swahili dictionaries, it is formed from *Mola* (Lord or God). *U-* is a prefix indicating ‘state of being’.

[8] *Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha*

- 1 **Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (Warsha)**
- 2 *Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha*
(Islam is the True Way of Life)
- 3 Mombasa: Ansaar Muslim Youth Organisation
- 4 no date.
- 5 65 pages (stapled, with card covers)
- 6 Swahili, with Qur'ānic verses in Arabic
- 7 Printed in Mombasa by Nisha Printers
- 8 No Preface
- 9 Qur'ān: 51 Texts
Bible: not quoted
- 10 Purchased Islamic Foundation Bookshop, Nairobi, May 2000
- 11 Copy also purchased in Mombasa at Abdallah Said Ltd. December 2000
- 12 Gerard van de Bruinhorst collected a copy for ISIM with publishing details of Islamic Foundation dated 1983, and 109 pages

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 (MSAUD) 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’ān 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:	<i>Bila shaka dini (Njia ya Maisha) ya haki mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu ni Uislamu.</i> (Without doubt the right religion (Way of Life) before Almighty God is Islam.)
Qurani Takatifu:	<i>Bila shaka dini (ya haki) mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu ni Uislamu.</i> (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 (*dini*),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:

Al-Shūrā (42):13

³⁷ *Dini* translated here as ‘religion’, comes from the Arabic *dīn* which has a wider range of meanings including judgement and retribution as well as an obligation to “discharge the debt of worship” (Gardet 1999:293).

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'ānic verses in Arabic
- 7 No details of printing
- 8 No Preface
- 9 Qur'ān: 20 Texts
Bible: 18 Texts
- 10 Purchased Nairobi, May 2000
- 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,³⁸ 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-Haqq: 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 *madrassa* 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 Qur'ān 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 eirenic in tone whilst demonstrating why the author left Islam.

The following passages of scripture have been selected from this tract:

Āl Imrān (3):45-51

John 14:15-17, 25-26

Al-Nisā' (4):157-159

Al-Nisā' (4):171

Al-Mā'ida (5):72-78

Al-Mā'ida (5):116-119

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*.

[10] *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'ān: 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'ān); *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'ān and the Bible, together with al-Ṭabarī and al-Jalālayn to demonstrate that Christianity has not been abrogated.

The passages quoted from the Qur'ān 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-Mā'ida (5):116-119

Al-Shūrā (42):13

[11] *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu*

- 1 Muhammad **Khan** (born 1881)
- 2 *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu*
(The Qur'ān and the Bible: How I searched for and found salvation)
- 3 Mtwara: Kanisa la Biblia Publishers
- 4 1983
- 5 39 pages (stapled, with soft covers)
- 6 Swahili (Translated from English by G.H. Mrope), with Qur'ānic verses in Arabic
- 7 Printed in Bombay,⁴¹ India by Gospel Literature Service Press
- 8 No Preface
- 9 Qur'ān: 8 Texts
Bible: 10 Texts
- 10 Purchased at Scripture Union Bookshop, Dar es Salaam in 1992
- 11 Original English Title – *A testimony to the truth of the Holy Writings*. The English version *Why I Became a Christian* with the author listed as Sultan Muhammad Paul, with a Preface by Amir Ullah Avi, Nizamabad, India, published by Gospel Literature Service, Bombay 33 pages Revised edition printed in 1978, is also available in Tanzania.

The tract is published by *Kanisa la Biblia* (The Church of the Bible) which is based in Mtwara in Southern Tanzania. Their work is supported by Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), an American mission group, founded in 1921, most of whose personnel working in Tanzania are German. The printing was done by Gospel Literature Services of Bombay, India. They also published the English version of the tract. Gospel Literature Services of India was started by British missionaries Stanley and Florence Durham, in Bombay in 1939.

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

⁴¹ Bombay has been officially called Mumbai since 1995.

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 irenic in approach.

The tract uses passages from the Qur'ān, using *Qurani Takatifu* (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 Walī'd-din al-Khatīb al-Tabrizi, *Mishkāt al-Masābīh*. It is a collection of *ḥadīth* arranged by topics, expanded from the *Masābīh as-Sunna* of al-Bhagawī (d. 1117), designed to give people guidance in their daily lives. The *Mishkāt al-Masābīh* mentions the source and weight of the *ḥadīth* 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 *ḥadīth*. It includes 12,000 *ḥadīth* (with 4,000 repetitions). The collection was made by Abū'l-Husayn Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qushayrī an-Nisābūrī (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 *ḥadīth*. 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 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl (810-870) from Bukhara (Bewley 1998:106, 113).

[12] *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani: Ushuhuda wa Kijana Mwislamu aliyetafuta njia ya Kweli*

- 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 Qur'ān: 23 Texts
Bible: 50 Texts
- 10 Purchased Diocesan Bookshop, (Anglican) Morogoro, January 2000
- 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 Qur'ān and the Bible), and *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani* (The Word of God in the Torah, Gospel and the Qur'ān), 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 Aḥmadi family and his father an Afghan, who had become an Aḥmadi when he became a refugee in India. It relates how he grew up in Rabwah, at the time an exclusively Aḥmadi town and describes the challenges he faced as he studied his faith and met Christians. The active presence of Aḥmadi 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.⁴³

The tract uses both the Qurʾān and the Bible. It is not clear which version of the Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān. 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 Qurʾān); 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:

Al-Nisāʾ (4):157-159

Deuteronomy 18:16-20

John 14:15-17, 25-26

Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36

⁴³ His brother John is a Theological lecturer at St. Mark's College, Dar es Salaam, an Anglican Church of Tanzania seminary.

[13] *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 Qur'ān: 8 Texts
Bible: not quoted
- 10 Obtained from Ngara, April 2001
- 11 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 Qur'ān to demonstrate the truth of the Torah and the Gospels.

The Qur'ānic 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.⁴⁴

Its approach is to inform and to encourage the reader to think about the claims of Christianity as set out in the Qurʾān 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.

⁴⁴ The English version encourages people to read a tract by John Gilchrist *The Textual History of the Qurʾan and the Bible*.

[14] *Tuzungumze No.1 Somo la Dini*

- 1 Cecil Simbaulanga (born 1954), *Biblia ni Jibu* “99:
(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’ān: 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'ān, using *Qurani Takatifu* (al-Farsy) 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 debates⁴⁶ 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.

[15] *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

- 1 HUDUMA YA MAANDIKO YA KIINJILI TANZANIA
(TANZANIA EVANGELICAL LITERATURE MINISTRY) (TELM)
- 2 *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*
(*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.⁴⁷ 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).⁴⁸ 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 kumkumbusha msomaji hapa kuwa Ycsu, 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'ān. 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'ān 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'ān 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:

Āl 'Imrān (3):45-51

Romans 3:19-25

Al-Nisā' (4):171

Philippians 2:5-8

Al-Mā'ida (5):111-115

⁴⁹ For further details about *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* see footnote 42 page 197.

[16] *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*

- 1 TANZANIA EVANGELICAL LITERATURE MINISTRY
- 2 *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*
(The Word of God within the Torah, Gospel and Qur'ān)
- 3 Morogoro: TELM
- 4 no date.
- 5 20 pages (stapled, with soft covers)
- 6 Swahili, with Qur'ānic verses in Arabic (May have been translated from English)
- 7 No Preface
- 8 No details given
- 9 Qur'ān: 24 Texts
Bible: 32 Texts
- 10 Obtained Ngara, Tanzania, April 2001
- 11 A companion tract, *Dhambi; Tatizo la Mwanadamu* (Sin; Man's problem), which is set out in the same way, is printed in Nairobi, Kenya by Beeline Printing Limited

This tract is distributed by TELM.⁵⁰ 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 *ʿĪsā*, 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.

⁵⁰ 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*

Column One	Column Two	Column Three	Column Four
<i>Unabii uliofichika Torati</i> (Prophecies that are hidden in the Torah)	<i>Kitabu cha Mafunuo Injili</i> (Book of the Revelations of the Gospel)	<i>Kurani (Kiswahili)</i> (Qur'ān (Swahili))	<i>Kiarabu cha Asili Kurani</i> (Arabic the original language of the Qur'ān)

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-Farsy) 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: *TAWHĪD*

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'ān 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'ān 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'ān, even translating it into Swahili leads to its veracity as the Qur'ān 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, *tawhīd* 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 *tawhīd* 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’, “*ashhadu an lā ilāha illā 'llāh wa-ashhadu 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 Muḥammad 'Abduh.³ 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 credal confessions, where the three persons of the Trinity are each named. Christianity has held to this whilst maintaining monotheism.⁴

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.⁵

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, *ithm ‘aẓīm* (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-Nisā'* (4):171⁷

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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani*

Imran uses this passage to introduce a lengthy section in his tract. He uses it to specifically present and defend the idea of *tawhīd* against that of the Trinity, which he sees as being a contradiction.⁸

2. TAWHĪD (UNITY OF GOD) VERSUS THE TRINITY⁹

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 Qur'an. The Qur'an 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 *Tawhīd*, explains these teachings were indeed the foundation of Islam in all times. Therefore, the teaching of the *Tawhīd* 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 Qur'an warns them:¹⁰ (Continued on the next page)

⁷ An English version for each passage is given. For the Qur'an, *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 2. TAWHĪD (UMOJA WA MUNGU) DHIDHI YA UTATU

Uislamu unafundisha imani safi ya Mungu Mmoja kinyume na Utatu katika Ukristo. Umoja wa Nafsi ya Mungu ndiyo hoja hasa iliyowekewa mkazo mkubwa katika Kur'ani Tukufu. Kur'ani inathibitisha kwamba kila nabii alifundisha Umoja wa Mungu na kwamba mafundisho hayo yalikuwa ndio msingi hasa wa Uislamu katika zama zote. Kwa hiyo, fundisho la Tawhid, lafafa- [assumed to be a typographical error for lafafanua or other ending - as lafafanuliwa appears later in text] mafundisho hayo yalikuwa ndio msingi hasa wa Uislamu katika zama zote. Kwa hiyo, fundisho la Tawhid lafafanuliwa kama fundisho la manambii [sic] wa ulimwengu mzima. Ni dhahiri kwamba imani ya Mungu Mmoja ni kinyume kabisa na Utatu au Uwingi. Imani mbili zinazopingana haziwezi kuwa zote ni za kweli kwa wakati mmoja; lakini bado Wakristo wanaridhika nayo. Kur'ani 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 (Qurʾān [*Al-Nisā*]¹¹ 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^{oo}[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 Qurʾān 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” (Qurʾān, [*Al-Sajda*] 32:9).

The word rūh-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]^{oo} 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).¹²

Imran quotes the verse in full, and in introducing it, he emphasises the difference between *tawhīd* 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.

¹² “Enyi watu (mliopewa) wa Kitabu! Msiongeze katika dini yenu wala msitamke neno lo lote kuhusu Mwenyezi Mungu isipokuwa la Haki. Masihi, Yesu, Mwana wa Mariamu, alikuwa ni Mjumbe wa Mwenyezi Mungu tu na neno Lake alilofikisha kwa Mariamu, na roho iliyotoka Kwake. Basi mwamini Mwenyezi Mungu na Wajumbe Wake, na msiseme “Watu” – komeni (kusema hivyo)! Ni ubora kwenu! Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mungu Mmoja tu. Ametengwa (na wazo hilo) mbali kabisa katika ubora na utukufu Wake kwamba ingelimpasa awe na mwana. Vyote vilivyomo mbinguni na vyote vilivyomo ardhini ni vyake. Na Mwenyezi Mungu anatasha kuwa mlinzi.” (Kurʾani 4:171)

Yesu ameitwa wa [sic] neno ambalo Mwenyezi Mungu alilomfikishia Mariamu ili kuthibitisha katika ya kwamba aliletwa duniani kwa amri ya Mwenyezi Mungu na wala sio kwa ya kawaida ya kumtumia baba. Ikiwa ulimwengu wote ulitokea kwa neno moja tu la Mwenyezi Mungu na Adam aliweza kuumbwa bila ya baba wala mama basi ni wajibu ikubalike kabisa kwamba amri ya Mwenyezi Mungu^{oo}[Indicating Footnote] inaweza pia kumleta mtu duniani bila ya kumtumia baba.

Neno roho lilitumika kwa Yesu halimwondo katika mipaka ya ubinadamu kwani hata kwa Adamu imesemwa: “Nilipulizia roho yangu ndani yake. Kwa hakika kuhusiana na Kurʾani Tukufu roho ya Mungu ilipuliziwa ndani ya kila mwanadamu”.

“Kisha akamkamilisha na akampulizia roho Yake, na Akawapeni masikio na macho na nyoyo.” (Kurʾani, 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 Masihi.

[Footnote]^{oo} Katika aya hii yamo marudi kwa mafundisho ya Kikristo ya Kafara na hukumu. Ni Mwenyezi Mungu pekee ndiye atakayekuwa Hakimu na Mwamuzi na wala si mwingine, wala si hata Manabii Wake pamoja na Yesu.

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); Boshia also includes: mind, person and breath (Boshia 1993:166).¹³ 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 *nenno*. This raises the possibility that the translator used the Aḥmadiyya Swahili

¹³ Other dictionaries define *nafsi* as Krapf: self, soul, breath (1882:272); Madan: vital spirit, breath, soul, self, person, individuality, essence (1903:274); Velten: *Seele* (soul), *Persönlichkeit* (personality), *Individuum* (individual) (1910:309); Johnson: listed under *nafāsi*, otherwise as Madan (1939:328); Sacloux: *âme* (soul), *La propre personne de quelqu'un* (the correct identity of somebody, to be one's own person), *soi-même* (oneself), (1941:662); Rechenbach: 1. breath, vital essence, soul. 2. self, individuality, personality. (1967:395); Khamisi: 1. *roho* (spirit) 2. *mwenyewe* (oneself) 3. *kitu chenye umbo kama yai kilicho mahali pa kizazi katika tumbo ka mwanamke* (something like an egg which is the womb in the stomach of a woman) 4. *kiini au dhati ya jambo au kitu* (nucleus or essence of a matter or thing) (1981:209); Lenselaer: *souffle* (breath), *âme* (soul), *esprit vital* (vital spirit), *personne* (person), *individualité* (individuality, personality) (1983:352); Bakresha: 1. *mtu mwenyewe* (a person themselves); *roho* (spirit) 2. *asili* (essence, origin); *kiini* (nucleus) (1992:276); Höftmann & Herms: 1. *Seele* (soul), *Inneres* (inside) 2. *Persönlichkeit* (personality), *Individuum* (individual) (2005:249).

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 Takatifu* (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 Abū’l A ‘lā Maudūdī does (Maudūdī 2006:205-206).

Imran’s argument concerning ‘a spirit from Him’ is not dissimilar to that given by Abū’l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar az-Zamakhshārī (1075-1144) in his Qur’ānic commentary.¹⁴

For this reason he is (also) designated as ‘the spirit of God’ (see *Sūra* [*Al-Taḥrīm*] 66:12, etc.) and as a ‘spirit from Him’ since Jesus was a spirit-endowed man (*dhū rūh*) 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*:

[9] K.K. Alavi *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.¹⁵
(Continued on the next page)

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.

¹⁵ *Pia Kurani inampa Yesu sifa fulani ambazo ni tofauti na zile ambazo wamepewa manabii wengine au mitume. Yesu ameelezwa 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-Nisā*] 4:171)

Similarly, the Angel Jibrīl (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-Anbiyā*] 21:91).

Each thing that the Qur’ān 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 ([*Āl ‘Imrān*] 3:49); he ascended to heaven until today.

(Alavi [tract 9]:24-25)¹⁶

Alavi makes no attempt to use this passage to explain or to defend the Trinity, even though he includes the Qur’ān’s rejection of it. Rather, the passage is used to show that the Qur’ān 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 *Sūra Maryam* (19) and makes references to other passages, in order to make his point, that the Qur’ān shows that Jesus is ‘different’ from other people.

¹⁶ “Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msipindukie mipaka katika dini yenu, wala msiseme juu ya Mwenyezi Mungu ila yaliyo kweli. Masihi Isa bin Maryamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na tamko lake alilompelekea Maryamu. Na ni roho iliyotoka Kwake. Basi mwaminini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mitume yake; wala msiseme “watatu ...” Jizueni; itakuwa bora kwenu. Bila shaka Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mungu mmoja tu ...” (4:171)

Kadhalika, malaika Jibr’ail (au Gabrieli) alimwambia Mariamu kwamba:

“... akasema: Ni kama hivyo Mola wako amesema: Haya ni sahali Kwangu, na ili Tumfanye Muujiza kwa wanadamu na rehema itokayo kwetu; na hili ni jambo lililokwisha hukumiwa” (19:21 ling. 21:91).

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 hadi leo.

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 Qurʾān 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-Nisāʾ*: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? (TELM *Isa* [tract 15]:2)¹⁷

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 Qurʾān 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-Nisāʾ*] 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)

(TELM *Neno* [tract 16]:8-9).¹⁸

¹⁷ TATU: *Kurani husema: Yesu Kristo ni Roho iliyotoka kwake Mwenyezi Mungu.*

“Masihhi Isa bin Mariamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na tamko lake alilompelekea Mariamu. Na ni roho iliyotoka kwake.” (Sura No. 4 *An Nisaa*:171)

Swali: Tena, kunaye nabii yeyote mwingine awzaye kudai kwamba yeye ni Neno la Mwenyezi Mungu (ALLAH) na Roho kutoka kwake?

¹⁸ *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.*

Sura 4:171 (Wanawake) inasema kuwa

“Masihhi Isa bin Maryamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na (ni kiumbe aliyumbwa kwa) tamko lake (tu Mwenyezi Mungu) alilompelekea Maryamu. Na ni roho aliyotoka kwake.”

Hayakuwa majivuno Bwana Yesu alipowaambia Wayahudi kuwa Musa alikuwa amecandika kuhusu habari zake, kwa sababu alijua kuwa mwanzo Yeye alikuwa nani na alitoka wapi. Kwao wale waliodai kuwa wamemfahamu Mungu alisema “Kama Mungu angekuwa baba yenu mngenipenda mimi; kwa maana nalitoka kwa Mungu, nami nimekuja; wala sikuja kwa nafsi yangu, bali yeye ndiye 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’ida* (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.

80 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)²⁰

Five tracts quote this passage, some more than once, four of the tracts are Muslim and one is Christian.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran, *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 *Sūra Al-Mā’ida* (5) verse 113, attacking the idea of *shirk*.²¹ 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.

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 *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.” [*Al-Mā’ida* (5):72-74]²² (Continued on the next page)

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.

²¹ His comments will be dealt with in detail when that verse is examined in section 9.3.2.

²² *Kwa hiyo, Kur’ani inakanusha kwa nguvu sana mafundisho ya Utatu na kusema kweli hayo ni kufuru ya hali ya juu kabisa dhidi ya Utukufu Wake Mwenyezi Mungu.*

Inaendelea kueleza:

“Bila shaka wamekufuru waliosema, Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi, Mwana wa Mariamu. Masihi (mwenyewe) alisema: ‘Enyi Wana wa Israeli, Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Kwani anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, Kwa hakika Mwenyezi Mungu amemharamishia (mtu) huyo Janna (Peponi) na makazi yake (yatakuwa) ni Motoni. Na kwa madhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi. Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: Kwa hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja katika utatu: hali hakuna mungu (mwingine) ila Mungu Mmoja (tu). Ikiwa hawatakoma kwa yale wayasemayo itashuka adhabu juu ya wale wanao kufuru. Je! hawarejei kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kuomba msamaha Wake? Kwa hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Msamehevu, na Mrchemevu.” [*Al-Mā’ida*(5):72-74]

(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 Qurʾān:

“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” (Qurʾān, [*Al-Nisāʾ*] 4:48)
(Imran [tract 1]:7-8).²³

In the first example Imran quotes three verses, 72-74, together with a verse from *Al-Nisāʾ* (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 Qurʾān 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). Bosha (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 Shiriki (Ushirikina) au kumshirikisha katika ibada. Tunasoma katika Kurʾani Tukufu:*

“Kwa hakika Mwenyezi Mungu hasamehi (dhambi za) kumshirikisha na husamehe (yote) kinyume cha hayo kwa amtakaye. Na anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, bila shaka amebuni dhambi [sic] kubwa sana”. (*Kurʾani*, 4:48)

²⁴ All the other published versions say: *Mungu ni tatu wa watatu/utatu* (God is three of three), which closely follows the Arabic *thālith thalātha* (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'ān, 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'ān, [*Al-Mā'ida*] 5:75).
(Imran [tract 1]:10)²⁵

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’.²⁶ 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'ān use.

²⁵ JE! SI UPUMBAVU KUMPA SIFA YA UUNGU YESU KRISTO?
Uislamu unafikiria kuabudiwa kwa Yesu kwa Kikristo [sic] (kuwa ni Mungu) ni kurejca tena katika upagani. Kwa mujibu wa Kur'ani Tukufu, Yesu hakuwa Mungu katika umbo la mtu bali alikuwa nabii na Mjumbe wa Mwenyezi Mungu kama manabii wengine wote; alikuwa mwanadamu kwa kila hali. Tunasoma kwamba:

“Masihi, mwana wa Mariamu, hakuwa zaidi ya Mjumbe, wajumbe (mfano wake) walikwisha pita kabla yake. Na mamaye alikuwa mwanamke mwema. Nao wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (cha ardhini). Angalia jinsi tulivyo bainisha ufunuo juu yao, na kisha angalia jinsi walivyogeuka.” (Kur'ani, 5:75)

²⁶ The use of *upagani* (paganism) has been criticised in East Africa, since Independence, as it is considered that it was incorrectly used to describe African Traditional Religions.

[3] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*

Kanoni quotes a part of verse 75, together with other verses, in order to attack Paul.

Because of this, the glorious Qurʾān has 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-MĀʾIDA 5:17

“For certain they have already blasphemed those who said: “Almighty God is the Messiah son of Mary ...”

AL-MĀʾIDA 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 Muḥammad S.A.W.²⁷ so that he could come and drive out this Darkness and return the Light (Kanoni [tract 3]:39).²⁸

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. *ṣallāʾillāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam* (Arabic) May God’s Peace be Upon Him, used for Muḥammad; 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. Imcandikwa:*

AT TAWBA 9:31

“Wamewafanya wanavyuoni na watawa wao kuwa ni miungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu, wamefanya (Masih) mwana wa Maryamu pia (Mungu), hali hawakuamrisha 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. (Hawajaona)?”

AT TAWBA 9:30

“Na Mayahudi wanasema: “Uzair ni mwana wa Mungu”: na Wakristo wanasema “Masih ni mwana wa Mwenyezi Mungu”: hayo ndiyo wayasemayo kwa vinywa vyao (pasina kuyapima). Wanayaiga maneno ya wale walio kufuru kabla yao. Mwenyezi Mungu awaangamize. Wanageuzwa namna gani hawa?”

Nia na shabaha ya Paulo, kwa ujumbe wake huo (Agano Jipya) ilikuwa ni kutaka kuizima Nuru ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na badala yake kupanda Giza; lakini, Mwenyezi Mungu akakataa. Na kwa sababu hii ndipo alipoletwa Mtume Muhammad S.A. W. ili kuja kuliondosha Giza hilo na kuirejesha Nuru.

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 *ĪSĀ* 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'ida* [5] verses 72-75:-

Certainly they have blasphemed who say that Almighty God is the Messiah (*Īsā*) 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 NABII ISA ALIKUWA AKIWAKHUTUBIA WANA WA ISRAIL KUWA YEYE NI MTUME WA MUNGU

Amesema Mwenyezi Mungu Mtukufu katika Qurani, Juzuu ya 6 katika Suratul Maidah kwenye Aya ya 72-75 hivi:-

Hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi (Isa) Mtoto wa Maryam. Na (hali) Masihi (mwenyewe) alisema: “Enyi wa Israil! Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu Mola wenu na Mola wangu. Kwa sababu anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu hakika Mwenyezi Mungu atamharimishia Pepo, na maskani yake yatakuwa ni motoni. Na madhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi (siku ya kiyama).” Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: “Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja katika wale waungu watatu.” Ambapo hakuna Mungu ila Mwenyezi Mungu mmoja (tu peke yake). Na kama hawataacha hayo wayasemayo, kwa yakini itawashika wale wanao endelea na ukafiri miongoni mwao adhabu chungu. (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 worthlessly 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 any thing 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).³⁰

(Continued on the next page)

³⁰ *Je! Hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kumtaka msamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye Msamehevu na Mrehevu.*

Si cho chote Masihi Mwana wa Maryam ila ni Mtume tu. Hakika Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. Na Mama yake ni mwanamke mkweli. Wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (basi wanalikuwa waungu wanalikula?) Hebu tazama namna gani tunavyowabainishia Aya. Tena tazama namna tunavyogezwa (kuiacha haki).

UZINDUSHI:

Mwenyezi Mungu hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa; wala hakujizaa kwani hakuna wakati aliokuwa hayuko. Walidai Mayahudi na manasara kuwa Mungu amefanya nafsi yake mtoto kutokana na kiumbe chake. Na madai haya ni ya uongo, yanayowadhihirisha ujinga wao barabara kwa kumsingizia Mwenyezi Mungu jambo lisiloingia katika akili. Akili haikubali kabisa kwamba Mungu amejifanya mwanaadamu. Mungu mzima ale na kwenda choo! Hayo ni mambo yanayobabaisha akili bure tu kwani hata ukimweleza mtu vipi kuwa Mungu amejifanya mtu unahangaisha akili yake tu; wala haelewi. Mungu mwenye uwezo, yanini [sic] apate taabu ya namna hiyo, ambapo akitaka kitu husema tu "KUWA" mara kitu hicho "HUWA!" Jambo hili linamkasirisha Mwenyezi Mungu kweli.

Haistahili kabisa kwa Mwenyezi Mungu kuwa na mtoto kwa sababu vitu vyote katika mbingu na katika ardhi viko chini ya mamlaka yake. Vinanyenyekea amri yake, Naye Mungu mtukufu ndiye aliyeviumba na anavijua vyote. Hana haja kabisa kujifanya awe ni kimoja katika hivyo. Siku ya Kiyama viumbe vyote vitasimama mbele yake awe anavihukumu.

Waislamu wanaomwamini Mwenyezi Mungu ambao hawamshirikishi na kitu chochote wala kushabihisha na kiumbe hawa watakirimiwa na Mwenyezi Mungu; kinyume cha makafiri.

Basi huyu Nabii Isa ni Mtume tu kama mitume waliokuja kabla yake wala sio Mungu. Yeye amekuja na Dini ya Mwenyezi Mungu Dini ya Kiislamu; lakini alipewa tu hukumu ndogo kutegemka hali ya watu wake na hali ya wakati ulc. Na kuambiwa kuwa kuna Mtume mwingine atakaye kuja baada yake anaycitwa Ahmad (Muhammad). (Continued on the next page)

The Religion of Islam teaches us that *ʿĪsā* 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 (*ʿĪsā*). (Musa [tract 4]:32-35).³¹

Musa follows al-Farsy in his rendition of the verses, with a few variations.³² 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 Qurʾān is represented accurately. Musa makes reference to the Trinity in the explanation that comes after the verses.

Musa uses *Isa* rather than *Yesu* for Jesus,³³ choosing to use the Arabic *ʿĪsā* 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 inatufundisha kuwa Isa bin Maryam si mwana wa Mungu wala si Mungu wala si sehemu yoyote katika dhiti ya Mungu. Amezaliwa tu na Bibi Maryam bila kuwa na baba kama Mwenyezi Mungu alivyomuumba Adam bila kuwa na baba wala mama. Huu ni katika uwezo wa Mwenyezi Mungu tu, kuonyesha kuwa hakuna linalomshinda. Amemuumba binaadamu bila Baba wala Mama (Adam) na bila Baba ila Mama (Isa).*

³² One example is found in verse 75 and Musa’s use of *Msamehevu* and *Mrehemvu*, following the Aḥmadi version, where al-Farsy uses *kusamehe* and *kurehemu*. 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; *Mrehemvu* – the merciful one.

³³ When any tract uses *Isa* rather than *Yesu* it is shown in the English translation by the use of *ʿĪsā*.

“...*Mungu amejifanya*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 *tafsīr* 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 *tafsīr* and contemporary writers such as Maudūdi (2006:220) and Sayyid Quṭb (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 *Qurani Takatifu* it says:

Al-Farsy: *(Na) wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (na wakenda choo. Basi waungu gani wanaokula na kwenda choo)?*

((And) both of them ate food (and went to the toilet. So what gods eat and go to the toilet?))

Musa: *Wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (basi wangalikuwa waungu wangalikula?)*

(Both of them ate food (if they had been gods would they have eaten?))

However, even though Musa makes the point, it appears that he was not prepared to include it in the actual quotation from the Qur’ān.

The other comments that Musa make follow ‘classical’ *tafsīr* of the passage, emphasising the reasons why Christians are mistaken in their understanding of Jesus.

³⁴ Literally *amejifanya* means “he made himself”, *a-* he, third person singular prefix; *-me-* tense infix, of completed action; *-ji-* reflexive Object Prefix; *-fanya* Verb to make, to do.

[5] Fundi Mussa Ngariba & Mohammed Ali Kawemba *Uislam Katika Biblia*

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 Muḥammad (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). (Suleiman in Ngariba and Kawemba [tract 5]:iii).³⁵

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,³⁶ 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

³⁵ DIBAJI

Masihi bin Maryam hakuwa zaidi isipokuwa ni Mtume (tu). (Na) bila ya shaka Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. (Hawajaona)? Na Mamake ni Mwanamke Mkweli. (Na) Wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (na kwenda choo. Basi Waungu gani wanaokula na kwenda choo)? Tazama jinsi tunavyowabainishia Aya, kisha tazama jinsi wanavyogeuzwa (kuacha haki). (Quran 5:75).

*Katika siku za mwanzo za Uislamu kulikuwa na mashirikiano baina ya Waislamu na Wakristo. Waislamu walipokuwa wakiadhibiwa Makka mwanzoni mwa risala yake, Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) aliwataka baadhi ya masahaba wake waende Uhabeshi ambako watu wakiabudu Mungu mmoja. Kwa hakika "Watu wa dini wa BIZANTINE, waliiona dini ya Kiislamu kama ni chipukizi ya UARIANI na waliutambua Uislamu kama ni moja katika Madhehebu ya Kikristo (A vasilier [sic] in *Byzantinism* by Baynas and Moss – Uk. 390).*

³⁶ 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'ida*] 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).”

“Certainly they have blasphemed those who say: Almighty God is One of (those) three (gods); (he is indeed of their three).”

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'ida*](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 Shahada yaani kukiri kuwa HAPANA MOLA ISIPOKUWA ALLAH na MUHAMMAD NI MTUME WAKE. Haya hayana tofauti na aliyo yaleta Nabii Issa (Jesus).*

Mwenyezi Mungu anasema katika Quran 5:75-78

“Bila ya shaka wamekufuru wale waliosema, Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi (Isa) bin Maryamu.” (Na hali ya kuwa) Masihi alisema: “Enyi wana wa Israili! Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Kwani anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, hakika Mwenyezi Mungu atamharimishia Pepo, na mahali pake (patakuwa) ni Motoni. Na madhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi (wa kuwasaidia siku ya kiama).”

“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.” “Je! Hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kumwomba msamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni mwingi wa kurehemu na mwingi wa kusamehe.”

“Masihi bin Maryamu hakuwa zaidi isipokuwa ni Mtume (tu). (Na) bila shaka Mitume wengi wamepita kabla yake. (Hawajaona)? Na Mamake ni mwanamke mkweli. (Na) wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula (na kwenda choo. Basi waungu gani wanaokula na kwenda choo?) Tazama jinsi tunavyowabainishia Aya, kisha tazama jinsi wanavyoguzwa (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.”

Psalms 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 Muhammad (s.a.w.) was given twelve commandments, two more than those given to the Prophet Moses. The first is *LĀ ILĀHA ILLĀ ʿLLĀH*. It is amazing that there is more than one religion today (Ngariba & Kawemba [Tract 5]:5).³⁹

The verses are presented together with passages from the Bible, taken from the Psalms, Isaiah and John’s Gospel. The verses from the Qur’ān follow al-Farsy, including his interpolations in verse 75. The verses from the Bible follow the *Union Version*.

³⁹ *Yohana 20:17*

Yesu akamwambia. Usinishike, kwa maana sijapaa kwenda kwa Baba. Lakini enenda kwa ndugu zangu ukawaambie, Ninapaa kwenda kwa baba yangu naye ni baba yenu, kwa Mungu wangu naye ni Mungu wenu.

Mwenyezi Mungu anasema katika Isaya 46:5

“Mtanifanisha na nani, na kunisawazisha naye, na kunilinganisha naye, ili tuwe sawasawa?”

Isaya 43:10-11

“Ninyi ni mashahidi wangu, asema BWANA, na mtumishi niliyemchagua; mpate kujua, na kuniamini, na kufahamu ya kuwa mimi ndiye, kabla yangu hakuumbwa Mungu awaye yote, wala baada yangu mimi hatakuwepo mwingine. Mimi, naam, mimi ni BWANA, zaidi yangu mimi hapana mwokozi.”

Isaya 42:8

“Mimi ni Bwana, ndilo jina langu; na utukufu wangu sitampa mwingine, wala sitawapa sanamu sifa zangu.”

Zaburi 115:4-8

“Sanamu zao ni fedha na dhahabu, kazi ya mikono ya wanadamu. Zina vinywa lakini hazisemi; Zina machoni lakini hazioni; Zina masikioni lakini hazisikii; Zina pua lakini hazisikii harufu; Mikono lakini hazishiki, miguu lakini haziendi; Wala hazitoi sauti kwa koo zake. Wazifanyao watafanana nazo; Kila mmoja anayezitumainia.”

Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) alipewa amri kumi na mbili, mbili zaidi ya alizopewa Nabii Musa. Ya kwanza ni LAA ILAHA ILLA ALLAH. Inastaajabisha kuna dini zaidi ya moja leo.

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)

⁴⁰ *Kabla sijaonana na marafiki zangu wapya wa Kikristo, nilikuwa nikiwachukia sana Wakristo kwa sababu niliambiwa mambo mabaya juu yao. Walakini nilipochunguza tabia ya mmishonari yule, maisha yake, na jinsi alivyowafikiria Waislamu, nilijua kwamba mambo yale mabaya niliyokuwa nimeyasikia juu ya Wakristo hayakumhusu yeye. Jambo hilo lilinifanya nifikirie sana. Je! upendo wake ulikuwa mkubwa kupita ule wa Waislamu? Je,! Yesu, Masihi wa Mungu, alikuwa amemfanyia mambo mengi kuliko yale ambayo nabii wangu alikuwa amenifanyia? Nilichanganyikiwa sana kwa kuwa nilisadiki kwamba ikiwa mtu si Mwislamu, yeye ni kafir hata angekuwa ni Mkristo anayeamini kuwa Mungu ni Masihi. Mtu wa namna hiyo amekataliwa na Mungu. Kwa maana Kurani inasema kwamba:*
(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-Mā'ida*] 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*”⁴¹ explained. (Alavi [tract 9]:12-14)⁴²

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).

⁴² *Bila ya shaka wamekufuru wale waliosema, Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi, (Isa) bin Maryamu. Na (hali ya kuwa) Masihi alisema: “Enyi wana wa Israili! Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Kwani anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, hakika Mwenyezi Mungu atamharimishia Pepo, na mahali pake (patakuwa) ni Motoni, na madhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi.*

Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: “Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja katika (wale waungu) watatu. Hali hakuna mungu ila Mwenyezi Mungu mmoja. Na kama hawataacha hayo wayasemayo, kwa yakini itawakamata wale wanaoendelea na ukafiri miongoni mwao – adhabu iumizayo (5:72, 73).

Nilitafakari pia jinsi nilivyofikiria kwamba kwa vile nilikuwa Mwislamu niliyemnyenyekea Mungu, basi nilikuwa mtakatifu zaidi ya Wakristo. Walakini, wakati nilipozidi kujihoji juu ya hali yangu ya uovu, niligundua kwamba yule mmishonari ndiye aliyekuwa amejitoa maisha yake kwa Mungu. Tabia yake ilithibitisha hivyo. Niliona kwamba upendo wake ulitoka kwa Yesu Kristo, kama vile kitabu cha “Moyo wa Paku” kilivyoceleza.

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'ida* (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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani*

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 that you ordered me (that I should say) to Worship Almighty God, my Lord and your Lord. ⁴³ (Continued on next page)

⁴³ *Kur'ani vile vile imeleza [sic] mazungumzo baina ya Yesu na Mola wake kuhusu yale yatakayotokea Siku ya Hukumu ambayo yanafaa kuwa kifumbua – macho kwa Wakristo:*

Na wakati Mwenyezi Mungu atakapomwambia: Ewe Yesu Mwana wa Mariamu! Je! uliwaambia watu; Mnifanye mimi na mama yangu kuwa miungu wawili badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu? Atajibu: Umetakasika na hayo! Haiwezekani mimi niyaseme hayo ambayo sikuwa na haki (kuyasema). Ikiwa niliyasema, bila shaka ungaliyajua. Wewe unayajua yaliyomo ndani ya nafasi yangu, wala mimi siyajui yaliyomo nafasini Mwako. Kwa hakika! Wewe tu ndiye ujuaye yote yaliyojificha. Sikuwaambia lo lote isipokuwa yale tu uliyoniamrisha (niyaseme) Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. (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.^{oo}[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 (Qurʾān, [Al-Māʾida] 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 be equal with Him and his rival in divinity. He is one in essence, foundation and enabler with power:

[Footnote]^{oo} 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 [tract 1]:8-9)⁴⁴

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 *tawhīd*, with an emphasis on the ‘Oneness’ of God and his uniqueness.

In some instances the translator uses *Mwenye Ezi* rather than *Mwenyezi* (Almighty), which is a compound word, formed from *mwenye* (possessor), of Bantu origin Swahili, compounded with *ezi* or *enzi* (power, might) from the Arabic (‘*iza*) (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,

⁴⁴ *Nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa miongoni mwao, na uliponikamilishia muda wangu, Wewe ukawa ndiye mchungaji juu yao. Na Wewe ni shahidi juu ya kila kitu. Ikiwa utawaadhibu, kwa hakika hao ni waja Wako, na ikiwa utawasemehe (kwa hakika hao ni waja Wako).*

Kwa hakika Wewe tu ndiye Mwenye Ezi, Mwenye hekima.^{oo} [Indicating Footnote]

Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Hii ndiyo siku ambayo wa kweli utawafaa ukweli wao, humo watakaa salama milele, Mwenyezi Mungu akiwawia radhi; na wao wakiwaradhi naye. Huko ndiko kufuzu kukubwa.

(Kurʾani, 5:116-119)

Uislamu unatupa nadharia ya kweli kuhusu Mwenyezi Mungu unapotangaza Upweke wa Mwenyezi Mungu na unasema kwamba Yeye hana mshirika katika Uungu Wake. Yeye ni Nafsi yenye kujitosheleza ambayo inategemewa na wote, Muumba na Mlezi wa wote, Mwenye Ezi, Mwenye Kujuwa yote, Mwenye Kurehemu. Hakuna kitakachoweza kutoka kwake na kikawa sawa Naye na mshindani katika Uungu. Yeye ni mmoja kwa nafsi, asili na uweza wenye nguvu:

[Footnote]^{oo}*Katika aya hii yamo marudi kwa mafundisho ya Kikrsito [sic] ya Kafara na hukumu. Ni Mwenyezi Mungu pekee ndiye atakayekuwa Hakimu na Mwamuzi na wala si mwingine, wala si hata Manabii Wake pamoja na Yesu.*

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 *ĪSĀ* (AS) WILL DENY THAT HE TOLD HIS PEOPLE THAT THEY SHOULD MAKE HE AND HIS MOTHER AS GODS:

Almighty God said in the Qurʾān 7th *Juzʾ* of *Sūra Al-Māʾida* [5] in verses 116-120 that:

And (remember) when Almighty God will say: Oh *Īsā* son of Mary! Did you tell people; Make me and my Mother gods instead of Almighty God? (Prophet *Īsā*) 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. ATAKANUSHA KUWA HAKUWAAMBIA WATU WAKE WAMFANYE YEYE NA MAMA YAKE KUWA NI WAUNGU:*

Mwenyezi Mungu amesema katika Qurani Juzuu ya 7 ya Suratil Maidah katika Aya ya 116-120 kuwa:

Na (kumbukeni) atakaposema Mwenyezi Mungu: Ewe Isa bin Maryam! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu; Nifanyeni mimi na Mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu? (Nabii Isa) asema: Utakatifu ni wako (huna mshirika). Hainifalii mimi kusema ambayo si haki yangu (kuyasema) kama ningalisema bila shaka ungalijua, unayajua yaliyomo nafsiini mwangu, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyomo nafsiini mwako. Kwa hakika wewe ndiye mjuzi wa yaliyofichikana.”

Sikuwaambia lolote ila yale uliyoniamrisha ya kwamba: Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa nao, na uliponiondosha wewe ukawa mchungaji juu yao na wewe shahidi.

Ikiwa utawaadhibu, basi bila shaka hao ni watumwa wako na kama utawaacha, basi hakika wewe ndiye mwenye nguvu na mwenye hekima.

Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Hii ndiyo siku ambayo wasemao kweli, utawafaa ukweli wao. Watapata bustani zipitazo mbele yake mito. Humo watakaa milele. Mwenyezi Mungu amewawia radhi nao wewe radhi naye huko ndiko kufuzu kuliko kukubwa.

Mwenyezi Mungu mwenye ufalme wa mbingu 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 *Īsā* 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) *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* did not command his people to make him Son of God rather people indeed falsely accused him. (Musa [tract 4]:35-37)⁴⁶

⁴⁶ MAELEZO:

Imekuwa ni ada kuwa watu wanazaliwa kutokana na Baba na Mama. Lakini Nabii Isa amezaliwa bila ya Baba, kama Nabii Adam alivyoubwa bila ya Baba wala Mama, na Hawa alivyoubwa kutokana na Baba bila Mama. Huu ni uwezo wa Mwenyezi Mungu tu. Amefanya yote (1) Adam bila Baba wala Mama (2) Hawa bila Mama ila Baba (3) Isa bila Baba ila Mama.

Kuonyesha kuwa hakuna limshindalo Mwenyezi Mungu kwani ni mwenye mamlaka ya kila kitu asiyeshindwa na chochote. Amefanya hivyo ili kutuonyesha kwamba anaweza kuumba watu kwa namna aitakayo. Kwa Mungu hakuna la ajabu limshindalo kama ilivyo kwa wanadamu.

Wamepotca watu zama walipodai kuwa Isa na Mama yake ni waungu na hali hakuna dalili hata moja inayothibitisha madai hayo.

Basi siku ile ya Kiyama ambayo Mwenyezi Mungu atakusanya viumbe katika hadhara, kwa ajili ya hisabu yao; Mwenyezi Mungu atamwuliza Mtume Isa kwa kuwasimanga wale makafiri hali ya kusema: “Ati wewe uliwaambia watu kuwa: Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu waungu wawili asiye kuwa Mwenyezi Mungu?”

Basi Nabii Isa atasema: “Nakutakasa ewe Mola utakasifu unaokuwa laiki yako. Hainiwii kwangu niseme yale yasiokuwa ni haki yako! Bila shaka ningalisema hivyo mjuzi ni wewe; hakika wewe unajua yaliyofichikana katika kifua changu. Ni kweli kwamba mimi sikusema ila yale uliyoniamrisha. Nimefikisha utume ulionituma. Nikiwaambia watu wangu wakuabudu wewe peke yako wala wasikufanye kuwa una mshirika. Nikawa ninawakazania wakutii twaa ya kweli kweli. Uliponiondosha wewe ndiye uliyekuwa mchungaji wao kwa kujua waliyotenda na waliyosema na wao ni waja wako. Ukipenda utawaadhibu ili adhabu hiyo iwe ni malipo yao ya kumwabudu asiye kuwa wewe, na kama ukipenda utawasamehe.”

Basi Nabii Isa hakuwaamrisha watu wake wamfanye kuwa yeye ni Mwana wa Mungu bali watu ndio waliomsingizia.

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 *hainifalii* (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 *-falii* 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 *tafsīr* 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 *hainifalii*, Dale uses *hainijuzu*, the Aḥmadi 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 θεοτοκος (*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.

[9] K.K. Alavi *Kutafuta Uhakika*

Alavi quotes verse 117 together with *Āl Imrān* (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 Imrān*] 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’ida*] 5:117)

Are Pickthall’s translation of *Mutawaffika* (“I will complete for you” [*Āl Imrān*] 3:55) and *tawaffaytani*⁴⁹ (“and when you completed my time” [*Al-Mā’ida*] 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)⁵⁰

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 Imrān* (3):55 and *uliponikamilisha* (when

⁴⁹ The transliteration of *mutawaffika* and *tawaffaytani* follows Neal Robinson in his chapter ‘The Meaning of the Verb *tawaffā*’ (1991:117-126).

⁵⁰ “(Kumbukeni) Mwenyezi Mungu aliposema: Ewe Isa! Mimi nitakutimizia muda wako wa kuishi. Na nitakuleta kwangu, na nitakutakasa na wale waliokufuru, mpaka siku ya Kiyama. Kisha marejeo yenu yatakuwa kwangu, nikihukumuni katika yale mliyokuwa mkikhitalifiana” (3:55).

Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale uliyoniamrisha: ya kwamba “Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu.” Na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa nao; na uliponikamilisha muda wangu, Wewe ukawa mchungaji juu yao, na Wewe shahidi juu ya kila kitu. (5:117)

Je! tafisiri ya Picktall ya Mutawaffika (“Mimi nitakutimizia” 3:55) na tawaffaitani (“na uliponikamilisha muda wangu” 5:117) ni sawa? Baadhi ya vitabu vya Kiislamu vya ufafanuzi ambavyo vinaheshimiwa, hutafsiri hivi maneno hayo: “nitakusababisha kufa” ili kutuonyesha kuwa kifo cha Yesu kilifuatiwa na kupaa kwake kwenda mbinguni.

Katika kila tukio, maclezo ya Biblia hayatoi nafasi kwa watu kutafsiri njia mbalimbali juu ya wakati, mahali, na mambo yaliosababisha kifo cha Yesu. Yesu alisulubiwa, akafa, na akazikwa. Kusulubiwa kwake kulifanyika nje ya kuta za Yerusalemu. Kulifanyika wakati Pilato alipokuwa liwali wa Uyahudi. Mambo hayo ni ukweli wa historia. Biblia hueleza habari za kifo cha Yesu katika lugha inayocleweka, isiyo na mafumbo. Biblia huonyesha wazi jinsi Yesu alivyokufa, akafufuka na akapaa mbinguni. Huonyesha makusudi ya matukio hayo muhimu katika maisha yake.

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 *tafsīr* 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 Haijabatalishwa*

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 *Īsā* son of Mary! Did you tell people ‘Make me and my mother gods instead of Almighty God?’ He said (Prophet *Īsā*) ‘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’ida* 116-117). (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 alikufa, ijapokuwa wafafanuzi wengine wameshikilia kabisa ile tafsiri ya moja kwa moja ya maneno haya, “Hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubu” (Surat An Nisaa:157). Kwanza kabisa kati ya vifungu hivyo ni maneno ya Kurani ambako Mwenyezi Mungu anasema kwamba:*

“Ewe Isa bin Maryamu! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu ‘Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu?’ Aseme (Nabii Isa) ‘Wewe umetakasika ... Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale uliyoniamrisha ... 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.⁵⁴

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 *tawhīd*. 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.

⁵⁴ The Arabic root word for *-kamili* is *kamāla* which has a range of meanings – complete, finish, bring to perfection (Bosha 1993:123).

8.3.4 *Al-Ikhlās* (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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani*

Imran introduces *Al-Ikhlās* by naming some of the attributes of God.⁵⁵ 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-Ikhlās* (112):1-4] (Imran [tract 1]:9)⁵⁶

Imran uses the *Sūra* to conclude his discourse on *tawhīd*; 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-Ikhlās* as a part of his case to demonstrate that Jesus is not the Son of God.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ For the Attributes of God, see Gerhard Böwering (2002); they are encapsulated in the *al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā* (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 Nafsi yenye kujitosheleza ambayo inategemewa na wote, Muumba na Mlezi wa wote, Mwenye Ezi, Mwenye Kujuwa yote, Mwenye Kurehemu. Hakuna kitakachoweza kutoka kwake na kikawa sawa Naye na mshindani katika Uungu. Yeye ni mmoja kwa nafsi, asili na uweza wenye nguvu:*

“Sema: Yeye ni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mmoja! Mwenyezi Mungu (tu) ndiye anayestahiki kukusudiwa. Yeye hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa. Na wala hakuna anayefanana Naye (hata mmoja).”

⁵⁷ Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.4.

THE PROPHET ʿĪSĀ IS NOT THE SON OF GOD

In those verses which we read of, *Sūra Maryam* verse 35 it is confirmed to us clearly that the Prophet ʿĪsā 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 ʿĪsā 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 ʿĪsā 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 ʿĪsā 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 ʿĪsā A.S.⁵⁸ to be the son of God is impossible. Almighty God told his Apostle S.A.W. in Sura *Al-Ikhlāṣ* 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)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*" (ʿĪsā 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*" (ʿĪsā son of Mary), showing the parent-child relationship between the

⁵⁸ A.S. *ʿalayhi sallam* (Arabic) Peace be Upon Him, used for Messengers and Prophets other than Muḥammad.

⁵⁹ NABII ISA SI MWANA WA MUNGU

Katika hizi Aya tulizozisoma za Suratil [sic] Maryam Aya ya 35 imetuhakikishia wazi kuwa Nabii Isa sio mtoto wa Mungu, kwani Mungu hazai kwa vile sio kiumbe. Ametakasika na hayo. Nabii Isa amezaliwa na Mama bila Baba kwa uwezo wa Mwenyezi Mungu, kama alivyombwa Adam bila Baba na Mama. Basi kama alivyoweza Mwenyezi Mungu, kumuumba Nabii Adam bila Baba wala Mama ndivyo alivyoweza kumuumba Isa bila Baba ila Mama; kuonyesha kuwa hakuna zito kwa Mwenyezi Mungu.

Na yote aliyoyasema Mwenyezi Mungu ni ya kweli wala hapana shaka ndani yake. Ama kudai kwa baadhi ya watu kuwa Isa ni Mwana wa Mungu, wako katika njia ya batili isiyo ya sawa kwani Mungu hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa. Hana mke. Hana mwana. Hakufanana na kiumbe chochote. Nabii Isa A.S. kuwa ni mwana wa Mungu nu muhali. Mwenyezi Mungu alimwambia Mtume wake S.A.W. katika Suratil-Ikhlāṣ kwamba:-

Sema (uwaambie watu kwamba): Yeye Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja.

Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye mwenye kukusudiwa na viumba vyote.

Hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa.

Wala hakuna aliye kama yeye (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.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*

Swaleh⁶¹ gives an extended *tafsīr* on the first two verses of *Al-Ikhlās*, without actually quoting them.⁶²

[*Sūra Al-Ikhlās* (112):1-2 reference but not quoted]

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-Ikhlās*]112 and we begin to say this: [ʿImād Al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar] Ibn Kathīr⁶³ said in his interpretation of the fourth Part and the second part on pages 570 and 571 of “Pronunciation of “Aḥad”, 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.”

“Ikramah said the meaning of “As-wamad” [*ṣamad*] that he received from Ibn ʿAbbās is that “As-wamad” is he who all creatures have need of regarding their affairs. And ʿAli bin Aby-Talhah says that he received from Ibn ʿAbbās that the meaning of “As-wamad”...⁶⁴

(Continued on next page)

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).

⁶¹ Swaleh only quotes two passages from the Qurʾān, *Al-Ikhlās* (112):1-2 and *Āl ʿImrān* (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.

⁶² Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.7.

⁶³ Ibn Kathīr: ʿImād Al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar 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 Baḥrī Mamlūk dynasty (Laoust 1999, 817b).

⁶⁴ UUNGU KATIKA QUR-ANI TUKUFU

Sasa twapenda tuanze kuazima vyuo mbali 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 ukurasa wa 570 na 571 “Tamshi la “Ahad”, ni yule ambac hana mwenzi, hatarajii msaidizi wala badala.”

“Tamshi hili halitatumiki katika njia ya thibitisho isipokuwa tu kwa Mngu kwani yeye ndie alokamilika [sic] katika sifa zake na vitendo vyake.”

“Maana ya “As-wamad” amesema Ikramah akipokea kwa Ibnu Abbas kwamba “As-wamad” ni yule ambac 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.⁶⁵ And Şūfī-an bin Manşūr says the meaning of “As-wamad” is that he who has no innermost feelings.” (Emptiness).

[Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad] Shawkānī said in his interpretation “Futhul-qadir” part five page 517 and 518 as follows: “Thaalab said that there is a difference between “Wāḥid” and “Aḥad” that is, the pronunciation of “Aḥad” cannot be used in counting.”

“But Abu-Habban rejected these words by saying that the use of “Aḥad wa-Ishrūna” 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-Qāsim Al-Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad bin Al-Mufaḍḍal Al-Rāghib Al-Iṣfahānī in his book “Al-Mufradaat fi-gharib al-Qur’ān in letter *alif* page 10 that “The pronunciation of “Aḥad” 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 Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhluḥ in his book “Swafwa Al-Bayan li-Maani-Al-qur-ani page 831 and 832 he said “The meaning of “Aḥad” 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.”

Sheikh Muḥammad ‘Abduḥ said in his interpretation of the part of “Amma” page 134 and 135 as follows: The “Meaning of “Aḥad” is One of a unique kind, there is no way at all for this Unity to mix with any other thing at all, in all states, and at all times.”⁶⁶

(Continued on next page)

⁶⁵ An interesting sequence of three phrases relating a person class noun to its abstract form: *bwana – ubwana* (lord-lordship); *mtukufu – utukufu* (glorious one – glory); *bora – ubora* (good - excellence); each uses a different verb *kamilika* (complete, stative of *kamili*); *timia* (be completed); *komaa* (mature); all with a sense of completion.

⁶⁶ ... *ni bwana aliyekamilika katika ubwana wake na mtukufu alicitimia katika utukufu wake na bora alicomaa katika ubora wake. Na amesema Sufi-an bin Mansur maana ya “As-wamad” ni yule ambac hana undani.*” (Emptiness).

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” haliwezi kutumika katika hesabu.”

“Lakini Abu-Habban amekataa maneno haya kwa kusema kwamba kwatumika “Ahadu wa-Ishrūna” kwa hivyo huwa limeingia katika hesabu.” “Amesema Azzujaaj maana ya “Aswamad” ni bwana alifikia kilele katika ubwana wake, kwa hivyo hapana bwana juu yake.”

Na amesema Sheikh Abi-Al-Qassim Al-Hussein bin Muhammad bin Al-Fadhil Al-Raghib Al-As-Fihani katika chuo chake “Al-Mufradaat fi-gharib al-Qur-an katika herufi ya elifu ukurasa wa 10 kwamba “Tamshi la “Ahad” lina vigawanyo viwili: Cha kukanusha na kuthibitisha. Tukija kati upande wa kukanusha inaweza kutumiwa kwa namna nyingi: Namna ya kwanza kuambatanishwa katika hesabu. Namna ya pili hutegemezwa katika tamshi jengine. Na namna ya tatu hutumiwa kama sifa na hapo haliwezi kutumika isipokuwa na Mngu tu.”

Hebu tumkaribishe Sheikh Muhammad Hassanain Mukhluf katika chuo chake “Swafwa Al-Bayan li-Maani-Al-qur-ani ukurasa wa 831 na 832 amesema “Maana ya “Ahad” ni kwamba Mngu ni mmoja, katika Uungu wake, na Uola wake. Umoja uliokamilika.”

“Maana ya “As-wamad” ni bwana asokuwa na bwana juu yake, na ni bwana ambac viumbe vya gaa gaa mbele yake na kutaka awatimizie mahitaji yao.”

Amesema Sheikh Muhammad Abdoh katika tafsiri yake ya juzuu ya “Amma”, ukurasa [sic] wa 134 na 135 kama ifuatavyo: “Maana ya “Ahad” ni Mmoja wa aina 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 ‘Abbāsīd period up to the twentieth century.

The main sources are by: Abu’l-Qāsim Al-Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad bin Al-Mufaḍḍal Al-Rāghib Al-Iṣfahānī, who probably died in the early eleventh century, and is thought to have been based solely in Iṣfahān (Rowson 1999:889). The *Mufradat alfāz al-Qur’ān* (Alphabetical Lexicon of the Qur’ān) is quoted;⁶⁸ ‘Imād Al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr lived in Damascus during the fourteenth century (Laoust 1999:817); his *tafsīr* of *Al-Ikhlāṣ* is quoted;⁶⁹ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Al-Shawkānī (c. 1760-1839) lived in Sana‘ā’, 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 pindi anapojua kwamba Mngu ni “As-wamad” lazima afahamu kwamba yeye ni bwana wa mabwana na anae hitajiwa na wote. Na ndie anaeweza kuwawekca watu mipango mikubwa, ya matendo yao na misingi imara ya mienendo yao.”

⁶⁸ *Mufradat alfāz al-Qur’ān* is available in various editions, including one edited by Nadīm Mar‘ashlī, in Beirut, 1972.

⁶⁹ The *tafsīr* of Ibn Kathīr are available on <http://www.tafsir.com>

Fath al-Qadīr (The Interpretation of the Sublime Opening) for the work quoted;⁷⁰ Muḥammad ‘Abduh (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 Ḥasanayn Makhluḥ (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 *Tafsīr wa Bayan*, which may be the book that is quoted.

The various interpretations of *aḥad* and *ṣamad* 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 ‘Abduh, rather than Makhluḥ 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-Ikhlāṣ*, which Sayyid Quṭb says “is equivalent to one-third of the Qur’ān” (Quṭb 2004:388), as they potentially could have done. Only Swaleh uses a range of sources presenting a form of ‘classical’ *tafsīr* 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-Qadīr: Al-jamī’ bayna fannay al-riwayah wa-al-dirayah min ‘ilm al-tafsīr*.

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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani*

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'ān 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. Qur'ān" [Al-Shūrā] 42:13. (Imran [tract 1]:29)⁷¹

⁷¹ *Muhammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) alikuwa wa mwisho miongoni mwa manabii hao na hapana Nabii mwingine atakayatumwa baada yake kwa sababu dini iliyofunuliwa kwake ilikuwa imekamilika. Na katika kumtii Mwenyezi Mungu, Muhammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) aliyanusuruna kuyahuisa mafundisho safi na mepesi ya Yesu na Manabii wa zamani. Kwa hiyo Nabii Mtukufu Muhammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) aliifikisha dini ya Uislamu katika hali ya ukamilifu. Hili linaonyesha kwamba hakujua kuhibiri [sic] dini mpya bali alikuja kuifanya dini ya Mwenyezi Mungu iliyopo iwe sahihi kabisa na ya kisasa kulingana na mahitaji ya zama na ummati unaoongezeka, na kung'oa mizizi ya uharibifu ule uliopenya ndani yake bila kuonekana. Uharibifu ulioenea sana wa Ki-Yudia (Judaism) na Kristo ilikuwa ni ishara ya wazi na muhimu kwa Mwongozi Mkubwa uliotarajiwa kupambana na kuja kwa Nabii ya mwisho Muhammad (Amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) Kurani inaeleza:-*

"Aliamrisha juu yenu dini ile iliyoamrisha kwa Nuhu, na ile ambayo tulikufunulia wewe (Muhammad) na ile ambayo tuliyoamrisha 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-Bayyina* (98):1-8 with no further comment.

Imran follows classical *tafsīr* 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.

[5] Fundi Mussa Ngariba & Mohammed Ali Kawemba *Uislam Katika Biblia*

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.⁷²

One God One Religion:

...

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 *‘Isā*, 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, he 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.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)

⁷² Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.5.

⁷³ *Mungu Mmoja Dini Moja:*

...

Vile vile Mwenyezi Mungu anamwambia Mtume Muhammad katika Quran sura 42:13

“Amekupeni sharia ya dini ile ile aliyomuusia Nuhu na tuliyokufunulia wewe na tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Mussa na Issa, 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).”

Hebu tutazame Biblia inasema nini, kwani ndicho kitabu kilichotangulia na chenye habari ya Mitume iliyokuja kabla ya Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.). Biblia inasema katika Waefeso 4:4-6

“Mwili mmoja, na Roho moja, kama mliyoyitwa katika tumaini moja la wito wenu. Bwana mmoja, imani moja, ubatizo mmoja. Mungu mmoja, naye ni Baba wa wote, aliye juu ya yote na katika yote na ndani ya yote.”

Maneno haya yanaweza kuelezwa kama hivi:-

Mwili mmoja: Sisi sote ni asili moja kutoka kwa Nabii Adam (a.s.w.)

Roho moja: Ujumbe, Ufunuo, wahyi waliopokea Mitume ni aina moja.

Tumaini moja: Kama tulivoyitwa katika tumaini moja la wito na ndivyo tunavyotakiwa tuwe katika tumaini moja katika kuitikia mbele ya Mola wetu.

Bwana mmoja: Mwenyezi Mungu kila muda anamtuma 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 Qur'ān. 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 *Nabii* (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: Tumeamrisha kuamini kuwa Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja, baba wa wote Aliye juu ya yote, katika yote na ndani 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).

[8] Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (*Warsha*) *Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha*

Warsha use this verse to demonstrate that Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad (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 Qurʾān explains this in Sura 42 (*Al-Shūrā*) 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 *ʿĪsā*, 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-Shūrā*] 42:13).⁷⁷

(Continued on next page)

⁷⁶ Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.8.

⁷⁷ *Vile vile tunaona kufuatana na ugumu uliokuwepo wakati wa Nabii Ibrahim (a.s.), Nabii Lut, Ismail na Ishaq walichaguliwa kuwa wasaidizi na Nabii Ibrahim katika sehemu mbali mbali kwa wakati mmoja. Kwa hiyo jambo la kuzingatia ni kwamba Mitume wote kuanzia Nabii Adam (a.s.) mpaka Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) walifundisha Njia moja na MOJA PEKEE, na Maisha nayo ni UISLAM (Utifu na unyenyekevu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu) ambao itikadi yake tumeiona kwa urefu hapo nyuma. Hivyo madai ya kuwa kuna Dini nyingine Sahihi (ya kweli mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu) kuliko hii moja kama wanavyodai Wakristo, Mayahudi (Juddaists[sic]) na watu wa dini nyinginezo si kweli kabisa na wala hawana uthibitisho wowote juu yamadai yao. Ndio maana Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) kabla ya kupewa Utume, pamoja na kwamba alikutana na Mayahudi an Wakristo, hukuvutia kabisa na dini zao kwa sababu hakuona tofauti yoyote iliyopo kati ya hao waliosema kuwa wanaamini na wale jamaa zake Makuraysh ambao hawakuamini. Maovu yote yaliyokuwa yakifanywa na Makuraysh ambayo yalikuwa yakimkera sana aliyakuta yakifanywa vile vile na Mayahud an Wakristo. Kwa mfano jamaa zake walikuwa walevi, wazinifu, wacheza kamari, waonevu, wanyanganyi, waongo, walaghai, na kadhalika, Mayahudi na Wakristo nao walikuwa wakifanya maovu hayo hayo. Baada ya kupewa Utume, Mtume Muhammad (s.a.w.) alifahamishwa na Mola wake kuwa dini ni moja tu na Ndio Dini ya Mitume wote waliletwa hapa ulimwenguni. Qurʾan Tukufu inatueleza haya katika Sura ya 42 (Ash-Shura) Aya ya 13):*

“Amekupeni Sharia ya dini ile ile aliyomwusia Nuhu na tuliyokufunulia wewe na tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa, kwamba simamisheni dini wala msifarikiane kwayo, (kwa ajili ya dini); ni ngumu kwa washirikina (dini hii) unayowaitia; (42:13).

(Continued on next page)

Also in Sura 3 (*Āl 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 descendents [literally: grand-children] and that which was given to Moses and *Īsā* and other Prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between one and another, and to Him we bow our will.’” ([*Āl 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 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 (*Āl 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.” ([*Āl 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.) Anatuambia:*

“Sema: ‘Tumemwamini Mwenyezi Mungu, na yale tuliyoteremshiwa na yale yaliyoteremshiwa Ibrahim na Ismail na Ishak na Yaakub na wajukuu na yale aliyopewa Musa na Isa na Manabii wengine kutoka kwa Mola wao. Hatubagui baina yao hata mmoja, na sisi tunanyenyekoa Kwake’.” (3:84)

Pia Mtume (s.a.w.) alifahamishwa na Mola Wake kwamba Mayahudi na Wakristo pamoja na kudai kwao kuwa wanamuamini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mitume wao, hawakuwa Waislam kwa sababu walikuwa wakiamini kwa kutamka tu katika vinywa vyao lakini katika nyoyo zao na vitendo vyao walikuwa Makafiri kama walivyokuwa Makurayshi. Haya pia yamethibitishwa katika Qur’an Tukufu Sura 98 (Al-Bayyinah) Aya ya 1 na 6 (98:1 na 6).

“Wale walio kufuru miongoni mwa watu wa Kitabu (Mayahudi na Wakristo) na Washirikina hawakukufuru mpaka ilipowajia hoja iliyo dhahiri (juu ya ukweli).” ([98]:1).

“Bila shaka wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa watu waliopewa Kitabu na Washirikina wataingia katika moto wa jahannamu, waka humo milele, hao ni waovu wa viumbe.” ([98]:6)

Kwa hiyo Mtume (s.a.w.) ndiye alitufahamisha ukweli huu ya kwamba NJIA YA MAISHA YA KWELI NA SAHIHI ni MOJA TU na atakayefuata njia nyingine isiyokuwa hii atakuwa hana chake hapo kesho Kiyamani kama Qur’an Tukufu inavyotueleza katika Sura ya 3 (Al-Imran) Aya ya 85:

“Na anayetaka dini isiyokuwa ya Kiislamu basi haitakubaliwa naye. Naye Akhera atakuwa katika wenyec khasara (kubwa kabisa).” (3:85).

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 Imrān* 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.⁷⁹ 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*.

[10] Iskander Jadeed *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa*

Jadeed quotes Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī's *Izhār al-ḥaqq* to introduce the verse and the idea that the scriptures that preceded the Qur'ān are not superseded by the Qur'ān.

In his book which is called, *Izhār al-ḥaqq*, Hajj Raḥmat Allāh 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'ān has absolutely no foundation in the Qur'ān nor in the Hadith.”

This learned person stated the truth in what he said. The Qur'ān, 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 *Īsā*, that you strengthen the religion and do not differ from them.” (*Sūra Al-Shūrā*: 13).

Therefore, this is indeed the view of the Qur'ān concerning religions that preceded it, it is a matter of folly to say that the Qur'ān 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'ān is to guide by the injunctions and laws of the people of the Book, because it says that:

“Almighty 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-Nisā*[4]: 26).

(Jadeed [tract 10]: p.13-14)⁸⁰

The quotation from *Izhār al-ḥaqq* together with the verse from *Al-Shūrā* is used to deny the charge made by Muslims that the Qur'ān has abrogated (*naskh*) the earlier books from God, particularly the *Tawrat* (Torah) and *Injīl* (Gospel). The way that the quotation is used appears to give it a different meaning to that which Raḥmat Allāh 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'ān.

⁸⁰ *Katika kitabu chake kiiwacho, Idhhar Al-Haqq, Hajj Rahmat Allah Al-Hindi alisema kwamba, “Ile hoja kwamba Torati imebatilishwa na Zaburi na kwamba Zaburi imebatilishwa na Injili na kwamba Injili imebatilishwa na Kurani haina msingi wo wote katika Kurani wala katika Hadith.”*

Huyo msomi amesema ukweli katika hayo aliyoyasema. Kurani, kinyume na hoja za wale wanaoamini katika kubatilishwa, hukana kabisa hoja hizo, kwa kuwa inasema kwamba:

“Amekupeni Sharia ya dini ile ile aliyomuusia Nuhu na tuliyokufunulia wewe na tuliyowausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa, kwamba simamisheni dini wala msifarikiane kwayo” (Suratush Shuura: 13).

Kwa vile hayo ndiyo maoni ya Kurani kuhusu dini iliyoitangulia, ni jambo la upuzi kusema kwamba Kurani imebatilisha Biblia au kwamba Uislamu umebatilisha yale yaliyoitangulia kuhusu dini ya Mungu katika Torati na Injili. Siwezi kufahamu jinsi Mwislamu yeyote anavyokubali kushikilia maoni hayo na huku shabaha kubwa ya Kurani yake ni kumwongoza kwa maagizo na sheria za watu wa Kitabu, kwa maana inasema kwamba:

“Mwenyezi Mungu anataka kukubainishieni na kukuongozeni katika mwendo wa wale waliokutangulieni, na kukukhafifishieni. Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mjuzi na Mwenye hikima!” (Surat An Nisa: 26).

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-Nisā'* (4):26 which indicates that the earlier books have a continuing purpose.

It appears that Jadeed had read *Izhār al-ḥaqq*, in fact the quotation he gives comes from St. Clair Tisdall's 1910 English edition of Pfander's *Mizān al-ḥaqq*.

Shaikh Ḥājī Raḥmatu'llāh of Dehli, in his *Izhāru'l Ḥaqq* (قُلُوبًا رَامِظًا), 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 Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān.

⁸¹ The quotation that is given from *Izhār al-ḥaqq* 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.

[2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

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)

⁸² Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.2.

⁸³ *UPWEKE WA MWENYEZI MUNGU*

Dini ya Kiislamu inaamini kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mkamilifu Hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa, na wala hakuna anaafanana Naye hata mmoja. Dini ya Kikristo kwa upande mwingine inaamini kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu hawi mkamilifu sharti kwa nafsi tatu: Baba ambaye alimzaa Mwana, Mwana ambaye alizaliwa na Baba pamoja na Roho Mtakatifu.

Lakini, tunaposoma Biblia tunaambiwa kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu ni pweke asiyekuwa na msaidizi au mshirika katika Milki yake. Wakristo wanaipinga Biblia kwa kuwa wamemfanya Yesu awe siyo mshirika tu, katika ufalme wa Mungu, bali wamempa hata cheo cha kuwa na nafsi katika Uungu huo, yaani hata Mwenyezi Mungu hawezi kukamilika pasi na kuwepo nafsi ya Yesu katika Uungu huo. (See 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:-⁸⁴

(Continued on the next page)

⁸⁴ *Mimi sielewe Wakristo wameyapata wapi mafundisho haya. Ni mafundisho yaliyojaa upotofu mtupu. Hebu tusome Biblia na tuone imesemwa nini juu ya Mwenyezi Mungu:*

ISAYA 41:4 Imcandikwa:-

“Ni nani aliyetenda na kufanya jambo hilo, aviitae vizazi tangu mwanzo? Mimi, Bwana wa kwanza na wa mwisho, mimi ndiye.”

ISAYA 44:6 Imcandikwa:-

“Bwana, Mfalme wa Israeli, Mkombozi wako, bwana wa majeshi, asema hivi, mimi ni wa kwanza, na mimi ni wa mwisho; zaidi yangu mimi hapana Mungu.”

ISAYA 44:24 Imcandikwa:-

“Bwana mkombozi wako yeye aliyekuumba tumboni, asema hivi; Mimi ni Bwana, nifanyaye vitu vyote; nizatandazaye mbingu peke yangu; nienezae nchi; na [UV reads ni (is)] nani aliye pamoja nami?”

ISAYA 45:18 Imcandikwa:-

“Maana Bwana, aliyeziumba mbingu, asema hivi; Yeye ni Mungu; ndiye aliyecumba duna[sic] na kufanya; ndiye aliyeifanya imara; hakuviumba ukiwa, aliviumba ili ikaliwe na watu; Mimi ni Bwana, wala hapana mwingine.”

ISAYA 45:22 Imcandikwa:-

“Niangularie mimi, mkaokolewe, cnyi nchi zote za dunia; maana mimi ni Mungu; hapana mwingine.”

ISAYA 45:21 Imcandikwa:-

“Hubirini; toeni habari, naam, na wafanye mashauri pamoja; na nani aliyconyesha haya tangu zamani za kale? Ni nani aliyeyahubiri hapo zamani? Si mimi; Bwana? Wala hapana Mungu zaidi ya mimi; Mungu mwenye haki, mwokozi; (hapana Mungu zaidi ya mimi; Mungu mwenye haki, mwokozi,) [repeating of phrase not in UV] hapana mwingine zaidi ya mimi.”

Hali kadhalika Yesu mwenyewe aliwahi mara kwa mara kuuthubutisha upweke wa Mwenyezi Mungu kama ifuatavyo:-

(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 *‘Isā* (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)⁸⁵

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

⁸⁵ MARKO 12:28-30 *Imcandikwa:-*

“Na mmoja wapo wa waandishi akafika, akawasikia wakisemczana 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 mpende Bwana Mungu wako kwa moyo wako wote, na kwa roho yako yote, na kwa akili zako zote, na kwa nguvu zako zote.”

Katika maneno haya Yesu anatumia neno “Bwana Mungu wetu ni Bwana Mmoja.” Yaani huyu Mungu Mmoja ni Mungu wetu pamoja na yeye mwenyewe Yesu. Dini ya Kiislamu, kama vile Biblia ifundishavyo, inamtambua na kumwabudu Mungu Mmoja wa pekee. Dini ya Kiislamu haimshirikishi mwanadamu yoyote au kitu chochote katika ibada zake. Lakini, kwa upande wa dini ya Kikristo jina la Yesu limechukua robo tatu za ibada zao. Malaika nao wanalo fungu katika ibada za Kikristo, hali kadhalika wafuasi wa Yesu nao pia wanayo nafasi katika ibada za Kikristo. Mariamu mama wa Yesu naye pia amepandishwa na madhehebu fulani na kupewa daraja la “MALKIA WA MBINGUNI.” Yaani, katika Ufalme wa Mungu tunae Malkia anaatawala pamoja na Mungu na huyu ndiye Mariamu mama wa Isa (a.s.). Hivyo basi, kwa kuwa mama wa Yesu ni Malkia wa mbinguni, ni wazi mwanac ni lazima awe ni mfalme au ndiye Mungu mwenyewe.

Je, ni ipi dini kati ya din [sic] hizi inayofundsha [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 kugundua mvurugiko 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, *šema*^c, 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 ‘Mediatix’:

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,⁸⁸ 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 *nafsi* (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.

[5] Fundi Mussa Ngariba & Mohammed Ali Kawemba *Uislam Katika Biblia*

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

Jesus says in Luke 13:25-30

“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’ān 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 (Continued on the next page)

⁸⁹ *HATARI YA IMANI YA UONGO*

Yesu anasema katika Luka 13:25-30

“Wakati mwenye nyumba atakaposimama na kuufunga mlango, nanyi mkaanza kusimama nje na kubisha mlango, mkisema Ec Bwana, tufungulie; yeye atajibu na kuwaambia, Siwajui mtokako; ndipo mtakapoanza kusema, Tulikula na kunywa mbele yako, nawe ulifundisha katika njia zetu. Naye atasema, Nawaambia siwajui mtokako; ondokeni kwangu ninyi nyote mlio wafanyaji wa udhalimu. Ndipo kutakapokuwa na kilio na kusaga meno, mtakapomwona Ibrahimu na Isaka na Yakobo na manabii wote katika ufalme wa Mungu, nanyi wenyewe mmcutupwa nje. Nao watakuja watu toka mashariki na magharibi, na toka kaskazini na kusini, nao wataketi chakulani katika ufalme wa Mungu. Na tazama, wako walio wa mwisho watakaokuwa wa kwanza, na wa kwanza watakaokuwa wa mwisho.”

Watu kutoka mashariki na magharibi na kutoka kaskazini na kusini ni watu wa Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) ambaye Quran inatwambia “**amepelekwa kuwa ni rehema kwa dunia nzima**”. Nabii Muhammad ni Mtume wa mwisho na atakuwa wa mwanzo katika siku hiyo ya kiyama. Yeye amechaguliwa na mtaalamu wa Komputa wa Kimarekani kuwa ni wa mwanzo katika watu 100 wakuu katika dunia katika historia. Vile vile amcelezwa na *Encyclopaedia Britanica* kuwa “**mtu aliyefuzu kuliko wote katika watu walioanzisha dini**”. [Emphasis in original]

Mwenyezzi Mungu anasema katika Isaya 45:5-7

“Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine, zaidi yangu mimi hapana Mungu; nitakufunga mshipi ijapokuwa hukunijua; ili wapate kujua toka maawio ya jua, na toka magharibi, ya kuwa hapana mwingine zaidi ya mimi; Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine. Mimi naiumba nuru, na kuihuluku giza, mimi nafanya 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’ān *sūra* [*Āl ‘Imrān*] 3:19

“No doubt the (right) religion before Almighty God is Islam.”

Qur’ān *sūra* [*Āl ‘Imrān*] 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 Muḥammad preached the religion of Islam. Those people that believed and followed their teaching are acknowledged as Muslims.

(Ngariba & Kawemba [tract 5]:17-19)⁹⁰

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 Muḥammad whom people will come to see, as they are his people. This is supported by a verse from the Qur’ān “he is sent to be a mercy for the whole world” (*Al-Anbiyā’* (21):107), which is quoted without a reference.

⁹⁰ *Isaya 45:18-22*

Maana BWANA, aliyeziumba mbingu, asema hivi, Yeye ni Mungu; ndiye aliyecumba dunia na kuifanya; ndiye aliyecifanya imara; hakuiumba ukiwa, aliumba ili ikaliwe na watu; Mimi ni BWANA, wala hapana mwingine. Sikusema kwa siri, katika mahali pa nchi ya giza; sikuwaambia wazao wa Yakobo; Nitafuteni bure; Mimi, BWANA, nasema haki; nanena mambo ya adili. Jikusanyeni mje; na kukaribia pamoja, ninyi wa mataifa mliookoka; hawana maarifa wale wachukua mti wa sanamu yao ya kuchonga; wamwombao mungu asiyeweza kuokoa. Hubirini, toeni habari; naam, na wafanye mashauri pamoja; ni nani aliyconyesha haya tangu zamani za kale? Ni nani aliyeyahubiri hapo zamani? Si mimi, BWANA? Wala hapana Mungu zaida ya mimi. Mungu mwenye haki, mwokozi; hapana mwingine zaidi ya mimi. Niangalini mimi, mkaokolewe, enyi ncha zote 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 Uislamu.”

Quran sura 3:85

“Na anayetaka dini isiyokuwa ya Kiislamu basi haitakubaliwa kwake. Naye Akhera atakuwa katika wenye hasara (kubwa kabisa).”

Mitume yote kutoka Adamu mpaka Yesu na Muhammad walihubiri dini ya Kiislamu. Wale watu waliowaamini na wakafuata mafunzo yao wanakubaliwa kuwa ni waislamu.

Ngariba and Kawemba then use material, which also appears in *Muhammed 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)

“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’ānic references that Deedat used, in this section.

The passages from Isaiah are then given followed by two verses from the Qur’ān, *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 twenty five times in the Qur'ān 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 Imrān* (3):45-51; *Al-Māʾida* (5):111-115
- Death of Jesus: *Al-Nisāʾ* (4):157-159; Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36;
Philippians 2:5-8

³ See G. Parrinder (1996), Neal Robinson (1991) and Tarif Khalidi (2001) for Islamic views on Jesus and the cross.

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: *Sūra Āl Imrān* (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’ila 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 Māliki jurist and legal theoretician, a Ṣanhāja from North Africa, who grew up in al Qarāfa in Old Cairo; his *Al-ajwiba al-fākhira ‘an al-as’ila al-fājira* is contentiously described as ‘the greatest apologetical achievement in Islam’ (Jackson 1999:435).

(Accad 2003a:73; 2003b:211).⁶ 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.”⁷ (See the next page)

⁶ An 'exegetical inventorial table' of the findings of Martin Accad's doctorate 'Islamic Exegesis of the Gospels in Muslim-Christian dialogue (eighth-fourteenth centuries)', Oxford 2001, was published in four parts during 2003 in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*.

⁷ *Tena hata kabla ya kuzaliwa kwake Yesu, ilitabiriwa ya kwamba:-*
MATHAYO 2:6 Imeandikwa:-

“Nawe Bethlehemu, katika nchi ya Yuda, Hu mdogo kamwe katika wajumbe wa Yuda; kwa kuwa kwako atatoka mtawala Atakayewachunga watu wangu Israeli.”

Maneno haya ni maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu mwenyewe akituambia kwamba atazaliwa mtoto Bethlehemu atakayewachunga watu wake Israeli. Iwapo Yesu angalikuwa ameletwa kuja kuwachunga watu wote ulimwenguni, ni kwa nini Mwenyezi Mungu amelitaja taifa moja tu la wana wa Israeli? Maneno yote haya yanaongeza uzito juu ya ushahidi tuliokwisha kuusoma kuwa Yesu, kama vile Musa, alikuja kuwaongoza nduguze wana wa Israeli. Hali kadhalika, maneno na vitendo vya bwana Yesu mwenyewe vilikuwa vikithubutisha kwamba yeye alikuwa ameletwa kwa ajili ya nduguze Wayahudi tu. Tunasoma katika:-
MATHAYO 15:21-26 kwamba:-

“Yesu akaondoka huko, akaenda pande za Tizo na Sidoni. Na tazama, mwanamke Mkakanayo wa mipaka ile akatokca akampazia sauti akisema, Unirehemu, Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi, binti yangu amepagawa sana pepo. Wala yeye hakumjibi neno. Nao wanafunzi wake wakamwendea, wakamwomba, wakisema Mwache acende zake; kwa maana anapiga kelele nyuma yetu. Akajibu, akasema; sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotca wa nyumba ya Israeli. Naye akaja akamsujudia, akisema, Bwana Un[*s*]aidie [sic]. Akajibu, akasema, Si vema kukitwaa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.” (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)⁸

⁸ *Katika maneno haya tunamsikia bwana Yesu akiwajibu wanafunzi wake ambao walikwenda kumwomba amsaidie yule mwanamke wa taifa la Kikananayo. Ingawaje baadae Yesu alimsaidia, lakini, apate kutufahamisha na tupate kuelewa juu ya masharti ya ujumbe wake, Yesu anasema, “SIKUTUMWA ILA KWA KONDOO WALIO POTEWA WA NYUMBA YA ISRAELI.”*

Maneno haya yanatuonyesha kwamba Yesu hakujileta yeye mwenyewe hapa duniyani bali alitumwa na Mungu, na masharti ya kutumwa kwake ni kule kuja kuwakomboa nduguze wana wa Israeli waliokwisha kupotea.

Ukisoma habari tulizo zisoma za Mamajusi na habari tulizoz soma katika Mathayo 2:6 na maneno haya katika Mathayo 15:21-26 utaona kwamba wote wanaclezea juu ya neno lile lile la Yesu kuwa ni Mfalme wa Wayahudi aliekua ametumwa kuja kuwakomboa nduguze wana wa Israeli. Kwa ukumbusho imeandikwa kama ifuatavyo:-

MATHAYO 2:6 Imcandikwa:-

“... Kwa kuwa kwako atatoka Mtawala Atakayewachunga watu wangu Israeli.”

MATHAYO 15:21-26 Imcandikwa:-

“... Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotea wa nyumba ya Israeli ...”

Tumekwisha kusoma hapo mwanzo kwamba Mwenyezi Mungu alilichagua taifa la wayahudi kuwa taifa lake takatifu. Na mara nyingi taifa hili lilikuwa likiitwa kwa jina la “wana au watoto wa Mungu”.

Huyu mwanamke wa Kikananayo alipozidi kumliliya bwana Yesu, aliona ni heri amweleze wazi ya kwamba dini hii na miujiza aifanyayo ni kwa ajili ya watoto. yaani Wayahudi; na singalikuwa vizuri kwake kukiuka amri ya Mwenyezi Mungu kwa kukitoa kilicho cha watoto na kumpa mbwa, yaani yule ambaye si katika taifa takatifu la Mungu, kwani imeandikwa:-

“Akajibu, akasema, Si vema kukitwaa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.”

Ili kuweza kuthubutisha ya kwamba Yesu alikuwa ametumwa kwa ajili ya wana wa Israeli tu, ilimbidi nae achague wanafunzi wake thenashara tu kwa kulingana na idadi ya makabila kumi na mbili ya wana wa Israeli. ...

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)⁹

The two verses are taken together because of the derogatory reference to dogs.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

⁹ MATHAYO 7:6 Imcandikwa:-

Msiwape mbwa kilicho kitakatifu, wala msitupe lulu zenu mbele ya nguruwe, wasije wakazikanyaga chini ya miguu yao, wakaruka na kuwararua.

Onyo hili ni kama lile onyo alilolitoa Yesu katika MATHAYO 25[15]:21-26 ambapo aliwaita wale wasiokuwa Wayahudi kwa jina la “mbwa”; kwani alisema “Si vema kukitwaa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.” Sasa, ili apate kusisitiza 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 haya ni ushahidi wa kutosha kabisa kwamba dini ya Kikristo ni dini ya Myahudi peke yake. Kwa kujikumbusha yale tuliyokwisha kuyasoma kwa kifupi, maneno hayo yameandikwa kama ifuatavyo:-... Mathayo 15:21-26 ... Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo walio potea wa nyumba ya Israeli. ... Sivema kukitwa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.”... Ushahidi wote huu wa pamoja unatuonyesha jinsi Yesu alivyokuwa ametumwa kwa ajili ya kuja 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 kuwa Yesu Masihi nac alikuja kuitimiza ile sheria iliyokuwemo katika maagizo aliyopewa Musa na Mwenyezi Mungu, ilimbidi naye pia awaendee tu wana wa Israeli. Mambo ambayo tumekwisha kuyasoma ni kama yafuatayo:-

“... Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo walipotewa wa nyumba ya Israeli ... Si vema kukitwaa 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)

[3] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*

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 *Īsā* 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

¹² Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.3.

¹³ (a) *Myahudi kwa Taifa lake:*

Nabii Isa bin Maryamu A.S. (Yesu), yeye hakutumwa ila kwa nduguze Mayahudi peke yao. Kwa hiyo, kuwa mfuasi wa yesu [sic] Kristo kulimhitaji mtu awe kwanza ni Myahudi. Mtu wa taifa lingine lolote hakuruhusiwa kuwa mfuasi wa Injili. Hayo yameclezwa waziwazi katika maandishi haya yafuatayo ya Injili yenyewe. Imcandikwa:-

MARKO 7:26-27

“Na yule mwanamke ni Myunani, kabila yake ni Msirofoiniki. Akamwomba amtoc pepo katika binti yake. Akamwambia, Waache watoto washibe kwanza, maana si kukitwaa chakula cha watoto, na kuwatupia mbwa.”

MATHAYO 2:6

“Nawe Bethlehemu, katika nchi ya Yuda, Hu mdogo kamwe katika majumbe wa Yuda; Kwa kuwa kwako atatoka mtawala atakaywachunga watu wangu Israeli.”

MATHAYO 15:21-24

“Yesu akaondoka huko, akaenda pande za Tiro na Sidoni. Na tazama, mwanamke Mkananayo wa mipaka ile akatokca akampazia sauti akisema, Unihurumie, Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi, binti yangu amepagawa sana na upepo. Wala yeye hakumjibu neno. Nao wanafunzi wake wakamwendea, wakamwomba, wakisema, Mwache acende zake; kwa maana anapiga kelele nyuma yetu; Akajibu akasema; Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotea wa nyumba ya Israeli.”

MATHAYO 19:28

“Yesu akawaambia, Amin, nawaambia ya kwamba ninyi mlionifuata mimi, katika ulimwengu mpya, atakapoketi Mwana wa Adamu katika kiti cha utukufu wake, ninyi nanyi mtaketi viti kumi na viwili, mkiwahukumu kabila kumi na mbili za ISRAELI.”

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 *Īsā* 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 tunamfuata Yesu Kristo, tunajidanganya kweli kweli. Kwani Yesu mwenyewe alionya, 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)¹⁶

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 waliopotca wa nyumba ya Israeli.”

MARKO 7:27

“...maana si vizuri kukitwaa chakula cha watoto, na kuwatupia mbwa.”

Hii ndiyo dini ya kweli aliyoiteremsha Mwenyezi Mungu duniani kwa Mayahudi kwa ujumbe wa Yesu Kristo. Lakini, sasa nitauliza: “Je! iwapo dini hii ndiyo dini ya kweli, ni halisi basi, kwa Mayahudi kuendelea kuifuata dini hii hadi hivi sasa?” La, si halali kwao kufanya hivyo. Na wala Yesu hakuagiza hivyo. Alichogiza ni kwamba atakapokuwa amekwisha kuondoka yeye duniani angalikua nyuma yake yeye Nabii mwingine, na akawataka Mayahudi pamoja na watu wote duniani kumfuata Nabii huyo, ambaye alimtaja kuwa ni Roho wa kweli, ...

[5] Fundi Mussa Ngariba & Mohammed Ali Kawemba *Uislam Katika Biblia*

This tract quotes verses 21-28 in full, at the end of a series of passages from the Letters of Paul.¹⁷ 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 Muḥammad (s.a.w.).¹⁸(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 tulinganisha na mafunzo ya Paulo.*
Mathayo 15:21-28

“Yesu akaondoka huko, akenda kando pande za Tiro na Sidoni, na tazama, mwanamke Mkananayo wa mipaka ile akatokca, akampazia sauti akisema, Unirehemu, Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi; binti yangu amepagawa sana na pepo. Wala yeje hakumjibu neno. Nao wanafunzi wake wakamwendea, wakamwomba, wakisema Mwache acnde zake; kwa maana anapiga kelele nyuma yetu. Akajibu, akasema Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotca wa nyumba ya Israeli. Naye akaja akamsujudia, akisema, Bwana unisaidie. Akajibu, akasema, Si vema kukitwaa chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa. Akasema, Ndiyo, Bwana, lakini hata mbwa hula makombo yaangukayo mezani pa bwana zao. Ndipo Yesu akajibu, akamwambia, Mama, imani yako ni kubwa; na iwe kwako kama utakavyo. Akapona binti yake tangu saa ile.”

Yesu, alihubiri imani ya Mungu Mmoja kama alivyohubiri Nabii Musa na Mitume wengine. Katika kuhifadhi dini ya haki na imani ya Mwenyezi Mungu mmoja, alikataza kuhubiri kwa watu wengine isipokuwa wa kabila la Mayahudi. Itakuwa ni kama kuwatupia lulu nguruwe. Alizifuata sharia na amri za Mwenyezi mungu. Paulo alizivunja zote. Kwa kuchukua dini ya imani ya Mwenyezi Mungu mmoja na kuwapelekea wasiokuwa na dini ambao wakiamini kiungu kadha wa kadha na ambao hawakujua lolote kuhusu sharia ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Paulo alifungua mlango wa imani za wasiokuwa na dini kuingia katika dini ya kweli na kwa hivyo dini nyengine [sic] mpya iliundika mbali na ile ya Nabii Musa na hata ya Yesu. Bila ya dini ya Paulo, Uislamu wa Musa ungalienelca bila ya kikwazo katika Uislamu wa Yesu na kufikia Uislamu kama ulivyofundishwa na Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.). (Continued on the next page)

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

¹⁹ *Ni wazi kuwa Pauli ndiye aliyeleta dini zaidi ya moja kama ilivyo leo. Hapana hata pahala pamoja katika Biblia ambapo Yesu alimwambia yeyote kuwa yeye ni Mungu na aabudiwe. Bali kinyume ya hivyo amesema mara nyingine kuwa yeye ni Mtume katumwa na Mwenyezi Mungu ambaye ndiye Mkuu. Vile vile, wakati alipokuwa hapa duniani aliwahubiria Mayahudi wala sio watu wengine kwani aliletwa kwa “kondoo waliopotea wa Israeli.”*

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 ʿImrān] 3:49

(TELM *Neno* [tract 16]:14)²⁰

The three passages are set out in parallel, together with the Arabic text of *Āl ʿImrān* 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 atakuondokeshca nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zako, kama nilivyo mimi; msikilizeni yeye.”(Kumbukumbu 18:15)
Yesu akajibu akasema, “Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotca wa nyumba ya Israeli.” (Mathayo 15:24)
“Na (atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israili ...” Sura 3:49

9.3 MIRACLES OF JESUS

9.3.1 *Āl Imrān* (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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani*

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,²¹ [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 *mabalanga* (skin disease) used by Musa and Alavi.

²² *Inapasa pia izingatiwe kwamba miujiza yote aliyoitenda Yesu ilikuwa ni kwa Rehema za Mwenyezi Mungu; na hiyo (miujiza) haikutendwa na Yesu kwa kujitegemea mwenyewe, Kur’ani Tukufu inatoa hoja hiyo wazi wazi kwa kiwango kikubwa: Na tutamfanya mjumbe kwa wana wa Israeli,²¹[indicating Footnote] (akiwaambia): Kwa hakika! Nimekujiini na ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu. Kwa Hakika! nawatengenezeeni kutokana na udongo mfano wa ndege, na kisha nikampulizia, na akawa ndege kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Ninamponya aliyezaliwa kipofu na mwenye ukoma, na nikiwafufua wafu kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na nikiwaambieni mnavyovila na mnavyoviweka akiba kwa ajili yenu, ikiwa ninyi ni wenye kuamini. (Continued on the next page)*

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 fulfil 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 (Qurʾān, [Āl ʿImrān] 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]⁰⁰ 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 Qurʾān 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)²³

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.

²³ *Na (nimekuja) kusadikisha yale yaliyokuweco kabla yangu katika Taurati, na kuhalalisha baadhi ya yale yaliyoharamishwa kwenu ninyi. Nimewajieni ninyi nikiwa pamoja na ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu, kwa hiyo timizeni wajibu wenu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na mnitii (mimi). Kwa Hakika! Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye Mola wangu na Mola wenu, basi mwabuduni Yeye. Hiyo ndio njia iliyonyooka. (Kurʾani, 3:49-51).*

Laiti, kama yeye (Yesu) alikuwa si binadamu, basi asingelikuwa na haja ya mahitaji ya kibinadamu kama vile kula chakula, kwani bila ya hicho hapana mwanadamu anayeweza kuishi, Mungu hana haja ya chakula. Lakini Yesu Kristo alidumu katika mahitaji ya kula na kunywa kwa ajili ya maisha yake sawa sawa na sisi tulivyo. Uungu na uhitaji haviwezi kuchanganywa pamoja. Mwenyezi Mungu ni Nafsi Ambayo haiishi kwa uhitaji wa kitu cho chote ambapo viumbe vyote vinaishi kwa kumhitajia Yeye.

[Footnote]⁰⁰ *Fadhila zote hizo zilikuwa zimetajwa na Mwenyezi Mungu kwa makusudi ya kumfariji Mariamu na kumuondolea wasi wasi ulioinyemelea akili yake kwamba angelitupiwa matope juu yake kwa kumzaa mtoto akiwa bado Bikra. Kurʾani pia inakanusha kwa nguvu kabisa masingizio ya Wayahudi na inaeleza kwamba Yesu Kristo alikuwa mwana mwenye sifa wa mama mwenye sifa, mwenye utukufu sana na mfano wa manabii wote walivyo [sic] miliki daraja bora mbele ya Mwenyezi Mungu.*

If Christians truly believe in Christ, then they are duty-bound to receive the truth that the Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān:

“Almighty God creates that which he will. When He decrees something, he only says: Be! and it is” (Qurʾān, [*Āl ʿImrān*] 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”.^{oo}[Indicating Footnote]

[Footnote]^{oo} Christians would benefit from referring to the Old Testament; so that they can compare this: Genesis, 1:3, 1:6-7, 1:14-15, 1:20-23, 1:24 et cetera, they should confirm for themselves the TRUTH of the Qurʾān, concerning the ability to create that Almighty God has by only saying: BE, and IT IS. Translator.

(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 fâ-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 wanamwamini Kristo, basi wanawajibika kupokea ukweli uliobainishwa na Kurʾani. Hapana shaka, ikiwa Mwenyezi Mungu aliweza kumuumba Adam kutokana na ugongo [sic] usio na uhai na Hawa kutokana na Adam, vile vile aliweza kwa urahisi zaidi kumuumba Yesu kutokana na mimba ya mwanamke bikra.[sic] Tunaendelea kusoma katika Kurʾani:*

“Mwenyezi Mungu huumba kile anachokikusudia. Kwani anapoliamuru jambo, huliambia tu: Kuwa! nalo likawa.”(Kurʾani, 3:47).

Hii ndiyo imani ya Kiislamu juu ya uwezo wa kuumba na utakatifu wa Mwenyezi Mungu. Haipasi katika Uwezo Wake iwe lazima achukuwe mbegu na kusia. Kwake yeye huamuru tu: “Kuwa!” nalo linakuwa”.

^{oo}[Indicating Footnote]

[Footnote]^{oo} *Wakristo ingelifaa warejee katika Agano la kalc; ili walinganishe kwa hayo: Mwanzo, 1:3, 1:6-7, 1:14-15, 1:20-23, 1:24 na kadhalika, wajihakikishie wenyewe UKWELI wa Kurʾani, kuhusu uwezo wa kuumba alionao Mwenyezi Mungu kwa kusema tu: KUWA, na LINA KUWA. Mfasiri.*

[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 *ĪSĀ* PERFORMS THE MIRACLE OF CREATING BIRDS

The people of Prophet *Īsā* again told *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* 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)

²⁵ *Tungali tumo katika kutaja Habari za kuzaliwa Isa katika Qurani. Na habari za Bibi Maryam kumzaa Nabii Isa, Qurani pia yatuambia katika Sura ya Ala Imran kuanzia Aya ya 45 mpaka Aya ya 48:*

While we are still in the process of mentioning News of the birth of *Īsā* in the Qurʾān. And news of Lady Mary giving birth to Prophet *Īsā*, the Qurʾān also tells us in *Sūra Āl Īmrān* beginning at Verse 45 until Verse 48: (Musa [tract 4]:17-18)

²⁶ *NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUUMBA NDEGE*

Watu wa Nabii Isa walimwambia tena Isa kuwa miujiza aliyoitoa haikulingana na ile ya Nabii Musa hivyo ati atoc mingine ya kuisimua zaidi.

Nabii Isa Masihi akasema: Sasa naona enyi Mayahudi mnanichezea shere. Mnaniletea inadi na kibri [sic], na hali ya kuwa hata kama nikiwaletea miujiza au mwujiza wa aina gani hamtaniamini. Mmekuwa kila siku mnaniomba nikuleteeni mwujiza. Na mara nikileta mwujiza mnapinga na hamwamini! Basi hata kama nikileta kitu gani kigeni zaidi kuliko alivyofanya Nabii Musa hamuniamini.”

Mayahudi wakasema: “Kweli tutauamini Utume wako kama utatuletea mwujiza wa kitu kigeni mfano wa Nabii Musa.

Nabii Isa akawaambia kuwa ataonyesha makubwa na ya ajabu zaidi kuliko ya Mtume mwenzake Musa A.S. Lakini kwa sharti wamwahidi na kumhakikishia kuwa hawatakataa Utume wa Mwenyezi Mungu aliokuja nao kwao.

Mayahudi wakamwambia: “Ndio tutakuahidi kabisa kwamba tutakuamini wewe na yote uliokuja nayo kutoka kwa Mwenyezi Mungu kuwa ni ya kweli”.

(Continued on next page)

Prophet *Īsā* said: Qurʾān *Sūra Āl ʿImrān* 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 *Īsā*?

(Musa [tract 4]:24-25)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 *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, which is considered by Christians to be apocryphal.²⁸ Thomas 3:1-2, (Greek Text B)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 Qurʾān the giving of life to the clay birds becomes a ‘sign’ of [Jesus’] prophethood” (Watt 1994:50).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

²⁷ *Nabii Isa 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 hatusadiki kuwa unaweza! Itakuwaje awc hai ndege unaycmfinyanga mwenyewe na kuweza kwenda? Huchoki na porojo zako wewe Isa?”

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.

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 *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* rather than the Gnostic *Gospel of Thomas* which was discovered at Nag Hammadi in 1946.

³⁰ A similar passage concerning this miracle is found in *Al-Māʿida* (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.³¹ This seems to be in order to list the Miracles of Jesus; no commentary or explanation is given.

³¹ *MIUJIZA YA NABII ISA KATIKA QURANI*
Mwenyezi Mungu katika Qurani katika Juzuu ya 3 ya Tilkar Rasulu Aya ya 46-49 anasema:

MIRACLES OF PROPHET ʿĪSĀ IN THE QUR’ĀN

Almighty God in the Qur’ān in *Juz’3 Tilkar Rasulu* Verses 46-49 says: (Musa [tract 4]:31-32)

Juz’ – part or portion, referring to the thirty parts that the Qur’ān is divided into for reciting during Ramaḍān.
Tilkar Rasulu – title of the third part of the Qur’ān, beginning at *Al-Baqara* (2):253 and continuing to *Āl ʿImrān* (3):92.

[9] K.K. Alavi *Kutafuta Uhakika*

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 *Īsā* has a very important part in the Qur'ān and also in the *Hadīth*, or the traditions of Islam. I saw in the Qur'ān that *Īsā* is of the utmost importance above my apostle Muḥammad. 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 Muḥammad. I continued to be astonished at the verses of the Qur'ān 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, *Īsā*, 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)

³² *Niligundua kwamba Isa ana sehemu muhimu sana katika Kurani na pia katika Hadithi au desturi za Kiislamu. Niliona katika Kurani kwamba Isa ni wa muhimu sana kuliko mtume wangu Muhammad. Haukupita muda mrefu, mara yule mwalimu pamoja na wazazi wangu wakawa na mashaka kuhusu nilivyotamani kujifunza zaidi habari za Isa. Walinishauri kwamba nisisitize kujifunza juu ya Muhammad. Nilizidi kushangazwa na aya za Kurani zilizokuwa zikinena habari za Yesu, kuhusu kuzaliwa kwake kwa ajabu, na kazi zake za ajabu.*

“(Kumbukeni) waliposema Malaika: “Ewe Maryamu! Mwenyezi Mungu anakupa khabari njema za neno tu litokalo kwake. Jina lake ni Masih, Isa, mwana was Maryamu, mwenye hishima katika dunia na Akhera, na miongoni mwa waliopelekwa mbele na Mwenyezi Mungu (Allah).

Naye atazungumza na watu katika utoto wake na katika utu uzima wake, na (atakuwa) katika watu wema kabisa.

Maryamu akasema: Mola wangu! Nitapataje mtoto, na hali mtu yo yote hakunigusa? Akasema: Ndivyo vivyo hivyo; Mwenyezi Mungu huumba anavyopenda: anapohukumu jambo huliambia ‘Kuwa’, likawa.

Na (Mwenyezi Mungu) atafunza kuandika na kujua ilimu na Taurati na Injili.

Na (atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israili, (kuwaambia): ‘Nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wenu, ya kwamba nakuumbieni, katika udongo, kama sura ya ndege, kisha nampuliza, mara anakuwa ndege, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na ninawaponesha vipofu na wenye mabalanga, na ninawafufua (baadhi ya) waliokufa, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na nitakwambieni mtakavyovila na mtakavyoweka akiba katika nyumba zenu. Bila shaka katika haya imo 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.” ([*Āl ʿImrān*] 3:45-50)

Also I discovered that the Qurʾān especially mentions things from the Old Testament, that is the Torah and also things from the New Testament, that is the Injīl. This circumstance made me accept these testaments because they are a guide and light ([*Al-Māʿida*] 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 Qurʾān and Ḥadīth. He makes a comparison between Jesus and his apostle Muḥammad, revealing his doubts to his parents and to his teacher, who told him to concentrate on learning about Muḥammad. He quotes the verses to show Jesus’ “amazing birth and his amazing work”. He concludes by commenting that he had discovered that the Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān to speak for him, to show that Jesus is different and that his readers should look at the Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān shows that Jesus is different.

³³ *Na (nitakuwa) msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati; na (nimekuja) ili nikuhalalishieni baadhi ya yale mliyoharimishiwa, na nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wenu. Kwa hivyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nitiini” (3:45-50).*

Pia niligundua kwamba Kurani hutaja mambo hasa ya Agano la Kale, yaani Taurati na pia mambo ya Agano Jipya, yaani Injili. Jambo hilo lilinifanya nisadiki maagano hayo kwa sababu ni mwongozo na nuru (5:46).

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 Qurʾān 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 ([*Āl ʿImrān*] 3:49); how he ascended to go to heaven and his being there in heaven until today. (Alavi [tract 9]:25)

[15] TELM *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

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 statements³⁵ followed by questions to be thought about by the reader.³⁶

SECONDLY: The Qur’ān says: Jesus Christ is indeed the WORD OF ALMIGHTY GOD (ALLĀH) (Sura No. 3 *Āl Īmrān*:45)
(Remember) when the Angels said: “Oh Mary! Almighty God gives you good news that comes from him: His name is Messiah, *Īsā*
Question: Is there any other prophet who is able to say that he is the Word of Almighty God (Allāh)?
(TELM *Isa* [tract 15]:1)³⁷

The tract calls Jesus the Word of Almighty God, however, through what may well be a failure in proof-reading the tract omits *nenō* (word) from the verse quoted, thus the meaning of the statement and subsequent question is lost.³⁸ Al-Farsy reads:

*Ewe Maryamu! Mwenyezi Mungu anakupa khabari njema za (kumzaa mtoto bila ya mume, bali kwa kutamkwa) Neno tu litokalo Kwake (la kukwambia ‘Zaa’ ukazaa pasina kuingiliwa). Jina lake ni Masih, ... Isa (Āl Īmrān (3):45).*³⁹

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-Nisā’*(4):171.

³⁶ Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.15.

³⁷ *PILI: Kurani Husema: Yesu Kristo ndiye NENO LA MWENYEZI MUNGU (ALLAH) (Sura No. 3 Aali Imran:45)*

(Kumbukeni) waliposema Malaika: “Ewe Mariamu! Mwenyezi Mungu anakupa habari njema litokalo kwake: Jina lake Masih, Isa

Swali: Je, nabii mwingine awaye yote aweza kusema eti yeye ni Neno la Mwenyezi Mungu (ALLAH)?

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 pronouncement) a *Word* that only comes from Him (of telling you to ‘Bear’ without intercourse). His name is Messiah, ... *Īsā (Āl Īmrān (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’ān 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?” (*Sūra* No. 3 *Āl ‘Imrān*: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 (Allāh) choose to enter in and to change the way of creation from the usual for birth in this way?

FIFTHLY: The Qur’ān 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).” (*Sūra* No. 3 *Āl ‘Imrān*:46)

Question: Is any among the prophets able to claim that he is holy?

SIXTHLY: The Qur’ān 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!

(*Sūra* No. 3 *Āl ‘Imrān*:49).

(TELM *Isa* [tract 15]:2)⁴¹

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’ān. The question

⁴⁰ For the Muslim view of Word, see Geoffrey Parrinder ‘Jesus as Word’ (1996:45-48); Matthias Radscheit, ‘Word of God’ (2006b:541-548).

⁴¹ NNE: *Kurani huhubiri kuzaliwa kwa Yesu Kristo na Mwanamwali (Bikira) Alisema (mwanamwali Mariamu) “Mola wangu! Nitapataje mtoto, na hali mtu ye yote hakunigusa?” (Sura No. 3 Aali Imran:47)*

Swali: Kwa nini Kristo ndiye alichaguliwa awe na uzazi 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 ni Kristo? Kwa nini Mwenyezi Mungu (Allah) alichagua kuingilia na kugeuza njia ya maumbile iliyo ya kawaida ya uzazi kwa namna hii?

TANO: Kurani husema: Yesu Kristo alihubiri tangu utoto. “Naye atazungumza na watu katika utoto wake na katika utu uzima wake na atakuwa katika watu wema (kabisa).” (Sura No. 3 Aali Imran:46)

Swali: Je, nabii awaye yote aweza kudai kuwa mtakatifu?

SITA: Kurani husema kuwa Kristo aliishi ulimwenguni ili awaongoze watu kwenye Haki na kufanya ishara iliyo kuu pamoja na kuwafufua wafu! (Sura No. 3 Aali Imran:49).

⁴² *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 ‘Imrān* 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 ‘Imrān*: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, *‘Īsā* (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]:4)⁴³

⁴³ *NENO LA MUNGU*

Sura 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, Isa (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 pেকে atokaye kwa Baba; amejaa nema 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'ān does not only explain that Jesus is 'His Word' (*Kalimatu'llāh*), rather also that he is called the Word that was pronounced ([*Āl 'Imrān*] 3:45). But the Gospel says "In the beginning was the Word ..." (John 1:1). How can these statements be reconciled?

The Qur'ān 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 (*'Īsā Masīh*). 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)⁴⁴

The tract contrasts verse 45, stating that Jesus is called *Kalimatu'llāh* (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.

⁴⁴ KULIFAHAMU NENO LA MUNGU

Kurani haielezi tu kwamba Yesu ni 'Neno Lake' (Kalamatullah), bali pia humwita Neno lililotamkwa (3:45). Lakini Injili husema "Hapo mwanzo kulikuwako Neno ..." (Yohana 1:1) Je, maelezo hayo yanapatanaje? Kurani humwita Yesu Neno lililotamkwa na Mungu kwa sababu kumekuwa na mafunuo matatu ya Neno la Mungu kwa wanadamu: Neno lililotamkwa, Neno lililotandikwa, na Neno aliyejulikana hapa duniani tangu wakati wa Bikira Maryamu kwamba ndiye Yesu Kristo (Isa Masihi). Mungu ametamka Neno, ambalo kwalo vitu vyote viliumbwa; ametupatia Neno lililoandikwa likiwa uongozi wake kwetu; na mwishowe, Neno lake lililotoka mbinguni na kufika hapa duniani, akitufunulia Mungu jinsi alivyo.

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'ida* (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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur’ani*

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'ida* 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^o1[Indicating Footnote]

(Qurʾān [*Al-Mā'ida*] 5:111).

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, (nikiwaambia): Mniamini mimi na Mjumbe wangu, walisema: Tumcamini, na ushuhudie ya kuwa sisi ni Waislamu.^o1[Indicating Footnote](*Qur'ani* 5:11.)

Yesu alifundisha ibada ya Mungu Mmoja tu aliyelitwa Allah. Fundisho la Utatu analosingiziwa na baadhi ya wafuasi wake wapotevu ni uzushi tu ambao msingi wake umesimama juu ya imani za dini za Kigiriki na za Kimisri. Baadaye, Paulo aliingiza fikra hii katika Mafundisho sahihi ya Yesu Mnazareti ya kumpwekesha Mwenyezi Mungu; na tokca hapo Wakristo hawajaweza kamwe kulifumbua tatizo hili la kuwaabudu miungu walioibuni wao wenyewe!

Hivyo ndivyo Paulo, Mrumi aliyefundishwa na wanachuoni wa Kiyahudi alivyopotosha mafundisho safi ya Yesu. Alijenga nguzo za dini mpya.

(Continued on the next page)

[Footnote]^o1 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

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 A’lā Maudūdī 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).⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹

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-Nisā’* (4):171 and the defence of *tawḥīd*.

⁴⁷ [Footnote]^o *Ihii 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 mzuri anavyoamini.*

⁴⁸ Abu’l A’lā Maudūdī uses Muslim in the Lahore edition of *Tafhīm al-Qur’ān*, but the Islamic Foundation editions say “Submitted to Allāh” with a footnote. Both Pickthall and Yusuf ‘Alī 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-Mā'ida* of the Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān 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).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 Qur'ānic 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.

⁵⁰ *Mwenyezi Mungu katika aya 113 ya Sura Al-Maida ya Kur'ani analeta mbele ya fikra ya wanadamu fadhila Alizomjaalia Yesu Kristo ambazo zote zilikuwa namna ya miujiza. Ilikuwa kwa ajili ya miujiza hiyo kwamba baadhi ya watu waliamini kwamba Yesu alikuwa mtu wa ajabu na baadaye kuwa Mungu, na mshirika katika Uungu. Ajabu iliyoje ya akili ya watu waliopotoka! Wanapoiona sifa yo yote tukufu ndani mtu imma humhesabia Uungu au humdhalilisha kwa kiwango ambacho humuweka katika fungu la wachawi. Kur'ani mahala pengi inaongoza kwa hali ya kudhihirisha nadharia ya akili zao zilizopotoshwa ya kwamba waliwaelewa Mariamu na Yesu kama ni miungu kinyume cha Mwenyezi Mungu ijapokuwa kwa hakika ya kwamba si Yesu wala Mariamu waliweza kuyafanya madai kama hayo; zaidi waliwafundisha kumwabudu Mwenyezi Mungu Mmoja. Ukweli ni kwamba miujiza yote iliyofanywa mikononi mwa Yesu, sio kama ilifanyika kutokana na uwezo wa Mwenyezi Mungu Aliye Mtukufu juu ya Yesu, kama Alivyo juu ya viumbe wote. Kwa hiyo, Kur'ani inakanusha kwa nguvu sana mafundisho ya Utatu na kusema kweli hayo ni kufuru ya hali ya juu kabisa dhidi ya Utukufu Wake Mwenyezi Mungu.*

[4] Saidi Musa *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*

This tract quotes verses 112-115 and then gives an extended commentary on the miracle and its purpose.

THE PROPHET ʿĪSĀ PERFORMS THE MIRACLE OF FOOD FROM HEAVEN

The Qurʾān says in *Sūra [Al-]Māʿida*, from verses 112-115:

(Remember) (your) disciples when they said: Oh ʿĪsā 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).

They 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).

ʿĪsā 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 ʿĪsā who believed and followed him. So these followers asked the Prophet ʿĪsā 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 ʿĪsā 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.⁵¹

(Continued on next page)

⁵¹ *NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA CHAKULA KUTOKA MBINGUNI*

Qurani inasema katika Suratul Maaida, tangu Aya ya 112-115:

(Kumbuka) wanafunzi (wako) waliposema: Ewe Isa bin Maryam! Je, Mola wako anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni?” Akasema: “Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu kama nyinyi ni wenye kuamini kweli (msitake kila mara kuona miujiza).

Wakasema: Tunataka kula katika hicho ili zitue nyoyo zetu na tujue kwamba umctuambia kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoshuhudia (miujiza ya Mungu kwa Mitume yake).

Akasema Isa bin Maryam: Ec Mungu Mola wetu! Tuteremshie chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe sikukuu kwa ajili ya wa mwanzo wetu (yaani sisi) na wa mwisho wetu (yaani wafuasi watakaokuja baada yetu na kusikia haya), na kiwe ishara itokayo kwako, na turuzuku sisi kwa kuwa wewe bila shaka ndiye mbora wa wanaoruzuku.

Akasema Mwenyezi Mungu mimi nitakiteremsha kwenu. Lakini miongoni mwenu atakayekataa baada ya haya, basi mimi nitamwadhibu adhabu ambayo sijamwadhibu yoyote katika ulimwengu.

MAELEZO:

Waliotaka chakula toka mbinguni ni wale wafuasi wake Nabii Isa waliomwamini na kumfuata. Basi wafuasi hao walimwomba Nabii Isa amwombe Mola wake awateremshie 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 yeye, anaona njaa na kiu kama wao kwa kuwa na yeye ni mwanadamu sawa na wao. Aliwataka wasubiri kwa kuwa huenda Mwenyezi Mungu atawajaalia wepesi katika hali yao na pengine mvua itanyesha ilete kheri katika maji na mimea. Wanafunzi walimkazania tu kuwa awahifadhi upesi kwani wana njaa kali ambayo hawataweza kustahamili kwayo mpaka inyeshwe 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-RAḤMĀN AR-RAḤĪM.*" [In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate]

So when they said *Bismi'llāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm* they sat at the table. Behold on it was food that eyes had not seen the like for its goodness.

THEY TASTE THE FOOD AND GIVE THANKS TO GOD

After trying it they found there was a wonderful sweet taste more than any earthly food. So they praised Almighty God he who fed them when they were hungry. Straight away after eating they saw that table rise and to go towards heaven little by little until it was lost to their eyes.

(Musa [tract 4]:29-31)⁵²

⁵² *Taabu hii iliwapata walipokuwa katika jangwa waliokwenda kutazama maajabu ya Mwenyezi Mungu na athari zake na namna Mwenyezi Mungu anavyoweza kuhuisha ardhi baada ya kufa kwake kwa kuileta mvua. Huko katika jangwa wakawa wanazunguka kila upande na hata kupanda juu ya vilima na kushuka, watembee katika mabonde yake kwa madhumuni yayo hayo ya kujua zaidi maajabu ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Basi wakazidiwa na njaa kali wakiwa na mwenyewe Nabii Isa A.S. Hapo ndipo waliposhtakia Nabii Isa hali yao.*

CHAKULA SASA CHASHUKA:

Basi baada ya majibizano Nabii Isa aliwaambia kuwa atamwomba Mwenyezi Mungu awateremshie chakula hicho kutoka mbinguni lakini wajue wazi kuwa chakula hicho thamani yake ni ghali sana inayotaka wamwamini Mwenyezi Mungu imani kamili isiyokuwa na shaka yoyote. Na kwamba mwenye kukufuru baada ya hapo Mwenyezi Mungu atamwadhibu sana kwa kuwa wameshaona miujiza ya kutosha kuamini Mola wao.

Basi walipokubaliana hayo Nabii Isa akawaambia watazame mbinguni wajionee wenyewe meza iliyojaa vyakula inavyoshuka kutoka mbinguni. Wakawa wanaitazama meza hiyo iliyojaa vyakula vya mbinguni ikiteremka kidogo kidogo, kidogo kidogo mpaka juu ya ardhi.

Basi hiyo meza ya chakula ilipoteremshwa wakaharakisha kunyosha mikono yao juu yake. Nabii Isa akasema: "Iko wapi shukurani kwa Mwenyezi Mungu kwa[ni] aliyetufadhilisha juu yetu na kutulisha?" Wanafunzi wakasema: "Sasa tusemeje cwe Isa?" Isa akawajibu: "Tutasema: BISMILLAHIR RAHMANIR RAHIYM."

Basi waliposema Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahiym walifungua kifuniko cha ile meza. Tahamaki juu yake mna vyakula ambavyo macho hayajaviona kwa uzuri wake.

WAONA LADHA YA CHAKULA NA KUMSHUKURU MUNGU

Baada ya kuonja walikuta kuna ladha tamu ajabu kuliko vyakula vya kidunia. Basi walimhimidi Mwenyezi Mungu aliyewalisha wakiwa na njaa. Baada ya kula mara wakaona ile meza inanyanyuka na kuelekea mbinguni kidogo kidogo, kidogo kidogo mpaka ikapotea katika macho yao.

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'ālā 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'llāh 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.

[15] TELM *Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia*

Two verses, given as 113 and 114, are quoted and set parallel to two Biblical passages.

JESUS IS THE CREATOR

Sūra No. 5 *Al-Mā'idā*: 113, 114 [110]

“And Almighty God will say: Oh Jesus (*‘Īsā*) 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 *Injīl*, 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 sultanhips, 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.”

(TELM *Isa* [tract 15]:5)⁵⁴

The Qur’ānic 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 *Āl Imrān* (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 *tafsīr*.

⁵⁴ YESU NI MUUMBA

Sura No. 5 *Al Maidah*: 113, 114

“Na Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Ewe Yesu (*Isa*) mwana wa Mariamu! Kumbuka kibali changu kwako wewe na kwa mama yako. Tazama, Nilikutia nguvu na Roho Mtakatifu, kwa hivyo ukazungumza na watu katika utoto na katika uzima, Tazama, Nalikufundisha Chuo na Hekima, Sheria na Injili. Na tazama! Kutokana na udongo wafanya mfano kama wa ndege, kwa ruhusa yangu, nawe wampulizia na akawa ndege, kwa ruhusa yangu. Nawe wawaponya waliozaliwa vipofu, na wenye ukoma, kwa ruhusa yangu. Na tazama! Nawe wafufua wafu, kwa ruhusa yangu.”

Wakolosai 1:16, 17

“Kwa kuwa katika yeye vitu vyote viliumbwa, vilivyo mbinguni na viliyo juu ya nchi, vinavyoonekana na visivyoonekana; ikiwa ni viti vya enzi, na usultani, au enzi, au mamlaka, vitu vyote viliumbwa kwa njia yake. Naye amekuwako kabla ya vitu vyote, na vitu vyote hushikamana katika yeye.”

Yohana 1:3, 4

“Vyote vilifanyika kwa huyo; wala pasipo yeye hakikufanyika cho chote kilichofanyika. Ndani yake ndimo ulimokuwa uzima, nao ule uzima ulikuwa nuru ya watu.”

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.

[1] Muhammad Samiullah Imran *Mafundisho ya Yesu kwa Nuru ya Qur'ani*

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 Qur'ān, 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, he 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 Qur'ān has to say about this affair.⁵⁵ (Continued on the next page)

⁵⁵ 7. JE! YESU ALIFIA MSALABANI?

Mwanzoni mwa utumishi wake, Yesu alianza kuilaumu dini ya Kiyahudi (Judaism) kama ilivyokuwa ikifuatwa wakati huo. Alitoa hotuba nyingi dhidi ya unafiki wa kuharibika tabia na kanuni za dini ya Kiyahudi. Kwa sababu hiyo Wayahudi waligeuka wakawa maadui wa Yesu na walimtangaza kama ni mhalifu na kuhusiana na imani ya Kikristo, alihukumwiwa na kusulubiwa na Warumi.

Kur'ani, hata hivyo, inaeleza wazi kwamba Yesu mwenyewe hakusulubiwa. Hakika ni kwamba wakati askari walipoingia kumkamata Yesu Kristo nyumbani mwake, alimokuwemo, mtu fulani aliingia ndani ya nyumba hiyo kabla ya wengine wote. Ilitokea hivyo hata askari wakamkamata mtu huyo aliyeingia kwanza ambaye alifananishwa na Yesu Krsito [sic]. Askari walimpiga na kumtesa kisha wakamuua kuwa ni Yesu Kristo. Lakini baadaye kidogo walitambua kosa lao, na baadhi yao walisema ghafla: "Ah! mteswa hakuwa Yesu Kristo: "Tena Yesu Kristo amekwenda wapi?" Alikuwa ndani ya nyumba hiyo. Ikiwa tutamdhania mteswa kuwa ndiye Yesu Kristo basi yuko wapi mwenzetu aliyeingia kwanza ndani ya nyumba, na ikiwa mtasadiki kwamba: alikuwa ni mtu huyo huyo, basi yukowapi Yesu Kristo? Na sasa soma yale Kur'ani inayoyasema kuhusu kisa hicho: (Continued on the next page)

“And certainly they say: We killed the Messiah, *Īsā*, (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’ān: [*Al-Nisā*] 4:157-158.)

Concerning the verse of the Qur’ān 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)⁵⁶

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’ān 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-Kashshāf ‘an Ḥaqā’iq al-Tanzīl* by Abū’l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar az-Zamakhshārī (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).⁵⁷

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 *tafsīr* in his interpretation of the passage.

⁵⁶ “Na kwa hakika ya kusema kwao: Sisi tumemu[a] Masihi, Issa, (Yesu), Mwana wa Mariamu mjumbe wa Mwenyezi Mungu – hawakumuua wala hawakumsulubisha, bali ilionekana hivyo na wao; na kwa yakini! Wale waliohitilafiana kuhusiana na jambo hilo wamo, mashakani, kwa hiyo, hawakuwa na ujuzi wa jambo hilo, isipokuwa walishawishika na dhana (yao) tu; kwa yakini hawakumuua, bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimwinua kwake. Daima Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye nguvu, Mjuzi”(Kur’ani: 4:157-158.)
Kuhusiana na aya ya Kur’ani ya hapo juu inayobainisha na nyepesi (kueleweka), Yesu aliinuliwa hadi mbinguni akiwa hai na bila ya kudhuriwa na Wayahudi kwa kumwamba kwa misumari juu ya msalaba au kwa namna yo yote nyingincyo.

⁵⁷ The first part also resembles chapters 216 and 217 of *The Gospel of Barnabas*, but Judas is named in *Barnabas*, whereas neither Imran nor Zamakhshārī do, also it omits the idea that the others wonder where their companion has gone.

In the second instance, a *ḥadīth* 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 *Ḥadīth* (traditions) of the Glorious Apostle Muḥammad (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 Ḥadīth found in Bukhārī and Muslim which was related by Abū Hurayra (R.A.)⁵⁸ 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 *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’ān, [*Al-Nisā*] 4:159).⁵⁹

Since the Law (the Book of Law) of all the Prophets who came before the Apostle Muḥammad (S.A.W.) were changed, so Jesus, will judge according to the Laws of Islam.

[Footnote]^oName 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)⁶⁰

⁵⁸ R.A. *radīyallāhu ‘anhū* (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 kill 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 (‘Alim 1996:al-Bukhārī 4:657).

⁶⁰ **8. KUJA MARA YA PILI KWA YESU KRISTO**
Kuhusu kuja mara ya pili kwa Yesu, imani hasa ya Kiislamu ni kwamba bila shaka atashuka duniani kutoka mbinguni kwa namna ile ile kama vile alivyopaa kiumbo na kimwili. Zipo Ḥadithi (mapokeo) za Mtume Mtukufu Muhammad (amani ya Mwenyezi Mungu iwe juu yake) zisizopungua sabini ambamo inaelezwa namna ya kushuka kwake, na madaraka atakayokuwa nayo baada ya kuja kwake mara ya pili yamefafanuliwa kinaganaga, na Mtume Mtukufu (S.A.W.) bila kutumia mafumbo. Hapa ipo Hadithi moja tu kutoka kwa Bukhari na Muslim iliyosimuliwa na Aby Huraira (R.A.) imenakiliwa kama ifuatavyo: Mjumbe wa Mwenyezi Mungu alisema: ‘Kwa haki ya yule ambaye mkononi mwake umo uhai wangu, Mwana wa Mariamu karibuni atashuka miongoni mwenu kama kiongozi wa haki na hakimu muadilifu. Ataivunja misalaba, atawaua nguruwe na atabilisha Jizya,^o[indicating Footnote] na utajiri utajitokeza nje kwa kiwango ambacho hata hapatakuwepo mtu atakaycupokea, hadi Sajada (sijida) moja itakuwa bora kuliko dunia na yale yaliyokuwemo ndani yake”. Kisha Abu Huraira (R.A.) alisema: soma kama ukipenda:

“Hakuna hata mmoja miongoni mwa Watu wa Kitabu ila watamwamini. Kabla ya kifo chake, na kwenye Siku ya Ufufuko atakuwa shahidi dhidi yao.”(Kur’ani, 4:159).

Madam Sheria (Kitabu cha Sheria) ya Manabii wote waliotangulia kabla ya Mtume Muhammad (S.A.W.) zilibadilika, basi Yesu, atahukumu kulingana na Sheria za Uislamu.

[Footnote]^o *Jina la kodi inayotowza 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 Qur'ān ([*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 wangelitambua kuwa ni Nabii wa kweli wa Mwenyezi Mungu na Mtumwa Wake. Dhana zote zilizokosewa kuhusu yeye zingelipotelea mbali kabla ya kifo chake hasa katika ulimwengu huu wa maadili.*

[4] Saidi Musa *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)*

Musa quotes verses 157-158 in full following an account of the attempts to arrest Jesus.

THE PROPHET *ĪSĀ* WAS SAVED FROM THE INTRIGUES OF THOSE WHO WANTED TO KILL HIM

The Prophet *Īsā* 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 *Īsā*. Therefore he feared for Palestine that it should not go from his hand. Now it is his work as a ruler to look for *Īsā* and *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* had shown him, so that they might kill him there. So they went there where *Īsā* 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 *Īsā*. 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 *Īsā* 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 *Īsā* Son of Mary Apostle of God."⁶²

(Continued on the next page)

⁶² *NABII ISA AOKOLEWA NA VITIMBI VYA WALIOTAKA KUMUUA.*

Nabii Isa alipata khabari kuwa Mayahudi wamezamia kumwua na hivyo wako mbioni kumfanyia mpango wa kumwua. Hayo yalikuwa ni kwa sababu ya kuona chuki kwa kuenca mafundisho yake mazuri na kufuatwa. Wakaona mtu huyu akiishi zaidi vyao vitapungua naye awatawale. Katika kujipendekeza kwao kwa watawala wa Kiroma waliwaambia kuwa ati Isa amekuwa jeuri mno kwa kuacha kutii sheria za watawala na kujifanya kuwa yeye ni yeye, Na hakuna lingine linalomfanya awe namna hiyo ila ni kutaka awe ndiye mfalme.

Mtawala akasadiki maneno haya ya mafatani waliomchukia Isa. Hivyo alichelea Falastin isijemtoka katika mkono wake. Sasa ikawa ni kazi yake mtawala kumtafuta Isa na Isa haonekani kwa kuwa alijificha aliposikia khabari hiyo ya kuwa anatafutwa auwawe. Alijificha katika nyumba ya wanafunzi wake. Mmoja katika wanafunzi wake alidanganyika kwa kupata mali, hivyo aliwaonyesha wale watu waliokuwa wakimtafuta mahali alipojificha. Kwa hivyo mtawala yule alifurahi na kuwapeleka wale askari wake pale mahali alipowaonyesha mfuasi wake Isa, ili wakamwue huko. Basi wakawa wanakwenda huko alikojificha Isa na mmoja wao aliye katika wafuasi wake akiwa ni kiongozi. Basi kwa ghafla wakawa wamekwisha fika pale mahali.

Basi Mwenyezi Mungu alitaka kumwokoia Mtumwa wake na vitimbi vya Mahaini wale. Hivyo alibadilisha sura ya yule kiongozi wa maasi hayo iwe ndiyo ya Isa. Kwa hivyo wale askari wakamchukuwa na kishindo kikubwa kabisa na kumkimbiza katika mahali pa adhabu. Na hapo wakampigilia mti wakamuwamba msalabani huyo haini ikawa ndiyo jaza yake na akaokoka Isa. Nabii Isa mwenyewe alijificha na kujitenga na vurugu hiyo, na japo walisema hao mahaini wakubwa kwamba: "Sisi tumemwua Masihi Isa Mwana wa Maryam Mtume wa Mungu."

(Continued on the next page)

In *Juz' 6 Sūra Al-Nisā'* verses 157-158 Almighty God said:

We have killed the Messiah *ʿĪsā* 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 *ʿĪsā*, are in doubt. They have no certainty concerning this (that they truly killed the Prophet *ʿĪsā* 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 *tafsīr*: It could well follow al-Ṭabarī 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:*
Sisi tumemwua Masihi Isa Mwana wa Maryam, Mtume wa Mungu. Hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsalibu bali walibabaishwa mtu mwingine. Na kwa hakika wale waliokhitilafiana katika hakika ya (kumwua) Nabii Isa, wamo katika shaka. Wao hawana hakika juu ya hili (la kuwa kweli wamemwua Nabii Isa kama wanavyodai) isipokuwa wanafuata dhana tu. Na kwa yakini hawakumwua. Bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimnyanyua kwake, na Mwenyezi Mungu ni mwenye kushinda (na) mwenye hekima.

⁶⁴ This can only be a tentative suggestion as *B* more often substitutes for *P* in Arabic.

[9] K.K. Alavi *Kutafuta Uhakika*

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 *ʿĪsā*, 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)⁶⁵

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-Māʿida* (5):116-117, and it was commented on together with other uses of that passage in section 8.3.3.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *Yamkini, kufuatana na Surat An-Nisaa, Waislamu wanakataa ukweli wa Biblia kuhusu kifo cha Yesu, kufufuka kwake na kupaa kwake:*

“Na kwa kusema kwao: “Sisi tumemwua Masihi Isa, mwana wa Maryamu Mtume wa Mungu,’ hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubu, bali walibabaishiwa. Na kwa hakika wale waliokhitalifiana katika hiyo wamo katika shaka nalo. Wao hawana yakini juu ya hili, isipokuwa wanafuata dhana tu. Na kwa yakini hawakumwua ...” (4:157-159).

⁶⁶ *Kwa hakika, kuna vifungu katika Kurani ambavyo vinasuluhisha swala la kama Kristo alikufa, ijapokuwa wafafanuzi wengine wameshikilia kabisa ile tafsiri ya moja kwa moja ya maneno haya, “Hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubu” (Surat An Nisaa:157). Kwanza kabisa kati ya vifungu hivyo ni maneno ya Kurani ambako Mwenyezi Mungu anasema kwamba:*

Ewe Isa bin Maryamu! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu ‘Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu?’ Asemu (Nabii Isa) ‘Wewe umetakasika ... Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale uliyoniamrisha ... na uliponikamilisha muda wangu, Wewe ukawa mchungaji juu yao (Surat Al Maidah 116-117).

Certainly, there are some verses in the Qurʾān that reconcile the question as to whether Christ died, even if other interpreters have held firmly to the meaning of these words, “Certainly they neither killed him nor crucified him.” (*Sūra Al-Nisāʾ*:157). First of all in these passages there are the words of the Qurʾān that Almighty God says that:

“Oh *ʿĪsā* son of Mary! Did you tell people ‘Make me and my mother gods instead of Almighty God?’ He said (Prophet *ʿĪsā*) ‘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 (*Sūra Al-Māʿida* 116-117).

(Jadeed [tract 10]:5-6)

[12] Stefano Masudi *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani*

Verse 157 is quoted and verse 155 referred to in Masudi's explanation of the Muslim view of the death of Christ.

The teachings of the Aḥmadiyya, many times were contradictory. They do not agree with various aspects concerning the death of Christ and this led me to despise their teaching.

What does the Qur'ān say? The 4th *Sūra* [*Al-Nisā'*] verse 157 says:

“We killed Jesus who was the Messiah, child of Mary, apostle of God. They did not kill him even if it appeared that they did this.”

Muslims believe that it is a shameful thing for a prophet to be killed and so to say that Jesus was killed is something unacceptable to them. But in verse 155, it shows clearly how the Jews killed their prophets. So I asked myself; how can it be that a prophet is not a prophet because he has been killed? For myself I saw that it was a matter of respect to be killed as a prophet. (Masudi [tract 12]:92-93)⁶⁷

Masudi attempts to deal with the Muslim teaching concerning the crucifixion, whilst acknowledging that the Aḥmadiyya⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁷ *Mafundisho ya Ki-ahamadiya, mara nyingi yalikuwa yakijipinga yenyewe. Hayakubaliani katika vipengele mbalimbali juu ya kifo cha Kristo na hii ilinifanya niyadharau mafundisho yao. Je, Kurani inasemaje? Sura ya 4 kifungu cha 157 inasema: “Tulimwua Yesu aliye Mesiya, mtoto wa Maria, mtume wa Mungu. Hawakumwua japo kwao ilionekana kama wamefanya hivyo.”*

Waislamu huamini kuwa ni kitu cha aibu kwa nabii kuuawa na hivyo kusema Yesu aliuawa ni jambo lisilokubalika kwao. Lakini katika kifungu cha 155, kinaonyesha wazi wazi jinsi Wayahudi walivyowaua manabii. Hivyo nikajiuliza; itawezekanaje nabii asiwe ni nabii ati kwa sababu amcuawa? Kwangu mimi niliona ni jambo la heshima kuuawa kama nabii.

⁶⁸ Founded by Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad (1835-1908) from the Punjab, who, in 1889, declared himself to be a 'non-legislative' Prophet and Mahdī. The Aḥmadiyya were declared to be *kafirūn* by Sunnī 'ulamā' and are not allowed to perform Ḥajj (Pilgrimage) to Mecca. The Aḥmadiyya believe that after Jesus was placed on the cross he swooned and was taken down, in a coma, and was placed in the tomb, as if he was dead. After three days he awoke, and escaped from the tomb and travelled to Srinagar in Northern India, where he died in old age and was buried (Bewley 1998:229; Friedmann 2001:51; Esposito 2003:11-12).

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 *tafsīr*, whilst Imran also uses a *ḥadīth*. 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 Nikawa 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

⁶⁹ *Watu ambao walikuwa wakimjua zaidi bwana Yesu ni wale wafuasi wake thenashara ambao walirithi mafundisho yake kutoka kwake. Ukristo umcanza kwa Yesu na halafu ukaja kwa wafuasi wake. Hivyo, wanaweza kutueleza maneno ya ukweli zaidi ni wale wafuasi wake ambao aliwakabidhi kazi za kuendeleza dini badala yake. Usomapo Matendo ya Mitume utaona kwamba hawa wafuasi wa Yesu hawakuwa na habari zozote juu ya Uungu au Unafsi wa Yesu katika Mungu. Wao walikuwa wakimtambua Yesu kama ni Nabii tu wa Mwenyezi Mungu, na ndiyo maana walizowea kwa kumwita kwa jina la “Mwalimu Mwema”.*

*Baada ya Yesu kuondoka, tunawaona wafuasi wake wakiwahubiria wana wa Israeli kama ifuatavyo:-
MATENDO 2:36 Imcandikwa:-*

“Basi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue ya kwamba Mungu amcmfanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulubisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.”

Wanafunzi wa Yesu wanatufundisha k[u]wa Mungu ndiye aliyemfanya Yesu kuwa Bwana na Kristo. Mafundisho haya yanapinga imani ya dini ya Kikristo kabisa. Mafundisho ya wanafunzi wa Yesu yanatuonyesha kwamba yupo Mungu ambaye ndiye Mukubwa na mwenye uwezo wa kila kitu, na yupo Yesu ambaye ilibidi afanywe kuwa bwana na Kristo na huyo Mungu.

Mafundisho ya dini ya Kikristo ya leo yanatufundisha kwamba Yesu hawezi kufanywa na nafsi yoyote kuwa bwana na Kristo kwa sababu yeye ni nafsi ya Mungu aliye na uwezo sawa sawa na nafsi nyingine.

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 Raḥmat Allāh al-Kairanāwī in *Izhār al-ḥaqq* 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 (Raḥmat 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,

⁷¹ *KUZALIWA BILA BABA SIYO PIA DALILI YA UUNGU*

Dalili chache zinazo letwa na Wakristo juu ya Uungu wa Yesu ni kule kuzaliwa kwake bila ya baba. Napenda kuwakumbusha kwamba Adam hakuzaliwa na baba wala na mama. Adam hakunyonya ziwa la mtu yoyote, na wala Adam hakuonja utoto. Je, ni nani aliyecumbwa kwa njia ya ajabu zaidi? Yesu au Adam? Je, tumwite Adam kuwa ni nafsi ya Mungu kwa sababu yeye hakuzaliwa na baba na mama kama tulivyozaliwa sisi?

Tunaposoma Biblia, WAEBRANIA 7:3 tunaona kwamba kulikuwepo MELKIZIDEK huyu hana baba, hana mama, hana wazazi, hana mwanzo wa siku yake, wala mwisho wa uhai wake, bali amefananishwa na Mwana wa Mungu.

Iwapo Adam hakuzaliwa na baba wala mama, hali kadhalika Melkizedek, je ni ajabu gani kwa Yesu kuzaliwa na mama pake yake?

Yesu hakuwa Mungu wala nafsi ya pili ya Mungu kwani hata wanafunzi wake wanathubutisha jambo hili kwa kusema:

MATENDO 2:22

“Watu wa Israeli sikilizeni maneno haya: Mnajua wenyewe kwamba Yesu wa Nazareth alikuwa kati yenu kama mtu aliyeshuhudiwa na Mungu mwenyewe, kwa matendo ya enzi kuu, kwa miujiza na kwa ishara alizozitenda Mungu kwa mkono wake.”

Kutokana na ushahidi huu tulio usoma hapa, ni vigumu kukubali kwamba Yesu si Nabii bali ni nafsi ya pili ya Mungu.

Hizi ndizo sababu zilizonifanya nianze kuwa na wasiwasi mwingi sana juu ya ukweli wa mafundisho ya dini ya Kikristo.

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, Muhammad?' The apostle was silent and did not answer them. So God sent down concerning their words ... (Ibn Ishāq 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).⁷³ 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”.

⁷³ 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).

[12] Stefano Masudi *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani*

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 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 Muḥammad 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 aliyelitwa Petro aliwahi kumkana Yesu mara tatu. Lakini baada ya kushukiwa na nguvu za Roho Mtakatifu, alihubiri kwa ujasiri katikati ya umati wa watu akisema,

“Enyi watu wa Israeli sikilizeni maneno haya. Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyedhihirishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miujiza na ajabu na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake kati yenu ... Yeye ... Mkamsulibisha kwa mikono ya watu wabaya, mkamwua ... Basi nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kwamba Mungu amemfanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulubisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo” (Matendo ya Mitume 2:22, 23, 36).

Nilikuwa nimeshanga kwa ujasiri niliokuwa nao wa kuyasema maneno yote haya. Na wakati nimeishika ile Biblia na kuisoma, nilikuwa ninazona nguvu za Mungu zikitenda kazi pale msikitini jioni ile. Nilivuta pumzi na kutulia kwa muda. Je, niseme maneno gani tena? Nikaona ni lazima niseme neno moja la mwisho.

“Baada ya kusikia maneno haya yote ndugu zangu, kwa nini tunaendelea kuyasikiliza mafundisho yaliyopotoka 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 Muḥammad was being identified as the Holy Spirit, disturbing Masudi. Masudi, though still a member of the Aḥmadiyya, 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 Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad (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 Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad:

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)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.

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 *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 Ahmadiyya, 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? nilijiuliza. Hakika jibu sahihi lipo kwenye Biblia; Biblia ambayo Waislamu wengi hawaiamini lakini wakati huo huo huitumia kutetca hoja zao. Jibu sahihi lipo katika kitabu cha Matendo ya Mitume 2:22, 36:*

“Enyi waume wa Israeli, sikilizeni maneno haya ... nyumba yote ya Israeli na wajue yakini ya kuwa Mungu amemfanya Yesu huyo mliyemsulibisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.”

Najua kuwa Waislamu wengi hawakubaliani na kifungu hiki pia. Wengine husema Yuda Iskariote ndiye aliyesulibishwa badala ya Yesu. Wengine husema ni Simon Mkerene. Lakini mimi nilijua kuwa hii haiwezekani iwe hivyo. Kama kweli alikuwa ni Yuda Iskariote basi lazima Mungu aliufanya uso wake ufanane na wa Yesu ili watu wamwone na kumtambua kuwa ni Yesu. Na hii je, isingekuwa ni udanganyifu wa hali ya juu? Kwa nini Yuda asingepiga kelele? Je, Mungu aweza kuwa mwongo kiasi cha kuchezea watu na kufanya udanganyifu wa jinsi hii? Haiwezekani hata kidogo! Sikuweza kukubaliana na mawazo haya.

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 Aḥmadiyya teaching on the Holy Spirit, as well as their view on the crucifixion of Jesus.

9.4.3 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 Mussa 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.”⁸⁰

(Continued on next page)

⁸⁰ PAULO

Paulo hakuwa mmoja katika Masahaba wa Yesu. Yeye alimpinga sana Yesu wakati wake. Baada ya miaka minne toka kuondoka Yesu, Paulo alidai kuwa kumuona Yesu katika ndoto na alimtaka acende akahubiri kwa wasio Mayahudi. Hapo tena Paulo akadai Utume wa watu wa Mataifa.

Paulo katika Warumi 11:13

“Lakini nasema na nyinyi, mlio watu wa Mataifa. Basi, kwa kadri nilivyo mtume wa watu wa Mataifa, naitukuza huduma iliyo yangu?”

Paulo katika 1 Wakorintho 2:1-2

“Basi, ndugu zangu, mimi nilipokuja kwenu, sikuja niwahubiri siri ya Mungu kwa ufasaha wa maneno, wala kwa hekima. Maana naliazimu nisijue neno lo lote kwenu ila Yesu Kristo, naye amesulubiwa.

Paulo katika Wafilipi 2:5-7

“Iweni na nia hiyo ndani yenu ambayo ilikuwemo pia ndani ya Kristo Yesu; ambaye yeye mwanzo alikuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, naye hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa ni kitu cha kushikamana nacho; bali alijifanya kuwa hana utukufu, akatwaa namna ya mtumwa, akawa ana mfano wa wanadamu.”

(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)⁸¹

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 Muḥammad, from the Arabic *Ṣaḥāba*, the plural of *ṣāḥib*. 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).⁸²

⁸¹ *Paulo anasema katika [1] Timothco 3:14-16*

“Nakuandikia hayo nikitaraji kuja kwako hivi karibu. Lakini nikikawia, upate kujua jinsi iwapasavyo watu kuenda katika nyumba ya Mungu iliyo kanisa la Mungu aliye hai, nguzo na msingi wa kweli. Na [bila] shaka siri ya utauwa ni kuu.”

Katika Tito 2:13-14

“Tukilitazamia tumaini lenye baraka na mafunuo ya utukufu wa Kristo Yesu, Mungu mkuu na Mwokozi wetu; ambaye alijitoa nafsi yake kwa ajili yetu, ili atukomboc na maasi yote, kujisafishia watu wawe milki yake mwenyewe, wale walio na juhudi katika matendo mema.”

Ikiwa Paulo anamwita Yesu ‘Mungu Mkubwa’ jee [sic] huyo Baba yake aliyeko mbinguni atamwita vipi? Hebu tuangalie Yesu anasemaje:-

Yohana 14:28

“Mlisikia ya kwamba mimi naliwaambia, Naenda zangu, tena naja kwenu. Kama mngalinipenda, mngalifurahi kwa sababu naenda kwa Baba; kwa maana Baba ni mkuu kuliko mimi.”

Hii inaonyesha kuwa Yesu alizaliwa kwa amri ya Mwenyezi Mungu kama kiumbe chochote kile kingine na atakufa ili kurejca 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). Boshia (1993:179) and Mulokozi (2001) give *Sahaba* (singular), *Masahaba* (plural) defined as “close followers of Prophet Muḥammad” (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 *Āl Imrān* (3):55, set in parallel.

THE DEATH OF JESUS

Sūra No. 3 *Āl Imrān*: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.

(TELM *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*

Sura No. 3 *Aali-Imran*:55

(*Kumbukeni*) Mwenyezi Mungu aliposema: “Ewe *Isa!* Mimi nitakutimizia muda wako wa kuishi (*hawatakuua hao maadui*). Na nitakuleta kwangu, na nitakutakasa na wale waliokufuru, (*hawataweza kukudhuru*) na nitawaweka wale waliokufuata, juu ya wale waliokufuru.”

Wafilipi 2:8

Tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyenyekeza akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.

⁸⁵ *Ni Nini Hasa Lililotendeka?*

Injili inapozungumza juu ya Yesu kama ilivyoandikwa katika Wafilipi 2:6-8 inasema:

“*Yeye mwanzo alikuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, naye hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa ni kitu cha kushikamana nacho; bali alijifanya kuwa hana utukufu, akatwaa namna ya mtumwa, akawa ana mfano wa wanadamu; tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyenyekeza akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.*”

(Continued on the next page)

The Qur'ān 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.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'ān 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-Nisā'*(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'ān.

In the second instance, the tract quotes verse 8 in parallel with three other passages, from the Bible and the Qur'ān.⁸⁷

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.*

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)

“*Īsā* 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.”

Sūra 19:33 *Maryam*.

“(Remember) Almighty God when he said: Oh *Īsā!* I will complete your time to live ... And bring you to be with me.”

Sūra 3:55 *Āl Imrān*.

(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’ānic 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 Imrān* (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 walio hai, alipigwa kwa sababu ya makosa ya watu wangu. Wakamfanyia kaburi pamoja na wabaya na matajiri katika kufa kwake.” (*Isaya* 53:8-9)

“... tena alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyenyekeza 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 nitakayokufa na siku nitakayofufuliwa kuwa hai.” *Sura* 19:33 *Maryam*.

“(Kumbukeni) Mwenyezi Mungu aliposema: Ewe Isa! Mimi nitakutimizia muda wako wa kuishi ... Na nitakuleta kwangu.” *Sura* 3:55 *Al Imran*.

CHAPTER TEN: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN TRACTS

THEMES: JESUS AND MUḤAMMAD, ALL HAVE SINNED, *TAḤRĪF*

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 *Tōrāh* (Hebrew: law) or Pentateuch (Greek: five volumed). Both Christians and Muslims accept the *Tōrāh* (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 *kalīmuʾllāh* (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 (*Tōrāh*) 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.

[2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

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 *Īsā* (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 Muḥammad (s.a.w.)⁴ (Continued on next page)

⁴ *Kwa kinywa cha Nabii Musa (a.s.) Mwenyezi Mungu aliahidi kuleta ujumbe wake kwa Nabii mwingine ambaye atakayekuwa sawa na yeye mwenyewe Musa. Kutokana na ahadi hii wana wa Israeli walikuwa wakimngoja Nabii mwingine atakayekuwa sawa na Musa. Kwani imcandikwa:-*

KUMBUKUMBU 18:16-20 Imcandikwa:-

“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 ni kafa. BWANA akaniambia, Wametenda vema kusema walivyosema. Mimi nitawaondokeshwa nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zao mfano wako wewe, nami nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayo mwamuru. Hata itakuwa, mtu asiyesikiza maneno yangu atakayosema yule kwa jina langu, nitalitaka kwake. Lakini nabii atakayenena neno kwa kujikinai kwa jina langu, ambalo sikumwagiza kulinena, au atakayenena katika jina la miungu mingine, nabii huyo atakufa.”

Ili tuweze kuyachungua kwa makini maneno haya, hebu tujaribu kuyapanga katika vifungu na tuanze kukichungua kila kifungu. Kwanza, kuja kwa Nabii; pili, ni katika matumbo yapi Nabii huyu atazaliwa; tatu, Nabii huyu atakuwa sawa na Nabii Musa; nne, Nabii huyu atanena kwa uwazi wake Mungu na mwisho, Nabii huyu au Nabii mwingine yoyote wa bandia hawezi kuishi ila ni lazima afe mara moja.

Sasa hebu tuanze kulichungua kila fungu la maneno kama tulivyoyapanga hapo juu:

(1) KUJA KWA NABII: Mwenyezi Mungu anaahidi kumleta Nabii. Je, Nabii huyu ni Nabii yupi? Kwa vyovyote vile nabii huyu hawezi kuwa ndiye nabii Issa (Yesu) kwa sababu wakristo wenyewe wanatambua na kuamini kwamba Yesu siyo nabii bali wao wanamsema kuwa ni mwana wa Mungu aliye nafsi ya pili ya Mungu. Sasa nakuomba na wewe msomaji wangu ufikirie mwenyewe na umtambue nabii huyu ni nabii yupi! Mimi nasema kwamba kwa ushahidi tutakao usoma, nabii huyu siye mwingine bali ni nabii 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 Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad (s.a.w.) HIMSELF ALONE. So this prophet is no other but is prophet Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad and Jesus who is similar to Moses?:-

(a) Prophet Moses (a.s.) was born with a father and mother. Prophet Muḥammad (a.s.) was born with a father and mother; But Prophet ʿĪsā (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 Muḥammad (s.a.w.) that is equal with Prophet Moses (a.s.).

(b) Prophet Moses (a.s.) was married and had children. Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) was married and had children; but Prophet ʿĪsā (a.s.) did not marry nor did he have children. Therefore it is only prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) who compares to Prophet Moses (a.s.) in this matter.⁵

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⁵ (2) NI KATIKA MATUMBO YAPI NABII HUYU ATAZALIWA? Biblia inatuambia kwamba Nabii huyu atatokca katika matumbo ya ndugu wa wana wa Israeli. Kama nilivyokwisha kusema, nabii huyu hawezi kuwa Yesu kwa sababu ya kwanza wakristo wanasema kuwa Yesu siyo nabii. Pili, nabii huyu hawezi tena kuwa Yesu kwa sababu Yesu alitokca katika matumbo ya wana wa Israeli wenyewe na wala siyo katika matumbo ya ndugu za wana wa Israeli.

Ndugu 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 aliye bashiriwa ni yule aliyezaliwa katika ukoo wa Ismail nduguye na Isaka.

Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) ni wa ukoo wa Ismail. Wazao wa Ismail ndio Waarabu; 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 sabbau Yesu anasemwa kwamba yeye siyo nabii. Pili nabii huyu inasemekana atakuwa sawa na Musa. Sasa hebu tujaribu kuzichungua baadhi ya sifa za watatu hawa tupate kuona ni yupi 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.) hafanani na Musa kwa kuzaliwa kwani yeye alizaliwa na mama tu bila ya baba.

Hivyo, katika usawa huu ni Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) tu ndiye aliye sawa na nabii Musa (a.s.).

(b) Nabii Musa (a.s.) alioa na alipata watoto. Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) alioa na alipata watoto; lakini Nabii Issa (a.s.) hakuo wala hakupata watoto. Hivyo ni nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) tu ndiye anayefanana na Nabii Musa (a.s.) katika jambo hili.

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- (c) Prophet Moses (a.s.) was commanded to fight with his enemies to take booty. Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) likewise was commanded to fight with his enemies and to take booty. But, Prophet ʿĪsā (a.s.) was not commanded to fight with his enemies and to take booty. Therefore it is only Prophet Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad (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 ʿĪsā (a.s.) do not prohibit any of these. Therefore it is only Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) who compares to Prophet Moses (a.s.) in this matter.
- (e) Prophet Moses (a.s.) and Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) both died in their beds. Prophet ʿĪsā (a.s.) according to the teaching of the religion of Christianity, died on the cross. Therefore in these signs it is only prophet Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad (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 Muḥammad (s.a.w.)
- (5) IT IS NECESSARY THAT A FALSE PROPHET WILL DIE:- If you read the life of Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.) you will see that there is no other prophet at all who had troubles, doubts and many threats like prophet Muḥammad. 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)

⁶ (c) *Nabii Musa (a.s.) aliamrishwa kupigana na maadui zake kuchukua mateka. Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) hali kadhalika aliamriwa kupigana na maadui zake na kuchukua mateka. Lakini, Nabii Isa (a.s.) hakuamrishiwa kupigana na maadui zake na kuchukua mateka. Hivyo ni Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) [sic] tu ndiye anayefanana na Nabii Musa (a.s.) katika jambo hili.*

(d) *Sheria za Nabii Musa zinakataza kula nyama za nguruwe na nyama asiyechinjwa katika koo lake na pia kunywa pombe. Hali kadhalika sheria za Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) zinakataza kula nyama ya nguruwe na nyama asiyechinjwa katika koo lake na pia kunywa pombe. Lakini sheria za Nabii Isa (a.s.) hazikatai hayo yote. Hivyo ni Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) tu ndiye anayefanana na nabii Musa (a.s.) katika jambo hili.*

(e) *Nabii Musa (a.s.) na nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) wote walikufa vitandani mwao. Nabii Isa (a.s.) yeye kwa kulingana na mafundisho ya dini ya Kikristo, alikufa kwa msalabani. Hivyo katika dalili hizi ni nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) peke yake ndie anayefanana na nabii Musa (a.s.).*

(4) *NABII HUYU ATANENA KWA UWEZO WAKE MUNGU: Nabii huyu hawezi kuwa Yesu kwa sababu kwa kulingana na imani ya Kikristo, Yesu akiwa kama nafsi ya pili ya Mungu, alikuwa na uwezo binafsi wa kufanya chochote bila ya msaada wa nafsi nyingine yoyote. Lakini, nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) alifanya kazi yote ya utume kwa maelekezo aliyopata kutoka kwa Mwenyezi Mungu. Hivyo nabii huyu hawezi kuwa ni Yesu bali ni Muhammad (s.a.w.)*

(5) *NABII WA BANDIA NI LAZIMA ATAKUFA:- Ukisoma maisha ya Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) utaona kwamba hakuna nabii yoyote mwengine aliwahi kupatwa na tabu, mashaka na vitisho vingi kama nabii Muhammad. Makureshi jamaa zake walitaka kumwua mara nyingi, lakini katika shida zote hizi Mwenyezi Mungu alimwoko. Mtume alikufa kitandani mwake tarehe 8 june 632 akiwa ni mwenye umri wa miaka 63. Huu ni ushahidi wa kutosha ya kwamba yeye alikuwa ni Mtume wa haki na lau kama angalikua ni Mtume wa bandia bila shaka angalikufa mara moja kwa kuuawa.*

(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)⁷

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.⁸ 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), *Dalā’il 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-Nazar* (Book of Routes of Reasoning) by Sa‘īd ibn Ḥasan (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 kupewa kwake utume mpaka tarehe ya kufa kwake. Hivyo, maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu mwenyewe juu ya Manabii ya bandia yanatoa uthubutisho wa haki juu 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-Ṭabarī, *Dīn wa Dawla* (The Book of Religion and Empire); Ibn Qutayba, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa* (The Proofs of Prophethood); Al-Bīrūnī *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-fiṣal fī’l-milal wa’l-ahwā’l-niḥal* (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 Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad. 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 Muḥammad, 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 אֶחָיוֹם (‘*ahēhem*) in verse 18 has to be examined. Georg Fohrer gives the meaning of the Hebrew root word אָח (‘*āḥ*) 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 *tafsīr*, 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* (bloodbrother), *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), *sœur* (sister), *cousin-e* (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 waliozaliwa tumbo moja, yaani baba na mama mmoja au mama mmoja au baba mmoja* (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 mmoja* (children of one family or clan) 3. *rafiki mkubwa* (a great friend) 4. *mtu mwenye kushirikiana naye katika shughuli za dini au siasa* (someone who co-operates in religious work or politics) (1981:211); Lenselaer: *frère* (brother), *sœur* (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 waliozaliwa pamoja, kwa baba au mama* (people who were born together, by father or mother) 2. *rafiki* (friend) 3. *mwenzio* (*mwananchi, kazini, michezoni*) (companion (fellow citizen, workmate, playmate)) (1992:281); Mulokozi: 1 kin, sibling. 2 relative. 3 close friend. 4 comrade (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 wanamngojea Nabii mwengine. Ndiyo maana, tunasoma tena hapa kama ifuatavyo:-
YOHANA 1:25

“Wakamwuliza, wakamwambia, Mbona basi wabatiza, ikiwa 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)¹¹

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.

[5] Fundi Mussa Ngariba & Mohammed Ali Kawemba *Uislam Katika Biblia*

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 him.”¹² (Continued on the next page)

¹¹ *Dalili za Msaidizi ambaye Yesu anatuoleza 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 mmeandikwa “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 MUHAMMAD (S.A.W.)*

Mwenyezi Mungu anamwambia Nabii Musa katika Kumbukumbu la Torati 18:18

“Mimi nitawaondokeshwa Nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zao mfano wako wewe, nami nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.”

(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)¹³

Immediately before this section, Ngariba and Kawemba quote Deuteronomy 33:1-2,¹⁴ 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 18:18¹⁵ 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 aliyctajwa hapa bila shaka ni Nabii Muhammad (s.a.w.) wala sio Yesu kama wanvyodai Wakristo Ndugu wa Mayahudi ni Waarabu.*

Waarabu wanatokana na Nabii Ismael (a.s.) ambaye ni Mtoto wa mwanzo wa Nabii Ibrahim (a.s.) Mayahudi wanatokana na Nabii Is-Haaq ambaye ni Mtoto wa pili wa Nabii Ibrahim (a.s.). Nabii Musa alikuwa mfano zaidi kwa Nabii Muhammad kuliko Yesu. Tukiangalia baadhi ya mifano:

(a) Nabii Musa alizaliwa na mama na baba kama Nabii Muhammad, 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 alikataliwa na bado mpaka leo anakataliwa na watu wake Mayahudi.

(d) Nabii Musa na Nabii Muhammad wote walikuwa Mitume na watawala lakini Yesu alijitangaza kuwa yeye ni Mtume tu.

(e) Nabii Musa na Nabii Muhammad walileta sharia mpya kuongoza watu wao lakini Yesu alikuja kuzitekeleza zile sheria 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); ‘Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Dīn wa Dawla* (The Book of Religion and Empire); Ibn Qutayba, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa* (The Proofs of Prophethood); Al-Bīrūnī *Al-āthār al-bāqīya ‘an al-qurūn al-khāliya* (The Vestiges of Past Centuries); Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-uṣūl wa’l-furū‘* (The Roots and Branches) and *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī’l-milal wa’l-ahwā’l-niḥal* (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*)¹⁶ 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 Muḥammad – 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)¹⁷

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 Muḥammad, making several points of comparison: born in a generation filled with

¹⁶ *Hazrat Musa* - *hazra* (Urdu) is used as a title of respect amongst Sufi orders; from the Arabic *ḥaḍra* (presence), which is also used in the same way (Esposito 2003:102).

¹⁷ *Yule mtu alikuwa na Biblia mkononi, naye akafungua kitabu cha Kumbukumbu la Torati sura ile ya 18, mahali pale panaposema: ;*

“Mungu alisema na nabii Musa (*Hazrat Musa*) kuwa atamwinua nabii kati ya ndugu zake zake anayefanana nac.”

Maneno haya yameandikwa hapa, yule mtu alisisitiza,

“Nami nitamwinua nabii kati ya ndugu zako afananae nawe, nami nitaweka maneno yangu kinywa mwake, naye atasema na watu wangu maneno yote nitakayomwamuru (*Kumb. ya Torati, 18:18*).

Nabii huyo ni Mohamedi – amani na iwe kwake daima – na unabii huu ulitolewa [k]wa ajili yake. Mohamedi ni wa uzao wa Ishmaeli na Ishmaeli alikuwa ni kaka yake Isaka.”

Nilimsikiliza lakini sikuyaamini aliyoyasema kwani yalionekana kuwa sio sahihi. Yule mtu akaendelea, “Wote Musa na Mohamedi walizaliwa katika kizazi kilichojaa uzinzi. Wazazi na ndugu zao waliwapuuza na kutowaamini lakini mwisho wake walikuja kuwa ni Manabii wa kweli. Wote walihama kutoka nchi walikozaliwa na wote walipiga vita ili kuondoa upagani katika jamii. Wote walikuja duniani wakiwa na sheria za Mungu mikononi mwao.”

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 brother¹⁸ 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)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 Aḥmadi preacher is interesting as it shows another interpretation, as he made different points and is not recorded as including Jesus in his comparison.

¹⁸ Here *ndugu* is translated as 'brother' from the context of the sentence.

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 παρακλητος (*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 Bible²⁰ from περικλειτος (*perikleitos*), which means ‘far praised one’, which is said to be *Aḥmad* in Arabic. The basis for this interpretation is found in the Qur’ān 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 Ishāq in his section on “Reports of Arab Soothsayers, Jewish Rabbis, and Christian Monks” (Ibn Ishāq 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*, ‘Abdūl-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 *aḥmadu* was understood to be an adjective by early Muslims (Watt 1953:110, 113).

²² ‘Abdūl-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 *Mizān ul-Haqq*, 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).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).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).

[2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

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 Ukristo 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 mwingine ambaye Wakristo wanamsema kuwa ndiye Roho Mtakatifu wao, imeandikwa:-*

YOHANA 14:16 Kwamba:-

“Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa Msaidizi mwingine, ili akae nanyi hata milele.”

Halafu imeandikwa tena:-

YOHANA 14:25-26 kwamba:-

“Hayo ndiyo niliyowaambia wakati nilipokuwa nikikaa kwenu. Lakini huyo Msaidizi, huyo Roho Mtakatifu ambaye Baba atampeleka kwa jina langu, atawafundisha yote, na kuwakumbusha yote niliyowaambia.”

Je, ni kweli ipo nafsi ya tatu ya Mungu iitwayo “Roho Mtakatifu?” Katika kurasa za nyuma tulipokuwa tukijaribu kuupata ukweli juu ya “Roho Mtakatifu”, tumegundua kwamba neno hili “Roho” lina maana ya “Uwezo wa Mungu anaowapa Manabii”; pia lina maana ya “Nabii” na mwisho lina maana ya “Mungu Mwenyewe.”

[9] K.K. Alavi *Kutafuta Uhakika*

Alavi examines the verses in conjunction with *Al-Şaff* (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 Qur’ān claims that his coming was prophesied by Jesus?

“And when ʿĪsā 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 Aḥmad (that is He who should be thanked). But when he came to them with clear arguments, they said: This is clearly trickery” [*Al-Şaff*] (61:6).

The Arabic word for “He who should be Praised” is Aḥmad, 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 Qur’ān, I saw that they copied certain verses from the Bible that related to this *sūra* [*Al-Şaff*] 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 Aḥmad’ published in 1951 (Guthrie & Bishop 1951:253). The English version of Khan’s tract, uses *Periklutos*.

²⁹ *Hata hivyo, swali hili lilinisumbua sana mawazo yangu. Je! vipi kuhusu Muhammad ambaye Kurani inadaa kwamba kuja kwake kulitabiriwa na Yesu?*

“Na aliposema Isa bin Mariamu: Enyi wana wa Israili! Mimi ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu kwenu, nisadikishaye yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati, ni kutoa habari njema ya Mtume atakayejia nyuma yangu ambaye jina lake litakuwa Ahmad (yaani Mwenye kushukuriwa). Lakini alipowajia kwa hoja zilizo wazi, walisema: Huu ni udanganyifu uliyo dhahiri” (61:6).

Neno la Kiarabu la “Mwenye Kushukuriwa” ni Ahmad, ambalo lina maana sawa na Muhammad. Je! maandiko haya hayana maana kuwa Yesu alinena habari za kuja kwa Muhammad? Hivyo ndivyo nilivyokuwa nimefundishwa, tena nikaamini hivyo.

Nilichunguza Biblia ili nione jinsi ilivyokuwa ikisema juu ya Muhammad, lakini sikuona kitu. Niliwauliza waalimu wangu nao wakasema kwamba hakuna jambo hilo. Wakati niliposoma kitabu cha Kiislamu kilicho na maelezo au tafsiri ya Kurani, niliona kwamba wamenukulu aya fulani za Biblia ambazo zinahusiana na sura hiyo ya 61:6. Aya ambayo ilinukuliwa ni,

“Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa Msaidizi mwingine ili akac nanyi hata milele” (Yohana 14:16)
Neno la Kiyunani kuhusu Msaidizi ni “Parakletos”. (Vitabu vya Injili viliandikwa katika lugha ya Kiyunani.) Yule mfafanuzi alisema kwamba neno la asilia lilikuwa ni Perikultos, ambalo maana yake ni “Mwenye Kushukuriwa”. Alisema kwamba Wakristo walibadilisha neno Perikultos kwa Parakletos ili kukwepa lisilete maana ya Mtume Muhammad.

(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 Muḥammad, I was distressed. Muḥammad 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’ān or the Ḥadīth that Muḥammad 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 Jibrā’īl (or Gabriel).

(Alavi [tract 9]:29-30)³⁰

Alavi uses *Al-Ṣaff* (61):6, which is associated by Muslims with the verses from John as it refers to Muḥammad being foretold in the Bible and gives him the name Aḥmad.³¹ 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 kwangu kuiacha imani yangu niliyokuwa nayo kwa Mtume Muhammad, nilijiona kwamba nina dhiki. Bado Muhammad alikuwa na nafasi kubwa moyoni mwangu, nami niliona vigumu kuiondoa imani yangu kwake kama nabii.*

Nilimwuliza profesa wa Kiyunani kuhusu maneno haya mawili, naye akanijibu hivi: Perikultos ni neno ambalo halipo katika kitabu cha Mtakatifu Yohana. Bali neno Parakletos lipo. Huonyesha jinsi ahadi ya Yesu (Yohana 14:16) ilivyotimizwa wakati Roho Mtakatifu alipokuja (Matendo 2:1-11), ambaye huishi siku zote na watu, kama mfariji na kiongozi.

Basi, nililiweka tatizo hilo katika mikono ya Mungu ili aweze kunipa ufahamu. Siku moja usiku, baada ya maombi yangu na nilipokuwa kitandani, nilikosa usingizi. Nilisikia sauti ikisema kwamba: “Amka ili usome!” Nilidhani kwamba hayo ni mawazo yangu tu. Lakini nilisikia hivyo tena na tena. Niliamka, nikafungua Biblia yangu. Nilisoma mara kadhaa aya hizi zifuatazo katika Yohana 14: 15-17:

“Mkinipenda mtazishika amri zangu. Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa Msaidizi mwingine ili akae nanyi hata milele. Ndiye Roho wa kweli ambaye ulimwengu hauwezi kumpokea, kwa kuwa haumwoni wala haumtambui bali ninyi mnamtambua maana anakaa kwenu naye atakuwa ndani yenu.”

Nilipokuwa nikisoma aya hizi, maswali mengi yalinijia akilini mwangu. Nilijiuliza kwamba, je! nimewahi kusoma katika Kurani au Hadith kwamba Muhammad ni roho wa kweli ambaye siku zote yuko nasi, na kwamba ni mshauri ambaye ulimwengu hauwezi kumwona wala kumjua, au kwamba anaishi ndani yangu? Ndipo nilipotambua kwamba maneno haya hayahusu nabii ajaye na hayawezi kumhusu mwanadamu awaye yote. Nilikumbuka kwamba maandiko haya yametimizwa katika Matendo 2:1-11, wakati wa maisha ya wale Wakristo wa kwanza waliomwamini Yesu. Sasa nimeclewa ukweli huo mkuu. Mshauri ambaye Yesu aliahidi ni Roho Mtakatifu, Roho wa milele wa Mungu aliye hai na wala si malaika Jibra’il (au Gabrieli).

³¹ Aḥmad is understood by some as a name of Muḥammad (Déclais 2003:501-502). If Aḥmad is taken as an ‘elative’ it is interpreted as ‘more highly praised’ (Robinson 1991:6).

by the translators of the tract rather than *-sifiwa* (be praised), as praised is used in the English version of the tract, following a common interpretation of the meaning of Aḥmad. 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.

[12] Stefano Masudi *Nuru Ing'aayo Gizani*

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 Aḥmadi preacher.

He opened the Bible to the New Testament part and said, *Hazrat 'Īsā* (Prophet Jesus) also prophesied about Muḥammad.”

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 is 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 Muḥammad! 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 Aḥmadiyya 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 Muḥammad – peace be upon him. It was Muḥammad who indeed reminded us of all these things. In the Qurʾān 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. Muḥammad 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)³²

³² *Akafungua Biblia hadi schemu ya agano jipya na kusema, Hazrat Isa (Nabii Yesu) ametabiri pia juu ya Mohamedi.”*

Akafungua injili ya Yohana sura ya 14 na mstari wa 16. “Nami nitamwomba baba nae atawaletea mfariji ili akae pamoja nanyi milele.”

Nilijua kuwa katika kifungu hiki, Wakristo hufundisha kuwa mfariji ni Roho Mtakatifu. Lakini maneno aliyokuwa akiyasema mtu huyu ndivyo Waislamu wengi wanavyotafsiri. Kisha akaendelea,

“Pia imeandikwa katika mstari wa 25 na 26, katika sura hii kuwa, mambo haya nimekwisha waeleza wakati nikiwa pamoja nanyi. Lakini huyu mfarifi ambac ni Roho Mtakatifu, baba atampeleka kwa jina langu. Huyu atawafundisha mambo yote na kuwakumbusha yote. Ndipo Yesu akasema katika sura ya 15 mstari 26, lakini huyu mfariji atakapokuja, huyu Roho wa kweli atokae kwa baba, atanishuhudia mimi.”

Niliona wazi wazi kuwa msemaji alitaka kuonyesha kwamba huyu Roho Mtakatifu ndiye Mohamedi! Aliendelea kutaja vifungu vingine kwenye sura ile ya 16 ya injili ya Yohana akijaribu kuwashawishi watu. Na hapa ndipo hasira iliponijia kwa ufasiri mbaya wa injili aliokuwa akiufanya. Nikakumbuka jinsi nilivyogombana na baba yangu wakati nilipomweleza jinsi Waahamadiya wanavyotafsiri vibaya maandiko ya Biblia ili kukidhi malengo yao. Lakini niliendelea kumsikiliza.

“Nitawakumbusha ndugu zangu kuwa habari hizi za kweli zimetimizwa baada ya kuja nabii Mohamedi – amani na iwe kwake. Mohamedi ndiye aliyetukumbusha mambo yote haya. Katika Kurani ametukumbusha mambo yote ya kweli juu ya Yesu, maisha yake na kifo chake, na kuwa alizaliwa na bikira Maria naye alifanya miujiza mingi. Mohamedi ametukumbusha manabii wote muhimu tangu wakati wa Adamu hadi wakati wake. Hakika ametuongoza katika kweli na ametupa sheria nzuri kwa maisha yetu.”

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 Aḥmadiyya 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 (*kabā’ir al-ithm*) and ‘depraved actions’ which God may pardon immediately or may punish for a specific period, according to His mysterious will.
- (3) *kufṛ* (disbelief) and *shirk* (associationism), attacks on the Divine Oneness, which cannot be wiped out except through repentance (*tawba*) 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).³⁴

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.

[3] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*

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 waliozitia sheria hizo hapo kwanza, wote walipotea. Imcandikwa:*

“*Warumi 3:20; Kwa sababu hakuna mwenye mwili atakayehesabiwa haki mbele zake kwa matendo ya sheria; kwa sababu kutambua dhambi huja 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).

³⁷ The others references quoted are: Ephesians 2:15-18, Colossians 2:13-14, Romans 8:1-4, Romans 3:23-25, Romans 3:28, Romans 5:10, Galatians 3:13, Romans 7:6, Galatians 3:23-25.

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)

³⁸ KUPOTOSHA HUKUMU

Kutokana na ushahidi niliokwisha kuuonyesha hapa, ilinidhirikia kwamba kwa kukubali kwangu kulifuata Agano Jipya nilikuwa nami nikiyarudia maovu yale yale yaliyokuwa yakietendwa na Mayahudi na ambao, hatimaye walilaaniwa. Nikajiuliza, Je, ni vipi mimi nitaweza kuicpuka laana hii vile vile. Hata hivyo, nikagundua kwamba Paulo analojibu kwa suala hili. Paulo anasema kuwa silaha ya kujikinga mtu na laana hiyo ni Imani katika Ukombozi wa damu ya Yesu msalibani. Kwamba, uamini tu ya kuwa Yesu Kristo alikuja duniani kwa kumwaga damu yake msalabani ili iwe ni fidia kwa dhambi za watu wote. Maana yake, kwa kitendo hiki, Yesu alitimiza sheria zote za Taurati kwa niaba yetu, kisha akaziondosha zisiwepo tena, ili kila atakayemwamini yeye aweze kuhesabiwa mema badala ya maovu kwa kuwa kukataa kwake kuzitii sheria hizo. Hayo yameelezwa na Paulo katika Kitabu chake (Agano Jipya) kama ifuatavyo. Imcandikwa:-

... WARUMI 3:23-25

*“Kwa sababu wote wamefanya dhambi, na kupungukiwa na utukufu wa Mungu; wanahesabiwa haki bure kwa necma yake kwa njia ya imani ya ukombozi katika Kristo Yesu; ambaye Mungu amekwisha kumweka awe mpatanashi (sic) kwa njia ya imani katika damu yake, kwa sababu ya **kuziachilia katika ustahamilivu wa Mungu dhambi zote zilizotangulia** kufanywa.”*

... Maneno haya ya Paulo hapo juu ndiyo maneno ya msingi juu ya imani ya ukombozi kwa damu ya Yesu msalabani. Katika maneno haya, Paulo anaseman (sic), na Wakristo wote ndivyo wanavyoamini, ya kwamba:

- (a) Sheria za Taurati ni sheria mbaya, ambazo Mwenyezi Mungu alimpa mwanadamu azishike na kuzitenda katika maisha yake humu duniani.
- (b) Watu waliokataa kuzishika na kuzitenda sheria hizo walilaaniwa, na wala wakawa hawana njia nyingine tena ya kujikomboa kutokana na laana hiyo.

(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)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 “*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 *Union Version*, with one change: the tract uses *mpatanishi* (reconciler) instead of *upatanisho* (reconciliation), with the

³⁹ (c) *Eti, kwa kutokana na wema 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 Seat⁴⁰ in the *Union Version*.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 *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 (*Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa*) [Proofs of Prophethood]” (Thomas 2001b:118), and ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad az-Zāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (994-1064) who, Camillia Adang states, wrote that Jewish rabbis:

[C]orrupted 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).

These early examples of polemical attacks on Paul illustrate that Kanoni, in his writing, is successor to an established approach.

⁴⁰ The Greek word used is ἱλαστήριον (*hilastērion*) the means of expiation or propitiation (e.g. Mercy Seat) (Rienecker & Rogers 1980:356). In a footnote the UV explains *Upatanisho hapa maana yake ni, Kiti cha rehema* (*Upatanisho* here its meaning is, Mercy Seat) (UV 1997:158 (New Testament section)).

⁴¹ Other Swahili bibles using *upatanisho* are Zanzibar NT and Neno, Mombasa NT adds (*makazi-ya-rehema*) (dwelling/abode of mercy) after *upatanisho* in the text. Roehl uses *Kiti cha Upozi* (Seat of Healing). Habari Njema uses *awe njia ya kuwaondolea watu dhambi* (being a way of removing sin from people).

[11] Muhammad Khan *Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu*

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).

(Khan [tract 11]:32-33)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

⁴² Part of this passage is shown in Figure 7.11.

⁴³ *Kwa ufupi niliendelea na upekuzi wangu katika Agano Jipya, nikasoma mara chache toka mwanzo hadi mwisho. Wakati huo nilipokuwa ninasoma niliona mamia ya vifungu na mifano mingi ambavyo vilinithibitishia bila wasiwasi wowote kuwa wokovu (jambo ambalo ndiyo madhumuni ya dini) hupatikana tu kwa njia ya imani katika Bwana Yesu Kristo. Hapa ninaonyesha sehemu moja tu:*

“Basi twajua ya kuwa mambo yote inenayo torati huyanena kwa hao walio chini ya torati, ili kila kinywa kifumbwe, na ulimwengu wote uwe chini ya hukumu ya Mungu; kwa kuwa hakuna mwenye mwili atakayehesabiwa haki mbele zake kwa matendo ya sheria; kwa maana kutambua dhambi huja kwa njia ya sheria.

Lakini sasa, haki ya Mungu imedhihirika pasipo sheria; inashuhudiwa na torati na Manabii; ni haki ya Mungu iliyo kwa njia ya imani katika Yesu Kristo kwa wote waaminio. Maana hakuna tofauti; kwa sababu wote wamefanya dhambi, na kupungukiwa na utukufu wa Mungu; wanahesabiwa haki bure kwa neema yake, kwa njia ya ukombozi ulio katika Kristo Yesu; ambaye Mungu amekwisha kumwekea awe upatanisho kwa njia ya imani katika damu yake, ili aonyeshe haki yake, kwa sababu ya kuziachilia katika ustahimili wa Mungu dhambi zote zilizotangulia kufanywa.” (Warumi 3:19-25)

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 (Yesu 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)⁴⁴

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 maovu yenu yamewafarikisha ninyi na Mungu wenu, na dhambi zenu zimeuficha uso wake msiuone, hata hataki kusikia" (Isaya 59:2). Warumi 3:23 ni jumlisho 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 kumfanyia kitu ambacho 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

Tahrīf (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 *tahrīf*.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, *tahrīf* was seen as being of two different kinds, either the corruption of the meaning/sense (*tahrīf al-maʿānī*) or a literal distortion of the text (*tahrīf al-naṣṣ*) (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 *tahrīf* referred to in the Qurʾān are: *taktumuna* concealing the truth, e.g. *Al-Baqara* (2):146b; *tukhfūna* hiding what is in Scripture, e.g. *Al-Māʾida* (5):15b; *yuharrifūna* wilfully changing the Word of God, e.g. *Al-Māʾida* (5):41b; *badala* changing one word for another, e.g. *Al-Aʿrāf* (7):162a.

A prime exponent of this accusation is Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) of Cordoba. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh says that Ibn Ḥazm 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 *tahrīf*, mainly using the ‘classical’ arguments set out by the early writers. Some recent writers, particularly in polemical writings, have used the charge of *tahrīf* 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 *tahrīf* 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-Yafeh (1992, 1999) and Camilla Adang (1996) for further information on *tahrīf*.

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.

[2] Abbas Gombo Kanoni *Kwa Nini Niliacha Ukristo na Nikawa Muislamu*

The writer of the tract accuses Christians of *tahrif* (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)⁴⁹

⁴⁹ “JE, KUITWA YESU “MWANA” KUNA MAANA GANI?”

Nilipokuwa nikihojiana na mkuu fulani wa dini ya Kikristo juu ya nafsi ya pili ya Mungu, yaani Yesu, Mkuu huyu alinionyesha shemu fulani katika Biblia palipokuwa pameandikwa “Mungu Mwana”. Na kutokana na ushahidi huu Wakristo wote wanaamini kwamba Yesu ni Mungu Mwana akiwa ni nafsi ya pili ya Mungu.

Kusema kweli neno hili “Mungu-Mwana” kama lilivyoonyeshwa katika Biblia ni neno la bandia lililo pachikwa tu katika Biblia. Neno hili limepachikwa makusudi ili ile nia yao ya kumpandisha Yesu iweze kufaulu. Neno hili “Mungu-Mwana” halikuwemo katika Biblia za zamani, neno hili limeongezwa tu katika Biblia za siku hizi.

Katika Biblia iliyopigwa chapa mwaka wa 1945

YOHANA 1:18 Imcandikwa:-

“Mwana wa pekce alie katika kifua cha Baba.”

Lakini katika Biblia iliyopigwa chapa mwaka 1950

YOHANA 1:18 Imcandikwa:-

“Mungu Mwana pekce alie katika kifua cha Baba.”

Nadhani utaona kwamba Biblia za zamani hazijui neno hili “Mungu Mwana” bali zinajua neno “Mwana” tu. Iwapo wakati huu wa mwanga ambapo wengi wa watu wako macho, waandishi hawa wanaweza kuthubutu kuibadili Biblia na kuandika maneno yanayoweza kuwapoteza wafuasi wao, je, ni mageuzo mangapi yaliyo makubwa zaidi yaliyoweza kubadilishwa na waandishi hawa wakati wa giza? Bila shaka Biblia ya leo imejaa mambo mengi yasiyo ya kweli ambayo yaliweza kuongezwa humo kwa kufuata matakwa ya waandishi hao.

Hivyo, neno hili “Mungu Mwana” siyo neno la kweli, bali ni neno la “bandia”. Limeongezwa tu ili wapate kuuthubutisha uwongo wa imani yao isiyo na msingi ya Utatu Mtakatifu.

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))*⁵⁰ 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)*⁵¹ 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).

The current Greek New Testament (GNT 4th Edition, 1994) reads:

μονογενῆς θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς
(*monogenēs theos ho ōn eis ton kolpon tou patros*)
(the only one of God that is in the breast of the father)

The first two words, μονογενῆς (unique: adjective, nominative masculine singular) and θεὸς (God: noun nominative masculine singular) being the ones in contention. The apparatus⁵² shows a variant reading, ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός (*ho 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 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 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 *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: \mathfrak{P}^{66} which is dated around 200, a fragment which includes John 1:1-6:11, and \mathfrak{P}^{75} which is dated early third century, a fragment which includes John 1:1-11:45. Both of which have θεὸς rather than υἱός (Metzger 1975:198). These papyri were not published in critical editions until 1956 (\mathfrak{P}^{66}) 1976 (\mathfrak{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,⁵⁴ rather than using the Greek version as a basis.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 *tahrif* (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 'l-tariq (Milestones)* (Quṭb 1990), as Quṭb's ideas were being made known in Tanzania during the 1960s (Chande 1998:144).

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*".

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 13th 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 θεός 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 *tahrif*, 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:⁵⁶

(Continued on the next page)

⁵⁶ *BIBLIA KUBADILISHWA MANENO YAKE KILA MWAKA*

Kuna ushahidi pia kwamba Biblia ni kitabu kinachobadilishwa badilishwa kila mwaka. Maandishi yake ni maandishi yanayofanyiwa mabadaliko “amendments”. Ushahidi ufuatao unaweza kuthubutisha jambo hili:- Injili ya mwaka wa 1945: Yuda 1:14 Imcandikwa:-

“Na Enok, wa saba baada ya Adam, alitoa maneno ya unabii juu ya hao, akisema, Angalia, Bwana alikuja na elfu kumi za watakatifu wake.”

Maneno haya yanataja juu ya “elfu kumi za Watakatifu”

Injili ya mwaka 1950: Yuda 1:14 Imcandikwa:-

“Na Henoko, mtu wa saba baada ya Adamu, alitoa maneno ya Unabii juu ya hao, akisema, Angalia, Bwana alikuja na watakatifu wake maelfu maelfu.”

Katika maneno haya imcandikwa “maelfu maelfu”, yaani wasio na idadi. Lakini Injili ya Kiingereza inasema “ten thousand of Saints.”

Katika Biblia ya 1945 neno “elfu kumi” limo; lakini Biblia ya mwaka 1950 neno hili limeondolewa, na badala yake limeingizwa neno jingine nalo ni “maelfu maelfu”. Je, ni nani aliyekuwa amewapa habari waandishi hawa kwamba neno “elfu kumi” lilikuwa ni neno lisilofaa na neno “maelfu maelfu” lilikuwa ndilo neno sahihi?

Hali kadhalika, Injili ya mwaka 1945: Mathayo 10:23:-

“Hamtaimaliza miji yote ya Israeli hata ajapo Mwana wa Adamu.”

Lakini katika Injili ya mwaka 1950 neno hili “Yote” limeondolewa, kwani imcandikwa:-

MATHAYO 10:23 Imcandikwa:-

“Hamtaimaliza miji ya Israeli hata ajapo Mwana wa Adamu.”

Ili wapate ushahidi wa kumpandisha Yesu kidogo kidogo na kufaulu kumpa daraja la Kimungu, wameweza kufanya mabadaliko yafuatayo katika Biblia: (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)⁵⁷

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.

ἁγίαίς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ
(*hagiais muriasin autou*)
(myriads of his holy ones)

The difference being questioned concerns the meaning of one Greek word μυριάσιν (*uriasin*, 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 *elfu kumi* (ten thousand), whilst the 1950 UV Swahili says *maelfu maelfu* (thousand thousands).

⁵⁷ *Injili ya mwaka 1945: YOHANA 1:18 Imcandikwa:-*

“Mwana wa pekee aliye katika kifua cha Baba.”

Lakini katika Injili ya mwaka 1950 neno jipya limeongezwa nalo ni “Mungu”. Neno hili limeongezwa ili uweze kupatikana ushahidi wa kumpandisha Yesu na kumpatia daraja la Kimungu, kwani imcandikwa:-

YOHANA 1:18 Kwamba:-

“Mungu Mwana pekee aliye katika kifua cha Baba.”

Sasa iwapo katika wakati huu wa nuru, waandishi hawa wanathubutu kufanya ujasiri wa kuyaingilia na kuyabadilisha kwa hiari zao maneno wanayosadiki kuwa ni maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu, je, ilikuwaje katika enzi za giza wakati watu walikuwa hawajui chochote? Bila shaka katika nyakati hizo ni mengi yaliyobadilishwa ambayo leo watu wanaambiwa kuyakubali kuwa ni maneno ya Mwenyezi Mungu.

Having noted the difference,⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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 ya Israeli [NTUV] 1950
 you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel [NRSV]
 οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
 (*ou mē telesēte tas poleis tou Israēl*)
 (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 (*telesēte* 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 *maelfu* or *maelfu wa maelfu*.

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 *tahrīf*, 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'ān: 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 issues 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 Qur'ān available in Swahili, from Dale's, published in 1923, to *Al-Kashif*, which is being published in separate *juz'*, starting in 2002, were introduced and assessed, showing that there appears to be an on-going need for versions of the Qur'ān in Swahili, in spite of the understanding that Arabic is the language of the Qur'ān.

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 Qur'ān: 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 Muḥammad, 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 eirenic 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 Qur'ān were used by Muslim writers not only to refute the Bible, but also to show that the Qur'ān is faithful to the message of Jesus rather than that of Paul, whereas Christian writers wanted to show that Jesus is portrayed in the Qur'ān.

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 Qur'ān.

All of the tracts that quote the Bible follow the Union Version, whilst some of the tracts that quote the Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān, possibly translating the passages from the foreign language versions of the tracts, rather than using a Swahili version of the Qur'ān 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'idā* (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 ʿImrān* (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 *Isa* (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 Aḥmadi 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-Nisā'* (4):157-159 (section 9.4.1) between Imran (tract number 1) and *al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq 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 Qur'ānic passages generally accorded with Sunnī interpretation of the material. Some of the tracts, written by Muslims, did attempt *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān, 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 Qur'ān, 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’ān.

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 Matakatiifu 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 nitawaondokeshia [nitawainulia] nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zao mfano wako wewe, nami nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.
- 19 Hata itakuwa, mtu asiyesikiliza maneno yangu atakayosema yule kwa jina langu, nitalitaka kwake.
- 20 Lakini nabii atakayenena neno kwa kujikina 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 nisione tena moto huu mkubwa, nisife.
- 17 BWANA akaniambia, Wamesema vema waliyoyanena.
- 18 Nitawainulia nabii miongoni mwa ndugu zao, kama wewe; nami nitatia maneno yangu kanwani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.
- 19 Hatta itakuwa, mtu asiyesikiliza 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 Jehova Mwenyiezi Mngu wako siku ya mkutano katika Horebu, uliposema, Nisiisikie tena sauti ya Jehova Mwenyiezi Mngu wangu, wala nisiuone moto huu mkubwa tena, nisije nikafa.
- 17 Jehova akanambia, Hayo waliyonena wameyasema vyema
- 18 Nitawasimamishia nabii katikati ya ndugu zao mfano wako wewe: nami tatia maneno yangu kanwani mwakwe, nae atawambia ntakayomuamuru yote.
- 19 Tena itakuwa killa asiyetaka kusikiza maneno yangu atakayonena yule kwa jina langu ntakuja litaka kwakwe.
- 20 Lakini nabii huyo atakaenena neno kwa kujikinai kwa jina langu ambalo sikumwagiza kulinena, au atakaenena kwa jina la waungu wengine, nafe nabii huyo.

Roehl

- 16 Ni kwa ajili yao yote, uliyomwomba Bwana Mungu wako kule Horebu siku hiyo ya mkutano kwamba: Nisiendeleo kuisikia sauti ya Bwana Mungu wangu na kuuona huu moto mkubwa, nisife.
- 17 Ndipo, Bwana aliponiambia: Wamefanya vema waliposema hivyo.
- 18 Nitawainulia mfumbuaji miongoni mwa ndugu zao atakayelingana na wewe; nitampa maneno yangu kinywani mwake, awaambie yote, nitakayomwagiza.
- 19 Itakuwa, mtu akikataa kuyasikia maneno yangu, atakayoyasema katika Jina langu, mimi nitamlipisha.
- 20 Lakini mfumbuaji atakayejikuzi 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 mlichomwomba 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!'
- 17 Naye Mwenyezi-Mungu akaniambia, 'Wamesema ukweli.
- 18 Nitawateulieni miongoni mwa ndugu zao wenyewe nabii kama wewe; nitatia maneno yangu kinywani mwake, naye atawaambia yote nitakayomwamuru.
- 19 Yeyote ambaye hatasikia maneno atakayosema nabii huyo kwa jina langu, mimi mwenyewe nitamwadhibu.
- 20 Lakini nabii yeyote atakayesema kwa jina la miungu mingine, atakayejaribu 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; Nitafuteni bure; Mimi, BWANA, nasema haki [ukweli]; nanena mambo ya adili [haki].
- 20 Jikusanyeni mje; na kukaribia pamoja, ninyi wa mataifa mliookoka; hawana maarifa wale wachukua mti wa sanamu yao ya kuchonga; wamwombao mungu asiyeweza kuokoa.
- 21 Hubirini, toeni habari; naam, na 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 aliyeitia imara, hakuiumba ukiwa, ipate kukaliwa aliifanya: Mimi BWANA; wala hapana mgine.
- 19 Sikunena kwa siri, mahali pa inchi ya giza; sikuwaambia uzao wa Yakob, Nitafuteni 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 asiyeeokoa.
- 21 Tangazeni, toeni; kweli, wafanye shauri pamoja: nani aliyeonyesha haya tangu zamani? aliyeyatangaza 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 ngine.

OT Mombasa

- 18 Kwani yeye Jehova aliyeziumba hizo mbingu; yeye ni Mwenyezi Mngu; yeye aliyeifinanga hii dunia na kuifanya; yeye aliyeithubutisha, yeye aliiumba isiwe ukiwa, yeye aliifinanga 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, Nitafutani mimi bure: mimi Jehova nanena kwa haki, mimi nahubiri mambo yaliyo ya ulekevu.
- 20 Haya, kutanani pamoja muje; jongeani karibu pamoja, nyinywi mliopona wa hizo taifa: wao wautukuao huo mti wa sanamu wao wa kutongwa hawana maarifa, hao wamuombao mngu asiyeweza kuokoa.
- 21 Haya, hubirini, toani habari; naam, na wafanye mashauri pamoja: n nani aliyeonyesha neno hili tangu zamani za kale? n nani aliyehubiri neno hili hapo kale? si mimi Jehova niliyefanya? tena hapana Mngu mwengine zaidi ya mimi; Mngu mwenyi haki tena mwokozi; hapana mwengine zaidi ya mimi.
- 22 Niangaliani mimi, muokolewe, enywi nta zote za nti: kwa kuwa mimi ni Mwenyezi Mngu, hapana mwengine.

Roehl

- 18 Kwani hivi ndivyo, anavyosema Bwana aliyeziumba mbingu, yeye Mungu, aliyeifanya nchi na kuitengeneza vema, yeye aliyeishikiza, kwa kuwa hakuiumba, iwe tupu, yeye aliyeitengeneza, watu waikae, yeye anasema: Mimi ndimi Bwana, hakuna mwingine tena.
- 19 Sikusema fichoni mahali penye giza ya nchi, wala sikuwaambia walio uzao wa Yakobo: Nitafuteni hure! Mimi Bwana husema yenye wongofu, hutangaza yanyokayo!
- 20 Njoni, kusanyikeni, mfike karibu, ninyi masao ya wamizimu mliopona! Hawajui kitu wajitwikai vinyago vya miti kulalamika mungu usioweza kuokoa.
- 21 Semeni, leteni mashahidi! Na wapige shauri pamoja! Yuko nani aliyeambia watu haya, wakiyasikia huko kale? Yuko nani aliyetangaza tangu mwanzo? Si mimi Bwana? Hakuna tena aliye Mungu, isipokuwa mimi. Mungu aliye mwongofu na mwokozi hayuko pasipo mimi.
- 22 Nigeukieni, mwokoke, ninyi mapeo yote ya nchi! Kwani mimi ndimi Mungu, hakuna mwingine tena.

Habari Njema

- 18 Mwenyezi-Mungu, Mungu pekee, ndiye aliyeiumba dunia, ndiye aliyeiumba na kuitegemeza. Hakuiumba iwe ghasia na tupu, ila aliiumba ikaliwe na viumbe vyake. Yeye asema sasa: "Mimi ndimi Mwenyezi-Mungu, wala hakuna mwingine.
- 19 Mimi sikunena kwa siri, wala katika nchi yenye giza. Mimi sikuwaambia wazawa wa Yakobo wanitafute katika ghasia. Mimi Mwenyezi-Mungu husema ukweli, maneno yangu ni ya kuaminika."
- 20 Enyi watu wa mataifa mliosalia, kusanyikeni pamoja mje! Nyinyi mmekosa akili: nyinyi mwabeba sanamu za miti na kumwomba mungu asiyeweza kuokoa watu.
- 21 Semeni wazi na kutoa hoja zenu; shaurianeni pamoja! Ni nani aliyetangaza zamani matukio ya sasa? Ni nani aliyetamka mambo haya zamani? Je, haikuwa mimi Mwenyezi-Mungu? Hakuna Mungu mwingine ila mimi! Mimi ni Mungu wa haki na mwokozi; hakuna mwingine ila mimi.
- 22 Nigeukieni mimi nipate kuokolewa, popote mlipo duniani. Maana mimi ni Mungu, wala hakuna mwingine.

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, kimbilieni mwingine; kwa maana ni kweli nawaambia, Hamtaisaliza miji ya Israeli, hata ajapo Mwana wa Adamu.

NT Zanzibar

23 Watakapowaudhi katika mji huu, kimbilieni mwingine: kwa maana ni kweli nawaambieni, Hamtaisaliza miji yote ya Israeli, hatta ajapo Mwana wa Adamu.

NT Mombasa

23 Nao watakapowaudhi katika mji huu, ukimbilieni mwingine; kwani ni kweli nawambia, hamtaisaliza miji ya Israeli, illa atakuja yule Mwana wa bin-Adamu.

Roehl

23 Lakini watakapowafukuza mjini humu, kimbilieni mwingine! Kwani nawaambieni iliyo kweli: Hamtaisaliza miji ya Israeli, mpaka Mwana wa mtu atakapokuja.

Habari Njema

23 “Watu wakiwadhulumu katika mji mmoja, kimbilieni mji mwingine. Kweli nawaambieni, hamtamaliza ziara yenu katika miji yote ya Israeli kabla Mwana wa Mtu hajafika.

Neno

23 Wakiwatesa katika mji mmoja, kimbilieni 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.
- 23 Wala yeye hakumjibu neno. Nao wanafunzi wake wakamwendea, wakamwomba, wakisema, Mwache aende zake; kwa maana anapiga kelele [kwa kuwa anaendelea kutupigia makelele] nyuma yetu.
- 24 Akajibu, akasema, Sikutumwa ila kwa kondoo waliopotea 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, akampaazia sauti, akinena, yangu Unirehemu, Bwana, Mwana wa Daud; binti yangu amepagawa sana na pepo.
- 23 Nae hakumjibu neno. Wanafunzi wake wakamwendea, 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 kubwa; pata utakavyo. Akapona binti yake tangu saa ile.

NT Mombasa

- 22 Nae, huyo ndiye, mwanamke wa Kikanani, nae ni mtu wa katika mipaka ile, akatokea akapiga kelele, yuanena, Nirehemu Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi; binti wangu yuateswa sana ni pepo.
- 23 Asimjibu neno. Wakamwendea 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 mwanamke akamwendea, ikawa kumsujudia, yuanena, bwana, nisaidia.
- 26 Akajibu akamwambia, Si vyema kuutwaa mkate wao wana kuwatupia mbwa.
- 27 Akanena, Ndiyo Bwana, kwani hata mbwa hula katika makombo yaangukayo mezani pa bwana zao.
- 28 Ndipo hapo Jesu akamjibu akamwambia, Ewe mwanamke, imani yako ni kubwa: na yawe kwako kama utakayo. Akapoa binti wakwe kwa saa ile.

Roehl

- 21 Yesu alipotoka huko akajiepusha kwenda pande za Tiro na Sidoni.
- 22 Mara mwanamke wa Kikanaani aliyekaa mipakani huko akatokea, akapaza sauti akisema: Nihurumie, Bwana, mwana wa Dawidi! Binti yangu anapagawa vibaya na pepo.
- 23 Lakini hakumjibu neno. Wanafunzi wake wakamjia, wakamwomba wakisema: Mwache, aende zake! Kwani anatupigia kelele nyuma yetu.
- 24 Naye akajibu: Sikutumwa pengine, ni kwao tu walio kondoo waliopotea wa mlango wa Isiraeli.
- 25 Naye mwanamke akaja, akamwangukia, akasema: Bwana, nisaidie!
- 26 Naye akajibu akisema: Haifai kuchukua chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia vijibwa.
- 27 Mwanamke akasema: Ndio Bwana, lakini nao vijibwa hula makombo yanayoanguka mezani pa bwana zao.
- 28 Ndipo, Yesu, alipojibu akimwambia: Mama, umenitegemea kabisa. Na uvipate unavyovitaka! Saa ileile binti yake akapona.

Habari Njema

- 21 Yesu aliondoka mahali hapo akaenda kukaa katika sehemu za Tiro na Sidoni.
- 22 Basi, mama mmoja Mkanaani wa nchi hiyo alimjia, akapaaza sauti: “Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi, nionee huruma! Binti yangu anasumbuliwa na pepo.”
- 23 Lakini Yesu hakumjibu neno. Basi wanafunzi wake wakamwendea, wakamwambia, “Mwambie aende zake kwa maana anatufuatafuata akipiga kelele.”
- 24 Yesu akajibu, “Sikutumwa ila kwa watu wa Israeli waliopotea kama kondoo.”
- 25 Hapo huyo mama akaja, akamsujudia, akasema, “Bwana, nisaidie.”
- 26 Yesu akajibu, “Si vizuri kuchukua chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.”
- 27 Huyo mama akajibu, “Ni kweli, Bwana; lakini hata mbwa hula makombo yanayoanguka kutoka mesa ya bwana wao.”
- 28 Hapo Yesu akamjibu, “Mama, imani yako ni kubwa; basi, ufanyiwe kama unavyotaka.” Yule binti yake akapona wakati huohuo.

Neno

- 21 Na Yesu akaondoka mahali hapo akaenda sehemu za Tiro na Sidoni.
- 22 Mwanamke mmoja Mkanaani aliyeishi sehemu hizo akaja kwake, akamlilia, akasema, “Nihurimie, Bwana, Mwana wa Daudi; binti yangu amepagawa na pepo na anasumbua sana.”
- 23 Lakini Yesu halumjibu neno. Basi wanafunzi wake wakamwendea wakamwomba, “Mwambie aende zake, kwa maana anaendelea kutupigia kelele.”
- 24 Akajibu, “Nimetumwa tu kwa ajili ya kondoo wa Israeli waliopotea.”
- 25 Lakini yule mwanamke akaja, akapiga magoti mbele ya Yesu akasema, “Bwana, nisaidie!”
- 26 Yesu akajibu, “Si haki kuchukua chakula cha watoto na kuwatupia mbwa.”
- 27 Yule mwanamke akajibu, “Ndio, Bwana, lakini hata mbwa hula makombo yanayoanguka kutoka kwenye mesa za mabwana wao.”
- 28 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 aliyefasiri khabari yake.

NT Mombasa

- 18 Hakuna aliyemuona Mngu, popote; Mwana mzaliwa pekee, mwenyi kuwa katika kifua cha Baba, ndiye huyo aliyefunua.

Roehl

- 18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu hapo kale po pote, Mwana wa Mungu aliyezaliwa wa pekee, aliyeambatana na Baba, ndiye aliyetusimulia.

Habari Njema

- 18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu wakati wowote ule. Mwana wa pekee aliye Mungu ambaye ameungana na Baba, ndiye aliyetujulisha habari za Mungu.

Neno

- 18 Hakuna mtu aliyemwona Mungu wakati wo wote. Lakini Mwanac 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 akae nanyi hata milele;
17 ndiye Roho wa kweli; ambaye uliwengu hauwezi kumpokea, kwa kuwa haumwoni wala haumtambui; bali ninyi mnamtambua, 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, akaae nanyi hatta milele;
17 Roho wa kweli; ambae uliwengu hauwezi kumkubali, kwa kuwa haumwoni wala haumjui; bali ninyi mnamjua, maana anakaa kwenu, nae atakuwa ndani yenu.
- 25 Haya nimewaambia, 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 Nami tamtaka Baba, nae atawapa Msaada mwengine, apate kuwa pamoja nanyiwi milele,
17 nae ni Roho wa kweli, ulimwengu usioweza kumtwaa, kwa kuwa haumuoni wala haumjui. Nyinyiwi mwamjua, kwa kuwa aketi 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 niliyowambia yote.

Roehl

- 15 Mkinipenda yashikeni maagizo yangu!
- 16 Nami nitamwomba Baba, naye atawapa mtuliza mioyo mwingine, akae pamoja nanyi kale na kale.
- 17 Ndiye Roho wa kweli, ambaye ulimwengu hauwezi kumpokea, kwa sabbau haumwoni, wala haumtambui. Ninyi mnamtambua, 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. Ulimwengu hauwezi kumpokea kwa sababu hauwezi kumwona wala kumjua. Lakini nyinyi mnamjua 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 akae nanyi siku zote.
- 17 Huyu ndiye Roho wa Kweli ambaye watu wasioamini hawawezi kumpokea. Watu kama hao hawamwoni wala hawamfahamu. Ninyi mnamfahamu 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 yangu atamtuma kwenu kwa jina langu, atawafundisha mambo yote, na kuwakumbusha yote niliyowaambia.

Acts of the Apostles 2:22-23, 36

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, sikilizeni maneno haya: Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyedhihirishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miujiza na ajabu na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake kati yenu, kama ninyi wenyewe mnavyojua;
- 23 mtu huyu alipotolewa 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 mliyemsulubisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.

NT Zanzibar

- 22 Enyi waume wa Israeli, sikieni maneno haya: Yesu wa Nazareti, mtu aliyedhihirishiwa kwenu na Mungu kwa miujiza na ajabu na ishara, ambazo Mungu alizifanya kwa mkono wake kati yenu, kama ninyi wenyewe mnavyojua;
- 23 mtu huyu alitwaliwa 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 mliyemsulubisha kuwa Bwana na Kristo.

NT Mombasa

- 22 Enywi waume wa Isiraeli, sikizani maneno haya: Jesu Mnazari, mtu aliyedhihirishwa kwenu ni Mngu kwa vitendo vya nguvu, na vioja, na ishara, ambazo Mwenyiezi Mngu alizifanya katikati yenu kwa yeye, kama nyinywi wenyewe mjuavyo;
- 23 Yeye kwa shauri la Mngu lililoazimiwa na kwa kutangulia kujua kwakwe, nyinywi mmemsalibi na kumuua kwa mikono ya madhalimu:
- 36 Basi nyumba yote ya Isiraeli na ijue pasipokuwa na shaka, ya kwamba yeye Jesu mliyemsalibu myinywi Mwenyiezi Mngu amemfanya awe Bwana tena awe Masihi.

Roehl

- 22 Enyi waume wa Kiisraeli, yasikilizeni maneno haya! Yesu wa Nasareti alikuwa amejulikana, kwamba ametoka kwa Mungu hapo, alipokuja kwenu na kufanya vya nguvu na vioja na vielekezo, tena ni Mungu aliyempa kuvifanya machoni penu, kama mnavyojua wenyewe.
- 23 Kwa kuwa Mungu alikuwa amempatia kazi na kumkatia mpaka kwa vile, anavyovijua vyote, vikiwa havijatimia bado, kwa hiyo ametolewa, mkampata mikononi mwa wapotovu, mkamwua na kumwamba msalabani.
- 36 Kwa hiyo wote walio wa mlango wa Isiraeli watambue kweli: Huyu 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 kumsulubisha.
- 36 “Watu wote wa Israeli wanapaswa kufahamu kwa hakika kwamba huyu Yesu mliyemsulubisha, ndiye huyu ambaye Mungu amemfanya kwa Bwana na Kristo.”

Neno

- 22 “Nawasihi ninyi Waisraeli mnisikilize. Yesu wa Nazareti alikuwa mtu aliyethibitishwa kwenu na Mungu kwa njia ya miujiza, maajabu na ishara, kama ninyi wenyewe mjuavayo.
- 23 Huyu Yesu alitiwa mikononi mwenu kwa mpango na makusudi ya Mungu aliyoyafahamu tangu awali. Nanyi mlimuwa kwa kumtundika na kumpigilia misumari msalabani, mkisaidiwa na watu waovu.
- 36 “Basi nataka niwahakikishie Waisraeli wote ya kuwa, Mungu amemfanya huyu 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. He did this to show his righteousness, because in his divine forbearance he had passed over the sins previously committed;

UV

- 19 Basi twajua ya kuwa mambo yote inenayo torati huyanena kwa hao walio chini ya torati, ili kila kinywa kifumbwe, na ulimwengu wote uwe chini ya hukumu ya Mungu;
- 20 kwa sababu hakuna mwenye mwili atakayehesabiwa haki mbele zake kwa matendo ya sheria; kwa maana kutambua dhambi huja kwa njia ya sheria.
- 21 Lakini sasa, 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 kuziachilia katika ustahimili wa Mungu dhambi zote zilizotangulia kufanywa;

NT Zanzibar

- 19 Twajua ya kuwa mambo yote yasemwayo na torati huyanena kwa hao walio chini ya torati, ili killa kinywa kifumbwe, ulimwengu wote ukapasiwe na hukumu ya Mungu:
- 20 kwa maana hapana mwenye mwili atakayehesabiwa 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 watu wote, huwakalia watu 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 kuziachilia 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 Mwenyezi Mngu:
- 20 kwa maana, mbele yakwe hapana mwenyi muwili atakaahasibiwa kuwa mwenyi haki kwa ndia ya vitendo vya sharia: kwani ujuzi wa dhambi huja kwa ndia ya sharia.
- 21 Illa sasa haki ya Mwenyezi Mngu imekwisha fanywa wazi pasipokuwa na sharia, *nayo* imeshuhudiwa ni ile sharia na wale manabii:
- 22 ni ile haki ya Mwenyezi Mngu iliyo kwa ndia ya imani katika Jesu Masihi kwa wote waamninio, kwani hapana tofauti:
- 23 kwani wamefanya dhambi wote, na utukufu wa Mwenyezi Mngu hawaufikili;
- 24 ni kupawa haki bure kwa neema yakwe, kwa ndia ya ukombozi ulio katika Masihi Jesu:
- 25 ambae Mwenyezi Mngu alitangulia kumweka awe upatanisho (*makazi-ya-rehema*), kwa ndia ya imani, katika damu yakwe, illi kuonyesha haki yakwe kwa ajili ya masitahimilio, katika uvumilivu wa Mwenyezi Mngu, ya zile dhambi zilizotangulia kufanywa:

Roehl

- 19 Lakini sisi twajua: Yote, Maonyo yanayoyasema, huwaambia wenye kuishika Maonyo, kila kinywa kifumbwe, nao ulimwengu wote uwe umepaswa na hukumu ya Mungu.
- 20 Kwa hiyo hapo, alipo, hapana mwenye mwili wa kimtu atakayepata wongofu kwa kwamba: Ameyafanya Maonyo, kwa sababu Maonyo 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: wote wanaomtegemea huupata. Kwani hawapitani,
- 23 kwa sababu wote wamekosa, wakalipoteza fungu lao la utukufu wa Mungu.
- 24 Kwa hiyo wanapata wongofu bure tu, kwani ni gawio, Yesu Kristo alilowapatia hapo, alipoyalipa makombozi yao.
- 25 Ndiye, Mungu aliyemtoa, kusudi wenye kumtegemea wajipatie Kiti cha Upozi katika damu yake; hapo ndipo, alipoonyesha, wongofu wake ulivyo, akiowaondolea makosa ya kale.

Habari Njema

- 19 Tunajua kwamba sheria huwahuu walio chini ya sheria hiyo, hata hawawezi kuwa na kisingizio chochote, na ulimwengu wote uko chini ya hukumu ya Mungu.
- 20 Maana hakuna binadamu yeyote anayekubaliwa 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 kuwa waadilifu imekwisha dhihirishwa, tena bila kutegemea sheria. Sheria na manabii hushuhudia jambo hili.
- 22 Mungu huwakubali watu waadilifu kwa njia ya imani yao kwa Yesu Kristo; Mungu hufanya hivyo kwa wote wanaoamini; hakuna ubaguzi wowote.
- 23 Watu wote wametenda dhambi na wametindikiwa utukufu wa Mungu.
- 24 Lakini kwa zawadi ya neema ya Mungu, watu wote hukubaliwa kuwa waadilifu kwa njia ya Yesu kristo anayewakomboa.
- 25 Mungu alimtoa Yesu kusudi, kwa damu yake, awe njia ya kuwaondolea watu dhambi zao kwa imani kwake. Alifanya hivyo ili apate kuonyesha kwamba yeye ni mwadilifu. Hapo zamani Mungu alikuwa mvumilivu bila kuzijali dhambi za watu;

Neno

- 19 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.
- 20 Kwa hiyo hakuna binadamu hata mmoja atakayehesabiwa kuwa na haki mbele za Mungu kwa kufuata sheria; bali sheria hatufanya tutambue dhambi.
- 21 Lakini sasa, njia ya Mungu ya kuwahesabia watu haki pasipo sheria, njia ambayo sheria na manabii huishuhudia, imekisha dhahirishwa.
- 22 Haki hii itokayo kwa Mungu hupatikana kwa kumwamini Yesu Kristo. Mungu huwatendea hivi watu wote wamwaminio Kristo pasipo kubagua,
- 23 kwa maana wote wametenda dhambi na kupungukiwa na utukufu wa Mungu;
- 24 wote wanahesabiwa haki bure kwa neema yake kwa ukombozi ulioletwa na Yesu Kristo.
- 25 Mungu alimtoa awe dhabihu 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 yeye mwanzo alikuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, naye hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa ni kitu cha kushikamana nacho;
- 7 bali alijifanya kuwa hana utukufu, akatwaa namna ya mtumwa, akawa ana mfano wa wanadamu;
- 8 tena, alipoonekana ana umbo kama mwanadamu, alijinyenyekeza akawa mtii hata mauti, naam, mauti ya msalaba.

NT Zanzibar

- 5 Maana mwe na nia hii ndani yenu iliyokuwamo na ndani ya Yesu Kristo;
- 6 yeye mwanzo alikuwa yuna namna ya Mungu, nae hakuona kule kuwa sawa na Mungu kuwa kitu cha kushikamana nacho,
- 7 bali alijifanya 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 ambac yeye alipokuwa katika sura za *mfano wa* Mngu, hakukuhisibu kufanywa sawa na Mngu kuwa ni jambo lenyi kutamaniwa,
- 7 lakini akaifanya nafusi yakwe utupu, huku akiutwaa mfano wa mtumwa, akawa sawasawa na bib-Adamu:
- 8 kisha akionekana kuwa na umbo kama wa bin-Adamu akainyenyekeza nafusi yakwe, akawa mwenyi kutii hata mauti, naam, hata mauti 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 kufa 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 saba baada ya Adamu, aliwatolea maneno ya unabii, akisema, Huyo ndiye, Bwana alikuja pamoja na jeshi kuu mno ya watakatifu wakwe,

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'ĀNIC PASSAGES

For each of the passages which are discussed in the study, in chapters eight, nine and ten, various Swahili versions of the Qur'ān 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'ān; *Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu* [Dale] (1923); *Kurani Tukufu* [Aḥmadi] (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'ān (Dale 1924:9). The Aḥmadi 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'ān.

Āl Imrān (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

- 45 (Kumbukeni) waliposema Malaika: “Ewe Maryamu! Mwenyezi Mungu anakupa khabari njema za (kumzaa mtoto bila ya mume, bali kwa kutamkwa) Neno tu litokalo Kwake (la kukwambia ‘Zaa’ ukazaa pasina kuingiliwa). Jina lake ni Masih, Isa, mwana wa Maryamu, mwenye hishima katika dunia na Akhera, na miongoni mwa waliopelekwa mbele na Mwenyezi Mungu.
- 46 “Naye atazungumza na watu (maneno ya dini) katika utoto (wake) na katika utuuzima (wake), na (atakuwa) katika watu wema (kabisa).”
- 47 (Maryamu) akasema: “Mola wangu! Nitapataje mtoto, na hali ya mtu yoyote hakunigusa?” Akasema (Mola wake): “Ndivyo vivyo hivyo; Mwenyezi Mungu huumba Anavyopenda: Anapohukumu jambo, Huliambia: ‘Kuwa’, (basi) likawa.
- 48 “Na (Mwenyezi Mungu) atamfunza kuandika na kujua ilimu na (kujua) Taurati na Injili.
- 49 “Na (Atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israili, (kuwaambia): ‘Nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wenu, ya kwamba nakuumbieni, katika udongo, kama sura ya ndege, kisha nampuliza, mara anakuwa ndege, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na ninawaponyesha vipofu na wenye mabalanga, na ninawafufua (baadhi ya) waliokufa, kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na nitakwambieni mtakavyovila na mtakavyo weka akiba katika nyumba zenu. Bila shaka katika haya imo hoja kwenu ikiwa nyinyi ni watu wa kuamini!
- 50 “Na (nitakuwa) msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu kabla yangu katika Taurati; na (nimekuja) ili nikuhalalishieni baadhi ya yale mliyoharimishiwa, na nimekujieni na hoja kutoka kwa Mola wenu. Kwa hivyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nitiini.
- 51 “Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mola wangu na ni Mola wenu. Basi mwabudini. Hii ndiyo njia iliyonyooka.”

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 mmoja wao ambao mahali pao ni karibu na Mungu, nae atasema na watu akiwa katika kitanda cha mtoto, na atakapokuwa mtu mzima, nae atakuwa mmoja wao wenye haki. Akasema, Bwana wangu, nitawezaje kuwa na mtoto ikiwa mwana Adamu hajanigusa? Akasema, Kadhalika, Mungu hukhuluku atakacho. Akikusudia kutenda neno husema tu, Liwe likawa; nae atamfundisha kitabu na hekima na Torati na Injili; nae atakuwa mtume kwa watu wa Israeli, akisema, kwamba, Nimekuja kwenu na ishara itokayo kwa Mungu, yaani nitawakhulukieni kwa udongo kitu kana kwamba kina mfano wa ndege, nami nitakipulizia, nacho kitakuwa ndege kwa idhini ya Mungu; nami nitamponya mtu aliyezaliwa kipofu, na mwenye ukoma; nami nitawahuisa waliokufa, kwa idhini ya Mungu: nami nitawaambieni mnachokula, nacho mnachoweka akiba nyumbani mwenu. Hakika yake katika hayo iko ishara kwenu, ikiwa mnaamini.

Nami nitaithubutisha Torati mliyo nayo, na yakini nitawahalalishieni baadhi ya vitu vilivyokuwa haramu kwenu. Nimekuja kwenu na ishara itokayo kwa Bwana wenu; bassi mcheni Mungu mkanifuata; mwabuduni yeye: hii ndiyo njia iliyonyoka.

Aḥmadi

- 46 (Kumbukeni) waliposema Malaika: Ewe Mariamu, bila shaka Mwenyezi Mungu Anakupa habari njema za neno litokalo Kwake, jina lake Masihi Isa mwana wa Mariamu, mwenye heshima katika dunia na Akhera, na yu miongoni mwa waliokaribishwa.
- 47 Naye atazungumza na watu katika utoto na katika utu uzima, na atakuwa katika watu wema.
- 48 (Mariamu) akasema: Mola wangu, nitampataje mtoto na hali mtu ye yote hakunigusa? Akasema: hivyo ndivyo Mwenyezi Mungu Huumba Anavyopenda: Anapohukumu jambo, basi Huliambia tu, Kuwa, basi huwa.
- 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 wafu kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na ninawaumbieni mtakavyovila na mtakavyoweka akiba katika nyumba zenu; bila shaka katika hayo imo Ishara kwenu ikiwa ninyi mnaamini.
- 51 Na msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati, na ili niwahalalishieni baadhi ya yale mliyoharimishiwa, na nimewajieni na Ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu, kwa hiyo Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nitiini.
- 52 Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mola wangu na ni Mola wenu, basi Mwabuduni; hii ndiyo njia iliyonyoka.

Al-Barwani

- 45 Na pale Malaika walipo sema: Ewe Maryamu! Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu anakubashiria (mwana) kwa neno litokalo kwake. Jina lake ni Masihi Isa mwana wa Maryamu, mwenye hishima katika dunia na Akhera, na miongoni mwa walio karibishwa (kwa Mwenyezi Mungu).
- 46 Naye atazungumza na watu katika utoto wake na katika utuuzima wake, na atakuwa katika watu wema.
- 47 Maryamu akasema: Mola wangu Mlezi! Vipi nitampata mwana na hali hajanigusa mwanaadamu? Mwenyezi Mungu akasema: Ndivyo vivyo hivyo, Mwenyezi Mungu huumba apendacho. Anapo hukumu jambo, huliambia: Kuwa! Likawa.
- 48 Na atamfunza kuandika na Hikima na Taurati na Injili.
- 49 Na ni Mtume kwa Wana wa Israili kuwaambia: Mimi nimekujieni na Ishara kutoka kwa Mola Mlezi wenu, ya kwamba nakuundieni kwa udongo kama sura ya ndege. Kisha nampuliza anakuwa ndege kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na ninawaponesha vipofu wa tangu kuzaliwa na wakoma, na ninawafufua maiti kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu, na ninakwambieni mnacho kila na mnacho weka akiba katika nyumba zenu. Hakika katika haya ipo Ishara kwenu ikiwi nyinyi ni wenye kuamini.
- 50 Na ninasadikisha yaliyo kuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati, na ili nikuhalalishieni baadhi ya yale mlio harimishiwa, na nimekujieni na Ishara kutokana na Mole Mlezi weni. Kwa hivyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na nit'iini mimi.
- 51 Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mola wangu Mlezi na ni Mola wenu Mlezi. Basi muabudni Yeye. Hii ndiyo Njia Iliyo Nyooka.

Mayunga

- 45 (Kumbukeni) Malaika waliposema: Ewe Mariam! Hakika Mwenyeezi Mungu anakupa khabari njema za neno litokalo kwake, jina lake ni Masihi Isa Mwana wa Mariam, mwenye heshima ulimwenguni na Akhera, na ni miongoni mwa wenye kukurubishwa (mbele ya Mwenyeezi Mungu).
- 46 Atasema na watu katika uchanga na utu uzima, na atakuwa katika watu wema.
- 47 Akasema (Mariam): Mola wangu! nitampataje mtoto na hali mtu yeyote hakunigusa? Akasema: Hivyo ndivyo Mwenyeezi Mungu huumba anavyotaka, anapohukumu jambo basi huliambia kuwa basi huwa.
- 48 Na (Mwenyeezi Mungu) atamfundisha kuandika na (kujua) elimu na (kujua) Taurati na Injili.
- 49 Na (atamfanya) Mtume kwa wana wa Israel, (awaambie) Hakika mimi nimewajieni na dalili itokayo kwa Mola wenu. Mimi nitakufanyieni katika udongo kama namna ya ndege, kisha napulizia ndani yake (awe) ni ndege kwa idhini ya Mwenyeezi Mungu. Na niwapoze vipofu na wenye mbalanga, niwafufue wafu kwa idhini ya Mwenyeezi Mungu. Na niwape khabari na mnavyokula na mnavyoviweka akiba katika nyumba zenu. Hakika katika hayo mna dalili kwenu ikiwa nyinyi ni wenye kuamini.
- 50 Na ninasadikisha yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Taurati na ili niwahalalishieni baadhi ya yale mliyoharamishiwa. Na nimewajieni na dalili kutoka kwa Mola wenu, basi Mcheni Mwenyeezi Mungu na nitiini.
- 51 Hakika Mwenyeezi Mungu ndiye Mola wangu na ni Mola wenu, basi muabuduni, hii ndiyo njia iliyonyooka.

Mughniyya

- 45 Waliposema Malaika: Ewe Maryam! Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu anakubashiria neno litokalo kwake; jina lake ni Masih mwana wa Maryam; mwenye heshima duniani na akhera na ni miongoni mwa waliokurubishwa.
- 46 Na atasema na watu katika uchanga na katika utu uzima na atakuwa miongoni mwa watu wema.
- 47 Akasema: “Mola wangu! Nitakuwaje na mtoto na hali hajanigusa mtu yeyote?” Akasema: Ndivyo hivyo, Mwenyezi Mungu huumba anavyotaka anapohukumu jambo, huliambia ‘kuwa’ likawa.
- 48 Na atamfundisha kuandika na hekima na Tawrat na Injili.
- 49 Na Mtume kwa wana wa Israil. Mimi nimewajia na Ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu, hakika mimi nitawafanyia kama namna ya ndege katika udongo; kasha nimpulizie awe ndege kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu na niwaponye vipofu na wenye mbalanga. Niwafufue wafu kwa idhini ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Na niwaambie mnavyovila na mtakavyoweka akiba. Hakika katika haya ipo ishara kwenu mkiwa ni wenye kuamini.
- 50 Na msadikishaji wa yale yaliyokuwa kabla yangu katika Tawrat, na ili niwahalalishie baadhi ya mliyoharamishiwana nimewajia na ishara kutoka kwa Mola wenu, kwa hiyo mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu na mtiini.
- 51 Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mola wangu na ni Mola wenu basi mwabuduni. Hii ndiyo njia iliyonyooka.

***Al-Nisā'* (4):157-159**

Arberry

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.

Al-Farsy

- 157 Na kwa (ajili ya) kusema kwao: “Sisi tumemwua Masihi Isa, mwana wa Maryamu, Mtume wa Mungu,” hali hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubu, bali walibabaishiwa (mtu mwengine wakamdhani Nabii Isa). Na kwa hakika wale waliokhitalifiana katika (hakika) hiyo (ya kumwua Nabii Isa) wamo katika shaka nalo (jambo hilo la kusema kauawa). Wao (kabisa) hawana yakini juu ya (jambo) hili (la kuwa kweli wamemwua Nabii Isa), isipokuwa wanafuata dhana tu. Na kwa yakini hawakumwua.
- 158 Bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimnyanyua Kwake, na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye nguvu (na) Mwenye hikima.
- 159 Na hakuna yoyote katika watu waliopewa Kitabu (Mayahudi an Manasara) ila humwamini (Nabii Isa kwa hakika yake) kabla ya kifo cha kila mmoja katika hao. (Lakini hakuna faida kumwamini huko wakati huo). Naye (Masihi) Siku ya Kiama atakuwa shahidi juu yao.

Dale

[N]a kusema, Hakika tumemwua Masihi Isa mwana wa Maryamu, mtume wa Mungu; nao hawakumwua wala hawakumsulubi walakini walipewa mtu aliyefananishwa nae; na hakika wale waliokhitalifiana katika khabari zake walikuwa hali ya mashaka juu ya hayo, wala hawakuwa na elimu; walifuata dhana tu. Hawakumwua kweli kweli: bali Mungu alimrafaisha awe karibu nae, na Mungu ni mwenye uweza, mwenye hekima. Hapatakuwa mtu mmoja katika watu wa kitabu asiyemwamini kabla ya mauti yake: na siku ya kiyama atakuwa shahidi juu yao.

Aḥmadi

- 158 Na kusema kwao: Hakika tumemwua Masihi Isa mwana wa Mariamu, Mtume wa Mungu; hali hawakumwua wala hawakumfisha msalabani, bali alifananishwa kwao (kama maiti). Na kwa hakika wale waliohitilafiana 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

- 157 Na kwa kusema kwao: Sisi tumemuuwa Masihi Isa, mwana wa Maryamu, Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu – nao hawakumuuwa wala hawakumsalibu, bali walifananishiwa tu. Na hakika walio khitalifiana katika haya wamo katika shaka nayo. Wao hawana ujuzi nayo wowote, ila ni kufuata dhana tu. Wala hawakumuuwa kwa yakini.
- 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

- 157 Na kusema kwao Hakika tumemuuwa Masihi Isa mwana wa Mariam, Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu, wala hawakumuuwa wala hawakumsulubu, lakini alifananishwa kwao. Na hakika ambao wamekhitalifiana katika khabari yake wana shaka nayo, hawana ujuzi wowote ila kufuata dhana tu, wala hawakumuuwa kwa yakini.
- 158 Bali Mwenyezi Mungu alimnyanyua kwake, na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye hekima.
- 159 Na hakuna yeyote katika watu wa Kitabu ila humwamini yeye (Isa) kabla ya kufa kwake, na siku ya Kiyama atakuwa (Isa) shahidi juu yao.

Mughniyya

- 157 Na kwa kusema kwao: sisi tumemuuwa Masih Isa, mwana wa Maryam Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu. Na hawakumuuwa wala hawakumsulubu, lakini alifananishwa kwao. Na hakika wale waliohitalifiana katika haya wamo katika shaka nayo; hawana ujuzi ila kufuata dhana tu. Wala hawakumuuwa kwa yakini.
- 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

171 Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msipindukie mipaka katika dini yenu, wala msiseme juu ya Mwenyezi Mungu ila yaliyo kweli. Masihi Isa bin Maryamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na (ni kiumbe aliyeumbwa kwa) tamko Lake (tu Mwenyezi Mungu) alilompelekea Maryamu. Na ni roho iliyotoka Kwake (Mwenyezi Mungu kama roho nyengine). Basi mwamini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mitume Yake; wala msiseme “watatu ...” Jizueni (na itikadi hiyo); itakuwa bora kwenu. Bila shaka Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mungu Mmoja tu. Ni mbali na Utakatifu Wake kuwa ana mwana. Ni Vyake (vyote) vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyomo ardhini; na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mlinzi wa kutosha.

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; itakuwa kheri zaidi kwenu. Mungu ni Mungu mmoja; haikumlaiki awe na mwana: vitu vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyomo duniani ni mali yake; na Mungu atosheleza kuwa mtunzaji.

Aḥmadi

172 Enyi watu wa Kitabu! msiruke mipaka ya dini yenu, wala msiseme juu ya Mwenyezi Mungu ila yaliyo kweli: Masihi Isa bin Mariamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na neno Lake tu Alilompelekea Mariamu, na ni roho iliyotoka Kwake. Basi Mwaminini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mitume Wake; wala msiseme watatu, jizuieni, itakuwa bora kwenu; bila shaka Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mungu Mmoja tu. Ni mbali na utakatifu Wake ya kwamba Awe na mwana. Ni Vyake vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyomo ardhini; na Mwenyezi Mungu Anatosha kuwa Mlinzi.

Al-Barwani

171 Enyi Watu wa Kitabu! Msipite kiasi katika dini yenu, wala msimseme Mwenyezi Mungu ila kwa lililo kweli. Hakika Masihi Isa mwana wa Maryamu ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu, na neno lake tu alilo mpelekea Maryamu, na ni roho iliyo toka kwake. Basi Muaminini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mitume wake. Wala msiseme: Utatu. Komeni! Itakuwa kheri kwenu. Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mungu mmoja tu. Ametukuka Yeye vyote viliomo katika mbingu na katika ardhi. Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mtegemewa wa kutosha.

Mayunga

171 Enyi watu wa Kitabu! msiruke mipaka ya dini yenu, wala msiseme juu ya Mwenyezi Mungu ila lililo kweli. Hakika Masihi Isa mwana wa Mariam ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na ni neno lake tu alimpelekea Mariam, na ni roho itokayo kwake. Basi mwaminini Mwenyezi Mungu na Mitume yake, wala msiseme watatu, wacheni (itikadi hiyo) ni bora kwenu. Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mmoja tu, ameepekana na kuwa na mtoto. Ni vyake vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyomo ardhini, na Mwenyezi Mungu anatosha kuwa Mlinzi,

Mughniyya

171 Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msipite kiasi katika dini yenu, wala msiseme juu ya Mwenyezi Mungu ila yaliyo haki. Masihi Isa bin Maryam ni Mtume wa Mwenyezi Mungu na neno lake tu alilompelekea Maryam, na ni roho iliyotoka kwake. Basi mwaminini Mwenyezi Mungu na mitume wake; wala msiseme watatu. Komeni!, itakuwa kheri kwenu. Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mungu mmoja tu. Ameepekana kuwa na mtoto. Ni vyake vilivyomo mbinguni na vilivyomo ardhini; na Mwenyezi Mungu anatosha kuwa mlinzi.

Al-Mā'ida (5):72-78

Arberry

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!

- 80 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

- 72 Bila ya shaka wamekufuru wale waliosema, “Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi (Isa) bin Maryamu.” Na (hali ya kuwa) Masihi alisema: “Enyi wana wa Israili! Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Kwani anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, hakika Mwenyezi Mungu atamharimishia Pepo, na mahali pake (patakuwa) ni Motoni na madhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi (wa kuwasaidia Siku ya Kiama).”
- 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 walikuwa wakila chakula (na wakenda choo. Basi waungu gani wanaokula na kwenda choo)? Tazama jinsi Tunavyobainishia Aya, kisha tazama jinsi wanavyogeuzwa (kuacha haki).
- 76 Sema: “Je! Mnawaabudu – badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu (peke yake) – wale ambao hawawezi kukudhuruni wala kukunufaisheni? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye Asikiaye (na) ndiye Ajuaye.”
- 77 Sema: “Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msipindukie mipaka katika dini yenu bila haki, wala msifuate matamano ya watu waliokwisha potea toka zamani; (nao ndio hao wanavyuoni wenu) na wakawapoteza wengi, na (sasa) wanapotea njia iliyo sawa, (hawataki kumfuata Nabii Muhammad).”
- 78 Walilaaniwa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa wana wa Israili kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa bin Maryamu. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliasi na wakipindukia mipaka (sana).

Dale

Bila shaka watu wale wasemao ya kuwa Mungu ni Masihi mwana wa Mariamu wamekufuru: kwa maana Masihi alisema, Enyi wana wa Israeli, mwabuduni Mungu, Bwana wangu na Bwana wenu: mtu aliye yote atakaempa Mungu mshirika, Mungu atamharamishia Bustani, na moto utakuwa kao lake, wala hapana wasaidizi kwao wenye kudhulumu. Wao wasemao ya kuwa Mungu ni wa tatu wa watatu wamekwisha kukufuru. Hapana Mungu illa Mungu mmoja; nao wasipoacha kusema wasemavyo, hakika yake adhabu kali itawapata wale miongoni mwao walio makafiri. Je! hawatatubu na kumwelekea Mungu na kumwomba ghofira? Maana Mungu ni mwenye ghofira na mwenye rehema. Masihi, mwana wa Mariamu,

ni mtume tu, mitume wengine wamemtangulia: na mama yake alikuwa msema kweli: wote wawili walikula chakula. Tazama jinsi tunavyowadhihirishia ishara zetu: kiisha tazama jinsi wanavyogeuka upande. Sema, Je! mnataka kuabudu pamoja na Mungu kitu kisichoweza kudhuru wala kusaidia? Lakini Mungu anasikia, anajua. Sema, Enyi watu wa Kitabu, msiruke mipaka ya kweli katika dini yenu: wala msifuate tamaa zao waliokwisha kupotea, waliowakosesha watu wengi; nao wenyewe wamepotea mabli ya njia iliyo sawa sawa.

Watu wale miongoni mwa wana wa Israeli wasioamini walilaamiwa kwa kinywa cha Daud, na cha Isa bin Mariamu. Haya yalikuwa kwa sababu waliasi wakawa wakaidi.

Ahmedi

- 73 Bila shaka wamekufuru wale waliosema, Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi bin Mariamu. Na Masihi alisema: Enyi wana wa Israeli, Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu. Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Kwa yakini anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, hakika Mwenyezi Mungu Amemharimishia Pepo, na mahali pake ni Motoni; na wadhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi.
- 74 Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema: Hakika Mwenyezi Mungu ni wa tatu wa watatu, hali hakuna mungu ila Mungu Mmoja. Na kama hawataacha hayo wasemayo, kwa yakini itawagusa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwao adhabu iumizayo.
- 75 Je, hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kumwomba masamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Msamehevu, Mrhemevu.
- 76 Masihi bin Mariamu siye ila ni Mtume tu; bila shaka Mitume wamekwisha fariki kabla yake; na mamaake ni mwanamke mkweli; wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula. Tazama jinsi Tunavyowabainishia Aya, kisha tazama wanageuzwa wapi.
- 77 Sema: Je, mnamwabudu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu ambaye hawezi kuwadhuruni wala kuwafaidisheni? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye Asikiaye, Ajuaye.
- 78 Sema: Enyi watu wa Kitabu! Msiruke mipaka ya dini yenu bila haki, wala msifuate matamano ya watu waliokwisha potea toka zamani na wakawapoteza wengi, na wakapotea 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 waliasi nao walikuwa wakiruka mipaka.

Al-Barwani

- 72 Hakika wamekufuru walio sema: Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masihi mwana wa Maryamu! Na hali Masihi mwenyewe alisema: Enyi Wana wa Israili! Muabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu Mlezi na Mola wenu Mlezi. Kwani anaye mshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, hakika Mwenyezi Mungu amemharimishia Pepo, na mahala pake ni Motoni. Na walio dhulumu hawatakuwa na wa kuwanusuru.
- 73 Kwa hakika wamekufuru walio sema: Mwenyezi Mungu ni wa tatu wa Utatu. Hali hakuna mungu ila Mungu Mmoja. Na ikiwa hawaachi hayo wanayo yasema, kwa yakini itawakamata adhabu chungu wale wanao kufuru.
- 74 Je! Hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na wakamwomba msamaha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mwenye maghfira na Mwenye kurehemu.
- 75 Masihi mwana wa Maryam si chochote ila ni Mtume. Wamekwisha pita Mitume kabla yake. Na mama yake ni mwanamke mkweli. Wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula. Angalia jinsi tunavyo wabainishia Aya, kisha angalia vipi wanavyo geuzwa.
- 76 Sema: Je! Mnawaabudu, badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu, wale ambao hawawezi kukudhuruni wala kukufaeni? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ndiye Mwenye kusikia, Mwenye kujua.
- 77 Sema: Enyi Watu wa Kitabu! Msipite kiasi katika dini yenu bila ya haki. Wala msifuate matamano ya watu walio kwisha potea tangu zamani, na wakawapoteza wengi, na wenyewe wakapotea njia iliyo sawa.
- 78 Walilaaniwa walio kufuru miongoni mwa Wana wa Israili kwa ulimi wa Daud na wa Isa mwana wa Maryamu. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliasi na wakawa wanapindukia mipaka.

Mayunga

- 72 Bila shaka wamekufuru wale waliosema, Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Masihi bin Mariam, na Masihi alisema: Enyi wana wa Israeli! mwabuduni Mwenyeezi Mungu Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Kwa sababu, anayemshirikisha Mwenyeezi Mungu hakika Mwenyeezi Mungu atamharamishia Pepo, na mahala pake ni Motoni, na madhalimu hawatakuwa na wasaidizi.
- 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.
- 74 Je, hawatubu kwa Mwenyeezi Mungu na kumuomba msamaha? Na Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Mwingi wa kusamehe, Mwenye kurehemu.
- 75 Masihi bin Mariam 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 wanavyogeuzwa.
- 76 Sema: je, mnamwabudu badala ya Mwenyeezi Mungu ambaye hawezi kuwadhuruni wala kukunufaisheni? Na Mwenyeezi Mungu ni Mwenye kusikia, Mwenye kujua.
- 77 Sema: Enyi watu wa Kitabu! msiruke mipaka ya dini yenu bila haki, wala msifuate matamaniao ya watu waliokwisha potea toka zamani, na wakawapoteza wengi na wakapotea njia iliyo sawa.
- 78 Wamelaaniwa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa wana wa Israeli kwa ulimi wa Daudi na wa Isa bin Mariam hayo ni kwa sababu waliasi nao walikuwa wakiruka mipaka.

Mughniyya

- 72 Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema Mwenyezi Mungu ni Masih mwana wa Maryam. Na Masih alisema: Enyi wana wa Israil! Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu Mola Wangu na Mola wenu: kwani anayemshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu, hakika Mwenyezi Mungu amemharamishia pepo na makazi yake ni motoni. Na madhalimu hawatakuwa na wakuwanusuru.
- 73 Kwa hakika wamekufuru wale waliosema, Mwenyezi Mungu ni wa tatu wa utatu. Hakuna Mungu ila Mungu Mmoja. Na kama hawataacha hayo wayasemayo, kwa hakika itawapata, wale waliokufuru miongoni mwao, adhabu iumizayo.
- 74 Je, hawatubu kwa Mwenyezi Mungu na kumwomba maghufira? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni mwingi wa maghufira mwenye kurehemu.
- 75 Masih mwana wa Maryam hakuwa ila ni Mtume. Wamepita kabla yake Mitume. Na mama yake ni mkweli. Wote wawili walikuwa wakila chakula. Angalia jinsi tunavyowabainishia ishara, kisha angalia jinsi wanavyogeuzwa.
- 76 Sema: Je, mnamwabudu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu, ambaye hawezi kuwadhuru wala kuwanufaisha? Na Mwenyezi Mungu ni mwenye kusikia, mwenye kujua.
- 77 Sema: “Enyi watu wa Kitab! Msipite kiasi katika dini yenu bila haki, wala msifuate matamaniao ya watu waliokwishapotea tangu zamani; na wakawapoteza wengi, na wenyewe wakapotea njia iliyo sawa.
- 78 Walilaaniwa wale waliokufuru miongoni mwa wana wa Israil kwa ulimi wa Daud na wa Isa mwana wa Maryam. Hayo ni kwa sababu waliasi, nao walikuwa wakiruka mipaka.

Al-Mā'ida (5):111-115

Arberry

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.'

Al-Farsy

111 "Na Nilipowafunulia wanafunzi (wako) kwamba: 'Niaminini Mimi na Mtume Wangu (huyu Isa),' wakasema: 'Tumeamini na Uwe Shahidi kuwa sisi ni wanyenyekevu'."

112 (Kumbuka) Wanafunzi (wako) waliposema: "Ewe Isa mwana wa Maryamu! Je, Mola wako anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni?" Akasema (Nabii Isa): "Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu kama nyinyi ni wenye kuamini kweli. (Musitake miujiza)."

113 Wakasema: "Tunataka kula katika hicho na ili nyoyo zetu zitulie na tujue ya kwamba umetwambia kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoshuhudia (miujiza ya Mwenyezi Mungu anayoyawafanyia Mitume Yake)."

114 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."

115 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."

Dale

Na nilipowafunulia mitume, ya kama, Niaminini, na mtume wangu, walisema, Tunaamini; utushuhudie kwamba tumejisilimisha kwako.

Mitume waliposema, Ee Isa bin Mariamu! Bwana wako aweza kututelemshia meza kutoka mbinguni? Alisema, Mcheni Mungu kama mkiwa na imani. Nao wakasema, Tunatamani kula vitu vya meza hiyo, mioyo yetu itulie, tukajue ya kuwa umetuambia yaliyo kweli, tukawe miongoni mwao wanaoishuhudia. Isa bin Mariamu akasema, Ee Mungu, Bwana wetu, ututelemshie meza kutoka mbinguni, iwe siku kuu yetu, ya wa kwanza na ya wa mwisho miongoni mwetu, na iwe ishara kutoka kwako. Uturuzuku: maana wewe ndiwe mwenye kuruzuku aliye mwema. Mungu akasema, Hakika mimi tayari kuwatelemshieni; na yeye asiyesadiki baada ya haya nitamwadhibu kwa adhabu, ambayo sitamwadhibu mtu katika ulimwengu kwa adhabu hiyo.

Ahmadi

- 112 Na Nilipowafunulia wanafunzi kwamba Niaminini Mimi na Mtume Wangu, wakasema: Tumeamini na Uwe Shahidi ya kwamba sisi ni wanyenyekevu.
- 113 Wananafunzi 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 waniamini Mimi na Mtume wangu, wakasema: Tumeamini na shuhudia kuwa sisi ni Waislamu.
- 112 Wanafunzi walipo sema: Ewe Isa bin Maryamu! Je, Mola wako Mlezi anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni? Akasema: Mcheni Mwenyezi Mungu ikiwa nyinyi ni Waumini.
- 113 Wakasema: Tunataka kukila chakula hicho, na nyoyo zetu zitue, na tujue kwamba umetuambia kweli, na tuwe miongoni mwa wanao 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.
- 115 Mwenyezi Mungu akasema: Hakika Mimi nitakuteremshieni hicho. Lakini yeyote katika nyinyi atakaye kanya baadae, basi hakika Mimi nitampa adhabu nisiyopata kumpa yeyote katika walimwengu.

Mayunga

- 111 Na nilipowafunulia wanafunzi (wako) kuwa: Niaminini Mimi na Mtume wangu, wakasema; Tumeamini na uwe shahidi kwamba sisi ni wanyenyekevu.
- 112 (Kumbuka) wanafunzi (wako) waliposema: Ewe Isa mwana wa Mariam je, Mola wako anaweza kututeremshia chakula kutoka mbinguni? Akasema (Nabii Isa) mcheni Mwenyeezi 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 Mwenyeezi 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 Mwenyeezi Mungu akasema: Bilashaka Mimi nitakiteremsha juu yenu, lakini miongoni mwenu atakayekataa baada ya haya, basi Mimi nitamuadhibu adhabu ambayo sijamwadhibu yeyote katika walimwengu.

Mughniyya

- 111 Na nilipowafahamisha wanafunzi kwamba Niaminini 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 umetuambia kweli na tuwe miongoni mwa wanaoshuhudia.
- 114 Akasema Isa bin Maryam: Ewe Mwenyezi Mungu Mola wetu! Tuteremshie chakula kutoka mbinguni ili kiwe sikukuu 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 hapo basi nitamwadhibu adhabu ambayo sijamwadhibu yeyote katika walimwengu.

Al-Mā'ida (5):116-119

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

- 116 Na (kumbukeni) Mwenyezi Mungu atakaposema: “Ewe Isa bin Maryamu! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu: ‘Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu?’” Aseme (Nabii Isa): “Wewe umetakasika na kuwa na mshirika. Hainijuzii mimi kusema ambayo si haki yangu (kuyasema, kwa kuwa ni ya uwongo). Kama ningalisema bila shaka Ungalijua; Unayajua yaliyomo nafsiini mwangu, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyo nafsiini Mwako; hakika Wewe ndiye Ujuaye mambo ya ghaibu.
- 117 “Sikuwaambia lolote ila yale Uliyoniarmisha: ya kwamba, ‘Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu.’ Na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa nao; na Uliponikamilishia muda wangu, Wewe ukawa Mchungaji juu yao, na Wewe ni Shahidi juu ya kila kitu.
- 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).”
- 119 Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: “Hii ndiyo Siku ambayo wakweli utawafaa ukweli wao. Wao watapata Bustani zipitazo mbele yake mito. Humo watakaa milele. Mwenyezi Mungu amewawia (amewapa) radhi; nao nawe radhi Naye. Huku ndiko kufaulu kukubwa.”

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,

Hainijuzu kusema mambo ambayo najua ya kuwa si kweli. Kama ningalisema, ungalijua. Wewe unajua yaliyomo nafsiini mwangu, lakini mimi sijui yaliyomo nafsiini mwako: maana wewe unajua siri zote. Sikuwaambia neno illa uliloniamuru, ya kama, Mwabuduni Mungu, Bwana wangu na Bwana wenu. Nalikuwa shahidi wa matendo yao nilipokuwa nikidumu kwao, lakini tangu uliponichukua kwako, wewe ulikuwa ukiwachunguza; nawe u shahidi wa killa kitu.

Ukiwaadhibu, bassi, wao ni watumishi wako; nawe ukiwaghofiri, – Wewe hakika u hodari, mwenye hekima. Mungu atasema, Siku hiyo uaminifu wao utwafaidia wenye uaminifu. Watakuwa na bustani, ambazo chini yake inapita mito, watakaa humo milele. Mungu amewaridhia wao, nao wamemridhia yeye. Huu ndio ukheri ulio mkuu.

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 ningalisema bila shaka Ungalijua; Unayajua yaliyomo nafsiini mwangu, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyomo nafsiini Mwako; hakika Wewe ndiwe Ujuaye sana mambo ya ghaibu.
- 118 Sikuwaambia lo lote ila yale Uliyoniarmuru: 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

- 116 Na pale Mwenyezi Mungu atakapo sema: Ewe Isa bin Maryamu! Ati wewe uliwaambia watu: Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa ni miungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu? (Na Isa) atasema: *Subhanaka*, Wewe umetakasika! Hainifalii mimi kusema ambayo si haki yangu. Ikiwa nilisema basi bila ya shaka umekwisha yajua. Wewe unayajua ndani ya nafsi yangu, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyo katika nafsi yako. Hakika Wewe ndiye Mjuzi mkubwa wa yaliyo fichikana.
- 117 Sikuwaambia lolote ila uliyo niamrisha, nayo ni: Muabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu Mlezi na Mola wenu Mlezi. Na mimi nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipo kuwa nao. Na ulipo nifisha ukawa Wewe ndiye Muangalizi juu yao. Na Wewe ni shahidi juu ya kila kitu.
- 118 Ukiwaadhibu basi hao ni waja wako. Na ukiwasamehe basi Wewe ndiye Mwenye nguvu na Mwenye hikima.
- 119 Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Hii ndiyo Siku ambayo wasemao kweli utawafaa ukweli wao. Wao watapata Bustani zipitazo mito kati yake. Humo watadumu milele. Mwenyezi Mungu amewawia radhi, nao wawe radhi naye. Huko ndiko kufuzu kukubwa.

Mayunga

- 116 Na (kumbukeni) Mwenyeezi Mungu atakaposema: Ewe Isa bin Mariam! Je, wewe uliwaambia watu: Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa waungu badala ya Mwenyeezi Mungu? Aseme: Wewe umetakasika na kuwa na mshirika. Hainipasi mimi kusema ambayo sina haki (kuyasema) kama ningelisema bila shaka ungelijua. Unayajua yaliyomo katika nafsi yangu, lakini mimi siyajui yaliyo nafsini mwako, hakika wewe ndiye ujuaye sana mambo ya siri.
- 117 Sikuwaambia lolote ila yale uliyoniamuru kwamba: Mwabuduni Mwenyeezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Molawenu, na nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa nao, na uliponifisha, wewe ukawa Mchungaji juu yao, na wewe ni shahidi juu ya kila kitu.
- 118 Ikiwa utawaadhibu, basi bila shaka hao ni waja wako, na ukiwasamehe basi kwa hakika wewe ndiye Mwenye nguvu, Mwenye hekima.
- 119 Mwenyeezi Mungu atasema: Hii ndiyo siku wakweli utawafaa ukweli wao, watapata Bustani zipitazo mito chini yake, humo watakaa milele. Mwenyeezi Mungu amewawia radhi, nao wamekuwa radhi naye, huko ndiko kufaulu kukubwa.

Mughniyya

- 116 Na pale Mwenyezi Mungu atakaposema: Ewe Issa bin Maryam! Ati wewe uliwaambia watu: Nifanyeni mimi na mama yangu kuwa ni miungu badala ya Mwenyezi Mungu. Atasema: Wewe umetakasika! Hainifalii mimi kusema ambayo si haki yangu. Ikiwa niliyasema basi bila shaka umekwisha yajua. Wewe unayajua yaliyo ndani ya nafsi yangu, wala mimi siyajui yaliyo katika nafsi yako. Hakika wewe ndiye mjuzi zaidi wa yaliyofichikana.
- 117 Sikuwaambia ila uliyoniamrisha, ya kwamba, Mwabuduni Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wangu na Mola wenu. Na mimi nilikuwa shahidi juu yao nilipokuwa nao na uliponifisha ukawa wewe ndiye mwangalizi juu yao. Na wewe ni shahidi juu a kila kitu.
- 118 Ukiwaadhibu basi hao ni waja wako. Na ukiwasamehe basi wewe ndiye mwenye nguvu mwenye hekima
- 119 Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: Hii ndiyo siku ambayo wasemao kweli utawafaa ukweli wao. Wao watapata bustani zipitazo mito chini yake. Humo watadumu milele. Awe radhi nao Mwenyezi Mungu na wao wawe radhi naye. Huko ndiko kufuzu kukubwa.

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-Farsy

13 Amekupeni Sharia ya Dini ile ile Aliyomuusia Nuhu na Tuliyo kufunulia wewe na Tuliyo wausia 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 tuliyo kufunulia wewe, na tuliyo wamuru Ibrahimu, na Musa na Isa, tukisema, Dumuni katika dini hii, wala msifarikane katika hiyo. Wale wanaompa Mungu washarika huiona dini ile unayowaitia kuwa neno kubwa. Mungu atamchagua amtake kwa dini hii, nae atamwongoza kwenye dini hii killa atubuye.

Aḥmadi

14 Amewapeni sheria ya dini aliyomusia Nuhu na Tuliyo kufunulia wewe na Tuliyo wausia 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 Humwongoza Kwake aelekeaye.

Al-Barwani

13 Amekuamrisheni Dini ile ile aliyo muusia Nuhu na tuliyo kufunulia wewe, na tuliyo wausia Ibrahim na Musa na Isa, kwamba shikeni Dini wala msifarikiane kwayo. Ni magumu kwa washirikina hayo unayo waitia. Mwenyezi Mungu humteua kwake amtake, na humwongoza kwake aelekeaye.

Mayunga

13 Amekupeni Sharia (njia nyoofu) ya dini aliyomuusia Nuhu na tuliyo kufunulia wewe Muhammad na tuliyo wausia Ibrahimu na Musa na Isa, kwamba: Simamisheni dini wala msifarikane kwayo, ni ngumu kwa washirikina (dini hii) unayowaitia, Mwenyezi Mungu humchagua kwake amtake na humuongoza kwake aelekeaye.

***Al-Ikhlās* (112):1-4**

Arberry

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.'

Al-Farsy

- 1 Sema: Yeye ni Mwenyezi Mungu Mmoja (tu).
- 2 Mwenyezi Mungu (tu) ndiye anayestahiki kukusudiwa (na viumbe 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 anaendewa!
hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa,
wala hana afananae nac.

Aḥmadi

- 2 Sema: Yeye Mwenyezi Mungu ni mmoja
- 3 Mwenyezi Mungu Asiyehitaji, Ambaye wote wanahitaji Kwake.
- 4 Hakuzaa wala Hakuzaliwa.
- 5 Wala Hana anayefanana naye hata mmoja.

Al-Barwani

- 1 Sema: Yeye Mwenyezi Mungu ni wa pekee.
- 2 Mwenyezi Mungu Mkusudiwa
- 3 Hakuzaa wala hakuzaliwa
- 4 Wala hana anaye fanana naye hata mmoja.

Mayunga

- 1 Sema: Yeye Mwenyezi Mungu ni Mmoja.
- 2 Mwenyezi 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] *Āl Imrān* (3):52
Al-Mā'ida (5):111
- 2/3] George Bernard Shaw
A collection of Writings of some of the Eminent Scholars 1935
- 3] *Al-A'raf* (7):157
- 4] *Al-An'ām* (6):163-164
- 5] UTANGULIZI (Introduction)
2. TAWHID (UMOJA WA MUNGU) DHIDHI YA UTATU
(Unity (the oneness of God) contrary to the Trinity)
- 6] *Al-Nisā'* (4):171
- 7] *Al-Sajda* (32):9
Al-Mā'ida (5):113 [reference]
- 8] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):72-74
Al-Nisā' (4):48
- 8/9] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):116-119
- 9] *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112):1-4
- 10] JE! SI UPUMBAVU KUMPA SIFA YA UUNGU YESU KRISTO?
(Is it not folly to give the character of Godhood to Jesus Christ?)
- 10] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):75
Al-Mā'ida (5):46 [not 146]
- 11] *Āl Imrān* (3):49-51
- 12] *Al-Nisā'* (4):6
- 13] 4. JE! YESU NI MWANA WA MUNGU? (Is Jesus the Son of God?)
- 13] *Al-Zukhruf* (43):59
Al-Tahrīm (66):12 [not 21]
Āl Imrān (3):59
- 14] *Maryam* (19):30-36
- 15] *Āl Imrān* (3):47
Al-Tawba (9):30-31
Genesis 1:3, 6-7, 14-15, 20-23, 24 [Bible References in footnote]
- 16] 5. FUMBO LA DHAMBI YA ASILI (The mystery of Original Sin)
- 16] *Yūnus* (10):44
- 17] *Al-Baqara* (2):112
Al-Najm (53):38-41
- 18] *Al-A'raf* (7):42
Al-Isrā' (17):15
Al-Zumar (39):53-54
- 19] 6. JE! KAFARA NI HOJA YA HAKIKA? (Is the need for Sacrifice a certainty?)
- 19] *Al-An'ām* (6):16
Al-Fāṭir (35):18
- 20] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):77
Al-Baqara (2):87
Al-Baqara (2):286

- 21] *Āl Imrān* (3):25
 22] *Al-Baqara* (2):177
Al-Hujurat (49):13
Al-Tawba (9):71
Al-Ankabūt (29):58-59
 23] 7. JE! YESU ALIFIA MSALABANI? (Did Jesus die on the Cross?)
 23] *Al-Nisā'* (4):157-158
 24] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):110
 25] *Āl Imrān* (3):54-55
Al-Zukhruf (43):61
 26] 8. KUJA MARA YA PILI KWA YESU KRISTO (*The Second Coming of Jesus Christ*)
 26] *Al-Nisā'* (4):159
 27] *Jabir – Abū Muhammad 'Abdullāh ibn Abdu'r-Rahmān at Tamīmī ad-Dārimī*
(181/797- 255/869) Hadīth Collection
Āl Imrān (3):19
 28] *Al-Nisā'* (4):159
 28] 9. JE! MANABII WALIINULIWA KUTOKA KATIKA NYUMBA
YA ISRAELI TU? (*Were the Prophets only raised up from the House of Israel?*)
 28] *Al-Fātir* (35):24
Al-Nahl (16):36
 29] *Al-Shūrā* (42):13
 30] *Al-Bayyina* (98):1-9 [only 8 verses in *Sūra*]
 30] 10. JE! YESU NA KUJA KWA MUHAMMAD (Jesus and the coming of Muhammad)
 30/31] *Al-Şaff* (61):6-7
 32] 11. BIBLIA YA SIKU HIZI NI NENO LA MUNGU? (Is today's Bible the Word of God?)
 33] *Al-Baqara* (2):2-5 [not 2-50 as given]
Al-Hijr (15):9
Al-An'ām (6):38
 34] *Al-Nisā'* (4):82
Al-Baqara (2):23
Al-Baqara (2):146
 35] *Al-Nisā'* (4):115
Al-Tawba (9):32-33
 35] 12. MWISHO (Conclusion)
 35] *Time Weekly* 29th May, 1964
 36] *Āl Imrān* (3):64
Al-Baqara (2):256
 37] *Āl Imrān* (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)
 38] *Al-Hajj* (22):78
 39] *Al-Kahf* (18):103-108
 Ahmad
 40] *Al-Baqara* (2):186
Qāf (50):16
 41] *Al-Şaff* (61):8-9
Ibrāhīm (14):1
 42] *Āl Imrān* (3):83-85

Footnote referring to Maurice Bucaille *The Bible, the Qur'an and Science*

[2] **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] Matthew 12:50
 - 4] 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
 - 10] John 7:33
 - John 7:18
 - John 5:24
 - 11] John 5:27
 - Matthew 27:46
 - John 6:38
 - 12] John 15:16
 - Matthew 20:20-23
 - 13] Mark 13:30-32
 - 14] John 13:16
 - Matthew 11:25
 - Matthew 23:9-10
 - 15] John 17:7-9
 - John 4:19
 - 16] John 4:20
 - 16] John 4:21
 - John 4:22
 - 17] 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
- 21] John 13:13
John 14:1
- 22] *“JE, KUITWA YESU “MWANA” KUNA MAANA GANI?”*
(“What does it mean to call Jesus “Son”?”)
- 22] 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)
- 24] Hebrews 7:3
Acts 2:22
- 24] *JE, ROHO MTAKATIFU NI NINI AU NI NANI?(So, What or who is the Holy Spirit?)*
- 25] John 4:1
[2] Chronicles 15:1
Matthew 12:18
John 4:24
2 Corinthians 3:18
- 26] *JE, NI KWELI MWENYEZI MUNGU ANAZO NAFSI TATU?*
(Is it true that God Almighty has three persons?)
- 26] *UPWEKE WA MWENYEZI MUNGU* (The solitariness of God Almighty)
- 27] 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?)
- 29] John 1:2
Isaiah 44:6
John [1.1]
- 30] *JE, YESU ALITUMWA KUWAONGOZA WATU GANI?*
(Which people was Jesus sent to lead?)
- 30] Matthew 5:17-18
- 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]
Mathew 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]

- 35] Exodus 34:10-17
- 36] Matthew 10:5-7
 Matthew 10:23
 Matthew 2:2
 Matthew 2:6
 Matthew 28:19-20
- 37] 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
- 38] Acts 11:19
- 39] Acts 11:23
 Galatians 2:12-13
 Galatians 2:14
- 40] Acts 18:5-6
- 41] Romans 11:13
 2 Corinthians 5:20
 Acts 11:5-17
- 43] Acts 11:11-18
- 45] Jeremiah 29:8-9
 Jeremiah 23:21
 Jeremiah 14:4
- 46] *WAKRISTO NA MIUJIZA* (Christians and Miracles)
- 46] Mark 16:16-18
 Luke 10:17-20
- 47] *WAKRISTO NA KUZUUNGAMA DHAMBI* (Christians and the confession of sins)
- 48] John 8:15
 John 8:7
 John 8:11
 James 4:12
- 49] Romans 14:10-11
 Romans 14:12-13
 James 5:16
 [1] Corinthians 4:5
- 50] Matthew 7:1-5
- 50] *WAKRISTO NA ULEVI* (Christians and drunkenness)
- 51] Luke 1:15-16
 [1] Corinthians 6:9-11
 Isaiah 5:11-12
 Isaiah 5:22
 Isaiah 5:14
- 52] *DHAMBI YA ASILI* (Original Sin)
- 52] Genesis 3:16-19
- 54] Matthew 18:1-6
- 54] *MASANAMU NA WAKRISTO* (Idols and Christians)
- 54] Psalm 115:4[-]8
- 55] Isaiah 2:8
- 55] 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
57] Matthew 27:46
Matthew 27:44
Luke 23:39-40
58] Matthew 26:48-49
John 18:4-6
59] *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]
60] 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
61] John 5:45-47
John 7:19
62] Leviticus 11:1-8
Leviticus 15:1-2
63] Leviticus 15:13-15
Leviticus 15:16-18
63] Leviticus 15:19-20
Leviticus 15:24
64] Leviticus 15:25
Leviticus 15:28-30
Leviticus 15:31
John 5:45-47 [Reference]
65] Leviticus 26:46
Deuteronomy 21:15-17
66] 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
68] 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-Aḥzāb* (33)]
70] *Al-Aḥzāb* (33):17/18¹

¹ The Aḥmadi translation counts the opening formula of the *Sūra* as the first verse, al-Farsy does not.

- 71] Isaiah 44:6
 Exodus 20:2
 Exodus 20:5
- 72] *JE! NI KWELI MUHAMMAD NI MJUMBE WA MUNGU?*
 (Is it true that Muhammad is the Messenger of God?)
- 72] *Al-ʿAlaq* (96):1-5 [Reference]
 Deuteronomy 18:16-20
- 73] *Al-Muddaththir* (74) [Reference]
- 76] Deuteronomy 33:2-3
- 77] Deuteronomy 33:2-3 [Reference]
 Song of Solomon 5:10
 Deuteronomy 33:2-[3] [Reference]
 Jude 1:4 [Reference]
- 78] Isaiah 28:9-13
 Genesis 21:14-16 [Reference]
 Genesis 16:12
- 80] Isaiah 5:26-30
 Al-Aʿrāf (7):159
- 81] *Al-ʿĀdiyāt* (100):2-6
 Isaiah 21:13-17
- 82] *KUJA KWA NABII MWINGINE* (The coming of another Prophet)
- 82] Deuteronomy 18:16-20 [Reference]
- 83] John 1:25
 John 6:14
 John 7:40-42
- 84] John 16:12-14
 John 14:16
 John 14:25-26
- 85] [2] Chronicles 15:1
 Matthew 12:18
 Matthew 3:16
 John 16:7 [Reference]
- 86] John 20:21
 John 16:17 [Reference]
 Deuteronomy 18:16-20 [Reference]
- 87] John 7:40-41
- 87] *MUHAMMAD NDIYE MSAIDIZI AU NABII YULE*
 (Muhammad is indeed the Helper or that Prophet)
- 89] *INJILI YA MT. BARNABA YAMTAJA MTUME MUHAMMAD (S.A. W.)*
 (The Gospel of the Apostle Barnabas names the Apostle Muhammad (P.B.U.H.))
- 89] Barnabas 96:1-11
- 90] Barnabas 96:13-14
 Barnabas 67:5-6
 Barnabas 67:13-17
- 91] *Al-Hijr* (15):9
- 91] *YOHANA PIA AMTABIRI NABII YULE* (John also foretells that prophet)
- 91] Revelation 19:11-16
- 92] *Al-Māʿida* (5):45
- 92] *Al-Tawba* (9):74
- 94] *YESU HAKUPINGA KUJA KWA NABII MWENGINE*
 (Jesus did not oppose the coming of another Prophet)
- 94] Matthew 7:15-16
 1 John 4:1

- 94] *NABII MUHAMMAD NI NABII WA KWELI* (The Prophet Muhammad is truly a prophet)
 95] Matthew 7:15-18
 Hadith [quoted but no reference]
 96] Hadith [quoted but no reference]
 97] *TOFAUTI KATI YA UISLAMU NA UKRISTO*
 (The difference between Islam and Christianity)
 97] Ezekiel 3:4-7
 98] 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
 99] *MWISHO* (Conclusion)

[3] **Kanoni, Abbas Gombo** *Sikumkana Yesu Bali Mtume Paulo*
 (I did not deny Jesus, rather the Apostle Paul)

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- 1] *Utangulizi* (Foreword)
 2] *UJUMBE WA AINA MBILI* (A Message of two kinds)
 2] 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)
 4] 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
 6] John 16:7
 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)
 8] Acts 9:1-2
 Acts 26:11
 8] Acts 9:1-6 [Reference]
 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
- 16] Luke 18:18-19
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
- 19] Luke 11:23
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
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- 22] Romans 7:9
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1 Corinthians 15:56
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Romans 7:9-11
- 23] Galatians 3:10
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- 24] 1 Corinthians 1:21
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- 24] Hebrews 7:18-19
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- 25] Isaiah 37:23
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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)
- 27] 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
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Galatians 3:23-25
- 29] Matthew 7:15-20
- 30] Isaiah 5:20
Numbers 14:18
Jeremiah 2:35
- 31] *TAURATI, NA KUF[U]RU, NA UPANGANI* (Torah, and blasphemy, and the sword)
- 31] 1 Corinthians 9:20-21
1 Corinthians 9:22-23
- 32] Galatians 3:10
Galatians 3:13
Romans 7:6
Galatians 5:3
- 33] Acts 21:20-24

- 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-Māʾida* (5):68
Al-Nisāʾ (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-Māʾida (5):17
Al-Māʾida (5):75
Al-Tawba (9):30
- 40] *Al-Tawba* (9):32-33
Al-Māʾida (5):48
Al-Māʾida (5):14
Al-Nisāʾ (4):125

[4] **Musa, Saidi *Maisha ya Nabii Isa (Alahais Salam)***
(The Life of the Prophet *ʿĪsā* (May God’s Peace be upon Him))

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- 5] *KISA CHA NABII ISA*. (Account of the life of the Prophet *ʿĪsā*)
- 5] *NABII ISA KATIKA QUR-ANI* (The Prophet *ʿĪsā* in the Qurʾān)
- 5] *Al-Raʿd* (13):33
- 5] *BABUNA NYANYA WA NABII ISA*.
(Grandfather and Grandmother of the Prophet *ʿĪsā*)
- 7] *DALILI YA NADHIRI KATIKA QUR-ANI* (Evidence of vows in the Qurʾān)
- 7] *KIZAZI CHA BIBI MARYAM*: (Lady Mary’s generation)
- 7] *Āl Imrān* (3):36
- 8] *KUZALIWA BIBI MARYAM KATIKA QUR-ANI* (The birth of the Lady Mary in the Qurʾān)
- 8] *Āl Imrān* (3):35-37
- 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 *ʿĪsā* (A.S.))
- 12] *BIBI MARYAM AFIKA NYUMBANI* (Lady Mary arrives home)

- 13] *HABARI ZA KUZALIWA ISA KATIKA QUR-ANI* (News of the birth of *ʿĪsā* in the Qurʾān)
13-16] *Maryam* (19):16-35
- 16] *NABII ISA SI MWANA WA MUNGU* (The Prophet *ʿĪsā* is not the Son of God)
16] *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112):1-4
17] *Al-Baqara* (2):117
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- 18] *Āl Imrān* (3):45-48
- 18] *MAISHA YA NABII ISA A.S.*
(The life of the Prophet *ʿĪsā* A.S.)
- 19] *MAMBO ALIYOKUWA AKIPENDA ISA* (Things that *ʿĪsā* liked)
- 20] *ISA APATA WAHYI KWA MWENYEZI MUNGU:*
(*ʿĪsā* receives a revelation of God Almighty)
- 21] *NABII ISA AKHUTUBIA BANI ISRAIL:*
(The Prophet *ʿĪsā* preaches to the people of Israel)
21] *Al-Saff* (61):6
- 21] *BANI ISRAIL WADAI MWUJIZA KUTOKANA NA ISA A.S.*
(The people of Israel demand a miracle from *ʿĪsā* A.S.)
- 22] *NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUWATOLEA HABARI ZILIZOFICHIKA:*
(The Prophet *ʿĪsā* performs a miracle to tell things that are hidden)
- 23] *NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUWAPONYESHA VIPOFU NA WENYE MAGONJWA YA MBALANGA KWA IDHINI YA MWENYEZI MUNGU:* (The Prophet *ʿĪsā* performs a miracle to heal the blind and those with skin disease by permission of God Almighty)
- 24] *NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA KUUMBA NDEGE*
(The Prophet Jesus performs the miracle of creating birds)
25] *Āl Imrān* (3):49
- 27] *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)
28] *Āl Imrān* (3):52-53
- 29] *NABII ISA ATOA MWUJIZA WA CHAKULA KUTOKA MBINGUNI*
(The Prophet *ʿĪsā* performs the miracle of food from heaven)
29] *Al-Māʿida* (5):112-115
- 30] *CHAKULA SASA CHASHUKA:* (Food now descends)
- 31] *WAONA LADHA YA CHAKULA NA KUMSHUKURU MUNGU*
(They taste the food and thank God)
MIUJIZA YA NABII ISA KATIKA QURANI (The Miracles of the Prophet *ʿĪsā* in the Qurʾān)
31-32] *Āl Imrān* (3):46-49
- 32] *NABII ISA ALIKUWA AKIWAKHUTUBIA WANA WA ISRAIL KUWA YEYE NI MTUME WA MUNGU*
(The Prophet *ʿĪsā* was preaching to the children of Israel that he is the Messenger of God)
33] *Al-Māʿida* (5):72-75
- 34] *UZINDUSHI:* (Admonition)
- 35] *SIKU YA KIYAMA NABII ISA A.S. ATAKANUSHA KUWA HAKUWAAMBIA WATU WAKE WAMFANYE YEYE NA MAMA YAKE KUWA NI WAUNGU:*
(On the day of Resurrection the Prophet *ʿĪsā* A.S. will deny that he told his people that they should make he and his mother as gods)
- 35-36] *Al-Māʿida* (5):116-120
- 36] *MAELEZO:* (Explanation)
- 38] *Āl Imrān* (3):79
- 38] *NABII ISA AOKOLEWA NA VITIMBI VYA WALIOTAKA KUMUUA.*
(The Prophet *ʿĪsā* saved from the tricks of those who wanted to kill him)
- 39-40] *Al-Nisāʾ* (4):157-158
- 40] *Āl Imrān* (3):55

[5] Ngariba, Fundi Mussa & Kawemba, Mohammed Ali *Uislamu Katika Biblia*
(Islam in the Bible)

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2]	Isaiah 57:19 [actually verses 18-21]
3]	John 20:19-21
3]	<i>MUNGU MMOJA</i> (One God)
3]	Deuteronomy 5:7 Deuteronomy 6:4-9 Psalms 83:18
4]	Mark 12:28-32
4]	Luke 18:18-19 Job 25:4-6 John 17:3
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6]	John 20:17 Isaiah 46:5 Isaiah 43:10-11 Isaiah 42:8 Psalms 115:4-8
7]	<i>NANI AMELETA DINI MPYA</i> [?](Who has brought a new religion?)
7]	Matthew 24:28 Matthew 13:24-30 Matthew 13:36-43
8]	<i>PAULO</i> (Paul)
8]	Romans 11:13
9]	1 Corinthians 2:1-2
9]	Philippians 2:5-7 [1] Timothy 3:14-16
9]	Titus 2:13-14 John 14:28
10]	2 Corinthians 11:16-17 1 Corinthians 9:15 Galatians 3:15 Matthew 15:8-9
11]	Matthew 10:5-7 Matthew 15:21-28
12]	<i>MTUME MUHAMMAD (SAW)</i> (The Apostle Muhammad (SAW))
12]	Deuteronomy 33:1-2 Deuteronomy 18:18
13]	John 4:21-23
14]	Matthew 21:43 Habakkuk 3:3-6

- 14] Genesis 21:14-21
- 15] Zechariah 11:15-16
Isaiah 29:12
- 16] John 1:19-21
John 16:7-15
- 17] Revelation 19:11-16
- 17] *HATARI YA IMANI YA UONGO* (Danger of untrue faith)
- 17] Luke 13:25-30
- 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
- 19] *NGUZO ZA UISLAMU* (Pillars of Islam)
- 20] *SHAHADA* (Credal statement)
- 20] John 17:3
- 20] *SALA* (Prayer)
- 20] *Kuvua viatu:* (Removing Shoes)
- 20] *Ṭā Hā* (20):11-12
Exodus 3:3-6
- 21] Joshua 5:13-15
- 21] *Udhu:* (Ceremonial Purity)
Al-Mā'ida (5):7
- 22] Exodus 30:17-21
Matthew 5:17-20
John 13:5-11
- 23] *Kusujudu:* (Prostration)
- 23] Exodus 34:8-9
2 Chronicles 7:3
Matthew 26:38-44
- 24] *Al-Faḥ* (48):29
Revelation 7:1-4
- 25] *Namna ya Kusali:* (How to Pray)
Matthew 6:5-13
- 25] *Al-Isrā'* (17):110
- 26] Psalms 55:17-18
Al-Isrā' (17):78
- 26] Psalms 119:62
Al-Isrā' (17):79
- 26] *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)
- 27] Jeremiah 8:7-8
Jeremiah 36:23-24
Luke 1:1-4
- 28] *KUTOA ZAKA* (The giving of offerings)
- 28] Deuteronomy 14:22-29
Deuteronomy 15:1-10
- 29] Matthew 6:1-4
Al-Baqara (2):271
Matthew 6:19-21
Al-Baqara (2):274
- 30] Matthew 19:21-26

- 30] *KUFUNGA MWEZI WA RAMADHANI* (To fast during Ramadhan)
 30] 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)
 32] Deuteronomy 12:4-10
 Deuteronomy 12:21
 33] Micah 1:1-2
 Matthew 21:42-43
 Psalms 118:22-24

[6] **Ngogo, Josephat (Rev.) *Injili ya Barnaba*** (The Gospel of Barnabas)

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- 1] *INJILI YA KWELI YA YESU KRISTO* (The true Gospel of Jesus Christ)
 1] *HISTORIA* (History)
 1] *I. YESU SI MUNGU (INJILI YA BARNABA 96:9)*
 (I. Jesus is not God (Gospel of Barnabas 96:9))
 1] Barnabas 96:9
 2] Colossians 4:10 [Reference]
 Galatians 2:9 [Reference]
 Acts 4:36; 9:20; 11:22-30; 12:25; 13:1-2; 14:1-2, 14:11-15 [Reference only]
 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)
 6] Barnabas 39:14-28
 7] *V. JINA LA MUHAMMAD KWENYE LANGO LA PEPONI*
 (V. The name of Muhammad on the gate of Paradise)
 7] Barnabas 41:25-30
 8] *VI. MJUMBE WA ULIMWENGU WOTE SIO YESU. YEYE ATAKUJA BAADA YA YESU*
KUONDOKA DUNIANI
 (VI. The Messenger to the whole world is not Jesus. He will come after Jesus departs the earth)
 8] Barnabas 96:1-14 [only verses 1-8 given]
a) YESU NI MWANA WA MARIAM (a) Jesus is the Son of Mary
b) YESU NI NABII WA ISRAEL TU (b) Jesus is a Prophet of Israel only)
 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)
 9] Barnabas 97:9-18
c) DINI YAKE (c) His Religion
d) JINA LA MTUME: (d) Name of the Apostle:
 10] *VIII. MTUME WA MATAIFA YOTE ATATOKEA KWA UZAO WA ISHMAELI*
 (VIII. The Apostle of all nations will come from the offspring of Ishmael)
 10] Barnabas 43:9-31 [only extracts given]
 Barnabas 44:1-11 [only extracts given]
 11] *IX. KUFUFULIWA KWA MTUME MUHAMMAD*
 (IX. The resurrection for Apostle Muhammad)

- 11] Barnabas 54:1-11
- 12] 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)
- 12] Barnabas 136:7-21
- 13] XI. YESU ALISALIA NA KUSUJUDU NDIYO ILIYOKUWA DESTURI YAKE
(XI. Jesus prayed by prostrating himself, indeed it was his practice)
- 13] Barnabas 214
- 14] 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)
- 14] Barnabas 215 [quotation is the second part of 215 and the start of 216]
- 15] 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)
- 15] Barnabas 221 [quotes a part of the Chapter]
- 15] 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")
- 15] Barnabas 220:17-21
- 16] XV. INJILI YA KWELI YA YESU KRISTO (XV. The true Gospel of Jesus Christ)
NANI ALIKABIDHIWA KUIANDIKA?
- 16] JIBU: BARNABA ANAAGIZWA KUANDIKA INJILI YA BWANA YESU KRISTO
(Who was entrusted to write?)
Answer: Barnabas was ordered to write the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ)
- 16] 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 *Ungu na Umoja Wake*** (Divinity and its Unity)

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- 1] YALIOMO NDANI (Contents)
- 2] B. TUNU (Dedication)
C. SHUKRANI (Thanksgiving)
- 3] D. UTANGULIZI (Introduction)
- 4] MAVUNDEVUNDE (Rank-smelling things)
- 5] Twaha al-Hashimy
Taarikul Adyani wa Falsafatuha
- 5] 1) IBADA ZA ROHQ (1. Spiritual Worship)
C.P.I. Taylor *The Primitive Culture*
Levy-Bruhl *Al-aqliyyah*
Al-budaa'iyyah (The Primitive Mind)
- 6] 2) KUABUDU ULIMWENGU: (2. To Worship the Environment)
- 6] Max Muller *Essais Sur la Mythologie Comparee*
- 6] 3) KITU KINACHO ABUDIWA NA UKOQ (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*

- 7] E.O. James *History of Religions* (pp. 1 & 2)
James Frazer *Golden Bough*
Hans-Joachim Schoep *The Religion of Mankind* (p. 9)
- 7] JINSI YA MISIMAMO MBALI MBALI (The reasons for various standpoints)
- 8] UUNGU NA UOLA (Divinity and Lordship)
1) UTUMIAJI AKILI KIMAKOSA (1. The false use of the mind)
- 9] 2) UTUMIAJI MAKOSA WA UHURU (2. The false use of freedom)
3) MAPENZI YANAPO TUMIWA VIBAYA (3. When desire is used badly)
- 10] M'NGU (God)
- 10] Mustwafa Mahmoud *Allah* (pp. 11-14)
Muhammad Abdoh *Risala al-Tawhid* (p. 51)
Hashim Muhammad Said Daftardaar
Muujizat Qalb Al-Quran (p. 127)
- 11/12] Al-Islam Al-Ghazaly *Al-mun-Qidh Min-a-Dhalal* (pp.79-90)
- 12/13] Ibn Rushd *Min-Haaj Al-Adilla fi aqqaid al-Millah* (pp.51-55)
- 13] Nadyam-al-Jisr *Qiswa-Al-Iman* (p. 476)
Muhammad Jalal-abul-Futuh Sharaf *Allah Wal-Aalam Wal Insan Fi-Al-Fikri-Al-Islamy*
(pp. 361-412)
- 14] Abdulkarim Al-Khatyb *Allah ...Dhatan Wamau-dhuan* (pp.93-94)
Hassan al-Turabi *Al-Iman atharuhu Fi-hayat-Al-Insan* (pp. 23-25)
- 15] Islaam Ibnu Taimia *Bayan-Muwafaqati-Swarihil-Maaqul-Liswahilhil-Manquul*
(pp. 10-13)
- 15] AL-QUDDUS (The Holy)
- 15] al-Ghazaly *Al-Maqsad Al-Asna* (pp. 20, 23, 70, 89 & 91)
- 16] MAAJABU YA ULIMWENGU (The wonders of heaven)
Mbio za Mwangaza: (The speed of light:)
Maana ya Galaxy: (The meaning of the Galaxy:)
Maajabu ni Haya: (The amazing things are these:)
- 17] S. Hawking *A Brief History of Time* (pp. 19, 37, 38 & 39)
James Michener *Space* (pp. 666-667)
- 17] WATAALAMU WA KIMAGHARIBI JUU YA UUNGU
(Western Experts concerning Divinity)
Axel Hagerstrom *Philosophy and Religion* (pp. 220-221)
- 18] Fritjof Capra *Uncommon Wisdom* (pp. 42-43)
Shirley Maclaine *Going Within* (pp. 106-107)
Jacob Needleman *The New Religions* (pp. 212-214)
- 19] F.C. Hippold *Religious Faith and Twentieth Century Man* (p. 73)
Ninian Smart *World Religions: A Dialogue* (p. 23)
Henry Troyat *Tolstoy* (pp. 524-526)
- 19] UUNGU KATIKA QUR-ANI TUKUFU (Divinity in the Glorious Qur'an)
- 20] Al-Ikhlās (112):1-2 [Interpretations of these verses is given using the following commentators]
Ibn Kathir *Tafsiri Qurani* (pp. 570-571)
Shaukani *Tafsiri Fathul qadir* (pp.517-518)
Arraghib Al-Asfihaanii *Al-Mufradaat figharribil al-Quran* (p. 10)
Muhammad Hassanain Makhluuf *Swaf-Watul-bayaan Limaani Al-Quran* (pp. 831-832)
- 21] Muhammad Abdoh *Amma* (pp. 134-135)
- 21] MASHAHIDI WA UUNGU (Witnesses of Divinity)
- 21] Al Imrān (3):18 [Interpretations of this verse is given using the following commentators]
Muhammad Rashid Ridha *Tafsiri Al-Manaar* (pp. 255-256)
Sayyid Quṭb *Fi-dhilal Al-Quran* (pp. 61-62)
Ibnu Kathir *Tafsiri* (p. 315)
- 22] Shaukani *Tafsiri Fathul qadir* (p.325)
Al-Alusi *Ru-Al-Maani* (p. 2)

[8]	Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu <i>Uislamu ni Njia Sahihi ya Maisha</i> (Islam is the Correct Way of Life)
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1]	<i>SURA YA KWANZA: Mwanadamu hawezi kuishi bila Dini Njia ya Maisha</i> (Chapter One: Man is unable to live without Religion, the Way of Life)
2]	<i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):83
4]	(1) <i>Dini ya Ukafiri</i> (Religion of Infidels)
7]	(2) <i>Dini ya Ushirikina</i> (Religion of Witchcraft)
12]	(3) <i>Dini ya Utawa</i> (Religion of Seclusion)
16]	(4) <i>Dini ya Uislam</i> (Religion of Islam)
17]	<i>Al-Insān</i> (76):1-2 <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67):1-2
23]	<i>SURA YA PILI: Uislam Ndio Njia Pekce ya Maisha Iliyo Sahihi</i> (Chapter Two: Islam is indeed the only correct way of life)
23]	<i>Al-Baqara</i> (2):38-39
24]	<i>Al-Nahl</i> (16):36 [Not verse 26 as stated] <i>Tā Hā</i> (20):29-30
24]	<i>Maryam</i> (19):53
25]	<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42):13 <i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):84
26]	<i>Al-Bayyina</i> (98):1 [Not <i>Al-Fajr</i> (89) as stated] <i>Al-Bayyina</i> (98):6 [Not <i>Al-Fajr</i> (89) as stated] <i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):85
27]	<i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):64 <i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):33-66 [Reference] <i>Al-Baqara</i> (2):136-139 [Reference]
29]	<i>Al-Baqara</i> (2):135
29]	<i>Al-Baqara</i> (2):143
30]	<i>SURA YA TATU: Namna ya Kuufuata Uislam</i> (Chapter Three: The Pattern of following Islam)
31]	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4):59 <i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):100 <i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):149
32]	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4):144-145 <i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5):51 <i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5):57 <i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4):138-139
33]	<i>Al-Mā'ida</i> (5):55-56
34]	<i>Al-Hijr</i> (15):9
35]	<i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):31 <i>Āl Imrān</i> (3):31-32
36]	<i>Al-Aḥzāb</i> (33):21 <i>Al-Ḥashr</i> (59):7
37]	<i>SURA YA NNE: Ujumbe Wa Mitume Ni Mmoja Tu</i> (Chapter Four: The Message of the Apostles is only one)
37]	<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21):25
39]	<i>SURA YA TANO:</i> <i>A.- Uislamu Ndio Pekce Unaoweza Kutoa na Kusimamia Haki za Binadamu</i> (Chapter Five: A.- Islam is alone in being able to give and to supervise Human Rights)
41]	<i>Al-Hujurat</i> (49):13
43]	<i>Al-An'am</i> (6):71
44]	<i>SURA YA SITA: B.- Ni Zipi Haki za Binaadamu Zinazotolewa na Kusimamiwa na Uislamu[?]</i> (Chapter Six: B.- Which are the Human Rights that are given and supervised by Islam?)

- 44] 1. HAKI ZA BINAADAMU WOTE KWA UJUMLA (*Basic Human Rights*)
 (1. The totality of Human Rights (Basic Human Rights))
- 44] (1) *Haki za Maisha (kuishi)* (1. The rights of life (to live))
- 45] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):32
Al-An'ām (6):151
- 46] *Al-Furqān* (25):68-69
- 47] (2) *Haki ya Kuokoa (Kujisalimisha) Maisha* (The Right to Safety (to self-preservation) of Life)
- 47] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):32
 Paraphrase from Talmud (?)
- 48] *Āl 'Imrān* (3):75
- 48] (3) *Haki ya Huheshimiwa Usafi (ubikira) wa Wanawake*
 (3. The Right to Respect the Purity of Women (virginity))
- 48] *Al-Isrā'* (17):32
- 49] (4) *Haki ya Kupata Mahitaji ya Lazima ya Maisha* (4. The Right to obtain the essentials of life)
- 49] *Al-Ma'ārij* (70):24-25
- 50] (5) *Haki ya Uhuru (Kila mtu kuwa huru)* (5. The Right of Freedom (each person to be free))
- 50] Hadith Bukhari
- 51] *Biashara ya Watumwa na Mataifa ya Magharibi* (The Slave Trade and the nations of the West)
- 51] *Utumwa katika Uislam* (Slavery in Islam)
- 52] *Al-Mujādala* (58):3
Al-Tawba (9):60
Al-Balad (90):11-13
- 54] (6) *Haki ya Uadilifu Katika Hukumu (Right to Justice)*
 (6. The Right to Impartiality in Judgement (Right to Justice))
- 54] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):8
- 55] *Al-Nisā'* (4):135
- 55] (7) *Haki ya Usawa (na Binaadamu) (Right to Equality)*
 (7. Right to Equality (of Humans) (Right to Equality))
- 56] *Al-Hujurāt* (49):13
Al-Hujurāt (49):13
- 57] Hijjatul Wada'a
- 58] (8) *Haki ya Kujiunga au Kutojiunga na Chama Chochote*
 (8. The Right to Join or not to Join with any Group)
- 58] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):2
- 59] *Āl 'Imrān* (3):110
- 60] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):3
- 61] *Āl 'Imrān* (3):85
- 62] *SURA YA SABA: Ni Yupi Mwenye Utu Kamili* (Chapter Seven: Who has perfect humanity)
- 64] *Al-Baqara* (2):257

2.2 CHRISTIAN TRACTS

[9] **Alavi, K.K. *Kutafuta Uhakika***, (In Search of Assurance)

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- 3] *MAISHA YANGU YA UTOTONI* (My childhood)
4] *SIKU MUHUMI* (The important day)
5] *MAFUNDISHO ZAIDI* (More teaching)
7] *Āl Imrān* (3):45-50
9] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):46
Yūnus (10):94
11] *Al-An'ām* (6):165
12] John 14:1
13] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):72-73
15] John 14:6
John 17:3
John 1:12
John 14:23
16] *KIFUNGO CHA UPENDO* (The cornerstone of Love)
18] John 14:1
19] John 8:32
19] *MUNGU ANIFUNGUA* (God sets me free)
22] *KUPATA NURU* (To receive Light)
23] *Al-Fath* (48):2
Al-Mu'min (40):55 [Reference]
Muḥammad (47):19 [Reference]
Al-Fāṭir (35):18 [Reference]
Maryam (19):19
Hadith [no reference given]
24] John 8:46
1 John 3:4-5
25] *Al-Nisā'* (4):171
25] *Maryam* (19):21
Al-Anbiyā' (21):91 [Reference]
Āl Imrān(3):49
26] *Al-Nisā'* (4):157-159
27] *Maryam* (19):33
Āl Imrān (3):55
28] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):117
Āl Imrān (3):55
29] *Al-Ṣaff*(61):6
30] John 14:16,15-17
31] Acts 2:1-11 [Reference]
32] 1 Corinthians 15:3-4
33] *UAMUZI MKUU* (The great decision)
33] *KUFANYA KAZI YAKE* (To do his work)
34] John 14:6
John 17:3
John 8:12
34] *MWISHO* (end)
34] Psalm 27:10
35] John 15:16

[10] **Jadeed, Iskander** *Hapana! Dini ya Kristo Haijabatalishwa*
(No! The Religion of Christ has not been Abrogated)

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- 2] *HOJA: (Purpose)*
3] *Ndugu Yangu Mpendwa (My dear brother)*
3] *Āl Imrān (3):55*
4] al-Tabari 7133
al-Tabari 7134
al-Tabari 7139
al-Tabari 7142
5] al-Tabari 7142
al-Tabari 7143
al-Tabari 204/3
6] *Al-Nisāʾ (4):157*
Al-Māʾida (5):116-117
6] *Je, Uislamu Unabatilisha Dini Nyingine Zote Zilizotangulia?*
(Does Islam Abrogate All Religions that preceded it?)
8] *Al-Māʾida (5):68*
Al-Māʾida (5):47
Al-Māʾida (5):43
Yūnus (10):94
9] *Al-Nahl (16):43*
al-Jalalayn p. 357 [reference]
Al-Shuʿarā (26):193-196
10] *Yūnus (10):3*
Al-Raḥmān (55):14-15
11] *Al-Baqara (2):106*
12] al-Tabari 1/280
Al-Hajj (22):52
al-Jalalayn p. 447
13] *Al-Shūrā (42):13*
14] *Al-Nisāʾ (4):26*
Al-Baqara (2):136
al-Tabari 3109
15] *Āl Imrān (3):3*
al-Jalalayn p. 66
al-Tabari 6/160-1
16] *Al-Aḥqāf (46):12 [reference]*
17] *Al-Baqara (2):90 [reference]*
Yūnus (10):94 [reference]
18] Hebrews 11:13
19] Micah 6:8
20] Isaiah 11:9
Hebrews 9:1-10
21] Isaiah 53, 55 [reference]
Revelation 3:18 [reference]

[11] **Khan, M. (Translated by G.H. Mrope)**

Kurani na Biblia: Jinsi nilivyotafuta kuupata wokovu

(The Qur'ān and the Bible: How I searched for and found salvation)

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- 1] *MAISHA YA UTOTO NA MASOMA* [*sic*] (Childhood and Schooling)
2] *MAPAMBANO YA KWANZA NA WAKRISTO*. (First encounter with Christians)
3] *Qāf*(50):16
6] *MASOMO YA JUU ZAIDI*. (Higher Education)
7] *MABISHANO ZAIDI NA WAKRISTO*. (Further Disputes with Christians)
10] *SAFARI YA KWENDA UARABU NA KURUDI*. (Journey to Arabia and the return)
11] *JAMBO LENYE MAANA SANA*. (A thing with great meaning)
13] *KATIKA KUTAFUTA WOKOVU* (In search of Salvation)
16] *Al-Sajda* (32):19-20
Al-Zalzala (99):7-8
19] *Al-A'raf*(7):23
Ibrāhīm (14):41
Hadith: Bukhari
20] *Al-Ādiyāt* (100):6-7
John 8:46
21] 2 Corinthians 5:21
Hebrews 4:15
1 Peter 2:22
1 John 3:5
22] *Maryam* (19):71-72
23] *Hūd*(11):118-119
25] Mishkat
Hadith: Muslim,
Bukhari
26] Hadith: Muslim,
Bukhari
Luke 17:7-10 [reference]
27] Mishkat
Jabir [Mishkat?]
28] Hadith: Bukhari
29] Matthew 11:28
31] Matthew 20:28
32] 1 John 4:10
33] Romans 3:19-25
33] *UAMUZI WANGU NA KUUNGAMA*. (My decision and confession)

[12] **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)

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- iv] *UTANGULIZI* (Foreword) [written by the translator Timothy Simalenga]
1] *Sura ya Kwanza NDOTO* (Chapter One Dream)
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-Şāffāt (37) [reference]
- 32] *Sura ya Tano KUENDELEA KUTAFUTA UKWELI*
(Chapter Five Continuing to search for the truth)
- 37] *Nuru ya Kuran* part 2 p. 12
- 42] *Sura ya Sita KUKATA SHAURI* (Chapter Six To make a decision)
- 44] Deuteronomy 18:18
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John 14:25-26 [reference]
John 15:26 [reference]
John 16 [reference]
- 46] Deuteronomy 18:18
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John 5:46
Maryam (19):51 [reference]
Al-Nisā' (4):64 [reference]
John 14:16 [reference]
- 47] John 16:7
John 14:16 [reference]
John 16:13
- 48] Acts 2:22-23, 36
- 49] *Sura ya Saba KUKIMBIA* (Chapter Seven To run away)
- 60] *Sura ya Nane KWENDA KUSINI* (Chapter Eight Going South)
- 72] *Sura ya Tisa KUTAKA KUJIUA* (Chapter Nine To want to kill myself)
- 77] *Al-Nisā'* (4):136
Al-An'ām (6):92
Al-Mu'min (40):53
Al-Şāffāt (37):117 [reference]
Al-Mā'ida (5):46
- 79] *Sura ya Kumi BIBLIA NA KURANI* (Chapter Ten The Bible and the Qur'an)
- 81] *Al-A'rāf* (7):23-24 [reference]
Hūd (11):47 [reference]
Ibrāhīm (14):40-41 [reference]
Al-Qaşaş (28):16 [reference]
Şād (38):23-24 [reference]
- 82] John 3:16
- 83] Romans 1:3-4
- 84] John 20:30-31
- 85] *Al-A'rāf* (7):13
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- 86] 1 Kings 17:13
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Al-Kahf (18):110
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Yūnus (10):49
- 86] Matthew 28:18
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- 88] *Sura ya Kumi na Moja NURU MAHALI PENYE GIZA*
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- 90] John 8:46
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Al-Fath (48):1-2
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Al-Nisā' (4):15
- 91] Revelation 18:4-5
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- 92] John 4:24
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- 93] *Al-Nisā'* (4):155 [reference]
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- 94] *Sura ya Kumi na Mbili KUTEMBEA NURUNI MWA YESU*
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- 95] *Āl Imrān* (3):144
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- 96] John 14:9
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- 97] Revelation 3:19
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- 98] Romans 6:3-4
- 99] Matthew 10:16, 23
- 100] *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
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Hebrews 4:7
Psalm 95:7-8

[13] **NJIA YA UZIMA** *Ushahidi wa Kiislamu kuhusu uthabiti wa Torati na Injili,*
(The witness of Islam concerning the veracity of the Torah and the Gospel)

- 1] *Al-Mā'ida* (5):44
- 2] *Al-Nisā'* (4):105
Al-Mā'ida (5):46
Al-Mā'ida (5):68
Al-Mā'ida (5):47
Al-Nisā' (4):136
- 3] *Al-Aḥqāf* (46):10
Al-Nahl (16):43
- 4]

[14] **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).

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- 1] UTANGULIZI (Introduction)
1] Romans 10:17
1.0 NINI MAANA YA DINI (1.0 What is the meaning of Religion)
1] *Al-Isrā’* (17):85
2] Matthew 16:18
2] 2.0 *Hoja ya DINI* (2.0 The Necessity of Religion)
2] *Al-Şaff*(61):9
Al-Kāfirūn (109):5-6
Al-Mā’ida (5):82
3] 3.0 JE BIBLIA TAKATIFU INASEMA NINI JUU YA MIUNGU YA UONGO.
(3.0 What does the Holy Bible say about False Gods)
3] 1 Kings 18:21-40 [actually to verse 24]
2 Kings 10:18-27
1 Samuel 5:1-2
4] 4.0 JE BWANA YESU ALISEMA NINI JUU YA (DINI) NJIA
(4.0 What does Jesus say about (Religion) the Way)
4.1 UKRISTO (KANISA) NA UISLAMU (MSKITI)
(4.1 Christianity (Church) and Islam (Mosque))
4] 4.2 JE BWANA YESU ALISEMA NINI JUU YA (DINI) NJIA
(4.2 What does Jesus say about (Religion) the Way)
4] John 14:1-6
Āl Imrān (3):85
5] 5.0 AKHERA NI WAPI (5.0 Where is the Hereafter)
5.1 JE BIBLIA INAELEZA JE KUHUSU KUZIMU {AKHERA}
(5.1 What does the Bible say concerning what happens after death (the Hereafter))
5] Luke 16:19-26
5.2 KUZIMU {AKHERA} MAKAZI YA NANI
(5.2 Whose is the Dwelling place After Death (the Hereafter))
5] Revelation 20:1-3
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] 6.1b TIKETI YA DEREVA WA KWANZA (6.1b The Ticket of the first driver)
6] John 14:1-6
6.1c TIKETI YA DEREVA WA PILI (6.1c The Ticket of the second driver)
6] *Al-Aḥqāf*(46):9
7. MATHAYO 28:19-20 (7. Matthew 28:19-20)
6] Matthew 28:19-20

[15] **TANZANIA EVANGELICAL LITERATURE MINISTRY (TELM)**

Isa (Yesu Kristo) Ndani ya Kurani na Biblia²

(*Īsā* (Jesus Christ) in the Qur’ān and the Bible)

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- 1] YESU KRISTO YUAJA TENA (Jesus Christ will come again)
1] *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
Āl 'Imrān (3):45
- 2] *Al-Nisā'*(4):171
Āl 'Imrān (3):47
Āl 'Imrān (3):46
Āl 'Imrān (3):49
- 2] *JE, WAWEZA KUSEMA KWAMBA YESU KRISTO ALIKUWA 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] *Āl 'Imrān* (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)
Maryam (19):20-21//Luke 1:30-32, 34
KRISTO MBARIKIWA (The blessed Christ)
Maryam (19):30-31//Matthew 2:9
YESU AONGOZWA NA ROHO MTAKATIFU (Jesus led by the Holy Spirit)
Al-Baqara (2):253//Luke 4:1
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)
Al-Baqara (2):87//*Al-'Ankabūt* (29):50//John 3:2
- 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)
Āl 'Imrān (3):45//John 1:1, 14
KIFO CHA YESU (The death of Jesus)
Āl 'Imrān (3):55//Philippians 2:8
UFUFUO WA YESU
(The resurrection of Jesus)
Āl 'Imrān (3):55//1 Corinthians 15:3-5
- 5] *ALIPAA JUU BAADA YA KIFO* (He ascended after death)
Āl 'Imrān (3):55//Ephesians 1:19-20
- 5] *YESU NI MUUMBA*
(Jesus is the Creator)
- 5] *Al-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 kukomboa*)
(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
 8] Romans 10:9-14
 Romans 10:13
Yūnus (10):94

[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'ān)

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- 2] *Neno la Mungu Ndani ya Torati, Injili na Kurani*
 (The Word of God in the Torah, Gospel and the Qur'ān)
- 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'ida* (5) 5:46
- 3] *Je, Mungu Ana Sauti?* (Does God have a Voice?)
- 3] *Al-Qaṣaṣ* (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)?)
- 4] *Maryam* (19):52
Al-A'raf(7):143
- 5] Exodus 33:18
Al-A'raf(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?)
- 7] Philippians 2:6-8
- 8] *Al-Nisā'* (4):171
 John 8:42
 John 1:1-3
- 9] *Al-Nisā'* (4):171
 John 1:14
- 9] *Kwa Nini Jambo Hili Lilikuwa La Lazima?* (Why was this thing essential?)
- 9] *Al-Shūrā* (42):51
- 10] *Al-A'raf* (7):117
Al-Tawba (9):17
- 11] *Pazia Lilikuwa Ni Nini?* (What was the covering?)
- 11] Hebrews 10:20
 Hebrews 10:5-7
 John 5:46
- Jinsi ya Kufahamu Unabii Uliofichika* (How to understand a prophecy that is hidden)
- 11] *Āl Imrān* (3):184
- 12] *Fuṣṣilat* (41):43
Al-Nisā' (4):47
- 13] *Soma na kulinganisha unabii juu ya Isa (Yesu) unavyofuatana:*
 (Read and compare the following prophecies about *Īsā* (Jesus) as follows:)
YESU ATAKUJA DUNIANI MARA MBILI (Jesus will come to earth twice)
- 13] Numbers 24:17//Matthew 2:2//*Āl Imrān* (3):45
- 14] Matthew 24:30//*Al-Zukhruf* (43):61
- 14] *KUJA KWAKE MARA YA KWANZA KULIKUWA KWA WAISRAELI*
 (His first coming was for the Israelites)
- 14] Deuteronomy 18:15//Matthew 15:24//*Āl Imrān* (3):49
- 15] *HUWATAFUTA WANAADAMU WOTE KISHA KURUDI MARA YA PILI*
 (To search for all people then to return the second time)
- 15] Genesis 49:10//Isaiah 49:6//John 10:16//*Al-Anbiyā'* (21):91
- 16] *ALIPASWA KUZALIWA NA BIKIRA*
 (It was necessary for him to be born of a Virgin)
- 16] Isaiah 7:14//Luke 1:31, 34//*Maryam* (19):20
- 16] *ROHO MTAKATIFU ALIMWONGOZA (ALIKUWA JUU YAKE)*
 (He was led by the Holy Spirit (It was over him)
- 17] Isaiah 11:2//Luke 4:18, 21//*Al-Baqara* (2):253
- 18] *ALIKUJA KWA KUSUDI LA KUFA* (He came for the purpose of dying)
- 18] Isaiah 53:8-9//Philippians 2:8//*Maryam* (19):33//*Āl Imrān* (3):55
- 19] *ALIFUFUKA KUTOKA KWA WAFU* (He rose again from the dead)
- 19] Psalm 16:9-10//1 Corinthians 15:3-4//*Maryam* (19):33
- 19] *KULIFAHAMU NENO LA MUNGU* (To understand the Word of God)
- 19] *Āl Imrān* (3):45
 John 1:1
- 20] *Maana ya Kurani Tukufu* p. 308 footnote 896
 Colossians 1:15
 Hebrews 1:3

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nd *Islam: The Strongest Challenge?*, Nairobi: Life Challenge Africa

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nd *Unatakiwa Kujibu Kuhusu Kristo na Muhamadi?*, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima

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nd b *Msalaba katika Injili na Qurani*, Nairobi: Njia ya Uzima

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1977a *Mwanzo wa Watu: Masomo Kutoka katika Kitabu cha Kwanza cha Torati ya Nabii Musa*, Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House

1977b *Agano la Mungu na Watu wa Israeli: Masomo Kutoka katika Kitabu cha Pili cha Torati ya Nabii Musa, Kitabu cha Zaburi za Nabii Daudi*, Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House

1978a *Mungu Awapenda Watu: Masomo Kutoka katika Injili ya Yesu Masihi*, Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House

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 nd *Dhambi; Tatizo la Mwanadamu*, Morogoro: TELM
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 1951 *Muhamadi au Kristo*, Lushoto: Vuga Mission Press

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 DA7/1-17

- 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 Cttee
- DA7/1/43 1st February 1939 Miss K.H. Henrey to Cttee
[acting in CP's absence at IMC Conference in Madras]
- DA7/1/44 Reports on IMC Tambaram 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 Cttee

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 December 1902 6. Tract on Mohammedanism. (Raha Isiyo Karaha).
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
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Minutes of Meeting of August 17th 1900
Letters July 1901 - April 1902
8th September 1902 Tract on Mohammadenism.
25th November 1902 Tract on Mohammadenism.
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
RITSON Rev. J.H. (B.F.B.S.) Sept.14.

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.'

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)

Annual Letters to CMS 1924, 1926, 1930, 1935, 1942, 1949

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

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'II. Die evangelischen Missionsgesellschaften aus der Landesausstellung 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
'IV. Literarische Arbeiten der evangelischen Missionen in D.O.A.', *Führer durch die evangelischen Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, Missionsdruckerei in Wuga, Usambara, D.O.A. 48-65

Barazani

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1935 *Kalenda 1936*, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
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1938 *Kalenda 1939*, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
1939 *Kalenda 1940*, Usambara Agentur, Mission Lwandai
1947 *Kalenda 1948*, Lutheran Mission Press, Wuga
1951 *Kalenda 1952*, Mkanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganyika
1952 *Kalenda 1953*, Mkanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganyika
1956 *Kalenda 1957*, Mkanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganyika
1958 *Kalenda 1959*, npd
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Reports held at offices in Nairobi

Benignus, P.

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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

1943 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 Namna 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 Mohammedanism" 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 Tafsiri ya Ushirikiano wa Mkanisa*, Dodoma: Bible Society of Tanzania

BIBLIA-BFBS

1952 *Maandiko Matakatiifu 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 yenye Itifaki: The Holy Bible in Kiswahili Union Version published as Maandiko Matakatiifu*, Dodoma: Bible Society of Tanzania (Two Columns with few cross-references, with Concordance)

BIBLIA-REVISED UNION VERSION

2006 *Biblia: Yenye Vitabu vya Deuterokanoni: Yaani Agano la Kale na Agano Jipya*, Nairobi: Bible Society of Kenya (Two Columns with few cross-references, with Introduction to each book)

NENO

1987 *Neno: Agano Jipya (Tafsiri Rahisi Kuelewcha)*, Nairobi: Living Bibles East Africa

NENO Arabic

1996 *Neno: Agano Jipya* (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 *Mshahafu Mtakatifu Wa Muungu: Mwenyi Agano la Kale, Yamefasirika Katika Lugha ya Zamani*, London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NT Mombasa

1917 *Chuo cha Maagano Mapya ya Bwana Wetu Jesu Masihi Mwokozi Wetu* (Mombasa Dialect), London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NT UV

1951 *Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo (The New Testament in Swahili Union Version)*, London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NT Zanzibar

1942 *Kitabu cha Agano Jipya la Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Yesu Kristo Kimefasirika katika Maneno ya Kiyunani (New Testament in Swahili (Zanzibar))*, London: British and Foreign Bible Society

Rochl, K.

1937 *Biblia ndio Maandiko Matakatiifu yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika Msemo wa Kiswahili*, Translation by K. Rochl. Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society

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

1994 *The Greek New Testament*, Fourth Revised Edition with Dictionary, Stuttgart: United Bible Societies

In English

KJV

1956 *The Holy Bible* (Authorised Version of 1611), London: British and Foreign Bible Society

NRSV

1995 *Holy Bible New Revised Standard Version Anglicized Version*, Oxford: OUP

RSV

1952 *The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version containing the Old and New Testaments*, London: OUP

3.2 VERSIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN CONSULTED

In Swahili

Ahmedi, Sh. M.A.

1953 *Kurani Tukufu*, Nairobi: Ahmediyya 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-MUNTAKHAB katika tafsiri ya Qur'ani tukufu*, (Second Printing), Dubai: Mbana Abdulla Ahmad Al Ghurair (Swahili-Arabic)

Dale, G.

1923 *Tafsiri ya Kurani ya Kiarabu*, London: SPCK (Swahili)

al-Farsy, A.S.

1969 *Qurani Takatifu*, 8th printing 1997 Nairobi: The Islamic Foundation (Swahili-Arabic)

Machano, M.M.

2000 *Tafsiri ya Qur-an: Juzuu ya Pili*, Zanzibar: Al-Khayria Press Ltd.

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/tarjomec/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

‘Alī, ‘Abdullah Yūsuf

1989 *The Holy Qur’ān - New Revised Edition*, New York: Amana Corporation (English-Arabic)

Arberry, A.J.

1998 *The Koran* (reprint of 1955 edition), Oxford: OUP (English)

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1995 *The Noble Qur’ān*, 15th Edition, Riyadh: Darussalam Publishers (English-Arabic)

Pickthall, M.M.

1930 *The Meaning of the glorious Qur’ān*, London: Al-Furquan Publications (English)

3.3 COMMENTARIES AND TAFSĪR

Bible Commentaries

Bauckham, R. J.

2002 *Vol. 50: Word Biblical Commentary: 2 Peter, Jude*, Dallas: Word Incorporated

Beasley-Murray, G. R.

1999 *Vol. 36: Word Biblical Commentary: John*, Dallas: Word Incorporated

Christensen, D. L.

2000 *Vol. 6A: Word Biblical Commentary: Deuteronomy 1-21:9*, Dallas: Word Incorporated

Dunn, J. D. G.

2001 *Vol. 38A: Word Biblical Commentary: Romans 1-8*, Dallas: Word Incorporated

Hagner, D. A.

2002a *Vol. 33A: Word Biblical Commentary: Matthew 1-13*, Dallas: Word Incorporated

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1981 *The Gospel of Matthew*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott

Lane, W.E.

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Qur'ānic tafsīr

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 1991a *A Commentary on the Qur'ān: Volume I* (Edited by C.E. Bosworth & M.E.J. Richardson), *Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 14*
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 nd *The Meaning of the Qurān, Volume Six*, Lahore: Islamic Publications (Pvt.) Limited
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 2006 *Towards Understanding the Qurān (Abridged Version)*, Leicester: Islamic Foundation
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 2000 *In the Shade of the Qur'ān: Fi Zilāl al-Qur'ān Volume II*, Leicester: Islamic Foundation
 2001a *In the Shade of the Qur'ān: Fi Zilāl al-Qur'ān Volume III*, Leicester: Islamic Foundation
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3.6 DISSERTATIONS, THESES AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

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- 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
- 2007b 'The use of Scripture in Tracts in Swahili', paper presented at Swahili Colloquium, held at University of Bayreuth, 18-20 May 2007

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Mbillah, J.

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Mutei, J.

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- 2000 'Islam, Language and Ethnicity in Eastern Africa: Some Literary Considerations', Paper presented at Harriet Tubman Seminar, Department of History, York University, Toronto April 3, 2000

Schildknecht F.

- 1967 *Final Report*, Unpublished typed document on finishing working with Tanzania Episcopal Conference

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- 2007 Assistance with French translation, September 2007

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