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A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AN ISLAMIC SECT:

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

by

(C) Syed Saeed Anwar

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Sociology
of the University of Windsor in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

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1982

ABSTRACT

The main aims of this study are to introduce the
Ahmadiyya movement, a relatively unknown religious movement
originating in late nineteenth century India, to Western
researchers; to describe its social characteristics and
theological development; and to provide a sociological
analysis of its place in Islam and among the major religions
of the world. I have applied sociological theories on the
origin and nature of religious movements to relevant
historical data and personal observation, and conclude that
the Ahmadiyya movement, though unrecognized by the established
branches of Islam, is a unique expression of Islamic
doctrine and practice. In light of its origins, Ahmadiyya
has a valid claim to be a sect of Islam; in its present
stage of development, it possesses church-like character-
istics. It is my belief that the Ahmadiyya movement tends
toward the establishment of a world religion synthesizing
all messianic religions under Islam.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the members of the Ahmadiyya movement in Islam, especially to my family who have suffered a lot.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

One of the tasks of sociologists is to analyze social behavior of persons, groups and institutions. Since religion motivates much of the behavior of individuals as well as groups, it can be said to be a basic and recurring aspect of man's culture, as important as politics, art, economics and science. In every human culture of which reliable knowledge exists, there is evidence of religious behavior of some sort. Therefore, in sociology there is a need for a thorough investigation of religious movements.

The Ahmadiyya movement of Islam, originating in nineteenth century India, played an important role in motivating behavior in Islamic culture; and, given the messianic basis of its teachings, will continue to influence religious behavior in Islamic societies.

The impact of the movement is multifold in nature; it has socio-religious, socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic ramifications both in Pakistani society and in the world at large. Because of its universal and missionary characteristics, the Ahmadiyya movement has not only had an impact on the religious life of Moslems discontented with modern trends in Islam within Pakistan, but, in revitalizing the teachings of Mohammad, has made a theological contribu-

tion to global religious thought. The movement's theological
confrontation with other sects of Islam is illustrated in
the persecution of Ahmadiyyas by other Pakistani Moslems in
September of 1974. Because of this conflict, the movement
is still attempting to substantiate its claim to be not
only a valid sect of Islam but the purest exemplification of
that faith. It is important to examine what activities and
means this movement has employed to establish itself within
the Islamic world.

Political activity is an aspect of Islam in general,
and the Ahmadiyya movement by its input into the political
discussions preceding the creation of Pakistan, was involved
in Pakistani politics from the beginning. The confrontation
with the Moslems in power in that country inspired constitu-
tional changes early in Pakistani history. In the tradition
of Islamic political expression, the Ahmadiyya movement has
in the last two decades sought to influence political figures
in African countries, in England, and even in Canada.

On the socio-cultural level, the movement has inspired
the conversion of many who were attracted to the simple life-
style it teaches. In this regard, it is important also to
note the cultural effects of political persecution in Pakis-
tan with the limitations on freedom of movement and job
opportunities, etc. created by such a persecution. Such effects
include a heightened community spirit, missionary zeal and
yearnings for independence. On a global scale, Ahmadiyya
missionary activities outside of Pakistan have led to the

founding of schools and the execution of other community

projects. The wealth of Ahmadiyya publications is another

example of the cultural impact of that movement throughout

the world.

In the socio-economic context, the Ahmadiyya movement's

interpretation of the economic principles of Islam is impor-

tant in determining the economic status of its members in

Pakistani society and in the whole of Islamic culture. To

this can be added the economic effects of political persecu-

tion.

While considering all these aspects of the Ahmadiyya

movement, the main purpose of this study is to outline the

movement's claim to be an Islamic sect, and to see whether

it has sect-like characteristics or is moving towards the

status of an independent religion (church) of the world, as

was the case with early Judeo-Christianity. To that end, I

will examine sect and church typology, and will consider the

Ahmadiyya movement in comparison with other major religions

of the world.

The present study is an attempt to give a sociological

analysis of the movement based on a historical examination

of its interaction with and relationship to other groups in

Pakistani society.

Importance of the Study

Western researchers on Islam are concerned mainly with

the other two accepted branches of Islam, namely the Shi'ites

and the Sunnites. The Ahmadiyya movement is 100 years old,

but is relatively unknown in the world in general and remains unaccepted by the two traditional Islamic groups. To my observation, no comprehensive study has been done of the Ahmadiyya movement of Islam. It is hoped that this study may serve as an introduction of the movement to Western researchers and provide a base for other studies on the interaction among the sects of Islam.

Methodology

Since the purpose of the present study is to explain the social characteristics of the Ahmadiyya movement from a historical perspective, the socio-historical method seems appropriate. Primary and secondary data will be examined as a basis for sociological analysis.

Secondly, I will use the participant observation method to supplement the historical data obtained through the examination of relevant literature. The technique of participant observation, used mainly by social anthropologists, has contributed much to social science. Marie Jahoda and Stuart Cook, in Research Method in Social Relations (1951) noted that this method was especially indicated for exploratory studies of large social units. My membership in the Ahmadiyya movement, which is a large social unit, allows for interpretation of behavior from the actor's point of view, a method indicated for the present exploratory study.

Primary sources of data on the history and tenets of the Ahmadiyya movement include the writings of Ahmed, the founder of the movement, some of which is available in

English (see Appendix 1). Ahmed has published a series of
pamphlets and books to support his claim that Ahmadiyya
philosophical doctrine is true Islam. These writings are
in Urdu, a language of Pakistan, and since most of them have
not been translated into English, I will provide a summary
translation in the appendix.

The Ahmadiyya community has spread widely in differ-
ent societies and cultures and engages in publishing the
theological doctrines of Ahmed and reporting the movement's
activities around the world. Ahmadiyya periodicals, then,
serve as a secondary source of data for the present study.
Published in different corners of the world in international
languages, these periodicals provide an important source of
information on the movement's activities, past and present.
A list of such periodicals is included in the appendix.

The next chapter presents some of the relevant
literature and theory on the nature of religious movements
in general, the conditions which contribute to their emer-
gence, and the general characteristics which distinguish
church and sect. A synopsis of the history of the movement,
the life of Ahmed and an outline of the successor movement
is given in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

The Origin and Nature of Religious Movements

A number of sociologists and anthropologists have
studied the origin and nature of various religious movements,
cults, schisms, and sects in Judeo-Christianity, Islam and
Hinduism. They have found that these often develop from a
desire to achieve political ends because of adverse social
conditions such as repressive colonial rule or persecution.
Some movements achieve the status of an established church;
these are often messianic or prophetic in nature and originate
with a charismatic figure with claims to messiah or prophet.
Cults may share the same origin as established churches but
do not possess the charismatic succession necessary for
lasting impact. Schisms generally arise out of problems of
authority or succession in an established church and lead to
the creation of sects which diverge on the interpretation of
prophetic or revealed doctrine. These sects may eventually
achieve the status of church if they develop principles of
succession.

Peter Worsley (1957) discusses "millenialist" move-
ments (a term he prefers to "messianic") and the principles
of authority within them. Stephen Fuchs (1965) looks par-
ticulary at messianic movements in India, and offers a

rationale for their origin and success from a study of social
conditions. Stephen Sharot (1980) studies the emergence
and spread of Hasidism in the 18th and 19th centuries in
Eastern Europe and explains the principle of succession in
that Jewish movement.

In his discussion of millenialist movements, Worsley
(1957) describes two types:

> ...those which expect the Millenium to occur
> in the near future and those which regard the
> Millenium as a remote event. Modern
> orthodox Christianity itself, of course,
> falls into the latter category; the Christ-
> ianity of the time of Christ falls into
> the former. (Worsley; 1957: 12)

This distinction is important as it affects the kinds of
religious activities of the followers and the nature of
succession of the leadership. Worsley goes on to point out
that authority in millenialist movements derives from
several sources: the presence in history of more than one
charismatic leader and political organizer; several
prophets; distinct units each having their own leader;
and a national or central form of organization. He notes
that such movements stress faith and religious behaviors
(non-rational action) and that this can be seen as a
product of economic and political tensions within a partic-
ular social framework.

Fuchs (1965) states that the success of messianic
movements depends upon large population groups, and requires
a divided population (into, for example, primitive tribes,
officially scheduled tribes such as Indian 'untouchables',

or aboriginals) having social, cultural and religious
differences. The concept of a saviour or "messiah" attracts
such peoples because it offers relief to economic, political
or cultural tensions. Fuchs describes a few characteristic
features of the social background of messianic movements
of Northern, Western and Southern India within Islam, Hindu-
ism and Sikhism. India is:

> ....a society intensely dissatisfied with the
> social and economic conditions which it is
> forced to accept...[There exists] in this
> society ...emotional unrest with certain
> hysterical symptoms, the appearance of a
> charismatic leader, the demand of this
> charismatic leader for implicit faith and
> obedience from his followers, the test for
> his unquestioned faith, the rejection of
> established authority and call for rebellion,
> the threat of severe punishment of opponents
> of the movement, Revivalism, Nativism,
> Vitalism, Syncretism, Eschatologism and
> Millenarianism. (Fuchs; 1965: 1)

Sharot (1980) provides another example of the origin
of religious movements to be found in the social conditions
of a society. He describes Hasidism as a Jewish religious
movement which stressed the importance of adhesion to
God through prayer and the superiority of piety to scholar-
ship. Founded in the 18th century in southeast Poland,
Hasidism attracted simple people because it taught that
true worship relates to every activity of human life, and
all men, however poor or ignorant, could commune with God
if they have enthusiasm and a joyous and trusting heart.
Unity in a disunited world can be restored through humble

service; religious leaders were invested with powers of
intercession unrelated to rabbinic learning. Sharot states
that the success of Hasidism must be analyzed in relation
to the social structure of Eastern Europe and the position
of Jews within it. Although orthodox Judaism was ripe
for revival, having been stifled with purely legalistic
scholarship in any event, Hasidism contained elements of
social protest on the part of the poor against the wealthy
and the unlearned against the learned. By the middle of
the 19th century, Hasidism was dominant in Jewish communities
in Poland and spread throughout eastern Europe in various
splinter groups. Sharot goes on to explain that charismatic
succession in Hasidism was based upon the principle of
heredity. He adds that Hasidism also illustrates the rare,
phenomenon of multiple succession: charisma was transferred
from a single leader to a number of leaders, each with his
own personal following, but all remaining within the broad
frame of a single movement. Sharot; 1980: 326-328)

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that
religious movements often have their origin in social
conditions that combine with elements of religious difference
among members of an established religion or church. Because
the Ahmadiyya movement claims to be "the true Islam", and
not a new religion, it must be examined in the light of
relevant literature on the characteristics of church and
sect. The next section provides a framework for analysis
of this claim.

Church and Sect Typology

It is necessary in the present study to examine the
nature of church and sect, two antithetical sets of eccle-
siastical values which sociologists refer to as church and
sect typology. This typology was first set out by Ernst
Troeltsch and Max Weber, and later developed by other socio-
logists such as Herve Carrier (1965), Thomas F. O'Dea (1970),
and Patrick McNamara (1974).

Elmer T. Clark (1965) in analyzing small sects in
America, says of sect members that their standard of conduct
is simplicity of lifestyle; they give free reign to their
emotions and attribute the pleasant thrills thereof to a
divine agency. They look for an escape from their hard lot
in a heaven of bliss and comfort which is foreign to their
work-a-day existence, and usually picture a coming time when
the judgement of society shall be reversed and they shall
change places with the prosperous and comfortable, who will
be cast down while the pious poor shall be exalted. They
espouse their tenets with almost fanatical devotion and
regard themselves as the true beloved of God. Thus a sect
is born out of a combination of spiritual need and economic
forces. (Clark; 1965: 17)

Bryan Wilson (1970) explains sects as movements of
religious protest emphasizing faith. Sects emerge around a
charismatic leader who organizes revival and schism. Sect-
arian impulse leads to the resocialization of people among
lower classes through the transmission of a moral perspective.
According to their goals, Wilson classifies sects into

three categories:

(1) Conversionist sects are mostly interested in changing and elevating moral behaviour in society as well as in the members. They attempt to alter the world by altering men in society.

(2) Introversionist sects mostly reject the worldly values they see around them and try to replace them with spiritual ideals and higher inner values.

(3) Gnostic sects try to seek new means to accept society's goals. To achieve this goal they take on an esoteric or supernatural character.

The antithesis of church and sect was first introduced by Ernst Troeltsch (1956). He traces the history of the Church and sects through the gospels and discusses the Church as the representative of Christ. The Church accepts man's sinful nature and the laws relating to social order and emphasizes spiritual values within the context of a material world. The sect sees this as compromise with material interest, and rejects the Church's sacramental means of salvation. In an analogy with politics, church and sect typology can be explained as conservative versus liberal. The sect is the movement of the poor and socially disinherited while the Church is rich and powerful in character. Hierarchy and religious authority are the main features of the Church, while sects reject such characteristics. Reciprocity and fraternal love are the basis of sects where members help each other. Membership in a sect is voluntary; members feel that they are protected and promote their religious

ideals as a united group. Sects also put emphasis on missionary activities. Troeltsch, like other authors, sees sects as protest movements against the rigid nature of the Church in early Christianity.

Max Weber (1964) sees a church as the rise of a body with professional duties and a distinctive way of life. Claims to universal domination mean that hierarchy must have at least overcome household, sib (clan), and tribal ties to be considered a church in the full sense of the word. A church is a compulsory social organization having as characteristics: systematic education derived from dogma and rites which are rationalized and recorded in holy scriptures; commentaries for its members to explain religious laws; and religious behavior according to such laws within the framework of the society. Weber points out that a church considers itself the trustee of a trust fund of eternal blessings that are offered to everyone.

In contrast, the sect is a movement of protest against the institutional character of the church with the attending pomp and show. The sect emphasizes "religious qualification" where a member can be judged according to his abilities and rituals, having no need of the grace dispensed by the institution, the church. While sect members seek their reward in the other world, they may also involve themselves in political activities. A sect, according to Weber, may or may not constitute a political group per se, but has the freedom to enter into a political alliance with groups in the society. (Weber; 1964:1164)

Herve Carrier (1965) adds that universalization, institutionalization, and membership by birth are characteristics of a church, whose goal is the conversion of all. The sect, on the other hand, is a small group, recruitment is on a voluntary basis, and the goal is to achieve spiritual fervour. (Carrier; 1965: 76)

Thomas F. O'Dea (1970) expands the idea of voluntary membership in a sect which emphasizes conversion prior to joining. He also points out that churches demonstrate inclusiveness of social structure after coinciding with ethnic or geographic boundaries; sects tend to exhibit exclusiveness in attitude and social structure. Churches are given to compromise while sects prefer isolation from or defiance of the secular sphere's demands. (O'Dea; 1970: 185-86)

Patrick McNamara (1974) states that a church places a high value on rituals and has an impersonal strategy to welcome persons from all quarters, while sects put an emphasis on perfervid spontaneity with a sense of exclusiveness in religious affairs which can be reflected in higher values for membership. McNamara also notes that a sect tends to be a social movement with amaturish charismatic leadership, in contrast to a church's professionalized leadership and bureaucratic structure. (McNamara; 1974: 31)

For the present study, those qualities of a sect arising out of religious protest against an established church will be used. A sect is not always born of a desire on the part of the underprivileged or lower classes to escape a hard lot in life. Schisms inspired by reform or disagreement over the

interpretation of fundamental prophecies are more relevant
to the discussion of Ahmadiyya, since economic concerns were
not a primary factor in its emergence.

Also, since political activity is implicit in the nature
of Islam, the distinction Weber makes between church and sect
in regard to political behavior of members is not pertinent
to this study. In any event, history provides many examples
of exception to this rule in the Christian church.

The developmental stages through which a sect passes,
and the tendencies which it exhibits toward church-like
organization are also important to the present analysis.
Religious movements which retain the spiritual fervour and
emphasis on high moral behaviour characteristic of the sect
may also have as a goal the conversion of society as a whole.
Missionary activity is certainly not confined to the sect
alone. A growth in the number of members of a sect may
necessitate systematic education of professional officers
while the movement may retain the principles of fraternity
and equality and religious qualification in the recruiting
of such officers. Universalization and institutionalization
which follow the expansion of missionary activities are an
inportant feature of a sect with tendencies toward church
status.

Charismatic leadership, especially in messianic move-
ments, forms the basis of all the major churches of the world.
It is the establishment of principles of succession to the
charismatic leader which is important in analyzing the status
of a religious movement. The following sections present the
sociological theory behind charismatic leadership and succession.

Theory of Charismatic Leadership

The word charisma, according to the <u>Webster's Diction-</u>
<u>ary</u> is borrowed from the Greek and means favour or gift,
and specifically:

> 1. a spiritual gift or talent regarded as
> divinely granted to a person as a token of
> grace and favour;
> 2. a personal magic of leadership arousing
> special popular loyalty or enthusiasm for a
> public favour;
> 3. a special magnetic charm or appeal.

Max Weber (1964) adds that the quality of charisma sets
an individual personality apart from ordinary men. As regards
leadership, Weber classifies two types of charisma: lineage
charisma and office charisma. In the first case, charisma
in one member of a lineage does not ensure the identification
of his successor as charismatic. If a definite rule of
succession is present and the belief in blood relationship
is implemented by the belief in the charisma of primogeni-
ture, then the successor to a charismatic person may have
charisma attributed to him as well.

In the second case, charisma becomes a part of an
established social structure when linked with the holding of
an office, passed on from one generation to another by the
laying on of hands or rite of anointment. In this case,
a leader has charisma transferred through artificial or
magical means rather than through blood relationship.
Examples of this can be seen in the apostolic succession in
the Christian church, secured through episcopal ordination,
or in the coronation and anointment of kings, or in innumerable
rites among primitive and civilized peoples, in all ages.
(Weber; 1964: 1137-39)

In discussing the authority invested in charismatic leaders, Weber points out three bases on which this authority rests: rational, traditional or charismatic grounds. In the first instance the authority of a leader is based on a belief in the legality of normative rules and the right of those who rise to positions of power to issue commands under such rules. Authority may also be based on a well-established belief in the sanctity of traditions and the legitimacy of rule of those who uphold and perpetuate them. And thirdly, an individual person, by right of exceptional holiness, heroism or exemplary character, may inspire devotion and obedience to a set of rules revealed to or ordained by him. (Hill; 1976: 144-7)

Robert Tucker (1968) adds that charisma is innovative and even revolutionary in nature, and the emergence of a leader with charismatic qualities characteristically either follows a new social movement or creates one. Charisma is alien to the world of everyday routine, calling for new ways of life and thought, a rejection of old rules and imposing new obligations on followers. Tucker says that charismatic leaders are not simply leaders who are idolized and freely followed for their extraordinary leadership qualities, but are individuals that actively summon people to join in a movement for change and lead in the implementation of such change. He points out that charismatic movements may be represented in a series of concentric circles, in which only the initial phase sees the formation of a cluster of persons around a charismatic personality. Eventually a whole move-

ment for change arises. For Tucker, a charismatic leader embodies the promise or hope of salvation for a people in distress; charismatic leadership is in essence salvationist or messianic. (Tucker; 1968: 737-742)

When a charismatic leader dies, the problem of succession must be resolved if the movement is to have lasting social impact. The next section discusses the principles of succession which determine the success of a movement. The problem of succession is important in deciding a religious movement's claim to be a sect or a church.

Theories of Succession

Weber also discusses the problems created when the founding leader of a charismatic movement passes on. Charismatic authority has a character specifically foreign to everyday routine and structure; the social relationships directly involved are strictly personal. If a movement united by its belief in the qualities and teachings of the leader wants to retain its identity as a permanent and stable social structure, then the charismatic type of authority must be safeguarded through some form of transmission to other successors. Weber outlines six principles for resolving the problem of succession.

(1) The search for a new charismatic leader on the basis of criteria of the qualities which fit the office.

(2) The revelation of a successor through oracles, lots, divine judgement or other techniques of selection.

(3) The designation of a successor by the original

charismatic leader and his acceptance by the followers.

(4) The designation of a successor by a charismatically qualified administrative staff and his recognition by the community.

(5) The transmission of charisma by heredity.

(6) The transmission of charisma through ritual from one bearer to another or the creation of charisma in a new person. Succession in this final way is a lengthy process and the death of the original charismatic leader may bring a critical stage in which the selection of a successor can take a legal rational form and lack traditional authority. Weber suggests that of the six modes of meeting the problem of succession, the most important are the charismatic designation of a successor and the hereditary transmission of charisma. (Weber; 1964: 246-253)

Summary

In sociological terms religious movements are largely protests against adverse social conditions such as colonization or persecution or economic deprivation. Such movements tend to be charismatic and messianic in character; the founders are perceived as possessing the qualities necessary for delivering peoples from distress, and the authority to give laws and institute religious practices which would bring about a change in the social order.

While these movements always have elements of social protest, in the rise of a sect this is almost always accompanied by a desire for reform within an established

church which is perceived as erring in interpretation of dogma or straying from the original expression of religious faith. Movements which have established a principle of succession so that leadership is carried on after the death of the founder must be regarded as possessing the lasting social impact characteristic of a sect. As a sect grows, however, it often develops the organizational structures which are features of an established church.

The history of the Ahmadiyya movement in Islam, presented in the next chapter will provide a basis for analysis of the movement's claim to be not only a valid sect of Islam, but the "true Islam."

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT

Social and Theological Background

Wilfred C. Smith (1957) states:

> The Ahmadiyya movement arose towards the end
> of the 19th century, amidst the turmoil of
> the downfall of the old Islamic society and
> the infiltration of the new culture with its
> new attitude, its Christian missionary
> onslaught and the new Aligarh Islam.[1]

In an earlier work (1947) Smith says that Ahmed felt
acutely the degradation into which Islam had fallen, and as
he pondered religious questions, he was called to purify
Islam. Ahmed was widely known for his piety and his theo-
logical teachings on Islam, and was accepted in the society
of India as a great Muslim reformer, even among orthodox
Muslims.

J. N. Farquhar (1967) describes social conditions
in India which set the stage for modern movements within the
various religions of that country. He sees the reform
movements arising between 1772 and 1903 in the old religions
such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism and
Mohammadism as reactions to the infiltration of Western
culture and Christian religious thought with the Christian
missionary groups and to the colonial process. According to

---

[1]Quoted in Qamar; 1979:26.

Farquhar, the Ahmadiyya movement sprang up in Qadian in the
province of Punjab (1835) as a reaction to the Christian
missions in that province.

Fuchs (1965) discusses the Ahmadiyya movement as the
last in a series of several messianic movements of Islam in
North India which involve Mohammad, the prophet of Islam and
date as early as 1136 A.D. Fuchs says of Ahmed, the founder,
that he

> ...claimed to be in the possession of all
> the truth contained in the three main religions
> of India, Islam, Hinduism and Christianity,
> combining in his person the threefold role of
> a mahdi, the Christian Messiah and an incar-
> nation (Avatar) of Vishnu. In fact, he wanted
> to appear before the public as the promised
> prophet of all the religions of the world.
> (Fuchs; 1965: 198)

The Ahmadiyya movement attracted middle class people who
were devoutly religious, disenchanted with the present
state of Islam and looking for the advent of the Mahdi
(Islamic messiah) as foretold by the prophet Mohammad.

Mahmud Ahmed, the son of the founder of the movement
and second successor (1972) explains the need which existed
in Islam for the prophesied messiah of modern times,
supporting his views with verses from the holy Quran, and
with the increased striving for better social, cultural and
religious understanding inspired by the teachings of the
Messiah (Ahmed) among his disciples. Of the Ahmadiyya
movement he writes:

> The Ahmadiyya movement is not the name of any
> new religion...by Ahmadiyyat is meant that real
> Islam which God has manifested to the world
> through the promised one of the present age.
> (Ahmed; 1972: 22)

Hamid Algar (1968) provides Islamic theological background to explain the rise of Ghulam Ahmed, the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, who claimed to be the messiah foretold by Islamic prophecy. He outlines the problems surrounding the interpretation of this prophecy. According to some Shi'ites, the Mahdi was to appear in the 19th century A.D. as the twelfth and last imam (prophet) and claim that this was foretold by the Prophet of Islam (Mohammad) and supported by his sayings and the members of his family. Although the majority of Shi'ites accept the identity of the twelve imams, and agree that the last is hidden, they do not accept the interpretation of the prophecy of his appearance which states that the hidden imam would appear in the 19th century. A number of claimants appeared, one of whom, the Bab (gateway to the hidden imam) inspired a large following and was put to death as a heretic. The Ahmadiyya movement was another group to accept the questioned interpretation; they claimed that Ahmed was in fact the Mahdi and the hidden imam. For this reason they suffered persecution at the hands of the majority of Shi'ites.

The next sections outline Ahmed's background and rise as an Islamic theologian amid the tensions in Islamic society of late 19th century India.

Ahmed's Family Background

Mirza Ghulam Ahmed belonged to a noble and ancient Mughal family. "Mirza" indicates the caste[2] to which his family belonged. Ahmed was a descendent of Haji[3] Barlas, the uncle of Amir[4] Timur of Samarkand (1336?-1405) The history of Ahmed's family in India begins with Hadi Beg about the time of the reign of the first emperor of India, Babar (1483-1530). Beg and his followers settled about seventy miles from Lahore and founded a village named Islam pur Qazi (in present-day India) on the northeast shore of the River Beas. Gradually "Islam pur" was dropped from the name, "Qazi" became Qadi, and eventually the village took its present name Qadian. Beg was treated with respect by the Mughal emperor, and his family remained on close terms with the emperors that followed.

A.R.Dard (1948) cites an account of the family written by Sir Lepal Griffin, Colonel Massy and Sir Henry Clark (1910) which relates the economic decline of Ahmed's family when the Sikhs came to power. Ahmed's father was employed by several Sikh rulers in the province of Punjab, and during British colonial rule, the family provided soldiers in the uprising of 1857. Ahmed's family regained some of their former property as a result of their loyalty and service to the British Government.

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[2] Social classifications which have racial overtones and have come to correspond to religious affiliation.

[3] Title given to one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

[4] Ruler or emperor.

Ahmed's Upbringing and Personal Life

Ahmed was born in 1835 and as a child was regarded as
pious, well behaved and inclined towards heavenly matters.
He received his early education at home since no educational
institutions existed in his district. Since he belonged to
a noble family, a tutor was engaged for him about 1842. He
had three tutors in the course of his upbringing, all of
different schools of Islamic philosophy.[5] Fazal Illahi, the
first of these, belonged to the Hanifi school, and taught
Ahmed the holy Quran and elementary Persian. His next
tutor, Fazal Ahmed, belonged to the Ahl-i-Hadith school of
thought, and instructed the ten-year-old Ahmed in the elements
of Arabic grammar. Gul Ali Shah, who belonged to the Shi'iat
school became his tutor when he was eighteen years old,
instructing him in Arabic grammar and logic. Since Ahmed's
father was a physician, he himself instructed his son in
the basic principles of medicine.

Ahmed later joined English classes during his employ-
ment as court reader at Sialkot (in present-day Pakistan),
and studied one or two basic books which enabled him to
recognize only the letters of the alphabet and to read a few
simple words. He discontinued his studies, however, and
apparently forgot most of the English he had learned.

Ahmed first worked for his father and appeared in
judicial courts as his representative on various occasions,
but he did not like it. His father was worried about him and

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[5]The next chapter will outline these various schools
of thought in Islamic philosophy.

finally in 1863 got him appointed as a reader in the Sialkot
Court of Justice. On one occasion he appeared as an inter-
preter for an Arab, Mohammad Salih, and performed his duties
well. His father wanted him to become a lawyer; Ahmed
tried the Mukhtar examination for lawyers but did not
succeed. In 1868, he resigned from his post as court reader
and returned home to Qadian to become responsible for the
family estates.

Ahmed married Charagh Bibi, daughter of his maternal
uncle, Jamiat Beg, at the age of 16, in a very simple cere-
mony in accordance with Islamic teachings. A son, Sultan
Ahmed, was born to them when Ahmed was eighteen or nineteen
years of age, and two years later a second son was born and
named Fazal Ahmed.

In 1884, at the age of 50, he married again, this time
to Nusrat Jehan Begum, who belonged to a distinguished Delhi
family of Syed caste. Ahmed had three sons and two daughters
from this marriage despite his old age. The marriage took
place in accordance with a relevation which Ahmed received
two or three years before.

Emergence of the Movement

Even as a young court recorder, Ahmed claimed to
receive revelations or dreams and used to tell them in
public. Predictions about law suits, health and disease
were fulfilled. While living in Lahore in 1876, Ahmed had a
dream about his father's death, as a result of which he went
to Qadian to see him. There he received another revelation,

telling him his father would die after sunset that same day.
Ahmed was worried, because his father was the only source of
income for him and the entire family. He prayed, asking God
what was to become of the family, and soon received another
revelation. "Is not God all sufficient for his servant?" (This
phrase later became the motto of the Ahmadiyya movement.)
His father passed away after sunset that day, according to
the revelation.

In 1884, Ahmed decided to go into solitary retreat to
devote himself entirely to divine worship. He had decided to
go to Sujanpur, in the district of Gurdaspur for this purpose,
when he received a revelation to go to Hoshiarpur district
in the Punjab where he had grown up. He arrived in January
with a party of three attendants, and after giving them
instructions not to disturb him, entered into meditation.
After forty days of solitude, Ahmed published an announce-
ment on the 20th February:

> "God Almighty, the Lord of honour and glory,
> merciful, benevolent, exalted, who has power
> to do all that he wills has vouchsafed to me
> the following revelation: 'I confirm upon thee
> a sign of my mercy according to thy entreaties
> and have honoured thy prayers with acceptance
> through my mercy and have blessed this thy
> journey. A sign of power, mercy and nearness
> to me is bestowed on thee, a sign of grace
> and beneficence is awarded to thee and thou
> art granted the key of success and victory,
> peace on thee, O victorious one. Thus does
> God speak so that those who are buried in the
> grave may emerge therefrom, so that the super-
> iority of Islam and the dignity of God's word
> may become manifest unto the people, and so
> that truth may arrive with all his blessings
> and falsehood may depart with all its ills;
> so that people may understand that I am the
> Lord of power and do what I will and so that
> they may believe that I am with thee, and so

> that those who do not believe in God and
> deny and reject his religion and his book and
> his holy messenger, Muhammad, the chosen
> one, on whom be peace, may be confronted
> with a clear sign and the way of guilty ones
> may become manifest.'" (Khan; 1978: 36-38)

The announcement of February 1886 also included a prediction
of the birth of a third son, a "blessed son" who was destined
to follow in his father's footsteps. Three years later,
a third son was indeed born and named Mahmud. On the day
of his birth, Ahmed received a revelation that God had
instructed him to invite people to enter into a movement of
spiritual alliance with him, and he announced the conditions
of initiation.

In March of that year, Ahmed went to Ludhiana in Punjab
and issued a leaflet in which he stated:

> "God desires to find a community of the faith-
> ful to manifest his glory and power. He will
> make the community grow and prosper, to estab-
> lish the love of God, righteousness, purity,
> piety, peace and good will among men. This
> shall be a group of people devoted to God.
> He shall be a group of people devoted to God.
> He shall strengthen them with his own spirit,
> and bless them and purify them. He shall
> multiply them exceedingly as he has promised.
> Thousands of truthful people shall join his
> hand, he shall himself look after them and
> shall make the community grow, so that its
> members and progress shall amaze the world.
> The Community shall be a lighthouse so high as
> to illumine the four corners of the world. The
> members thereof shall serve as models of
> Islamic blessings. My true followers shall
> excel every other people, there shall always
> rise among them, till the judgement day,
> personages who will be the chosen ones of God
> in every respect. So has the almighty decreed.
> He does as he will." (Khan; 1978: 41)

Maulvi Nurud-din, the first member, took the following
oath of initiation:

> "I repent today, at the hand of Ahmed, of all
> the sins and evil habits to which I was addicted;
> and most truly and solemnly promise that to the
> last day of my life, I shall eschew, to the best
> of my ability, all manners of sins, I will uphold
> my faith above all worldly considerations..."
> (Khan; 1978: 41-42)

This was the beginning of the Ahmadiyya movement of Islam, the branches of which are to be found in every part of the world today.

Ahmed published a small leaflet on the movement in 1901 in which he outlined his reasons for naming the sect "Ahmadiyya". The word refers to two names for the Prophet of Islam: Mohammad, signifying his triumphant career, and Ahmed, signifying the peace and tranquility he was to spread in the world. "Iyya" is a suffix meaning possessing the quality of. Since Ahmed claimed to be the messiah of Islam and denounced the doctrine of Jihad (holy war) and all crimes of violence committed in the name of religion, he and his followers could be fitly described as "Ahmadiyya".

Ahmed, being an educated person, had achieved the status of a Muslim theologian; and because his family were landowners, he commanded respect among the general population. Although his financial security was not established, his new movement attracted middle class people who could and did contribute one sixteenth of their income toward its independence, as required by Ahmed.

The next section will present the charisma of Ahmed which explains the impact of his teachings on his followers and the success and spread of the Ahmadiyya movement.

Charisma of Ahmed

Ghulam Ahmed, the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, can be classified as a charismatic personality according to the criteria of Weber and Tucker. His authority can be said to have rested on charismatic grounds, and his followers form a social movement which continues to grow in spite of adverse surrounding conditions in the Islamic world, or because of them. Indeed, one could argue that the spread of Ahmadiyya is evidence that Ahmed in fact possessed the charismatic qualities necessary for the creation of a religious movement.

Ahmed was a great Muslim reformer in India, supporting his claim to be prophet and messiah through divine revelation and signs foretold in holy scriptures. He called for new religious practices, such as heavy taxes and voluntary missionary activities, and a return to a simple and pure Islamic way of life. He felt that the growing materialism of everyday life and the influence of the Christian missionary groups threatened the spirit of Islam as taught by the Prophet Mohammad. His reaction to what he saw as the deteriorating social conditions in Islamic nations was to issue a demand for inner conversion among his followers as well as among other communities. He reinterpreted the Jihad ("holy war") as a battle against unbelievers to be waged by peaceful rather than bloody means. He sought to reform strict orthodoxy by stressing devotion in everyday life over imposition of doctrine devoid of inner conversion, especially at a time when the introduction of the Bible to uneducated Muslims was causing devotion to the Quran to wane.

Educated middle class Muslims, who were unhappy with orthodox Islamic response to the influence of Christian missionary teaching on the masses of uneducated Muslims, and of the infiltration of Western culture on traditional Muslim religious practice, saw the need for the Mahdi and accepted Ahmed as the promised one who would reform Islam. Ahmed's imposition of sacrifices of time and labour as well as money was seen as a return to fundamental precepts of equality among believers. Islamic society had divided into different social strata based on mode of living, formal and informal processes of education, birth and social occupation. Ahmed's call to missionary activity appealed to the devout of the middle class because as educated people they could identify with his peaceful "jihad" of the pen and see in it an outlet for energies to benefit the lower class Muslims excluded from education in Islamic doctrine and prey to Christian missionary influence. Under the movement's socio-religious activities, Qadian grew from a small town with no facilities to a prosperous city, and Ahmadiyya boasted a high level of literacy among its members.

Charismatic Succession in the Ahmadiyya Movement

Among the members of the Ahmadiyya movement, the principles of designation, heredity and primogeniture have been used as rules of succession since the death of Ghulam Ahmed in 1908. Since the movement is very young, no one principle has established itself as yet, although the eldest son can be seen as the favoured successor. Before his death,

Ahmed created the Central Ahmadiyya Association and appointed Hazrat Hakeem Nurud-din as president. Delegates from the various branches of the Ahmadiyya movement in India met annually at Qadian, the movement's headquarters. Problems over the respective duties of the caliph (successor) and of the president of the central association arose during the term of the first caliph.

The first successor. The selection of Nurud-din in 1908 by the disciples and members of the movement was based on his designation by the original charismatic leader as his own successor. Ahmed said of him:

> When he came to me...I realized that he was one of the signs of my Lord, and I was convinced that he was the answer to my prayer which I had so persistently offered and I discovered that he was one of the elect of God. (Ahmed; 1893: 581)

Loyal and learned, and very close to Ahmed, he seemed to be the natural choice to lead the movement. He was a direct lineal descendent in the male line of Hazrat Umar, second successor to the Prophet Mohammad. He was a famous physician of homeopathic medicine, and had served the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir from 1876 to 1892. He had migrated to Qadian on Ahmed's request. The first to take baiat (initiation) from Ahmed's hand, his noble family background and his theological support of Ahmed's claims led to his attracting a large number of disciples. However, his succession appears to have been based not on the decision and approval of the majority of the Ahmadiyya community but on legal-rational grounds, and he was not accepted immediately by all.

When Ahmed died, the leading members of the community
got together and agreed that they should request Nurud-din
to undertake the heavy responsibility of leading the commun-
ity. After praying over this request, Nurud-din addressed
all the members at a special assembly in the garden, and all
present made the covenant of baiat at his hand. As caliph,.
his first duty was to lead the funeral of Ghulam Ahmed, his
predecessor.

Immediately after his appointment to the office in
May 1908, however, some of the members began to have second
thoughts about the wisdom of the step they had taken. The
most prominent among these were Khawaja Kamalud-din and
Maulvi Mohammad Ali, who started discussions on the functions
of the caliph. Since Nurud-din was already president of the
Ahmadiyya Association, some considered him unsuitable for
the office of caliph.

During the annual conference of 1908, different
schools of thought emerged. Some of the members felt that
the successor's duties should be confined to the taking of
the covenant of baiat from new entrants into the movement,
leading prayer services, making announcements and delivering
addresses at weddings and funerals. They felt that Nurud-din
should continue as president of the association but not as
the successor of the movement.

Another group was of the opinion that the real succes-
sor of Ahmed was the association itself, not one person;
while another group, headed by Sheikh Yoqub Ali Irfani,
editor of <u>Al-Hakam</u>, an Ahmadiyya newspaper, held a meeting

in Qadian which adopted a resolution that the caliph was
supreme.

Nurud-din had asked the members to study the question
and present themselves for consultation on January 31st,
1909. When the delegates arrived at Qadisn on the 30th, the
successor directed them to spend their time in prayer for
divine guidance. On the day of the meeting, Nurud-din addres-
sed about two hundred fifty members:

> "God has told me that if anyone of the members
> of the movement were to discard it [the caliphat]
> He would bestow upon me a whole group in place
> of such a one. I am, therefore, not dependent
> upon any of you. I firmly believe that by his
> grace he will help me." (Khan; 1978: 197)

He also expressed his displeasure with those who held various
meetings regarding the controversy at Lahore and Qadian.
He asked those present to express their views . At the end
of the meeting he told Kamalud-din and Ali, who had started
the controversy, to confer together and decide whether they
were prepared to enter into the covenant of baiat a second
time. He also asked the same of Ali Urfani, and all three
made the covenant before the meeting came to an end.

Differences of opinion remained, however, over the
powers of the caliph and those of the central association
until 1910 when he resigned from the office of president of
that association and Mahmud Ahmed, the son of the founder,
took over as president.

In November 1910, the caliph was seriously injured
while riding a horse, and some of the leading members met
to discuss who would succeed Nurud-din in case of his death.

Mahmud Ahmed, then president of the Ahmadiyya Association, declared such consultation unlawful and against the teaching of Islam, during the lifetime of the caliph. But Nurud-din survived the illness and became busy delivering religious sermons and addresses regarding the supremacy of the successorship in the light of holy Quran and the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad.

Under the successorship of Nurud-din, Mahmud Ahmed formed a society in 1911 which he called Ansarullah (Helpers of God) and whose main features were self improvement, propagation of Ahmadiyya, and regularity of prayer services. In 1913, with the permission of the caliph, he started a weekly paper, Al-Fazal, which became the official organ of the movement, and is still in publication. Mohammad Ali, who had earlier opposed Nurud-din, settled down in Qadian and became the first editor appointed by the caliph of the Review of Religions. He seemed to have fallen into line, and with the consultation of the caliph, started translating the Quran into English. This work, however, was not completed during the lifetime of Nurud-din, and when the English translation of the Quran was published after the death of the caliph, it was discovered that on certain points Ali had departed from the clearly expressed views of Ahmed and the first successor.

In March of 1914, Maulvi Hafiz Hakeem Nurud-din, first successor of Ahmed, expired, just six years after his predecessor. At the time of his death he was of the same age as Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, the founder of the movement.

Mahmud Ahmed, son of the founder and president of the
Ahmadiyya Association, would now allow consultation regarding
the second successor, since it was Islamic custom that the
Khalifa should lead the funeral services of his predecessor.
One element within the movement, having considered the
important role played by Mahmud Ahmed in the movement, and
his close relationship with Nurud-din, became jealous of him,
as they could foresee him as the second successor of the
movement.

Confrontation began with the distribution of a leaflet
by Mohammad Ali among numerous members of the movement in
which He proclaimed that the Sadar Anjuman Ahmadiyya (the
president of the Ahmadiyya Association) was the true succes-
sor of Nurud-din, and that any person who might be elected as
caliph would only be a ceremonial head of the movement.
Ahmed, however, asserted that according to the traditions of
the Prophet Mohammad, there must be a spiritual head of the
movement, as well as an administrative one, and a deadlock
in consultation ensued.

Ahmed proceeded to the mosque for prayer, where
thousands of members were waiting for him. After the prayer,
Khan Muhammad Ali Khan, another prominent member, read out
the will of the first successor. When he finished, the
members started shouting Ahmed's name as the next successor
of the movement. In the midst of this uproar, Maulvi Syed
Mohammad Ahsan, a respected elder member of the movement,
stood up and announced in a loud voice:

> "I am the person concerning whom the promised
> Messiah has said that I was one of the two
> angels mentioned in the Ahadees [Sayings of
> the Prophets] who would accompany the Messiah
> on his descent from heaven. I consider that
> Sahibzada Bashirud-din [term of respect]
> Mahmud Ahmed Sahib is in every respect fitted
> that he should take the covenant of Bai't
> from us; I therefore request him to proceed
> to do so." (Khan; 1978: 218)

After this Mohammad Ali and Syed Sarwar Shah, another respected conservative member of the movement, began arguing in the mosque. After some time, Sheikh Yaqub Ali Irfani stood up and announced, "We cannot afford to waste our precious time in these wranglings," and requested Ahmed to take the baiat. The crowd started shouting, "Labbaik, labbaik" (Welcome). After consulting with Sarwar Shah, Irfani stood up and took the baiat. Then Sarwar Shah followed and those who were present repeated after him. The newly elected successor of the movement led the funeral prayer for the first successor, and led the funeral procession to the graveyard. (Khan; 1978: 218) Many newspapers in the country praised Nurud-din's contribution to world religious affairs and wrote articles eulogizing him.

The second successor. Sahibzada Bashirud-din Mahmud Ahmed was twenty-five at the time of his election as the second successor of the Ahmadiyya movement. He was the blessed son, according to Ahmed's prophecy, but he lacked the theological background appropriate to his position, and was in poor physical health. Many regarded his address to the members of the movement as poor, but his ability in matters of individual and communal morals was recognized.

Several years passed before the entire community

accepted the legitimacy of Mahmud Ahmed's leadership.
Nevertheless, lineage gives status in the Ahmadiyya community,
and his succession can be regarded as hereditary.

It is not surprising, then, that Mahmud Ahmed spent
a great deal of time during the first few years of his
caliphhood dealing with the dissident elements within the
movement. Those who had opposed the need for a second
successor had begun publication of a new paper called
Paighemsolah(Message of Peace) in Lahore[6] and had formed
the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaate Islam (Ahmadiyya Association
for the Propagation of Islam), with Mohammad Ali as its head.
He appointed four leading members as Khalifatul Massiah
(successors of the movement) and one person as Amir (pres-
ident). This group published their version of the duties
of the caliph in a pamphlet called "The Split". Ahmed
responded in another pamphlet called "The Truth about the
Split", laying responsibility for the dissention on Mohammad
Ali. During this early period, Ahmed also established an
administrative order for the movement to aid in the preaching
of Ahmed's philosophy.

Mahmud's successorship spanned more than half a
century, so we must select a few important events to illus-
trate his contribution to Islam and the Ahmadiyya movement.

The First World War began less than five months
before Ahmed took office. In India, a colony of England at

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[6]The first issue appeared on July 10, 1913.

the time, Indian leaders began to demand dominion status.
In August 1917 the British Parliament granted this status,
and Mr. Edwin Samuel Montague, Secretary of State for India,
visited the country and held meetings with political and
sectional organizations. He also invited Mahmud Ahmed, as
leader of the Ahmadiyya movement, to come for consultation.
The latter took a delegate and had separate meetings with the
Secretary of State and the Governor-General. It was the
beginning of the caliph's contribution in the field of
politics and public life; he was to take an active role in
safeguarding the rights, interests and position of Muslims
in political and constitutional matters. (Khan; 1978: 266)

In 1922, Ahmed established the advisory consultative
council of the Ahmadiyya movement where representatives of
all the branches of the movement would meet once a year to
discuss matters of religious training and education of
illiterate members of the movement, both men and women.

In 1928, Ahmed again showed his interest and influence
in political matters when an all-parties commission was set
up in India under the moderate Motilal Nehru as chairman to
draft an Indian constitution. Ahmed published a series of
articles in the Al-Fazal alerting Muslims to the consequences
for them of the Nehru Report. Under Nehru's scheme India
would have only dominion status with the Governor General
remaining as constitutional representative of the British
Crown. There were no provisions for Muslim autonomy, and
measures were needed to endow solidly Muslim areas with equal
status among other provinces. At this time the position of

Muslims in politics was ambiguous.[7] Ahmed threw his support

behind M. A. Jinnah, president of the Muslim League (a party

committed to the idea of an independent state for Muslims)

which was attempting to create unity among the extremely

divided Muslim political factions. Ahmed's article "The

Solution to Political Problems in India" served as a basis

for the Muslim League's input at the Round Table Conferences

(1930, 1931, and 1932) in London. Although Jinnah resigned

as president of the League in 1930, the second successor of

the Ahmadiyya movement and one of the Ahmadiyya missionaries,

A. R. Dard (imam of the London mosque), were instrumental in

persuading him to continue in Indian politics as a Muslim

representative. (Khan; 1978: 241)

Again in 1934, amid the constitutional struggles· in

India, Ahmed intervened in the political affairs of Kashmir

State as president of the Kashmir Committee. This committee

was established by the Muslim League because it foresaw

problems at the time of independence since Kashmir, though

mainly Muslim, was located far from the main Muslim popula-

tion in India. The role played by Ahmed in the politics of

Kashmir brought about a confrontation with the Majlis Ahrar,

a small but powerful Muslim political party opposed to an

independent state for Muslims. Ahmed eventually resigned as

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[7]The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed., vol. 9
(Chicago: Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973-74): 419.
All other references to the Encyclopaedia Britannica will be
to this edition, and noted as Britannica.

president of the committee because the Ahrar convinced Sir
Herbert Emerson, Governor of the Punjab that a religious
movement like Ahmadiyya should not have taken an active part
in the Kashmir Committee deliberations. Emerson suspected
that the Ahmadiyya movement constituted a sort of state
within the state and could be a threat to the government.
Ahmed felt that he had already made all the contribution he
could to the discussions and had no wish to create further
division among Muslims which could jeopardize their chances
for autonomy. Mohammad Iqbal, a Muslim poet active in the
Muslim League party replaced Ahmed as president, but the com-
mittee eventually disbanded when Emerson retired as Governor.
(Khan; 1978: 271)

Ahmed continued to be in constant touch with Indian
political parties, but failed to have the movement's head-
quarters in Qadian become part of Pakistan when British India
was divided into two countries in 1947. Boundary commissions
set up to discuss the boundaries between India and Pakistan
had divided into factions and failed to present a report to
Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of India. The decision
was eventually left up to the Boundary Commission of Sir Cyril
Redcliffe and his award was a profound shock to the Ahmadiyya
community as well as to Muslims in general, since many Muslim
majority areas were included in India. Despite the existence
of a majority of Muslims in Gurdaspur district (in which
Qadian was situated), the Commission included it in India.

As a result of the division, mass migration took place
and conflict arose between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. The

Ahmadiyya headquarter in Qadian served as a refugee camp for
both Muslims and non-Muslims. Eventually the majority of
the members of the Ahmadiyya movement migrated to Pakistan.

Within a few months, the central Ahmadiyya Association
was registered as a religious body in Pakistan, and the move-
ment needed a new headquarter. The Ahmadiyyas applied to
the government of Pakistan for the purchase of barren,
uncultivatable land across the River Chenab from Chiniot
in Jung district. In June 1948 the government treasury
received the price settled on and a month later the movement
took possession of the site, which was named Rabwah. Though
Rabwah is still a small town today, it is widely known as
the world headquarter of the Ahmadiyya movement. The
community established separate schools and colleges for men
and women, and built a hospital, roads, wells, playgrounds,
and a guest house with a library, as well as mosques and
subsidiary offices for the movement. (Khan; 1978: 314-15)

It is perhaps the economic prosperity and political
influence of the Ahmadiyya community quite disproportionate
to their number which led to jealousy among average non-
Ahmadiyya Muslims (Fuchs; 1965: 207). In any event, Muslim
leaders in 1953 attempted to destroy the movement. Rioting
broke out, houses were put on fire, and some of the members
were murdered. The matter was resolved when the Pakistani
government (mainly Muslim League politicians who were
attempting to create a sense of unity in the new nation)
called in the army and police and arrested some of the
agitators. (Khan; 1978: 330)

Non-Ahmadiyya Muslims continued opposition to the
movement, however, and in March 1954, Mahmud Ahmed was
stabbed while leading a prayer service in a mosque at Rabwah.
The young man who attacked him was handed over to the police
and sentenced to imprisonment, but the incident received
little press coverage. The second successor survived the
injury, but was advised by his doctors to lead a restful
life. The Ahmadiyya community regarded this incident as a
recurrence of the stabbing of Umar, the second successor of
the Prophet Mohammad while he was at prayer service in the
mosque, although that earlier attack proved fatal.

Because of his uncertain health, Ahmed established an
electoral college for the election of his successor in 1955.
Subject to the essential condition that every elector must
be a member of the movement and a supporter of the office of
caliph, the make-up of the electoral body was to be as
follows:[8]

1. The surviving sons of the promised Messiah.
2. The president of the Anjuman Ahmadiyya.
3. All secretaries of the Anjuman.
4. The director general and directors of Tehrik
   Jadeed.
5. The president of Waqf Jadeed.
6. The principal of Talimul-Islam College.
7. The headmaster of Talimul-Islam School.
8. The president of the Theological Seminary.
9. The president of Ansar-Ullah.
10. The president of Khudamul Ahmadiyya.
11. The representative of Lajna Imaullah.
12. Missionaries who had worked abroad for a
    minimum period of 3 years.
13. Missionaries who had worked within Pakistan
    or India for 5 years.

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[8]See Appendix 4.

14. Amirs of circles in Pakistan.
15. Members of the movement who had joined the
    movement in the lifetime of the founder of
    the movement. (Khan; 1978: 333-334)

The health of the second successor was constantly
declining and the central Ahmadiyya Association took care of
all matters until his death in November 1965. The president
of the Ahmadiyya Association, according to the constitution
of the electoral college, called a meeting the next day to
elect the new successor. By an overwhelming majority, the
electors chose the Sahibzada Mirza Nasir Ahmed, eldest son
of the second successor, as the third caliph of the Ahmadiyya
movement.

Third and present successor. Although Nasir Ahmed
was elected formally, his leadership can be seen in part as
following the principle of hereditary succession and
illustrating the favour bestowed on the eldest son among
Ahmadiyyas. On taking up the office of caliph, he was
fifty years old. He had committed the whole of the holy
Quran to memory at a very early age, graduated from the
government college at Lahore, earned a Bachelor of Arts
Degree from Punjab University, and received an Honours Degree
from the University of Oxford. In 1944 he was appointed the
first principal of Talimul-Islam College, which was affiliated
with Punjab University, and served for twenty-one years. In
1947 he was appointed professor in the Theological Seminary
of the Ahmadiyya movement at Qadian and eventually became
principal. He also served as a member of the governing
board of Punjab University and as president of the Anjuman

Ahmadiyya (Central Ahmadiyya Association).

During the caliphhood of Nasir Ahmed, the energies of the Ahmadiyya community have in the main been directed to the expansion of missionary activities, the publication of translations of the Quran, and the establishment of modern international communications. In Pakistan, the movement again became the subject of controversy. Open hostility toward Ahmadiyyas on the part of influential Muslim leaders in 1974 resulted in constitutional changes by the National Assembly which has put the movement's survival in Pakistan in jeopardy. Although the third successor was invited to make an exposition of the beliefs and teachings of the move- . ment before a committee of the National Assembly, and was questioned by the Attorney General, the proceedings of the committee has never been made public. The resolution put before the government that Ahmadiyyas were not Muslim for the purposes of the law and the constitution was never debated publicly before accepted by the assembly and approved by the Senate.

The resulting constitutional amendment of September 7th, 1974 has placed the movement and its members in a difficult position. However, even after this action, members of other Muslim groups have continued to join the Ahmadiyya movement, and membership continues to rise, both in Pakistan and abroad. Much of this is due to a great extent to the missionary fervour of the Ahmadiyya community in response to the direction of the second and third successors to Ghulam Ahmed. The next section provides historical data on the spread of Ahmadiyya throughout the world.

Missionary Activities and Universalization

In Islamic doctrine, recognition of God does not simply rest in the intellect, but entails moral struggle or action against evil. The doctrine of social service constitutes an integral part of Islamic teaching, and missionary activity historically has been a socio-economic and socio-political endeavour as well as a religious one. (Britannica; 1963, 9:914) The missionary activity of the Ahmadiyya movement, then, in its objectives, follows Islamic tradition, providing hospitals, schools, etc., while teaching the doctrine of Ghulam Ahmed.

In structure, it can be seen to resemble the pattern of modern Christian missionary groups such as those it opposed in British India: trained missionary personnel instruct new-comers in the teachings of the founder, establish educational institutions for the purpose of training new missionaries to take their place, and build places of worship for the commun-ity to gather. Ahmadiyya places a great emphasis on translating the Quran into the languages of its foreign missions. While they have limited resources, members' monetary sacrifices and missionary zeal account for much of the success of these foreign missions. Indeed, Ian Stephens (1965) pointed out that persecution has only inspired greater devotion to the spread of Ahmadiyya:

> Ahmadis...are a vigorous lot, active in prosel-
> ytising; and much of the contemporary Muslim
> religious propaganda which Christian missionaries,
> not very successfully, find themselves struggling
> against outside Asia--in Africa for instance--is
> of Ahmadi derivation. (Stephens; 1963: 59)

The following is an account of the missionary activities of the movement since its foundation by Ghulam Ahmed in 1889.

The first task of the Ahmadiyya movement during the lifetime of the founder was to establish his claim to be messiah and prophet for all the major religions of India, and to gain acceptance of his theological doctrines among their compatriots. These activities were interrupted temporarily by the necessity during the successorship of Nurud-din to deal with conflicts arising over matters of successorship (1908-1914). It was not until the caliphhood of Mahmud Ahmed that the movement began to establish foreign missions, and that missionary branches of Ahmadiyya became a formal part of the overall corporate structure of the movement.[9] This section will present an outline of the missions established, first under the second successorship (1914-1965) and, secondly, under the third and present caliphhood of Nasir Ahmed.

Mahmud Ahmed (1914-1965). The first Ahmadiyya mission outside of India was founded in April 1914 when pioneer missionary Fateh Mohammad Sayal was sent to London. New membership grew steadily so that by 1924 a mosque was needed in the greater London area. In that year, during the Conference of Living Religions in Kensington which Ahmed attended, the foundation for the first Ahmadiyya mosque was laid. Ahmed's book Ahmadiyya, or the True Islam was on sale at the conference hall. Two years later, when the mosque was completed, four English citizens announced their acceptance of Islam

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[9]The organizational structure of the Ahmadiyya movement is presented in Appendix 4.

at the inauguration ceremony. London has remained the centre of European missions and international publications for the Ahmadiyya movement.

In 1920 an American mission was established by Mufti Mohammad Sadiq, a companion of Ghulam Ahmed, in Chicago and a mosque was built shortly thereafter.

Abdul Rahim Nayyar, the first Ahmadiyya missionary in Africa, reached Freetown, Sierra Leone in March 1921. Since then, permanent missions have been established in Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Liberia and Togoland. These missions are very active in preaching Islam and have received a large number of converts to Ahmadiyya. In Ghana alone the movement has built over a hundred mosques, in Nigeria forty, and in Sierra Leone twenty. In 1934, a mission was opened in East Africa, and since then several missions have been opened in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

A number of missionaries were sent to European countries such as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy and Albania in the early 1930's but when the Second World War began, these missions had to be closed. After the war these could not be revived, and they produced very little literature, most of it in local languages. In France also, where a mission was opened in 1945, the movement met with little success because of linguistic and monetary problems, and the mission had to be closed two years later.

However, in Spain, where Islam had flourished for almost 800 years, the Ahmadiyya movement was the first Islamic group to reestablish a presence when it opened a

mission in 1946. From this centre missionary activity spread
to Cuba, Argentina, Peru and other South American states.
In 1947, the movement was successful in opening a mission in
Holland, which later produced the first Dutch translation of
the Quran. The mission established in Switzerland in 1948
grew more slowly but a mosque was finally built in Zurich in
1963. In 1949 the movement opened its first mission in
West Germany and by 1959 had built three mosques in that
country and produced a German version of the Quran. Frankfurt
became a centre for publication of religious literature and
has the second largest mission in Europe, after London.
Also, by the end of the 1950's missions had been established
in Norway, Denmark and Sweden.

Nasir Ahmed (1965-). In May and June of 1970 the
third successor visited Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Gambia and
Sierra-Leone to check on the missionary activities of the
movement in those countries. He returned to London and
summoned a meeting of all the missionaries working in Europe
to announce a scheme, "Nusrat Jehan", under which teachers,
physicians and surgeons would help in schools and hospitals
of the movement working in West Africa. On his return to
Rabwah in late June, he recruited further volunteers for
educational and medical fields in West Africa, because he
had promised the African countries twenty-five health centres
and seventy to eighty schools. By the end of 1972, most of
them had been opened.

At the annual conference of 1973, Ahmed proposed a
number of projects to the members, one of them a jubilee to

be held on the hundredth anniversary of the movement in

1889. He asked the members to contribute twenty-five million

rupees to finance the projects, and suggested that during the

intervening sixteen years, every member should contribute

one-sixteenth of his total yearly contribution toward the

jubilee. The main focus of the centennial project would be:

    (1) building of mosques in different parts of the

world;

    (2) publishing translations of the Quran into French,

Russian, Italian, Spanish and other languages;

    (3) opening new missions of the movement;

    (4) purchasing a large printing press for Rabwah; and

    (5) establishing a broadcasting station in West Africa

(subject to permission of the government).

    In 1976, Ahmed was present at the opening ceremony of

a new mosque in the city of Gothenburg in Sweden, which was

completed in 1977. In that year the first Ahmadiyya mission

in Canada was opened in Toronto after a visit by Ahmed.

Missionary Mansur A. Bashir's activities led to another

mission being opened in Calgary. Several missions had been

established in New York City, Dayton, Washington, Pittsburg,

and in 1981 the most recent American mission opened in

Detroit. The North American missions are actively engaged in

holding religious conferences and in publishing Ahmadiyya

periodicals and other literature.

    The next chapter presents a historical outline of the

theological developments in Islam which led to the birth of

the Ahmadiyya movement, and explains the points of divergence

between   it and the main body of Islam.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN ISLAM

Islam is a world religion founded by the Arabian
prophet, Mohammad, in the seventh century A.D., that emphasizes
monotheism and strict adherence to certain religious prac-
tices. Although there have been many sects and movements in
Islam, all Muslims are bound by a common faith and a sense
of belonging. to a single community. In this sense, although
Ahmadiyyas are not recognized by other Muslims as belonging
to Islam, as followers of the prophet Mohammad, they claim to
have status in that community. Islam means submission to
the will of Allah, and those who submit to this will of Allah
are called Muslims. All Muslims believe that Mohammad is the
prophet of Allah.

According to Muslim historians, Mohammad was born on
April 20, 571. He was married to Khadijah, who bore him
three daughters and two sons, though only one daughter, Fatima,
survived. Muslims believe that in February 610, on what they
call "the night of power and glory", Gabriel, the chief
messenger of Allah, appeared to Mohammad in the cave called
Hira. This was the first of many revelations believed to
have been received by Mohammad from time to time at different
places such as Mecca and Medina. The Holy Quran is a collec-
tion of such revelations, while the Hadith is a collection of
sayings attributed to Mohammad. (*Britannica*; 1973, 9: 912-913)

The "Five Pillars" of Islamic Doctrine

There are five basic tenets and practices of the Islamic faith collectively known as the Five Pillars. The first of these, the fundamental profession of faith (shahadah) states that there is no God but Allah, and that Mohammad is the messenger of God. From the shahadah derive four beliefs: (1) angels, particularly Gabriel, the angel of Revelation; (2) the Revealed Books of the Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian and Hindu faiths, in addition to the Quran; (3) a series of prophets, from Moses to Mohammad; and (4) the Last Day, or Day of Judgement, when God will call upon mankind, living or dead, to present an account of their deeds, and will judge their deeds and punish them accordingly. Acceptance of this creed involves the four remaining Pillars (duties or religious practices): (1) prayer--there are five basic prayers for Muslims every day and special prayers for other occasions, such as birth, death, jihad (holy war), etc.; (2) fasting-- fasting is compulsory for all Muslims during the month of Ramadhan, with the exception being made for the sick, children, and long-distance travellers; (3) almsgiving-- all Muslims pay a welfare tax called zakat; (4) pilgrimage-- pilgrimage to Mecca is compulsory for all to show the unity and brotherhood among the faithful. (Britannica; 1973, 9: 918-919)

Doctrine and Jurisprudence

Besides the Five Pillars of faith, Muslims also believe that Jesus was the prophet of Allah, born of a virgin, and that he did not die on the cross, but was bodily uplifted to heaven, and will appear again in the Second Advent.

Islamic law is based on four major sources: (1) the Quran; (2) the Hadith; (3) ijma, the consensus of the community; and (4) qiyas, reasoning by analogy. The fourth of these sources, sometimes called ijtihad (individual thought) gave rise to cults of individual holy men or saints, and together with problems of succession, explains sectarian division in Islam.

Sectarian Development

It is difficult to apply the literature on church and sect typology to the study of Islam since most of the researchers are either Western or Christian in background, and the nature of Islam does not easily lend itself to traditional sociological theories on sect development. Very early in its history Islam acquired its characteristic ethos as a religion uniting both the spiritual and temporal aspects of life. In seeking to regulate not only the individual's relationship to God, but human relationships in a social setting as well, there arose not only Islamic religious institutions, but also Islamic law, polity and other institutions governing society. (Britannica, 1963,9:912) This dual religious and social character of Islam, and the abundance of

political as well as religious movements in Islam make the
sociological study of Islamic sects a relatively unchartered
field. The paucity of research done by Islamic researchers
testifies to the enormity of the task facing the student of
sect development in Islam.

Fazlur-Rahman, in Islam (1979) prefers the term
"legal and ideological schools" rather than "sects" to
describe early divergent movements in Islam. He discusses the
Khawariji (7th century) and the Mutazila (9th century), the
first groups to dispute accepted teachings. He describes
Khawarijism as political activism since its differences arose
out of the question of the leadership of the community.
They deserted the fourth caliph Ali, Mohammad's cousin and
son-in-law, accusing him of having committed a grave sin in
submitting his claim to the caliphate to arbitration. They
believed in active rebellion against a state of affairs they
considered gravely impious. From this radical idealism
followed their basic tenet: they held that any Muslim whose
character was unimpeachable was eligible for the office of
caliph, regardless of race, colour, or sex. This belief was
opposed to the claims of the Shi'ah (the party of Ali) that
the ruler must belong to the family of the Prophet, and to
the doctrine of the Sunnis (followers of the Prophet's way)
that the caliph must belong to the Prophet's tribe. The
Khawariji eventually excommunicated themselves from the larger
community of Islam and Fazlur-Rahman does not consider them
a true sect of Islam. (Fazlur-Rahman; 1979:

The Khawariji also raised important questions about

human free will and predetermination which were taken up by
the Mutazila who called themselves "champions of God's unity
and justice". They placed a great emphasis on human reason
as a means of determining right and wrong and claimed that
man was responsible for his actions. They explained away
apparently predeterministic verses of the Quran as being
metaphors. According to Rahman they formed more a theological
school than a sect, and because they persecuted their opponents
eventually inspired a reaction by the main body of Muslims
in the tenth century. Their importance lies in the fact
that they forced the formulation and general acceptance of
a precise set of theological propositions, which became Sunnite
or "orthodox" theology. (<u>Britannica</u>; 1973,9:915-916)

Sunnite Tenets of Faith

The Sunnites are in the majority among Muslims. The
term sunnah, in the religious terminology of Islam signifies
"the example set by the Prophet" and came to mean "the well-
defined way" as the Sunni orthodoxy was forced to adopt and
define its own positions on issues raised by the earlier
schisms. The concept of community emphasized by the earliest
doctrine of the Quran gained a new vigor with the rise of
Sunnism; a wealth of tradition (Hadith) came to be attributed
to the Prophet to the effect that Muslims had to follow the
majority's way, and splinter groups were guilty of heresy.
Sunnite heresiologists take into consideration the so-called
Hadith that the community shall be split into seventy-three
sects, only one of which will be saved (the validity of this

saying is questioned by many Muslims).

Sunnism has the characteristics of church-like institutions, tending toward accommodation, universality and tolerance, even while condemning dissent as heretical. The principle of toleration ultimately made it possible for diverse schools of thought to recognize and coexist with each other. While all Sunnites believe in the basic tenets of faith, many accept only two of the elements of Islamic jurisprudence, namely the Quran and the Hadith. Four schools of thought on laws governing the faithful are embraced by Sunnism.

(1) <u>Hanifite School of Thought</u>. Established by Abu-Hanifa of Iran (8th century), this school puts more emphasis on the Quran than on the Hadith. Adherents of the Hanifite school can be found in Iran, Iraq, India and Pakistan.

(2) <u>Malikite School of Thought</u>. Members of the Malikite school, founded by Malik Ibr-Anas of Medina (8th century) believe in the Quran and the Hadith as the basis of Islamic sharia (jurisprudence), but will resort to ijma (Muslim opinion) in problematic cases. Malikites are found in North and West Africa.

(3) <u>Shafi'ite School of Thought</u>. This school was founded by Al-Shafii of Egypt (9th Century) who considered the sayings of the Prophet supreme over the Quran. Shafi'ites reject Muslim consensus and qiyas (reasoning by analogy) as sources of sharia. Adherents are located in Southeast Asia.

(4) <u>Hanbalite School of Thought</u>. Founded by Ibn-Hanbal, a student of Al-Shafii, this school is strictly conservative;

their sharia is based upon a literal interpretation of the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet. The adherents of this school can be found mainly in Pakistan and Saudia Arabia. (Britannica; 1973, 9: 916, 921)

As Sunnism's theological base began to crystallize in the ninth century, the principle of ijma or consensus became the most important factor of all Islamic law for the main body of Sunnism. It was felt that the result of ijtihad (individual thought) must be validated or rejected according to the general acceptance of the community, and even the interpretation of the Quran and the Hadith is dependent on the consensus of the majority of the faithful. The other main branch of Islam, Shi'ism, though originally a political movement which declared that the caliph (successor to Mohammad) had the right to rule, eventually came to place a great emphasis on the guidance of the imam (divinely appointed leader and model for the Muslims) rather than on the consensus of the community as a source of decision making.

Shi'ite Tenets of Faith

Shi'ites are followers of Ali, the fourth caliph, believing him to be the first true caliph and imam. They supported his family's right to rule in opposition to the Umayyad dynasty (661-750) and gradually developed a theological content for their political stand. After Ali, there was to be no further need of caliphs but there would be a succession of twelve imams, regarded as the authoritative source of Muslim doctrine. They came into conflict with the

orthodox Sunnites with their idealism and transcendentalism
which contrasted with Sunnite pragmatism. For Shi'ites, it
is only through contact with the imam that the true meaning
of the Quranic revelation can be known.

All Shi'ites recognize Ali's two sons Hasan and Husayn
as the second and third imams respectively, and Zain-ul-
Abidin as the fourth, but disagreement over the identity of
the remaining imams has led to subdivision into a variety of
subsects.

The main body of Shi'ites accept the whole succession
of twelve imams, the last of whom, believed to be still alive
but in hiding, will appear as the Mahdi, or expected one as
foretold by the scriptures.

Another group, the Ismailis, instead of recognizing
Kasir as the seventh imam, as did the main body of the Shi'ites,
upheld the claims of his elder brother Ismail who had been
disowned by the Twelvers, and call themselves Seveners.
Founded by Abdullah-ibn-Mamun of Persia, who claimed to be
a representative of Ismail, the Ismailis consider him not
dead but hidden and await his return as the Mahdi. Descendents
of the founder succeeded in establishing the Fatimid caliphate,
a prosperous ninth century empire in Egypt. (Britannica; 1973,
9: 916-917)

Ahmadiyya Tenets of Faith

The Ahmadiyya believe in all the basic tenets of Islam,
submit to the will of Allah and believe in the shahadah as
the basis of faith. Like other Muslims they believe in the
virgin birth and consider Jesus as one of the prophets of
Allah. They accept the succession of twelve imams, believing
that God has sent many messengers into the world. It is the
question of the finality of the prophethood of Mohammad
which caused a break with the established sects of Islam.
Ahmadiyyas believe that the succession of prophets continued
into modern times with the appearance of Ghulam Ahmed, although
they accept Mohammad as the last of the law-giving prophets
and the Holy Quran as the last revelation, completing all other
revelations such as the Torah. The Ahmadiyya movement affirms
that all religions contain prophecies concerning the advent
of a prophet in the modern age. The main feature of this
belief is the claim that the advent of this prophet must be
in accordance with the law and teaching of Mohammad, the
Prophet of Islam, and this prophet whose coming is foretold
in the scriptures of all the religions must follow the Quran
instead of establishing a new law. He must therefore arise
from the Muslims, and his mission would be to re-establish
the law and the traditions of the holy prophet of Islam.
The movement distinguishes between prophets of revelation and
prophets of restoration; that is, between law-bearers such as
Moses and later prophets such as Elijah, Isaiah, Esekiel,
Daniel and Jesus who came only to restore and re-establish the

law after mankind had forsaken it.

The Ahmadiyya community is thus to be distinguished from other religious communities and sects by the fact that, having considered the appointed signs for the advent of the imam and Mahdi (saviour), it has accepted the claims of Ghulam Ahmed, and no longer awaits the coming of a messiah in the modern age.

The movement's theological differences with other sects of Islam arise from a disagreement over the concept of imam and the second coming of Jesus Christ. According to Ahmadiyyas, the idea of these as two different persons is a distortion of the prophesies of Mohammad. For them, Ahmed incarnated at once the twelfth imam, nabi (prophet) and Mahdi (messiah). Ahmed also denied the Muslim concept of holy war which was to come with the appearance of the Mahdi and Jesus Christ, who would supposedly slay all non-Muslims or those who would not embrace Islam. The movement contends that according to the traditions and philosophy of true Islam the Mahdi, having been appointed by God, will establish a network of missionary activities, and by reasoning will present the beauties of Islam and win the hearts of all peoples by love and religious understanding. Adherents claim that the individual, by following Islamic teachings, can establish a direct relationship with the creator and can win the love and sympathy of God by offering sacrifices and divine worship.

In matters of morals, Ahmadiyyas follow the traditional Islamic attitude that faith must be expressed in good works and high personal morals. They claim that Islam in the

present day do not place a high enough practical value on
morality within society. To Ahmadiyyas, morals should not
be measured in accordance with sectarianism and political
affiliation, but rather in terms of individual, community
and international harmony. In this regard, Ahmadiyyas also
believe in showing tolerance for the practices and beliefs
of followers of other sects and religions.

This social character of Ahmadiyya is emphasized in
the writings of Mahmud Ahmed, the second successor of the
founder:

> The Promised Messiah liberated people from
> the bondage of the social laws of the time
> and opened out to them a field of free and
> independent thought so much so that despite
> the opposition and hostility of the followers
> of all religions, and despite the tendencies
> of the age, his followers are engaged, day
> and night, in the social reformation of the
> world in conformity with the teachings of
> Islam. (Ahmed; 1972: 227)

The institution of mujjadid (reformer) has historical and
theological importance in Islam, but to Ahmadiyyas, belief
in such an institution is now confined to only themselves.
The mission of such reformers, before the advent of Ghulam
Ahmed, was training and teaching. With his coming, Ahmadiyyas
believe that the modern functions of the mujjadid are to
present his claim of legitimacy and preach his teachings to
the world. Indeed, Nasir Ahmed, the present head of the
movement,declares that the institution of the mujjadid is one
with that of caliph or spiritual head.

For Ahmadiyyas, a great deal of the need for reform in
Islam at the time of Ghulam Ahmed sprang from the infiltration

of Christian ideas and Western social practice in India.
Ahmed taught that Jesus was not uplifted bodily but after he
was saved from the cross, travelled through India in search
of the ten lost tribes of Israel and reached Kashmir where
he died of old age and was entombed in Srinagar. The Ahmadiyya
movement has endeavoured to find scientific evidence for this
claim. Andreas Faber-Kaiser (1976), though claiming no
affiliation with Ahmadiyya and pursuing a personal interest
in investigating the mysterious aspects of Jesus' life, finds
some support for the Ahmadiyya belief. While travelling in
Kashmir, he noted similarities between the people living in
Kashmir and the Hazara district of Pakistan, and the Jews of
Moses' time. He met Shahibzada Bashrat Saleem of Kashmir,
who claimed to be the only living descendent of Jesus Christ,
and to have in his possession a family genealogical table
showing his relationship to Christ. (Faber-Kaiser; 1976:

The Ahmadiyya belief in the possibility of prophets
after Mohammad opened the door for schism early on in the
movement. Stephen Fuchs (1965) reports that early in the
caliphat of Nurud-din, Abdullah, an Ahmadiyya leader in
Sorapur, in central India became so powerful there that he
declared himself a prophet, with the result that Ahmadiyyas
at Sorapur split into two sections. Finally the section loyal
to Ghulam Ahmed prevailed, though for some time feelings ran
high. (Fuchs; 1965: 205) Fuchs also believes that the second
group to secede in 1914, the Lahore group headed by Kamalud-din
who formed the Anjuman Ishaate Islam, challenged Ghulam Ahmed's
claim to be a prophet. However, it is my view that the

quarrel was not over Ahmed's claim to be a prophet, but over
the succession and the powers and role of the successor in
the movement. The difference of opinion over the organiza-
tional structure of the movement and the role and power of
the caliph vis-à-vis the central Ahmadiyya Association
became the core themes of the dissident group. The Lahore
group organized themselves on secular bases and lost the
Islamic tradition of the caliphat. Both the Qadiani (the
main group) and the Lahore groups are noted for their mission-
ary work, particularly in the West and in Africa.

The claims of Ghulam Ahmed to be a non-lawbearing
prophet and the Messiah sent to bring all religions to unity
with God under Islam have inspired Ahmadiyyas to compare
their movement with early Christianity (not the present form,
which they consider a degradation of the true religion taught
by Christ). The next section presents a brief comparison of
Ahmadiyya and Christianity in terms of the nature and object
of the two movements, their historical origin and development,
universality, successorship, and structure.

Comparison of Ahmadiyya and Christianity

Nature and Object. Ahmadiyyas believe that they are
distinguished from all other sects of Islam by their acceptance
of Ghulam Ahmed as the promised Mahdi, just as the Jews who
accepted Christ as the expected Messiah of Judaism were a
unique group. To Ahmadiyyas, both Ahmadiyya and early
Christianity were at once a fulfillment and a reformation of
Islam and Judaism respectively. The chief task which the

Ahmadiyya movement set out to accomplish was the regeneration

of mankind, and to point out the true path to escape from the

bondage of sin. Likewise, Christ came to preach repentance

to the wayward Jewish people through himself: "I am the way,

the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by

me."[1] One contrast which may be noted is that Ahmed brought

no new law, while Christ came to transform the old Mosaic

law of "an eye for an eye" to a new law of love and forgive-

ness. While there are striking differences in doctrine

between Ahmadiyya and Christianity (for example, the fundamen-

tal belief that Christ was in fact God), there are similar-

ities in the social practices of almsgiving, prayer and fasting.

Universality. Ahmadiyya and Christianity bear resem-

blance to each other in the mission of the founder— Ahmed

rose up from among Muslims but claimed to have come in ful-

fillment of the hopes and prophecies, not only of Muslims,

but of every people who hoped for and expected a reformer in

modern times. It may be said that the mission of Islam always

was universal, while Judaism by nature had no universal

mission, since Mosaic law was meant only for the Israelites.

However, Christ was not only a messiah for the Hebrews, but

came to establish universal brotherhood and love among all

peoples, sending his disciples out with the injunction to

teach all nations, Jews, Gentiles and pagans alike. The

important difference here is that Christians still await the

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[1]The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version, Catholic
Edition (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1966), John 14:6,
p. 102. All other references to the Bible are to this edition.

the second coming of Christ as judge, while Ahmadiyyas
believe that Ahmed is Christ come again as prophet and
reformer.

Missionary fervour was high among the early disciples
of Christ in response to his command to go and "make disciples
of all nations" (Mt. 28:19). It has already been pointed
out that missionary organization and training of local
leaders in the Ahmadiyya movement was patterned after modern
Christian missionary movements; however, voluntary member-
ship as opposed to traditional membership was common in the
early church since spreading the gospel was the primary task
facing the original followers of Christ. In this regard, the
rite of initiation (baiat) in the Ahmadiyya movement can be
likened in an external fashion to the baptism by water and the
laying on of hands among early Christians.

Historical Origin and Development. In the Ahmadiyya
and Christian views, the Jews had fallen off from true piety
and righteousness when Christ appeared; Ahmadiyyas claim the
case is similar with the Muslims at the time of Ahmed.
In this view, both the Jews and the Muslims were under foreign
rule at the time of the appearance of the messiah; the Jews
under Roman occupation and many Muslims under Western colon-
ialism. The Jews expected a messiah who would deliver them
from foreign domination and establish a temporal Jewish king-
dom; so the Muslims awaited a messiah who would wage war
against non-Muslims and establish an Islamic empire.

Neither Christ nor Ahmed fulfilled these expectations.
Jesus was a man of peace, and Ahmed abolished "holy war" and

sought to establish the rule of Islam by argument and
heavenly sign. The Jewish establishment had their messiah
tried at law and put to death, and Muslim leaders involved
Ahmed in a case at law. The Maulvis, like the Pharisees,
appeared in court to give evidence that Ahmed ought to be
put to death for his claims to be messiah.

In the course of their teaching, Christ and Ahmed and
their followers became the objects of religious persecution.
Jesus, while born of a Jewish mother had no Jewish father
and was not recognized by his own people; similarly, the
man who claimed to be the last successor of the Prophet
Mohammad was not descended from the Quresh, and was not
accepted as a prophet among Muslims.

Successorship and schism. While Ahmed and Christ
made different claims, the former to being the last prophet
and final manifestation of messiah, and the latter to being
the incarnation of God himself and ultimate judge of man-
kind, both established a movement and made preparations for
the spread of their message of how to live in order to
attain eternal life.

Ahmed chose a leader for his movement, Nurud-din, before
he died as Christ chose Peter to establish and head his
church. The offices of caliph and pope bear certain resem-
blances, both in function and in election, while the
tradition of hereditary succession is generally lacking in
the latter. Similarities as regards the problem of successor-
ship and the results of schism are apparent in both movements.
The Lahore group in Ahmadiyya was the result of a disagree-

ment over the supremacy of the caliph at Qadian, and the issue in the Photian schism in the early church (9th century) was whether Rome possessed monarchical power of juridiction over all churches or was only the senior of five semi-independent patriarchiates. This latter schism led to the East-West breach of 1054 which created the Greek Orthodox Church of Constantinople and the Roman Catholic Church seated in Rome. (Britannica; 1973, 4: 544)

Institutions and Structures. The hierarchical or "corporate group" structure of the Ahmadiyya movement[2] has parallels in the modern Christian churches, but it resembles more the rather loose structure of early Christianity since missionary activity is its outstanding function to this day. Christ left a leader with little specific instruction as to how to organize his church, only the power of his spirit working in his disciples. (Luke, 24:47-49) Similarly, the first successor to Ahmed had first to establish the authority of the caliphat before a formal structure could be given to the movement. Ahmed himself had set up the central Ahmadiyya Association, but the powers of that body were the subject of dispute after his death.

Political Affiliation. Political affiliation is characteristic of Islam and the concept of an Islamic state has more parallels in Judaism than in Christianity in this regard. The Ahmadiyya movement since its foundation has followed in

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[2]See Appendix 4.

this tradition, and while very young and generally unaccepted
within Islamic society, cannot be said to be without aspira-
tions to a religious state of its own. While this kind of
formal political involvement is lacking in the early church
("Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God
the things that are God's", Mark, 12:17), the history of the
Christian Church is not without a tradition of political
involvement in practice if not in theory. However, many
parallels in regard to social and educational programs by
both Ahmadiyya and Christian missionaries throughout the
world are evident. As an agency of social welfare, the early
church offered much to the downtrodden elements in society,
but Christians did not at any stage represent a social
and political threat. (Britannica; 1973, 4: 538) Ahmadiyya
intervention into the politics of India prior to the creation
of Pakistan made them the targets of social and political
persecution on the part of other Muslim groups struggling
for unity in the face of British colonial policies. In the
ancient world, there was no middle class to speak of, so
parallels are difficult to draw between a movement of the
twentieth century and the early Christian church. Certainly
for centuries the pope of Rome played a major political
and diplomatic role on the European stage, and sociologist-
priest Andrew M. Greeley (1979) makes some poignant arguments
to support his contention that the papacy continues to have
great influence on the political leaders of the world. (Greeley;
1979: 278) The next chapter outlines the social and political
persecution of the Ahmadiyya movement.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF
THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

The Ahmadiyyas' acceptance of Ghulam Ahmed as the
modern prophet of Islam has inspired conflict with other
Muslim groups who believe in the finality of the prophethood
of Mohammad. The movement has passed through a series of
social and political crises both in India and in the newly
formed country of Pakistan. Since Pakistan was created
to give Muslims a state of their own (although the various
Muslim factions could not unite and the division of India
and Pakistan can hardly be seen as based on geographic-religious
grounds), many political leaders are at the same time religious
leaders. The reaction against the Ahmadiyya community, there-
fore, has been expressed in political as well as religious
persecution.

As early as 1934, the Majlis Ahrar, a Muslim political
group in British India opposed to the creation of Pakistan,
tried to crush the Ahmadiyya movement. The Ahmadiyyas had
shown opposition to the candidacy of Afzal Haq, president of
the Majlis Ahrar, for a seat on the Punjab Legislative Council;
and when Mahmud Ahmed became president of the pro-independence
Kashmir Committee, the Ahrar staged a propaganda meeting in
Qadian to convince Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of the
Punjab, that as a religious leader, Ahmed had no right to
interfere in political deliberations. Ahmed was eventually

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replaced as president of the Kashmir Committee by Mohammad. Iqbal of the Muslim League party.

Richard V. Weeks (1964) recounts the socio-religious crisis over the constitutional debate in Pakistan which arose in 1953. For the Jamati-i-Islami, a religio-political party in Pakistan whose platform was religious fundamentalism and Islamic revolution to establish the shariah as the law of the land, the Ahmadiyya movement represented the epitome of heresy. In March 1953, Maulana Maududi, president of the Jamait-i-Islami, incited students and workers to riot. Ahmadiyyas were beaten on the streets, the country was completely paralyzed, and the army took over the civil government, dissolving Parliament by martial law. The army succeeded in establishing law and order and a military court sentenced Maududi to death, though his sentence was later commuted.

Again in 1973, the Ahmadiyya became the object of persecution by Muslim groups following the announcement by Nasir Ahmed, the caliph of the movement, at the Ahmadiyya annual convention at Rabwah, of plans for the centenary celebration. In July 1974, an incident was staged at Rabwah railway station, with the help of a student group who belonged to Islami-Jammiat-e-Tulba, a subsidiary movement of Jamait-i-Islami. This group of students proceeded to provoke Ahmadiyya students. The clash resulted in slight injuries and was resolved by local people at Rabwah immediately, but at Chiniot station, a stop ten miles away, the students of the Islami Jammiat-e-Tulba were received as heroes who had suffered

injuries in the cause of Islam. Fiery speeches were made
and the next day's papers published exaggerated accounts of
the incident. An inquiry into the conflict was conducted
by a judge of the Lahore High Court, but his report has never
been published. Meanwhile the Muslim leaders formed an
action committee against the Ahmadiyya which resulted in
large scale looting and destruction of Ahmadiyya property
and death of some of the members. The police and civil
administration were silent spectators; no one was arrested
or tried, and there is evidence that police and provincial
government officials of the Punjab openly and actively
encouraged the unruly and disorderly elements. A social
boycott of community members was organized in several
places. (Khan; 1978: 347)

When the National Assembly convened in August 1974,
the Government of Pakistan put forth a resolution that the
constitution be amended to declare that for the purpose of
the law and constitution the Ahmadiyyas were not Muslims.
Nasir Ahmed was called for questioning on minute details of
the doctrines and teachings of the Ahmadiyya movement
before the Attorney General of Pakistan. Outside the
assembly, looting and killing continued to put pressure on
the legislators, and on September 7th, 1974, the National
Assembly passed the resolution with the required majority,
and the Senate approved the constitutional amendment within
a few hours. Despite repeated requests by Ahmadiyyas, the
proceedings of the National Assembly have not been published.
(Khan; 1978: 350)

In the original constitution, every citizen of Pakistan was guaranteed the freedom to profess and practise his religion, and every sect the right to establish and maintain its religious institutions. Ashan Sohail Anjam (1981) cites the Constitutional Amendment of September 1974:

> A person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the prophethood of Muhammad, the last of the prophets, or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever, after Muhammad, or recognizes such a claimant as a prophet or as a religious reformer, is not a Muslim for the purpose of the constitution or law. (Anjam; 1981: 311)

The amendment deprived Ahmadiyyas of their fundamental right to profess and practise their faith and to maintain their religious institutions. As a student at Punjab University from 1970-1975, I noted an attitude of fear and flight among Ahmadiyya youth. Repeated incidents involving Ahmadiyyas interrupted the school year, and I was one of several Ahmadiyya students who left the country out of fear of being unable to complete their schooling or find employment.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Religion motivates human behaviour and leaves lasting effects upon human culture. Sociologists and anthropologists consider such effects on men and women and their environment and examine them in several ways including participant observation. I have, from an actor's point of view, analyzed secondary sources of historical importance regarding the Ahmadiyya movement in Islam. They have demonstrated that this movement, which originated in 19th century British India, played an important social, cultural and religious role in Islamic cultures both in India and around the world. Ahmed's claim to be a prophet and messiah of the present time, whose advent was foretold by all the religions of the world, has been instrumental in changing the behaviour of many Muslims. The adherents of the movement, in accepting Ghulam Ahmed as the prophet of Islam and the messiah promised by the Quran, distinguish themselves from other established branches of Islam (Sunnism and Shi'ism) and other monotheistic religions of the world. I have provided an outline of the theological doctrine of Ahmadiyya to introduce this relatively unknown movement to Western researchers who are engaged in comparative studies of modern religious movements.

As a student of sociology, I have applied the church

and sect typology proposed by well-known sociologists to the study of the movement's trends in present-day societies around the world. The universal nature and the institution-alization of the movement have been examined according to the theories set forth by the pioneer sociologist, Max Weber.

The Ahmadiyya movement, over a period of almost a century, has offered a well-defined theological doctrine in opposition to both the orthodoxy of modern Muslim divines, whom it considers to have distorted the true meaning of Islam, and the modern Christian Church, which according to the move-ment, no longer preaches the true messianic teachings of Christ. In essence, the movement considers its teachings to be the purest exemplification of Muslim thought, and its founder, Ghulam Ahmed, to be the Saviour for the Christian world, having come with the power and spirit of Jesus in modern times.

The persecution of Ahmadiyya adherents, which began in Pakistan in 1953 at the instigation of established Muslim groups and became embedded in the constitution of that country in 1974 (when the government declared the movement non-Muslim for the purposes of the law), has had three major effects. In the short run, such action put the movement in difficult circumstances throughout the world, but in the long run gave rise to the increased missionary zeal and even closer social ties among the members which marks the movement today. A third result of the constitutional amendment and its after-effects in the social, cultural and religious affairs of Ahmadiyyas has been the creation of an attitude of

fear and flight among the Ahmadiyya youth. This last phenom-
enon is a separate matter beyond the scope of this research
but worthy of more in-depth study.

The Ahmadiyya movement can be classified as a charis-
matic movement in Islamic history. Ahmed's charismatic
qualities are established by the adherents' acceptance of him
as a divinely appointed saviour and prophet, their missionary
zeal in spreading his teaching, and their obedience to his
authority in matters of personal and community morals. The
teachings of Ahmed continue to inspire new converts as mission-
ary activities reach out to both underdeveloped and developed
countries of the world.

Succession in the movement was originally based upon
designation to the office of caliph, but after the death of
Nurud-din, the first successor, reverted to the hereditary
principle with the succession of Mahmud Ahmed. Before his
death in 1965, the second successor established an electoral
college to provide for leadership in the movement. His
eldest son Nasir Ahmed succeeded him, showing the importance
of the hereditary principle among Ahmadiyyas.

To classify the Ahmadiyya movement as a church or a
sect is a difficult task because the general principles of
church and sect typology set forth by Western sociologists
and the institutions they discuss derive their characteristics
from early Judeo-Christianity. The separation of church and
state is fundamental to Western religious thought, and the
sect emerges as a protest movement against secular influences
in church affairs. Among Muslims, on the other hand, religion

constitutes the basic unit of state, and the sectarian
divergences in Islam started as reactions against the differ-
ent theological schools of thought. Therefore the Ahmadiyya
movement, which claims divine guidance in presenting the true
doctrine of Islam in opposition to that put forth by various
established schools of thought in Islam, cannot be classified
as a sect-like institution as outlined by Western sociolo-
gists.

It is also difficult to fit the Ahmadiyya movement
into the pattern of Islamic sectarianism since what binds
Sunnites, Shi'ites and their various subsects is a common
shahadah which includes the belief in the finality of the
prophethood of Mohammad. Movements like Babism (which has
a striking similarity to Ahmadiyya, according to Farquhar),
which claimed a new revelation concerning the manner of the
appearance of the hidden imam and contact with him, were
violently suppressed. Divergence in Islam is accepted only
in matters concerning sharia or points of jurisprudence.
The Ahmadiyya movement, while not introducing any new revela-
tion, presents an interpretation of the Quran which is
unacceptable to established Muslim groups, and therefore
inspires open hostility from them. It seems more pertinent,
then, to draw a historical parallel between Ahmadiyya and
Christianity at the time of Christ. The latter was established
within the tradition of Hebrew law and the prophets, but
claimed to offer the true interpretation of Jewish prophecy
as well as fulfill it. Like Ahmadiyya, the early Christian
church found itself persecuted by the Jews themselves.

I suggest that, just as Christianity later emerged as a world religion in spite of rejection by Judaism, so in the course of history, Ahmadiyya will establish its claim to be a world religion. Just as Christianity embraces early Judaism and preaches the one true fulfillment of the law and the prophets, Ahmadiyya will grow to be an extension of Islam, preaching the true fulfillment of Islamic law and prophesy. At the present time the movement has both sect and church-like characteristics.

GLOSSARY

Abdullah-ibn-Mamun: Founder of the Ismailis who claim Ismail as the seventh imam in Shi'ism.

Ahmed, Bashirud-din Mahmud: Son of Ghulam Ahmed, the founder of Ahmadiyya, by his second marriage; second successor.

Ahmed, Fazal: Second son of Ghulam Ahmed by his first marriage.

Ahmed, Fazal: Ghulam Ahmed's first tutor.

Ahmed, Ghulam M.: Founder of the Ahmadiyya movement in Islam.

Ahmed, Nasir: Son of Mahmud Ahmed and third successor of Ghulam Ahmed.

Ahmed, Sultan: Eldest son of Ghulam Ahmed by his first marriage.

Ahl-i-Hadith: Sunnite school of thought which considers the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad supreme in Islamic law.

Al-Fazal: Ahmadiyya newspaper published in Rabwah, Pakistan.

Ahsan, Mohammad: Respected elder member of Ahmadiyya who supported Mahmud Ahmed's succession.

Al-Hakam: Early Ahmadiyya newspaper, no longer in publication.

Ali-ibn-Abi Talib: Fourth caliph (successor) to the Prophet Mohammad (656-661).

Ali, Mohammad: Early member of Ahmadiyya who opposed the supremacy of the caliph during the first successorship and broke away from the main body of Ahmadiyya.

Amir: Urdu for ruler or emperor.

Anjuman: Urdu for association (also majlis).

Ansarullah: Urdu for helpers of God.

Atfal-ul-Ahmadiyya: Children of Ahmadiyya, a subsection of the Majlis Khaddamul.

Avatar: Hindu for Messiah.

Babism: Iranian movement in Shi'ism branded as heresy.

Baiat: Rite of initiation (oath of loyalty) in Ahmadiyya.

Barlas: Tribe from which Ghulam Ahmed was descended.

Bashir, Mansur A.: First missionary of Ahmadiyya in Canada, 1977.

Beg, Hadi: First ancestor of Ghulam Ahmed to settle in India.

Beg, Jamiat: Uncle of Ghulam Ahmed.

Bibi, Charagh: First wife of Ghulam Ahmed.

Chiniot: Town in Pakistan near Rabwah, Ahmadiyya headquarters.

Fatima: Daughter and only survivor of the Prophet Mohammad.

Fatimid Caliphate: Ninth century Egyptian empire founded by the descendents of Abdullah, founder of the Ismailis.

Ghulam: Urdu for servant.

Gurdaspur: Administrative district of the Punjab, India, in which Qadian (original Ahmadiyya headquarters) is located.

Hadith: Collection of the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad.

Hafiz: Title given to one who has read the whole of the Quran.

Haji: Title given to one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hanifi: A theological school in Sunnism.

Haq, Afzal: President of the Majlis Ahrar, a Muslim political party in British India.

Hazara: District of the Punjab, now in Pakistan.

Hazrat: Title of respect for the caliph (successor).

Hoshiarpur: District in the Punjab in India, where Ghulam Ahmed was raised.

Ijma: Consensus of the community, a source of Islamic law.

Ijtihad: Individual thought, a source of Islamic law related to qiyas (reasoning by analogy).

Imam: In Shi'ism, a divinely appointed ruler or one possessing divine qualities; in Ahmadiyya, a religious person who offers services for a local community.

Iqbal, Mohammad: Muslim poet active in the Muslim League, a political party in British India; succeeded Mahmud Ahmed as president of the Kashmir Committee.

Irfani, Yoqub Ali: Editor of <u>Al-Hakam</u>; supported the concept of the supremacy of the caliph in Ahmadiyya.

Ishaate Islam: Association for the Propagation of Islam; founded by Mohammad Ali in Lahore after the split with the Qadiani group (main body) of Ahmadiyya.

Ismailis: A subsect of Shi'ism also called "Seveners" which claims Ismail to be the true seventh imam, in opposition to the main body of Shi'ites, the "Twelvers".

Jamaiti-i-Islami: A fundamentalist Muslim political party in Pakistan.

Jhung: District in the Punjab, Pakistan.

Jihad: Holy war.

Jinnah, M. A.: Muslim politician in British India, president of the Muslim League devoted to the concept of an independent state for Muslims; later first Governor-General of Pakistan.

Kamalud-din, Khawaja: Early Ahmadiyya member who began to question the powers of the caliph during the first successorship.

Khadija: Wife of the Prophet Mohammad.

<u>Khalid</u>: Monthly Ahmadiyya magazine in Urdu, published in Rabwah, Pakistan.

Khalifa: Urdu for successor to the Prophet Mohammad; in Ahmadiyya refers to the spiritual head of the movement and successor to Ghulam Ahmed.

Khawarji: An early sect in Islam.

Khuddamul: Urdu for servants of God.

Labbaik: Urdu for welcome.

Lahore: City in the Punjab, Pakistan; present seat of the Anjuman Ishaate Islam, the Lahore branch of Ahmadiyya.

Lajna Imaullah: Urdu for handmaidens of God.

Ludhiana: Town in the Punjab, India.

Maharaja: Hindu for king or ruler.

Mahdi: Urdu for Saviour or Messiah.

Majlis Ahrar: Small Muslim political party in British India which opposed the creation of an independent state for Muslims.

Maudidi, Maulana: Founder and first president of the Jamait-i-Islami.

Maulvi: Title of respect for a religious leader.

Mirza: A Muslim caste.

Missbah: An Ahmadiyya women's magazine published in Rabwah.

Mufti, Mohammad Sadiq: First Ahmadiyya missionary in the United States, 1920.

Mukhtar: Examination for lawyers in the Indian subcontinent.

Mujjadid: Reformer with divine sanction.

Murrabi: Experienced member of the Majlis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya in charge of organizing and training children.

Mutazila: An early sect of Islam.

Nabi: Urdu for prophet.

Nasirat: Monthly Ahmadiyya women's magazine published in Rabwah.

Nasiratul: Urdu for female helpers of God.

Nayal, Abdul Rahim: First Ahmadiyya missionary in Africa, 1921.

Nehru, Motilal: Moderate politician in British India, chairman of the Nehru Commission, an all-party commission set up to draft a constitution for an independent India.

Nurud-din, Hakeem: First successor to Ghulam Ahmed.

Nusrat Jehan: Missionary scheme established by Nasir Ahmed (third successor) in 1970 to expand Ahmadiyya social programs in West Africa.

Nusrat, Jehan Begum: Second wife of Ghulam Ahmed.

Paighem-Solah (Message of Peace): newspaper published by the Lahore group of Ahmadiyya.

Punjab: Originally a province in British India, divided at the time of the creation of Pakistan.

Purdah: The practice of wearing a veil among Muslim women.

Qaaid: Local leader of the Khuddamul Ahmadiyya.

Qadian: City in the Punjab, India; original headquarters of the Ahmadiyya movement before the division of British India.

Qazi: Urdu for magistrate.

Qiyas: Reasoning by analogy, one of four sources of Islamic jurisprudence.

Quran: Holy book of Islam, containing the revelations to the Prophet Mohammad.

Quresh: The tribe of the Prophet Mohammad.

Rabwah: Town in the Punjab, Pakistan; world headquarters of the Ahmadiyya movement since the creation of Pakistan.

Saaiq: Small-group leader in the Khuddamul Ahmadiyya.

Sadar: Urdu for president.

Sahibzada: Title of respect for the son.

Sayal, Fateh Mohammad: First foreign missionary of Ahmadiyya; established a mission in London in 1914.

Shah, Gul Ali: Shi'at tutor to Ghulam Ahmed.

Shah, Sarwar: Conservative member of Ahmadiyya who supported Mahmud Ahmed as second caliph of Ahmadiyya.

Shahadah: Muslim profession of faith.

Sharia: Muslim jurisprudence.

Sheikh: A Muslim caste.

Shi'ism: One of the main sects of Islam, originally Shi'ah, the party of Ali (fourth caliph of Mohammad).

Sialkot: City in the Punjab, Pakistan, where Ghulam Ahmed worked as court reader.

Sikhism: A monotheistic religion of India; Sikhs were political rulers in India at the time of Ghulam Ahmed.

Sujanpur: Town in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, India.

Sunnism: One of the main sects of Islam; derives from sunnah, the "well-defined" way, source of Islamic orthodoxy.

Syed: A Muslim caste.

Tehrik Jadid (New Scheme): Early missionary movement of Ahmadiyya.

Timur: Amir of Samarkand (1336-1405); belonged to Barlas tribe from which Ahmed was descended.

Umar, Faroq: Second successor to the Prophet Mohammad;
        ancestor of Hakeem Nurud-din, first successor to Ahmed.

Urdu: One of the main languages of Pakistan.

Vishnu: Hindu name for God (also Krishna).

Waqar-e-Amal: Urdu for physical labour.

Zakat: Welfare tax paid by all Muslims.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

AHMED'S WRITINGS

Abdul Bari Qayyum, in Taruf-e-Kutub (Introduction of
Books), provides a detailed description of Ahmed's writings
in the Urdu language. I have paraphrased his notes for the
purpose of the present study.

1. Buraheen Ahmadiyya, 1879-1908, 4 volumes.
Volume 1 discusses the downfall of Islam and its causes, and
suggests remedies for such a decline. Volume 2 presents the
facts about the Holy Quran and its importance; the truthful-
ness of the Prophet of Islam; and a comparison between
Islam and other world religions. Volume 3 contains the
external facts of the Holy Quran, an exposition of the need
for the word of God, a commentary on the first chapter of the
Quran, a proof of the unity of God based on Quranic verses,
and the author's prophecies as Messiah. Volume 4 was never
completed because of the author's death.

2. Purani Tahreeren, (Early Writings), 1889. This book contains
Ahmed's writings before his claim to be the Messiah; it
discusses the importance of revelations and the relationship
of soul and matter, with a comparison of Quran and the Vedas
(Hindu scriptures).

3. Fateh Islam (The Victory of Islam), 1890-91. This book
discusses the physical death of Jesus, presents five methods

through which Islam will flourish, and offers proofs of the author's claim to be the Messiah.

4. Asmani Faisla (The Heavenly Decision), 1892. Discusses the principles and objectives of a good Muslim.

5. Nishan-e-Asmani (The Heavenly Sign), 1892. Discusses the prophecies of two leading Muslim theologians, Ghulab Shah Majjoob and Naimatullah Wali, in reference to his claim to be the Messiah.

6. Jung-e-Muqdus (Holy War), 1893. This book contains the debate between Ahmed and a Christian missionary Abdullah Attaham, which took place from May 22nd to June 5th, 1893; Ahmed rejects the Christian doctrine of the trinity, and discusses his claim as Messiah.

7. Aiyyna Kamalat-e-Islam (Islam Speaks), 1893. Discusses the beauties of the Quran and the truthfulness of Islam as a world religion; contains a chapter in Arabic to support the author's claim before Muslim theologians.

8. Nur-ul-Haque (Arabic for Light of Truth), 1894, 2 volumes. This book was written in response to a challenge of a Christian missionary, Ummad-ud-din, who had accused Ahmed of anti-government activities. Ahmed called for a heavenly sign to settle the dispute.

9. Nur-ul-Quran (The Light of the Quran), 1895. This book contains an exposition of the truthfulness of Islam as opposed to Christianity, and discusses the prophethood of Mohammad, his importance and the need for his teachings.

10. Islami-Asol-ki-Philosophy (Philosophy of Islam), 1897.
Discusses the body, soul, morality, and the principle of
revelation; contains the article which was read at the
Conference of Religions in Lahore.

11. Raze-Haqeqat (The Fact of Facts), 1898. Contains a dis-
cussion of the truthfulness of Jesus Christ and a description
of the tomb of Jesus in Srinagar, Kashmir, India.

12. Zarorat-e-Imam (The Need for the Messiah), 1898. The
author discusses the need for the Messiah and his claim
according to the prophecies of the Prophet of Islam. The
book provides a detailed description of a lawsuit over
income tax brought against Ahmed.

13. Massiah Hindustan-Me (The Messiah in India), 1899. This
book contains the proposition of Christ's deliverance from
the cross, his migration and death in Kashmir; provides
evidence for that contention on intellectual, historical and
medical grounds; and a proof of the author's claim as Messiah.

14. Nazool-e-Messih (The Advent of the Messiah), 1901. This
book is the core of Ahmadiyya philosophy and theology,
presenting 123 prophecies and Ahmed's revelations in support
of his claim.

15. Kishte-e-Noah (Noah's Ark), 1902. This book contains the
author's revelation about a deadly plague in India, as well
as Islamic teachings. [There was in fact a devastating
influenza epidemic in India in 1918.]

16. Lecture Lahore, 1904. A lecture which Ahmed delivered at
Lahore, emphasizing Islam as a living religion which needs a
Messiah, and supporting his claim to be such.

16. Lecture Sialkot, 1904. Ahmed describes Sialkot as his "adopted" hometown, and issues a declaration of his claim to be Krishna, the Hindu Avatar.

17. Al-Wassiat (The Will), 1905. This book contains a revelation about the author's own death, and his call to his followers to remain united in the unity of God; presents the concept of succession or Khalifat.

18. Haqueqat-ul-Wahee (The Fact of Revelation), 1907. This book contains the Quranic prophecies of Messiahhood in Islam. Ahmed presents 200 proofs of his claim as Messiah from such prophecies.

19. Pegham-e-Sullah (The Message of Peace), 1908. This book contains an outline of the philosophy of Holy War as described by Mohammad, and suggestions for international Hindu-Muslim unity. The book was published after Ahmed's death in 1908.

Translated Works

1. Explanation of Objectives, published by Wakilat Tabshir, Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign mission, Rabwah, Pakistan.

2. Tadkirah, English translation of dreams, visions and verbal revelations of Ahmed. Translated by Zafarullah M. Khan, Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd., Grosvenor Press, Portsmouth, U.K., 1976.

3. The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam. T. J. Press Ltd., Padstow, Cornwal, U.K., 1979.

4. Four Questions by a Christian and their Answers, Ahmadiyya Foreign Mission, Rabwah, Pakistan.

APPENDIX 2

AHMADIYYA PERIODICALS

A. English

1. Muslim Herald; Monthly, 16 Gresen Hall Road, London,
England, S.W. 18.

2. Ahmadiyya Gazette; Monthly, 1306 Wilson Avenue, Downsview,
Ontario, Canada.

3. The Light; Quarterly, 1306 Wilson Avenue, Downsview, Ont,

4. Torch Light; Monthly, Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, P.O. Box
736, Georgetown, Guyana.

5. Ahmadiyyat; Monthly, Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, Freeport
Road, Upper Carapichama, Trinidad, West Indies.

6. The Truth; Weekly, 45 Isomagbo Ave, Lagos, Nigeria.

7. Ahmadiyya Gazette; Fortnightly, 2141 Leroy Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 8, U.S.A. 20008.

8. Muslim Sun Rise; Quarterly, 2141 Leroy Place, Washington, D.C.

9. Review of Religions; Monthly, Rabwah, Pakistan.

B. French

Pegham (Message); Monthly, Rosehill, Mauritius.

C. German

Der-Islam; Monthly, Die-Moschee, Wieckstrasse, 24, Hamburg,
Stellingen, Germany.

D. Dutch

Al-Islam; Monthly, Oostdvirlaan, 79, Den-Hagg, Holland.

E. <u>Urdu</u>

1. <u>Al-Fazal</u>; Daily newspaper, Rabwah, Pakistan.

2. <u>Khalid</u>; Monthly, Rabwah, Pakistan.

3. <u>Lahore</u>; Weekly, Lahore, Pakistan.

4. <u>Missbah</u>; Monthly, Rabwah, Pakistan.

5. <u>Tashizul Azhan</u>; Monthly, Rabwah, Pakistan.

6. <u>Tehrik Jadeed</u>; Monthly, Rabwah, Pakistan.

APPENDIX 3

SUBSIDIARY MOVEMENTS

Tehrik Jadid   (New Scheme)

Mirza Mahmud Ahmed, the second successor of the move-
ment, having considered the hostile attitude of the Majlis
Ahrar against the movement, announced the scheme on December
7th, 1934. Introduced on a temporary basis, it was made
permanent for the members three years later. The principal
objectives of the movement were: to rouse the spirit of
sacrifice in the community, to stimulate its moral and spir-
itual qualities, and to broaden the base of the Ahmadiyya
movement to carry its message to remote areas both in India
and the world. The Tehrik Jadid forbade its members to
attend movie houses, theatres and other forms of secular
amusement, and urged them to live a simple life in matters
of food, housing and dress. As a result of the scheme, many
hospitals, dispensaries, educational institutions and mosques
were founded around the world.

Majlis Khuddamul (Association of the Servants of God)

Established by Mahmud Ahmed in 1938, this association is
voluntary for male members of the movement between the ages
of fifteen and forty. The membership pledge is as follows:

> "I solemnly promise that I shall always be pre-
> pared to sacrifice time, life, property and
> honour for the sake of my faith, community and
> Millat [nation], and I shall be ready to make

> sacrifice for upholding the cause of Khalifat-
> i-Ahmadiyya [Ahmadiyya successorship] and deem
> it binding on me to carry out faithfully every
> command and decision under Shariat [jurisprudence]
> by the Khalifa of the time."

The association works under the appointed Sadar (President) of Subsidiary Movements. The local leader is called Qaaid; he reports to the central Ahmadiyya Association at Rabwah, and consults the missionary in charge of his district. The Majlis (association) keeps a record of its members by having them fill out an enrollment form.

The Majlis is further subdivided into small groups whose leaders, called Saaiq, control approximately ten members. The activities of the Majlis are the moral and spiritual training of the members through sporting activities, writing competitions, debates, etc.

Missionary activities are another feature of the Majlis; members promote the theological doctrine of Ahmadiyya by organizing religious conferences, opening book stalls in public places, building mosques and publishing Ahmadiyya periodicals.

The Majlis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya also engages in social services; members take first aid courses and help in counsellor services regarding employment, family disputes and the care of orphans. To carry out these social and religious services, the Majlis asks its members for funds and organizes fund-raising activities among the Ahmadiyya community and the public. One way of raising funds is the waqar-e-Amal (physical labour).

From its headquarters in Pakistan, the Majlis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya publishes two periodicals, the monthly Khalid and

Tash Husul Azhan.

The Majlis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya also enrols and groups children under sixteen years of age in the Atfal-ul-Ahmadiyya (Children of Ahmadiyya). An experienced member, called a murrabi, organizes and provides training for children in weekly or fortnightly religious classes, and works as a coordinator between the Majlis and the children's section. Debating and games are regular features of Atfal-ul-Ahmadiyya wherever it is found.

Ansarullah Ahmadiyya (Helpers of God)

This section of the community is composed of all the male members of the movement over forty. The main goal of this association is to show the younger members an example of moral and spiritual values. The Ansarullah also serves as an advisory body to other associations of the movement.

Lajna Imaullah (Handmaidens of God)

The Lajna Imaullah includes all the female members of the movement over fifteen, and is active in promoting and establishing the teachings of Islam as announced by the Prophet Mohammad among Muslim women. Emphasis is on Purdah (the practive of veiling women) and high moral standards.

This association holds monthly and annual conferences throughout the world, and has made substantial donations for building mosques worldwide. The Lajna publishes two period-icals, the Missbah and Nasirat, in Pakistan and use these for educational and training purposes for the members. This association holds a unique and important position in the

community at large, and particularly among sections of the
Muslim community, because of members' higher literacy rate
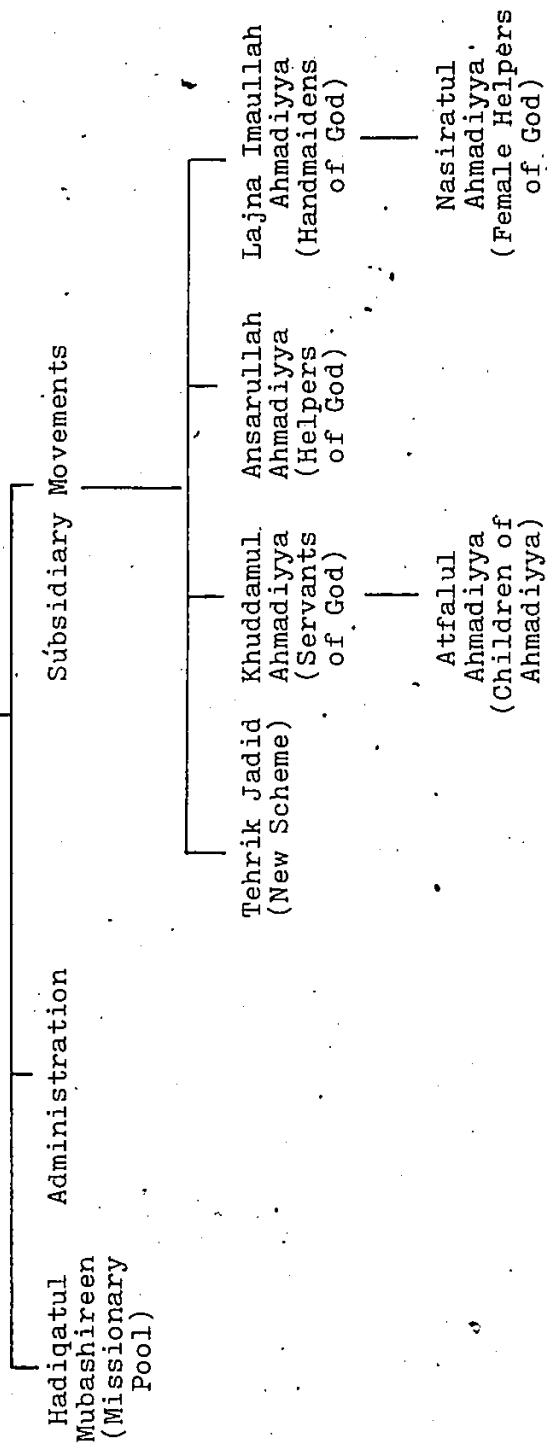and their observance of Purdah.

The lajna Imaullah has a subsection of female members
of the Ahmadiyya movement under fifteen called the Nasiratul
Ahmadiyya (Female Helpers of God). The Lajna is considered
to be the basic unit for the training of children in the
Ahmadiyya community.

APPENDIX 4

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE
AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT SINCE 1934

Khalifa-tul-Massiah
(Head of the Movement)

Anjuman Ahmadiyya
(Central Ahmadiyya Association)

Administration

Hadiqatul Mubashireen
(Missionary Pool)

Subsidiary Movements

Tehrik Jadid
(New Scheme)

Khuddamul Ahmadiyya
(Servants of God)

Atfalul Ahmadiyya
(Children of Ahmadiyya)

Ansarullah Ahmadiyya
(Helpers of God)

Lajna Imaullah Ahmadiyya
(Handmaidens of God)

Nasiratul Ahmadiyya
(Female Helpers of God)

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APPENDIX 4 (CONT'D)

Administration of Anjuman Ahmadiyya

Sadar Anjuman Ahmadiyya
(President)

- Records, General
- Islaho-Irshad (Preaching)
- Finance
  - Collection
  - Expense
- Education
- Agriculture
- Cemetary
- Ziafat (Social) and Annual Convention
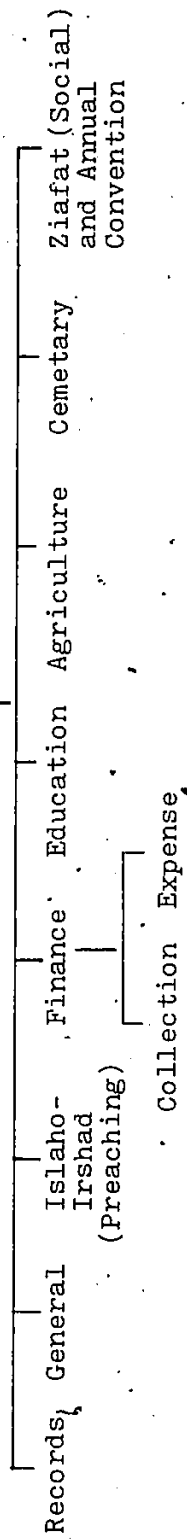
APPENDIX 4 (CONT'D)

Administration of the Tehrik Jadid[1]

Sadar Tehrik Jadid

Foreign Affairs

Dewan
(Records)

Umore-Aama
(General)
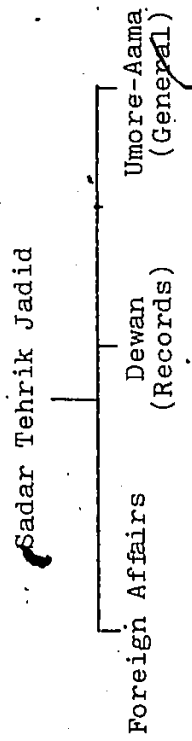
[1]Typical of the organization of all subsidiary movements.

APPENDIX 5

*AHMADIYYA MISSION HOUSES

Africa

1. Gambia: P. O. Box 383, Banjul.

2. Ghana: P. O. Box 2327, Accra.

3. Ivory Coast: B. P. 3416, Adjame, Abidjan.

4. Kenya: P. O. Box 40554, Forthall Road, Nairobi.

5. Liberia: P. O. Box 618 (9 Lynch St.), Monrovia.

6. Mauritius: P. O. Box 6, Rose Hill, Mauritius.

7. Nigeria: P. O. Box 418 (45 Idumagbo Ave), Lagos.

8. Sierra Leone: P. O. Box 353, Freetown.

9. South Africa: P. O. Box 4195, Capetown.

10. Tanzania: P. O. Box 376, Dares-Salam.

11. Uganda: P. O. Box 243, Kampala.

12. Zambia: P. O. Box 2345, Lusaka.

North and South America

1. Canada: 1306 Wilson Ave, Downsview, Ontario.

2. Guyana: 198 Oronoque and Almond Stn., P. O. Box 736, Georgetown.

3. Surinam: P. O. Box 2106, Paramaribo.

4. Trinidad and Tobago: Freeport Mission Road, Upper Cara-pichama, Trinidad, W. I.

5. U.S.A.: 2141 Leroy Place, N.W., Washington 8, D.C. 20008.

Asia

1. Burma: 191-128th Street, Rangoon.

2. Fiji: P. O. Box 3758, Samabula, Suva.

3. India: Darul Masih, Qadian, Gurdaspur.

4. Indonesia: Jalan Balikpapan 1, no. 10, Djakarta, Pusat I/13.

5. Japan: C.P.O. Box 1482, Tokyo.

6. Pakistan: Rabwah, Jhung District.

7. Philippines: Simunal, Bongao, Sulu.

8. Singapore: 111 Onan Road, Singapur, 15.

9. Sri Lanka: 24 San Sebastin St., Ratnum Road, Colombo 12.

Europe

1. Denmark: Eriksminde Alle 2, Hvidovro, Copenhagen.

2. Germany: (1) Die-Moschee, 24 Hamburg, Stellingen; and
       (2) Die-Moschee, Babanhauser Landstrasse, 25, Frandfurt.

3. Holland: De-Moschee, Oostduirlaan 79, Den Hagg.

4. Spain: Escoriaza, 6, Villa Verde, Cruce, Madrid, 21.

5. Sweden: S-414, 82, Goteborg, Sverige.

6. Switzerland: 343, Forchstrasse, 8008, Zurich.

7. United Kingdom: 16 Gresen Hall Road, London, S.W. 18.

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